

How was the classical Hollywood film score
utilised to manipulate societal
perceptions of soldier identities in the
Second World War period?

Francesca Hindley

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Abstract:

This thesis examines the way in which soldier identities were portrayed in the classical Hollywood film score in the Second World War period. While the term 'Hollywood' initially referred only to the Hollywood studio, it has now become a more encompassing term for American film culture. In this thesis, 'classical Hollywood film scores' will be used to refer the music accompanying films released in America between 1940 and 1950. By selecting and analysing the scores of six main case study films, this thesis identifies three main elements of persuasive ideas (fear, patriotism and masculinity), and analyses the musical motifs used to communicate them.

The six main case studies examined in this thesis are:

- *Why We Fight: War Comes To America* (Capra, 1945)
- *Know Your Enemy: Japan* (Capra, 1945)
- *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943)
- *Objective Burma* (Walsh, 1945)
- *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946)
- *The Men* (Zinneman, 1950)

The way in which similar musical motifs can be found in a range of films, both propaganda and fiction, demonstrates the persuasive power of film music and demonstrates the way in which the film score can be used to influence and reveal societal perceptions. This thesis also examines the way in which these musical motifs are adapted to portray different types of soldier identities, for example, hero soldiers, enemy soldiers and veteran soldiers. This work is significant as, by utilising semiotic analysis to understand the roots of these musical motifs, evidence is created that can be used to understand perceptions of masculinities, nationalities, disabilities and events such as the Second World War off screen as well as on.

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1: Introduction

The Second World War facilitated great social change and inspired many dramatic and emotional Hollywood film narratives, giving film composers the opportunity to further explore the complex ways that information could be communicated through film music. The idea that music can carry semiotic meaning is not a new one and film musicology has become an increasingly recognised field of research as more specific analysis has been undertaken, allowing for more validity to be attributed to the theories surrounding musical communication. The way in which film composers can structure music to communicate ideas subconsciously through the connotative values of sound is especially interesting to analyse in the context of character identities, as these portrayals often reflect societal opinions off screen. Portrayals of female character identities in the film score have been explored in detail by researchers such as Kalinak (2010), Laing (2007) and Wierzbicki (2009), however, there has been less analysis undertaken into the portrayals of male character identities. To begin to fill this gap, this thesis will examine the ways in which male character identities were represented in the film score during the Second World War period, with a specific focus on soldier identities due to the direct link between masculinity and war that became apparent at this time.

Soldier identity archetypes will be examined through the use of a range of case study films that were released in America between 1940 and 1950 and utilise a leitmotivic style in the film score. The 'Golden Age' of Hollywood film is widely regarded to have lasted from 1930-1950 (Paris, 2018) and so it was greatly influenced by the impacts of the Second World War from 1939 onwards. This is an interesting time period to study as it coincided with 'the coming of sound' (Gomery, 2005) that ended The Silent Era (Paris, 2018) and because the practices and traditions that would inform filmmakers and film composers of the future began in this 'Golden Age' or Second World War period. After reviewing the most relevant pre-existing literature in Chapter Two, these theories will then be applied to six main case study films. Chapter Three looks in detail at two official propaganda films released by the United States Office of War Information called *Why We Fight: War Comes To*

America (Capra, 1945) and *Know Your Enemy: Japan* (Capra, 1945), giving an insight into the ways in which music was used as a persuasive tool. Chapter Four focuses on *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943) and *Objective Burma* (Walsh, 1945), uncovering similarities and differences between the film scores of official and non-official propaganda films. Finally, Chapter Five analyses *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946) and *The Men* (Zinneman, 1950) which focus on veteran soldier identities, demonstrating how musical motifs can be developed to represent changing attitudes. These case studies have been selected from a range of films from the Second World War period for their interesting use of music to represent soldier identities in a persuasive way. They have also been selected as they communicate relevant messages about masculine identities and the full scoring implies that music may have played a role in this communication.

Studying this time period presents unique challenges due to restricted societal views being reflected in films, for example, the term 'masculine identity' had a more definite set of characteristics attached to it than it does today. Therefore, with limited or misinformed understanding of a spectrum of gender or sexuality, filmmakers and audiences alike focused on characters with traditional values. Equally challenging is the nature of Second World War propaganda to result in many unfactual and exaggerated statements and images that are utilised with the aim of uniting one group of people against another. As a result, this thesis will deal with films that have racist, sexist, and derogatory themes, particularly against Japanese soldier identities. The films themselves use pejorative terms, such as 'Jap' referring to Japanese people, and as this attitude is relevant to the musical portrayals that will be analysed, it is important not to ignore them and instead to recognise their relevance to society at the time. This thesis is in no way designed to support or spread these ideas and through analysis of these films I hope to increase understanding of the persuasive power of film music and the damaging effects it can have.

2: Literature Review

Introduction

Cones (2012, p. 10) states that films 'mirror the values, interests and cultural perspectives of their makers', implying that societal biases can be uncovered by analysing common tropes in the portrayals of people and places. However, in 1927 political scientist Harold Lasswell (p. 235) theorised instead that it was films that influenced audiences, stating that the propaganda of the First World War was 'injected' into the veins of the people, directly resulting in victory for the Allies. This idea led to the 'hypodermic needle theory' which assumes that all audience members interpret media the same way and are 'injected' with the same message (Berger, 1995, p. 174). While this theory is now widely disregarded (Berger, 1995, p. 174), the American filmmakers of the Second World War period would have been working under the assumption that the 'hypodermic needle theory' was true, creating persuasive films with strong messages that were not open to interpretations. While there has been a lot of research into how films interact with society, there has been less investigation into how film music plays a part in this relationship, particularly in the Second World War period when the 'hypodermic needle theory' was being explored by some filmmakers in the form of propaganda. However, to understand the role film music played in these propaganda films, a basic understanding of American society and the Second World War is necessary first. This understanding can then be applied specifically to the ways in which wartime identities - such as soldiers - were portrayed in film.

The Second World War

The starting date of the Second World War has been much debated due to its complex web of causal factors. According to Beevor (2012, p. 2) in his book *The Second World War* (2012), some historians describe a 'thirty years war' lasting from 1914 to 1945 with the unresolved conflicts of the First

World War being recognised as one of the main factors in causing the Second. However, most historians, such as Herman (2012, p. 8), agree that the Second World War officially began in September 1939, with Weinberg (2014, p. 3) convincingly arguing that the triggering event was Hitler's invasion of Poland on September 1st. From this point, historical writers, such as Birnbaum (2011), describe a world divided into the Allied powers, consisting of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, China and the Soviet Union, and the Axis powers, consisting of Germany, Italy and Japan. Despite being named as an Ally, America was originally reluctant to join the war effort as their participation in the First World War had not produced the 'equitable, durable peace' that President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) had promised in repayment for their losses (Dear & Foot, 2001). As a result of this, America had passed a series of Neutrality Acts in the 1930s (History.com, 2009) which would restore their previous policy of 'non-interventionism' with the aim of preventing more losses in future wars. However, in 1939, President Roosevelt stated that this policy gave 'passive aid to an aggressor' while denying help to victimized nations (History.com, 2009) and so, following the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, America declared war on Japan, which in turn led to Hitler declaring war on America (Dear & Foot, 2001). After six years of fighting and an estimated 50 million casualties (Keegan, 1989, p. 493) the Axis powers surrendered to the Allies in 1945 (Young, 2010, p. 23) and the world rapidly had to readjust to a new era of peace.

Impacts of the Second World War in America

Lindop (2010, p. 125) states that the Second World War 'coloured the whole decade' and that after the war ended 'Americans found themselves profoundly changed'. This was due to the way in which the Second World War affected every area of civilian life through strategies such as conscription, rationing and home-front efforts that were facilitated through a sense of national unity and propaganda. This meant that some social boundaries were broken down as women moved into the workplace and social classes and nationalities mixed together in ways that would have previously been deemed inappropriate (Emsley, 1990, p. 84), resulting in changes in societal opinions and

conventions at the time. Beevor (2012) describes the term 'total war' which is defined by Oxford Reference (2019) as 'a war that is unrestricted in terms of the weapons used, the territory or combatants involved, or the objectives pursued'. The title 'total war' demonstrates the way in which the Second World War had such powerful, long-lasting and far-reaching impacts on all aspects of life for individuals and societies at the time. Many authors such as Neve (1992), Koppes (2000) and Black (2000) have since focused their research into the specific impacts that the Second World War had on film culture in America and Young's (2010) encyclopaedia of *World War II and the Post-war Years in America* provides an informed image of America's societal, political, and economic situation at the time. Young (2010) examines a wide variety of factors such as 'health and medicine' (p. 371), 'folk music' (p. 333) and 'the baby boom' (p. 73) which help to build a picture of how different areas of everyday life were both directly and indirectly impacted by the conflict. For example, the entry on 'television' (p. 692) introduces ideas about propaganda, allowing analyses of Hollywood films from this time to be more informed.

While the Second World War impacted cinema practice greatly in America, filmmakers faced many other obstacles around this time, including those brought about by the Great Depression following the Wall Street Crash in 1929 (Blumenthal, 2002, p. 4). While the cinema industry fared better than most businesses due to the public's 'need for distraction' and technological advances such as 'the coming of sound', studios still faced massive debts as unemployment rose and cinema attendance fell (Whittington, 2008). When cinema attendance rose again in the late 1930s, filmmakers in Hollywood had to abide by a much stricter ethical code of conduct called the Motion Picture Production Code. This meant that films were encouraged to display only certain approved messages due to fears that films displaying unapproved messages would influence and corrupt their audiences. This demonstrates that governing bodies had realised the potential that films had to influence audiences' behaviours and opinions as outlined in the 'hypodermic needle theory' and therefore wanted to have more control over the messages being broadcasted. The Motion Picture Production Code was then relied upon heavily in the Second World War period to influence public opinion through films and encourage support for government decisions. Lindop (2010, p. 125) discusses the

ways in which the Second World War influenced writers, artists and filmmakers, inspiring a new wave of war film, many of which could be considered propaganda due to the strictness of the Motion Picture Production Code.

Propaganda

One 'profound change' that society underwent during the Second World War was the rapid shift of public opinion from 'isolationism' to 'interventionism'. The fear and anger that the American public felt after the attack on Pearl Harbor resulted in more support for America's intervention and the idea of 'revenge' was the motivation behind many American soldiers. However, many different avenues of persuasion had to be explored to encourage more soldiers to enlist. Persuading young men to put themselves at great physical and psychological risk for their country required the use of clever persuasive techniques as the First World War was still fresh in the memories of most Americans. Many soldiers did not return home or did so with life-changing injuries and the psychological risk involved with the 'unremitting and horrendous stresses of war' (Pols & Oak, 2007) often resulted in debilitating psychiatric disorders and mental health issues. Pols and Oak (2007) state that 'witnessing acts of warfare, including killing, torture, and widespread devastation, can be severely upsetting' resulting in complex readjustments to civilian life. It was partly for these reasons that 1930s Neutrality Acts were put in place to re-establish the policy of 'non-interventionism' and it was a stark change in attitude to expect American men to willingly go to war again. To combat this, in 1940, America introduced a period of conscription which made enlistment in the army compulsory for American men.

In other wars, many other techniques had been employed to convince men to fight. For example, in the First World War, English men were encouraged to join the army through initiatives such as the 'Pals' Battalion which allowed young men to sign up and fight beside their friends and family and 'The Order of the White Feather'. This was a movement where women would pin a white feather on

young men who were not in uniform, using their 'sexual power' to shame men into the army (Gullace, 2002, p. 74). This directly linked the soldier identity to 'ideal masculinity' and these semiotic connotations of heroism and pride have been heavily responsible for convincing men to enlist in wars throughout history. The invention of film brought about a new, highly persuasive medium that could be used to convey persuasive messages such as these to the American public.

Both the Allies and the Axis powers utilised propaganda films to encourage their war efforts, communicating their messages more convincingly than in previous wars where the only available mediums for propaganda had been the written word, still picture or radio. Since then, film-makers have developed many methods of communicating subtext through the use of ingrained societal connotations. The new technology allowed the powers of visual and sonic signifiers to be combined, therefore creating more complex webs of interrelated connotative communication. As a result, films could communicate meaning persuasively and even when they weren't released officially as 'propaganda', Hollywood films still utilised similar techniques of manipulation to promote the war effort. Films could have the effect of making audiences feel more connected and emotionally invested in the war, triggering patriotism, sympathy, excitement and fear, encouraging the public to support sending their men to fight.

Not only did Hollywood try to make the war seem appealing and exciting, they also played upon society's fear of the enemy to encourage men to fight. While Hitler and the Nazis were the main enemy for most of the Allies' propaganda, the attack on Pearl Harbor solidified Japan as the main enemy for America, which would contribute to a long-lasting anti-Japanese sentiment for American society (Morris, 2011, p. ix). These negative associations with the Japanese people were exaggerated so strongly in American propaganda, as seen in the poster in Figure 1, that it resulted in there still being issues with anti-Japanese racism in America today. Propaganda film music was instrumental in stirring feelings of panic, fear and hatred towards the Japanese soldier in the American audience members, in the same way that film music could also create feelings of patriotism and pride. The perceived American 'hero' soldier and the Japanese 'villain' soldier on screen were communicated

through the connotative values of a combination of visual and sonic signifiers that are demonstrated in the collection of case studies analysed in the following chapters.

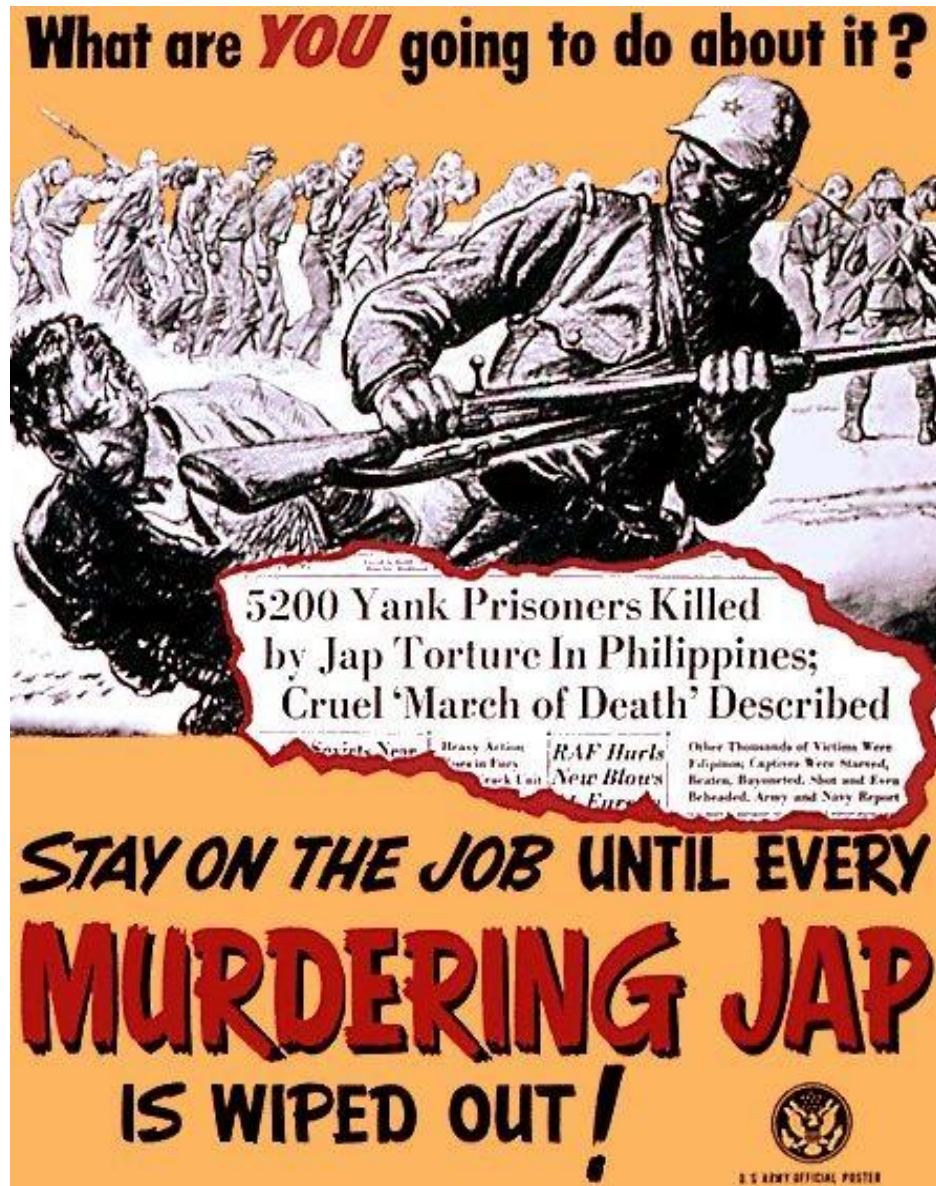


Figure 1. U.S. Army (1944). *American Anti-Japanese Propaganda Poster*.

