

MUSIC, VIOLENCE, AND MILITARISM:
A STUDY ON THE REFLEXIVITY OF CULTURE

Marco Accattatis
Rutgers University
December 15, 2014

Introduction

With her seminal study “Music as Torture / Music as Weapon,”¹ Suzanne Cusick became one of the first scholars to draw attention to a practice that until then was believed to be only the stuff found in fictional novels and movies. But as the saying goes, sometimes truth can be stranger than fiction, and Cusick’s essay draws the reader into an underworld that many people would prefer not to have revealed to them. The purpose of this paper is not so much to restate and amplify Cusick’s findings but, rather, to contextualize her work within the broader cultural and social context. What interests me, in particular, are the forces that cause a society to do what it does and the role that culture has in this regard. In my opinion, cultural production can both be seen as a reflection as well as a catalyst for social change and thus the study of culture can give us special insight into where our society is coming from and, perhaps most importantly, where it is going.

What this study does not try to do is to find a unidirectional causal relationship between culture and the society that produces it. Unlike certain strands of cultural criticism, I do not believe that cultural productions – music, films, books, etc. – can solely be held responsible for shaping individual and social behaviors in a kind of one-directional top-down fashion. Rather, as stated above, it is my opinion that culture can more aptly be viewed as a reflection of the society that produces it. Having said this, I also do not agree with those aesthetic conceptions that see culture as neutral and apolitical, in the sense that it does not play any particular role in shaping social and individual perceptions. In fact, it is also my belief that once produced, culture has a way of reflexively seeping back into the fabric of society. In sum, this paper is written with the assumption that culture and the society that produce it have a tendency to reinforce one another in a sort of feedback loop. Within this context, I will try to show that the increasing militarization of our culture

¹ Suzanne Cusick, “Music as torture / Music as weapon,” *Revista Transcultural de Música/Transcultural Music Review* 10 (2006), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/a152/music-as-torture-music-as-weapon>.

can be seen as a reflection as well as a cause of the increasing militarization of our society writ large. While I will touch upon literary works, film and TV, my primary focus is centered on the field of music.

Music and War

The relationship between music and violence is an ancient one, and it can be traced as far back as the historical record and further into mythology such as *The Odyssey*, where Homer recounts how sailors were driven to their death by the song of sirens. In his book *Noise*, Attali writes that “the myth of the sirens is quite clear: their song kills whoever hears it.”² One of the oldest and most famous examples of music’s association with violence can be found in The Book of Joshua in the Old Testament where Joshua recounts the siege of Jericho:

To break the siege, Joshua was commanded to have seven priests, each bearing a ram’s horn, circle the city on six consecutive days. Each time they traveled around the walls, they were to blow loudly on their trumpets, but the accompanying soldiers were to remain silent. On the seventh day, the priests circled the city seven times, continuously making noise from the ram’s horn. Upon completion of the seventh circumnavigation, the soldiers of Israel let forth a great shout. At that point, the Bible states, the heavy stone wall collapsed, and Joshua’s men entered Jericho and killed the inhabitants.³

Mythological connotations aside, the event highlights the particular connection between music and warfare as exemplified by the war song, or war cry. The historical record is, in fact, littered with references to music in the service of war: from Cato the Elder to the crusader King Richard I leading their respective armies into attack with trumpets and horns, and from Henry V’s own retinue at the battle of Agincourt in 1415 – which included 18 musicians at 12 pence per day – to the Spanish Armada in 1588 carrying trumpeters, drummers and fife-players.⁴ The modern military marching band saw its origin in the Ottoman thirteenth-century *mehterhane*, or Janissary band, which

² Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 29.

³ John B. Alexander, *Future War: Non-Lethal Weapons in Twenty-First-Century Warfare* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2000), 95.

⁴ Martin Cloonan and Bruce Johnson, *Dark Side of the Tune: Popular Music and Violence* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 31-33.

provided a model for European monarchs who eventually institutionalized music in the military starting with August II of Poland in 1720.⁵ In the end, the near ubiquitous presence of musicians in the historical record of military campaigns underlies the close correlation between music and violence.

For the purpose of this inquiry, the significance of the siege of Jericho becomes particularly relevant in 1989, when the US launched Operation Just Cause to depose General Manuel Noriega, Panama's military dictator and long time US intelligence collaborator who had apparently fallen out of favor in Washington.⁶ As part of the operation, the US Army subjected the Papal Nunciatura – the Vatican Embassy where Noriega had sought asylum – to round-the-clock hard rock and heavy metal music by AC/DC, Mötley Crue, Metallica and Led Zeppelin and others through the use of mobile loudspeakers. This particular musical offering apparently expressed the tastes of the Marines PsyOps (Psychological Operations) involved in the operation, whose original intent was to disrupt communications to and from the Embassy. Once the Marines PsyOps learned that Noriega, an opera lover, was irritated by the music, they decided to turn the volume up and to broaden the aesthetic range of the attack with songs such as “Nowhere to Run” by Martha and the Vandellas and “It Keeps You Running” by the Doobie Brothers.⁷ In regard to the operation, spokesman for the US Army PsyOps command at Fort Bragg, North Carolina Ben Abel said that the “Noriega incident” should be seen as a defining event for the use of music as a psychological tactic.⁸

⁵ Nigel Cawthorne, *The Immortals: History's Fighting Elites* (Minneapolis: Zenith Press, 2009), 47.

⁶ Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present* (New York: Perennial Classics, 2001), 593-94.

⁷ According to a U.S. SOUTHCOM report, SouthCom Network (SCN) Radio was getting requests as it was being fed through the loudspeakers by the Marines: “On December 27 [1989] someone who identified himself as a member of the PSYOPS team from fort Bragg called to tell us what they were doing with their loudspeakers. We already had reports on radio news as to what was happening. We had been receiving requests with a ‘musical message’ for Noriega either by words or the song title, but as soon as the media picked up the story, those type of requests increased dramatically” (*The National Security Archive*, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/DOCUMENT/950206.htm>). The report includes a partial lists of the songs requested.

⁸ Jonathan R. Pieslak, *Sound Targets: American Soldiers and Music in the Iraq War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 82.

The “Jericho tactic” was also employed during the FBI-led siege of the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas in 1993 and by the U.S. Army in the siege of Fallujah, Iraq in 2004. In regard to the latter, Abel explained how this tactic was not so much about music, but sound: its aim was “to disorient and confuse the enemy to gain a tactical advantage.”⁹ It is perhaps for this reason that while the decision to use sound as a weapon was made at the command level, the choice of repertoire was left to the creativity of the PsyOps soldiers in the field.¹⁰ In this light, what David Peisner of *Spin Magazine* labeled the “Jericho model,”¹¹ becomes even more fitting since if we are to believe the mythological Joshua, it was the shout of the Israelite soldiers and not the trumpets, that tore down the walls of Jericho in the end. In similar fashion, and as the case of Fallujah exemplifies, in warfare and particularly in siege-type scenarios music can serve the dual purpose of galvanizing the outside forces while disorienting those on the inside. In this light, it could be said that music-as-weapon operates on two distinct cognitive and agency dependent levels: for those who brandish it, the musical weapon retains its quality as a cultural artifact while for those who are subjected to it, the music is by and large perceived as noise.

Music and Interrogations

Another instance where music has been recently utilized as a sonic weapon is in interrogations by the US military and US intelligence agencies in the so-called “global war on terror.” With her groundbreaking studies, Suzanne Cusick established that contrary to claims by US officials, “music and sound have been systematically used to harass, discipline and in some cases ‘break’ detainees.”¹²

In the 2007 Academy Award winner for Best Documentary Feature *Taxi to the Dark Side*,¹³ Tim

⁹ Pieslak, *Sound Targets*, 84.

¹⁰ Cusick, “Music as torture.”

¹¹ David Peisner, “Music As Torture: War Is Loud,” *Spin Magazine*, November 20, 2006, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.spin.com/articles/music-torture-war-loud>.

¹² Suzanne Cusick, ““You are in a place that is out of the world . . .”: Music in the Detention Camps of the “Global War on Terror”,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 2 (2008): 2.

¹³ *Taxi to the Dark Side*, DVD, directed by Alex Gibney (THINKFilm, 2008).

Golden of the *New York Times* tells director Alex Gibney that as soon as prisoners were brought into custody at the Bagram Air Base, one of the largest U.S. military bases in Afghanistan, they were immediately assaulted: “They blasted music at them. Often, they had dogs barking at them. And they would use some of the most menacing interrogators to create this sense of threat.”¹⁴ One of those interrogators was Damien Corsetti, who tells Gibney that the purpose of the initial screening was to try to instill what he calls the “Shock of Capture”; the tactic is very similar, perhaps not so coincidentally, to the Jericho tactic described by Ben Abel above. In *Taxi to the Dark Side*, Moazzam Begg, a British citizen detained at Bagram and Guantanamo between 2002 and 2005, tells Gibney that the shock of capture “is not just a disorientation procedure, it’s actually a terrorizing procedure. It’s designed to terrify you into spilling the beans, as it were.”

