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MUSIC AND THE MONSTER: SOUNDING FEAR AND MENTAL ILLNESS IN *CRIMINAL MINDS*

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MUSIC AND THE MONSTER:
SOUNDING FEAR AND MENTAL ILLNESS IN
CRIMINAL MINDS

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Andrew James Borecky
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ABSTRACT

In the post 9/11 world, American media has harnessed social anxieties concerning violence through the negative and antagonistic depiction of social groups seen as the "Other." During this process, these social groups have become both marginalized and stigmatized. In the contemporary wake of mass violence and a growing public health crisis, mental illness has emerged at the forefront of political debate. Television and film media continually stigmatize representations of mental illness through graphic images enhanced by the strategic uses of music to invoke horror and disgust. Since 2006, *Criminal Minds* has successfully navigated the post-9/11 media by providing narratives that paint mental illness as a main cause of violence in the form of the serial killer. To accomplish this, the creators of *Criminal Minds* combine disturbing or grotesque images with pre-existing music that functions in counterpoint to the image. This purposeful combination creates a *semantic disturbance* between visuals and sound, enhancing a viewer's negative reaction to the scene or the characters. By appropriating music to promote disgust for a character, the series associates acts of violence with mental illness, and thus furthers a negative stereotype.

To demonstrate this, I examine the history and current iterations of the crime drama, and how the genre has developed both thematically and musically. I analyze select scenes and sequences from episodes of *Criminal Minds* using a Bakhtinian lens to determine how the show promotes a *monologic* or *dialogic* agenda. In doing this, I take a close look at the use of pre-existing music during

scenes of violence, and analyze how it functions in relation to the portrayals of characters with mental illness. The effects of these portrayals can be seen in popular responses to series, which I also analyze. Combining my own scene analysis with multi-disciplinary sources regarding mental illness characterization, film music analyses, media studies, and medical descriptions of the mental illnesses portrayed in *Criminal Minds,* I determine that the show's combination of pre-existing music with violence furthers the tradition of "Othering" present within American media.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Since the early 2000s, the crime drama has dominated popular network cable

television,[1] ranging from the forensic cases of *CSI* (2000, CBS) to the non-

forensic crime dramas of *Law & Order* (1990, NBC).[2] Media scholar Sue Turnbull

defines the crime drama as a genre of "promiscuous hybrids,"[3] stating that a

variety of factors affect the definition of the genre, including mode of operations

(forensic and procedural), profession (legal and medical), investigator (police and

detective), and country of origin (American crime, British crime).[4] One subset

focuses on the acts of serial offenders, ranging from serial arson to serial murder;

I designate these as "serial crime dramas."[5] In these narratives, the stress of

mental illness and abuse, in addition to other extenuating stressors such as

professional failure and personal loss, causes these characters to mentally break

and kill in a ritualistic fashion, thus placing the serial killer into the serial crime

drama. Mentally ill characters featured in these shows exhibit extremely violent

personas that are enhanced by specific musical selections.

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[1] Nielsen ratings consistently rate crime dramas in the Top 10 Primetime shows for the past decade, with shows such as *CSI:NY* (2004, CBS) and *Criminal Minds* (2006, CBS) topping the charts at #1 and #2 respectively in 2008. "Primetime Broadcast Ratings, October 1, 2008," Nielsen.com, October 2, 2008. Retrieved October 27, 2018. Currently, the top-rated crime drama as of October 27, 2018, is *NCIS* (2003, CBS) at #4. "Top Ten," Nielsen.com. October 27, 2018.

[2] *Law & Order* has branched into different series, each still falling under the heading of a crime drama: *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* (1999), *Law & Order: Criminal Intent* (2001), *Law & Order: Trial by Jury* (2005), *Law & Order: LA* (2010), *Law & Order: True Crime* (2017), *Law & Order: Hate Crimes* (2019) in production.

[3] Sue Turnbull, *TV Crime Dramas* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 1.

[4] Ibid., 5.

[5] I define the word "serial" to denote the focus on serial crime rather than the crime drama as a series.

Since the first appearance of the genre on television, the popular fascination with the serial killer has grown exponentially. Serial crime dramas such as *Dexter* (2006, Showtime), *The Following* (2013, Fox), and, the main focus of this thesis, *Criminal Minds* (2005, CBS), earned multiple seasons, syndication, and critical acclaim. The genre focuses primarily on the aberrant psychology of these protagonist(s)/antagonist(s). These elements include antisocial-personality disorder as driving forces behind these characters' actions and the characters themselves, but often include extreme versions of common mental illnesses such as obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).[6] While these afflictions fall under the category of mental illness, these shows, problematically, use disorders of varying seriousness interchangeably, often pointing to them as the sole cause of violent acts that are sensationalized by the media. These shows use music to enhance the sensationalized violence that they depict as caused exclusively by mental illness, conflating negative stereotypes.