Koppes and Black's (2000) *Hollywood Goes to War* explores the idea that propaganda can be found in film, especially in chapters three and six titled 'Will this picture help win the war?' and 'Home front: defining America'. The case studies examined in these chapters such as *The Beast of Berlin* (Newfield, 1939), *Triumph of the Will* (Riefenstahl, 1935) and *Hearts of the World* (Griffith,

1918) are valuable as they demonstrate analytical methods that can be applied to films from a range of studios. Neve's 'Film and Politics in America' (1992) is similarly specific and well-informed, however, it focuses purely on analysing films through a political lens, shedding light on the ever-changing, symbiotic relationship between governments and film studios. As war is intrinsically linked to politics, most of the ideas explored by Neve can also be applied to wartime Hollywood and therefore help to understand the complicated context behind the portrayal of soldier identities at this time.

Koppes and Black (2000) also discuss the issue of censorship in depth throughout their book and the impacts that the Motion Picture Production Code or 'Hays Code' had on audiences' perceptions of identity. Censorship in itself can be viewed as a method of propaganda as it allows the governing bodies to filter and control the content and messages that the public has access to. This helps to demonstrate how themes in movies reflected societal opinions but also how they became 'a prime instrument for public persuasion' (p. 16). For example, after Hays' Production Code was fully enforced in 1934 (Pollard, 2009, p. 49), the opinions of Hays himself (white, male, catholic) were now being projected onto wider society in every Hollywood film due to his heavy input in the creation of the standardised set of rules that film producers had to adhere to.

The Hays Code consists of a list of 'Don'ts' and 'Be Carefuls' which prohibited some very legitimate things, such as showing 'children's sex organs' however, Hays' own ecclesiastical biases are revealed in some of these points, for example, the prohibition of 'pointed profanity' as seen in Figure 2.

1. Pointed profanity—by either title or lip—"God," "Lord," "Jesus," "Christ" (unless used in a religious context), "hell," "damn," "Gawd," and every other profane and vulgar expression, however it may be spelled.
2. Any licentious or suggestive nudity—in fact or in silhouette, and any lecherous or licentious notice thereof by other characters in the picture.
3. The illegal traffic in drugs.
4. Any reference of sex perversion.
5. White slavery.
6. Miscegenation.
7. Sex hygiene and venereal diseases.
8. Scenes of actual childbirth—in fact or in silhouette.
9. Children's sex organs.
10. Ridicule of the clergy.
11. Willful offense to any nation, race, or creed.

Figure 2. Hays (1930). *List of Don'ts from The Hays Code*.

Many filmmakers had to change their creative visions to fit around the Hays code, for example *The Outlaw* (Hughes, 1943) which was cut, delayed and taken out of theatres until 1946 when the code had begun to break down (Mondello, 2008). However, many films still managed to break the rules, for example *Gone With The Wind* (Flemming, 1940) which shows childbirth in silhouette and uses the word 'damn' in the famous line: 'Frankly my dear I don't give a damn'. Disobedience of the Hays Code appears to have been tolerated more for some rules than others however, as last on the list of Don'ts is causing 'wilful offense to any nation, race, or creed' and racist elements can be observed in almost all films of this time. Most notably, offence to the nations of Japan was caused in many propaganda films - both governmental and independent - for example in *Know Your Enemy - Japan* (Capra, 1945), *The Purple Heart* (Milestone, 1944) or *Victory at Sea* (Kleinerman, 1954). In contrast to the offensive portrayals of enemy soldiers, American soldiers were often idealised in an attempt to convince young men to fight.

Masculinities in the Second World War Period

Hollywood films from this time showed American soldiers as heroes with carefully constructed identities to fit American society's vision of ideal masculinity as a method of convincing young men to join. While today gender is a flexible term, in 1940s America there was a much stricter set of binary coded behaviours that individuals were expected to adhere to. A great amount of research has been conducted to try to understand the concepts behind these attitudes resulting in complex gender theories through which films of this time can be analysed. For example, Butler (2007, p. 34) argues that gender is 'performative' and that societies regulate the construction of these performances. According to Butler, the appearance of a 'core' gender, sex, and sexuality (p. 186) are maintained by disciplinary techniques in society that coerce stylised actions and demonstrate what is socially permitted to appear as 'natural' (p. 35). Today the idea of fluidity in gender, sex and sexuality is more accepted, however, in the classical Hollywood Era, the span of what was socially permitted was much more narrow. In some ways this meant that the idea of 'performative' gender was even more applicable at this time as the semi-unspoken rules of what men and women should or should not do were enforced much more strictly. For example, Alleyne (2012) wrote an article uncovering 'advice to wives' that appeared in archived newspapers from 1893 with statements like 'don't argue with your husband ... obey all his orders' and 'never complain'. The notion that the husband 'earns a living and so shields [his wife] from the world' (Alleyne, 2012) was an idea that took a long time to begin to change and can be clearly seen in the Second World War period.

The above quote demonstrates the way in which employment and protectiveness has been intrinsically linked to society's definition of masculinity. The wall street crash in 1929 led to the great depression which presented many American men with years of unemployment and not only did this cause economic problems for individuals, but also took away their opportunity to provide for a wife and family. Attitudes to gender roles at the time meant that for millions of American men who lost their jobs during the Great Depression, the loss of their jobs 'posed a direct threat to their sense of

manhood' (Encyclopaedia.com, 2020). Employment was an essential element of masculinity, to the extent that a wife in 1936 stated 'when a man cannot provide for his family ... you lose your love for him' (Martschukat, 2019, p. 9). Therefore when the Second World War came, simultaneously offering men the opportunity of employment in the army and the opportunity to protect their families and country, many men (and women) would have seen the role of a soldier to be the ultimate performance of masculinity. This attitude was played upon and exaggerated by propaganda, with the 'glory' of war promising medals as proof of their hegemonic masculinity (Gates, 2006, p. 129).

Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the idealized standards for men or how society expects men to be. Goffman's (1963, p. 128) definition of the 'unblushing male in America' as 'a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual Protestant father of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, height, and recent record in sports' summarises the elements of the hegemonic male concisely. Similarly, Craib (1987, p. 723 -724) states that the invariable qualities of hegemonic masculinity include being the breadwinner, provider, worker, and 'public half' and that a hegemonic man is 'strong, rational, independent, task oriented, invulnerable and successful'. Definitions of masculinity similar to these can be found repeating throughout academia and society alike, imposed upon individuals from a young age and often regarded as a fundamental aspiration by institutions such as Hollywood, who repeatedly create 'hero' character archetypes around these features. Invertedly, Mackinnon (2003, p. 10) states that 'non-white, working class and homosexual men' are excluded from the traditional definitions of masculinity and, therefore, are also excluded from the category of 'hero'. The egalitarian virtues of the Frontier, the Wild West and the Second World War all contributed to the idea that men should not show interest in 'poetry, classical music, art or the ballet' and instead that they should know about fighting and have the ability to 'use violence effectively against one's enemies' (Gates, 2006, p. 255). Mellen (1978, p. 9) also summarises that 'film after film has insisted that the masculine male is he who acts -

and kills - without a moment's thought' which is a notion that can be traced back to conflicts - such as the Second World War - for which creating the 'soldier' mentality in the common man was essential for triumph. Gates (2002, p. 129) outlines how war and violence became a way to define masculinity which was utilised on-screen, stating that the hero character archetype in films would embody many of the celebrated features of masculinity, such as physical strength or fatherhood (Gates, 2006, p. 257). Mackinnon also identifies stereotypical elements of masculinity such as 'fear of homosexuality and femininity' (p. 7), the forbidden nature of 'profound bonding between men' (p. 8) which are among the more unspoken characteristics of the hegemonic male - and states that these elements are influenced particularly by war films (p. 42). However, he also states that post-war films such as *The Best Years of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946) demonstrate that the war created strong 'profound bonding between men', showing the male characters sat close together and dependent on each other for emotional support. This is just one of the ways that films demonstrated the changes that the Second World War inflicted upon society

The term 'hegemonic masculinity' encompasses Goffman, Craib, Mackinnon, Mellen and countless others' descriptions of masculinity. Because of this, it is a very useful term which summarises the many complicated elements involved in defining 1940 America's 'ideal masculinity', therefore this term that will be used throughout this thesis.

Second World War on Film

During the Second World War, real peoples' lives were affected in such dramatic ways that 'almost endless potential for storytelling' was created and the *Guardian* (Pulver, 2014) states that the demand for Second World War films today is still 'unstoppable'. Author Boyce believes that one explanation for this fixation is due to the 'moral certainties' of this war compared to other, more complex wars (Pulver, 2014), with the dynamic of 'Allies vs the Axis powers' creating a real-life Hollywood 'good conquering evil' plot. *The New Yorker* (Ross, 2018) states that stories about the

Second World War 'console' American audiences by reminding them of 'the days before Vietnam, Cambodia, and Iraq' when the United States played the role of 'the world's good-hearted superpower' that rescued Europe from the evil dictator. The simplicity of good conquering evil and a happy ending characteristic of Hollywood film is reflected in peoples' perception of the Second World War, which is another reason that this war - as opposed to others - has inspired so many films.

Hero soldiers

The hero soldier character can be found in films before and after the Golden Age, however, arguably, this period was when the practices surrounding the archetype were solidified. Portrayals of Second World War Ally soldiers rarely differ in films from this era and were often heavily linked to societal ideas about masculinity. As outlined above, defining gender identities is difficult, to the extent that MacInnes (1998, p. 2) argues that defining masculinity is 'pointless and impossible', however, the ideologies of gender from this period are reinforced so continually in film and other media platforms that it becomes possible to find definitions of different identities through their stereotypes. For example, female characters were often categorised into groups such as the 'fallen woman' or the 'virtuous wife' (Kalinak, 1982, pp. 76-82). Similarly, male characters in the Hollywood Era often had their identities simplified into pre-established character archetypes such as 'hero' or 'villain' which each had their own signifiers to inform the audience of their category. This categorisation was more prominent than ever during the classical Hollywood era with the 'hero soldier' and 'villain soldier' identities being depicted in films about the Second World War. One of the main ways in which hero soldiers were portrayed as 'good' in Second World War Hollywood films was to use signs with pre-existing positive connotations within society and apply them to the character in question. For example, features of the hegemonic male and pleasant, diatonic music indicated to the audience that a character was 'good'. Many of these signs of inherent 'goodness' were utilised over and over again becoming codified to represent hero soldiers. Not only did this provide often unattainable models of masculinity for society to compare real-life men to, but also

reinforced problematic stereotypes that were embedded in the institutional discrimination of Hollywood.

The Second World War was perhaps one of the most influential events in regards to the portrayal of hero identities due to the way in which it impacted such a wide variety of people and also due to the horrific nature of the Nazi regime against minorities such as Jews, the disabled, Gypsies and many others described in depth by Friedlander (1995). However, despite the obvious differences in radicalism, it is interesting to note the parallels that could be drawn between the Nazi's Aryan regime and America's strong ideology of the hegemonic male and obsession with the 'virtuous wife' (Kalinak, 1982, p. 72). Mackinnon (2003, p. 3) states that 'all known societies distinguish between male and female' providing them with 'models of behaviour deemed appropriate' - through film, for example - but that events such as the Second World War can change these models, which was demonstrated in films through the movement from hero soldiers to hero veterans.

Veteran soldiers had much more complex characteristics to portray as, in a lot of cases, they returned home from war to find that their bravery had led them to achieve the status of hegemonic masculinity that they had expected. Instead, many veterans struggled with physical injuries and mental health problems after the war including post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and anxiety (Pols & Oak, 2007) and many found it difficult to find a job or did not receive the respect that they thought they deserved. Issues with alcoholism, homelessness and strained relationships were common and therefore films addressing these issues were produced. While these films did a good job of raising awareness for people with disabilities and mental health problems, they stuck to the idea that veterans could be healed by striving for hegemonic masculinity and finding the comfort of a hegemonic female. Films about veterans from the Second World War period almost exclusively have a happy ending as a result of the veteran finding hegemonic masculinity and a woman's unconditional love, and contain informative segments about disabilities, demonstrating how even after the war had ended Hollywood was still utilising films to moderate societal reactions.

One significant example of a researcher who analysed film music to draw conclusions about societal opinions of masculine identities is Halfyard (2013) who discusses specifically the way in which the film score was adapted to reflect social change in the way masculine identities (in this case, superheroes) were received before and after 9/11. She does this by comparing the leitmotifs of superhero characters before and after 9/11 and then analysing their harmonic and rhythmic components and the connotative meanings attached to each element. This allows her to draw informed conclusions about changes to the perception of superhero identities, and hypothesise the causes for the changes. Her research not only demonstrates that societal events can affect film culture, but also that these changes can be traced through semiotic analysis of film music. Therefore, using a similar approach, the impacts that the Second World War had on the portrayals of soldier identities can be identified and analysed too by analysing portrayals of veterans.

Villain Soldiers

Naturally this strong semiotic attachment between hegemonic masculinity and hero soldier character archetypes results in an equally strong set of semiotic code for villain soldier archetypes. The emphasis on American patriotism resulted in any non-American conventions being semiotically labelled as 'villainous'. Gates (2006, p. 257) states that in Hollywood film, 'Americanness is associated with heroism; otherness with villainy'. In this way, 'the villain of contemporary Hollywood can be marked as 'other' - foreign, ethnic, homosexual, or female' or anything opposite to the ideal American soldier archetype. One societal explanation of this trend outlined by Gates is that these elements of 'otherness' each reflect a threat to the ideal image of American masculinity, such as 'globalisation, feminism, civil rights and gay movements'. Hawkins (Gates, 2006, P. 256) describes the way in which a 'familiarity with the fine arts' was 'all it took to establish a given male character as an enemy of the American way of life' and therefore an onscreen villain. The war was the perfect setting to reinforce these constructions of masculinity through propaganda whereby the 'cultured', 'methodical', 'intellectual' Nazi villain 'established a general stereotype of the cultivated villain for post-war film' (p. 257). Equally the image of the animalistic, savage Japanese soldier was inescapable

in many films released in the Second World War period and, with documentary-style propaganda and little information available to contradict this viewpoint, the American public were inclined to believe these portrayals. These stereotypes were reinforced through the use of repeated negative portrayals and signs with negative connotative value. Cones (2012, P. 10) defines a 'negative portrayal' to be an 'unfavourable or stereotypical depiction of someone or something in a motion picture' and believes that repeated use of this technique against any one culture could be considered level to use of private 'propaganda'.

