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“Māori metal”

Analysing decolonial glocalisation in the themes, performances and discourses surrounding Alien Weaponry’s debut album *Tū* (2018)

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I hereby declare that, in line with the Faculty of Arts' code of conduct for research integrity, the work submitted here is my own original work and that any additional sources of information have been duly cited.

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Abstract (3.110 characters)

On June 1, 2018, the New Zealand trash metal band Alien Weaponry released their debut album *Tū* to great acclaim. This was directed especially at their glocal music: classic trash metal sung in their indigenous language, *te reo*. With it, Alien Weaponry want to preserve their cultural heritage. This dissertation researches, by means of a threefold analysis, how the band glocalise and how this new form of metal is presented and received within the global metal scene.

First, this scene is theorised. Here, a divide becomes clear between centric and peripheral scenes, which is sustained by a circulatory system of subcultural capital. Within it, centric scenes hold the capital-poor, peripheral ones to critical standards. Breakthrough bands on the peripheries are expected to uphold ethnocentric expectations, a precarious balance of sound the same, but not too much.

These expectations appear in how bands glocalise, i.e. the connection of globally disseminated metal genres to local contexts of identities, themes and music. While glocalisation often thematically and musically focus on the local context, for example through addressing colonial discourses and structures, this music is often understood in essentialist ways.

To learn how Alien Weaponry relates to this global scene, and how potential essentialism appears in the promotion and reception of *Tū*, this dissertation makes a triple analysis, based around Imke von Helden's thesis (2017) and original insights. First, it thematically analyses lyrics: it shows that Alien Weaponry balance Māori-specific themes like history and tradition against traditional metal themes, like mental health and political criticism.

Second, it analyses three video clips to see how the band glocalise performatively. It primarily shows a reflection of Māori identity, such as by focussing on historical events in which their tribe partook, or colonial and political consequences for the Māori.

Finally, it identifies three discourses that show the promotion of music in the global scene. Chronologically, these are productive (by bands and labels), distributive (by representatives and sellers) and receptive discourses (by reviewers). Analysing the first two results in a scale: on one end, Alien Weaponry stress their unique musical identity, without essentialising it. On the other side, analyses of label and festival texts shows a summary description on the band's glocal identity.

The receptive discourse, mostly stemming from English-speaking nations, reflect in particular the unequal logic of the global scene. Reviews show reductive assumptions about the Māori. And while they recognise Alien Weaponry's focus on preserving *te reo*, most boil down to a summary opinion of Alien Weaponry as *haka*'s metal version.

So while glocalisation signifies reflection of cultural identity in music and text, these creative agencies are frequently misunderstood in the global metal scene. The conclusion therefore appeals for further research and an active stance of scholars, in order to further debate the inegalitarian scene and to also address it outside of academia.

Samenvatting (3.487 characters)

Op 1 juni 2018 bracht de Nieuw-Zeelandse trash metalband Alien Weaponry hun debuutalbum Tū uit. Lovende reacties waren er op hun glocale muziek: klassieke trash metal in de landstaal, te reo. Zo wil Alien Weaponry hun culturele erfgoed bewaren. Deze masterproef onderzoekt middels een drieledige analyse hoe de band glocaliseert en hoe deze nieuwe vorm wordt voorgesteld en ontvangen in de globale metalscene.

Om te beginnen wordt deze scene getheoretiseerd. Hierbij valt de onderverdeling op in centrale en perifere scenes, onderhouden door een circulerend systeem van subcultureel kapitaal. Daarbinnen houden centra de kapitaalarme, perifere scenes tegen een kritisch licht. Doorbraken vanuit periferieën zijn verbonden aan etnocentrische verwachtingen van een precaire balans tussen hetzelfde klinken, maar ook niet teveel.

Deze verwachtingen blijken uit de wijze waarop bands glocaliseren, i.e. globaal verspreide metalgenres verbinden aan lokale contexten van identiteiten, thema's en muziek. Hoewel glocalisering vaak thematisch en muzikaal focust op de eigen leefwereld, bijvoorbeeld door aanklachten tegen koloniale discoursen en machtssystemen, wordt deze muziek essentialistisch begrepen.

Om te zien hoe Alien Weaponry zich verhoudt tot deze globale scene, en hoe eventueel essentialisme blijkt uit de promotie en receptie van Tū, voert deze masterproef een drieledige analyse, gebaseerd op onderzoek van Imke von Helden (2017) en op eigen inzichten. Ten eerste worden liedteksten thematisch geanalyseerd: hieruit blijkt dat Alien Weaponry een evenwicht vindt tussen enerzijds Māori-specifieke thema's zoals geschiedenis en tradities, en anderzijds typische metalthema's als mentaal welzijn en politieke kritiek.

Ten tweede worden drie videoclips geanalyseerd om te bekijken hoe Alien Weaponry performatief glocaliseert. Hieruit blijkt voornamelijk een weerspiegeling van hun Māori-identiteit, bijvoorbeeld door de focus op historische gebeurtenissen waarin hun stam een rol speelde, of op politieke gevolgen van de kolonisering van Nieuw-Zeeland voor de Māori.

Tot slot worden drie promotionele discoursen geïdentificeerd, die de promotie van muziek in de globale scene weerspiegelen. In chronologische volgorde omvatten zij productieve (door bands en labels uitgebrachte), distributieve (door vertegenwoordigers en verkopers) en receptieve discoursen (door recensenten). Uit de analyse van de eerste twee wordt een schaal opgemaakt waarop enerzijds Alien Weaponry hun unieke muzikale identiteit benadrukken, zonder hierbij essentialistisch te zijn. Anderzijds toont de analyse van label- en festivalteksten een samenvattende houding tegenover de glocale identiteit van de band.

De receptieve discoursen, grotendeels afkomstig uit Engelstalige landen, weerspiegelen met name de ongelijke logica van de globale scene. Uit recensies blijkt een reductieve vooringenomenheid tegenover de Māori. En hoewel de focus van Alien Weaponry op het behoud van het *te reo* wordt erkend, komen conclusies vaak neer op een zekere neerbuigendheid die Alien Weaponry samenvat als de metalversie van de *haka*.

Hoewel glocalisering voor bands dus de eigen culturele context reflecteert in muziek en tekst, wordt deze creatieve uiting binnen de globale metalscene vaak niet begrepen. De conclusie stelt daarom voor dat verder onderzoek én een actieve houding van onderzoekers nodig zijn om de ongelijke globale logica verder aan te kaarten en ook buiten de grenzen van het onderzoek uit te dragen.

Acknowledgements

Let go now, adopt this shining of light.
Surrender all fears and doubts.
Walk into the temple, it's time.
- Psychonaut, 'Sananda'

Writing a master dissertation is no easy feature – writing two even less so. It feels safe to say, however, that this dissertation has not become an exercise in futility. It stands as the culmination of two years of hard work that incurred a lot of doubts, encounters, arguments and rewards. While doubts still remain, the foresight of continuing this dissertation into a doctoral research at the Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam is nothing short of a dream come true.

When I first discovered metal studies, I knew that it was the field I had come to university for. And after attending my first conference a year later, I knew that I wanted to pursue research in it. By that time, I had written a course paper on Al-Namrood and devoured Edward Said's *Orientalism* and Keith Kahn-Harris' *Extreme Metal*, two publications which influenced my interests in the global metal scene and essentialism in music promotion, interests which were also honed during my internship.

But my work faced delays. The primary cause lay with myself, as I chose to postpone this dissertation to commit myself to my school duties, blossoming academic prospects and *Het Artistieke Genie*, a cultural event I organised with my friend Ewout. And despite the time constraints this caused when I got to work in earnest, I am more than content with the result. I hope that by writing this dissertation, I will inspire other Belgian students to explore popular music studies through comparative literature and cultural studies. The field is still heavily underrepresented in the classrooms, discussions and libraries of the KU Leuven – but we can change this.

Success, however, is not achieved in solitude. In writing my dissertation, I was in the presence of amazing people. To all those who have helped during my research or pulled me through in any other way, I want to write a word of gratitude:

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1 Introduction

Whakarongo mai rā... Whakarongo mai rā!
Whakarongo mai rā... Whakarongo mai rā!
Whakarongo mai ki te tangi o nga pū i runga i te taumata a Pukehinahina!
–
Hark that sound yonder… Hark that sound yonder!
Hark that sound yonder… Hark that sound yonder!
Listen to the roar of the guns on the hilltop at Pukehinahina!

A camera focuses on the bloody soil in front of a stage on which the strapping young lads of Alien Weaponry, backed by their Marshall amplifiers, start the song 'Rū Te Ana Whenua'. It commemorates the victory of their ancestral Māori family in 1864 over British forces during the Battle of Pukehinahina (Gate Pā). After signing to major label Napalm Records in 2018, Alien Weaponry have become an excellent example of metal in its global and glocal form (Weinstein, "Globalization" 54-55).[1] Throughout most of their debut album *Tū* (2018), Māori language and history play a prominent role in songs like 'Kai Tangata' (on the tribal Musket Wars), 'Raupatu' (on illegal land confiscations by the British colonial government) and 'Whispers' (on the 2004 Foreshore and Seabed Act and 2016 Trans-Pacific Partnership).[2] Most of these songs are (partly) sung in *te reo* (*Māori* in English), the official language of New Zealand since 1987.[3] Throughout the rest of the album, traditional tropes of heavy, trash and extreme metal, such as mental health, anger and uncritical social behaviour are addressed in both English and te reo Māori (Walser 14). For Alien Weaponry, however, their glocalisation – a process that is summarised as the appropriation and re-interpretation of global processes in specific ways that relate to local culture (Eriksen 318; von Helden 20-21) – also has a non-musical goal. With it, they intend a preservative focus that "helps that language be communicated not only in New Zealand, but also across the globe," something which resonates with their New Zealand audiences (Noisey 2018; Music.nz.net). For short, to Alien Weaponry is attached a strong focus on identity, which is expressed in their music and performances, and which can be in their promotion as well.

Alien Weaponry was formed in 2010 in Auckland, New Zealand by brothers Lewis de Jong (guitar, vocals) and Henry de Jong (drums, vocals). It 2013, they were completed by Ethan Trembath (bass), who, together with Henry, provides backing vocals. The name stems from a line in Neil Blomkamp's movie *District 9* (2009), which the brothers had seen (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2010). Ironically, 'alien weaponry' might just as well refer to the muskets brought back to the Māori by expatriate chiefs in the 19th century, as referred in the 'Kai Tangata' video clip (00:00:06-00:00:24; Napalm Records, "Kai Tangata"). Inspired by their father's music collection, their music is indebted to the heavy metal of Mötorhead and early trash metal of Metallica and Anthrax. To it, they add *te reo* lyrics with the occasional use of local instruments, like a seashell in 'Kai Tangata' and war cries and rhythmic drums in 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2018). The de Jong brothers learned the language after being enrolled in a *kura kaupapa* (full-immersion *te reo* school) for a number of years, incorporating Trembath into their *whānau* (extended family) activities later on. Trembath, who has Celtic and French roots, brought this heritage into the band as well, influencing for example the album cover art for *Tū*: it "features traditional *moko* [traditional Māori and Polynesian tattoo art] on the lower half of the face, topped by the metal helmet of a Viking and the horns of a Celtic warrior." (1 News Now). Since their founding, Alien Weaponry have enjoyed numerous local infrastructural successes, winning awards that helped them to fund video clips and get picked up as a

[1] In metal studies, it is common practice to refer to bands in plural 3rd person.
[2] The album is named for Tūmatauenga, the Māori god of war,. The songs 'Rū Ana Te Whenua', 'Kai Tangata' and 'Raupatu' translate respectively as 'The earth trembles', 'Eat people' and 'Rape'.
[3] "Te reo" (meaning "the language") is the language's name for itself. In English, it is called "Māori." To avoid confusion, this dissertation will hence refer to it as *te reo* (italics indicate use of the indigenous language).

support band for world-renowned bands like the American industrial metal band Ministry. In 2018, they released *Tū* after signing a worldwide distribution deal with Napalm Records, a worldwide major in metal music, and played at the biggest metal festival in the world, Wacken Open Air, which meant a big step forward in terms of their presence in centres of the global metal scene (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 86).

International presences and breakthroughs of bands from countries rarely associated with heavy metal, has in the last decade become an important subject in metal studies. Initially a field of sociological and musicological research (Weinstein, *Heavy Metal*; Walser), metal studies have since the early 2000s begun to both broaden and globalise their scope, increasingly applying early conclusions to metal scenes from the Global South. Two works are seminal in this regard: first, the publication of Keith Kahn-Harris's *Extreme Metal* (2007), which researches the ways in which extreme metal scenes across the world are created through the acquisition of mundane (repeated infrastructural effort) and transgressive (individual innovative effort) subcultural capital. The notion of scene has received some criticism, for example from Hesmondhalgh, who commends its capacity to transcend locality, but criticises its incapability to account for local differences (28-29). He therefore proposes to work with the concepts of 'genre' and 'articulation' instead. In this dissertation, however, I opt to work through definitions of 'scene', as these also involve the non-musical, infrastructural practices that are relevant to the creation of promotional discourses, which will be discussed further down. Criticism aside, Smeets asserts that 'scene' is a generally agreed-upon concept within metal studies (21-23).

Second, the collection *Heavy Metal Rules The Globe* (2011) brought together research into different (trans)local scenes that glocalise genre blueprints of heavy and extreme metal, and thereby interact with both the global metal scene and their local music scene and culture (Brown et al. 7). Building on metal studies' globalised perspective, *Heavy Metal Rules The Globe* marked the definitive expansion of metal studies since it first began exploring beyond its cradles, such as the UK, USA and Western Europe.

The first region in the Global South that metal studies focused on, was South America, with special focus on Brazil and the internationally acclaimed groove metal band Sepultura (Harris; Avelar; Williams and Da Rocha). Research into Latin American scenes has influenced metal studies of the Global South, where metal has now become profoundly disseminated (Weinstein, "Globalization" 44; "Location"); and research is published prolifically – albeit mostly by European and North American academics. In recent years, however, scholars like Nelson Varas-Díaz, Meng-Tze Chu, Alfredo Nieves, Cynthia P. Wong, Christian Keough, Gracielle Fonseca, Daniel Nevárez and Fulya Çelikel Soğancı have drawn attention to the proliferation of research in the Global South itself, radically opening up the field.

What connects these studies is a simultaneous focus on the infrastructural construction of a local metal scene and on the ways local bands glocalise genre blueprints, balancing established genre blueprints with specific interpretations and expressions. More generally, the anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen describes glocalisation as being "global in the sense that they are not located in a particular place; at the same time, they are local in that they are always perceived and interpreted locally." (316). As a result of the accelerated stream of information, especially with the Internet, cultural flows have increased in space and time. By means of disembedded standardisations of cultural forms, such as music genres, these can be consumed worldwide in variable forms that constitute new cultural groups, like local metal scenes (310-314).

In this global metal scene, which is comprised of innumerable local ones, glocalisation appeared through the globalisation of metal, which Weinstein described as consisting of two phases: in the first, metal spread throughout the Global North and beyond the Iron Curtain in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the second, which lasted throughout the 1990s, the Global South too became a place of metal production and consumption, as metal went "from economically and technologically developed areas to less developed ones." (Weinstein, "Globalization" 44). As a result, scenes across

Asia, Latin America and (secular) Middle Eastern areas were born. This second phase also heralded the arrival of new information technologies like the Internet, which is employed equally by musicians, fans and mediators (such as label representatives and reviewers) (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 163; Weinstein, "Globalization" 43-45). This has rendered a number of definitions of glocalisation, which will be presented and discussed in the following section. This discussion will provide a basis for the thematic, performative and discourse analyses of Alien Weaponry's lyrics, performances and promotion, and what role glocalisation plays therein.

This dissertation is particularly interested in these processes of glocalisation in the global metal scene. As described above, the rise of the Internet proved significantly impactful on the global metal scene. Already, the group of "generally adolescent males from working-class backgrounds" (Weinstein, "Globalization" 54) has diversified significantly as women and minorities have found their way into metal music. The global scene, however, is still deeply unequal in terms of gender representation (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 138; Berkers and Schaap). This inequality has also been addressed by DiGioia and Helfrich in terms of metal studies itself. Furthermore, awareness of metal productions in the Global South have in recent years turned around classical theoretisations of metal crowds, such as that they are mostly from a working-class background. A poignant example is the scene in Saudi-Arabian cities, where metal musicians and enthusiasts alike often work(ed) in the petrochemical industry, providing them with the financial means to play the controversial genre without getting caught by religious authorities (Crowcroft 178).

The interest in the globalisation of metal has also yet to render more studies of decolonial issues in the global scene. Within its undeniably global context, neither power imbalances of centric and peripheral scenes, nor postcolonial scenic relations are frequently addressed. Varas-Díaz and Morales propose the concept of decolonial metal, a broad umbrella for context-bound metal music that critically addresses the past and present of persistent coloniality, a term for which they draw on the work of Aníbal Quijano. They define it as a

> structure of oppression, linked to the colonial experience of the 15th century … that simultaneously surpasses the end of that same colonial period. The social categories that fostered oppressive experiences (i.e., race, ethnicity, gender, political positioning) may have been created, implemented and exploited during the colonial period, but were later transformed to sustain the project of modernity characteristic of Europe. (212-213)

The goal of this dissertation is therefore to first look into how Alien Weaponry have glocalised traditional metal genre blueprints and how this relates to centric scenes and markets of metal, which are commonly associated with the UK, USA and continental Europe (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 97-102, 109 and 115; von Helden 23-24). Second, this dissertation is interested in the ways in which glocal music is promoted, distributed and received in both local and larger, centric scenes.

To do so, I will employ a twofold approach: first, I will reiterate the research methods of Imke von Helden's *Norwegian Native Art* (2017), in which she analyses the themes of and (video clip) performances by Norwegian metal bands, and how these contribute to the invocation of a collective Norse identity. To this, she adds in-depth interviews with some of these bands themselves, in order to verify and further investigate her early conclusions. I will do similar analyses of Alien Weaponry. Secondly, I will look into the promotion, distribution and reception of Alien Weaponry through discourse analyses. To this end, I have identified three different types of discourse that surround releases by metal bands, which coincide with the traditional communicative scheme: productive, distributive and receptive discourse.

In this section, I have given a brief introduction to Alien Weaponry and their background, as well as to the general state and research of the global metal scene. In the following section, I will further theorise

the globalisation and glocalisation of metal, in order to construct a theoretical framework and surmise hypotheses for my analyses. In this section, I will also further define the promotional discourses.

The third section of this dissertation will entail methods I employ to research the themes, performances and discourses surrounding Alien Weaponry.[4] In the fourth section, I will present and discuss the results that my research provided. Ultimately, the fifth section will provide conclusive remarks, after which will follow an overview of future research possibilities and prospects, as well as a SWOT-analysis of my progress.

[4] Specific outtakes from the (post)colonial history of New Zealand will be presented in relation to discussions of different songs and aspects of Alien Weaponry, as the focus of this dissertation is not historical, but cultural.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 The globalisation and glocalisation of metal

In his contribution to *Metal Rules The Globe*, Keith Kahn-Harris writes that from its very inception, metal has always been a globalized music genre ("You Are From Israel" 223). Its resonance across the globe can be explained, for the most part, through its reactionary nature. By defining itself in opposition to all that it is not (like politics, hard rock or light entertainment) (Wallach, Berger and Greene 7-8; Avelar 136-139), subgenres like death metal, black metal, heavy metal, doom metal and trash metal have surely spread across the global metal scene.[5] As I will discuss below, this global scene is comprised of centres and peripheries, which can be identified on the basis of their accrued and granted subcultural capital (Casanova 134-135; Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 121). Furthermore, local differences between genre performances appear naturally, and often relate to identity narratives of heritage and decoloniality. This section will therefore guided by a number of questions: why did metal become global? How did it become global? What have been the consequences of its globalisation? And what does this signify for the process of glocalisation?

2.1.1 The global metal scene

Metal music is often accredited with a sense of despondency. It is symptomatic of (post)modernity's deindustrialisation and globalisation, and of the deterioration of traditional cultural groups and boundaries. Metal thus constitutes Andersonian imagined communities, cultural arena's that can be contested in repeated efforts to – according to Vigh – configure, deconfigure and reconfigure new identities and belongings in a perpetual state of crisis (Vigh 15; Bauman 429-430; Wallach, Berger and Greene 4-7).

For a brief while, metal was actively functioning within this state of spacelessness during death metal's global success in the early 1990s. But ultimately, with the genre's creative and economic decline and with the surge of black metal, which created narratives of heritage, anti-modernity and identity to match their 'Northern', 'cold' musical identity, place became an important creative element in the global metal scene (Harris 20, 23; Spracklen et al. 60-61). In their study of such heritage narratives in Northern English black metal bands, Spracklen, Lucas and Deeks find that place, as a concept of metal music, manifests three key factors: a geographical sense of belonging, assistance in individual physical positioning and assistance in individual cultural/social/physical belonging, all three of which are highly relevant in the despondency of postmodernity (50). Thus, bands create alternative mythologies of the past to give senses of belonging and identity to their appropriate cultural groups, in order to make meaning of present disparate identities. Ironically, the perceived traditions on which they rely for source material, are often constructed themselves, stemming from Romantic narratives of Viking, Germanic and early Christian cultures (Hobshawm 7; von Helden 48-53).

And while these mythologies are always in part fictional, and very often charged with stereotypical gender roles and racist, elitist discourse, many bands who create alternative mythologies to evoke a sense of belonging, deny that their music contains political meaning (Avelar 135; Spracklen et al. 55-58, 60-62; von Helden 176-177). For bands in the Global South, this is a different case altogether, as they are often faced with a colonial past that resonates into today's despondency (Varas-Díaz and Morales 215). Thus, they are faced with a double crisis of identity: that of modernity, and that of coloniality. This is expressed in what Varas-Díaz and Morales have called "decolonial metal", in which bands "challenge coloniality through implementation of indigenous themes," like native imagery, themes, language, instruments and performances (216-218). As Wallach, Berger and Greene assert,

[5] Kahn-Harris (previously Keith Harris) often discusses the global extreme metal scene in his work, to which he counts the genres of death, black, doom and trash metal (Harris 14). In this dissertation, I will partially follow this line of thought, as my focus is not specifically on extreme metal. Hence, I will refer to the global metal scene as either the 'global metal scene' or 'global scene'.

"… in every setting, metal is embedded in local cultures and histories and is experienced as part of a complex and historically specific encounter with the forces of modernity." (4).

With the globalisation of metal, successful genre blueprints became connected to specific locales and their associated narratives. This constituted worldwide flows of cultural capital, which within the global scene take the form of mundane and transgressive subcultural capital.