The origins of these techniques, including sonic interrogation techniques, can be found in the psychological research financed by the security agencies of Canada, the US and the UK starting in the 1950s. These were eventually codified in the KUBARK¹⁵ manual of 1963.¹⁶ Alfred McCoy, author of *A Question of Torture*,¹⁷ tells Gibney that, in the 1950s, the CIA became particularly interested in the research of Donald O. Hebb, a Canadian behavioral scientist at McGill University:

[Hebb] found that he could induce a “state akin to acute psychosis in forty-eight hours.” All he did was [to] have student volunteers sit in a very pleasant air conditioned cubicle with goggles, gloves, and ear muffs. Actually, [do] you know what they looked just like? The Guantanamo detainees. [Did you see] those outfits that the Guantanamo detainees have, where they have the gloves, the goggles, and the ear muffs? Now, everybody thinks “Oh, that’s security,” no, no, no. That’s sensory breakdown. Within a day there would be hallucinations, within two days, breakdown.¹⁸

While supposedly banned after the Vietnam War, these techniques are apparently still taught to US personnel and Latin American military and police forces at the School of the Americas, at Fort

¹⁴ The screenplay of the film is available at <http://www.american-buddha.com/taxidark.screen.htm>, accessed December 15, 2014.

¹⁵ A CIA cryptonym for itself The manual can be found at *The National Security Archive*, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB122/index.htm>.

¹⁶ Cusick, “You are in a place,” 3.

¹⁷ Alfred W. McCoy, *A question of torture: CIA interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Co., 2006).

¹⁸ Gibney, *Taxi*.

Benning, Georgia.¹⁹ In addition, resistance to such techniques is currently an integral part of SERE, the Survival, Evasion, Resistance, Escape training of Special Forces.²⁰ Created at the end of the Korean War, SERE “subjected trainees to simulated torture, including waterboarding (simulated drowning), sleep deprivation, isolation, exposure to temperature extremes, enclosure in tiny spaces, bombardment with agonizing sounds, and religious and sexual humiliation.”²¹

At the onset of the “global war on terror”, the CIA decided to put SERE into practice on its own prisoners.²² In a now famous statement at the onset of the “global war on terror,” Captain William Ponce, an army military intelligence officer, wrote an e-mail to U.S. interrogators in Iraq where he stated: “The gloves are coming off gentlemen regarding these detainees, Col. [Steven] Boltz has made it clear that we want these individuals broken.”²³ Thus, in a tragically ironic turn of events, a product of US cold war paranoia became a standard interrogation technique for prisoners in the “global war on terror.” Describing this turn, a former US intelligence adviser told Jane Mayer of *The New Yorker* that CIA psychologists were looking for “a *Clockwork Orange* kind of approach.”²⁴ Within the context of this paper, this reference can be seen as emblematic of how cultural production can seep back into the fabric of society and become an active participant in social construction.

¹⁹ The school was replaced in 2001 by the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC). Source: *SOA Watch*, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://soaw.org/about-the-soawhinsec/what-is-the-soawhinsec>.

²⁰ Cusick, “You are in a place,” 3.

²¹ Jane Mayer, “The Black Sites: A rare look inside the C.I.A.’s secret interrogation program,” *The New Yorker*, August 13, 2007, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2007/08/13/the-black-sites>.

²² Steven G. Bradbury, “Memorandum for John A. Rizzo,” 3, *The National Security Archive* (April 3, 2012) accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20120403/docs/Bradbury%20memo.pdf>. While the term “detainee” is often used, such term can be seen as an euphemism similar to “enhanced interrogation techniques” in lieu of “torture.” It is thus refreshing that in the recently released Torture Report by the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the term torture has been finally and unequivocally adopted. See Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, *Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency’s Detention and Interrogation Program* (December 9, 2014) accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.intelligence.senate.gov/study2014.html>.

²³ Michael Otterman, *American Torture from the Cold War to Abu Ghraib and Beyond* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007), 161.

²⁴ Mayer, “Black Sites.”

Incidentally, the ultimate irony of such reference rests on the fact that, like most people in the US, CIA psychologists were most likely only familiar with either the US edition of Burgess's novel or the movie by Stanley Kubrick, based on the book; what these renditions have in common is the fact that they are both a truncated version of the original. In fact, for the novella's 1986 edition, Burgess wrote a scathing critique of the first US edition in the form of an introduction titled "A Clockwork Orange Resucked." In it, Burgess explains that because of an arbitrary decision by his New York publisher, the US public was presented a message that was opposite to the one that he had intended: "My book was Kennedyan and accepted the notion of moral progress. What was really wanted was a Nixonian book with no shred of optimism in it."²⁵ In short, rather than a story of redemption the US public was given a story of absolute evil, something that nicely fit the general narrative of cold war propaganda aimed at building public support for the Vietnam War. In light of this narrative, it is easy to see how in today's neoconservative Manichean worldview – exemplified by the apocalyptic pronouncements of former US President George W. Bush and former US Vice President Dick Cheney – the prisoners from the "Axis of evil" could be seen by those CIA interrogators who grew up with the US version of *A Clockwork Orange* as a real-life version of Alex – the novel's protagonist.

What Burgess described as "the application of a mechanistic morality to a living organism"²⁶ can perhaps best explain the psychology of the US interrogator in the "global war on terror." At the same time, there also appears to be a qualitative shift from the type of treatment received by Alex: in the novel, Dr. Brodsky and Dr. Branom play music that is culturally relevant to their subject; when they discover that Alex is particularly fond of Beethoven and Handel, and that he feels offended by the association of violence with the sublime. Dr. Branom famously remarks: "Each man kills the

²⁵ Anthony Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1986), *xiii*.

²⁶ Burgess, *Clockwork Orange*, *xv*.

thing he loves, as the poet-prisoner said. Here's the punishment element, perhaps."²⁷ In the "global war on terror," on the other hand, the music chosen by U.S. interrogators is for the most part culturally irrelevant to their subjects and thus it is primarily perceived as noise.²⁸ The music is primarily intended to annoy, mock, disorient and overwhelm the prisoner psychologically, and it is generally taken from the mp3 devices of individual interrogators; the same devices that they use to relax, escape or pump themselves up before and during and after a combat mission. In this respect, it is perhaps no coincidence that heavy metal seems to be the most popular genre in the military – from interrogations to acoustic weapons, to soldier's amusement and mood-setting.²⁹ Thus, in a kind of inversion, it could be said that by juxtaposing their favorite songs to the horrors of war and torture, it is the soldiers/interrogators of the "global war on terror" that may end up killing the thing they love.

War Is Heavy Metal

In the 2004 documentary *Soundtrack to War*³⁰ by George Gittoes, many soldiers are heard saying how "war itself is heavy metal."³¹ It is perhaps no coincidence then that while many of the reports discussing music in combat missions and interrogations show an eclectic array of musical styles, rap

²⁷ Burgess, *Clockwork Orange*, 128. The poet-prisoner reference is to Oscar Wilde and his poem *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, which he wrote in 1897 after having spent two years of hard labor in prison for homosexual conduct.

²⁸ In this regard, Cusick quotes Begg, a British prisoner, saying that while he was not particularly bothered by the music it "dazed, dazzled and confused, bewildered" those Afghan and Yemeni villagers who happened to be totally unfamiliar with it (Cusick, "You are in a place," 7).

²⁹ Lane DeGregory, "Iraq'n'roll," *Tampa Bay Times*, November 21, 2004, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.sptimes.com/2004/11/21/Floridian/Iraq_n_roll.shtml.

³⁰ *Soundtrack to War*, DVD, directed by George Gittoes (Melee, 2006).

³¹ Pieslak, *Sound Targets*, 52.

and heavy metal consistently come out as the most preponderant styles.³² Of the latter two, heavy metal seems to hold the number-one slot with the two most-played songs during interrogations being “Fuck Your God”³³ by Deicide and “Bodies”³⁴ by Drowning Pool.³⁵ Also known as “Let the Bodies Hit the Floor” the song is cited in *Soundtrack to War* as the most listened-to selection by soldiers in Iraq. In the documentary, a soldier is seen holding up a CD as he says: “This is the one we listen to the most. This is the one we travel, when we are killing the enemy, going through war... [It] was the motto for our tank, ‘Let the Bodies Hit the Floor,’ ‘cuz it was fitting for the job we were doing.”³⁶

Given its content, the song “Fuck Your God” may have required a certain degree of cognitive dissonance for those interrogators who chose to deploy it. Sonic considerations aside, it is probable that the title of the song was seen as an insult to the prisoners’ religious beliefs. Given that the latter were in all likelihood not well versed in the English language, it would seem that ultimately the song’s not-so-veiled message was semantically more meaningful for the interrogators than for the prisoners. In fairness, it is possible that interrogators may have also been oblivious to the true meaning of the lyrics given the highly distorted nature of the vocal track. And while ignorance on the part of the interrogators may seem a too benign assumption, it would otherwise be difficult to

³² In regard to interrogations, Peisner writes how the artist list is “heavy on rap (2Pac, Dr. Dre) and hard rock and metal (Metallica, Marilyn Manson, Rage Against the Machine), but also sprinkled with pop (Britney Spears, Matchbox Twenty), classic rock (Aerosmith, Meat Loaf), and the odd head-scratcher (Stanley Brothers, Barney the dinosaur)” (Peisner, “Music As Torture”). It should be noted that the last item on the list – a reference to the song “I Love You” associated with the television character “Barney the Purple Dinosaur” – is part of the training of Army interrogators and PsyOps units at Fort Huachuca, Arizona (Cusick, “Music as torture”). A guard at Forward Operating Base Tiger, near al-Qaim, Iraq, told Human Rights Watch: “at the first ‘no,’ at the first ‘I don’t know,’ at the first ‘I don’t have any information,’ the first wrong answer – that’s when the lights went off, they put some strobe light on, put some kind of a heavy metal on – just some kind of loud music, whatever they could put on. One time, they put Barney on real loud and it annoyed the hell out of me. You listen to that over and over for 2 hours and it’s really annoying” (Human Rights Watch, “No Blood, No Foul”: *Soldiers’ Accounts of Detainee Abuse in Iraq* (July 23, 2006), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2006/07/22/no-blood-no-foul-0>).