Negative portrayals were utilised heavily during the Second World War to build an image of the Axis forces for American society to relate to. Hitler's real life opinions and actions made the perfect Hollywood villain character archetype, allowing for uncomplicated plots where 'The Bad Guy' is defeated without audience empathy or guilt, and his rise to power reflects a real-life Hollywood storyline. Overy (2001) describes the political and economic instability in Germany that allowed Hitler to fuse the offices of Chancellor and President to become The Fuhrer with the emergency, dictatorial powers that would allow him to conduct the atrocities of the Nazi regime (Overy, 2001). During the war, the Allies' propaganda media often depicted Hitler as incompetent and foolish, caricaturing him in animated form, for example in Walt Disney's comical *Der Fuehrer's Face* (Kinney, 1943) where Donald Duck has a dream about being in Nazi Germany and wakes up to say, 'Oh boy am I glad to be a citizen of the United States of America'. The political decision to use this type of propaganda was effective as it allowed for the average American's image of Hitler to be manipulated into someone who was unintelligent and therefore less threatening, encouraging young men to fight. However, after the war when the full scope of the atrocities of the Holocaust were revealed, depictions of Hitler in film became more serious, depicting him as evil and inhuman, for example in films such as *Valkyrie* (Singer, 2008), *Downfall* (Hirschbiegel, 2004) or *They Saved Hitler's Head* (Bradley, 1963).

As shown in Figure 1, Japanese people were also a target of caricaturing and vilifying. As opposed to portrayals of Hitler, Hollywood portrayed the Japanese as animalistic and villainous. The American

people were already so angered by the attack on Pearl Harbor that films could be utilised to channel these feelings and convert them into useful, war-oriented patriotism. They did this by releasing films such as *Destination Tokyo* (1943) and *30 Seconds Over Tokyo* (1944) that depicted the American heroes' victories over the Japanese, who were always portrayed unambiguously as villains. This was achieved through many visual signifiers, for example, showing Japanese soldiers committing horrible acts of warfare, with most films demonstrating their villainy by having a beloved character (such as Mike in *Destination Tokyo*) killed in an underhand way by a Japanese soldier. They were often depicted as 'back-stabbing monkeys lurking in the jungle' or 'vermin in need of extermination' (Sheppard, 2001). Frequently demonstrated as a threat to American life, they were shown acting in ways contrasting to the American norm and often even threatening American people, for example, in *Behind The Rising Sun* (Dmytryk, 1943) the poster advertising its cinema release shows a terrified woman being attacked by Japanese soldiers, as shown in Figure 3.



Figure 3. R.K.O Pictures (1943). *Poster for Behind The Rising Sun.*

Sheppard (2001, p. 304) states that during the Second World War, 'music served as a weapon' and 'as an instrument of racist propaganda' and describes how images of the Japanese from films such as *The Mikado* (1939) as a 'queer and quaint' people were soon replaced by construction of the Japanese villainous soldier. In *The Mikado* there are elements of traditional Japanese music used when portraying Japanese characters, such as pentatonic scales, unison, percussion and attempts made towards traditional timbres. While this is still built upon stereotypes of Japanese culture and is still misinformed and problematic, it is less biased and derogatory than later films. Visual and sonic elements seen in early films showing Japanese culture such as religious rituals, pentatonic, percussive music and martial arts were taken and combined in twisted ways to be portrayed as threatening and foreign rather than interesting and beautiful, for example, in *Know Your Enemy: Japan*.

Film music in particular was used to emphasise these distressing images, creating confusion, panic and fear just as effectively as it created feelings of patriotism towards hero soldiers. The way that the film score is utilised to create these onscreen identities depends upon a network of connotations belonging to different sounds that can be analysed through the use of semiotic theory.

Music in Film

Music in film acts as a subtler means of communication due to its ability to influence the listeners' feelings and opinions in their subconscious. This effect is described by many writers, but perhaps most eloquently by Claudia Gorbman (1987). She argues that seven principles for composition, mixing and editing can be seen in film music, one of which is 'inaudibility' (p. 73) outlined above. The way in which the music is secondary to the visual signifiers allows the sonic signifiers in the film score to operate in the background, manipulating the audience's perceptions of character identities on a

subconscious level through pre-established tropes, creating a medium through which societal views can be reflected and manipulated. This concept is also addressed by other authors, for example as 'unobtrusiveness' (Wierzbicki, 2009, p. 156) or 'dependence' (Kalinak, 1992, p. 21) and is widely accepted as an effective technique of communication in film and studied as a branch of semiotic theory. When analysing film music, it is important to keep in mind that 'the study of cinema was sociological as much as aesthetic' (Kuhn & Westwell, 2012, p. 171) and that the semiotic signifiers found in films can be used to identify social impacts as well as isolated literal meanings. Especially in the early years of film music where the communicative meanings behind music were often less subtle due to the audience not being as acclimated to the nuances that film music can utilise today. The 'Golden Age' is an interesting period to analyse as it saw the world go through the Second World War, which had extreme global impacts on individuals and societies as identified above. This period saw the beginning of tropes and traditions that would inform future film practices and hold long-lasting influence over the future filmmakers. This idea of tropology is embedded in semiotic theory and has been analysed in the context of film and film music in great depth by many researchers.

Semiotics

One such influential researcher was Hatten (2004) who wrote in detail about how to interpret tropes in the music of Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert. He also discusses the work of Monelle (p. 68) who analysed the tropological relationship between subject and countersubject in Bach's Fugue in Ab. The subject is identified as 'gallant' while the countersubject is labelled as a lament, with elements such as chromaticism and rhythm being regarded as responsible for this effect. This idea of contrasting musical characteristics occurring with Bach in 1740 still informs musical composition practice today, for example in the contrasting themes of sonata form (Ratner, 1949, p. 159). In film music, contrasting themes can be found when communicating different characters or settings, such as male/female or good/evil and this idea of 'coded binary pairs' or 'sets of oppositions' such as consonance/dissonance have been addressed in depth by Gorbman (1987, p. 80). As the audience is informed by a combination of sonic and visual signs, semiotic meaning is created and attached to

certain tropes in the audience's subconsciousness and this allows more complex communication of meaning to occur. Hatten defines 'topics' as 'style types' that possess strong correlations or associations with expressive meaning' (p. 68) which can be related directly to specific musical elements of the film score.

Ratner (1980, pp. 9-29) explored the idea of topics further by dividing them into categories such as 'French overture', 'singing style', 'fanfare', 'sensibility', 'learned style' and 'ombra', which are useful when analysing 'classic' music. Therefore, these theories are also very useful when analysing classical Hollywood film music due to its 'romantic influences' (Flinn, 1990, pp. 35-50). According to Agawu (1991, p. 26-50), 'topics' come under the 'extroversive' branch of semiotic theory which treats individual topics as 'signs' or 'sonic signifiers' which will be the terminology used throughout this essay as the term 'topic' is slightly out-dated and mostly used in relation to 18th century music and opera.

Each sonic signifier in the film score has a complicated web of connotative meanings that are sometimes difficult to define or trace, however, often the meanings behind them are understood universally. For some sonic signifiers the understanding of meaning comes directly from the sound, for example in some horror scores, such as *Psycho* (Hitchcock, 1960), discomfort for the listener is communicated simply by using uncomplimentary intervals or 'cluster-chords'. This discomfort created by a diversion from the usual western traditions of consonance results in the audience feeling discomfort from the images on screen, even if they seem innocent.

For other sonic signifiers the communication of meaning is more complicated and is instead informed by societal opinions or stereotypes, for example, the use of pentatonic scales and non-western timbres to communicate 'foreignness' and, therefore, sometimes villainy. Many of these stereotypes began in the silent era of film where a live pianist often accompanied the film in the cinema. Film music was generated from books that contained a series of topical cues that were often titled based on the kind of 'mood' that they would set, for example, 'scary', 'funny' or

'romantic, and would therefore allow the accompanying pianist to play along to the onscreen events (Altman, 1945, p. 346). This was common practice to help mask the often loud and distracting noise of the projector and to disguise the 'eeriness' (p. 93) of the silent films, and these musical ideas being used repeatedly will have solidified the connotations of emotion and expression that each one possesses and therefore have informed conventional film music practices in the Golden Age and today.

The Leitmotif

One common technique utilised in film music to communicate identity is the leitmotif. Defined by the Harvard Dictionary of Music (2003, p. 460) as 'a musical fragment related to some aspect of the drama that recurs in the course of an opera', similar 'fragments' can be heard in films scores, to represent characters, places or events. The issue of identity in music was explored in opera long before film with the concept of the 'leitmotif' was coined and these early uses of the technique informed the codification of identities in film music in the silent era and beyond. A leitmotif is a section of music repeatedly used to represent a character, place or action and is heavily associated with German composer Wagner, who utilised the leitmotif in his operas. Analysing film music with a Wagnerian approach helps us to understand film music's ability to manipulate emotions and links it to a cultural collective consciousness. This implies that the codified language of modern film music (Howell, 2015) was informed by the music in opera amongst other earlier musical works. Early techniques such as *Sturm und Drang* (storm and stress) in opera allowed composers to communicate emotional character identities and plot points to the audience ("Sturm und Drang", 2003) and also created early examples of coded binary pairs when used in conjunction with a calmer motif. Other techniques included using sonic signifiers that had already become codified in the Viennese Classical style such as Ratner's topics discussed above.

Analysis of Mozart's operas and other works reveals that certain keys are thought to communicate certain meanings for example, C major to depict a character's innocence, A minor the strange, A

major the noisy or B minor the 'exotic' (Einstein & Mendel, 1941, p. 419). Bradley (Cooke, 2008, p. 10) states that identity portrayals have always been closely related to music, even outside of film or opera. He describes how different characteristics of animals have been captured in musical works such as Saint Saëns' *Carnival of the Animals* (1886). The identity portrayals here are mostly communicated through actual mimicry of animal sounds such as bird song or elephant's footsteps. The lion is an interesting example in this piece as its reputational bravery is represented through a militaristic march tune while the scary/threatening side is demonstrated through the use of a minor key. Biddle and Gibson (2009) also look at evidence of masculinity being represented outside of film and opera, including in the middle ages, and encompassing the virility/effeminacy debate.

Tagg (1979) discusses the ways in which fanfares affect audiences, drawing conclusions that link fanfares with masculinity (p. 142) and discussing the implications of chromaticised fanfares like the one heard in *Carnival of the Animals* (pp. 135-137). Tagg's work demonstrates techniques of musical analysis that reveal links between film music and how it affects audiences, including their perceptions of character identities. The way in which films use the association between military marches and bravery is one way in which film music was used to have a specific impact on audience perceptions and one that was heavily relied upon to communicate soldier identities in war films. This technique is called *pastiche* which is defined by The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music as 'imitation... a work deliberately written in the style of a different period or manner' (Kennedy & Bourne, 2004, p. 549). Repeated use of techniques such as these resulted in some connotations being solidified in audience mentalities before the coming of sound, however other musical tropes were defined later by being repeatedly paired with images on screen to 'train' the audience members to react in the desired way to musical signals. In this way sonic signifiers were given the power to represent all kinds of identities in the Hollywood film score.

The use of leitmotifs in film music was severely criticised by Adorno and Eisler (1947, p. 6) stating that its function had been reduced to that of a 'musical lackey who announces his master with an important air even though the eminent personage is dearly recognisable to everyone'. They state

that 'there is no place for [the leitmotif] in the motion picture' as films seek to depict reality as opposed to Wagnerian operas which is where the leitmotif belongs. However, Adorno and Eisler admit that the use of a leitmotif in film has some value in film due to the 'ease with which they are recalled', serving as 'definite clues to the listener', and it is this idea of leitmotifs acting as 'clues' that makes them useful methods of communication and interesting to analyse.

For example, the leitmotifs used to communicate female identities have been the subject of much study in classical Hollywood era films due to a wave of feminist film criticism in the 1970s, with many writers discussing the issues with both the visual and audio side of cinema. Particularly influential in this tradition is Mulvey's *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* which argues that the image of women is designed to reward the masculine 'gaze'. This gaze objectifies the image of women in order to integrate it into narrative and assert (masculine) control over it at both the level of story and spectator (Mulvey, 1975, p. 12). This 'male gaze' design can be observed in most Hollywood films and demonstrates one of the ways in which film culture can be used to influence societal ideas and opinions. Silverman (1988, p. 31) argues that this issue goes beyond the visual signifiers and extends to the sonic signifiers whereby female characters in film are also limited by their voices and words, scripted by men to please men. She points out that narrative voice-overs are almost exclusively male, giving 'discursive authority and proximity to the apparatus' whilst the female voice is contained to the body that it inhabits, emphasising the woman's place as a spectacle. However, the voice is not the only sonic element that attempts to contain and control female characters on-screen, as film composers realised the power of the score and learned to utilise its varied semiotic meanings to enhance the portrayals of certain identities. Buhler (2015, p. 198) describes the way in which the leitmotif representing the heroine was often also used as the 'love' theme which demonstrates that musical motifs can inherit and transfer meaning through development and combination and enforces the idea that the heroine's only purpose in the film was to be the love interest for the hero. This is problematic as it 'reinforces the male-dominated point of view that characterises most narrative film' (Buhler, 2019 p. 205) or in other words, demonstrates how the film score supports the male gaze, manipulating the audience's perspective from a subconscious

level. This led to a tradition whereby female characters (especially those who are love interests) are conventionally represented by the 'euphony of a string orchestra' (Gorbman 1987, p. 80). Due to its repeated and continued use, this sonic signifier has become very heavily codified and is therefore one of the most efficient ways in which the film score can manipulate audience perceptions of female identity. According to Kalinak (1982, p. 76) the 'orchestral strings' trope is taken a step further when it is used in contrast with a jazz based motif, whereby strings represent the 'virtuous wife' and jazz represents the 'fallen woman'.

This association between jazz and wrong-doing stems from western racism where anything 'alien' or 'other' is constructed to have negative connotations of fear and threat for the audience. Therefore music with African roots such as Jazz was often treated in this way and utilised to subconsciously inform the audience that the behaviours of a 'fallen woman' were dangerous and not accepted in American society. This concept combined with corrective narrative events, such as the 'fallen women' characters getting married in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (Hawks, 1953) or committing suicide in *Vertigo* (Hitchcock, 1958), resulted in a very clear message about the way in which women should behave and allowed film producers to uphold the 'Hays Code'. This fear of otherness (as outlined by Gates, 2006) is the same concept behind the tradition of representing villainous characters with non-western music, which was heavily utilised in Hollywood propaganda films in the Second World War.