Kahn-Harris based these concepts on the idea that the global (extreme) metal scene is constituted by efforts that either sustain existing long-term infrastructures, or build upon these to momentarily innovate. Based on these innovations, new institutionalisations occur, which in time incite new transgressions that evoke fierce reactions from within particular scenes, such as with the emergence of nu metal in the 1990s (*Extreme Metal* 132-133, 136-138; Keunen 24-25).[6] As Kahn-Harris furthermore points out, the two forms of subcultural capital also face issues of inequality. Criticism of the Bourdieusian concepts aside, Kahn-Harris writes:

> Subcultural capital becomes problematic when it builds on other divisions in capital. Those whose possess subcultural capital may go on to gain other forms of capital through, for example, selling more records. Conversely, for those from whom participation in the scene is already difficult, such as women and those from certain marginal locations and ethnicities, subcultural capital may be particularly difficult to claim. … Subcultural capital can therefore become concentrated in the hands of those who possess other kinds of capital. (*Extreme Metal* 138)

The possession of capital naturally leads to entrenchment, constituting certain scenes as stronger than others. And since there is only a limited stock of (sub)cultural capital in the first place, global flows of it soon become the only way for bands in peripheral scenes to break through into larger markets. Kahn-Harris writes:

> The scene is less strong in locations that are highly marginal to global flows of capital, such as developing countries. Although in certain countries, such as Argentina and Indonesia, extreme metal may be very popular, the prevalence of bootleg recordings and the paucity of bands succeeding internationally mean that in global terms such scenes remain peripheral. Few bands from such locations become known throughout the global scene. (*Extreme Metal* 98).

Initially, he asserts that the limited stock to some extent mitigates the effects of scenic inequalities, as they incite symbolic violence, which in turn leads to competitive (instead of capital) inequality (*Extreme Metal* 139; Casanova 115-116). From the Internet, he had similar expectations that it might prove

> a potent antidote to the accumulation of capital within the scene by making it difficult for institutions to accumulate capital and facilitating access to the scene for marginal members. … However … the Internet does not appear to have made the scene a more egalitarian or inegalitarian space. (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 95)

[6] The nu metal genre emerged in the mid-1990s, combining groove metal with influences of electronic music and rap, to much greater appeal than extreme metal. It has been studied to great effect by scholars such as Clare King (Western University, Canada).

But despite the Internet confirming the deterritorialised, transnational character of the global metal scene, which is "organized around neither local traditions nor global corporate trends," (Frith 315; Weinstein, "Globalization" 51-52), the divide between centres and peripheries remains unchanged.[7]

To this classic divide of the global into centric and peripheral scenes, it might be useful to add a third category: *semi-centric scenes*. Unlike centric or peripheral scenes, these refer to scenes in countries with no explicit metal tradition, yet which are geographically closer to countries central to its conception and development. Examples include Southern and Eastern European countries, and some Latin American ones, like Brazil, which has grown a tradition in metal following Sepultura's international success (Weinstein, "Globalization" 48). Comparatively, peripheral means having no particular infrastructural or genre history.

One of the most resourceful authors on the centre-periphery divide is Pascale Casanova, whose influential book *La république mondiale des lettres* (transl.: *The World Republic of Letters*) reviews the global literary market in the 20th century. The replacement of 'literature' by 'metal' and 'linguistic centres' by 'genre centres', however, is made with relative ease. This is safe for a few adaptations, as has been done with Bourdieu's work in popular music studies, which will be discussed further down (Keunen 23-25). Thus, her work can serve to better understand the global inequalities within the global metal scene. It can also further broaden the field of metal studies, where comparative perspectives are still underrepresented (Varas-Díaz and Morales 214).

2.1.2 Inequalities of the global metal scene

Casanova divides the global literary market into a number of language centres, which differ by age (83). Yet as remnants of colonialism, the list of names is rather unsurprising: Barcelona, Berlin, London and Paris – the latter standing as capital of the French group and of the world market. Each centre has a major autonomy by which it controls and attracts literature of the same language and exercises control through its position of eminence (116-117). This constitutes – and this is vital –

> a homogenous and autonomous sphere in which the legitimacy of its centralized power of consecration is unchallenged; a world having its own pantheon and prizes, its own favoured genres, its own distinctive traditions and internal rivalries. The structure of each area mirrors that of worldwide literary space, with a subtle hierarchy being established among its various satellites as a function of their symbolic distance (which is aesthetic rather than geographic) from the center. (117)

This logic can also be applied to the global metal scene, constituting cities as genre centres. These cities (and their national scenes) were influential in the development of specific genres: Birmingham (UK, hometown of Black Sabbath, the first heavy metal band) for heavy metal – Oslo and Bergen (Norway) for black metal; Tampa (USA) and Gothenburg (Sweden) for (melodic) death metal – and the San Francisco Bay Area for trash metal. As a result, they constitute local scenes that have accrued a great deal of (sub)cultural capital. Each of these scenes constitutes its own genre world, with its own specialised constructions of aesthetic difference and structures (like magazines, labels, awards, blogs, festivals and audiences) (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 100-101; Weinstein, "Globalization" 48-53). These audiences can be found all over the world, as each genre-specific scene fits into the larger, global constellation that envelops regional, national local scenes (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 99).

All capital scenes, due to the limited amount of (especially transgressive) subcultural capital going around) attempt to impose their superiority over other genres, as in the global scene,

[7] Regardless, centric metal scenes are cultural spaces and therefore also be reconfigured. In recent years, for example, an explicit anti-fascist wave has washed over black metal, a genre generally known for its discursive transgressions that dabble in racism and fascism (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 34-43; *ProteanMag* 2019).

authenticity is always at stake. This is evident in genre histories such as Patterson's *Black Metal: Evolution of the Cult*, in which he recounts black metal scenic infighting (121-122, 346-347) and the genre's elitist stance towards death metal and popular music in general (151-152, 157). Regardless, each scenic expression remains an effort to temporarily configure belonging to a cultural identity within a global space in which metal's main genres are perpetually venerated as signifying structures (Casanova 123; Hjelm et al. 14).

With metal's globalisation, the constituted canon of bands and (sub)genres is distributed, causing scenic divisions based around accrued amounts of mundane and transgressive subcultural capital, complete with the presence of relevant institutions (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 78-91, 100-101; Weinstein, "Globalization" 48-53). Aesthetically speaking, this is measurable through a divide in space and tempo. Based on Casanova, it can be presumed that "[metal] space creates a present on the basis of which positions can be measured, a point in relation to which all other points can be located." (88). In spatial terms, this is made apparent by relative aesthetic distance from centric scenes. Temporally speaking, this spatial centrality constitutes a creative present (87-89). The result of this divide is the constitution of a "universal artistic clock," (90), which in metal is dependent on genre specifications and scenic origins, bands and albums which must be appealed to.[8] A prime example is Mayhem's black metal-defining debut album *De Mysteriis Dom Sathanas* (1994). What both semi-centric and peripheral scenes thus face, is the composition of all centric scenes into a broader, more general one, complete with its own symbolic boundaries (Spracklen et al. 61). Hence, bands simultaneously belong to different scenes, even if these overlap transnationally (Wallach, Berger and Greene 4-8; Bauman 434).

For bands on the scenic peripheries then, which have no pre-existing subcultural capital to accumulate and little to no infrastructural support (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 100-102), there exists "a special form of poverty, which implied the existence of a marketplace characterized by great inequalities." (Casanova 91). Bands on the peripheries are often looked at not over a musical interest, but over fascination with their nation of origin, as a sense of territorialisation and a certain exoticisation has become almost incumbent in the global metal scene. This is only emboldened by the spatial and temporal distance from semi-centres and peripheries to the actual centres of metal (Casanova 90). The question then is whether it can assumed that bands in peripheral scenes, explicitly want to penetrate centric markets, or whether they possess other motivations. This will be discussed further down (Casanova 120).

Returning to why metal globalised, the work of Harris/Kahn-Harris confirms that the global scene is comprised of genre-constitutive centre scenes, but that none appropriates the inequalities of capital to such a degree that none can participate ("Roots?"; "You Are From Israel"). Nonetheless, the inequalities are not resolved by global interaction. Consideration must be held for the ways in which metal has been globalised since its conception in the 1970s, and how this has caused the scenic logic of inegalitarian flows of subcultural capital to arise. This consideration is equally important for the constitution of the aforementioned promotional discourses, which occur within both industry and audience interactions, both in print and electronically. In his article on Sepultura, Harris writes that:

> [t]hese flows result in severe inequalities in the ability of groups to appropriate and distribute music … Western artists may appropriate non-Western musics in ways that trivialise or exoticise them in the dilettante search for new musical materials … Of course, subordinate groups do often appropriate music themselves and sometimes do penetrate other musical markets, but in broad terms the interlinkage of musical and capital flows is highly problematic. (26)

[8] Comparatively, James Ferguson analysed how notions of 'modernity' and 'developmentalism' ultimately uphold class differences on a worldwide level, something which reappears in the inegalitarian global metal scene.

A perfect example of the former is the American technical death metal band Nile, who have become a scenic staple in their combination of traditional death metal with lyrical and visual inspiration taken from ancient Egyptian writings and mythology. In the latter case, the documentary *Songs of Injustice: Heavy Metal Music in Latin America* explores through interviews how bands in Mexico, Chile, Argentina and Peru address the socio-political past and present through their music, sometimes through the appropriation and reinterpretation of indigenous imagery, themes, language, instruments and performances (*Songs of Injustice*; Varas-Díaz and Morales 216-218). These addresses, however, are easily misunderstood and essentialised by centric markets and scenes.

For Casanova, such structural scenic inequalities are based in ambiguous veneration tactics: these reveal denationalising policies and systems pointed at bands in peripheral scenes, who are reduced to seeking recognition by centric scenes, as these centres misunderstand their particular engagement with the venerated blueprint. As a result, they are required to balance between being "neither too near nor too far." (154-157). Scene-dominant discourses, found for example in major magazines like Metal Hammer and Kerrang (both from the UK), consequentially uphold veneration and regulated differentiation among established scenes and genres. Bands from peripheral scenes have to constantly balance mundanity and transgression, dealing with metal's own heritage which has moved from transgressive into mundane subcultural capital (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 132-133; Spracklen et al. 59; Goossens 5). As aforementioned, the global scene is very hierarchal, despite its decentralised, heterogenous organisation and the self-perception of fans to be open to new influxes. Scene-internally, however, these bands are confronted with clashes of heritage: that of metal opposite specific heritage and identity narratives.

Finally, there must be room for a brief consideration whether subcultural capital flows are inescapable. On the one hand, they are, as the ability of scene-bound bands to penetrate other markets, is possible only by their inscription in the capital that these centres have accrued. They are thus unable to transcend market flows, especially since their penetration is treated with heavy suspicion from conservative metal fanbases, who heavily police genre veneration and reproduction before any transgressive capital can be accumulated, for example through political themes in lyrics (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 130-131; Spracklen et al. 62). Harris, however, proposes that with due consideration of metal's capacity to penetrate location through capital accumulation, we can envision the global metal scene

> … as free as possible from large differentials of capital, that would reconcile the deep emotional investments in ideas of ownership stemming from the musical construction of place, with the fact that music can and *will* travel. This practice should enable the circulation of music and yet still allow for the penetration of locality, identity and ownership in unique, but non-essentialising ways. [italics original] (26)

2.1.3 The glocalisation of metal

As genre blueprints travel the world and are venerated far and wide, there is a crushing expectation on all new participants in the global metal scene to adhere to them: the acquisition of mundane subcultural capital must be accomplished before any claims to transgressive capital can be made. For bands on the peripheries of the global scene, this is even more difficult, considering the balance of mundanity and transgression they are expected to maintain. In glocalisation, they reflect their scenic context, but this is not always understood within the global scene. A key example here is that of the Brazilian groove metal band Sepultura.

Coming from Brazil without any initial infrastructural connection to the global scene, except for tape-trading, Sepultura stem from a peripheral scene. Therein, they initially played a death/trash metal hybrid, that relied on a Brazilian production team. After signing to the Dutch extreme metal label

Roadrunner Records in 1988, they co-operated with American death metal producer Scott Burns, releasing a series of classical albums that drew the attention of global metal audiences. Their seminal album *Roots* (1996) was a thematic and musicological return to their Brazilian heritage, working with both local musicians and indigenous people to add depth and narrative. Thematically, *Roots* focused on Brazil's history of dictatorial oppression, and the people's capacity to rise above this (Harris 20-21). For Avelar, *Roots* shows that Sepultura were always one step ahead of their music being coded as not genre-adaptive or locally authentic enough (138-141), which reveals the demand for peripheral bands to prove their representativeness (144). Their successful escape from this made Sepultura into "a worldwide reference for vigorous, socially aware heavy metal," and thus for glocalisation (144).

Generally, glocalisation is defined by Eriksen as being "neither wholly global nor wholly local … the growth of new kinds of cultural difference in the interface between the global and the local." (318, 321). Applied to metal, Deena Weinstein provides a definition in her contribution to *Metal Rules The Globe*:

> [M]uch of the newer black metal tends towards a *glocalized* model, in which the broadly diffused style is combined with elements of a local group's pre-modern culture, such as melodic approaches and scalar materials, musical instruments, allusions to glorious ethnic myths, and the indigenous language. [italics original] (Weinstein, "Globalization" 54-55)

Clearly, this definition suffers from a number of shortcomings, but can also serve to constitute a new definition of glocalisation in metal. First and foremost, Weinstein writes her definition on the basis of black metal, and in opposition to death metal's placeless identity of sonic attributes and English-growled lyrics. The cases of Sepultura and Alien Weaponry alone, however, show that glocalisation in music should not be limited to a single genre or scene, regardless of black metal's association with narratives of identity and heritage (Hesmondhalgh 32-33; Spracklen et al. 49). Furthermore, Weinstein's assumption of English as the *lingua franca* of the globalisation of metal and of native languages as the preferred path in glocal metal (Weinstein, "Globalization" 36), is contested by Avelar in the same collection: the language of lyrics is not quite an innocuous choice. Signing in English can still signal glocalisation, as it signifies both "momentary flights from [the native language] that would allow for both a critique of the nation and a very particular entrance into the international market"(Avelar 143). And from Weinstein's own contribution, we read about Iraqi heavy metal band Acrassicauda, who sing in English to "… sound educated. We want to prove to the outside world that our band can write and create music they can understand." (Weinstein, "Globalization" 35). Thus, the choice of language is not without due consideration, and signals a cultural and commercial expression that leads to belonging to both a cultural group and a global scene (Eriksen 320-321).

Finally, Weinstein seems to presume a certain (self-)orientalisation concerning the "elements of a local group's pre-modern culture." This is reminiscent of Casanova's definition of *littérisation*: "[A]ny operation – translation, self-translation, transcription, direct composition in the dominant language – by means of which a text from a literarily deprived country comes to be regarded as literary by the legitimate authorities." (135).

We might therefore update the definition of glocalisation, which is reliant on new understandings of the social meaning of globalised metal genres, in terms of its reactionary nature and the postmodern double belonging of bands to scenes and cultural groups (Varas-Díaz and Morales 214).

Glocalisation in metal music is the merger of globally disseminated genres – and their appropriate classics – with spatially and socially specified influences such as language, instrumentation or performances, which always reflects an identity narrative that is relying on either narrations of past history and mythology, or reflections on the present context, or both (Weinstein, "Globalization" 54-55; Weinstein, "Location"; Bendrups 321-322; Spracklen et al. 57-58). In Latin America, for example,

bands reflect on the political, decolonial and cultural situation as it affects the nation and indigenous people in particular, by adopting native languages and performances into their narratives (Varas-Díaz and Morales 216-218). Generally acting out of political (Avelar 144; Varas-Díaz and Morales 213-214), cultural (von Helden 176-177) or economic interest (Harris 23-25), glocalisation in scenic peripheries is about representation within a (mandatory) deep understanding of both genre and identity heritages and narratives (Spracklen et al. 59). Thus, glocal metal music becomes a hybrid form that relies on two heritages, namely those of metal and of its local cultural resources, both of which bands from the peripheries must adhere to and elaborate on. This is a demand made by conservative industries and audiences (Spracklen et al. 62; Keunen 23-25).

Yet glocalisation is not tokenistic. Contrary to most centric bands, who state that their music envelops cultural expressions without political value (von Helden 176-177; Spracklen et al. 52-55), bands on the peripheries tell a different story. Their glocal music entails an performative reflection of their locality and heritage. On Al-Namrood, for example, Crowcroft writes that they "are anti-religious and anarchist and their focus is on pre-Islamic cultures that have traditionally been ignored, if not vilified, in Saudi-Arabia." (Crowcroft 174-176).

Even if glocalisation by bands on the peripheries is identified as appealing to different demands, such as penetrating centric markets or being non-political (Casanova 154; Varas-Díaz and Morales 213-214), these bands nonetheless incorporate their local context and heritage on their own terms: "[T]he nation progressively becomes a source for musical and cultural lines of flight, unexpected experiments and collaborations." (Avelar 136, 146-147). Faced with postmodernity's deconstruction of symbolic boundaries and with coloniality, these bands reconstruct such boundaries for inclusionary and/or exclusionary purposes. It renders them capable of re-framing debates of identity and musical authenticity through constructing individual meaning, realising a socially emblematic identity and constituting new symbolic boundaries (Avelar 137, 151-152, 156; Spracklen et al. 49). Within the global scene, location thus becomes productive of and produced by interaction on global and local levels (Harris 17). Again, the case of Sepultura is emblematic of this, as Harris writes:

> *Roots* refracts the concern of a global music scene through a lens of a particular construction of Brazilianness. The 'roots' returned to are not tokenistic incorporations of an 'exotic' other to prop up a moribund music, but a resource to be learned from that is part of Sepultura who are also part of a wider, global scene. (22)

In the case of Alien Weaponry, their trash metal glocalisation is for the sake of cultural heritage and language, "… preserving the past through history and archaeology, celebrating the past though the promotion of heritage, linking the present to the past through local histories, and an awareness of the deep roots of traditions, families, and localities." (Noisey 2018; Spracklen et al. 57-58).

But the danger for glocalisation on scenic peripheries is essentialisation and exoticisation. For Sepultura, who came from urban Belo Horizonte, this amounted to metal press outlets describing them as "jungle boys" (Avelar 153). This goes to show the distance between the transmission of metal/identity heritage through glocalisation, and the reception and perception of it within scenic centres. While if some stereotypes[9] are confirmed, glocalisation serves as a way of recreating the present to shape a sense of future being (Spracklen et al. 56-57). Thematically, there is also a distance between bands from centric and peripheral scenes and the ways in which they address (post)colonialism and coloniality. An example: rarely does an English band address the imperial past in the way Alien Weaponry does. To counteract essentialisation and coloniality, metal is thus a "critical

[9] Alien Weaponry, for example, begin each live performance with Henry de Jong performing a *haka* from behind his drum kit.

vehicle of popular culture," a capacity rooted in its countercultural origins (Varas-Díaz and Morales 214; Harris 23)

Ultimately, glocalisation constructs "… a hybrid and flexible concatenation of the discursive and the real that continually links the global and the local." (Harris 26). Contrary to Weinstein's suggestion, it does not solitarily occur on the peripheries of the global scene.[10] Yet this does not resolve the suspicion that metal bands from the peripheries face when they enter centric markets. Harris states that "[a]lthough today place is a musical resource within the [global] scene, it is generally constructed in essentialist, sometimes racist ways." (27). Despite the global scene's depiction as a decentralised space, it is still informed by centrist conventions, wherein only global successes allow sufficient room for experimentation by those on the peripheries (23). And even then, there is the looming issue of a "crude global postmodernism," (24), in which global/glocal difference becomes reductionist and disconnected from any actual, local representation. Such was the case with Sepultura, who considered recording with members of the Australian Aboriginal community.

All this resonates with Casanova's description of the organisation of the literary global market, which establishes "standards of criteria of literary excellence and … [and acknowledges] the consequences for the unification of world literary space of supporting international writers in their struggles with national writers." (148). Furthermore,

> [t]he great consecrating nations reduce foreign works of literature to their own categories of perception, which they mistake for universal norms, while neglecting all the elements of historical, political, and especially literary context that make it possible to properly and fully appreciate such works. (154)

Such structures of consecration and appropriation reveal the structural inequality, ethnocentrism and denationalisation that plague the global metal scene (155). For peripherally located bands, it formulates a demand to

> "situate themselves at just the right distance from their judges: if they wish to be noticed, they have to show that they are different from other writers – but not so different that they are thereby rendered invisible. They must be neither too near nor too far. … It is precisely this inherent ethnocentrism that produces all literary exoticisms." (Casanova 156-157).

Ethnocentrism allows centres of metal to exert discursive, orientalising control, for example through the establishment of subgenres like Oriental, Salsa and Māori metal (Said; Harris 20). So while glocalisation adds "weight and fixity" to bands, this can also be turned on its head when used as a discourse by centric scenes and institutions (Harris 25). This happened to *Roots*-era Sepultura – a prime example of successful glocalisation that navigated lucidly between genre veneration and innovation, while representing the local scene and identities – were described as "jungle boys." And "[i]n ascending to the international market," Avelar writes that

> Sepultura was led to become a Brazilian band, and its national origin was increasingly highlighted in its concerts and records. Of course, the international market also coded the nation in ways that members of Sepultura did not recognize as their own … In this broken

[10] As "[c]ultural flows do not simply take place from North to South," (Eriksen 316), metal studies has shown increased interest in glocalisation and identity narratives in metal in the Global North as well, like the cited research by Spracklen et al. and von Helden.

> mirror, its [Sepultura's] journey into its nation's sounds was never phrased in the tired vocabulary of authenticity. (153)[11]

Following Casanova, then, shows that the import of metal bands from peripheral scenes is not an innocuous event, as it "serves as a means of annexation, of diverting peripheral works and adding them to the stock of centric resources: universal [mundane] capital increases." (135).

If we consider heritage, glocalisation and promotion as equally productive of discourse, then Smith's approach can be useful for the coming analyses. To her, discourse is "a form of social practice that organizes our understandings of concepts like heritage, the social and technical practices we act out, as well as the construction and reproduction of knowledge." (3-4). Considering this 'acting out' of practices, we arrive again at this dissertation's interest in glocalisation. Bearing in mind the suspicious treatment of bands who make such penetrations, how is the glocalised musical product of a band on the peripheries of the global metal scene, presented, perceived and received in both their own and centric scenes?

2.2 Promotional discourse

Knowing that export and import are crucial to the globalisation of metal (Harris 13), the analysis of what texts accompany this process and thereby can exert discursive control, is an important part of this dissertation. Hence, following a consideration of why such an analysis is warranted, I will discuss three promotional discourses that can be identified in the dissemination of metal in metal scenes.

Following Lash, Harris writes that the scenic logic of the global metal scene is exemplary of a reflexive community, that finds temporary solutions to contested and contradictory participations that reflect different local, even contested identities. While these solutions should guarantee fair and equal interaction, contested participations reveal an exclusionary and elitist response to new participations of women and ethnic minorities, on whom the demand to balance rigid traditional restrictions and local musical traditions, weighs much heavier (27).

One way of studying this, is through discourse analysis. McClary writes that "we need to find ways of understanding the socially grounded rhetorical devices by means of which music creates its *intersubjective* effects …" [italics original] (McClary 32). Therefore, we need to study how within the global scene, discourse sustains a stark inequality of centric, semi-centric and peripheral scenes. This also befits Harris' idea of a scenic methodology, which

> re-contextualises musical texts, institutions and practices within the social spaces in which they are enmeshed. It provides an alternative both to atomising forms of research that ignore wider contexts of music production and consumption, and to forms of research that overdetermine those contexts in 'subcultural' contexts." [single parentheses original] (27).