³³ Deicide, “Fuck Your God,” *Scars of the Crucifix*, compact disc, Earache, 2004.

³⁴ Drowning Pool, “Bodies,” *Sinner*, compact disc, Wind-Up, 2001.

³⁵ Clive S. Smith, “Welcome to ‘the Disco,’” *The Guardian*, June 18, 2008, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jun/19/usa.guantanamo>. Peisner, “Music As Torture.”

³⁶ Steve Waksman, “War Is Heavy Metal: Soundtracking the US War in Iraq,” in *The Politics of Post-9/11 Music: Sound, Trauma, and the Music Industry in the Time of Terror*, ed. Joseph P. Fisher and Brian Flota (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 189.

understand why any US interrogator would want to utilize a song whose main aim is to disparage the Christian God.³⁷

The case of “Bodies” by Drowning Pool is particularly interesting primarily because it offers a candid view of the inherent double standard of the Manichean worldview. Released in June 2001 and according to a statement by the band, the song is about “the brotherhood of the mosh pit.”³⁸ Nevertheless, the song’s video,³⁹ a hybrid between a performance and a concept piece, features a patient held in what appears to be a psychiatric ward surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards; as he sits in his cell, he watches his alter ego being tortured in some other part of the hospital through a television screen. Common to rock music, the underlying theme is one of individual alienation in an overly controlling society; and while, for the most part, the band is seen performing a sideshow that alternates between one of the cells and the roof of the building, for the scope of this inquiry the most relevant aspect of the video are the scenes where the band is instead an active part of the storyline. Incidentally, these are also the only scenes where some member of the band and the patient occupy the same physical space; and it is here that a white-robed Dave Williams (the band’s lead singer, now deceased) is seen performing a part eerily reminiscent of an interrogator/torturer dealing with a reticent prisoner.

As the video progresses, the singer/interrogator/torturer becomes gradually more aggressive, and by the time the song’s bridge comes along he has moved onto more drastic means of coercion. Here the song’s lyrics also acquire specific relevance within the context of the video: “Skin against skin, blood and bone / You’re all by yourself, but you’re not alone / You wanted in, now

³⁷ Other song titles by Deicide are more explicit in their anti-Christian rhetoric. For this reason, it is hard to believe that any serious fan of the band would not be aware of songs like “Death to Jesus,” and “Kill the Christian.”

³⁸ Josh F. Du Lac, “Jared Loughner’s Music Choice, Drowning Pool’s ‘Bodies,’ Strikes Chilling Chord,” *The Washington Post* (January 10, 2011), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/10/AR2011011006333.html>.

³⁹ Drowning Pool, *Bodies*, music video, dir. Glen Bennett, Wind-Up, 2001, accessed December 15, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04F4xlWSFh0>.

you're here / Driven by hate, consumed by fear.” Given the suggestive narrative, it would not be difficult to imagine how a real-life interrogator familiar with the music video could identify with the band’s lead singer as his favorite song blasts through the loudspeakers of an interrogation cell for hours on end.

Artists Push Back and Forth

When news that music was being used for interrogations in Guantanamo and other places began to surface, many artists felt personally offended at the simple thought. Bands like Rage Against the Machine went as far as sending cease-and-desist orders to the various agencies involved. Tom Morello, the band’s former guitarist, has in fact been one of the most vocal opponents of the practice: “That particular kind of interrogation has rightly been cited by Amnesty International as torture. If you’re at all familiar with the ideological leanings of the band and its support for human rights, that’s really hard to stand”⁴⁰ After learning about the practice, music director for the TV show “Barney and Friends” and writer of the song “I Love You” Bob Singleton penned a searing op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times* titled “Barney the Purple Torturer?” In it, Singleton describes the use of music as an interrogation technique as “absolutely ludicrous” and that “any loud sound can be made into a torturous experience.” For this reason, he argued that “the real issue ... does not have to do with the morality of the music being played but with the morality of people who are playing it.”⁴¹ On December 10, 2008, the sixtieth anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, the British Musicians Union and a collective of artists like Morello joined together to protest the practice in a campaign called Zero dB.⁴² Morello, REM, The Roots, Rosanne Cash and many other musicians

⁴⁰ Peisner, “Music As Torture.”

⁴¹ Bob Singleton, “Barney the Purple Torturer?,” *The Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 2008, accessed December 15, 2014, http://msl1.mit.edu/furdlog/docs/latimes/2008-07-10_latimes_barney_torture.pdf.

⁴² Duncan Campbell, “Musicians Condemn Use of Their Songs As Instruments of War,” *The Guardian* (December 10, 2008), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2008/dec/11/gunsroses-elvis-presley-human-rights/>.

also wrote an open letter asking the US Congress to permanently close the prison at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.⁴³ Between 2007 and 2008, the American Musicological Society, the Society for American Music, and the Society for Ethnomusicology passed resolutions against the use of music as torture.⁴⁴

In opposition to the growing chorus of artists, musicians, and musicologists speaking against the use of music in interrogations, a few artists also spoke in favor of the practice, with Drowning Pool being a notable example in this regard. Stevie Benton, the band's bassist, once told David Peisner of *Spin Magazine*:

People assume we should be offended that somebody in the military thinks our song is annoying enough that, played over and over, it can psychologically break someone down. I take it as an honor to think that perhaps our song could be used to quell another 9/11 attack or something like that.⁴⁵

Here, the kinship between the artist and the interrogator/torturer comes full circle as the two figures identify and merge with one another. As the music becomes instrumental to national defense, the artist feels symbolically embedded on the frontline of the "global war on terror," thus becoming a heroic figure in their own right. Perhaps because of the popularity of "Bodies" among the troops, Drowning Pool has been increasingly embedding itself with the military in a literal sense by regularly performing at U.S. bases around the world. The growing synergy between popular culture and neo-conservative militarism can particularly be seen at play in the lyrics of the band's 2007 song "Soldiers"⁴⁶: "One world, made better / In sleight, hard bitter / There is no compromise / Your pain, your worth, your sacrifice." In the song, the artist/soldier symbiosis becomes fully realized as the band's new lead singer Ryan McCombs intones: "Every time I see inside you, I see myself within

⁴³ "Musicians Standing Against Torture," *New Security Action*, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://newsecurityaction.org/pages/music-used-to-torture>.

⁴⁴ Suzanne Cusick, "Musicology, Torture, Repair," *Radical Musicology* 3 (2008): par 13, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.radical-musicology.org.uk/2008/Cusick.htm>.

⁴⁵ Peisner, "Music As Torture."

⁴⁶ Drowning Pool, "Soldiers," *Full Circle*, compact disc, Eleven Seven Music, 2007.

you / Let's go.” The song's video⁴⁷ features footage of the band touring various military bases where soldiers are seen “moshing” in front of the stage.

Given the unequivocal posture of the band regarding the association of their music with war and torture, it was revealing to see the band's reaction when the song “Bodies” came back to national prominence in connection with the January 8, 2011 shooting in which Jared Loughner killed six people and injured several others in Tucson, Arizona. During the investigation, it was found that a video featuring the song “Bodies” as its soundtrack, and in which a hooded man is seen burning the US flag, was the only one marked as “favorite” on Loughner's YouTube channel. In that instance, the band issued a statement on its Facebook page condemning the rampage: “We were devastated to learn of the tragic events that occurred in Arizona and that our music has been misinterpreted, again.”⁴⁸ The statement continued by saying that the song “was never about violence” and ends with a note of support for “those who do what they can to keep America safe.”⁴⁹ In other words, Drowning Pool condemns the association of its music with violence except for when the violence is sanctioned by the state.