Many writers have discussed other ways in which the film score represents women and femininity, however fewer have looked into masculine identity representations in film musicology. Many of the concepts discussed in relation to female character portrayals also impact masculine character portrayals in significant ways. For example, the effects of the 'male gaze' will also mean that male characters will be portrayed in a way that is appealing to a male audience, resulting in heroes often being an idyllic, aspirational goal. Similarly, the way in which non-western elements of music are used to portray imperfect women, elements of 'otherness' are also employed when portraying villainous male characters, especially the Japanese soldier. While it is often valid to assume that male characters are scored in the opposite way to female characters, there are some interesting and

problematic ways in which male characters are also scored to manipulate audience perceptions of certain societal roles, for example heroes, father figures, teenage rebels, husbands or soldiers. Soldier identities are particularly interesting to study in the Second World War period as the natural way that music can affect an audience was exaggerated, even weaponised, through the use of propaganda to persuade societies to enter into a world war and to adjust to peacetime afterwards. The character archetypes such as the 'hero soldier' and the 'villain soldier' were essential points of focus in film music during the Second World War period as they would be the instrumental real-life roles for a successful outcome. Pastiche was a very effective and efficient way of manipulating the portrayals of these identities. Sheppard (2001, p. 312) discusses how film soundtracks utilise a range of different styles such as American military tunes, contemporary popular music, jazz, hymns, folk song, European classical music, anthems, and Orientalist music representations. Sheppard (2001, p. 312) also describes 'Propagandic Pastiche' whereby the powerful, pre-existing, connotative meanings behind these different styles can help governing bodies to create convincing and persuasive films to aid their own agenda. While pastiche was very common throughout the history of Hollywood, Sheppard states that 'the most striking usage is found in films from the World War II period' and the 'propaganda films created by the U.S. War Department'. Many of the films made under the supervision of Frank Capra including his *Why We Fight* and *Know Your Enemy/Ally* series utilised pastiche techniques which made the pre-existing connotations of styles such as fanfares and marches even more specific to war and soldier identities. This relationship between music and identity was then imitated in other films and therefore strengthened even further bringing definitive semiotic value of sound.

Pastiche was very effective when communicating 'hero soldier' identities as a lot of patriotic, militaristic material was already famous in America at the time. 'Villain soldiers' were also easily represented by pre-established conventions of 'scary' music from the silent era film cues. However, before the Second World War American filmmakers and audiences had had little experience dealing with more 'exotic enemies' (Sheppard, 2001). Representing the Japanese enemy soldiers in the film

score was a new challenge for film composers and some attempted to use a similar pastiche technique, for example, by imitating elements of Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904) including use of gongs and pentatonic scales. However, Sheppard (2001, p. 327) states a closer comparison is with representations of Native Americans on screen in the 1930s and that during the Second World War the Japanese effectively replaced Native Americans as 'America's favourite exotic enemy'. Both Native Americans and Japanese characters were often represented by mercato, pentatonic brass and ritualistic-sounding drums (for example in *Last of the Mohicans* (Seitz, 1935)) and actual authentic music of these cultures were avoided in favour of the more general and accessible sound created by loud, clashing chords. One exception to this occurs in the film *Behind the Rising Sun* (Dmytryk, 1943) which uses music performed on koto and shakuhachi during a scene in a geisha house, however even in this case the Japanese traditions are used simply to contrast the Americans (Sheppard, 2001, p. 342).

Conclusion

Overall, the Second World War affected society in many ways, resulting in a unique social structure in America that depended upon propaganda to inform and influence members of society. Through semiotic analysis of the music in films of this period, it is possible to reveal deeper layers of meaning being communicated in these films, particularly those about hegemonic masculinity and soldier identities. The case study films examined in the following chapters will apply this contextual information to specific examples and determine whether specific characteristics of music have the potential to carry meaning that could have been 'injected' into the audience's subconscious.

3: Case Study Films: Office of War Information Propaganda Films

America's non-interventionist strategy meant that at the start of the Second World War, Hollywood denied making anything like propaganda. Hays stated that only 5% of films pertained 'in any way' to political events and assured audiences that 'there will be no cycle of hate pictures' (Koppes & Black, 2000, p. 20). This attitude was due in part to a divided public opinion where non-interventionist supporters reacted strongly to anything that could be perceived as interventionist propaganda, however, the biggest motivation for Hollywood to take a neutral stance was a financial one. Koppes and Black (2000, p. 21) explain that the American movie industry was economically dependent on a world market with 35,000 European theatres showing American films. For this reason, any criticism of Axis powers or indication of political alignment was strictly controlled to ensure that films were not banned from cinemas by other world leaders. *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (Litvak, 1939) is widely renowned as the first openly anti- films and, as a result, was banned from cinemas in Germany, Italy, and Spain (Koppes & Black, 2000, p. 30). By 1940, Germany had banned all American films from all areas under Nazi control, allowing Hollywood to cross into an important threshold where they were no longer inhibited by the restraints of market pressure and began to show more anti-Nazi films as societal opinions changed. One example of an anti-Nazi Hollywood film includes *The Mortal Storm* (Borzage, 1940) which made the important distinction between Nazis and average German citizens, therefore abiding by Hays' 'Don't' number 11: 'Wilful offense to any race, nation or creed' but still maintaining propagandic values. In February 1941, Roosevelt thanked the industry for its 'splendid cooperation' and delegated the task of monitoring Hollywood's propagandic role to the Office Of War Information (Koppes & Black, 2000, p. 36).

From this point onwards, Hollywood began to release more films of a propagandic nature that informed the audience about the political setting of the Second World War, encouraged support of America's involvement and took advantage of the limitless potential for narratives that war

presented. Hollywood also worked with the Office of War information to help produce official propaganda films to be shown to soldiers and later released to the public. Film composers were presented with a unique challenge when scoring these films and the film score demonstrates the most obvious link between persuasive techniques in official propaganda films and independent Hollywood films.

Why We Fight: War Comes To America (Capra, 1945):

Why We Fight (1945) is a series of seven documentaries directed by Frank Capra and commissioned by the US Government. They were originally created to educate US soldiers about the origins of the war, however, they were later released to the public, acting as propaganda to encourage support for the country's involvement in the war.

Title	Year of release
Prelude to War	1942
The Nazis Strike	1943
Divide and Conquer	1943
The Battle of Britain	1943
The Battle of Russia	1943
The Battle of China	1944
War Comes to America	1945

Table 1. Titles and release dates of the films in Capra's *Why We Fight* documentary series.

As well as this, Capra also helped to oversee the production of other influential propaganda films created over the course of the Second World War, including the *Know Your Enemy* series and the *Know Your Ally* series (Poague, 2004, p. 58). Despite his Italian heritage (Poague, 2004, p. 12), his American patriotism was demonstrated repeatedly through the medium of films (p. 33), especially the above documentary-style films created during the Second World War under his title as Chief of the Army Pictorial Service.

Capra discusses the influences behind these documentaries in his autobiography - *The Name Above The Title* (1971) - including his reaction to Nazi propaganda films such as Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1935). He describes *Triumph of the Will* as a 'terrifying motion picture' and 'an ominous prelude of Hitler's holocaust of hate', even going as far as to compare Riefenstahl to Satan (Capra, 1971, p. 328). As Capra was working in direct response to Nazi propaganda films, his films inevitably share some stylistic similarities whereby both films use fast-paced cuts accompanied by music that helps to add contextual information and ensure continuity. To achieve this, Capra and his team accumulated images from 'enemy films and news reels and American films', and edited the material together, adding music by composer Dimitri Tiomkin who paired the images with meaningful sounds, creating a convincing narrative with high levels of persuasive value (Poague, 2004, p. 58).

Triumph of the Will, also utilised many techniques of persuasion to convince audiences that Hitler was a strong leader who deserved their full devotion, including political speeches from influential figures and a bombardment of Nazi iconography. Arguably the most effective method was the series of calculated and deliberate pairings between image and sound that helped to manipulate the audience's reactions subliminally, demonstrating the powerful potential of real-life applications of Gorbman's principle of 'inaudibility' (1987, p. 73). By opening the film with 22 minutes' worth of fast paced, close-up images of Hitler, his supporters and Nazi iconography, and then combining them with well-designed musical motifs, the introduction of the film forms a convincing and inescapable message that links German national pride and identity to Hitler and the Nazi Party.

The music in this introductory section was written by Herbert Windt and contains many snippets of traditional party songs, folk songs and is heavily inspired by the works of German composer Wagner, of whom Hitler was an enthusiast (Bell, 2013, p. 121). Wagner's influence is occasionally demonstrated through Windt's use of imitative technique, copying Wagner's signature leitmotivic structures and complex harmonic progressions. Composing in Wagner's leitmotivic style not only allows for the codification of musical motives, but also communicates a sense of national pride for Wagner's German roots. To emphasise this, passages of Wagner's own music were simply played in full, for example at 14:00 when a section of *The Awakening Chorus* (1868) is used to accompany scenes of Nuremberg. Using strongly connotative music with roots in German culture has the effect of subliminally informing the audience of the authentic national pride that they should feel, and when paired with persuasive images, such as Hitler descending from the clouds in a God-like manner (Figure 4), it can affect the way that viewers perceive the images being shown to them.



Figure 4. (Riefenstahl, 1935) Screenshot from *Triumph of the Will* at 1:44.

instance, the music itself provides a national anthem-like base with a march tempo, full diatonic harmonies and a simple, memorable melody, which the Nazis could fill with Wessel's lyrics and put to use effectively in propaganda scenarios such as *Triumph of the Will*. Its use in Riefenstahl's film demonstrates how thoroughly the music absorbed connotations of Nazism as, even without the lyrics declaring that 'millions are looking upon the swastika full of hope', the message would still have been known to the German audience of the 1930s.

While it is debatable where the semiotic value originates from, the effect is undeniable with music like this being used in combination with many other factors to encourage ordinary people to give their support to extreme parties like the Nazis. Even as recently as March 2020, YouTube user Steven Baer commented on a video (Kumba84, 2018) playing a recording of *Die Fahne Hoch* stating 'It actually makes you feel to stand up and salute like good soldiers' demonstrating that the song still has a profound effect on listeners who are aware of its context. Just some of the other comments on the same video include statements such as:

'The song has restored my strength' - Spyronical (2020)
'I love these timeless classics as they stir one to action' - Mary Cavendar (2020)
'This is real Germany' - Ola Nowak (2020)
'The one record I would legitimately kill someone to own' - This Old Chevy (2020)
'This ... song would fuel any neo nazis day' - Harold O'Keeffe (2020)

Figure 5. YouTube comments in response to video by Kumba84 (2018).

Taking into consideration that some of these comments could have elements of exaggeration or sarcasm due to the subjective and anonymous nature of posting online, it is still evident that *Die Fahne Hoch* still has strong connotative value and evokes passionate responses from certain audiences, still encouraging Nazi sympathisers over 80 years after its use in the Nazi's campaign. Despite the notes and pitches, rhythms, harmonies and other intra-musical factors having no

political alignment individually, the specific combination of these factors into a song that has been associated so wholly with an idea results in the music being given the power to communicate complex semiotic meaning.

Perhaps reacting to the persuasive success of *Triumph of the Will*, conscious use of the semiotic properties of sound can also be heard in Capra's wartime documentary series, Film music's potential to embody propagandic pastiche (Sheppard, 2001, p. 312) was notably put into practice in *War Comes to America* (1945) which similarly focuses on building national pride through use of traditional American music to persuade individuals to agree with government decisions. As the final instalment of Capra's 7-part documentary series, it utilises many angles of persuasion outside of the film score too, recapping some of the other documentaries such as *Prelude to War* (1942) and *The Nazi Strike* (1943) and concluding that the American people wanted to join the war. To establish this, the film quotes from a series of polls, listing statistics with accompanying graphics demonstrating the majority percentages of the public that agreed with the government's decision to break its non-interventionist strategy. Whether or not this was true, the documentary style would have had the effect of making anyone who disagreed with America's involvement in the Second World War feel as though they were in the minority and therefore less inclined to broadcast their views. This method of propaganda was very effective as the use of statistics and the limited access to any contrasting information would have made it very difficult to disagree with the message of the film. However, composer Tiomkin orchestrated some more subtle avenues of propaganda within these documentaries, through the use of music and sound.

All of Capra's documentaries in this style show fast-paced images, accompanied by music and a voiceover. The narrator of *War Comes To America* - actor Walter Huston (Aitken, 2006, p. 1450) - has a distinctive American accent and sounds wise, trustworthy and reasonable. This effect is due in part to the mostly calm, measured way that he is speaking, with well thought out sentence structures and a mixture of formal and informal language, however, most of the trustworthiness in his voice stems

from the societal privilege held by educated American males at the time. Huston sounds politely bemused when describing the Axis ideals and traditions asking 'what kind of talk was that?' (22:44) demonstrating that he was not scared or emotional and indicating level-headedness and bravery. On the other hand, he speaks passionately when talking about 'liberty' and when reciting an idealised version of American history that omits the Civil War demonstrating that he is patriotic. From all of these subtle factors, the audience deduces that the narrator fits into the category of Goffman's 'unblushing' hegemonic male (1963, p. 128) causing them to subconsciously trust the statements he makes. The way in which these elements of the narrator's voice are registered and interpreted subconsciously by the audience allows the narrator to be a very effective sonic signifier.

Another important set of sonic signifiers in Capra's documentaries are the accents used, which play an important role in conveying the differences between Ally and Axis identities. American accents are almost always subtle, well enunciated and well written whereas Axis accents are frequently over exaggerated and harsh. The opening scene of *War Comes To America* shows American children reciting the Pledge of Allegiance at 0:32, which is directly contrasted by footage at 27:00 of Hitler pledging violence on America, overdubbed with a strong German accent emphasising stereotypes such as using 'V' instead of 'W' sounds. Mussolini is also overdubbed with a German accent at (28:20) and the Japanese accent heard at (28:37) is crudely exaggerated, demonstrating the way in which elements of 'otherness', such as non-American accents, no matter how inaccurate or exaggerated, could be enough to portray a character as villainous (Gates, 2006). American and English accents are often accompanied by proud brass fanfares or romantic string music, whereas German and Japanese accents are almost always accompanied by uncomfortable dissonance, loud primal drumming and turbulent dynamics. In *War Comes To America*, fanfares are heard at many points, however Example 2 shows one occurrence at 1:04:00 that is particularly notable, accompanying the American flag.



Example 2. *War Comes To America* (Capra, 1945). Screenshot and 'Fanfare' motif from 1:04:00.

The well-planned portrayals of the narrator and individual accents are combined with equally deliberate choices in the score where Tiomkin utilises extracts from pre-existing material from American composers such as Gershwin with *Rhapsody In Blue* (1924) and *Don't Get Around Much Anymore* (1942) by Duke Ellington. Similar to Riefenstahl's use of German popular music in *Triumph of the Will* and, Tiomkin's use of Tchaikovsky's music in *Battle of Russia* and Gershwin in *War Comes to America* (10:00 to 11:44) will have allowed the audience to be quickly and subconsciously informed by the authentic connotations already carried by these pieces. These connotations help the audience to interpret and understand the fast paced, montage-like images which would otherwise be disjointed and confusing. For example images of soldiers and fighting are frequently shown in silhouette or from a distance which means that the audience often relies upon the music and the narrator to inform them whether these are Ally or Axis and how they should react. One example of this occurs at 20:08 when the narrator describes the Japanese attack on Manchuria and the film

shows a series of images of Chinese suffering and Japanese soldiers marching. The score utilises a loud brass cluster chord to emphasise the feelings of fear linked to the Japanese and then a minor key march motif that is punctuated by accented off-beat notes that imitate the sound of a gong. This combination of brass instrumentation, dissonance and distorted versions of the American military march had grown to become heavily codified to represent enemy soldiers on screen and therefore would have emphasised the otherness of the identities onscreen.