Considering the global metal scene, Keunen defines it as an *exploitative popular music circuit*, which is "a durable network of actors (people, organisations) which are interconnected, active within similar contexts and within which a common product circulates." [transl.] (Keunen 19). When it disseminates a product, a circuit produces discourses that travel with a message (music) through a communicative scheme of sender (artist), mediator/medium (music industry) and receiver (audiences). Those discourses appear within three sub-circuits: the live circuit (performances), the phonographic circuit (product recording and distribution) and the judicial circuit (rights on publication, streaming…). Each of these sub-circuits knows three flows: the musical message, money and information. The popularity of Internet and streaming platforms has over time constituted a digital branch to each sub-circuit as

[11] While the discussion on the usefulness of the notion of authenticity is very necessary, it is unfortunately beyond the scope of this dissertation. For further reading, I refer to Ochoa's article in *Antropología*, as well as to the Modern Heavy Metal Conference 2019 (Aalto, Finland), which had authenticity as one of its main topics.

well. As a result, we find an input by the music industry, managers, record labels and bookers; and an output through media, retail companies and show organisers (Keunen 18-23).

When a band thus releases new music, discourses accompany the message (music) as it travels to its receivers (audiences, part of whom are reviewers) through its medium (streaming services, YouTube videos, live performances). These can categorised as three different types, based in part on my own experiences as an album reviewer and as an intern at a record label. Furthermore, the three circuits of live performances, phonographic carriers and distribution, and finally judicial matters that Keunen describes, constitute how the three promotional discourses – as they function to promote the product to its audience – chronologically flow into each other.

The first is productive discourse, which is comprised of manifesto's, social media posts, liner notes, press biographies and interview responses, and is released by bands and their labels.[12] The second is distributive discourse, which is put out by booking agencies, press bureaus, online repositories and distributors. The third and final type is receptive discourse. This is found in album reviews, live reports and coverage and discussion articles. Following Keunens definition to the (metal) music industry as an exploitative circuit, all three promotional discourses can be found both printed and online, and both in written and recorded form. The latter accounts for the considerable amount of magazines and independent YouTube channels that review albums, much like blogs did and still do. Ultimately, this represents the multimedial nature of the global metal scene and culture.

2.3 Conclusion

In this section, I have discussed the internal logic of the global metal scene, its inherent inequalities and how bands glocalise within a global exploitative circuit. Furthermore, I presented three promotional discourses that surround the dissemination of any product within this global scene. So what does that mean for the analyses of Alien Weaponry?

Emma Baulch writes that "authenticity appeared to lay in an absent elsewhere which could only be reached by diligently rehearsing foreign repertoires." (203). Taking into account the coming thematic, performative and discourse analyses of the music, video clips and promotion surrounding Alien Weaponry's debut album *Tū*, this renders a number of interesting questions. First of all, how will the thematic, performative and discourse analyses reflect on the renewed definition of glocalisation? And second, if we consider the reactions to Sepultura's *Roots* in the 1990s, is it possible that reactions to place-specific, glocal metal has changed? Bands on the global scene's peripheries that enter centric markets – either of their own accord, or because they are signed to a major label – are expected to oblige by the logic of subcultural capital. And despite the mandatory veneration of genre staples, glocalisation and promotional discourses can reflect new tradition and allow bands to govern their locality and identity, and to thereby partially control how they enter new markets (Casanova 124, 127, 154). As Harris argues, it is

> … important to understand processes of globalisation in music in ways that would allow us to appreciate the specificities and paradoxes of particular cases, whilst relating them to general global processes and structures [as bands are] … produced by and productive of particular global-local relations. (25-26)

These questions will inform the actual research question of this dissertation and its sub-questions, which will be elaborated and explained in the following section on the research methods.

[12] One of the productive discourses to be analysed further down, is taken from Alien Weaponry's Spotify page. Although neither band nor label directly upload their music here, they are required to submit it through platforms like DistroKid, which subsequently upload it to streaming platforms. Therefore, the Spotify bio will also be treated as productive discourse, as it states that it was written by Alien Weaponry.

3 Methods of analysis

In this section, I will summarise and explore the methods I will be employing to perform the different analyses of Alien Weaponry and *Tū*. In light of the recent theoretical explorations, this section will thereby also arrive at a definitive research question and sub-questions. In chronological order, I will first briefly discuss the research of Imke von Helden, which greatly inspired this dissertation. I will then present my research question and discuss the methods I have devised for my analyses. Finally, I will also outline my hypotheses.

3.1 Imke von Helden's methodology

In her doctoral thesis, von Helden researches the construction of an individual and/or collective Norse identity in heavy/extreme metal. To analyse these bands, she constructs two corpuses of primarily Norwegian bands. Of the first category, she uses MAXQDA, a program designed to perform qualitative analyses that automatically creates and highlights categories on the basis of topics, to analyse lyrics and cover artworks for the constitution of themes or other qualitative characteristics in the texts (22). The second category was constructed through keyword searches on the online extreme metal encyclopaedia website *Encyclopaedia Metallum* (https://www.metal-archives.com/).[13] This category was installed in order to account for missing categories that MAXQDA did not identify, and contains lemmas like 'nature', 'mythology', history' and 'Vikings' (23). Von Helden's focus on Norwegian bands is explained through the country's late independence and by the massive impact of its national metal scene, especially of black metal, on the development of the global metal scene (23-24). In researching her assembled corpuses, she looks at the selection of bands from three analytic perspectives: thematically through MAXQDA, performatively by analysing a number of video clips, and finally interactively by doing in-depth interviews with the bands from her first corpus, in order to control her research results, and further explore their motivations and backgrounds.

Ultimately, her qualitative analyses "carve out typologies and cross-references in order to be able to compare the issues, i.e. the different bands' projects and their sources, aesthetics and aims." (28). She yields these comparisons through her in-depth interviews, at which she arrives only after due consideration of her hypotheses and assumption in light of every result of the thematic and performative analyses. This, she summarises as follows:

> [T]he material is analysed using a system of categories deriving from the material itself and also my observations in the field. Classifications and the generating and paraphrasing of categories in a qualitative sense will form the basis of checking my hypothesis regarding the construction and experience of identity. (29)

As previously mentioned, the central focus is the "construction and experience of identity." (von Helden 29). But within the context of the global metal scene and the globalisation of glocal metal such as Alien Weaponry's, I add a third dimension, which will focus on the promotion, distribution and reception of bands from more peripheral scenes, and how glocalisation is presented and perceived in this process. Hence, a threefold case study of the lyrics, performances and promotional global dissemination of Alien Weaponry emerges, in which I combine von Helden's double analytic approach with the three promotional discourses. Thus, I ask the following research question:

[13] While many scholars of metal employ *Encyclopaedia Metallum* for its vast catalogue of bands, each use warrants a word of warning. The website's editors keep a strict regulation on what is defined "metal" and what is certainly not. Therefore, bands and genres that are considered metal by some, are barred from incorporation. Examples include genres like metalcore, grindcore, glam rock, djent and post rock/post metal. Nonetheless, the website remains a valuable source of information for metal studies.

> How does the presentation of glocalisation in Alien Weaponry's debut album *Tū* (2018) represent and influence their peripheral, unequal scenic position within the global metal scene?

To answer this main question, two sub-questions must be answered. First of all, how do the themes and visual performances on *Tū* represent the updated definition of glocalisation? Second, how is this glocal metal identity and aesthetic presented through each of the three types of promotional discourses? And finally, is the reception of Alien Weaponry's glocal metal reflective of a possible changed in attitude of the global metal scene towards its peripheries?

3.2 Analysing Alien Weaponry

To perform the thematic and discourse analyses, the encoding program Nvivo was employed. This is a non-automatic tool that is accessible to students for a reasonable price. Its manual use also allowed for full control over the encodings of the various promotional discourses, as these have not been studied before. Future research might therefore want to consider an automatised analysis of promotional discourses, for example through the use of MAXQDA.

3.2.1 Thematic analysis codes

The lyrics of *Tū* will be analysed thematically by means of a semi-exact application of von Helden's categories. Alien Weaponry identify themselves not only with Māori culture, but also trace their ancestry in part back to Celtic, French and Viking roots. This is explained through the cover art of *Tū* by bassist Ethan Trembath, in an interview with 1 NEWS NOW:

> The image features traditional moko on the lower half of the face, topped by the metal helmet of a Viking and the horns of a Celtic warrior.
>
> "While we call him Tu, he represents the warrior ancestry of all three of us – I have Celtic and French roots; and Lewis and Henry have Māori (Ngati Pikiao/Hinekura and Ngati Raukawa) and Viking heritage," explains bassist Trembath. [quotation marks original] (1 News Now)

Reminiscent of how the appeal of bands to "Nordic or Norwegian cultural identity culminates in various permutations of that identity," (von Helden 171-172), Alien Weaponry's appeal to different heritages warrants the partial application of von Helden's method. On the one hand, this constitutes categories of generic metal aesthetics, such as nature, religion (especially Christianity) and collective identity (von Helden 173-174). More specifically, and in contrast to bands in centric scenes that employ identity solely as a cultural expression (von Helden 176-177), Alien Weaponry motivate reflections of cultural identity, for example through singing in *te reo*, as both a cultural and political choice (Noisey 2018).[14] This, they finally combine with generic aspects of trash metal.

Therefore, von Helden's initial categories are adapted to better fit Alien Weaponry's specific cultural context. Most notably, the entire code group of the set 'Religious Elements' on Norse and North Germanic mythology was left out, as these are not even remotely referenced in Alien Weaponry's lyrics. The subsection on Christianity, however, was kept, as it can be estimated that because of New Zealand's colonial history, Christianity might be a point of reference in lyrics. References to (anti-)Christianity are often a subject in metal music and can indicate "a yearning for a pagan past." (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 40). Below are thus listed the categories and codes that will

[14] In this sense, Alien Weaponry could be considered as examples of Antonio Gramsci's organic intellectuals, as they represent Māori identity and culture within the global metal scene. To explore this in greater detail, however, would go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

be used throughout the thematic analyses; in parentheses are their coding abbreviations.[15] In bold are indicated those that were added based on Alien Weaponry's cultural context:

CATEGORY	CODE
1. Nature	/
2. Religious elements	a. Christianity **b. Māori culture (MA)** **1. Gods** **2. Legends and heroes** **3. (Legendary) Items** **4. (Body) Art** 5. **Spirituality**
3. Representations of history (HIST)	a. Fighting and battles b. Time and the past c. Vikings, ancestors and peasants d. Historical persons e. Historical practices f. Sources **g. Specific locations**
4. Metal music and aesthetics (MMA)	a. Death b. Doom c. Life d. Pain and suffering e. Fate f. Music g. Food and drink **h. Lies** **i. Anger** j. **Madness**
5. Aspects of Collective Identity (COLL)	a. Collective identity b. Language c. Collectivity d. Alterity **e. Honour and dignity**
6. Solitude and singular alterity	/

It must be noted here that coding results are relative, and serve to give a heading to thematic analyses of Alien Weaponry's glocalisation. This is reflected in the fact that some lyrics that appeared together were coded as a block (such as the quadruple repetition of "Haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē!..." ("Like the joints of the canoe, we are woven together as one") in 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' and the many variations of "Your life is a lie" in 'PC Bro), whereas identical lyrics spread throughout song were coded separately. Because they occur less in this spread form, like in 'Whispers' (Appendix 8), they cause less of a bias in the coding results, whereas singular coding for each lyric in a song like 'PC Bro' would have caused extreme and unrepresentative results. Nonetheless, this approach must be taken into account.

[15] The usage of letters instead of numbers to list codes in both the thematic and discourse analyses, is due to Nvivo's way of listing items: instead of adding up chronologically, the number 10 would immediately follow the number 1. Therefore, letters were used instead of numbers.

The six categories and their respective codes – since the former were not used as encodings if they have codes – were subsequently categorised in five particular code sets, which are as follows:

CODE SET NAME	CODES
1. COLLECTIVITY	• 5a. COLL – Collective identity • 5b. COLL – Language • 5c. COLL – Collectivity • 5d. COLL – Alterity • 5c. COLL – Honour and dignity • 6. Solitude and singular alterity
2. HISTORY	• 3a. HIST – Fighting and battles • 3b. HIST – Time and the past • 3c. HIST – Vikings, ancestors and peasants • 3d. HIST – Persons • 3e. HIST – Practices • 3f. HIST – Sources • 3g. HIST – Specific locations
3. METAL MUSIC AND AESTHETICS	• 4a. MMA – Death • 4b. MMA – Doom • 4c. MMA – Life • 4d. MMA – Pain and suffering • 4e. MMA – Fate • 4f. MMA – Music • 4g. MMA – Food and drink • 4h. MMA – Lies • 4i. MMA – Anger • 4j. MMA – Madness
4. NATURE	• 1. Nature
5. RELIGION	• 2a. Christianity • 2b1. MC – Gods • 2b2. MC – Legends and heroes • 2b3. MC – (Legendary) Items • 2b4. MC – (Body) Art • 2b5. MC – Spirituality

The discussion of results will be done according to matrices and hierarchy charts that visually indicate the most prevalent results, as the focus of these analyses is to identify prominent aspects of Alien Weaponry's glocalisation, such as specific references to Māori history and culture.

3.2.2 Performative analysis categories

For the performative analyses, three video clips were selected from the respective YouTube channels of Alien Weaponry and their record label, Napalm Records. These are (in chronological order of release) 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' (published January 30, 2017 by Alien Weaponry), 'Kai Tangata' (published May 12, 2018 by Napalm Records) and 'Whispers' (published July 18, 2018 by Napalm Records).

These have been selected because of their historical and performative value. In the former case, they reflect ancestral and contemporary Māori history. In the latter, they offer re-enactments and actual footage of historic and contemporary events in which the Māori addressed coloniality, such as the *hikoi* (protest march) against the 2004 Foreshore and Seabed Act, which constituted New

Zealand's foreshore and seabed as governmental property. This act effectively went against earlier agreements with Māori representatives and a crowd of 40.000 people came out to protest the law.

To analyse video clips, von Helden adapted Werner Faulstich's 2002 model of film analysis. As she explains, "[n]ot all tools of analysis were applicable, such as dialogue … I will also give a rough overview of the zeitlich aspects, instead of conducting a protocol of the length of a shot." (von Helden 132). This results in four criteria – story line, character, structural shapes and interpretation – that can be analysed in each video through a number of category questions:

- Characters - who feature in the video; what role(s) do they perform; what are their facial and bodily expressions?
- Gender performance – considering metal culture's fraught relation with women and minorities (Hill; DiGioia and Helfrich; Berkers and Schaap), do women feature in the video; how visible are they?
- Setting and atmosphere – what is the visual and historical background of the video; what roles do music, sounds and lights fulfil visually and symbolically?
- Provisions – what technical aspects can be identified? Are these in plain sight or functioning in the background?
- Māori symbols and implementations – what cultural practices, symbols or other expressions feature in the video; how do they interact with the song and/or particular narrative?
- Metal aesthetics – can generic tropes of metal video clips be identified, such as corpse paint or shots of the band performing; do they contribute to the song and/or particular narrative?

3.2.3 Discourse analysis codes

Finally, the three promotional discourses are employed as frameworks for discourse analyses of the promotion and reception of *Tū* inside and outside their local scene. For this research, they are limited to written releases in printed and online form.

As bands on the global scene's peripheries must produce music neither too distant nor too similar to archetypal genre albums, authenticity and glocalisation are of major importance to appeal to both mundane and transgressive subcultural capital (Casanova 154-156; Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 131-135). Hence, I constituted five code sets with each a number of codes that are largely applicable to each of the three discourses. They are the following:

CODE SET NAME	**CODES**
1. Introduction: nodes containing introductions for readers to Alien Weaponry's history of members, awards etc., and to their style and subgenre denominations, made either by themselves or others.	• 1a. Band specifications (origin, history, awards…) • 1b. Style and/or subgenre denomination
2. Authenticity: nodes containing references to Alien Weaponry's difficult balance between adhering to metal and locality heritage narratives.	• 2a. Locality and heritage (describing Alien Weaponry as a local, representative band) • 2b. Metal and heritage (successful genre embodiment, comparison to (semi-)centric bands, references to other bands as 'for fans of', appeal to and/or position in global scene, live performances)

3. Criticism: nodes that criticise Alien Weaponry's musical output.	• 3a. Criticism on similarities • 3b. Criticism on lack in production • 3c. Criticism on inexperience • 3d. Conclusion, final score
4. Themes: nodes containing references to either Alien Weaponry's historical and non-historical references in their lyrics.	• 4a. Historical (discussing historical themes) • 4b. Non-historical (discussing non-historical themes) • 4c. Music (discussing Alien Weaponry's musical writing and composition, describing their music in general)
5. Uniqueness: nodes containing highlights of Alien Weaponry's unique identity as a young, glocalising and peripheral band.	• 5a. Unique age (mentioning and/or admiring the young age of the band and its members) • 5b. Unique approach (discussing Alien Weaponry's glocalisation as unique) • 5c. Unique origin (noting Alien Weaponry's origin in New Zealand scene as extraordinary and rare)

These codes will be applied to a body of discourses, which is summarised below. Here, it must be noted that this research excluded websites that rely on community contributions, such as *Encyclopaedia Metallum* (https://www.metal-archives.com/) or *Discogs* (https://www.discogs.com/). Furthermore, a balance has been struck in the selection of receptive discourses between larger players in the industry, such as Decibel Magazine and Zware Metalen, and small-time magazines, blogs and podcasts, such as Death Comes Lifting (https://www.deathcomeslifting.com/). Furthermore, a selection includes 10 English reviews, 3 Dutch ones and 2 German. Among the English reviews, there is some variation between those from the USA, UK and New Zealand, with the focus lying on reviews from centric scenes. All reviews were released online, and sometimes in printed form as well. The only exception is the Rock Tribune review, which was only released in print. It has therefore been added in the appendices (Appendix 25).

TYPE OF DISCOURSE	**SOURCES**
Productive discourse	1. PROD 1 – Bio (Napalm Records) 2. PROD 2 – Bio (Facebook) 3. PROD 3 – Bio (Spotify)[16]
Distributive discourse	1. DIST 1 – Bio (K2 Agency) 2. DIST 2 – Amazon.com editorial review 3. DIST 3 – Bio (Alcatraz Hard Rock & Heavy Metal Festival)
Receptive discourse	1. REC a – Damnation Magazine (US) 2. REC b – Decibel Geek (US) 3. REC c – Death Comes Lifting (US) 4. REC d – Teeth of the Divine (US) 5. REC e – Decibel Magazine (US) 6. REC f – Distorted Sound Magazine (UK) 7. REC g – Metal Forces Magazine (UK) 8. REC h – Music.nz.net (NZ) 9. REC i – Willnotfade.com (NZ) 10. REC j – Hysteria Mag (AUS) 11. REC k – Metalfans.be (BE)

[16] As aforementioned, the Spotify review is here regarded as a productive discourse.

	12. REC l – Rock Tribune BE 13. REC m – Zware Metalen (NL) 14. REC n – Metal-heads.de (GER) 15. REC o – Metal.de (GER)

It must also be noted that during my research, I discovered numerous overlaps between the selected productive and distributive discourses, with very little unique results. Thus, it can be said that these two discourses overlap on the input side of the metal music industry. This can be attributed to similar press releases circulating freely across the music industry, but factually within a small circle of representatives and agents. During my internship, I encountered these practices a number of times as well. Therefore, productive and distributive will, for the remainder of this dissertation, be analysed together. Furthermore, it must be remarked that the selection was kept rather small for two reasons: first, the considerable overlap of productive and distributive discourses meant that more discourses would only distort results. Second, the receptive discourses were kept at the reported selection due to the manual use of Nvivo, so that diligent control over this new analysis could be maintained.

As was the case with the thematic analyses, matrices and hierarchy charts will guide the discussion of results from the analyses of productive and distributive discourses. The receptive discourses will be discussed according to each of the five code sets. This was decided to better structure the larger amount of results that their analyses yielded.

3.3 Alien Weaponry as a topic of metal studies

In studying Alien Weaponry, some attention must be given to specificities about the band, as they are far removed from the bands von Helden discussed. In the first place, their home country of New Zealand has a colonial past that is still debated and addressed in a variety of cultural and political efforts. The indigenous Māori continue to be oppressed by coloniality, for example with the 2004 Foreshore and Seabed Act. Bearing this in mind, contemporary Māori communities are still very active, as shown for example in stories of the de Jong brothers, who attended a *kura kaupapa*. The purpose of these schools is to guarantee the continuation of *te reo*, one of New Zealand's three official languages, and to connect students to their *whānau* (extended ancestral family).

Second, the New Zealand metal scene is rather small, resulting in a total of 403 bands on *Encyclopaedia Metallum* (as of August 15, 2019). In part related to their late development, a clash of metal's amplified musical form and countercultural lyrical topics with traditional Māori performances can be expected; Bendrups also explored this in the heavy metal scene on Rapanui (Easter Island) (315-316). Third and finally, the wider New Zealand scene does not possess specific infrastructures for metal music that allow for specific (glocalised) genres and their bands to come into contact with the wider global scene. There are, however, local contests in which metal plays a role (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2018). By winning such contests, Alien Weaponry were able to record and produce music and video clips (like 'Rū Ana Te Whenua') and even secure commercial airplay (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2018). Furthermore, the emergence of the Internet has done much good in connecting the New Zealand national and local scenes to the global one (Weinstein, "Globalization" 51-52).

When it comes to the specific case of Alien Weaponry, their youth plays a predominant role in their rise to fame. Currently ranging from 17 to 19 years old, their rise is incredibly visible online, going back to their first Facebook post on their band name's origin (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2010). Furthermore, their background in both Māori culture and metal – their father being a musician and technician – means that in their creative work, they can draw on two cultures that are nowadays firmly established and have built their respective traditions. This has given them great commercial appeal as well. As such, even if Alien Weaponry cannot, unlike the bands in von Helden's thesis, build on a residue of mundane and transgressive subcultural capital, they are not completely bereft of it either.

Here, it must also be remarked that I tried to arrange a meeting with Alien Weaponry to discuss my research results with them. Unfortunately, their European press representative replied to my e-mails after the 30th of May 2019. When I later contacted them to set up a meeting with Alien Weaponry at the Alcatraz Hard Rock & Metal Festival, I was informed that this was not possible due to time constraints. Hence, I was forced to leave this part out of my dissertation.

3.4 Expectations and hypothesis

The goal of this dissertation is to research how Alien Weaponry thematically and performatively glocalise their music, and how this is promoted and received. I expect the outcome to be rather unlike many bands in von Helden's research. In their music, tropes like nature, mythology and a general, yet undefined sense of Norse identity circulate freely, predominantly as atmospheric mood-setters in terms of masculinity and resistance (von Helden 130, 175-176). Conversely, I expect the Māori identity of Alien Weaponry's music to be much more clearly grounded in their daily life-world and experiences, as the culture is a part of daily life in New Zealand. By comparison, the Norse identity – which does not exclusively belong to Norway anyway – is barely present anymore in Norwegian education or daily life, and is therefore a cultural musical expression (von Helden 172, 175-176).