Music and Power

The intersections between music and power have occupied philosophers, musicologists and other theorists at least since Plato. As we have seen, the association of music and violence – itself a manifestation of power – is an ancient one. In the *Critique of the Power of Judgment*, Kant talks about how music “imposes itself, thus interfering with the freedom of others, outside of the musical circle, which the arts that speak to the eyes do not do, since one need only turn one's eyes away if one

⁴⁷ Drowning Pool, *Soldiers*, music video, dir. Alex Castino, Eleven Seven Music, 2007, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2LsgwWfTuTk>.

⁴⁸ Du Lac, “Jared Loughner's Music Choice.” The word “again” is in reference to the fact that the song had already been associated with a violent act in 2003 when then 19-year-old Joshua Cooke murdered his parents as he listened to “Bodies” through his headphones.

⁴⁹ Stevie Benton et al., “A Note from Drowning Pool,” *Facebook*, January 10, 2011, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=173657049336195.

would not admit their impression.”⁵⁰ Thus, according to Kant, music’s unique power among the arts is its ability to reach inside people’s most private sphere regardless of their will. Perhaps one could retort to Kant that just like one can look the other way, as in the case of the visual arts, one can always plug one’s ears to prevent music from penetrating their innermost physical space; but while this can be true at low intensity levels – background music or what Kant called “agreeable noise”⁵¹ – extremely loud music has the capacity to make the body resonate like a sounding board, thus bypassing the ear canal altogether. This is especially true in the age of electricity, where sound can be amplified to levels which can be harmful or even fatal to the human body.

Another consequence of the advent of sound amplification is a democratization of music’s power as defined by Kant; today, any individual with enough money to afford a stereo system has the ability to yield a power which until recently was reserved to the state, the church, and the upper classes of society. In this regard, Keightley and Taylor have shown how the *hi-fi* allowed men to claim a space in the proper of the home, something that until the 1950s was considered the woman’s domain. All of a sudden, men could exert their sonic power throughout the entire home and beyond by simply turning a knob.⁵²

The 1949 cartoon shown in *Figure 1* (next page) powerfully depicts a woman’s anxiety vis-à-vis her husband’s newly acquired sonic power with the oversized, phallic horn symbolizing the overreach of music into the woman’s personal sphere.⁵³ As a means to overcome the individual’s

⁵⁰ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgment*, ed. Paul Guyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 207. In Kant’s view, music falls at the intersection of what he calls *beautiful* and *agreeable* arts, because it “merely plays with sensations” (206) rather than having the “reflecting power of judgment ... as its standard” (185): “music occupies the lowest place among the beautiful arts (just as it occupies perhaps the highest place among those that are estimated according to their agreeableness)” (206).

⁵¹ Kant, *Critique*, 184-85.

⁵² Keir Keightley, “‘Turn it Down!’ She Shrieked: Gender, Domestic Space, and High Fidelity, 1948-59,” *Popular Music* 15/2 (1996): 149-77. Timothy Taylor, *Strange Sounds: Music, Technology, and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 78-81.

⁵³ Keightley, “‘Turn it Down,’” 166.

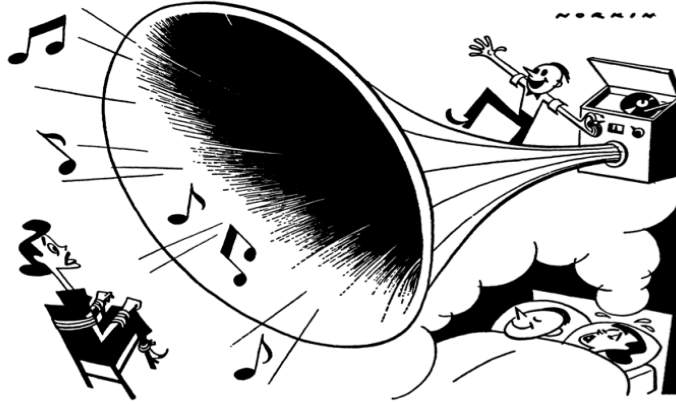


Figure 1. Cartoon, *The Saturday Review of Literature* (June 6 1949), 51.⁵⁴

sense of inadequacy, music technology becomes a sort of posthuman enhancer of men’s virility. Within the context of this paper, the parallels with sonic interrogations are difficult to avoid: here, the prisoner becomes essential because her inability to escape is an effective measure of the interrogator’s power. Attali, along Kant’s lines, explains that music is an expression of power because, like power, it is “emitted from the singular center of an imposed, purely syntactic discourse.”⁵⁵ In the cartoon, the totalizing psychological ramifications of this imposed discourse can be seen literally, in the wife’s psychological distress as she sleeps next to her smugly smiling husband, and symbolically, in the way the oversized horn forcefully claims the center of the frame.

Today, technologies such as car stereos, portable stereo systems, and other mobile devices have provided yet another level of democratization of the musical discourse, as people are now able to deploy their sonic weapons wherever they may be. In a way, it could be said that as sonic technologies become increasingly more portable, “urban space becomes a site of acoustic conflict,”⁵⁶ where males act out their “hostilities toward life and its pressures by turning up the volume.”⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Edwin C. Buxbaum, “On playing music LOUD,” in *Saturday Review of Literature* (June 6, 1949): 51, accessed December 15, 2014 <http://www.unz.org/Pub/SaturdayRev-1949jun25>. Reprinted in Keightley “Turn it Down,” 166.

⁵⁵ Attali, *Noise*, 28.

⁵⁶ Martin Cloonan and Bruce Johnson, “Killing Me Softly With His Song: An Initial Investigation into the Use of Popular Music as a Tool of Oppression,” *Popular Music* 21 (2002): 31.

⁵⁷ Emma Harrison, “The hi-fi addict: new personality – Canadian psychiatrist finds ‘interesting maladjustment to stress of our times,’” *The New York Times*, April 4, 1957, 56. Cited in Keightley “Turn it Down,” 164.

Tragically, it was only recently that this type urban acoustic conflict turned deadly when Jordan Davis, a teenage high-school student from Jacksonville, Florida, was murdered at a gas station in his hometown by Michael Dunn, a 45-year-old software developer from Satellite Beach, Florida, who had just attended his son's wedding with his girlfriend. According to witnesses, around 7:30 p.m. on November 23, 2012, Davis and three other young men were sitting in a sport utility vehicle listening to loud music when Dunn parked besides them while his girlfriend went into the gas station's convenience store. Shortly thereafter, Dunn told the young men to turn the music down and, after an altercation ensued he fired eight or nine shots into the car hitting Davis a couple of times. Still according to witnesses, when Dunn's girlfriend returned from the convenience store and asked what happened, he said "I just fired at these kids." In a statement, Jacksonville Sheriff's Lt. Rob Schoonover told the Associated Press: "It was loud, they admitted that, but that's not a reason for someone to open fire on them and take action."⁵⁸ Along the same lines, Davis's mother told Heather Crawford of *First Coast News* that when she found out the shooting was over loud music she couldn't understand: "Over loud music. You don't like their music then so what. It's just music and they are kids, they are teenagers and they all play their music loud. But that's no reason to shoot, no reason to kill anyone."⁵⁹

Perhaps no other musical style has directly concerned itself with issues of masculinity and power more than heavy metal. In the essay "War Is Heavy Metal," Waksman writes that

power is audible in metal's stress upon extremes of volume, in the distorted timbre of the guitars, the magnified crash of a double bass drum, the vocal straining of either the highest of high notes or the lowest of low, depending on the subgenre. Power is visible, in turn, in the profusion of studded leather, the demonstrative virtuosity of metal instrumentalists, or the fascination with the trappings of masculinity.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Staff writers, "Shooting in Florida over loud music compared to Trayvon Martin case," *The Associate Press*, November 30, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/florida-shooting-differs-trayvon-martin-case-article-1.1210786>.

⁵⁹ Heather Crawford, "Mother of slain son: Calling his death a hate crime would not honor him," *First Coast News*, November 27, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014m <http://www.firstcoastnews.com/story/local/2012/11/27/4562829/>.

⁶⁰ Waksman, "War Is Heavy Metal," 190.

The most salient harmonic feature of heavy metal music is the so-called “power chord.” As the name suggests, the “power chord” is meant to convey a sensation of totalizing masculine power as exemplified in the interval of a perfect fifth (e.g. F-C).⁶¹ By omitting the third of the chord, the power chord obliterates the male/female major/minor aesthetic – a duality that began to emerge in the music of the Renaissance and that solidified in the nineteenth century – and replaces it with a pre-modern sonority reminiscent of Gregorian chant. The sensation of raw power, as expressed by the distorted electric guitar sound ubiquitously found in heavy metal, helps to intensify the totalizing effect of this harmonic structure.

In her study of US soldiers in Iraq, Lisa Gilman argues that the “combination of real powerlessness and the necessity of being confident and physically dominant draws people to listen to musical styles whose artists are engaging similar negotiations of power and powerlessness.”⁶² By extension, moshpits can be seen as an analogous space for power negotiations as they provide “gratifying opportunities for experiencing violence as both giver and receiver.”⁶³

The Question of Torture

The issue of whether “enhanced interrogation techniques” amount to torture has been part of the national discourse ever since the U.S. public became aware of these practices. In light of the U.S. Senate’s “declarations and reservations” issued upon the ratification of the Convention Against Torture in 1994, sonic interrogation techniques do not legally amount to torture in the United States.⁶⁴ In addition, from the onset of the “global war on terror”, the Bush administration went to

⁶¹ The chord can also be played in its inverted form (C-F) as well as a combination of the two (F-C-F).