Where the Axis powers are represented by uncomfortable sounds and distortion of familiar American styles, the Allies are often accompanied by the opposite: comfortable, diatonic music. When the American soldier is shown in combat, the music is usually fast paced, exciting and fanfare-like, punctuated by diegetic sounds of explosions and gunfire for example, at 1:09 in *War Comes To America*. When the American soldier is shown at home, the beauty of what he is fighting for is often represented by homophonic, legato string music that is reminiscent of a national anthem. Both of these musical styles have roots in American culture with military marching bands and encourage the audience to feel patriotic and proud, especially when combined with the beautiful images of their country and when contrasted with images of imminent threats. Repeated use of these representative techniques in documentaries and films like Capra's resulted in the audience being trained to associate sounds with their codified meanings and therefore provided future filmmakers with a ready-made 'toolbox' of semiotic signifiers to communicate connotative meaning semiotically.

The 'toolbox' metaphor implies that film composers could pick from a range of ready-made sections of music to communicate complex ideas to the audience, however, in reality the composition process was much more complex than this. While certain musical tropes have inherited connotative meaning either from previous usage or from onomatopoeic elements, film composers still needed to write original material. Therefore the 'toolbox' of semiotic signifiers can only contain outlines of the musical tropes that carry semiotic meaning, which the film composers can then fill with their own ideas. For example, if the musical trope of a fanfare is to be recognised, along with its connotations

of military pride, then it must follow the outline of other, pre-existing fanfares, which typically consists of diatonic, arpeggio movement at a loud dynamic in brass instrumentation and straight or dotted quaver rhythms. In the case of *War Comes To America* (Capra, 1945) Example 2 shows all of these elements, however, Tiomkin's individual choice of melody, rhythm and key result in a motif that is original but still carries connotative meaning due to its similarity to other fanfares. Other important musical tropes available to composers include use of legato, homophonic string motifs with connotations of 'home' and 'family' and the use of non-western instruments, rhythms and harmonies with connotations of 'danger' and 'otherness'. These two types of sonic signifier can be heard in another of Capra and Tiomkin's documentary series in an episode called *Japan* (1945).

Know Your Enemy: Japan (Capra, 1945):

Capra's *Know Your Enemy* series worked as a counterpart to his *Know Your Ally* series and each episode contained dramatic images from foreign countries combined with use of propagandic pastiche in the film score. *Know Your Enemy: Japan* in particular used a similar technique of combining fast-paced images with meaningful sounds to communicate (and exaggerate) the ways in which Japanese culture was different to American culture. Released at the end of the Second World War on the same day as the Nagasaki bombing, and three days after the Hiroshima bombing, the film also aims to convince the audience that Japan presents a threat to the American way of life, attempting to dehumanise the Japanese people and justify any kind of attack against them. It achieves this through the use of persuasive images and the presentation of factual-sounding information working in combination with a carefully structured set of motifs within the film score.

The film begins with a fanfare which was typically used to alert the audience and a text disclaimer stating that the film does not refer to American Japanese people, and that it only 'tells the story of the Japs in Japan to whom the words liberty and freedom are still without meaning'. A narrator who

shares similar characteristics to the narrator in *War Comes to America* then asks the audience to bear with him as things get 'fantastical' over the course of the film as 'the Japanese are a fantastical people'. There is then an image of a gong paired with the loud sound of it being struck (Figure 6) which is used as a marker to separate each section of the documentary. It is sudden, loud, and intrusive, having a similar effect to a jump-scare in a horror film which has the effect of linking Japanese culture with fear and discomfort with the American audience. The film then immediately moves to its next section: a montage of fast paced images of Japan.

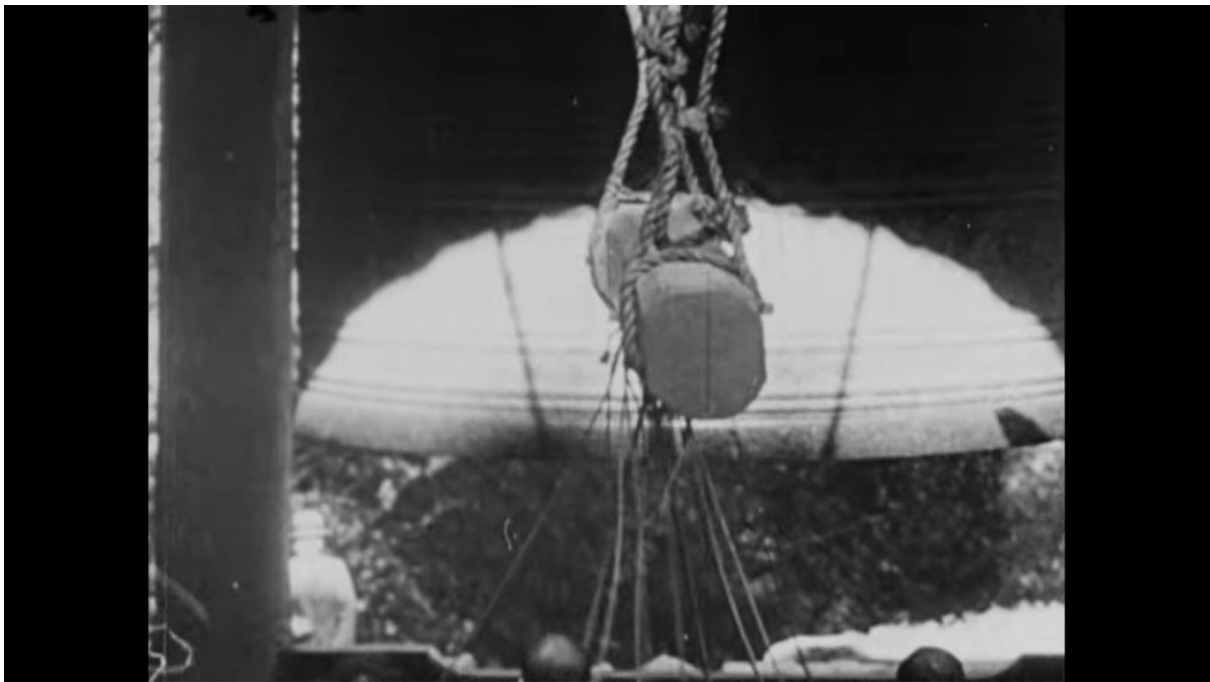


Figure 6. *Know Your Enemy: Japan* (Capra, 1945). Screenshot from 40:30.

Under the guise of educating the American public about Japanese history, the documentary uses images, narration and sound to distort and exaggerate elements of Japanese culture, alienating and estranging them from the American audience. Images of a Japanese man using a Katana, Japanese women in ceremonial makeup, shoes and kimonos, traditional farming equipment and worship in temples is accompanied by short, overlapping segments of music in a stereotypically Asian style. The music does not match up to a lot of the images even though it is clearly intended to. Much of the sound at this point consists of random percussive noises and pitchless shouting, therefore, a transcription of a particular motif would be difficult and also irrelevant as at this point in the film.

However, this lack of opportunity to hear and transcribe motifs is precisely Tiomkin's aim as the confusing effect originates from the chaotic, overlapping noises are designed to be unfollowable.

Features of music that have Eastern connotations in Hollywood film include plucked string and percussive timbres, pentatonic scales, repetitiveness, simplicity and non-diatonic vocal lines in foreign languages. While some of these stereotypes come from informed sources, in Hollywood film scores these elements are often exaggerated to increase the level of communication. In this section of *Know Your Enemy: Japan* many motives demonstrating these stereotypical factors are heard overlapping in different keys, time signatures and tempos with none of the usual care taken to remain 'inaudible' (Gorbman, 1987, p. 73). This causes the score to be more intrusive than usual resulting in the audience being uncomfortably aware of the music which they would usually process subconsciously. In the majority of films from early Hollywood, composers consciously designed the score so that it modulates subtly without disturbing the prioritised dialogue or visual signifiers, only allowing certain motifs to be heard at relevant points (Gorbman, 1987, p. 73). Therefore the constant, repetitive, loud non-western music heard in this section was designed to make the audience uncomfortable, which increases the discomfort already achieved through the fast-paced, close up, disorienting images demonstrating non-western traditions.

The music itself in this section of *Know Your Enemy: Japan* is uncomfortable for the audience due to its differences to traditional Hollywood film music. The foreignness of the non-orchestral instrumentation, non-diatonic harmonies and melodies and repetitiveness would have been very alien to the majority of the American audience members, resulting in a positive feedback mechanism whereby the otherness demonstrated by the visual signifiers and the sonic signifiers enhance each other. The narrator then states, 'we shall never completely understand the Japanese mind, and they shall never completely understand ours, otherwise there would never have been a Pearl Harbor' and after repeating the gong motif shown in Figure 6, the documentary moves onto the next section where the narrator reads 'facts' and statistics about the Japanese soldiers.

After stating information about the Japanese soldier's height, weight and salary, the narrator then disguises racist stereotypes within these facts such as 'he and his brother soldiers are as much alike as photographic prints of the same negative'. The narrator then reveals more inaccurate facts designed to encourage the potential American soldiers, implying that the Japanese soldiers will be easy to defeat. Statements such as 'his uniform is ill fitting', 'appearance unsoldierly' and 'at drill he may lack precision' are reinforced by relevant images and draw more comparisons between America and Japan, invoking feelings of patriotism for America's own soldiers. After this clever section that repeatedly pairs Japan with discomfort, the audience has effectively been trained to associate the two with each other so the narrator then gets to the main point of this documentary which is to demonstrate that Japan presents a real threat to the American way of life.

The narrator misinforms the audience about many more aspects of 'the Japanese soldier', stating that he has been trained since birth and has a 'fanatical belief that Japanese people are descendants of Gods and destined to rule the Earth and all that live in it'. After casually accusing all Japanese of being guilty of 'treachery, brutality, rape and torture' (5:30) and portraying the Emperor as an all-powerful God-like figure, the film moves on to criticise Shintoism and Buddhism. Over images of temples and Japanese people dressed in ceremonial clothes the narrator explains some elements of Shintoism accurately, however, the majority of what his facts are exaggerated to convince the audience that they have a rational reason to fear Japan. He states that those who practise Shintoism believe that there are 'ghosts' who watch over people and make sure that everyone 'obeys the emperor' (13:10), whose intentions are to take over the world. In actuality, the emperor is widely considered to have been a relatively powerless figurehead (Pederson, 2006, p. 116) and the 'ghosts' are known as Kami and are believed to protect the living from evil spirits. All of this misinformation about Shintoism is scored with uncomfortably high pitch, pentatonic string music with heavy use of repetitive percussion which grows in intensity and dynamic more and more as the narrator explains over images of maps and diagrams the growing threat of the Japanese army taking over the whole

world (14:49). This music is directly contrasted with the music at 23:58 which is a choral arrangement of a Christian hymn. The sudden drop in dynamic and switch back to diatonic, homophonic, western music simultaneously makes the audience relax as the narrator and images demonstrate American ideals and also makes the audience realise how loud and uncomfortable the non-western motives had become. Because of this, it is very effective as a persuasive tool, convincing audience members, not only that America needs protecting from the Japanese, but also that it is worth protecting.

Overall, this film uses the narrator to communicate racist ideas over chaotic images and the music unwaveringly supports his statements by creating actual discomfort and tension to surround them. Whilst this film is overwhelmingly racist and contains a lot of misinformation about Japanese culture, the way that the film score is used to invoke fear is interesting and worth analysing, especially as it is a piece of official government propaganda. The way in which the narrator tells lies about Japanese culture in the context of a documentary and surrounds them with some elements of truth is a technique that can be seen in many wartime Hollywood films and, similarly, the way that music stirs real feelings of comfort and discomfort is a technique that was widely used for its persuasive effect. These persuasive methods combined may have had the persuasive power to influence even the most rational of audience members and can also be heard in films from independent sources.

4: Case Study Films - Soldier Identity Portrayals

Destination Tokyo (Daves, 1943):

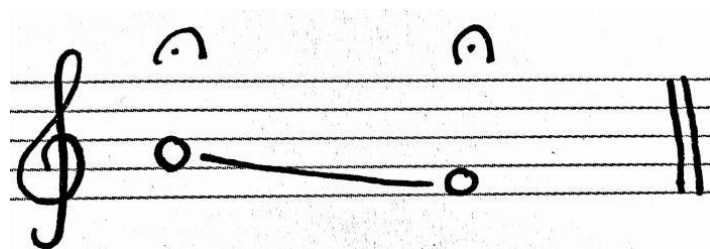
Crowther (1944) reviewed *Destination Tokyo* for the New York Times, describing it as 'extravagant' and 'wholly implausible' and accused it of violating 'essential' rules of drama. Crowther conceded that there are some 'manly performances' by Cary Grant, John Garfield, Alan Hale and Dane Clark, but overall seemed unimpressed by the improbability of some of the events of the plot. This demonstrates how the popularity of wartime films was affected by their perceived believability and realism as films allowed audiences to feel more informed and closer to their friends and family who were actually fighting. Believability was also important, because it was still relatively new technology and required audiences to suspend their disbelief. There is no evidence that the events shown in *Destination Tokyo* actually occurred and some, like Crowther, felt that there was too much action to be considered believable, but despite this, the film also received positive responses from the public and from magazines such as *Variety*, describing it as 'a film whose hero is the Stars and Stripes' and stated that 'the performers are merely symbols of that heroism'. This demonstrates the patriotic nature of films released during America's involvement with the Second World War reveals elements of propaganda in Hollywood's studios, revealing that the persuasive power of films was utilised, not just in official government films, but also in films from independent sources too. This can be proven through analysis of the similarities and differences between films such as *Destination Tokyo* (1943) *Know Your Enemy: Japan* and *Why We Fight: War Comes To America* (1945), particularly their scores and use of musical motifs to communicate meaning.

Composer Franz Waxman used musical motifs to communicate meaning for a range of characters and events in *Destination Tokyo*. To achieve this he included musical themes that already held semiotic value - such as fanfares - and also made use of the film's 135 minute run-time to use

repetition to train audience members to subconsciously recognise the meanings of different semiotic signifiers.

One example of a musical motif that was used repetitively was the 'submarine rising/falling' motif.

The first instance of this occurs at 20:10 when the submarine is first seen from the underwater perspective, sinking towards the bottom of the sea. The score mirrors this movement (as shown in Example 3) with a descension in pitch at a similar rate to the onscreen image.

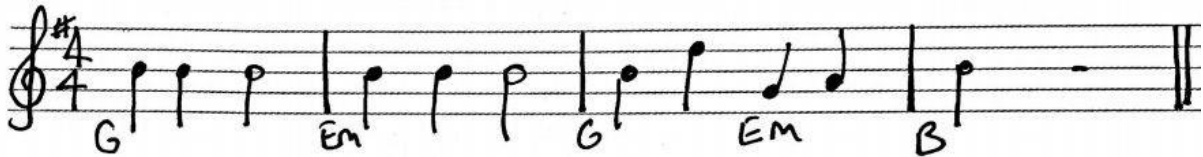


Example 3. *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943). Screenshot and 'Glissando' motif from 20:10.