I also expect this clear connection to be played out heavily in the promotion of Alien Weaponry. Alien Weaponry appeal to general audiences within the global scene, yet are distinct enough in their glocalisation. This subtle balance is vital to metal bands, and hence I believe it to be a major part of distributive and receptive discourses. The notion of ethnocentrism, however, might never be too far out in this regard. Referring back to Casanova, I expect that Alien Weaponry's reception over-emphasises their connection to Māori heritage and its presence in their works and performances (Casanova 154-157). Simultaneously, however, such essentialisations could also internalised within productive and distributive discourses.

4 Analyses of theme, performance and discourse

4.1 Thematic analyses

For the thematic analyses, lyrics and translations for all songs on *Tū* were found online. The catalogue AZ Lyrics provided translations for each song, albeit without mention of the translator. For lack of any other results, however, these were opted for (AZ Lyrics, n.d.).

In a 2018 documentary by Noisey (with the support of NZ On Air), Alien Weaponry offer an insight into their personal lives, as well as shed some light on their glocalisation of trash metal with *te reo*. In the first place, their goal is to stimulate fellow New Zealanders to learn the language, which is ultimately dying out. This is despite educational efforts from within the Māori community and the fact that it is an official language of New Zealand. As Henry de Jong states, the way to achieve this, is by getting it out into the world (Noisey 2018). As a band, especially in the case of the de Jong brothers, they feel their capacity to do so through their experiences at a *kura kaupapa*, as well as through their continued interaction with their *whānau*, in which Trembath is also involved. As Lewis de Jong describes, "this is … helping to establish who we are, where we come from, and why we need to keep doing this, you know." (Noisey 2018). As an elderly male member describes, knowledge of *te reo* is necessary to understand the oral transmission of *whānau* and *whakapapa* (a term that proclaims identity, lineage, tribal belonging and land relation within the wider context of the Māori), namely through *waiata* (communal heritage songs). In that sense, the songs on *Tū* that focus on Māori history, can be considered reiterations of *waiata*.

The analyses will be discussed on the basis of four visualisations of encodings for each song (with the exception of the instrumental closing track 'Te Āra'). They will focus predominantly on those codes occuring most frequently (a few exceptions aside), and delve deeper into songs that focus on Māori culture and history, in order to develop a better understanding of how Alien Weaponry glocalise.

The first visualisation is a Code Set Matrix that holds each song against the five code sets: collectivity, history, metal topics and aesthetics, nature and religion (Appendix 13). Immediately, the sets for nature and religion catch the eye, as each accumulate a few to zero hits. In the case of the religion set, there are two hits for 'Rū Ana Te Whenua'; twelve are found in 'Kai Tangata'; one in 'Urutaa'. With 'Kai Tangata', this is due to frequent references to Māori gods and legendary heroes. It must be noted that the extraordinarily high number of hits stems from the fact that most lines were coded separately. As *waiata* are an oral tradition, lyrics are often repeated and occur frequently in a single song. On other occasions, the same line is repeated four to five times in a row, in which case it is once coded collectively. An example of this is "E mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga" ("This is the work of Tūmatauenga."), which occurs both separately and in block, and is therefore coded in both ways.

The other three sets – collectivity, history and metal topics and aesthetics – know more hits, which are also more equally distributed across all songs on *Tū*. In the collectivity set, the song 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' has only one hit, because of the quadruple repetition of "Haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē!" ("Like the joints of the canoe, we are woven / together as one") at the end of the song. Comparatively, 'Raupatu' knows four hits, as it has more unique lines, such as the final verse:

You take and take
But you cannot take from who we are
You cannot take our *mana* (dignity)
You cannot take our *māoritanga* (cultural identity)
You cannot take our people
You cannot take our *whakapapa*
You cannot take, you cannot take
Raupatu! (Alien Weaponry, *Tū*)

Earlier, I described how the subjects on *Tū* are decolonial, addressing Māori history and identity, and general (trash) metal topics, such as political criticism, mental health and anger. This divide becomes very clear in the division of hits across the final two sets, namely those of history and of metal topics and aesthetics. The former achieves a total score of 42 hits, represented predominantly on the songs 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' (5), 'Whaikōrero' (7), 'Raupatu' (8), 'Kai Tangata' and 'Whispers' (both 9). Smaller amounts are also present in 'Urutaa' (about the *Boyd* incident in 1809)[17] and 'Rage (It Takes Over Again' (both 2). Comparatively, 'Rage' is much closer to the songs that reflect traditional metal topics (6). Together with 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' (7, for its many generic formulations of death and doom), 'Holding My Breath' (12), 'The Things That You Know' (2), 'PC Bro' (4) and) and 'Whispers', 'Nobody Here' and 'Hypocrite' (all 3), this amounts to a total score of 40 hits. As such, *Tū* lyrically seems to prefer historical and political topics, reflecting how Avelar described the Sepultura song 'Ratamahatta', a key song from *Roots*: "… themes of violence, struggle, and oppression constructed musically and lyrically …" (151). In that sense, both *Tū* and *Roots* have decolonial subjects.

From separate hierarchy charts, more can be deducted about the topical focuses of both the album and of those songs that focus on Māori history, culture and identity.

In the former case (Appendix 14), the code most represented is historical, namely that of 'Fighting and battles'. It is coded twelve times across five different songs ('Whaikōrero', 'Rū Ana Te Whenua', 'Raupatu', 'Kai Tangata' and 'Rage'), a fourth of which is from 'Kai Tangata' alone. For example, the line "Waewae tapu takahi te ara taua" ("Footsteps pound the sacred warpath") appear multiple times throughout the song. Two codes which are almost equally well represented, are from the code set 'Metal Music and Aesthetics': these are 'Lies' and 'Death'. Mentions of lies appear eleven times, most of which stem from 'Whispers', 'PC Bro' and 'Hypocrite' (all three hits). It must be noted here that in these songs, this often stems from identical choruses that occur about two to three times throughout each song.. 'PC Bro' is an excessive example, with the words "Your life is a lie" occurring no less than fifteen times. These were therefore coded collectively to avoid distortion. Similarly, encodings for 'Death' accumulate ten hits. These are equally distributed between 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' and 'Holding My Breath', but do not vary much besides "Death has arrived" or "Opening my eyes is worse than death / That's why I keep on holding my breath".

Another interesting, slightly less mentioned set is that of historical sources; it comes after the codes for locations and practices (which will be discussed further down for their high amounts of hits with songs that deal specifically with Māori culture and history). The 'Sources' code has eight hits across 'Raupatu' (twice the line "Accorded by the Treaty", referencing the Treaty of Waitangi) and 'Whispers' (6). In the latter case, the Treaty, the Foreshore and Seabed Act and the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) (2016) are mentioned to address legal injustices against the Māori. One final coding is the chorus "The government's words / Are like whispers in our ears / Telling us lies / To hide away our fears", which is encoded as 'Sources' as well, as it refers to governmental addresses in the face of national protest.

Finally, the codes 'Collective identity' (referring specifically to *whānau* and/or *whakapapa*) and 'Collectivity' (a collective, but unspecified identity) provide an interesting insight. The former has a total of seven hits, with great variation. For example, the introductory speech in 'Whaikōrero' features four different *iwi* (tribe) names, ending with the name of Alien Weaponry's paternal *iwi* of their great-great-great-grandfather belonged, who fought at Pukehinahina (coded under 'Persons'). The

[17] The *Boyd* incident (or massacre), happened in 1809 in the aftermath of Māori dying in a disease epidemic brought in by European traders aboard the ship *The Commerce* the year before. The following ship, the *Boyd*, was treated with suspicion, and the mistreatment (through flogging and denial of food) of a young chief on board stirred calls for retribution, culminating in the death of most and cannibalism of some of the crew. Following this incident, the Māori became romanticised as cannibalistic savages, and English passage was halted for a number of years (New Zealand History, "The *Boyd* incident"). As a song title, 'Urutaa' refers to the brought-in diseases and the suspicion on both sides of the conflict.

aforementioned final lyrics of 'Raupatu' feature different terms that refer to collective identity, such as *māoritanga* and *whakapapa*. And in 'Whispers', the ancestral sea lands and maltreatment of the Māori are referenced in "He tāonga mō nga iwi Māori" ("These treasures belong to Māori") and "Nga iwi Māori awere" ("Māori interests excluded"). Comparatively, general collectivities are rarely mentioned: there are two mentions of 'people' (in a global sense) and once the line "The people will find out the truth about our nation" ('Whispers'), which puts the whole of New Zealand within a global decolonial sphere. The whole of New Zealand's people is mentioned a second time in 'Whispers' with the line "A greedy system that shuts down our voice with legislation". Yet the final hit for 'Collectivity', which is found in 'Urutaa', is the most remarkable, as it bears a specific reference to European traders arriving in Northern New Zealand in the early 19th century, in the lyrics "Kua tae mai nga tauiwi / Tae o rite te patupaiarehe" ("The arrival of strangers / The colour of the spirit people"). According to Baker, the term "patupaiarehe" in Māori mythology refers to forest spirits: another term for them is "pakehakeha", which was also used for Europeans and New Zealanders of European descent (223-224). Alien Weaponry thereby position their narrative and musical identity not on opposition (as is often the case in metal), but on their cultural background and experiences, much like Sepultura did before them, and at times within a specific decolonial context, like in 'Whispers'.

On the album, there are also specific songs that focus on Māori history and/or identity. These entail 'Whaikōrero'; 'Rū Ana Te Whenua'; 'Raupatu'; 'Kai Tangata'; 'Whispers'; and 'Urutaa'. A hierarchy chart shows how Alien Weaponry orient their (narrative) glocalisation not in opposition, but predominantly on their cultural background (Appendix 15).[18] This can also be seen in a hierarchy chart based on all other songs, in which different codes, which deal much more in traditional metal topics (such as lies, hypocrisy and death) are most prominent (Appendix 16).

Of the selected songs, said focus on their cultural context is reflected in the codes with the highest amounts of hits. The first is '(Specific) Locations': it consists of ten hits, most of which are unique. This is because of the summary in 'Raupatu' (5 hits), mentioning the confiscations of specific locations important to both the Māori and Alien Weaponry's *whānau*, such as the Waikato river, Rangiriri (the site of a major Māori defence stronghold), Tauranga Bay and Pukehinahina. Some of these locations return in the songs 'Whaikōrero' and 'Rū Ana Te Whenua', which narrate the arrival of British forces in Tauranga Bay and the Battle of Gate Pā. Finally, 'Urutaa' mentions Whangaroa, the bay where the *Boyd* incident took place.

The code with the second highest amount is 'Practices', which is part of the historical code set. It is predominantly used in 'Kai Tangata', amassing five hits. These are mostly identical: the lines "Nga tā moko puhoro / Anei nga tohu a Tūmatauenga" ("The tattooed bodies of warriors / These are the omens of war") are repeated thrice. Interestingly, the name of Tūmatauenga here is synonymous with his craft. Furthermore, the song refers to war enslavement and the titular cannibalism in the lines ("Ka hopungia e maha nga upoko / Ka hopungia e maha taurekareka" ("Many heads are sought / Many slaves are sought")) and ("Te kikokiko rekareka ō aku hoariri / Nga umu whakakīa tātau kōpū ki te utu" ("The sweet flesh of our enemies / The ovens fill our bellies with revenge")). In 'Raupatu', historical practices occur in a twice repeated verse, that makes *whakapapa* invocations of traditional land relations and possessions, based on the Treaty of Waitangi:

[18] As discussed above, Alien Weaponry's musical orientation is also based on pre-existing genre blueprints. A discussion of their musicological glocalisation, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Te tino, tino rangatiratanga	The full possession and chiefly authority
O o ratou whenua	Over their lands
Tino, tino rangatiratanga	Full possession and chiefly authority
O ratou kainga	Over their communities
Tino rangatiratanga	Full possession and chiefly authority
Me o ratou taonga katoa	Over all things of value to them (Alien Weaponry, *Tū*).

Both codes are especially present in 'Raupatu', as they respectively make up 6,76% and 22,26% of all encodings in the song (Appendix 17). The latter number is explicable over the cited verse, which is coded twice in full as 'Practices', and therefore has a high occurrence rate in a song with little textual variation (Appendix 4). Furthermore, the practice of land theft is referred to again in 'Whispers', accounting for a single hit with the line "Tāhae whenua anō te kāwanatanga" ("Another theft of land by the government").

Finally, 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' also features interesting references to historic practices. In the lyrics and video clip, the following lines are literally translated as follows:

(no tekst provided)	(War cry)
…	…
Aue... nga roimata ē...	(Wail of sorrow)… the tears
Aue... kua mate nga tangata	(Wail of sorrow)… the dead and dying
Aue... e reringa roimata ē...	(Wail of sorrow)… the flowing tears
Aue... e reringa toto ē...	(Wail of sorrow)… the flowing blood (Alien Weaponry, *Tū*)

As Māori culture is a highly oral one, in which vocalisations form an important part of emotional expression, the textual representation of war cries and wails of sorrow represent an effort to promote *te reo* to a wider audience, both in local and global contexts.

Following the high amounts for 'Fighting and battles' (10) and 'Sources' (8), significant results turn up as well for the codes 'Persons' (8), '(Legendary) Items' (7), 'Specific locations' (7) and 'Collective identity' (7) (also discussed above).

Across three different songs, eight references to eight unique historical persons are made. These span a timeline from the earliest Māori-British encounters until present-day New Zealand and represent both sides. On the British side, there are in 'Whaikōrero' mentions of Queen Victoria and general Duncan Cameron, who respectively ordered and led the Tauranga campaign; opposingly, Alien Weaponry mention their great-great-great-grandfather, Te Aho Aho. Furthermore, 'Raupatu' mentions *iwi* chiefs Tawhiao, Wiremu Tamihana and Te Whiti o Rongomai. Finally, contemporary, decolonial history is addressed in 'Whispers', referencing Labour MP Tariana Turia, Māori activist Tame Iti and New Zealand's former PM, John Key (who is described as a puppet politician).[19] According to Avelar, the effect of referencing these people is the establishment of "a lineage of national figures united in a struggle against official – racist, oligarchic, colonized – versions of the country." (149-150), one to which Alien Weaponry effectively belong through their *whānau* (Appendix 18).

The high aggregate number for '(Legendary) Items' is rather deceptive, as six out of the seven hits consists of triple occurrences of two single lines in 'Kai Tangata', namely "Te uhi o Mataora" ("The chisel of Mataora") and "Tatua taua" ("The war belt"). The single unique hit here is from 'Urutaa',

[19] Turia crossed the Parliament floor to vote against her own party, who agreed to the 2004 Act. Around the same time, Tame Iti shot the New Zealand with a shotgun in symbolic protest, and was subsequently arrested and fined for illegal arms possession. Finally, Key negotiated the TPPA during his time as PM.

namely the line “He taonga rereke” (“A mysterious object”). This refers to a pocket watch that was lost by the captain of *The Commerce*, a British ship that sailed into Whangaroa in 1808. Its arrival caused an epidemic among the Māori, who had no resistance to European diseases. This became the indirect cause for the aforementioned *Boyd* incident a year later (Alien Weaponry, *Bandcamp* – ‘Urutaa’).

Conclusively, the thematic analysis of predominantly those songs on *Tū* that deal with Māori heritage has rendered a number of insights concerning their glocalisation. In the first place, they do not do so not from a position of oppositionality, but rather construct their narrative identity on the basis of their cultural context and identity. This resonates with their preservation and promotion of *te reo* through music. As Nelson Varas-Díaz, a predominant scholar on decolonial metal, wrote to me, “local identity [is] not a commercial thing but rather [a] way to counteract the colonial process.” (private Facebook conversation). In that regard, it is quite interesting that Alien Weaponry perform this counteractive glocalisation without much reference to New Zealand’s colonial past: the only (semi-clear) references to non-Māori in terms of colonisation, are certain names in ‘Whaikōrero’ and a reference to *patupaiarehe* in ‘Urutaa’. A clearer example of decolonial metal is ‘Whispers’. Thematically, Alien Weaponry stand on their own. This sometimes causes a repetitive nature to their lyrics, which can in part be explained to the oral tradition of Māori culture (Noisey 2018). Furthermore, some codes overlap, such as those of ‘Practices’ and ‘Sources’, which is due to the fact that confiscation practices, for example, were enabled by historical documents like the Treaty of Waitangi.

In the following section, I will discuss how Alien Weaponry reflect their narrative identity in their video clips performances, specifically those of ‘Rū Ana Te Whenua’, ‘Kai Tangata’ and ‘Whispers’.

4.2 Performance analyses

4.2.1 ‘Rū Ana Te Whenua’

The song ‘Rū Ana Te Whenua’ was released on the 30th of June 2017 on Alien Weaponry’s YouTube channel, and is their third official video clip. Both the recording – their first professional one ever – and the subsequent video clip were funded with money provided by New Zealand on Air (NZ On Air). This autonomous organisation funds “great local songs” for amounts between $7,500 and $30,000 (NZ On Air). Thematically, it relates the first of two decisive chapters in the Tauranga campaign, a six-month conflict between British colonial forces and Māori alliances over land ownership and sovereignty. At Pukehinahina (Gate Pā), colonial forces shelled a defensive mound, which was rife with underground bunkers of the Māori forces. When British troops attempted to take the hill through a small entrance to the top, they were caught off-guard on all sides by the emerging Māori. The result was a devastating British loss, leaving 35 dead and around 75 wounded. And even if the Tauranga campaign ultimately resulted in a British victory, their defeat at Pukehinahina signified a landmark Māori victory (New Zealand History, “Gate Pā”).

‘Rū Ana Te Whenua’ is the most straightforward of the selected video clips: it predominantly features the band performing the song, which is sung completely in *te reo*, on a stage in a forest area. Occasionally, the camera switches to shots of a traditionally dressed man, who can be made out as a Māori warrior: he is heavily tattooed with *moko* (traditional tattoos that cover specific parts of the body, such as (parts of) the face, legs and buttocks) and wears minimal reed armour and a bloodied hand axe, implying a violent backstory to his character. This is also visible in the bloody soil which is in focus in the opening seconds. Considering the historical topic of ‘Rū Ana Te Whenua’, he can be considered the embodiment of the heroic past that Alien Weaponry wish to evoke with the lyrical content of *Tū* (1 News Now). Interestingly, this character is not identified in opposition to any British, colonial character. Nonetheless, the martial victory that the song signifies, implicitly refers to the British defeat, especially in the lines “Rite kohu, ngaro nga iwi / Oi i te mate!” (“Like mist, the people have vanished / Unleash death!”).

Through their performance in the video clip, Alien Weaponry also appeal to both cultural groups of the global scene and of their Maori heritage. In the former case, this can be derived from

the explicit stage set-up, which shows their instruments, amps and heads. The drum kit also features the band logo. Even in their choice of gear – Marshall amplifiers, which have become synonymous with heavier music – can be read a claim to mundane subcultural capital. Furthermore, Henry de Jong's double bass kicks, which evoke a pumping rhythm, are plenty in view. And like the Māori character, he is also barefoot. Next to language and topic, two other visual instances symbolically connect Alien Weaponry to the victory at Pukehinahina: first, the drum hits spray mud into the camera eye, evoking the British shells raining down on the hill. This is amplified by shaky photography, a technique that dominates the video, and dark lighting throughout. Seldomly do slow-motion shots occur: they serve to amplify significant parts, such as a cymbal hit or a lyric cried in unison. Second, the rhythm drops from 00:03:00 until 00:03:50 into a series of wails by bassist Ethan Trembath, in which a flag can be seen waving. This is the official Gate Pā flag of the Māori, which is "[h]ung as part of the memorial in the Auckland War Memorial Museum for those who died, both European and Māori, in the New Zealand Wars." ("List of New Zealand flags). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_New_Zealand_flags), and thus serves as a commemoration of the dead in the colonial wars. Lyrically, the band also evoke their heritage, initiating the song with battle cries that recall the shelling. Further into the song, the lyrics become defiant, citing "Homai te ahi" ("Bring on the fire") and "Kua tae mai nga mate / Kei te hē!" ("Death has arrived! / You are mistaken!" Ultimately, it becomes a collective expression of victory with the line "Haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē!" ("Like the joints of the canoe, we are woven together as one!") repeated five times at the end. To seal the connection to the present, and to pay due tribute to its funders, the final seconds of the video show the logo of NZ On Air.

4.2.2 'Kai Tangata'

With over 3,9 million views, 'Kai Tangata' is by far Alien Weaponry's most popular video, and a staple in their live shows. The video was released on the 12th of May 2018 on Napalm Records' YouTube channel and became the flagship of the promotional campaign for *Tū*. The release on the label's channel is significant, as the description box below the video contains more information compared to their previous videos. For example, it has a larger list of all who worked on and featured in the video, most prominently members of Alien Weaponry's own *whanau* (family community) and *iwi* (tribe) as characters in the narrative. The title refers to the tradition of *kai tangata*, the consumption of the flesh of deceased enemies to acquire their strength and wisdom, and to incur further claims of victory. *Kai tangata* is also an ancient denomination for a war party (referred to as well by the opening line "He taua, He taua!" ("A war party, a war party!")). To stress the warrior aspect, and to visually repeat references to a legendary Māori, the video also depicts how *moko* are tattooed. Warriors especially were often fully covered in them. Narratively, the song and video relate the Musket Wars, a string of events in which Northern Māori tribes, Christianised by expatriate leaders and armed with muskets, attacked tribes of Central North Island, amongst whom were ancestors of the de Jong brothers. These conflicts were preludes to later colonisation conflicts (Napalm Records, "Kai Tangata").

When comparing 'Kai Tangata' to 'Rū Ana Te Whenua', the elephant in the room is the major difference in budget. This is most present in the three different narratives and (groups of) characters that are strung throughout the video, and which will be discussed per paragraph.

The first is comprised of the members of Alien Weaponry, who perform both in nature and in the second narrative. In the former case, their shots are at night and day as they play their instruments (this time without amplifying gear). In the latter, they stand among the crowd as they shout the lyrics, without their instruments. The alteration of night and day occurs only in their narrative, and is adapted to particular moments in the song's progression, shifting for example from night to day as the main riff builds up and erupts with the drums. To their performance, which accompanies a historical narrative and a depiction of spiritual practices, is added a sense of mysticism through a smoke machine, a trope that is common in metal video clips, as is performing in nature. The connotation of the forest as a mystic and powerful place is especially present in black metal (von Helden 62-67). Finally, the lyrics

refer to different gods and heroes in the Māori pantheon, which informs background stories of Tūmatauenga and Mataora, a mortal hero who reclaimed his immortal wife from the world of gods, and brought back the practice of *moko* in the process.