⁶² Lisa Gilman, “An American Soldier’s iPod: Layers of Identity and Situated Listening in Iraq,” *Music & Politics* 4/2 (2010): 8, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.music.ucsb.edu/projects/musicandpolitics/archive/2010-2/gilman.pdf>.

⁶³ Cloonan and Bruce Johnson, *Dark Side of the Tune*, 29.

⁶⁴ Cusick, ““You are in a place,” 19.

great lengths to establish the legality of all the types of “enhanced interrogation techniques.” But the seemingly unanimous legal interpretation from within the Bush Administration has now been called into question by the recent surfacing of a 2006 memorandum by Philip Zelikow, a counselor to then Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. In the memo, Zelikow stated that because of the lack of precedent, certain “enhanced interrogation techniques” should be considered a violation of the Convention Against Torture.⁶⁵ As of this writing, such interpretation has been confirmed by the recently released “Torture Report” by the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.⁶⁶

In addition, Cusick argues that to ask if sonic interrogations amount to torture is to ask the wrong question, because when music is introduced in an environment where torture is taking place, the music automatically becomes an element of a pain that is “world-destroying.”⁶⁷ To this end, she cites Elaine Scarry who, in her book *The Body in Pain*, wrote how “torture is a process which not only converts but announces the conversion of every conceivable aspect of the event and the environment into an agent of pain.”⁶⁸ For this reason, it can be said that torture is totalizing because it manages to control every aspect of one’s surroundings. In addition, in the documentary *Taxi to the Other Side*, director Gibney shows archival footage of Donald O. Hebb, the “discoverer” of “no touch” torture, saying: “I began to think, while we were doing our experiments, that it’s possible that

⁶⁵ Jordan M. Smith, “The Memo Bush Tried to Destroy,” *Salon* (April 4, 2012), accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.salon.com/2012/04/04/the_memo_bush_tried_to_destroy/.

⁶⁶ Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, *Committee Study*. Although I could not integrate the findings of the Senate report in this paper due to its timing, it is clear that it unequivocally asserts the notion that some of the “enhanced interrogation techniques” used constitute torture. In regard to the phrase “enhanced interrogations,” Andrew Sullivan writes that it can be found in a 1937 Gestapo memo – “Verschärfte Vernehmung” – and that many such techniques – such as the “cold bath” – were originally developed by the Nazis. Sullivan concludes: “The methods were clearly understood in 1948 as war-crimes. The punishment for them was death” (Andrew Sullivan, “Verschärfte Vernehmung,” *The Atlantic*, May 29, 2007, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.theatlantic.com/daily-dish/archive/2007/05/-versch-auml-rfte-vernehmung/228158/>).

⁶⁷ Cusick, ““You are in a place,” 19.

⁶⁸ Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 27-28. Cited in Cusick, ““You are in a place,” 19.

something that involves physical discomfort, or even pain, might be more tolerable than simply the deprivation conditions that we studied.”⁶⁹

In light of this, I find it imperative to ask the following question: what does the debate over the legality of “enhanced interrogation techniques,” and the fact that our government feels compelled to issue “declarations and reservations” to the Convention Against Torture, say about the state of political discourse in the United States? A partial answer to this question has been offered by Slovene philosopher and cultural critic Slavoj Žižek who, in an opinion piece in *The Guardian* on the 2012 motion picture *Zero Dark Thirty*,⁷⁰ wrote:

The debate about whether waterboarding is torture or not should be dropped as an obvious nonsense: why, if not by causing pain and fear of death, does waterboarding make hardened terrorist-suspects talk? The replacement of the word “torture” with “enhanced interrogation technique” is an extension of politically correct logic: brutal violence practiced by the state is made publicly acceptable when language is changed.⁷¹

As we shall see, a more thorough answer to this question may reside in the relationship between popular culture and militarism.

The Normalization of Violence

Perhaps one of the most pernicious effects of the “global war on terror,” with its justification of torture in the name of national security, is a gradual normalization of violence within the culture. In commercial music, this process of normalization can perhaps be best observed in those genres that have not been particularly prone to resort to the lexicon of warfare. Popular dance music, for example, with its main concerns being those of love – whether unrequited or not – and overall personal enjoyment and fulfillment, could not be said to have had a strong connection to violent imagery and language. And while it is true that examples of the poetry of love, dance and warfare

⁶⁹ Gibney, *Taxi*.

⁷⁰ *Zero Dark Thirty: The Greatest Manhunt in History*, directed by Kathryn Bigelow (Annapurna Pictures, 2012).

⁷¹ Slavoj Žižek, “Zero Dark Thirty: Hollywood’s Gift to American Power”, *The Guardian*, January 1, 2013, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/jan/25/zero-dark-thirty-normalises-torture-unjustifiable>.

can be found in music as early as Claudio Monteverdi's *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* of 1624, it is also true that the *Combattimento* could not be easily classified as a piece of dance music.

Nevertheless, it is not the purpose of this study to negate the existence of such a connection but, rather, to show that a connection which, until recently, could be said to be tenuous at best, is becoming stronger. A similar point was recently made by the Council on Communications and Media of the American Academy of Pediatrics which, in a 2009 policy statement entitled "Impact of Music, Music Lyrics and Music Videos on Children and Youth," stated that "lyrics have become more explicit in their reference to drugs, sex, and violence, particularly in certain genres" like rap and heavy metal and that

a teenager's preference for certain types of music could be correlated or associated with certain behaviors. As with popular music, the perception and the effect of music-video messages are important, because research has reported that exposure to violence, sexual messages, sexual stereotypes, and use of substances of abuse in music videos might produce significant changes in behaviors and attitudes of young viewers.⁷²

Yet, this fact may be changing as the example of the recent dance ballad "Titanium"⁷³ by DJ producer David Guetta featuring singer/songwriter Sia shows. While the theme of the song is fairly common – individual resilience in the face of criticism and rejection – the metaphors utilized evoke imagery of violent maiming ("sticks and stones may break my bones") and warfare, as the singer exhorts her interlocutor to "fire away" as she defiantly ("I'm bullet proof, nothing to lose") stands her ground ("machine gun / fired at the ones who run"). As the song reaches its climax, a barrage of electronic effects reminiscent of ricocheting bullets can be heard as Sia shouts "I am titanium / I am titanium." The song's video⁷⁴ features a teenage boy with supernatural powers as he is chased initially by a schoolteacher, then at gunpoint first by the police and finally by the military. The song

⁷² American Academy of Pediatrics, Council on Communications and Media, "Impact of Music, Music Lyrics, and Music Videos on Children and Youth", *Pediatrics* 124/5 (2009): 1488, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/124/5/1488.full.html>.

⁷³ Guetta, David, "Titanium (ft. Sia)," *Nothing But the Beat*, compact disc, Capitol, 2011.

⁷⁴ Guetta David, *Titanium (ft. Sia)*, music video, dir. David Wilson, EMI, 2011, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JRfuAukYTKg>.

was taken out of rotation by radio stations across the United States in the aftermath of the Sandy Hook massacre in Newtown, Connecticut on December 14, 2012, where 20 children and six adults were fatally shot by Adam Lanza.⁷⁵

One other song that was dropped by radio stations after the Newtown massacre was “Die Young”⁷⁶ by US recording artist Kesha Sebert, better known as Ke\$ha, released in 2012 on her album *Warrior*. The imagery of the song lyrics is primarily sexual in nature, but mingling of the Eros and Thanatos is pervasive in both the song’s lyrics and the song’s video: “Looking for some trouble tonight / Take my hand, I’ll show you the wild, side / Like it’s the last night of our lives / We’ll keep dancing ‘till we die”; “Let’s make most of the night like we’re gonna die young.”

The opening and title track of the album somewhat reverses the balance between Eros and Thanatos: “We were born to break the doors down / Fightin’ till the end / It’s something that’s inside of us / It’s how we’ve always been / Warrior-ior-ior” and “We are the misfits / We are the bad kids / The degenerates / We ain’t perfect but that’s alright / Love us or hate us / Nothin’ can break us.” The topic of invincibility is, for obvious reasons, a common one in songs aimed at teenagers, as we have also seen in “Titanium.” But Keisha continues singing “We don’t want to flirt with disaster / On your ass we’ll pounce like a panther / Cut the bullshit out with a dagger / With a dagger, with a dagger” which leads to the song’s emotional climax: “Do or die we all gonna stay young / Shoot the lights out with a machine gun / Think it’s time for a revolution , revolution, revolution.” Reviewing the album, Stephen Erlewine writes that Keisha is “gleefully *vulgar*,

⁷⁵ Gary Trust, “Radio Reacts to Newtown, From Dropping Ke\$ha’s ‘Die Young’ to Providing Comfort,” *Billboard.com*, December 18, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.billboard.com/news/radio-reacts-to-newtown-from-dropping-ke-1008054512.story#/news/radio-reacts-to-newtown-from-dropping-ke-1008054512.story>.