Similarly, the submarine's ascension is almost always accompanied by the score moving upwards in pitch, first heard at 23:28. This mirroring effect helps the audience to be able to suspend their disbelief allowing them to understand the images of submarines in the water which may have been unfamiliar. Waxman also utilised this technique in his film score for planes rising and falling in

Objective Burma (Walsh, 1945), demonstrating by repeating it two years later that this technique was effective. The 'Submarine Rising/Falling' motif is used on every occurrence of the submarine sinking or surfacing which has the effect of training the audience to understand its meaning. Towards the end of the film when the audience has been 'trained' to understand the link between pitch descension in the score and 'going under', the 'Submarine Sinking' motif is then used to signify a different type of 'going under'. At 1:43:49 crew member Adams is being anaesthetised for an emergency operation at the bottom of Tokyo Bay and - subsequent to its repeated usage accompanying the submarine going under the water - the 'Submarine Sinking' motif also serves to communicate Adams 'going under' the anaesthetic. This is a simple example of the way in which musical motifs can inherit semiotic meaning over the course of a film and audiences can be trained to recognise these meanings through repetition.

The score also utilises recognisable tunes that already carry semiotic meaning prior to the start of the film such as Christmas carols and traditional songs to quickly communicate contextual information, saving dialogue space for communicating more central narrative ideas. One example of the film score communicating contextual information through traditional song occurs at 3:35 when the captain and the cook are boarding the ship with luxury supplies, as shown in Example 4 accompanied by the tune from Sailor's Hornpipe Dance (Dale, 1797e). This serves the purpose of informing the audience of the naval context of the film whilst the dialogue remains the main focus of their attention.



Example 5. *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943). Screenshot and 'Jingle Bells' motif from 3:50.

Whilst these are relatively simple pairings between motif and meaning, Waxman makes use of other motifs that carry more complex meanings. These complex meanings align under one purpose: to convince the American audience to engage with the hero soldier characters and therefore see that their country's actual involvement in the Second World War is justified. This is achieved by using music to glorify the American soldier by manipulating individual's perceived masculinity, by using music to increase the sense of fear surrounding enemy soldiers and by using music to encourage patriotic feelings at pivotal points in the film (Figure 7a).

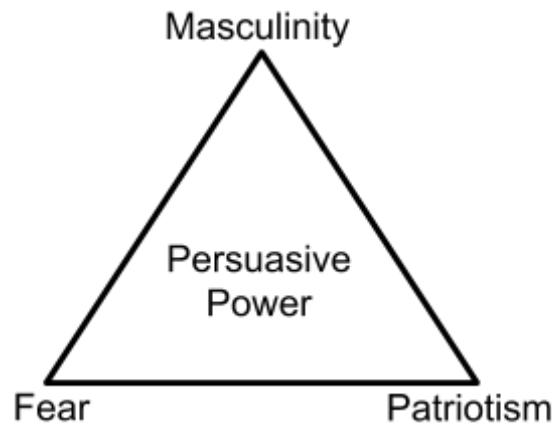


Figure 7a. Diagram of the elements contributing the persuasive power of films portraying soldier identities.

The American soldier's perceived masculinity is often presented as almost entirely hegemonic, as defined by Goffman (1963, p. 128) and *Destination Tokyo* is no exception. There are many crew members introduced in the first 10 minutes of the film, all embodying different elements of masculinity to different levels of comedic effect, however, main hero Captain Cassidy (played by Cary Grant) embodies Goffman's 'unblushing' male perfectly. Within the first six minutes, the film confirms that he meets 10 out of 14 of Goffman's criteria as he is young, married, white, protestant, heterosexual, a father, fully employed and of good complexion, weight and height, allowing the audience to feel safe in the assumption that he also meets the rest of them. The way in which he embodies these characteristics that were so valued by society at the time may have allowed audience members to trust and engage with his character more, believing that he deserves his authority and status and therefore may have encouraged them to have faith in their country's real-life captains. Throughout the film, Captain Cassidy also demonstrates that, like Gates' and Mellen's definitions of the hegemonic male, he has the ability to 'use violence effectively against one's enemies' (Gates, 2006, p. 255) and that he is someone who 'acts - and kills - without a moment's thought' (Mellen, 1978, p. 9). Captain Cassidy's character balances this ruthless side by demonstrating that he is a family man and discussing the Christmas gifts that he has got for his wife and daughter, fulfilling Craib's (1987, p. 723 -724) definition of masculinity meaning being a

in the creation of their films. However, as the nature of a fanfare is to be attention grabbing and exciting and as bravery was such a highly valued attribute of hegemonic masculinity at this time, it is fitting that this motif and meaning were paired together, however, more subsidiary elements of hegemonic masculinity are communicated in the score in less obvious ways.

For example, Cassidy's attitude towards his family is explored somewhat in the narrative and dialogue but the score is where his true emotions are communicated most fully. Craib's (1987, p. 723-724) description of ideal masculinity includes the words 'strong' and 'rational', demonstrating how men have often not been encouraged to show their emotions as they may be regarded as feminine, weak and irrational. This creates a paradox whereby the hegemonic man must care about his family but not be emotional about it. This is bypassed by having Cassidy's character remain rational and strong in the visual signifiers and communicating his emotions through musical motifs. This idea is introduced at 3:50 (Example 5) when the 'sad jingle bells' motif is used to communicate his disappointment and loneliness; however, it is put into practice in a scene from 5:23 to 6:45.

In this scene Cassidy is writing a letter to his wife and, as he narrates it meta-diegetically, the audience learns that he has two children and that he cares about them very much. He writes modestly about his promotions and about the Christmas presents that he managed to get for his wife and daughter, demonstrating that he is protecting and providing for them even from afar. While he is writing the letter, romantic, legato strings with lush harmonies play in the background demonstrating the love that he feels for them. He is then interrupted three times by members of his crew and each time, the music stops abruptly and then returns a key higher, showing that he is able to compartmentalise and would not allow his emotions for his family to cloud his judgement as a captain, fulfilling Craib's categories of 'strong' and 'rational'.

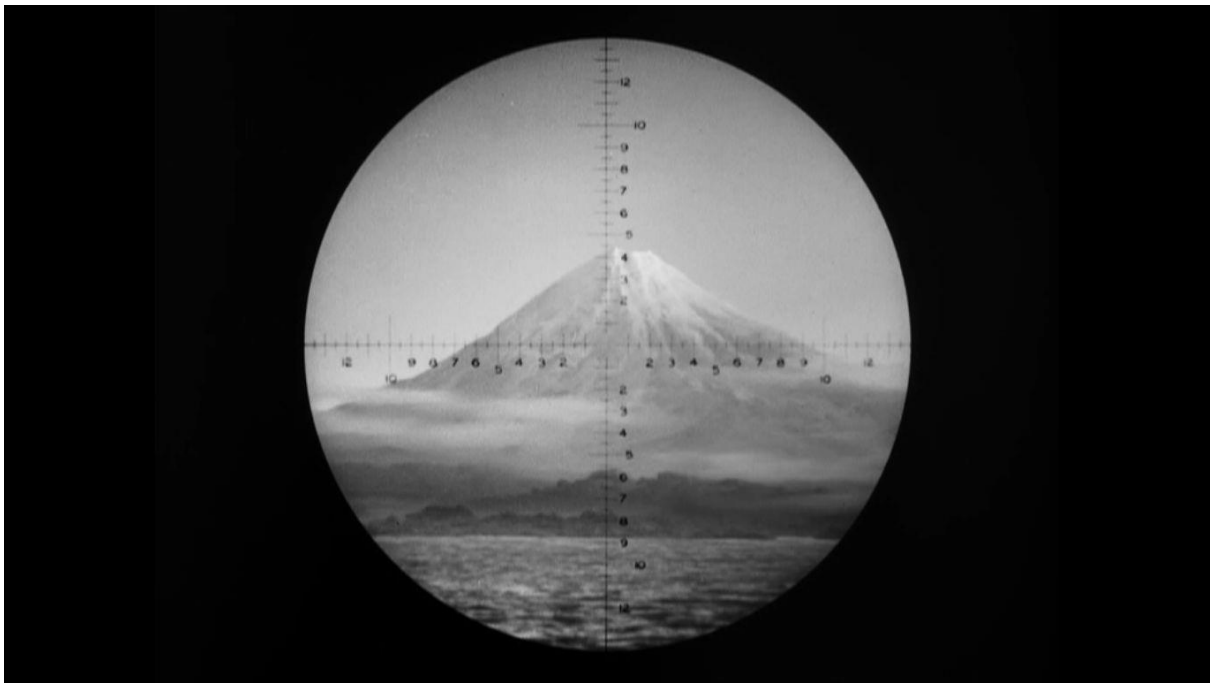
The use of legato strings to represent ideas of family and home has been commonly used in films of the Hollywood era and beyond, with the often simple, harmonically pleasing melodies representing

This occurrence of the 'Patriotic' motif demonstrates to the audience the power and size of the U.S. Navy's submarine, which in turn aims to trigger feelings of pride and comfort for the audience in favour of their country's war efforts. As the first instance of this motif occurs towards the beginning of the film, it is then repeated multiple times throughout the film, for example, at 1:49:29 when the American planes fly over Japan indicating a successful outcome of the submarine's mission. By this point in the film the motif has inherited more semiotic value from on screen events, strongly communicating ideas of victory, pride and patriotism, but also the comforting notion of home derived from the diatonic, legato strings that represented Cassidy's family at the start of the film.

Later in the film, Cassidy's fatherly qualities are exploited when a younger crew member called Adams comes to Cassidy (25:35) asking for advice about growing a beard. Adams asking permission to grow a beard and then admitting that he does not know whether he may have been considered a relatable insecurity for young American men in the audience at a time when there was such heavy focus on masculinity in society, therefore, Cassidy's calm and kind advice may have comforted them too. Adams' relatable, ordinary character developing throughout the film, becoming more of a hegemonic male and idolising Cassidy is an example of a broader idea that going to fight in a war will make individuals more hegemonically masculine, possibly encouraging young men in the audience to enlist. From 8:50 to 11:40 we are introduced to many other crew members, all of whom seem to be missing one or more of Goffman's criteria for the unblushing male. Wolf immediately demonstrates that he is not a family man, 'Tin-Can' insists that he is American despite his Greek heritage and Adams himself reveals that he is young and inexperienced in relationships. By the end of the film these men are treated with great respect and accompanied by fanfares, communicating that whatever they had been lacking to complete the image of a hegemonic male, they have now achieved by going to war.

Music is pivotal in these transformations, going from light-hearted swing music to serious string motifs and finally fanfares to celebrate their masculinity at the end of the film. The serious string motif represents moments where each of them have a profound experience that enables their character to develop. For Wolf, this occurs at 52:45 when he is grieving over the loss of his friend Mike and hears a recording of a message from Mike's wife, telling him how much she loves him. There is no music as Wolf looks down thoughtfully, indicating the absence of family in his life, but his character is somewhat changed after this scene, when the sombre string music communicates the sad emotions that he was societally forbidden to demonstrate himself. The way in which these male characters are made into hegemonic males by war and fully embrace their expected position in society by the end of the film, is very similar to the way in which 'fallen woman' (Kalinak, 1982, p. 76) character archetypes are changed during other Hollywood films. Just as 'fallen women' characters in Hollywood often encountered corrective narrative events - such as marriage - to make them more hegemonically female, the soldier characters in *Destination Tokyo* and other war films also encountered corrective narrative events that made them become more hegemonically masculine.

Having communicated the bravery of the soldiers through loud fanfare motifs and the importance of fighting for their families through diatonic, legato string music, the score also communicates the severeness of the threat from axis forces that they were facing. In *Destination Tokyo* this was achieved simply through the use of a loud, sudden motif (shown in Example 8) that was used every time the American soldiers encountered Japanese soldiers.



Example 8. *Destination Tokyo*. (Daves, 1943). Screenshot and 'Enemy' motif from 1:03:06.

The first time this motif is used is at 1:03:06 when Mount Fuji is spotted through the periscope. In this first occurrence it is very loud, repeated twice and designed to make the audience jump, purposefully moving from background accompaniment to being fully heard. It is also the first occurrence of this instrumentation and metre, again, causing it to stand out from the rest of the film score. While the majority of the musical motifs in this film are in quadruple metre or other simple time signatures, the 'Enemy' motif is not confined to a time signature, it just occurs at the same speed and pitch whenever the Japanese threat appears on screen, regardless of any other music in the score. This may have demonstrated to the audience that the Japanese soldiers do not conform to the same rules as Western cultures, enforcing derogatory statements in the dialogue about Japan.

Casual, racist comments directed towards Japanese culture occur throughout the film, some of which are shown in Figure 8, including two particularly notable sections of dialogue - occurring at 57:22 and 1:06:06 - with no musical accompaniment that are dedicated to giving the audience (incorrect) information about Japanese culture.

'The Japs turn the heat on us I'll watch you pray' - **34:00**

'Fried Jap in tartar sauce' - **40:15**

'Take it out on the Japs, not yourself' - **44:16**

'At 7, a Jap kid is taking marches under an army instructor. At 13, he can put a machine gun together blindfolded. That Jap started on the road 20 years ago to putting a knife in Mike's back.' 'A lot more Mikes will die until we wipe out a system that puts daggers in the hands of 50-year-olds.' - **57:22**

'The democratic leaders were assassinated, the people have no voice now. Starvation is the big stick. They have no unions, no free press, nothing. They do what they're told. Most believe what they're told.' 'Daughters of the poor are often sold to factories or worse when they're about 12. Females are useful there only to work or have children. The Japs don't understand the love we have for our women, they don't even have a word for it.' - **1:06:06**

Figure 8. Dialogue about Japan from *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943).

The dialogue and narrative both communicate very strong opinions about America's involvement in the Second World War, Nazis and Japanese soldiers in a very obvious way that cannot be misinterpreted. Casual use of words like 'Jap' and 'Nip' dehumanises the enemy soldiers so that the audience are not obliged to feel empathetic towards them, especially after occurrences of narrative events designed to turn the audience even further against the Japanese, for example, when Mike is stabbed by a Japanese soldier at 43:20. Popular films like *Destination Tokyo* making persuasive and

almost always incorrect statements combined with audiences members probably not having access to any contradictory information contributed to the overall effect of turning the general public against a whole race of people. The structure of the motifs within the film score was vital for creating the strong emotions necessary to produce this reaction, and the ideas analysed above can be applied to almost any Second World War film of this era.

Franz Waxman later went on to compose for films that were more celebratory of Japanese culture, such as *Sayonara* (Logan, 1957), however his clever use of manipulative motifs in the score of *Destination Tokyo* demonstrate the way that Hollywood's pro-war stance was prioritised during the Second World War. Another film score written by Waxman that heavily communicated Hollywood's pro-war stance was *Objective Burma* (Walsh, 1945) which shares many characteristics with *Destination Tokyo*, but also makes use of some different persuasive techniques.

***Objective Burma* (Walsh, 1945)**

Objective Burma (Walsh, 1945) shares many similarities with *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943), one being that they both act as propaganda, encouraging the audience to agree with America's involvement in the Second World War by using similar persuasive techniques whilst also telling emotional narratives of relatable characters. As the title suggests, *Objective Burma* is about a group of American soldiers going into the Burmese jungle. Their mission is to blow up a Japanese radio station and return to their base, however, the Japanese soldiers prevent them from being extracted so they have to stay in the jungle for much longer than expected. Like *Destination Tokyo*, the score in *Objective Burma* uses fanfares to communicate the bravery, heroism and masculinity of the American soldiers and uses uncomfortable sounds to communicate the threat presented by the Japanese soldiers. These techniques are very similar to those used in official government propaganda films, however, they are more subtle and hidden within a more engaging narrative which may have had the effect of influencing the audience members' opinions even more due to the subconscious way in which information from the score is processed. Another similarity between the

two films is that they are both over two hours long, allowing many ideas to be explored within the narrative and also giving space for semiotic signifiers to be used repeatedly, training the audience to recognise their meanings.