The second group that features in 'Kai Tangata', represents its main narrative. Performed by members of Alien Weaponry's *whanau*, it is a dramatization of the Musket Wars, specifically an attack on the village of Alien Weaponry's ancestral *iwi*. The first shot of the video is part of this narrative: it shows a young male warrior dragging an unconscious opponent through the woods, as blood retracts from a leaf in a slow-motion, reverse editing. The warrior's chin is bloodied, indicating he has just enacted *kai tangata*. The scene then cuts to the village gate, through which the camera moves and then cuts to approaching canoes, loaded with warriors with muskets. From their *moko*, which cover their entire face, it can be discerned that they belong to an opposing tribe. Accompanied by Henry de Jong blowing a sea shell (as part of the first narrative), a watchman is seen shouting in alarm, instigating the main riff and drums to start the song. As the battle erupts, several moments stand out. First of all, 'Kai Tangata' features significant female performances: first, an adult woman is shown defending her home and striking her opponent down, causing her to make an intimidating display of face, which is amplified by her dark eyeliner and chin *moko*. By comparison, other women are seen fleeing, some carrying infants. Second, a young girl picks up a spear and makes a defiant stand against the musket-carrying aggressors as they perform a *haka*, led on by their leader. He is seen carrying what seems to be a ceremonial knife. Despite their intimidating performance and facial expressions, however, the young girl stands undeterred. At this *haka*, the three narratives effectively coincide, as the song moves into a break: the band walks through a night-time forest, the Māori tribe characters engage in the *haka* face-off and the third narrative's character engages in what seems to be a ritualistic invocation. After this break, the song continues and members of Alien Weaponry's tribe begin to fall in combat. As the song ends, however, a final shot shows warriors on both sides dying, prefiguring perhaps the colonial conflicts that followed the Musket Wars. This is concluded with the bloodied leaf from the opening shot, now in real-time frame, as blood pours down on it.

The third and final narrative is that of the aforementioned solitary, elderly man, who is covered in *moko* from head to toe, and who is seen traversing the woods alone, arriving in a cave where bones are scattered across the floor. He engages in a number of acts that refer to different parts of Māori culture as they are suggested throughout the song and video. Studying the bones, the cannibalistic practice is implied as his lips mimic the song lyrics, specifically the words "Mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga" ("This is the work of Tūmatauenga"). Furthermore, he is seen carrying tattoo tools, and his scenes are often followed by close-ups of *moko* being set into someone's skin. Finally, as he weaves a fire during the song's break and mimics the aforementioned lyrics, his performance takes on a lamenting, commemorative notion. Hence, from his performance might be determined a timeline: the second narrative displays the Musket Wars, the third the aftermath, and the first its contemporary, decolonial commemoration, which was previously done also with the Gate Pā flag in 'Rū Ana Te Whenua'. This is amplified by the final statement in the description box:

> The video has special significance for the band due to the locations and people involved. Parts of the clip were filmed at the Waipu Caves, not far from where the band members live. The rest was filmed in the de Jong brothers' Te Arawa tribal territory; and many of the people featured – including the kapa haka group Te Matarae i Orehu – are members of their Ngati Pikiao whanau (family) and their wider Te Arawa iwi (tribe). (Napalm Records, "Kai Tangata")

4.2.3 'Whispers'

'Whispers' is the final video clip produced for a song from *Tū*, and was also released on Napalm Records' YouTube channel on the 18th of July 2018.[20] As Alien Weaponry themselves are quoted in the

[20] Since then, Napalm Records has released a 7" EP by Alien Weaponry, called *Aki Hā*. For each of the two songs, a video clip was produced: both were released on Napalm Records' YouTube channel. The video for the title track was released on May 10, 2019; the one for 'Blinded' was published on July 12, 2019.

description box, "'Whispers' raises much more recent instances of conflict – the Foreshore and Seabed Act passed in 2004; and the Trans Pacific Partnership, signed in 2016." (Napalm Records, "Whispers"). This Act, and the subsequent Partnership, claimed the foreshores and seabed of coastal New Zealand as government property, contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi. While this treaty was and is still controversial over misunderstandings due to cultural differences and the exploitative possibilities it meant for British colonialists, it cemented the foundation for Māori and British co-existence in New Zealand. Concerning land and fishing grounds ownership, it features the agreement that the Māori "…give the Crown an exclusive right to buy lands they [the Māori] wish to sell, and, in return, are guaranteed full rights of ownership of their lands, forests, fisheries and other possessions." (New Zealand History, "The Treaty in Brief"). Hence, the controversy of the 2004 Act and 2016 Partnership lay with the non-negotiated claims on the coastal area, which caused an enormous *hikoi* (public protest march), in which the de Jong brothers partook with their parents. To add weight to the song, 'Whispers' also features shots of political and public opposition to the Act and the general coloniality the Māori still face (Napalm Records, "Whispers"; Varas-Díaz and Morales 212-214).

'Whispers' immediately displays its contemporary character with the dramatisation of a radio interview. Featuring host Kim Hill and right-wing politician and lobbyist Don Brash, only their silhouettes are distinguishable as they sit opposed, gesticulating heavily and occasionally being zoomed in on as they speak. In it, Brash states that colonisation benefitted the Māori. Appalled, Hill replies that the Māori civilisation developed in their own way, and that coexistence is necessary. It then cuts to Alien Weaponry performing in a blue room, backed by their gear. On the walls is projected footage from the *hikoi* against the 2004 Act, as well as other significant political moments and characters in New Zealand history, like the aforementioned Labour MP Tariana Turia and public activist Tame Iti. In terms of gender and minority performances, 'Whispers' is certainly Alien Weaponry's most diverse clip, as the references to the *hikoi*, Turia, Iti and Hill represent a broad wave of decolonial protest against the government's treatment of the Māori, even to this day. This is amplified by the English-sung chorus: "The government's words / Are like whispers in our ears / Telling us lies / To hide away our fears." The verses, however, are sung in *te reo*. So even if the performances of women and minorities are less physical as compared to 'Kai Tangata', their symbolic impact is equally strong. Furthermore, the second verse references the 2016 TPPA and New Zealand's then-PM, John Key, who is portrayed a backroom politician that excluded Māori interests from negotiations.

Political protest is not abnormal in trash metal either, which inserts 'Whispers' into a long tradition; neither is a performance of the band in video clips. In this particular one, there is again a contrast between light and dark, the latter taking over as projections are shown. This lighting becomes increasingly distorted, ultimately ending the video in a sort of infrared atmosphere. Symbolically, this can be understood as revelatory of the true and peripheral position of the Māori in New Zealand. Thus, Alien Weaponry visually and textually reflect on the political divide in New Zealand: as the video depicts Māori flags in the *hikoi*, as well as representatives and activists, the description box reads:

> They [Don Brash and his followers] don't seem to understand that the current policies are there to help redress the imbalance that was caused after over a hundred years of colonization. During that time, millions of acres of Māori land was stolen, they were excluded from voting and children were punished for speaking Māori in schools, and that's just the tip of the iceberg. That sort of thing can't be fixed with compensation alone – it takes time and goodwill from both sides. (Napalm Records, "Whispers")

Much like their choice to sing in *te reo* is preservative and their choice of subjects is commemorative, they also work in decolonial ways, addressing contemporary issues to stir political and cultural reflection among their audience, much like Sepultura did on *Roots* and later albums.

4.3 Discourse analyses

In this section, the analyses of the productive, distributive and receptive promotional discourses will be discussed. First, the productive and distributive discourses will be discussed together, as explained above. Second, the receptive discourses will be discussed. Finally, insights from each analysis will be compared. Together, these analyses will help to develop a better understanding of the presentation and reception of Alien Weaponry's glocalisation and position within the global metal scene.

4.3.1 Productive and distributive discourse analysis

The productive and distributive discourse analyses entail six texts (Appendices 19 to 24): the former are three biographies, written respectively by Napalm Records and Alien Weaponry, and taken from the label's store website and from the band's Facebook and Spotify pages. The distributive discourses consist of a selection of texts that deals both with Alien Weaponry's live performances and their product distribution: they are a press biography by their European booking agency, K2 Agency; a bio for a recent show at Alcatraz Hard Rock & Heavy Metal Festival (Belgium, 11 Aug. 2019); and an editorial review from Amazon.com.[21] A selection of recorded discourses was considered, but ultimately left out of the analyses to focus on up-to-date, written discourses alone. Considered texts included a 2015 biography on Alien Weaponry's old website (that does not yet feature *Tū* or its platforms of access) and a collection of videos on their YouTube channel, which show their 2018 summer tour and its culmination in their show at Wacken Open Air.

As an initial exploration of results, a Code Set Matrix matched the separate discourses with the five code sets (Appendix 26). Besides the evident lack of any criticism in any of the texts – considering the fact that they promote Alien Weaponry – what catches the eye, is the many hits for the 'Introduction' set, which entails specifications about the band and their history, denominations of style and (sub)genre and citations from press sources. Alien Weaponry's Facebook bio has no less than 22 hits for this set, the bio from K2 Agency sixteen. This is due to the fact that especially in the Facebook bio, Alien Weaponry make an effort to summarise as much of their received awards and grants as possible, much more so than Napalm Records does by comparison (with only five hits for the 'Introduction' code set). Other texts, like the Spotify bio (which is considerably shorter) and the Alcatraz bio score much lower here (respectively five and three).

Upon a closer look at the codes within this set, major differences come to the fore. As aforementioned, the Facebook bio focuses on awards and grants in greater detail, mentioning for example that they continue to receive "additional NZ On Air grants to record and produce music videos …" (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2018). This might also explain the visible increase in budget in comparing the videos for 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' and 'Kai Tangata'. Furthermore, there is more emphasis on awards, nominations and live performance accomplishments in New Zealand, such as having "performed at a number of festivals in New Zealand over the summer of 2017/18, including headline/main stage slots at the NZ Tattoo & Arts Festival, Wavefront and Auckland City Limits …". The bio also strives to acquire for Alien Weaponry more mundane subcultural capital by mentioning their being "named by UK Metal Hammer Magazine as one of New Zealand's top 10 hard rock and metal acts," connecting them effectively to both the global and their national metal scene (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2018). By comparison, the Napalm Records bio makes mention of only a few specific awards, such as the "prestigious „APRA Maioha award" for their song 'Raupatu'" [parentheses original], a reference that occurs in all texts except for the Alcatraz bio and Amazon editorial review.

The focus of the Amazon review is to attract potential buyers and is therefore considerably shorter than the other texts, which as biographies contain more information on the band and their aesthetic approach. As such, the editorial review quotes a NZ On Air representative to grant Alien Weaponry an

[21] The number '1' was added before productive discourse file names, the number '2' before distributive ones, in order to follow the chronological pathway of the promotional discourses.

authentic identity, and conclude by referring to their most notable feature: the use of *te reo* in most of their songs. This is clearly a selling point for most texts in the productive and distributive discourses, often referring to their "unique blend of trash metal and their native language, Te Reo Māori." This quote is found almost literally in each text. The Alcatraz bio is a bit more generic in this regard, describing how Alien Weaponry "mix their heritage with melodic thrash metal. The use of traditional instruments gives the album a vibe that calls to mind Sepultura's 'Roots'." In referencing Sepultura (which is coded under 'Metal and heritage'), Alien Weaponry are granted significant mundane subcultural capital, which is important as this bio serves to attract audiences at a festival where the band is billed early in the day.

Other texts make efforts too to grant Alien Weaponry more mundane capital: in most cases, this boils down to mentioning bands with which they have toured, which is coded as 'Metal and heritage': Devilskin and Shihad, two locally renowned hard rock bands, and Prophets of Rage, a spin-off project with members of rap metal band Rage Against The Machine, who achieved critical and commercial acclaim with their blend of anarcho-political commentary and trash metal (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2018; K2 Agency). Another way to grant the band more capital, is to mention major European festivals like Wacken Open Air, which is promoted as a highlight of their career.

Other ways exist to accrue more subcultural capital, such as references to authenticity and a definition of style and (sub)genre.

Authenticity, as described in the theoretical framework, can be achieved for bands on the peripheries by balancing out efforts to represent the heritages of both their local context and metal classics and influences. In terms of their locality, all texts evidently mention Alien Weaponry's use of *te reo*. Furthermore, lengthier biographies mention the brothers' descent from different *iwi*, their years at a *kura kaupapa* (where they learned *waiata* and *haka*), and how their father raised them on stories of Māori history. In some texts, however, this brushes close to essentialism, such as the Alcatraz bio. One quote reads: "We all know the iconic Haka, a fierce ceremonial dance performed for a variety of reasons such as gearing up for war or welcoming guests." While this properly describes the uses of *haka*, which is often reduced in meaning to its wartime use, it ultimately becomes a reductionist conclusion: "Time for a thrash haka in the moshpit?"

Similar essentialisms occur in attempts to define Alien Weaponry's style and subgenre. In the Alcatraz bio, it can be read that "[t]ribal thrash comes to Alcatraz thanks to the youngest band on the bill." But more surprisingly, the label bio reads that Alien Weaponry "call themselves 'Stealth Māori.'," a term that is used nowhere else. Hence, a reductionist formulation of their style becomes an effective marketing tool, which nonetheless passes over cultural sensitivities, such as the fact that Alien Weaponry clearly wear their Māori heritage and preservative, decolonial purposes on their sleeve. A clear example of this is the way in which the award they received for 'Raupatu', is described differently by Napalm Records and the band. The label writes that 'Raupatu' is "a *thrash metal commentary* on the 1863 act of parliament that allowed the colonial government to confiscate vast areas of land from the indigenous Māori people." [italics added] (Napalm Records, "CD"). Conversely, Alien Weaponry's Spotify bio calls it a "*no punches pulled* commentary …" [italics added] (Alien Weaponry, *Spotify*). Despite their different qualifications of 'Raupatu', both lines are coded as historical references. Through it, Napalm Records assures mundane capital by referencing trash metal, a genre known for its political commentary (stemming from its punk roots), but thereby passes over the cultural investment of Alien Weaponry in 'Raupatu'. As the song is thematically rife with specific cultural references to identity and the colonial past, their decolonial address is represented in their own description, thereby rather accumulating transgressive capital.

A final way in which Alien Weaponry is promoted, is through their unique identity. All productive and distributive discourses have at least one hit for one of the three codes in this set, namely 'Age', 'Approach' and 'Origin'. The latter of the three is rather special: whereas New Zealand is often repeated as being Alien Weaponry's country (and scene) of origin, it is only coded thrice. In these cases, Alien Weaponry's home town Waipu, the Northland province and/or the country of New Zealand are

mentioned with specific qualifications, such as "Waipu, a picturesque little town nestled in New Zealand's spectacular scenery" (Alcatraz), or "… the tiny town of Waipu in Northland" (Alien Weaponry, *Spotify*). Their origin is thus connected to the impressive scenery from which they come, which will become much more stressed in receptive discourses further down.

By comparison, their age is mentioned more often, either in terms of the young age at which they started the band, or in terms of their powerful stage performance at a young age still (Napalm Records, "CD"; Amazon.com; Alcatraz). Finally, most frequently encoded here is their unique approach (8). As mentioned above, this mostly occurs in relation to their vocals in *te reo*, but also knows a notable exception that is used in both the Facebook and booker bio: "… it is this combination of music, language, history and socio-political commentary that underpins the band's sound and ideas." (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2018; K2 Agency). By focusing not just on Alien Weaponry's origin and heritage, but also by describing how these are employed as decolonial, socio-political commentary, K2 Agency prove to be more sensitive to the particular glocalisation of Alien Weaponry than Napalm Records and the Alcatraz festival seem to be.

Conclusively, analyses of productive and distributive discourses surrounding the release of *Tū* underline again how Alien Weaponry do not glocalise for the sake of international appeal. By not digging too deep concerning a subgenre name for their music, they accrue both mundane subcultural capital by citing their metal backgrounds and influences, and by summing up their achievements so far (a feature amplified by their young age); as well as transgressive subcultural capital by describing how they expand on their influences, especially through singing in their indigenous language. Their focus, nonetheless, remains preservation and representation, without making this an all too obvious statement in either biography released by them or by their representing labels and agencies.

In their marketing presence, however, there exist differences in the description of their music, with essentialisation for commercial purposes clearly present in a few cases, such as the Alcatraz bio.[22] As discourses stress reductionist aspects of Māori culture, such as *haka*, and by coining a particular subgenre or style, Alien Weaponry are put into a restrictive box that allows discursive control by global scenic centres, such as Napalm Records in Austria/Germany and the Alcatraz festival in Belgium.

4.3.2 Receptive discourse analysis

In this section, a selection of fifteen reviews of *Tū* will be analysed in order to arrive at an understanding of how the album's reception functions within the logic of the global metal scene, which might also help pertaining scenic inequality through discursive control. Hence, the articles predominantly span English-speaking countries (five from the USA; two from the UK; two from New Zealand; one from Australia), but also encompass two Belgian, two German and one Dutch review. What will not be discussed here, are coverage articles (such as Revolver's "Haka Trash Metal" and "7 Reasons"), end-of-the-year lists and YouTube videos and interviews (although the Noisey documentary will used for references). With a few notable exceptions, all reviews were published between one month before the release date (1 June 2018) and three months after. Notable exceptions are the Decibel Geek review (March 17), Zware Metalen and Rock Tribune (September) and Death Comes Lifting (no date given).

In order to arrive at a selection representative of all three types of metal scenes, choices were motivated by personal experience as a reviewer and label intern. Furthermore, the choice to include German articles was motivated by the importance of Germany in the global metal scene: the country is home to important labels, festivals and publishing companies. In the case of Alien Weaponry, they are signed with Napalm Records, who have a Berlin office, are represented in Europe by German press agency Das Machine and have played at major German festivals like Wacken.

Methodically speaking, the categories of analysis are identical to those of the productive/distributive discourses. Since the amount of results is bigger, however, the discussion will

[22] In a private Facebook conversation, Nelson Varas-Díaz did surmise that it is not unthinkable that some bands play an essentialist, glocalised form of metal for commercial purposes. Thereby, authenticity and style become tools of discursive self-control.

be structured according to the code sets of 'Introduction', 'Authenticity', 'Criticism', 'Themes and music' and 'Uniqueness'.

In terms of the first set, most reviews begin with a brief summary of the band members and a remark about their age, resulting in twelve references to the 'Band specifications' code. Some also cite other press or refer to awards and accomplishments that Alien Weaponry received. Zware Metalen writes that New Zealand treats Alien Weaponry as a flag bearer, signifying the importance of awards, which reward bands with authenticity and credibility in the global scene (even if mainstream success is sometimes looked at with suspicion) (Zware Metalen; Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 126; Keunen 33-37).

This might in part be explicable through the style and (sub)genre definitions: these accumulate a total of 22 hits across all reviews. Much like with the productive and distributive discourses, Alien Weaponry's lyrical and musical glocalisation is reductively summarised under a genre name, most frequently being called "Māori/Maori Metal" (Damnation Magazine; Metal Forces Magazine; Distorted Sound Mag). Comparatively, Alien Weaponry at most call themselves "Te Reo Metal", refusing to pair the Māori identity (as a collective one) with a scenic metal identity. Furthermore, most reviews attribute to Alien Weaponry mundane subcultural capital by connecting their music to trash and groove metal heritage, for example through comparisons to Sepultura. Some go even further: Metal Forces Magazine describes them as "cultural heavy metal", and Metalfans.be as "interesting, segmented trash metal [transl.]," thereby recognizing the cultural layers in their glocal music. Reductionism are never too far off, however: one review coins *Tū* as a "thrash metal piece of barbaric metal." (Death Comes Lifting). Finally, Zware Metalen writes that Alien Weaponry is "trash [metal] that does not give you the feeling of being angry." This goes slightly against the grain of other reviews, which mention their expression of anger and disappointment, something the thematic analyses revealed as well. This will be further discussed as part of the code 'Non-historical themes'.

Quite unsurprisingly, the code set 'Authenticity' has the most hits per separate code, with 'Locality and heritage' at 66 hits and 'Metal and heritage' at 65. Before a discussion can be held, it must be noted that encodings for the former denote references to *te reo*, Māori heritage, traditional instruments and collective identity. Furthermore, contextual qualifications such as "mysterious" are coded as 'Locality' as well (Rock Tribune). Finally, locality encodings often seemed to coincide with those for historical themes: in order to avoid confusion, those instances were always doubly coded.

Within the reviews, there seems to be a continuum that either puts Alien Weaponry in a relative, local perspective of the global metal scene (making mentions of their traditional instrumentation and language use), or essentialises them to a fault. This is in keeping with the different scenic backgrounds of most reviews. On the one hand, they are recognised for their *māoritanga*, which is seen as "central to their target audience" (Music.nz.net) (the quote is coded as 'Historical themes'), even if not all listeners might appreciate this specific approach. Willnotfade.com, also from New Zealand, further explores the reflection of the collective Māori identity, most explicitly by mentioning the use of *karanga* (ceremonial call) in 'Whaikōrero'. On this end of the spectrum, Alien Weaponry's authenticity is verified from within their local scene. Further interesting is that the reviewer for Willnotfade.com is not a native speaker, but nonetheless points to the mispronunciation of "Māori" in the opening sample of 'Whispers'. Such reflections on cultural identity connect Alien Weaponry's locality to a wider scene, as the author worries about possible misconceptions about New Zealand outside national and linguistic borders (which is coded as 'Metal and heritage').

Slightly outside of New Zealand, however, Alien Weaponry's alterity in the global scene already appears, as they are described as "Kiwi" in Hysteria Mag (Australia). This review focuses on the "darker aspects of their culture," which suggests a focus on the cannibalistic practices referenced in 'Kai Tangata', since most Māori-themed songs actually reference British colonisation. Conversely, Alien Weaponry are subjected to essentialisation: the most case-in-point example of this is the focus on *haka* as representative of both the Māori and all of New Zealand, with nine mentions across all reviews. According to Distorted Sound Mag, it is "all that is really known about the *Mauri* culture, and that same energy is a marriage match for the confrontational vibes that thrash metal brings." [italics added]

(Distorted Sound Mag). In most case, *haka* is also perceived as merely a war dance, overlooking its range of variations in performance and meaning (Metalfans.be; Zware Metalen). The strangeness of the language appears frequently as well, with the Metalfans.be review even stating that *Tū* is very enjoyable if "an incomprehensible language does not pose a barrier for you [transl.]." Sometimes, this is also held against the use of English in their lyrics, for "when English hits, it hits hard." (Death Comes Lifting). At other times, this is considered a relief from the incomprehensible *te reo* (Willnotfade.com). Furthermore, most reviews often also point out the heritage identity of Alien Weaponry, which is "worn on their sleeve." (Distorted Sound Mag). And while Alien Weaponry make no secret of their background and its translation into music, some reviews immediately assume that this narrative solely denotes a reconstruction of past glory days (Death Comes Lifting), or must be fully understood in opposition to the New Zealand government (Rock Tribune). As earlier analyses showed, each is the case with only a number of songs on *Tū*. Only the review on Metal-heads.de clearly understood the ambition of Alien Weaponry's specific approach, in that it connects their cultural identity to past and future, which is nonetheless understood to be oriented at a global audience (Metal-heads.de).