⁷⁶ Kesha, “Die Young,” *Warrior*, compact disc, RCA, 2012.

embracing the magic in a dude's pants, copping a rapper's growl, tossing out profanity, encouraging the shock and awe of any listener with a lick of sense."⁷⁷

Interestingly, in the aftermath of the Newtown massacre, Kesha apparently wrote on Twitter that she had her own issues with "Die Young" and that she was forced to sing those lyrics. The tweet was later deleted.⁷⁸ What is most peculiar about this is that the singer/songwriter's name appears as a co-writer in the song's credits, and it is not quite clear how someone can be forced to take credit for a song with which she is having issues with. In addition, this is what the singer had to say about the song's lyrics on a radio interview shortly before the massacre: "I definitely make sure that every word rings true to me because I would never want to misrepresent myself to millions of people around the world ... I wrote and rewrote and rewrote that song ten times."⁷⁹

It must be said that both albums – Keisha's *Warrior* and Guetta's *Nothing But the Beat*, which contains "Titanium" – sport a parental advisory on their cover. But that's primarily for the explicit sexual content of some of the songs rather than for their violent imagery, as it can be easily verified on digital download online stores such as Apple's iTunes (stylized iTunes) and Amazon.com. For *Nothing But the Beat*, the iTunes store lists five individual songs as explicit, while the Amazon store lists only four. In either case, "Titanium" is not one of them.⁸⁰ Similarly for Kesha, whose album *Warrior (Deluxe Version)* sports seven songs bearing the explicit warning on both Amazon and iTunes, but neither "Warrior" nor "Die Young" figure among them.⁸¹ This imbalance in the Recording

⁷⁷ Kesha, *Warrior*, reviewed by Thomas Erlewine, *Allmusic.com*, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.allmusic.com/album/warrior-mw0002428685>.

⁷⁸ David Greenwald, "Ke\$ha 'Was Forced' to Sing 'Die Young' Lyrics, Singer Tweets," *Billboard*, December 19, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/1481316/keha-was-forced-to-sing-die-young-lyrics-singer-tweets>.

⁷⁹ Staff writers, "Ke\$ha Bragged About Writing 'Die Young' Lyrics Before Massacre," *TMZ.com*, December 19, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.tmz.com/2012/12/19/kesha-die-young-ralphie-show-radio-lyrics-newtown/>.

⁸⁰ See *Itunes.apple.com*, accessed December 15, 2014, <https://itunes.apple.com/us/album/nothing-but-the-beat/id693225996>, and *Amazon.com*, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.amazon.com/Nothing-But-The-Beat/dp/B0051KZ1B0/ref=tmm_other_meta_binding_title_0.

⁸¹ See *Amazon.com*, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.amazon.com/Warrior-Version-Explicit-digital-booklet/dp/B00AAU2QA2/ref=sr_1_1?s=dmusic&ie=UTF8&qid=1418751597&sr=1-1&keywords=kesha+warrior, and *Itunes*, accessed December 15, 2014, <https://itunes.apple.com/us/album/warrior-deluxe-version/id582338179>.

Industry Association of America (RIAA) vis-à-vis Eros and Thanatos⁸² is perhaps one of the clearest testaments to the continuing normalization of violence in US society. It must also be said that 47 percent of parents, according to a 2007 report from the Kaiser Family Foundation on parents, children and the media, said they never followed parental advisory labels and that only 9 percent of them were particularly concerned about inappropriate content in music.⁸³

To the argument that children and adolescents do not really pay attention to the words or that even when they do, they do not really understand the meaning, the statement by the Council on Communications and Media by the American Association of Pediatrics cites a 2001 study titled “Popular music in childhood and adolescence,” by Roberts and Christensen, which found that “approximately 17 percent of male adolescents and 25 percent of female adolescents expressed that they liked their favorite songs specifically because the lyrics were a reflection of their feelings.”⁸⁴ Another study by Knobloch-Westerwick, et al, still cited in the AAP statement, has found that “although young listeners might not understand all the details in lyrics, they recognize enough to obtain a general idea of the message they bring” (1489).⁸⁵ Yet, today there are franchises, such as Kidz Bop, whose sole purpose is to repackage popular music hits for child consumption. Started in 2001 by Cliff Chenfeld and Craig Balsam as a brand of CD compilations of “today’s biggest hits sung by kids for kids,” and aimed at children age 5 to 12, the Kidz Bop franchise now includes concert promotion (Kidz Bop World Tour), a talent search agency (Kidz Star USA), a satellite radio show (Kidz Bop Block Party on Sirius XM radio), book publishing (Kidz Bop Books), video games (*Kidz Bop Dance Party: The Video Game*), and a video sharing and social networking site (KidzBop.com). On Kidz Bop’s social networking site, children can post videos of themselves

⁸² The same must also be said for the agencies responsible for rating motion pictures and video games.

⁸³ Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, *Parents, Children & Media: A Kaiser Family Foundation Survey* (Menlo Park: Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2007), 20, 22, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://kff.org/other/poll-finding/parents-children-media-a-kaiser-family-foundation/>.

⁸⁴ Council on Communications and Media, “Impact of Music,” 1489.

⁸⁵ Council on Communications and Media, “Impact of Music,” 1489.

singing popular hits of their choosing. These videos are completely unfiltered, unsupervised and accessible to anyone over the internet. A basic internet search will take you, for example, to an a capella performance of “Titanium” by a ten year old nicknamed AMCSinger – an entry to the 2012 Kidz Star USA Talent Search⁸⁶ – or to a duet rendition of Katy Perry’s “Last Friday Night” sung by an 11-year-old nicknamed “locokoko” and her friend.⁸⁷

The Military-Entertainment Complex

The spillover of violent imagery that had been until recently relegated to the typically high-testosterone genres such as heavy metal into mainstream popular music can perhaps be attributed to the pernicious hyper-militarism that is increasingly pervading all levels of society, from popular music to academia.⁸⁸ As the “global war on terror” moves into its second decade, the need for fresh recruits has forced the military to devise particularly aggressive strategies to entice young people in the US to volunteer for an effort that is otherwise becoming increasingly unpopular. Partly for this reason, in addition to the traditional methods of influencing popular culture such as the financing of those Hollywood movies which portray the military in a favorable light, in the past decade the military has been involved in the direct production of culture to such an extent that we can now talk of a “military-entertainment complex.”⁸⁹

The movie “Act of Valor”⁹⁰ (2012), for example, “may be the first U.S. armed forces’ first feature-length recruiting film” that “was not born in Hollywood, but in the Pentagon.”⁹¹ According

⁸⁶ AMCSinger, “Titanium,” *Kidz**o**p.com*, August 19, 2012, accessed January 31, 2013

<http://www.kidzbop.com/kidzstarusa/2012/entry/AMCSinger> (link no longer working).

⁸⁷ Locokoko, “Last Friday Night,” in *Kidz**o**p.com*, August 12, 2011, accessed January 31, 2013

<http://www.kidzbop.com/videos/watch/music/1274634/Last-friday-night.html> (link no longer working).

⁸⁸ On the relationships between the military and academia see Henry Giroux, *The University in Chains: Confronting the Military-Industrial-Academic Complex* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007).

⁸⁹ Geoff Martin and Erin Steuter, *Pop Culture Goes to War: Enlisting and Resisting Militarism in the War on Terror* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 82.

⁹⁰ *Act of Valor*, directed by Mike McCoy and Scott Waugh (Bandito Brothers, 2012).

to its official website, the movie is “an unprecedented blend of real-life heroism and original filmmaking” as it “stars a group of active-duty US Navy SEALs in a film like no other in Hollywood’s history.”⁹² Similarly, in the 2012 NBC reality-TV series “Stars Earn Stripes,” celebrities were paired with military trainers to “face weekly challenges such as hostage-rescue exercises.” Prior to the series’ release, producer Mark Burnett said that “celebrities and the audience will realize how ‘hard and scary’ such tasks are.”⁹³ Retired US Army four-star general and NATO Supreme Allied Commander (1997-2000) Wesley Clark co-hosted the series with Samantha Harris, former *Dancing with the Stars* co-host. In 2003, Clark ran as a candidate for the US Democratic Party presidential nomination. Shortly after the series’ premiere in August 2012, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and nine other Nobel Peace Laureates, wrote an open letter entitled “War Isn’t Entertainment: And Shouldn’t Be Treated Like It” to Robert Greenblatt, Chairman of NBC Entertainment, co-host Wesley Clark, producer Mark Burnett and others. Protesting not only the series, but also the manner that NBC used its broadcasting rights for the London 2012 Olympic Games to advertise for the series’ premiere the day after the games’ closing ceremony, they wrote:

The official NBC website for the show touts “the fast-paced competition” as “pay[ing] homage to the men and women who serve in the U.S. Armed Forces and our first-responder services.”