One motif that is used repeatedly is the 'Fanfare' motif shown in Example 9. This simple motif is loosely based around a minor triadic movement and has a loud dynamic and brass instrumentation to engage the pre-existing military connotations and communicate patriotic overtones to the audience. Its minor key and deviation from standard fanfare tonality with chromaticism increases the tension felt by the audience in this scene (Tagg, 1979, pp. 135-137).



Example 9. *Objective Burma* (Walsh, 1945). Screenshot and 'Fanfare' motif from 57:40.

The 'Fanfare' motif is heard whenever the American planes come over the horizon or drop supplies to the soldiers, demonstrating to the audience the pride they should feel for their air force. This is

done so repeatedly that the audience becomes trained to associate the motif with American planes, to the extent that at 2:10:47, when the characters are unsure whether the loud plane engines are coming from ally or enemy planes, the 'Fanfare' motif informs the audience that the planes are American shortly before the characters themselves realise. Later in the film, this same fanfare is used to accompany the soldiers themselves whenever they do something particularly brave, allowing the connotations of pride that were solidified earlier to apply to them as well. The way that these motifs have transferable meaning and can be easily adapted to suit specific situations is something that Waxman takes great advantage of to communicate meaning in a variety of ways.

Another motif that is used repeatedly is the 'Enemy' motif. Similar to the 'Enemy' motif in *Destination Tokyo*, this motif is heard every time Japanese soldiers are shown and is very loud and non-diatonic, creating discomfort for the audience. In the case of *Objective Burma*, the 'Enemy' motif consists of a loud, brass cluster chord, often preceded by silence to achieve the effect of making the audience members jump. The first time this occurs is at 45:32 where the group of American soldiers first encounter Japanese soldiers and as this pattern of silence preceding a jump-scare cluster chord is repeated, the audience learns to become uncomfortable whenever the non-diegetic music is absent. This method of creating discomfort is particularly effective in this film as it is informed further by the American soldier characters discussing the Japanese soldiers' methods of attack. Statements such as 'they only attack in the dark' and 'they're degenerate immoral idiots, stinking little savages' and images of the Japanese soldiers sneaking through the jungle to attack from behind enforce the discomfort created in the score and therefore legitimise the 'fight or flight' reaction triggered by the 'Enemy' motif (Bullard, 2020).

The Japanese soldiers are also often accompanied simply by jungle noises. For example, from the moment the American soldiers parachute into the Burmese jungle, there is a scene lasting from 35:30 to 40:00 where no non-diegetic music is heard and the soldiers are only accompanied by diegetic jungle noises. These jungle noises include bird calls and rustling noises that sound different

and more intrusive than common sounds used in films with American outdoor settings which communicates the foreignness of the new scene. At 37:18, when the Japanese soldiers are first spotted, the 'Enemy' motif is not used, as the Japanese soldiers are unaware of the American soldiers and therefore not a threat. Instead, the jungle noise level increases, implying that the Japanese soldiers are simply another animal native to the rainforest. This dehumanising idea is confirmed later in the film when there are many occurrences of the American soldiers calling the Japanese soldiers 'monkeys' and 'savages', for example, at 1:13:00, 1:23:02 and 2:09:39. While the jump-scare characteristic of the 'Enemy' motives in both *Destination Tokyo* and *Objective Burma* are very similar, the way in which the jungle noises are utilised in this film demonstrate new levels of subtlety by Waxman that are equally effective, especially when working in combination with the derogatory language in the dialogue and violent images. One example of a particularly violent scene occurs at 1:30:00 where the remaining American soldiers find the rest of their team dead after being tortured and mutilated by the Japanese. With the Motion Picture Production Code recommending that violence be treated carefully in film production, the scenes of the American soldiers finding their friends dismembered and smeared with blood may have been shocking images for audiences of the time to see, triggering an emotional response that validates the discomfort that they may have experienced from the use of the 'Enemy' motif. Following this, the film pushes against the boundaries of the Motion Picture Production code yet again as war correspondent Mark Williams uses strong language, stating that this kind of violence is worse than American violence, such as gang wars or lynchings, and that he wants to 'wipe 'em [the Japanese] off the face of the Earth, the bastards'. This demonstrates the selective way in which the Motion Picture Production code was enforced, allowing strong language and violence to be shown if it might encourage the audience members to support America's involvement in the Second World War.

Williams' emotional outburst at this point underlines the fact that he is not a soldier, and therefore is not a hegemonic male. Similarly to *Destination Tokyo*, the link between hegemonic masculinity and soldier identities cannot be ignored in *Objective Burma*. The opening scene introduces the main

While these scenes seem to be simply for comedic effect, inviting the audience to relax and laugh at the inappropriateness of these scenes occurring in a jungle army base, it later serves to reiterate the idea that becoming a soldier and fighting against the Axis powers will allow young soldiers to achieve hegemonic masculinity. As the soldiers arrive at the meeting at 8:25, they make comments such as 'I could take it easy for another hundred years', implying that they have not yet been challenged by their time in the army.

After they have been briefed by their more hegemonically masculine superior officers, they board a plane and prepare to parachute into the Burmese jungle where they are given the chance to prove their masculinity. They are accompanied by the 'March' motif at 19:06 (shown in Example 11) as Captain Nelson checks their parachute equipment and offers them advice about how to jump from the plane. The 'March' motif has duple metre and contains triadic movement similar to that of a fanfare, giving it military connotations and it is in a minor key, communicating the seriousness of their mission. However, it is played very simply with no embellishment and limited brass instrumentation and this uncomplicated approach to the motif has connotations of the soldiers' incompetence.



Example 11. *Objective Burma* (Walsh, 1945). Screenshot and 'March' motif from 19:06

This motif is later used to accompany the soldiers as they move through the jungle at 59:20 while retreating from Japanese soldiers. In this instance the motif is used to communicate that the soldiers are moving on, however, it is developed to hold more suspense and tension as the Japanese soldiers are so close behind them. This is achieved by combining the 'March' motif with a moving quaver bassline, twice as fast as the previous crotchet bassline, directly representing Nelson's order to 'move out on the double'.

The 'March' motif occurs again at 1:04:59, when the soldiers split into two groups and leave in different directions, and at other points where the soldiers are marching, and is heard for the final time at 2:15:43 as the remaining team members fly back to base. By this point in the film, the

remaining soldiers have achieved their mission and demonstrated bravery, allowing them to embrace their newly acquired status of hegemonic masculinity. Gabby Gordon has 'used violence effectively' against the Japanese soldiers which, according to Gates (2006, p. 255) is a way of demonstrating masculinity, and his voice is considerably lower in pitch than it was at the start of the film. Private Hooper - who wanted a manicure at the start of the film - also 'used violence effectively' against the Japanese soldiers and by the end of the film does not seem to be concerned with his fingernails any longer. In the same way that the boys in *Destination Tokyo* 'became men', the soldiers in *Objective Burma* meet more of Goffman's (1963, p. 128) criteria of hegemonic masculinity by the end of the film, encouraging the audience to believe that fighting is good for young men. This is demonstrated in the score through subtle developments in the 'March' motif until its final occurrence at 2:15:43 when it is played by a full orchestra with rich harmonies and dramatic timpani accompaniment. The development of this motif means that by the end of the film it celebrates the bravery of the soldiers, as opposed to its first occurrence at 19:06, where it parodied their lack of experience.

Captain Nelson's character is almost indistinguishable from Captain Cassidy in *Destination Tokyo* and during the film he plays a similar role as a father figure and a perfect example of an experienced soldier having already achieved the status of hegemonically masculine. One scene in particular causes the two to seem very similar as Nelson can be seen to compartmentalise in the same way Cassidy did in the letter writing scene in *Destination Tokyo* (5:23 to 6:45). While writing a letter Cassidy is shown to prioritise his soldier role, demonstrated by brass instrumentation, over his emotions for his family, demonstrated by string instrumentation. At 1:16:00 Nelson receives the news that the other half of his team has been killed and that his lieutenant might be dead. His face does not show much emotion, however the score reveals his dilemma as it alternates between chromatic string statements and loud brass interjections (Example 12). Eventually his soldier mentality (and therefore his hegemonic masculinity) wins and he demonstrates rationality and

strength by deciding to move on and prioritise the mission and this is demonstrated in the score by ending on a final brass chord.



Example 12. *Objective Burma* (Walsh, 1945). Screenshot and 'Indecision' motif from 1:16:00

The main way in which the score helps to direct the audiences' perceptions of the characters' masculinities is through the development of motifs becoming more grand and impressive in line with the characters' own development, however, moments like 1:16:00 demonstrate how the ideal soldier still feels emotions, but simply learns to control them. These methods, in combination with the 'Enemy' motif demonstrating the severity of the threat presented by the Japanese soldiers, enhance the image of these soldiers as role models and therefore works as a persuasive instrument of propaganda in favour of America's involvement in the Second World War. To complete this persuasive element of the film, the end credits state that 'this story has a conclusion but not an end -

it will end only when the evil forces of Japan are totally destroyed' putting responsibility upon the young men in the audience to enlist and do something about it themselves.

Overall, both *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943) and *Objective Burma* (Wymer, 1945) use musical motifs within the score to communicate fear of the enemy, patriotism for America and pride for the American soldiers. Whilst they have some differences, they share a key persuasive idea that becoming a soldier is a fast-track route to achieving hegemonic masculinity, intrinsically linking masculinity to the soldier identity. By the time the Second World War ended in 1945, due in part to films like these, this idea was deeply embedded in societal opinions which contributed to the struggles that veterans faced upon returning to civilian life. It was common for veterans to return with physical and mental issues from their time as a soldier and filmmakers began to see the potential for storytelling in these identities.

5: Case Study Films - Veteran Identity Portrayals

After the war ended, the use of films to represent soldier life in an appealing way was no longer necessary for encouraging recruitment and, as a result, films began to show more complex portrayals of army life. As the Hays Code (1930) rules began to relax, some films even began to show characters in films who were critical of the government, with soldier characters complaining about army life, which would not have been approved in films released during the Second World War. One example of a film that began to show the army in a negative light was *At War With The Army* (Walker, 1950), a comedy film that shows soldiers who are unwilling to fight, mocks stereotypes of senior officers and makes unfavourable comparisons between the army and the navy. Despite this, Hollywood still aimed to manipulate audience perceptions of soldiers by representing veteran identities in a number of ways. The issues encountered by veterans returning home after the Second World War presented new opportunities for filmmakers to portray relatable narratives and also influence the reaction of the American public to the social changes that the end of the Second World War brought. With the relaxation of the Hays Code allowing for filmmakers to show a more realistic image of America and the societal issues caused by war, the idea of hegemonic masculinity was also relaxed, revealing a slightly more open and accepting view on what constitutes a hero character.

The Best Years Of Our Lives (Wyer, 1946):

The Best Years Of Our Lives (Wyer, 1946) focuses on three veterans' journey to fit back into society after returning to the same hometown from fighting in the Second World War. Each of them have different characteristics and problems to overcome on their journey to find their place in society (shown in Table 2) and the film not only demonstrates the challenges they face, but also some of the challenges that their family and friends face. David Thomson stated that it was 'genius and daring at that time to sneak a view of an untidy or unresolved America' (2002, p. 949) and in this way it differs greatly from the films released during the Second World War.

Name:	Age:	Financial Status:	Relationships:	Military Rank:	Affected by War:
Fred Berry	Young	Poor	Unhappily married to Marie. Falls in love with Peggy.	Captain	P.T.S.D. nightmares.
Homer Parish	Young	Medium	Engaged to Wilma.	Sailor	Amputated hands.
Al Stephenson	Old	Rich	Married to Milly. Father to Peggy and Rob.	Sergeant	Alcohol problems.

Table 2. Table showing the characteristics of the veterans in *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyer, 1946).

As shown in Table 2, the three veterans come from different backgrounds and have different achievements and experiences, but are brought together by their experiences of war and their journey to become civilians again. 10 minutes into the film their characters are introduced in a scene with no musical accompaniment as they meet each other for the first time. Fred admits that he feels just as nervous about going home as he was when leaving for war and Al admits that he is afraid that someone might try to 'rehabilitate' him. Homer demonstrates that he can use his hook prosthetics to light matches and states that the navy 'took care' of him (8:25) after he was injured but admits that he is worried that Wilma will not feel the same way. However, as their aeroplane lands in their

hometown, the score there consists of a range of musical motives that together communicate the veteran's excitement and nervousness to be returning home.

One such motif is a four note pattern that is repeated, having the effect of building suspense. It consists of major third pairing in the key of Bb major, communicating happiness and excitement and is shown in Example 13.



Example 13. *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946). Screenshot and 'Home' motif in a major key from 15:45.

However, it has a counterpart motif that is the same except it consists of minor thirds in the key of D minor, causing it to communicate the opposite message of sadness and anxiety, as shown in Example 14 as Homer worries about his girlfriend's reaction to his disability.



Example 14. *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946). Screenshot and 'Home' motif in a minor key from 11:35.

At this point there is also a traditional 'Fanfare' motif, similar to those heard in films released during the Second World War but almost double the expected tempo, which gives the impression of hurrying and excitement.

This was achieved in many ways, for example, through the heart-warming narrative of the veteran characters overcoming their challenges, finding happiness and fulfilling the American dream, or through the representation of physical disabilities onscreen, exposing the audiences to images and teaching them how to react. The film score is essential to conveying the emotional aspects of the narrative and to subliminally informing the audience that Homer's prosthetic hooks are not something to be afraid of. Hollywood has a long history of misrepresenting characters with disabilities, often 'caricaturing' any characters who fell outside the 'Caucasian, straight, cis-gender and non-disabled' parameters (Burgmann, 2020) but the end of the Second World War brought the opportunity to challenge the hegemonic male ideal and show hero soldier characters that had returned with life changing injuries. *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946) remains one of only two Hollywood films where a disabled actor - Harold Russel - was awarded an Oscar. Homer's character only demonstrates a limited amount of representation as he is still Caucasian, straight and cis-gender, striving for hegemonically masculine ideals and is not the main hero, but the film manages to communicate a relatively modern message that people with disabilities can function in and should be accepted by society.

As well as Homer's physical disability, *The Best Years of Our Lives* also addresses elements of mental health problems such as P.T.S.D. as Al turns to drink to deal with the stress of returning home and Fred often has nightmares about things he witnessed during the war. These nightmares are communicated to the audience by pairing close-up images of Fred's face with a musical motif that combines aspects of the 'Enemy' motives and the 'Fanfare' motives heard in both *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943) and *Objective Burma* (Walsh, 1945). The 'Nightmare' motif (Example 16) consists of loud, brass instrumentation like a fanfare motif, but instead of triadic movement the melody is chromatic and dissonant, creating the same discomfort that was achieved in the 'Enemy' motifs. By using a combination of elements from each of these types of motif, the audience is able to infer that Fred is dreaming of military contexts and that he is experiencing fear.



Example 16. *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946). Screenshot and 'Nightmare' motif from 51:58.