Focus on the *haka* as representative of the Māori carries through into references that code it as 'metal'. Some reviews describe it only as a war dance, and in its aggressiveness therefore befitting of the (trash) metal aesthetic of death and violence (Teeth of the Divine; Distorted Sound Mag; Metal-heads.de). Interestingly enough, this essentialist approach to Alien Weaponry and Māori culture actually renders the band positive reviews, in the sense that in essentialist listening and readings of their music, they are perceived as highly authentic. Expressions like "legit as hell", "passion" (Death Comes Lifting), "authenticity" (Music.nz.net) and "Ernsthaftigkeit" [transl. as "earnest"] (Metal-heads.de) validate their musical output. Comparisons to *Roots*-era Sepultura only amplify this; some even state that Alien Weaponry are more melodic (and thereby imply that they are better) (Zware Metalen). In total, Sepultura is mentioned eleven times across nine reviews; the specification of the Roots era is made four times. The same essentialisation that Sepultura was subjected to, however, also shines through in certain reviews, reducing the quality of the comparison to a "weird language" and "tribal-like song structures" (Metalfans.be). Nonetheless, quite like Sepultura, they are credited with innovative capabilities: instead of simply "mashing [things] together," they explicitly explore the concept of place in metal, exchanging trash metal's speed for rhythm (Distorted Sound Mag). Compliments are also there for Trembath's bass playing, which shows inventiveness and technique, two important qualities to acquire mundane subcultural capital (Rock Tribune). Their innovation is further highlighted by making references to other bands that were influential to trash and groove metal, like Slayer and Metal (Metal Forces Magazine) and Bolt Thrower (Metal.de); and by referencing venerated genres, which they either reiterate to great effect (Metalfans.be), or rise above as they think outside the box (Metalfans.be; Rock Tribune; Metal.de), they are proven to be unlike nostalgic nor parodic bands. Paired with positive receptions of their live performances, Alien Weaponry are deemed ready to become the next big thing in metal (Music.nz.net; Rock Tribune). As Hysteria Mag writes, "heavy metal is in good hands as the next generation step out to dominate." Considering their history and music, however, "to dominate" is a rather fraught choice of words for Alien Weaponry. Nonetheless, such language that refers to Alien Weaponry carrying the torch of metal, stands opposed to their own goal, which is to represent the Māori and *te reo*. This is repeated visually in a number of press photos, which show Alien Weaponry bearing symbolic arms: the Māori flag, a canoe peddle and the Gate Pā flag (Appendix 27) In another, they bear peddles and a ceremonial blade identical to the ones seen in the video for 'Kai Tangata' (Appendix 28). On the one hand, such glocal and decolonial efforts are recognised by reviewers and are interpreted in terms of the global dissemination of this "strong cultural identity" (Willnotfade.com). Such representation, funded by state organisations, is even called upon by Zware Metalen, a Dutch metal magazine. On the other, this does not deteriorate the global scenic logic, as a quote from Metal.de shows:

> This album reveals an age-old fact that all cultures are quite similar. It does not matter if a band comes from New Zealand, Brazil or the US, ultimately it always makes them a pretty similar

> kind of metal. And even if you subtract the *Exotenbonus*, "Tū" is a pretty fat album. [italics added; transl.] (Metal.de)

The notion of the *Exotenbonus* aside (which will be discussed further down), this re-opens discussions of infinitely reiterated genre blueprints, that for bands from peripheral scenes can only be used effectively if they make explicit their cultural background. The previous quote thereby implicitly states that Alien Weaponry are interesting only because they are from outside the scenic global centres.

As is custom in most reviews, some criticism is also to be had. In terms of what reviewers find lacking in both instrumentation and production, Alien Weaponry are balanced on a thin edge. On the one hand, as Music.nz.net writes, "[i]t would be great … if metal mixing conventions were broken slightly and the vocals were pushed a bit more in the mix." This is made in relation to the vocal and rhythmic qualities of *te reo*, which is considered an instrument of its own. On the other, the traditionally unpolished, typical trash metal-sound in which guitars and drums are given a more prominent position in the final mix than the vocals, is received very positively, granting Alien Weaponry mundane capital (Metal-heads.de). Here too, however, some essentialisation looms: Teeth of the Divine expects "some development and growth as they mature and further fine tune their unique ethnic influence, which I hop[e] is utilized more on future efforts."

Often, criticism of the writing and production on *Tū* is attributed to the young age and inexperience of Alien Weaponry's members. As such, the two codes frequently coincide: inexperience criticism, while criticism, often becomes an absolving factor and a cause for greater expectations in future releases. Moreover, the band is addressed for having "teething pains" (Distorted Sound Mag), but also for being "fresh winds" (Rock Tribune) and full of "potential" (Metal.de). Such potential is only amplified in glances towards the future, inviting expressions of Alien Weaponry carrying the torch as "the next generation" (Hysteria Mag). Some even coin Alien Weaponry and *Tū* as "mature" (Metal Forces Magazine; Hysteria Mag) and excellent "despite their young age" (Rock Tribune). On the other hand, their youthful inexperience is also cause for some vile criticism. Connecting inexperience to production lacks, Damnation Magazine describes the band as "missing noteworthy identities," as they are still to find the perfect balance between mundanity and transgression. Finally, their youthfulness is even cause for dismissive statement, inciting remarks about how young men who cannot drink or drive a car, could not begin to understand what metal is about – a reductive statement about metal in general, to say the least (Metalfans.be).

Finally, most reviews conclude with conclusive summaries and a final score. Most of these rank Alien Weaponry rather positively, the good parts outweighing the bad. The sole utterly negative review, written for Decibel, is rather short to begin with and seems more spiteful towards Napalm Records as a label. Ultimately, they award *Tū* two out of ten "pecks" (the review format being that of an angry parrot doing the listening and reviewing). In Hysteria Mag, the conclusion to the review is accompanied with a selection of "standout tracks", which, considering the positive reception of the Māori influences and language in Alien Weaponry's music, unsurprisingly includes 'Kai Tangata'.

When making a composite score of all reviews that gave one (thus excluding Decibel Geek, Teeth of the Divine, Willnotfade.com and Metal-heads.de), *Tū* is graded 7,4 out of 10.[23] In centre-scenic reviews (USA, UK, GER), the total is 6,7/10. Semi-centric reviews (Belgium, the Netherlands) give a total of 8,1/10. And peripheral reviews (New Zealand, Australia) give it 8,5 out of 10. Grouping them per language group, reviews written in English grade *Tū* 7/10; Dutch ones 8,1/10.

Each review reserves significant space for discussions of Alien Weaponry's thematic and musical identity. Themes-wise, there is a division in encodings between historical and non-historical themes, the former of which has already been touched upon in the discussion of 'Locality and heritage'. Furthermore, the encodings for 'Historical themes' also coincide with non-historical ones, specifically

[23] Excluded from this overview are specific ratings (Death Comes Lifting's "Gym Rating" and Metal.de's "User-wertung"), as well as a composite score for the German reviews, as only one out of two give *Tū* a final score.

over the use of the word 'political' in reviews. This is due to the decolonial nature of specific songs, that refer to (past) political decisions and their effects on the Māori. In those cases, these have been encoded as both, mostly because coloniality continues into the present.

In terms of the colonial past ("colonial" used only twice across all reviews), there is a significant reference to 'Urutaa', which translates to 'disease'. As has been discussed above, the song, which is about misunderstandings, specifically deals with the *Boyd* incident, and references to it have therefore been coded as historical (Willnotfade.com). Furthermore, the use of samples, such as in the opening to 'Whispers', is commented upon (Rock Tribune). Non-historically speaking, there is a total of fifteen hits. These mostly check out with traditional trash metal topics, such as mental health ('Holding My Breath') and political hypocrisy and coloniality ('Whispers'). In some reviews, however, there are also mentions of broader, non-historical themes informed by Māori culture and identity. According to Music.nz.net, for example, Alien Weaponry "often emphasise the importance of *māoritanga* and w*hānau*; subject matter that is central to their target audience." This is a unique statement, in the sense that it has been coded as both 'Locality and heritage' and 'Non-historical themes'. This is due to the fact that Alien Weaponry's *whānau*, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Pikiao, focuses on health, education and suicide prevention (Homepage).

Their music receives more coverage (62 in total). Again, these hits show a precarious balance between sensitivity to Alien Weaponry's glocalisation and blatant essentialisation, mixed with references to how they inflect genre blueprints. Metal Forces Magazine, for example, understands the "embracing [of] their heritage to create wildly innovative and yet accessible power grooves" as the standard way for bands to make music, without accounting for the personal context and investment of a band. Nonetheless, this grants Alien Weaponry credit of authenticity, as it implicitly signifies and acknowledges their glocalisation. At other times, descriptions of the cultural sensibilities of *Tū* are more deliberate. An example is from Rock Tribune: "Ethnic influences from their musical culture are steadily injected [transl.]." This stands as one of the only qualifications in the reviews of the musical ethnicity of the Māori that does not rely on notions of "tribal" or references to war chants and *haka*. By furthermore qualifying it as "complex" and summarising *Tū* as a "rebellious pamphlet with rhythm and strong, sometimes smoothly sung, choruses [transl.]," they are granted significant transgressive capital that is based in their decolonial themes and performance (Rock Tribune). Furthermore, most reviews are rife with references to blast beats, riffs and the overall rhythm and heaviness of the music, standard notions in the global metal scene that are important to be accredited with to accrue mundane capital. Metal.de, for example, repeatedly writes about how the "fette(-s/-n)" [translated as "heavy"] riffs and overall music, which connect Alien Weaponry to the traditions of trash and groove metal.

Many of the reviews also discuss Alien Weaponry's unique identity, which is divided into three codes: 'Age', 'Approach' and 'Origin'. Their age has been discussed above: it coincides often with inexperience criticism and thereby becomes both an absolving factor in criticism directed at their inexperience, and a reason to show interest and put faith in them as the next generation of (trash) metal.

The reviews use different qualifications to categorise Alien Weaponry's unique blend of cultural identity and trash/groove metal. One of the most frequently employed words is certainly "tribal" (and its synonyms, such as the Dutch words "inheems(-e)" and "etnisch(-e)"), which together appear a total of thirteen times. This mostly serves to summarise their combination of *te reo* and its rhythm with trash metal; thereby implicitly, however, calling upon the metal heritage of describing Sepultura as "jungle boys". This tribal identity is also often connected to a certain heritage, which Alien Weaponry are deemed to perform authentically, for example by using traditional instruments that add cultural value (Willnotfade.com); and to great effect (Music.nz.net; Metalfans.be). As Hysteria Mag writes, "Alien Weaponry paint a detailed picture of tradition, pride and cultural importance that is as educational as it is enjoyable, proving that heavy metal is in good hands as the next generation step out to dominate." Implicitly acknowledging the selective nature of heritage narratives in metal music (Spracken et al.), this narrative is immediately connected to its dissemination throughout the global metal scene. It is even cause for some criticism, which expresses a wish that their unique style or "Bandstil" had been used for more than just half the album (Teeth of the Divine; Metal.de)

Language is another important factor in describing Alien Weaponry's approach as well: references to *te reo*, whether in an essentialist light or not, appear throughout the corpus no less than 26 times. In most cases, these refer to the album's varying historical and non-historical narratives (Zware Metalen). It seems that the qualification of those themes, however, is rather dependant on place: as seen before in productive discourses with the differences between bio's from Napalm Records and Alien Weaponry. This stands out again in a description of their lyrical content by the British Metal Forces Magazine: "This is cultural heavy metal, relevant metal, with some strong and *controversial* messages …" (italics added). References to language are also used to identify Alien Weaponry's unique position even in their local scene, or to describe in greater detail how it influences their music technically (Willnotfade.com).

Finally, Alien Weaponry's origin has been coded as unique before, specifically when qualified in a specific way. This occurs less in receptive discourses: on a few occasions, instead of simply referencing their background as being from Auckland or New Zealand, their home town of Waipu is mentioned twice (Metal Forces Magazine; Willnotfade.com). Once does this provide a specific qualification: "Three teenagers, known as Alien Weaponry, from a tiny town in the small South Pacific nation of New Zealand …", further increasing their peripheral nature by not just qualifying their local scene, but also their national one (Decibel Geek).

In most cases, Alien Weaponry's origin is cause for a reaffirmation of difference within the global metal scene, leading to some of the most rampant expressions of essentialisation. Despite the globalisation of metal, it does not seem to appear to most reviewers that any country can bring forth metal bands or a local scene, despite what examples from Crowcroft have shown in relation to inspiration drawn from socio-political circumstances. Most frequently, New Zealand is described in terms of its fame as the background to Peter Jackson's *The Lord Of The Rings* and the popular TV series *Xena The Warrior Princess* (Metalfans.be). References to the Māori still resonate colonial fears, as "… New Zealand is often remembered for it's gorgeous views and violent tribesmen, not for it's twisted take on thrash metal." [italics added] (Distorted Sound Mag). All in all, the New Zealand scene is considered unexpected and even described as "extra-terrestrial" (Metal Forces Magazine). In the review for Metal.de, this even grants them the *Exotenbonus*, an undefined concept that is credited to bands from what can only be understood as peripheral metal scenes, and which are therefore interesting to listen to for no other reason than their origin in a country different than that of the reviewer. In his conclusion, the author somewhat relinquishes the concept, writing that "even if you subtract the Exotenbonus, "Tū" is a pretty heavy album [transl.]." But implicitly, this reduces Alien Weaponry and *Tū* to nothing more than a sum of the parts, a checklist of genre stereotypes and blueprints to follow without any cultural identity of their own.

4.3.3 Comparing the three promotional discourses

Upon comparing the three promotional discourses, tendencies that were recognised in particular productive and distributive discourses seem to carry through into receptive ones. Especially the careful song description by Napalm Records, avoiding all too obvious political commentary, and the simultaneous categorisation of Alien Weaponry and their music under a certain name – be that "Māori metal", "Stealth Māori" or anything of the kin – are also found in most reviews. This effectively strengthens scenic inequality wherein all agency is held by centric infrastructures, such as major record labels and reviewers in those scenes.

This shapes a particular continuum: on one end, there are record labels, festival representatives and the majority of receptive discourses, which essentialise bands and music from peripheral scenes in order to exercise discursive control, and label them in order to uphold genre venerations and maintain the scenic logic in which these centres can govern and distribute mundane and transgressive subcultural capital. In other words, bands from peripheral scenes that have accrued either form of subcultural capital through an aesthetic scenic identity must have it acknowledged by the centres. And while this happens in the case of Alien Weaponry, as can be derived from the unique

selling positions in productive and distributive discourses, and the overall positive evaluations in receptive discourses, this is a double-edged blade that confine Alien Weaponry in such a way that it becomes easily digestible and relatable to knowledge present in scenic centres. For short, a definition of particularities of the New Zealand scene, such as a Māori identity recognisable through language and *haka*, is constructed and assumed within centric scenes (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 100).

On the other end, we find Alien Weaponry and organisations that work closely together with them, such as K2 Agency. In productive and distributive discourses on this end, genre descriptions are deliberately kept vague: an important strategy in demanding authenticity and transgressive capital to create a unique identity within the global metal scene (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 131). And while these discourses might lead to understand this as a way of Alien Weaponry and their associates to penetrate the global metal scene, we must remember that their primary goal is to preserve *te reo* and the history, stories and (for them particular) identities inscribed within it. While K2 Agency stresses this slightly less, their deliberate avoidance to coin Alien Weaponry in terms of genre or style, assists this cause. In the selection of receptive discourses, reviews from their national scene (and to some degree, also from Australia) aid in this cause, as they are more nuanced, recognising for example cultural particularities in language and instrumentation that reviews from countries unfamiliar with Māori culture brush over. These reviews keep references to locality, identity and heritage mostly restricted to essentialisations about *haka* or the global dissemination of a particular cultural identity in glocal form, which is subsequently taken for the whole of the Māori.

4.4 Conclusion

From the analyses of Alien Weaponry's lyrics, performances and surrounding promotional discourses, a number of conclusions can be made. These will be summarised per analysis.

First, the thematic analyses have made clear Alien Weaponry's preservative, decolonial goals. In their lyrics, this appears through a well-guarded balance of Māori-specific themes, such as the commemoration of history and decolonial commentary, and more general themes like youthful angst and social pressures, themes to which they are also connected through their *whānau*. From interviews and documentaries, we can better understand this approach, with which they primarily mean to grant to Māori listeners a renewed pride in their *māoritanga* in times of globalisation and postmodernity. So while firmly connected to a sense of despondency that is present in most metal lyrics, their approach is firmly rooted within their cultural context in the first place, and their local (and thereby ultimately global) scene in the second.

The selected video clips also reflect this pride in identity and heritage, especially in terms of its commemorative function. Through the performance of not just Alien Weaponry, but also members of their *whānau* and *iwi*, an actual, bodily connection to the past is made. Additionally, their performances, especially in 'Whispers', incite decolonial reflections, which are clearly not only directed at Māori and New Zealander audiences, but at the rest of the global scene too. More generally, their performances show their glocalisation of trash metal not just thematically, but also musically and visually, through their employment of imagery, lyrical content, instrumentation, performance and language (Varas-Díaz and Morales 216-218). Finally, in performing physically in the video clips as well, Alien Weaponry fill out a classic marker of heavy metal music video performances, increasing their mundane subcultural capital.

The discourse analyses show a more divided picture: reductive summaries of Alien Weaponry's goals of identity representation and language preservation are reduced, and the band is taken as singularly representative of a diverse cultural group, who in the first place share not a singular identity, but a (dying) language.

This is present in certain productive and distributive discourses, with only the biography by K2 Agency being less summary in their description. It is also clear that Alien Weaponry themselves, especially in their Facebook bio, appeal mostly to New Zealand audiences, describing in great detail their local accomplishments. In the Napalm Records and Alcatraz bio, this is much shorter, as the band

is here presented to a more diverse and global audience. In receptive discourses, this reductive approach becomes apparent in most, and to a fault. 'Kai Tangata' is most often taken as the song (and video) most emblematic of this essentialisation: it is mentioned fourteen times in a total of fifteen reviews, in a similar degree to how references to *haka* and *te reo* constitute how Alien Weaponry's glocal trash metal is presented and understood. It is only apprehended from the perspective of global audiences, and while reviewers must write for a more diverse and general audience, and they often have little time to do so, it does not excuse reductive statements of the type found in Metalfans.be, to name just one. This general understanding also becomes clear in genre descriptions and definitions of Alien Weaponry's, which on the one hand mention how they outshine classic trash metal boundaries, but on the other hand also stress the eternal return of the same, and thereby reduce even the most glocal metal to global dissemination (Metal.de).

Criticism of Alien Weaponry is nonetheless rather positive, as the rather positive scorings also show. Often, it is connected to their youth and their potential to evolve as a band (and become even bigger) is emphasised as such, especially through comparisons to major bands like Sepultura (which is ironic considering the similar essentialisation that *Roots*-era Sepultura experienced). Alien Weaponry also receive some vile criticism over an apparent lack of notable identity, but this is somewhat abated by demands for more glocalisation in their music (Damnation Magazine; Teeth of the Divine; Metal.de).

Finally, some difference is visible in the receptive discussions of music and themes. While nearly each reviews stresses historical and non-historical themes, more words are reserved for descriptions of their actual music, which mostly contain generic genre references, sometimes with the same edge of essentialism (Rock Tribune). In this, the New Zealand reviews (and sometimes the Australian one as well) are more nuanced, which is an fathomable conclusion. They are more familiar with (encounters of) indigenous culture and language in daily life, and sometimes even use proper terminology (Willnotfade.com). Conversely, some British reviews still show residual colonial fears, although the one use of "controversial", while highly remarkable, cannot of course not be taken for the whole of British magazines and reviewers (Metal Forces Magazine). This is something that further research will have to show.

5 Conclusion

To conclude this dissertation, there are to be retraced its realisations from the theoretical framework and various analyses.

In the first place, the framework rendered a new definition of glocalisation, based in scholarly publications from cultural, literary and metal studies, and with specific attention paid to its function within the peripheries of the global scene:

> Glocalisation in metal music is the merger of globally disseminated genres – and their appropriate classics – with spatially and socially specified influences such as language, instrumentation or performances, which always reflects an identity narrative that is relying on either narrations of past history and mythology, or reflections on the present context, or both. In Latin America, for example, bands reflect on the political, decolonial and cultural situation as it affects the nation and indigenous people in particular, by adopting native languages and performances into their narratives. Acting out of political, cultural or economic interest, glocalisation in the global scenic peripheries is much more about representation within a (mandatory) deep understanding of both genre and national identity heritages and narratives. Thus, glocal metal music becomes a hybrid form that relies on two heritages, namely those of metal and of its local cultural resources, both of which bands from the peripheries must adhere to and elaborate on. This is a demand made by conservative industries and audiences.

Instead of defining glocalisation in terms of its oppositional qualities, this definition approaches it through place as inspiration, as glocal metal draws on language and culture in order to make (decolonial) statements about identity and representation. In the specific case of Alien Weaponry, these statements are very contemporary. And while some selection is evident, a purely mythologised Māori identity cannot be surmised. Furthermore, they glocalise not just narratively, but performatively too, as seen in their video and live performances. Thus, they make very actual statements that are relatable to both postmodernity and coloniality, and that connect to both Māori and New Zealander identities and conflicts between these cultural groups, and to their position in the world.

The analyses in this dissertation consisted of something old and something new. First, it relied on the research methods of Imke von Helden's qualitative research of Norse identity construction in Norwegian metal music. Inspired by her approach to thematic and performative analyses, this rendered the conclusion that Alien Weaponry employ their glocalisation to preserve and represent, of which 'Kai Tangata' and 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' are outstanding examples. Through narrating Māori history working with members of their *whānau* in video clips, they also connect the present to the past. Furthermore, thematic and performative analyses show that decolonial metal as defined by Varas-Díaz and Morales, is a global phenomenon that finds resonance in various peripheral metal scenes, such as Saudi-Arabia and New Zealand. In the case of Alien Weaponry, 'Whispers' exemplifies their reaction against coloniality and thereby vindicate indigenous heritage through imagery, lyrical content, instrumentation, performance and language (Varas-Díaz and Morales 216-218).

Second, three promotional discourses were theorised in order to assess how Alien Weaponry's global success with glocal metal was treated discursively in different structures and parts of the global scene. It must be remarked that this selection of discourses was relatively limited, as the encodings were done manually to allow more researcher control. Hence, future developments in this research ought to consider the digitalisation and automatisation of discourse encodings. The analyses resulted in an generally very positive picture of Alien Weaponry, with their use of *te reo* as a stand-out feature mentioned frequently in each. In terms of productive and distributive discourses, their unique identity and glocal music were frequently emphasised. On the basis of this emphasis, a continuum could be devised. On the one end are found the band and their close co-operatives, such as their booking agency: corresponding discourses stressed Alien Weaponry's local successes, but avoided specific denominations of style or approach, save for the title of their Facebook bio, in which they describe

themselves as “Te Reo trash metal” (Alien Weaponry, *Facebook* 2018). On the other end are discourses released by Alien Weaponry’s label and a festival that they recently performed at. In these, essentialist approaches are much more prevalent, with descriptions often denoting *haka* as a significant element of their music and the label bio even describing them as “Stealth Māori,” a term found nowhere else.

Compared to this dichotomy of productive and receptive discourses, the receptive discourse analyses show that most of the selected reviews dabble in essentialist descriptions, sometimes to grotesque extremes. Quite expectedly, most also classified Alien Weaponry within a specific genre or described their style in a somewhat summary way. At times, this showed a reductive outlook of centric scenes on peripheral ones, relegating the glocal core of Alien Weaponry’s music to a ticking-off-the-boxes. This was most present in virulent emphasis on the incomprehensibility of *te reo*, regardless of the positive reception of their use of it, and of their alterity, which was narrowed to the *haka* as a summary point of reference. Especially in US and UK reviews, it was found that the colonial past has not been worked through in full, which all the more emphasises the decolonial nature of Alien Weaponry’s lyrics. There was, however, also some nuance in the reviews, as most recognised Alien Weaponry for their future potential to not only grow, but also become a bigger and more representative band, not just of the Māori, but also of a new generation of bands. The quality of their representation, supported with funding, was also notably highlighted in the Zware Metalen review, and was cause for a call for similar cultural policies in the Low Countries.