It is our belief that this program pays homage to no one anywhere and continues and expands on an inglorious tradition of glorifying war and armed violence. Military training is not to be compared, subtly or otherwise, with athletic competition by showing commercials throughout the Olympics. Preparing for war is neither amusing nor entertaining.

Real war is down in the dirt deadly. People – military and civilians – die in ways that are anything but entertaining. Communities and societies are ripped apart in armed conflict and the aftermath can be as deadly as the war itself as simmering animosities are unleashed in horrific spirals of violence. War, whether relatively short-lived or going on for decades as in too many parts of the world, leaves deep scars that can take generations to overcome – if ever.

⁹¹ Jordan Zakarin, “‘Act of Valor’ And the Military’s Long Hollywood Mission,” *The Huffington Post*, February 17, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/17/act-of-valor-military-hollywood_n_1284338.html.

⁹² Although the official website of the motion picture (<http://actofvalor.com/>) is no longer active and redirects to a YouTube page (<http://www.youtube.com/actofvalormovie>), the full movie synopsis from the official site can still be read in Courtney Jones, “‘Act of Valor’ Featurette Released,” *Examiner.com* (February 16, 2012), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.examiner.com/article/act-of-valor-featurette-released/>.

⁹³ CBS/AP Staff Writers, “Celebs to perform military tests in NBC’s ‘Stars Earn Stripes,’” *CBSNews.com* (April 6, 2012), accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-31749_162-57410496-10391698/celebs-to-perform-military-tests-in-nbcs-stars-earn-stripes/.

Trying to somehow sanitize war by likening it to an athletic competition further calls into question the morality and ethics of linking the military anywhere with the entertainment industry in barely veiled efforts to make war and its multitudinous costs more palatable to the public.

The long history of collaboration between militaries and civilian media and entertainment – and not just in the United States – appears to be getting murkier and in many ways more threatening to efforts to resolve our common problems through nonviolent means. Active-duty soldiers already perform in Hollywood movies, “embedded” media ride with soldier in combat situations, and now NBC is working with the military to attempt to turn deadly military training into a sanitized “reality” TV show that reveals absolutely nothing of the reality of being a soldier in war or the consequences of war. What is next?⁹⁴

The already mentioned motion picture *Zero Dark Thirty* by director Kathryn Bigelow – described by *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd as “Hollywood’s unsentimental premier chronicler of war”⁹⁵ – seems to represent a further muddying of the relationship between state power and entertainment. The movie recounts the lead-up to the raid which resulted in the summary execution of Osama bin Laden on May 2, 2011. Prior to the release of the movie, it was revealed that both the Pentagon and the White House were “discussing efforts to cooperate with film director Kathryn Bigelow and screenwriter Mark Boal on the bin Laden raid movie.” In addition, Bigelow and Boal “had engaged with the CIA and top Pentagon officials before getting involved with the White House.”⁹⁶ The main source of the controversy is the fact that while the movie claims to be “based on first-hand accounts and actual events,” its clear suggestion that torture was instrumental in locating Osama bin Laden is patently false, as attested by Sen. Dianne Feinstein, Chairman of the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Senator Carl Levin, Chairman of the US Senate Armed Service Committee, and Ex-Officio of the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and Senator John McCain, Ranking Member of the US Senate Armed Service Committee and Ex-Officio of the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. In a December 19, 2012 letter to Michael Lynton, Chairman and CEO of Sony Pictures Entertainment, they write that “the film is grossly inaccurate

⁹⁴ Shirin Ebadi et al., “War Isn’t Entertainment and Shouldn’t Be Treated Like It Is”, *Nobel Women’s Initiative*, August 13, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://nobelwomensinitiative.org/2012/08/nine-nobel-peace-laureates-call-on-nbc-to-cancel-stars-earn-stripes/>.

⁹⁵ Maureen Dowd, “A Tale of Two Women,” *The New York Times*, December 11, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/12/opinion/dowd-a-tale-of-two-women.html>.

⁹⁶ Mark Hosenball, “Documents Show White House Interest in Bin Laden Film”, *Reuters*, December 29, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://in.reuters.com/article/2012/08/28/entertainment-us-usa-binladen-film-idINBRE87R18820120828>.

and misleading in its suggestion that torture resulted in information that led to the location of Usama bin Laden.”⁹⁷

Within the realm of music, we have already seen how rock bands like Drowning Pool embed themselves with the armed forces by touring military bases and thereby blurring the line between civilian entertainers and soldiers. A case in point of this line-blurring is the song “Citizen Soldier” by US rock band 3 Doors Down. For its music video, the band teamed up with the U.S. Army National Guard to produce what, according to Dwinell, was “the first convincing hybridization of music video and U.S. military recruitment advertisement.”⁹⁸ Follow-ups to “Citizen Soldier” include songs like the 2008 “Warrior” by southern rocker Kid Rock.

Finally, the Army-produced video game *America’s Army* that is distributed freely at NASCAR events, or bundled with gaming magazines, provides yet another example of the synergistic relationship between the US military and the entertainment industry. Col. Casey Wardynski stated that the game tracks “overall kills, kills per hour, a player’s virtual career path and other statistics” so that the Army may email the best and most assiduous players to ask them if they would like more information about the Army.⁹⁹

The Reflexivity of Culture

To conclude this inquiry, I want to present a case which in my opinion is emblematic of the circularity between society and its cultural productions. As we have seen, manifestations of the conscious effort by the military to penetrate every realm of cultural production can be observed in the increased adoption of the lexicon, imagery and narratives of violence and securitization in the

⁹⁷ Dianne Feinstein, Carl Levin, and John McCain, “Feinstein, McCain, Levin Statement on ‘Zero Dark Thirty,’” ed. Aaron Williams, *The Los Angeles Times*, December 19, 2012, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://documents.latimes.com/feinstein-mccain-levin-statement-zero-dark-thirty/>.

⁹⁸ Samuel Dwinell, “Rock Enroll: Music and Militarization since 9/11,” *The Politics of Post-9/11 Music: Sound, Trauma, and the Music Industry in the Time of Terror*, ed. Joseph P. Fisher and Brian Flota (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 20.

⁹⁹ Martin and Steuter, *Pop Culture Goes to War*, 83.

so-called mainstream. As the lexicon of war and torture becomes progressively normalized in the society at large, what used to “shock the conscience”¹⁰⁰ only a couple of generations ago seems hardly exciting today.

The award winning Fox television series *24* (2001-2010) “has garnered both praise and controversy for its portrayal of torture as a means to extract vital information from terrorists.”¹⁰¹ As the series spanned the first ten years of the “global war on terror,” US audiences have become accustomed to its protagonist Jack Bauer, played by Kiefer Sutherland, and his fictionalized enhanced interrogation techniques. Incidentally, the death of Bauer’s wife in the series’ finale on May 24, 2010 apparently was still able to shock the conscience of TV reviewers as it was voted by the staff at *TV Guide* as the second most shocking death in television history “for all the *right* reasons.”¹⁰²

The following anecdote can perhaps provide a clearer understanding of the circular relationship between society and culture:

In November 2006, U.S. Army brigadier general Patrick Finnegan, an army lawyer and dean at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, arrived in Southern California to meet with the creative team of *24* to voice concern about the premise of the show. Finnegan argued that it is becoming more difficult to convince the students at the Academy (cadets who become battlefield commanders in Iraq and Afghanistan) to respect the rule of law and human rights, even when terrorists do not. He suggests that this is because of the message of torture spread by *24*. “The kids see it, and say, ‘If torture is wrong, what about *24*?’ The disturbing thing is that although torture may cause Jack Bauer some angst, it is always the patriotic thing to do.”¹⁰³

Thus, as the lexicon and imagery of torture seeps into the public consciousness through shows like *24*, what used to “shock the conscience” is not only normalized, but also inverted. In this regard,

¹⁰⁰ Here I am referring to the recently released Zelikov memo to the Bush administration where the former argued that the Convention Against Torture “in addition to the ‘cruel and unusual’ standard, which especially applies to conditions of confinement, the substantive due process requirements also prohibit methods of interrogation that would ‘shock the conscience’.” Source: Philip D. Zelikov, “The McCain Amendment and U.S. Obligations Under Article 16 of the Convention Against Torture,” *The National Security Archive* (April 3, 2012), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20120403/docs/Zelikov%20Feb%2015%202006.pdf>.

¹⁰¹ Martin and Steuter, *Pop Culture Goes to War*, 129.

¹⁰² Adam Bryant, “The 13 Most Shocking TV Deaths,” *TV Guide* (March 2, 2009), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.tvguide.com/news/shocking-tv-deaths-1003549.aspx>.