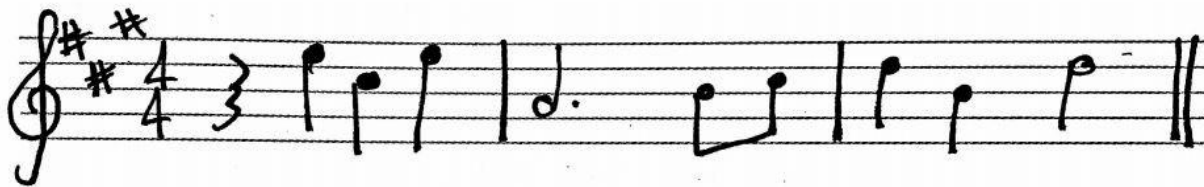
The 'Nightmare' motif is interrupted when Peggy comes to wake Fred up at 52:24 and is replaced by the major key 'Home' motif in string instrumentation, which is very soothing in comparison to the previous turbulent dissonance. She tells him 'there's nothing to be afraid of' and to 'go back to sleep' and strokes his hair, which would have been considered a romantic gesture. Pols & Oak (2007) state that after the Second World War, psychiatrists believed that 'the development of psychiatric problems after wars could be counteracted by the presence of an understanding and supportive community' and Peggy serves as this understanding and supportive figure for Fred. She then cooks him breakfast in the morning, fulfilling her role as a hegemonic female, and drives him into town, demonstrating the more independent post-war woman who is equipped to support a veteran man.

Homer's struggles are reflected in the score by abrupt minor chords and a 'Slow Fanfare' motif (shown in Example 17) that is similar to those heard in the funeral scenes of *Destination Tokyo* and *Objective Burma*.



Example 17. *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyller, 1946). Screenshot and 'Slow Fanfare' motif from 16:30.

This motif is first heard when Homer first sees his girlfriend Wilma at 16:20. The major key 'Home' motif music is interrupted by an abrupt C minor chord the moment that Homer's hook prosthetics are revealed. His mother begins to cry and as Homer salutes the other veterans, the 'Slow Fanfare' motif is heard, communicating to the audience that the characters are saddened by Homer's injury and demonstrating his anxieties about whether Wilma will still care about him in the same way. By the end of the film, Homer marries Wilma and is taking piano lessons, demonstrating that his amputation will not hold him back from a normal life. The score demonstrates this change by replacing Homer's minor chords and 'Slow Fanfare' motif with 'Wilma's' motif (shown in Example 18), reflecting how they have been joined by marriage.



Example 18. *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946). Screenshot and 'Wilma's' motif from 15:50.

Al's drinking problem is reflected in the score through use of jazz (Example 19). The link between jazz and wrong-doing is explored by Kalinak (1982, p. 76) who proves that jazz traditions are used to represent the 'fallen woman'. This association between jazz and wrong-doing stems from its African roots and the idea that anything 'alien' or 'other' represents a threat to American society and therefore has been constructed in previous scores to have negative connotations of fear, similar to the 'Enemy' motif heard in *Destination Tokyo*. In Al's case, the use of jazz communicates comedy more than fear, but it sufficiently informs the audience of his inebriation without showing more drinking than would be approved by the Motion Picture Production Code. Jazz is also used to portray Fred and Al's hangovers and facilitates Homer talking to his uncle about his emotions as they sit at the piano together. A jazz motif is also used to accompany Fred's wife, Marie, who falls into Kalinak's category of a fallen woman. This helps the audience to realise that she is selfish and materialistic

and, therefore, removes any disapproval they may have had when Fred kisses Peggy. Using the 'Jazz' motif (Example 19) to represent Marie is therefore important for maintaining Fred's status of hegemonic masculinity as the audience feels that Marie does not deserve Fred, making it morally acceptable to cheat on her with Peggy. In Example 19, the 'Jazz' motif accompanies Al as he sleeps in the car on the way home from a bar. It is played on a saxophone, makes use of swung quavers, syncopation and glissandos and is based around the blues scale, all of which are stereotypical elements of jazz music and therefore will 'awaken a number of associations' (Larson, 2005, p. 68) and inform the audience effectively.



Example 19. *The Best Years Of Our Lives*. Screenshot and 'Jazz' motif from 44:30.

Throughout the film, Marie demonstrates that she does not care for Fred on many occasions. She is only interested in him when he has money and when he is in his captain's uniform and she does not understand the nightmares that he has about the war. The 'Jazz' motif and its connotations reinforce the impression that Marie is not giving Fred the support that he needs and emphasises the way in which Peggy's caring manner seems to heal him. Fred, Al and Homer each find happiness and

overcome the challenges they faced as a result of the war through the love and support of a woman. This message combined with the way in which these complex musical motifs overlap and interact with each other allows communication of a complex set of meanings which all aimed to convince the audience that, with the support of their families, the real veterans could also become functioning civilians again.

The Men (Zinneman, 1950):

At the beginning of *The Men* (Zinneman, 1950), a narrator states that 'in all wars, since the beginning of history, there have been men who fought twice' and describes the way in which some soldiers must show just as much bravery when fighting as returning home. He states that returning home is 'by far, the greatest battle' and this attitude of respect for the mental and physical challenges that veterans faced due to the Second World War is present throughout the film. Similar to *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946), *The Men* follows the story of a group of veterans who were paralysed during the Second World War and their experiences transitioning from hospital to recovery and rehabilitation, focusing on their relationships with their families. Whilst the main focus of the narrative concerns Lieutenant Ken Wilocek overcoming the challenges of his paraplegia and learning to live with his new physical limitations, his mental health issues and resultant challenges are also addressed in the film. As well as being represented in Tiomkin's score, his physical disability is evident in the visual signifiers and discussed in depth in the dialogue, however, his experiences with depression rely much more heavily on being communicated by sonic signifiers in the film score. Tiomkin's score also helps to communicate the complex emotions between Ken and Ellen - his girlfriend - as they both struggle with their reactions to his paraplegia. The issues addressed in this film not only make a compelling and emotional narrative, but also serve to educate the audience on medical conditions such as paraplegia while also giving them an insight into what some veterans were experiencing at the time.

Similar to the way in which Waxman demonstrated the sinking and rising of the submarine in accordance with pitch in *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943) (Example 3), Tiomkin uses the score to accompany Ken's movements as he tries and fails to sit up in bed at 35:20. As he starts to rise off his pillow the pitch rises with him, while dissonance represents the high amount of effort this act requires. When Ken falls back down onto the bed the pitch descends in an untidy glissando, mirroring his movement exactly in time. This technique is further put into practice in a work-out montage scene at 36:00 where it emphasises the movement in the exercises that Ken is doing. After spending the first 30 minutes of the film relatively motionless, the way that the music emphasises the score is particularly effective as it draws attention to this contrast. Tiomkin structures these exercise motifs carefully so that, not only does the pitch rise and fall with Ken's weights, push-ups or pull-ups, but also so that the tempo increases and there is less dissonance as he becomes stronger. This allows the audience to experience a decreasing amount of auditory discomfort in line with Ken experiencing a decreasing amount of physical discomfort and is therefore a very effective way of increasing the level of empathy felt for his character.

The score is even more relied upon when communicating messages to do with Ken's mental health. For example, the 'Depression' motif (Example 20) is first heard during Ken's monologue at 4:00 where he discusses his injuries. Clinical depression is described by NHS.uk (2019) as 'a low mood that lasts for weeks or months and affects your daily life', stating that 'symptoms of depression include feeling unhappy or hopeless'. In this scene, Ken's statements such as 'I was afraid I was going to die, now I'm afraid I'm going to live' combined with his monotonous tone of voice and visual signifiers such as the darkened room imply the kind of severity to warrant the use of the term 'depression'.



Example 20. *The Men* (Zinneman, 1950). Screenshot and 'Depression' motif from 4:00.

The slow tempo of this motif, the bassline's brass instrumentation and glissandos give the impression of a military march where the soldiers are tired, slow and dragging their feet, demonstrating Ken's feelings of apathy and hopelessness. The bassline of the 'Depression' motif also demonstrates Ken's sadness with the use of a minor third interval between C and Eb. The string melody moves between the minor sixth interval, descending in a disjointed, chromatic nature, constructing an image of Ken slipping down further into his state of depression. This complex motif is then heard at multiple points throughout the film, at moments when Ken slips back into feeling this way. For example, it is heard at 21:41, and again at 28:58 when Ken worries about what his girlfriend will think of his injuries, and it is heard at 49:38 when he finds out that there is no chance he will recover.



Example 22. *The Men* (Zinneman, 1950). Screenshot and 'Anger' motif from 1:10:30.

The way in which both the 'Enemy' motif from *Destination Tokyo* (Daves, 1943) and the 'Anger' motif from *The Men* make use of sudden loud dynamics, acciaccatura-like rhythms and chromaticism without the frame of a time signature make them very similar, and therefore communicate similar reactions in the audience. This could imply that now the Japanese have surrendered to the Allied forces, the new enemy for veterans to overcome is their own emotions or post-traumatic stress. Just as in *The Best Years Of Our Lives* (Wyler, 1946), the recommended treatment for anger and sadness in this film is to find a supportive woman to confide in and just as Fred found Peggy, Homer found Wilma and Al found Millie, *The Men* ends with Ken accepting Ellen's support and allowing her to help him into the house. This happy ending is accompanied by a final rendition of 'Ellen's' motif and the film ends as they enter their home together and close the door.

6: Conclusion

Overall, analysis of these case studies demonstrates that the classical Hollywood film score was used to manipulate perceptions of the soldier identity in many ways throughout the Second World War period. In both propaganda and fiction, film composers were able to design motifs in the score to carry semiotic meaning and work with the visual signifiers to communicate specific meaning and, due to the subconscious way in which film music is processed, this was very effective as a method of propaganda. By pairing images of hegemonically masculine characters with fanfares, diatonic harmony and homophonic texture, the hero soldier identity could be easily recreated, carrying with it connotations of pride and strength. When used alongside beautiful American scenery and women and children, which were often paired with legato, diatonic string motifs and major tonalities, the portrayal of the soldier identity was a persuasive medium for communicating the need for hegemonic males to protect their country. Equally, when the film score also utilised dissonance, sudden dynamics and non-western musical traditions to represent enemy soldiers, the American audiences were pushed to the conclusion that joining forces with the Allies and entering the Second World War was necessary. These three aspects and their musical characteristics (Figure 7b) worked together in propaganda films of the Second World War period to create a highly persuasive message that American men should go to fight.

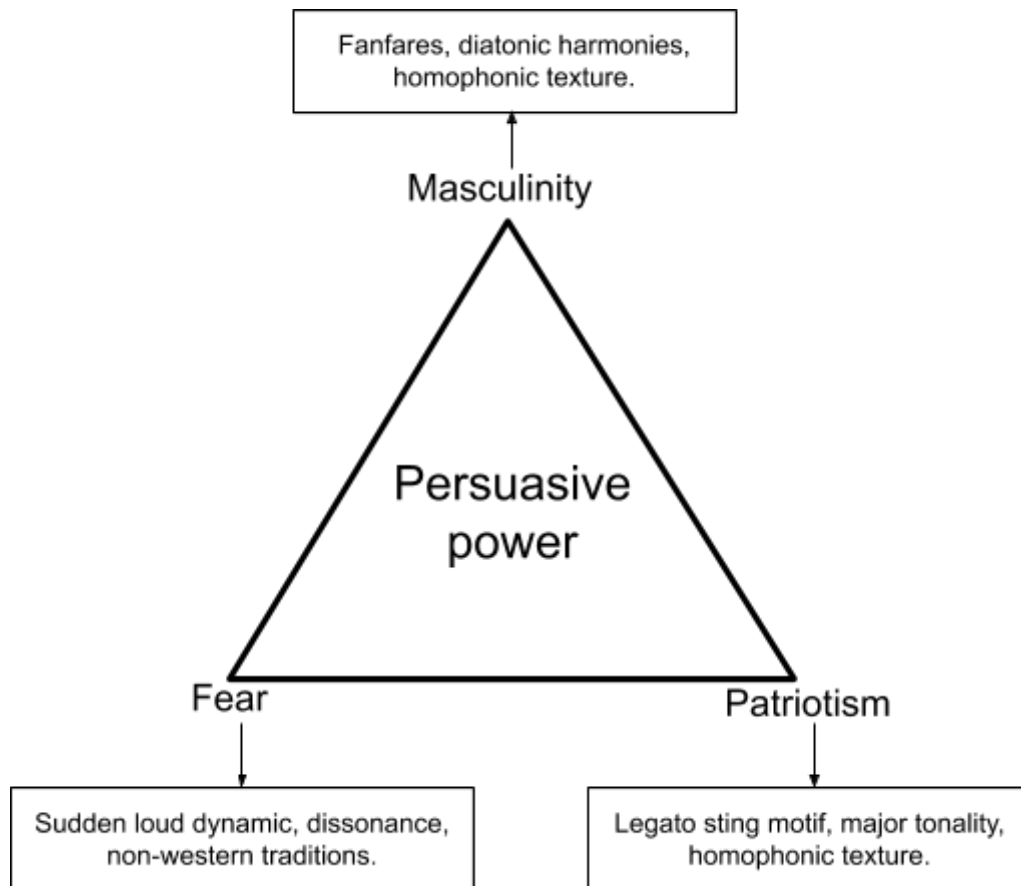


Figure 7b. Diagram of the elements contributing the persuasive power of films portraying soldier identities and their common musical pairings.

This extends and further validates the research undertaken by Kalinak (1982) into leitmotifs as she concludes that 'virtuous wives' are represented by diatonic string motifs whereas 'fallen women' were accompanied by jazz. This idea of hegemonic and non-hegemonic women having different musical representations is mirrored by the way in which hero soldiers and enemy soldiers were represented contrastingly in the score. The coded binary pairs of 'virtuous/fallen', 'hero/villain', 'good/evil' and 'hegemonic/non-hegemonic' are all represented by contrasting motifs in the score, often with diatonic, western music representing 'good' and dissonant, non-western music representing 'evil'. This also extends Gates' (2006) theory that any form of 'otherness' was enough to link a character with villainy. Halfyard's (2013) analysis of the way in which superhero identity portrayals in the film score changed after 9/11 is mirrored in this thesis as the film score can also be utilised in a similar way to track changes from soldier identities to veteran identities. The way in

which the fanfare motif is adapted to indicate a wider emotional range in veterans and the use of 'Enemy' motifs to represent their trauma demonstrates the way in which the score can be used to communicate more complex ideas. By understanding the 'sound of masculinity' in classical Hollywood film scores, it may be possible to understand more about how these stereotypes are reflected in society, encouraging American men to try to embody the hegemonic ideals demonstrated on screen.

The case studies examined in this thesis could be further analysed from a variety of different angles, for example, the representations of feminine identities (including both female characters and male characters who have been feminised) would be interesting to explore in a similar way. If the length of this thesis had allowed it, it would also have been interesting to study the musical portrayals of characters with disabilities further, as there are still issues with representation in modern films today that could be further understood through musical analysis.

While this research has focussed on classical Hollywood films, it is also relevant to modern films as soldier identities are still highly popular characters today, for example, in popular films such as *Saving Private Ryan* (Spielberg, 1998) or *Dunkirk* (Nolan, 2017). In future research it would be interesting to make comparisons between the methods of representation identified in this thesis and those used to represent modern hero soldier archetypes. This thesis has demonstrated some of the ways in which film culture can mirror social change and that the musical score is a useful tool for understanding and demonstrating these changes.

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