What might this tell us about Alien Weaponry’s position, and that of New Zealand, in the global metal scene? Certainly, the reflection of both their Māori and metal heritages through themes, music, performances and discourses show that the inegalitarian global metal scene is indeed constituted by a discursive logic of subcultural capital, in which bands on its peripheries are expected to balance mundanity and transgression. Within scenic centres, however, this creative agency is often summarised as ‘tribal’, narrowing specific glocal input down to globally recognised (and disseminated) markers of culture, such as *haka* performances in the case of New Zealand (Spracklen et al. 59). And while bands like Alien Weaponry act upon their specific social, cultural and political context through genre blueprints, the self-essentialisation of bands should not be considered an impossibility. Conclusively, glocalisation does not free bands on the peripheries from the inegalitarian global scene and its internal logic of flows; neither does their reception show a changed attitude in scenic centres.

But can we expect this to change? On the global dissemination of Sepultura following *Roots*, Avelar writes that

> [a]fter this encounter [of genre and locality] neither the place nor the sound would remain the same. The complexity of this clash forces us to rethink not only previous conceptions about heavy metal and about constructions of Brazilianness through music. It can also help us rethink a number of frozen oppositions that still plague the cultural studies of popular music. (156)

What we can thus take away from this dissertation, is a consideration of how the global metal scene – global, digital, but still vertically structured – is actively sustained by bands in different scenes, and passively by discursive practices that reflect hierarchy and coloniality, which have made their way into popular culture as well. Through glocal metal, bands from the scenic peripheries address this hierarchy. How this affects and changes the attitudes and infrastructures of the global scene, should not just be a topic of study for metal scholars, but should also be their active engagement and that of bands, labels, festivals, reviewers, policy makers and worldwide audiences.

6 The future of my research

The future of this research holds many opportunities, in terms of its continuation into my PhD research and of its possibilities for employment within the wider cultural field of metal as a source of entertainment and of research.

In the first place, I remain determined to present my conclusions to Alien Weaponry in an interview/discussion format, in order to elicit responses with regards to the preservative and decolonial nature of their music, and to the essentialist discourses that identify them as reductive representatives of the New Zealand "Māori" metal scene. Furthermore, I will expand this research into a doctoral research project, starting September 2019. This research will return to the inequality of the global (extreme) metal scene and employ analyses of promotional discourses to question inegalitarian distribution of subcultural capital. Methodically, it will also expand upon this research by including recorded online sources, such as YouTube reviews and podcasts. Ultimately, I will also expand upon my theoretical framework by revisiting subcultural capital, which still grounds much work in metal studies. One theory that holds much potential in this regard, is Arjun Appadurai's theory of scapes.

In terms of expanding my research to a wider audience, I also plan to apply for a position as Ordinary Member of the Board for the International Society for Metal Music Studies. This way, I might be able to distribute my research to wider audiences in both academic and popular fields. One such way is to present it at music festivals. Such occasions have taken place before at different events across Europe and the USA, and might therefore be an interesting venue to bring together metal academia, music industries and audiences.

In bringing my research to a wider audience, I also aspire to contribute to what the Zware Metalen review suggested: that the Flemish and Dutch governments follow the example of New Zealand and open up to the creative varieties of local metal scenes. Labels like Consouling Sounds (Ghent) and Tartarus Tapes (Groningen) put a lot of effort into multidisciplinary co-operation that puts the creative project first, thereby involving many bands that deal with cultural heritage and identity. And while this begs the question about the various metal identities of the Low Countries, the fact that this question have not yet been asked in the first place, and that bands have therefore very little chance of support, should be enough cause to finally engage in these conversations between academia, policy makers representatives and cultural workers from all backgrounds and scenes.

7 SWOT-analysis

Besides having been a metalhead since I was fifteen years old, I have in the past two years versed myself in metal studies. Thus, when I began my research for this dissertation, it meant the realisation of some preparatory years. Since May 2017, I have been reading and reflecting on literature, not just about metal as a genre, but also as a cultural resource for identity construction, deconstruction and reconstruction in times of globalisation and postmodernity. Hence, writing was a fairly quick process, as the theories explored and developed in this dissertation have been with me for the past two years. I was able to try and test my adapted notion of glocalisation, the three definitions of scenes and the promotional discourses on multiple occasions, which helped me to hone them for this dissertation. I also grew more experienced in writing metal studies, having submitted a number of course papers about metal before, having recently presented at two academic conferences and having submitted a research proposition.

Writing about a daily source of entertainment, however, required me to move "back and forth from critical insider to sympathetic outsider." (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 5). When writing, I had to be wary of writing defensively, and being informed by my own Belgian/Dutch cultural context, especially since I was writing about one I could not farther removed from (von Helden 36). This was a constant and primary concern. I also had to be aware of my writing style, as this dissertation is neither a metal magazine report nor a conference presentation. It thus required a different formal style. Finally, time constraints impeded my work for a long time. In my goal to complete the Cultural Studies program in one year, I spread my internship over six months. Furthermore, I organised a cultural event in my spare time. And finally, I devoted significant time to prepare my doctoral propositions and academic conferences as well. Hence, I chose to postpone most of my research to the end of the second semester, and relegate writing to the summer holiday. This demanded long hours in excruciating temperatures: that made me realise that a better schedule would have been helpful. While I was able to counteract time constraints with experience, which helped me to clearly see progress in my research and writing, I nonetheless realise some spreading of my work would have benefitted me greatly.

This dissertation research serves as the stepping stone for a number of future projects, which is why I had set myself the goal of clear, objective reporting and a diligently developed set of theories. First of all, I was able to test some in presentations I was invited to give. Second, I was given the advice by my supervisor to write this dissertation with a publication in mind. Hence, I wrote it for an audience with a background in cultural and metal studies. Furthermore, the theoretical framework of glocalisation and discourse analysis were written in such a way that I could continue them in my doctoral research. Hence, I chose to focus on a single band for this dissertation, so that I could also properly develop my theoretical framework. Finally, the ISMMS has attempted to connect academia, bands, industry and fans for a number of years now, as all comprise the global metal scene (Kahn-Harris, *Extreme Metal* 78-91, 100-102). In order to contribute to this goal, I have been networking with industry professionals to draw attention to my research. In this regard, I will also submit my dissertation for the Popthesisprijs 2019 (a Flemish award for bachelor and master dissertation researches into popular culture).

I do not expect, however, that this will happen without some resistance. Metal studies still faces a lot of stereotypes. At family parties, I am frequently asked the same question: "So do you study their lyrics or what? But how can you even understand what they are singing?!" This reductive question aside, both the cultural industry and the global metal scene still show resistance to metal music and metal studies. In the former case, I have described how cultural funds in the Low Countries often overlook alternative music, citing reasons that the music is not successful or serious enough, or just noise. And in the latter case, the digital sphere of metal, like Facebook groups and YouTube comment sections, show that global metal audiences love knowledge and facts about metal, but very quickly become defensive when it becomes theorised. These prejudices and defences are something for both the metal music industry and metal studies to work their way around, and it is my belief that they stand strongest in this when co-operating.

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9 Appendices

9.1 Lyrics

1. ‘Whaikōrero’

I te tau kotahi mano, waru rau, ono tekau ma whā, kua tae mai nga hoariri ki Tauranga Moana	In 1864, hostile forces arrived at Tauranga harbour
He taua a Kuīni Wikitoria nga hoariri	These enemies were an army sent by Queen Victoria
I tino maha nga toa tauiwi	The foreign troops were many in number
Ko General Cameron te rangatira o tera atu taua; te taua o Ingarangi	General Cameron was the leader of the army; this army from England
Ko tana kaupapa, te pēhipēhi nga iwi Maori	His mission was to suppress the Maori tribes
Ka whakautu nga iwi mai te whakahuihui i runga i te taumata a Pukehinahina	The people responded by assembling on the hilltop at Pukehinahina
Ko Ngaiterangi, ko Ngāti Pūkenga, ko Ngāti Ranginui, ko Ngāti Pikiao hoki	There were warriors from Ngaiterangi, Ngāti Pūkenga, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāti Pikiao
Kei waenganui o nga iwi, i tū ana tā māua tupuna, ko Te Aho Aho tōna ingoa	Amongst them stood our great great great grandfather, Te Aho Aho

2. ‘Rū Ana Te Whenua’

Whakarongo mai rā... Whakarongo mai rā!	Hark that sound yonder
Whakarongo mai rā... Whakarongo mai rā!	Hark that sound yonder
Whakarongo mai ki te tangi o nga pū i runga i te taumata a Pukehinahina	Listen to the roar of the guns on the hilltop at Pukehinahina
Rū ana te whenua	The earth trembles
Katakata te uira	The lightning cackles
Homai te ahi	Bring on the fire
Ki te waharoa	To the gates
Hī!	(War cry)
Katakata te uira	The lightning cackles
Homai te ahi	Bring on the fire
Ki te waharoa	To the gaping jaws
O te taniwha	Of the monster
Kua tae mai nga mate	Death has arrived
Kua tae mai nga mate	Death has arrived
Kua tae mai nga mate	Death has arrived
Kua tae mai nga mate	Death has arrived
Kei te hē!	You are mistaken!
Nga iwi ki raro	The people below (The bones below)
I roto nga rua	In the tunnels (In the caves)
Kua tae mai nga mate	Death has arrived
Kua tae mai nga mate	Death has arrived
Kua tae mai nga mate	Death has arrived
Kua tae mai nga mate	Death has arrived
Kei te hē!	You are mistaken!
Aue... nga roimata ē...	(Wail of sorrow)… the tears
Aue... kua mate nga tangata	(Wail of sorrow)… the dead and dying
Aue... e reringa roimata ē...	(Wail of sorrow)… the flowing tears
Aue... e reringa toto ē...	(Wail of sorrow)… the flowing blood
I runga i te wai ū o Papa-tū-ā-nuku	Onto the bosom of Mother Earth
Rite kohu, ngaro nga iwi	Like mist, the people have vanished
Oi i te mate!	Unleash death!
Haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē! [x5]	Like the joints of the canoe, we are woven together as one [x5]

3. ‘Holding My Breath’

Before you judge me take a good hard look at yourself
You don't know me but you're draining me of mental health
A lie based on popular opinion
I want to die 'cos' I can't be forgiven

Locked in a room
Void of humanity
I'm in a black hole
Suffering endlessly
Opening my eyes is worse than death
That's why I keep on holding my breath

The world is caving in all around me
I see myself as a vulgar monstrosity
My mind collapsed into a technical mess
I can't deal with the guilt that I have to ingest

Locked in a room
Void of humanity
I'm in a black hole
Suffering endlessly
Opening my eyes is worse than death
That's why I keep on holding my breath

Opening my eyes worse than death... Why I keep on holding my breath [x4]

Worse than death... Holding my breath
Worse than death... Holding my breath

Opening my eyes worse than death... Why I keep on holding my breath [x4]

4. ‘Raupatu’

Nā te Tiriti	Accorded by the Treaty
Te tino, tino rangatiratanga	The full possession and chiefly authority
O o ratou whenua	Over their lands
Tino, tino rangatiratanga	Full possession and chiefly authority
O ratou kainga	Over their communities
Tino rangatiratanga	Full possession and chiefly authority
Me o ratou taonga katoa	Over all things of value to them
Waikato Awa	The Waikato river
He piko, he taniwha	On every bend a mighty war chief
Kingi Tawhiao	King Tawhiao
Me Wiremu Tamihana	And Wiremu Tamihana
Ki Rangiriri e tū ana	Made a stand at Rangiriri
Ko Te Whiti o Rongomai	Te Whiti o Rongomai
Ki Parihaka e noho ana	Held fast at Parihaka
Raupatu!	Confiscated!
Nā te Tiriti	Accorded by the Treaty
Te tino, tino rangatiratanga	The full possession and chiefly authority
O o ratou whenua	Over their lands
Tino, tino rangatiratanga	Full possession and chiefly authority
O ratou kainga	Over their communities
Tino rangatiratanga	Full possession and chiefly authority
Me o ratou taonga katoa	Over all things of value to them
Raupatu... Rangiriri	Confiscated... Rangiriri
Raupatu... Pukehinahina	Confiscated... Pukehinahina
Raupatu... Taurangaika	Confiscated... Taurangaika
Raupatu... Parihaka	Confiscated... Parihaka
You take and take	You take and take
But you cannot take from who we are	But you cannot take from who we are
You cannot take our mana	You cannot take our dignity
You cannot take our māoritanga	You cannot take our cultural identity
You cannot take our people	You cannot take our people
You cannot take our whakapapa	You cannot take our family heritage
You cannot take, you cannot take	You cannot take, you cannot take
Raupatu!	Raupatu!

5. ‘Kai Tangata’

He taua, He taua!	A war party, a war party!
Waewae tapu takahi te ara taua	Footsteps pound the sacred warpath
Ka hopungia e maha nga upoko	Many heads are sought
Ka hopungia e maha taurekareka	Many slaves are sought
E mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga	This is the work of Tūmatauenga
Anei rā	Behold
Te uhi o Mataora	The chisel of Mataora
Pai tuarā	The strong back
Te kokongapere	The base of the spine
Nga rape	The buttock spirals
Te kitemaimairu	The thigh
Tatua taua	The war belt
Nga tā moko puhoro	The tattooed bodies of warriors
Anei nga tohu a Tūmatauenga	These are the omens of war
He pakanga nunui mo te whakautu	A mighty battle to avenge us
Tae mai nga tūpuna mo te whakaāwhina	Our ancestors gather to assist us
Kia mau nga Tohunga mo te whakakarakia	Our priests prepare the incantations
E mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga	This is the work of Tūmatauenga
Anei rā	Behold
Te uhi o Mataora	The chisel of Mataora
Pai tuarā	The strong back
Te kokongapere	The base of the spine
Nga rape	The buttock spirals
Te kitemaimairu	The thigh
Tatua taua	The war belt
Nga tā moko puhoro	The tattooed bodies of warriors
Anei nga tohu a Tūmatauenga	These are the omens of war
A Tūmatauenga	Of Tūmatauenga
A Tūmatauenga	Of Tūmatauenga
A Tūmatauenga	Of Tūmatauenga
A Tūmatauenga	Of Tūmatauenga
Mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga	This is the work of Tūmatauenga
Mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga	This is the work of Tūmatauenga
Mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga	This is the work of Tūmatauenga
Mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga	This is the work of Tūmatauenga
Whakatangi o nga pū, whakapatu nga taiaha	The cry of guns, the blows of the taiaha
Te kikokiko rekareka ō aku hoariri	The sweet flesh of our enemies
Nga umu whakakīa tātau kōpū ki te utu	The ovens fill our bellies with revenge
E mahi nga mahi a Tūmatauenga	This is the work of Tūmatauenga
Anei rā	Behold
Te uhi o Mataora	The chisel of Mataora
Pai tuarā	The strong back
Te kokongapere	The base of the spine
Nga rape	The buttock spirals
Te kitemaimairu	The thigh
Tatua taua	The war belt
Nga tā moko puhoro	The tattooed bodies of warriors
Anei nga tohu a Tūmatauenga	These are the omens of war
Waewae tapu takahi te ara taua [x4]	Footsteps pound the sacred warpath [x4]

6. ‘Rage – It Takes Over Again’

Thought that you would just keep it to yourself
But you had to spread the rumours and piss me off
I fill with hate and distrust
You are the preacher of your own future

Rage takes over again
And I have to accept
I can't control it
I can't control it
Rage takes over again

I know he will be easy prey I challenge him
You just couldn't keep your mouth shut
Now everyone knows
You just couldn't restrain yourself but to piss me off
You just couldn't keep good attention yours
You just caused yourself pain
Ignorance on both our parts
Our egos need to grow
We want to win the fight
We want control
Te Ihi (not translated)
Te wehi (not translated)
Te wana (not translated)

7. ‘The Things That You Know’

Start the game all over again
Redo it and regain myself
Perfection is not without consequence
Put Your Mediocrity on the shelf
Normal things are safe and easy
Get a life and go
Do what you're comfortable with
Do the things that you know

The things that you know
It's hard to let go of the things that you know

Life must be boring be good and get your pay
All people who succeed must listen to what
The government has to say
We must go cleanse ourselves
Of happiness
It's the government
To whom we pray

The things that you know
It's hard to let go of the things that you know
The things that you know
It's hard to let go of the things that you know

8. ‘Whispers’

The government's words
Are like whispers in our ears
Telling us lies
To hide away our fears

Hikoi taku tai moana te take ō te wā
Tāhae whenua anō te kāwanatanga
Te pūkana ō Tariana, te pū ō Tame Iti
He tāonga mō nga iwi Māori nā te kupu ō te Tiriti

The government's words
Are like whispers in our ears
Telling us lies
To hide away our fears

He tiriti nā Amerika, John Key te waha mōkai
Ehara i te koha, TPPA he tūtae
He hui toropuku, he kōrero huna
Nga iwi Māori awere, te Tiriti takahia

The government's words
Are like whispers in our ears
Telling us lies
To hide away our fears

Hide away the truth, playing on our fears
The government's words are like whispers in our ears
The people will find out the truth about our nation
A greedy system that shuts down our voice with legislation

The government's words
Are like whispers in our ears
Telling us lies
To hide away our fears

The foreshore and seabed (protest) march the issue of the day
Another theft of land by the government
The defiance of Tariana (Turia), the shotgun of Tame Iti
These treasures (the foreshore and seabed) belong to Māori, according to the Treaty

The government's words
Are like whispers in our ears
Telling us lies
To hide away our fears

The agreement from America, John Key the puppet mouthpiece
This is no gift, the TPPA is a turd
Secret meetings, hidden words
Māori interests excluded, the Treaty (of Waitangi) disregarded

The government's words
Are like whispers in our ears
Telling us lies
To hide away our fears

Hide away the truth, playing on our fears
The government's words are like whispers in our ears
The people will find out the truth about our nation
A greedy system that shuts down our voice with legislation

9. ‘PC Bro’

Flickering screens against glassy dead eyes
Have now become the norm
They live their lives through others' eyes
Willing more and more
That you lose to the pressure

The watching eyes of the masses
Kill common sense
The media rules you
They are bored with your life
You need to make it right
To satisfy the fixated idiots that
See your every move [x3]

When will they see
That your life is a lie
When will they see
Your life is a lie

Your life is a lie [x4]

Yeah, your life is a lie
Your life is a lie [x3]

Yeah, your life is a lie
Life is a lie [x3]

Just one big fucking lie

10. ‘Urutaa’

The weight of normality
The pressure of civilisation
It never worked for me
I gave up long ago

Urutaa...

Kua tae mai nga tauiwi
Tae o rite te patupaiarehe
He taonga rereke
Whangaroa e makutu ana

Urutaa...

Assumptions of what they know
They need to prove they're worthy
Of popularity
Theories are made but theories are flawed
I gave in 'cause they gave up

Urutaa...

The weight of normality
The pressure of civilisation
It never worked for me
I gave up long ago

Plague...

The arrival of strangers
The colour of the spirit people
A mysterious object
Curses Whangaroa

Plague...

Assumptions of what they know
They need to prove they're worthy
Of popularity
Theories are made but theories are flawed
I gave in 'cause they gave up

Plague...

11. ‘Nobody Here’

Everyone watching but there's nobody here [x4]

Nau mai ki te rua ipurangi au
Ehara i te wāhi whakaruruhau
He karu pōtete
Ka whakahīhī tonu koe

Te ao mārama ngaro
O rite ki te pō
Te rorohiko
He tāku kāinga pono

Sometimes I wonder if the world is real (real, real)
Everyone watching but there's nobody here (nobody here)
We all just close our eyes and look inside reality sinks away (reality sinks away)

Everyone watching but there's nobody here [x4]

Nobody here [x3]

Everyone watching but there's nobody here [x4]

Welcome to my online two
Not a shelter
A cat eye
You will always be proud

The secret world
O like the night
The computer
It is my home

Sometimes I wonder if the world is real (real, real)
Everyone watching but there's nobody here (nobody here)
We all just close our eyes and look inside reality sinks away (reality sinks away)

Everyone watching but there's nobody here [x4]

Nobody here [x3]

12. ‘Hypocrite’

Hypocrite [x3]
You're just a god-damn hypocrite

Decaying your own rules
As you continue to disobey yourself
Deceiver... Dissembler... Pretender... You god-damn hypocrite

Abusing your authority
A power you were not given
The rule doesn't apply any more
You started the offence against the rule that was your own

Deceiver... Dissembler... Pretender... You god-damn hypocrite [x2]

Why listen to the importance of obeying the rule
Your actions make lies of your words
Yeah, 'cause what we see is the rule maker
Being... being a rule breaker

Hypocrite!