¹⁰³ Martin and Steuter, *Pop Culture Goes to War*, 131.

project director at Human Rights First David Danzig told *The New Yorker* how “the torturers have changed. It used to be almost exclusively the villains who tortured. Today, torture is often perpetrated by the heroes.”¹⁰⁴ A movie based on the series has been prospected for several years now but no production has ever commenced.¹⁰⁵

Given such ideological inversion, it should be no surprise that a journalist like Lane DeGregory could nonchalantly ask her Floridian readers “which songs they would play to drive the insurgents out of Fallujah, break down Iraqi prisoners or just drive their neighbors nuts.”¹⁰⁶ This type of inversion may also explain why most people in the US seem largely unconcerned by the fact that President Barack Obama, after having failed to maintain his campaign promise to close Guantanamo and following in the footsteps of his predecessor, has now asserted the right to order the indefinite detention and the assassination of anyone in the world – including US citizens – without judicial review in the name of national security.¹⁰⁷ In addition, as of this writing, the US Justice Department has only charged and convicted one single US official in connection with the torture program initiated under his predecessor: John C. Kiriakou, the first CIA official to confirm the use of waterboarding in 2007, was convicted on January 25, 2013 and is currently serving thirty months in prison not for torturing, but for violating the Intelligence Identities Protection Act when

¹⁰⁴ Jane Mayer, “Whatever It Takes: the Politics of the Man Behind ‘24’”, *The New Yorker*, February 19, 2007, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2007/02/19/whatever-it-takes>.

¹⁰⁵ Michael Ausiello, “24 Movie Talks Heat Up (Again): Is Jack *Finally* Headed to the Big Screen?,” *TVLine.com*, September 1, 2014, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://tvline.com/2014/09/01/24-movie-kiefer-sutherland-release-date-feature-film/>.

¹⁰⁶ DeGregory, “Iraq’n’roll,”

¹⁰⁷ Jo Becker and Scott Shane, “Secret ‘Kill List’ Proves a Test of Obama’s Principles and Will,” *The New York Times* (May 29, 2012), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/29/world/obamas-leadership-in-war-on-al-qaeda.html>; Peter Finn and Anne E. Kornblut, “Obama Creates Indefinite Detention System for Prisoners at Guantanamo Bay,” *The Washington Post* (March 8, 2011), accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/03/07/AR2011030704871.html>; Glenn Greenwald, “Attorney General Defends Executions Without Charges,” *Salon* (March 6, 2012), accessed December 15, 2014 http://www.salon.com/2012/03/06/attorney_general_holder_defends_execution_without_charges; Jonathan Turley, “Obama’s Kill Doctrine,” *Foreign Policy* (March 6, 2012), accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/03/06/obama_s_kill_doctrine/. In regard to judicial review, Attorney General Eric Holder has recently asserted: “‘due process’ and ‘judicial process’ are not one and the same, particularly when it comes to national security. The Constitution guarantees due process, not judicial process” (Greenwald, “Attorney General Defends”).

he disclosed to a reporter the name of a CIA officer who had been involved in using waterboarding on prisoners.¹⁰⁸

In the documentary *Taxi to the Dark Side*, Alfred McCoy tells director Alex Gibney that popular culture products such as *24* have “built a constituency for torture that allows the Bush White House¹⁰⁹ to get away with the way it twists laws, treaties, and doesn’t spark popular outrage.”¹¹⁰ It should be added that mainstream popular music has become an integral part of this process of normalization of violence, as I have shown in the case of “Titanium” by David Guetta and Sia. In a study titled “U.S. Public Opinion on Torture, 2001-2009”, Gronke et al. report that

opposition to torture has declined in the past few years. November 2007 was the first time point at which there was an equal number of respondents who supported and opposed torture, but this survey seems to have been an anomaly. A Majority supporting torture did not emerge until June 2009, six months after the inauguration of Barack Obama, and simultaneously with the reappearance of former Vice President Dick Cheney on the public stage to defend coercive interrogations techniques. The appearance of a public majority who favors torture is a very recent phenomenon. We believe that torture may have become a partisan symbol, distinguishing Republicans from Democrats, that demonstrates hawkishness on national security in the same way that being supportive of the death penalty indicated that a person is tough on crime.¹¹¹

To underscore the apparently growing moral vacuum in contemporary US society, where support of torture seems more tied to partisan political leanings rather than some kind of shared morality, Slavoj Žižek writes that a movie like *Zero Dark Thirty* would have been unthinkable only 20 years ago, and that Bigelow, “without a shadow of a doubt, ... is on the side of the normalization of

¹⁰⁸ Scott Shane, “Ex-Officer Is First From C.I.A. to Face Prison for a Leak”, *The New York Times*, January 1, 2013, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/06/us/former-cia-officer-is-the-first-to-face-prison-for-a-classified-leak.html>. Michael S. Schmidt, “Ex-C.I.A. Officer Sentenced to 30 Months in Leak”, in *The New York Times*, January 25, 2013, accessed December 15, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/26/us/ex-officer-for-cia-is-sentenced-in-leak-case.html>. Sam Levine, “The One Man Jailed For CIA Torture Tried To Expose It,” *The Huffington Post*, December 10, 2014, accessed December 15, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/12/10/cia-torture-prosecution_n_6298646.html.

¹⁰⁹ And the Obama White House at this point.

¹¹⁰ Gibney, *Taxi*.

¹¹¹ Paul Gronke et al., “U.S. Public Opinion on Torture”, *PS: Political Science and Politics* 43/3 (2010): 438, accessed December 15, 2014, http://academic.reed.edu/poli_sci/faculty/rejali/articles/US_Public_Opinion_Torture_Gronke_Rejali.pdf.

torture.”¹¹² Similarly, one could say that a song like “Titanium” might also have been unthinkable 20 years ago, at least within the realm of popular dance music.

Coda

In this paper I have tried to show how society and culture can influence one another in a reflexive fashion. In addition, primarily through the lens of music, I have tried to demonstrate how this circularity between societal action, as exemplified in the “global war on terror,” and its cultural productions has greatly affected social perceptions in regard to violence in general and torture in particular. As I have tried to show with examples from dance music like “Titanium,” and “Warrior,” US popular music culture has begun to internalize and regurgitate a lexicon of violence which, until recently, had been relegated to the fringes of popular music production or specific genres like heavy metal and rap. In my view, this fact is a clear sign of the rising acceptance of violence as a tool of social interaction and conflict resolution. As we have seen, in addition to being a reflection of prevalent social perceptions and norms, music, and culture in general, is also a catalyst of social change, as I have tried to show with the case of *24*, for example. As Alfred McCoy points out, this is how US popular culture provides cover for the actions of the country’s leaders.¹¹³ Thus, for all practical purposes, large sectors of popular culture, primarily those controlled by large corporate conglomerates, have become part of a propaganda system which has enabled U.S. leaders to bypass any type of meaningful popular scrutiny in regard to national security during the past decade.

Given the situation, it seems clear to me that in order to reverse this worrisome trend in US society, we must embark on a reparative process by asserting a new a lexicon of peace in the face of the increasingly pervasive lexicon of war. In addition to addressing the structural roots of violence in US culture – such as the inherently exploitative nature of capitalist relations – this difficult process can and should begin not only with the way we address one another and the actions that we take on

¹¹² Žižek, “Zero Dark Thirty.”

¹¹³ Gibney, *Taxi*.

a day-to-day basis, but also with the cultural artifacts we choose consume. It is clear that the gatekeepers of US cultural production can be responsive to the sensibilities of their audiences as it can be seen, for example, by the swift purging of violent content by radio stations in the aftermath of tragedies like the Newtown massacre. Sometimes people, myself included, may feel that trying to change the world bit-by-bit amounts to an exercise in futility especially given impending existential threats like global warming. Yet, this type of self-defeating attitude may be ultimately most beneficial to those leaders and cultural gatekeepers who might prefer what Horkheimer and Adorno have called a “totally administered world.”¹¹⁴ Indeed, perhaps not so coincidentally, this sense of futility may also be seen as a by-product of a popular culture which currently inundates modern society like a tidal wave, and whose large scale results may perhaps be not so dissimilar to the one intended by interrogators, when they inundate prisoners with endless streams of senseless music. In military circles, this technique is known as the “futility technique,” and its main purpose is to instill a sense of futility in prisoners.¹¹⁵

Ultimately, it is imperative for US society to reinvent a popular culture of peace that is about “cooperation and the care of common arrangements,” rather than “an antipolitical culture of competition..., of aggrandizement, of besting rivals, and of leaving behind disrupted careers and damaged communities.”¹¹⁶ As political philosopher Sheldon Wolin puts it, “democracy presume[s] the presence of a ‘popular culture,’ not in the contemporary sense of packaged pleasures for a perpetually adolescent consumer, but culture in its original meaning: from the Latin *cultus* = tilling, cultivating, tending.”¹¹⁷ In the end, if I may close on a note of optimism, just as we found our way to the current state of affairs, there is no reason to believe that we won’t be able to find our way out. The question is: do we, as a society, really want to?

¹¹⁴ Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2002), xi.

¹¹⁵ Toby Harnden, “Musicians’ Anger at Guantanamo Bay Torture,” *The Telegraph*, October 22, 2009, accessed December 15, 2014 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/6409083/Musicians-anger-at-Guantanamo-Bay-torture.html>.

¹¹⁶ Sheldon S. Wolin, *Democracy Incorporated: Managed Democracy and the Specter of Inverted Totalitarianism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 138.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.