9.2 Thematic analyses

13. Matrix: code sets – all songs

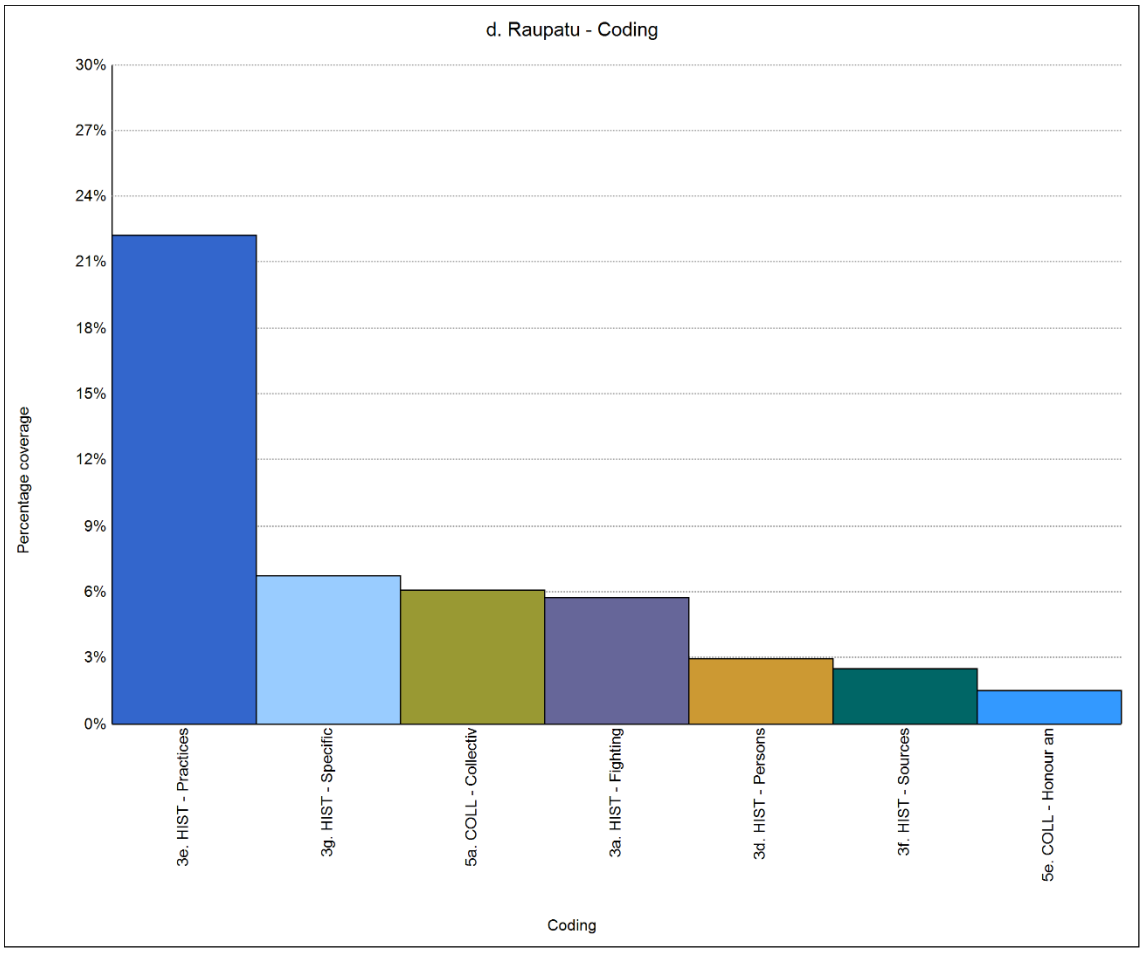
	A : COLLECTIVITY	B : HISTORY	METAL TOPICS AND AESTHET	D : NATURE	E : RELIGION
1 : a. Whai	2	7	0	0	0
2 : b. Ru A	1	5	7	2	0
3 : c. Holdi	2	0	12	0	0
4 : d. Raup	4	8	0	0	0
5 : e. Kai T	0	9	0	0	12
6 : f. Rage	1	2	6	0	0
7 : g. The T	0	0	2	0	0
8 : h. Whis	4	9	3	0	0
9 : i. PC Br	0	0	4	0	0
10 : j. Urut	2	2	0	0	1
11 : k. Nob	2	0	3	0	0
12 : l. Hyp	0	0	3	0	0

14. Hierarchy chart: all songs

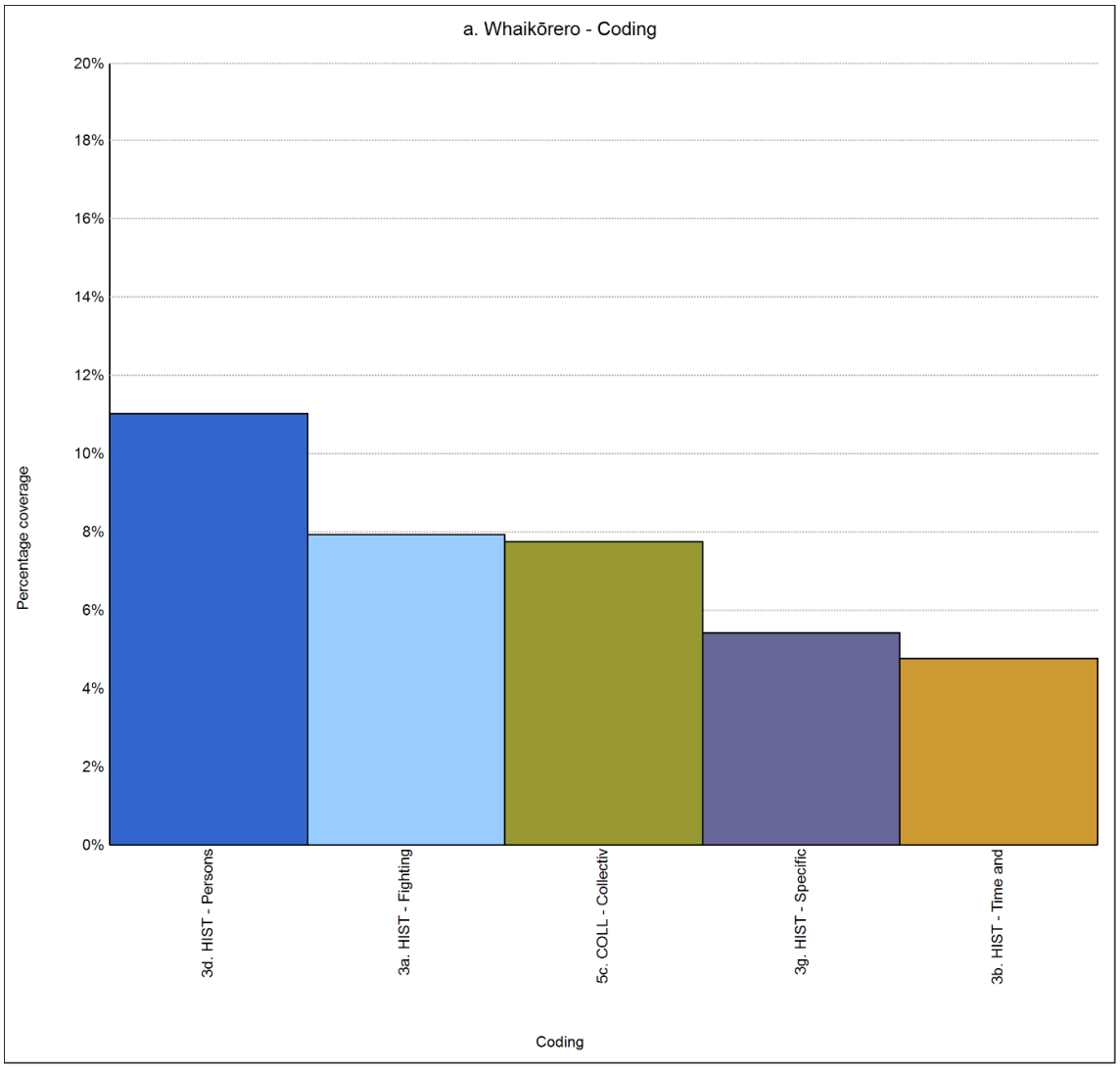
15. Hierarchy chart: songs with Māori-related subjects

16. Hierarchy chart: songs without Māori-related subjects

17. Chart: most frequent encodings for ‘Raupatu’



18. Chart: most frequently occuring encodings for ‘Whaikōrero’



9.3 Discourses

9.3.1 Productive and distributive discourses

19. PROD 1 – Bio (Napalm Records)

The trio shocks and surprises audiences on a number of levels. ALIEN WEAPONRY's songwriting is complex, developed and highly political.

Their live performance energy is startling, with just two fifteen-year olds commanding the front of stage as effectively as four- and five-piece bands three times their age. Many of their songs are in New Zealand's native language, Te Reo Māori. In fact, guitarist/lead singer Lewis de Jong (15) and his brother, drummer Henry (17), are of Ngati Pikiāo and Ngati Raukawa descent – they call themselves 'Stealth Māori.' They attended a full immersion kura kaupapa Māori (Māori language school) until they were seven years old, where singing waiata and performing haka were a daily routine. Also ingrained in their early learning were stories of New Zealand history from a Māori perspective. In September 2017, they won the prestigious „APRA Maioha award" for their song 'Raupatu' – a thrash metal commentary on the 1863 act of parliament that allowed the colonial government to confiscate vast areas of land from the indigenous Māori people. On 16 November, they took their places among NZ's musical elite as nominees at the Vodafone New Zealand Music Awards.

The combination of thrash metal with Māori history and language has proved popular. Their latest music video for RūAna Te Whenuahas more than a million Youtube and Facebook views, spent 2 weeks at no. 1 on Spotify's NZ Viral chart, and hit no. 2 on the iTunes global metal chart (just behind Iron Maiden's 'Run to the Hills'). The band's music has been playlisted on stations in New Zealand and around the world – from Scotland to Brazil, as well as the USA, Australia and Germany. [bold original]

20. PROD 2 – Bio (Facebook)

New Zealand Te Reo metal band

ALIEN WEAPONRY·FRIDAY, 12 OCTOBER 2018

Alien Weaponry is a three-piece thrash metal band from Waipu, New Zealand, formed in 2010 by brothers Lewis and Henry de Jong, who were 8 and 10 years old at the time. The band consists of Lewis de Jong (guitar and vocals), Henry de Jong (drums), and Ethan Trembath (bass guitar).

The band is most noted for its fusion of Te Reo Māori (the native language of New Zealand) with thrash metal – delivering emotionally and politically charged stories of conflict and grief with a warrior-like attitude. Drummer Henry de Jong says, "Our musical style and messages have a lot of similarities with haka, which is often brutal, angry and about stories of great courage or loss."

The de Jong brothers are of Ngati Pikiāo and Ngati Raukawa (Māori tribal) descent; and began their schooling at a kura kaupapa Māori (full immersion Māori language school), where singing waiata (songs) and performing haka were a daily routine. Also ingrained in their early learning were stories of New Zealand history told to them by their father, who, alongside the story telling, played them music from Metallica, Rage Against the Machine, Anthrax, Ministry, Red Hot Chili Peppers; and it is this combination of music, language, history and socio-political commentary that underpins the band's sound and ideas.

The brothers named the band Alien Weaponry after watching the movie District 9. After moving to the small town of Waipu in 2012, they were joined by bass guitarist Ethan Trembath in April 2013. Trembath replaced Wyatt Channings who had briefly played bass for the band the previous year.

The band toured with New Zealand chart topping band Devilskin on their 'We Rise' tour in 2014; and performed at The Powerstation in support of New Zealand's best known rock band Shihad in May 2015. They came second in the 2015 national finals of New Zealand's two most prestigious High school band competitions, Smokefree Pacifica Beats and Smokefree Rockquest; the latter of which they had been regional finalists in every year since 2012.
Alien Weaponry are believed to be the youngest recipients to have ever received New Zealand on Air funding – for their song 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' in October 2015. They received a $10,000 grant to complete recording of the song and produce a video; and have since received additional NZ On Air grants to record and produce music videos for 'Urutaa,' 'Raupatu,' 'Holding My Breath,' 'Kai Tangata,' and 'Whispers.'

In 2016, Alien Weaponry won the national finals of Smokefreerockquest and Smokefree Pacifica Beats; the only band to have ever won both events, winning funding to record and release singles and music videos, as well as musical instruments and other equipment. At the end of that year, the band was named by UK Metal Hammer Magazine as one of New Zealand's top 10 hard rock and metal acts.

In 2017, Alien Weaponry won the APRA Maioha Award for their song 'Raupatu;' and were finalists in the following additional New Zealand awards – Waiata Māori (best Music Video) for 'Rū Ana Te Whenua;' APRA Silver Scroll for 'Urutaa;' Vodafone NZ Music Awards for Best Māori Artist. They toured New Zealand to promote their single Rū Ana Te Whenua, and sold out venues in Auckland, Hamilton and Wellington.

In September 2017, the band signed a management contract with German-based agency Das Maschine; and in January 2018 they announced a worldwide distribution deal with Napalm Records to distribute their debut album, Tū. They performed at a number of festivals in New Zealand over the summer of 2017/18, including headline/main stage slots at the NZ Tattoo & Arts Festival, Wavefront and Auckland City Limits; as well as opening for Prophets of Rage in March 2018.
Since the release of their album on 1 June 2018, Alien Weaponry have sold out headline shows in Australia and Europe; and played to record crowds at some of the biggest and most prestigious festivals and in Europe and the UK, including Wacken Open Air (Germany), MetalDays (Slovenia), Summer Breeze (Germany) and Bloodstock Open Air (UK).

In the same period, the single 'Kai Tangata' rocketed to no.1 on the prestigious 'Devil's Dozen' countdown for the Liquid Metal show on New York based Sirius XM, where it remained for 13 weeks. The video for 'Kai Tangata' was the 'Most Added Metal Song' for June 2018 on US Cable Channel Music Choice (delivering to 50 million households). It had 1.5 million views on YouTube in the first four months since its release; and is also a finalist in the NZ On Air Best Music Video category of the 'Show Me Shorts' International Film Festival screening around New Zealand in October 2018.

In September 2018, Alien Weaponry won the Waiata Māori (best Music Video) Award for 'Kai Tangata;' and are finalists in the 2018 Vodafone NZ Music Awards in six categories: Best Album (for Tū); Best Group; Best Rock Artist; Best Māori Artist; Best Producer (for Tū); and best Engineer (for Tū).

Discography
Début EP 'The Zego Sessions' was independently released by the band in August 2014. It contained 4 demo songs – Cages, Never as it Seems, False Reality and Hypocrite.

The band's first full-length album, Tū, was recorded at Roundhead Studios in New Zealand and released on 1 June 2018 through Napalm Records. It contains 13 tracks:

01 Whaikorero
02 Rū Ana Te Whenua
03 Holding My Breath
04 Raupatu
05 Kai Tangata
06 Rage - It Takes Over Again
07 The Things That You Know (Bonus Track)
08 Whispers
09 PC Bro
10 Urutaa
11 Nobody Here
12 Te Ara
13 Hypocrite (Bonus Track)

The album entered the Official Album Chart in New Zealand at #5 and spent 2 weeks on that chart; and entered the NZ Artist Album Chart at #1 and spent 14 weeks on that chart. It also reached the following peak positions on the USA Billboard Chart:

#25 Top New Artist Album
#69 Record Label Independent Albums
#82 Top Hard Music Albums
#198 Overall Digital Albums

Tū had over a million streams on Spotify in its first week of release; and tracks from it have been added to over 8,000 playlists worldwide, including Spotify's own metal genre playlists New Blood, New Metal Tracks, Kickass Metal and Thrash Metal Big 4 & Friends. Songs from the album were playlisted by over 50 radio stations in the USA in its first week. From June-September 2018, Tū has sold over 4,500 physical copies, and had 2.5M streams worldwide.

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www.facebook.com/AlienWeaponry www.youtube.com/c/alienweaponry
www.alienweaponry.bandcamp.com

21. PROD 3 – Bio (Spotify)

Trash metal band Alien Weaponry "are one of the most exciting young metal bands in the world right now" according to Revolver Magazine in the USA. And they're not the only ones who thinks so. Since they released their third single 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' in mid 2017, fans, bloggers, the music industry and the media worldwide have raved about Alien Weaponry's unique blend of trash metal and their native language, Te Reo Māori.

In September 2017, they signed with German management compnay Das Maschine; and in February 2018 they announced a three-album deal with Austrian-based Napalm Records, which will see their music promoted and sold internationally.

They have featured in publications as diverse as UK-based Metal Hammer and i-D magazines to National Public Radio (NPR) and Revolver and The Atlantic in the USA.

In their home country, New Zealand, the three teenagers from the tiny town of Waipu in Northland recently won the prestigious APRA Maioha award for their song 'Raupatu' – a no punches pulled commentary on the 1863 act of parliament that allowed the colonial government to confiscate vast areas of land from the indigenous Māori people.

They will release their debut album, Tū (which already has hundreds of pre-sales via their fully funded Indiegogo campaign) on June 2018; and a few weeks later they will hit the stages at the world's biggest metal festivals – including Wacken Open Air, Metaldays and Summerbreaze.

22. DIST 1 – Bio (K2 Agency)

Alien Weaponry are "one of the most exciting young metal bands in the world right now" according to Revolver Magazine in the USA. And they're not the only ones who thinks so. Since well before they released their debut album Tū on 1 June 2018, fans, bloggers, the music industry and the media worldwide have raved about Alien Weaponry's unique blend of thrash metal and their native language, Te Reo Māori.

The three-piece thrash metal band from Waipu, New Zealand, was formed in 2010 by brothers Lewis and Henry de Jong, who were 8 and 10 years old at the time. The band consists of Lewis de Jong (guitar and vocals), Henry de Jong (drums), and Ethan Trembath (bass guitar).
Most noted for their fusion of Te Reo Māori (the native language of New Zealand) with thrash metal, they deliver emotionally and politically charged stories of conflict and grief with a warrior-like attitude. Drummer Henry de Jong says, "Our musical style and messages have a lot of similarities with haka, which is often brutal, angry and about stories of great courage or loss."

The de Jong brothers are of Ngati Pikiāo and Ngati Raukawa (Māori tribal) descent; and began their schooling at a kura kaupapa Māori (full immersion Māori language school), where singing waiata (songs) and performing haka were a daily routine. Also ingrained in their early learning were stories of New Zealand history told to them by their father, who, alongside the story telling, played them music from Metallica, Rage Against the Machine, Anthrax, Ministry, Red Hot Chili Peppers; and it is this combination of music, language, history and socio-political commentary that underpins the band's sound and ideas. The brothers named the band Alien Weaponry after watching the movie District 9.

After moving to the small town of Waipu in 2012, they were joined by bass guitarist Ethan Trembath in April 2013. At the time, Trembath was 11 years old, and got the job because he could reach the end of the bass guitar. The band has toured extensively in New Zealand since 2013, including headline/main stage slots at the NZ Tattoo & Arts Festival, Wavefront and Auckland City Limits; as well as opening for Prophets of Rage in March 2018. More recently, they have sold out headline shows in Australia, Europe and the USA; and played to record crowds at some of the biggest and most prestigious festivals and in Europe and the UK, including Wacken Open Air (Germany), MetalDays (Slovenia), Summer Breeze (Germany) and Bloodstock Open Air (UK).

In New Zealand, Alien Weaponry has won multiple awards, starting with their double win at Smokefreerockquest and Smokefree Pacifica Beats in 2016. In 2017, they won the APRA Maioha Award for their song 'Raupatu;' and were finalists in the APRA Silver Scroll Award ('Urutaa'); the Waiata Māori Awards for Best Music Video ('Rū Ana Te Whenua'); and the Vodafone NZ Music Awards for Best Māori Artist. In 2018, they were finalists in the Vodafone NZ Music Awards in six categories, taking home the Tui for Best Rock Artist, while the producers of Tū won the Best Producer award.

The band is managed internationally by German-based agency Das Maschine; and has a worldwide distribution deal with Napalm Records. They are represented by Pinnacle Entertainment (also Page 2 of 2 representing Slayer, Alice Cooper, Rob Zombie and Noel Gallagher) in North America and UK-based K2 touring agency (also representing Slayer, Iron Maiden, Mastodon and Gojira) in the rest of the world.

Following the release of their debut album Tū, AW's single 'Kai Tangata' rocketed to no.1 on the prestigious 'Devil's Dozen' countdown for the Liquid Metal show on New York based Sirius XM, where it remained for 13 weeks. The video for 'Kai Tangata' was the 'Most Added Metal Song' for June 2018 on US Cable Channel Music Choice (delivering to 50 million households) and had over 2 million views on YouTube in the first four months since its release.

23. DIST 2 – Editorial review (Amazon.com)

They believe in their identity as a metal band, their use of Te Reo is impressive, there's really nothing else like this in the world at the moment" (Jeff Newton, NZ On Air). The trio shocks and surprises audiences on a number of levels: ALIEN WEAPONRY's songwriting is complex, developed and highly political. Their live performance energy is startling, with just two fifteen-year olds commanding the front of stage as effectively as four- and five-piece bands three times their age. But perhaps most surprising of all, many of their songs are in New Zealand's native language, Te Reo Māori.

24. DIST 3 – Bio (Alcatraz Hard Rock & Heavy Metal Festival)

We all know the iconic Haka, a fierce ceremonial dance performed for a variety of reasons such as gearing up for war or welcoming guests.

The young thrash metallers from Alien Weaponry find inspiration in their culture and on their maiden CD 'Tū' they mix their heritage with melodic thrash metal. The use of traditional instruments gives the album a vibe that calls to mind Sepultura's 'Roots'. Alien Weaponry formed in 2010, when founding members Lewis and Henry de Jong were just 8 and 10 years old respectively. Bassist Ethan Trembath was recruited when then they moved to Waipu, a picturesque little town nestled in New Zealand's spectacular scenery. Their debut EP 'The Zego Sessions' dropped in 2014, followed two years later by 'Tū'. The tracks are partly sung in Māori and have a war chant vibe but that's no surprise if you know that the album was named after the mythical figure of Tūmatauenga, the god of war in the Māori culture. The lyrics on 'Tū' focus on historical events from Māori history. Tribal thrash comes to Alcatraz thanks to the youngest band on the bill. Time for a thrash haka in the moshpit?

9.3.2 Receptive discourses

25. REC l – Rock Tribune (BE)

Drie bijzonder jonge snaken – van 15 tot 17 jaar jong – lijken een goudmijn ontdekt te hebben. In elk geval laten ze een frisse wind doorheen het reguliere aanbod waaien door stoere thrash metal te voorzien van teksten in hun moedertaal. In dit geval komen ze uit Nieuw Zeeland en is die taal het Te Reo Mãori. Etnische invloeden uit hun muziekcultuur worden eveneens mondjesmaat opgevoerd in de vrij hapklare en geenszins complexe songs. Hun jeugdige rebellie tegen het regime dat hun voorouders verjoeg en hen terugbracht tot een minderheid klinkt oprecht, boos en opruiend. Een mysterieuze passage her en der past erbij, maar vette riffs maken toch de hoofdmoot uit van opzwepende songs als 'Raupatu', de single 'Rū Ana Te Whenua' over een hardvochtige strijd en de geschiedkundige les die 'Urutaa' in feite is, want de veroveraars brachten nieuwe ziekten mee. Zanger/gitarist Lewis de Jong baant zich boos en opstandig een weg doorheen het materiaal, zijn broer Henry houdt de teugels

strak achter de drums en vriend Ethan Trembath mag al eens een inventief uitstapje wagen op zijn basgitaar. Een rebels pamflet met gevoel voor ritmiek en sterke – net iets gladder gezongen – refreinen, nu en dan een verkondigende sample en als besluit het episch aandoende en grotendeels instrumentale 'Te Ara'. Dat maakt het plaatje compleet. Een aanrader voor Sepultura-fans ten tijde van 'Roots', durven we stellen. Ondanks de jeugdige leeftijd heeft Alien Weaponry het potentieel om ook in Europa stof te doen opwaaien. (Vera Matthijssens)

9.4 Discourse analyses

26. Matrix: code sets – all productive/distributive discourses

	A : 1. INTRODUCTION	B : 2. AUTHENTICITY	C : 3. CRITICISM.	D : 4. THEMES	E : 5. UNIQUENESS
1 : 1 PROD 1 - Napalm bio	5	6	0	2	2
2 : 1 PROD 2 - AW Facebook bio	22	9	0	1	2
3 : 1 PROD 3 - AW Spotify bio	5	0	0	1	3
4 : 2 DIST 1 - K2 Agency bio	16	10	0	1	4
5 : 2 DIST 2 - Amazon editorial review	0	1	0	1	1
6 : 2 DIST 3 - Alcatraz Festival bio	3	7	0	1	3

9.5 Promotional material

27. Promo photo of Alien Weaponry bearing the Māori flag, a canoe paddle and the Gate Pā flag. Retrieved from https://www.revolvermag.com/sites/default/files/media/images/article/alienweaponry_0.jpg. Accessed 11 Aug. 2019.

28. Promo photo of Alien Weaponry bearing paddles and a ceremonial knife. Retrieved from https://metal-heads.de/reviews/tu-von-alien-weaponry/. Accessed 11 Aug. 2019.