What is it about these shows that makes them so popular, and how does music affect this popularity? These questions sparked my interest in this subject and in my research. Explorations into the human fascination with violence and aberrant psychology range from the historical to the neurochemical. In this thesis, I approach an understanding of violence and mental illness as dramatized in

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[6] All specific examinations of particular mental illnesses in this work will consult the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-5* (Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Publishing).

television from social and narrative theoretical perspectives to understand how music contributes to the negative representation of characters with mental illness.

My research interests intersect with four academic discourses: social theory, psychology, media studies, and musicology. This thesis provides a model for critical, socio-theoretical, and musical analysis of the serial crime drama. By interpreting the serial crime drama as a product of contemporary social discourses regarding the relationship between mental illness and violence, I argue that the strategic use of pre-existing music attempts to exploit the already stigmatized perception of mentally ill characters. In particular, I focus on the prominent serial crime drama *Criminal Minds.* This show explores the social construction of serial killers suffering from some form of mental illness and music is used as one persuasive method to solidify this construction.

Criminal Minds, created by Jeff Davis, first aired on CBS in 2005 and was renewed for its 14th season in October 2018. The show follows the activities of the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) of the FBI who specialize in the psychological analysis of serial killers and capturing offenders whose mental illness causes them to act erratically and violently. Every week, the cast of *Criminal Minds*, which has included talents such as Mandy Patinkin, travel around the United States to consult on disturbing and violent cases, and to apprehend the serial offenders committing them. Criminologist Ken Dowler states, "Lack of realism aside, the show is very entertaining and, like the mystery genre, fans of the show

love to watch the "new-age" sleuths crack seemingly unsolvable crimes."[7]

Despite criticism, *Criminal Minds* has remained popular throughout its thirteen-season run. Critiques of the show often concentrate on its graphic portrayal of violence towards women and its clichéd storylines; an often cited review of the series calls *Criminal Minds* "salaciously sleazy, unless you are enjoying the proceedings, in which case it's juicily depraved."[8] This opinion extends beyond reviewers to the cast themselves; Mandy Patinkin starred in the first two seasons of *Criminal Minds* as FBI Supervisory Special Agent Jason Gideon, where his portrayal as an obsessive but brilliant profiler helped cement *Criminal Minds* into the primetime spotlight. However, despite the success of the series, Patinkin left the show due to "creative differences," stating that the disturbing content of the show had a detrimental effect on his mental health.[9] Patinkin's reaction to the series demonstrates that *Criminal Minds*' premise and execution can have a harmful and alienating effect on those who consume the series.

Inspired by the work of narrative theorists such as Rick Altman, I interpret *Criminal Minds* as a conduit for understanding human experience and the

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[7] Ken Dowler, "Police Dramas on Television," Criminology.oxfordre.com, November 2016, retrieved February 16, 2019, http://criminology.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264079-e-175.

[8] Diane Werts, "Diane Werts: Newsday," Metacritic, September 16, 2018, retrieved October 27, 2018, https://www.metacritic.com/critic/diane-werts?filter=tvshows. Statement has been repeatedly cited, but original review has been archived.

[9] Alex Witchel, "Mandy Patinkin: 'I Behaved Abominably'," *The New York Times Magazine*, August 21, 2013, retrieved September 26, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/25/magazine/mandy-patinkin-i-behaved-abominably.html

changing conceptions of mental illness through the acts of storytelling.[10] When

attempting to navigate issues concerning violence and social groups, narratives

often repeat and recycle preconceived ideas pertaining to their subject. These

preconceptions, then, become perceived as common sense, resulting in a social

construction. During this process, society at large demonizes marginalized

groups through the creation of social constructions, which results in unwarranted

animosity. One of the most poignant examples of this occurred as the result of

the terrorist attacks on 9/11. Shortly after the attacks, all forms of media

disseminated content—both narrative and journalistic—focused on Islamic

extremism and terrorism, creating a wave of anti-Muslim and anti-Arabic rhetoric

within the United States and European media.[11] Academics often analyze this

phenomenon of social construction from the perspective of multimedia

journalism, such as print media and broadcasting, but research on its

interpretation in narrative media is under represented.[12] Even more limited is

research on the influential and persuasive role that music plays in reinforcing

these constructions.

  The socio-literary criticism and philosophical processes of Mikhail Bakhtin

demonstrate how the social and cultural discourse of human experiences informs

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[10] Rick Altman, *A Theory of Narrative* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 1.
[11] Evelyn Alsultany, "Arabs and Muslims in the Media After 9/11: Representational Strategies for a "Postrace" Era," *American Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2013): 161-69.
[12] Examples include James Deaville's analysis of news media after 9/11 in "The Sounds of American and Canadian Television News After 9/11: Entoning Horror and Grief, Fear and Anger," in *Music in the Post-9/11 World*, ed. Jonathan Ritter and J. Martin Daughtry (New York: Routledge, 2007), 43-70; and the portrayal of dead women in news coverage in Joanne Clarke Dillman, *Women and Death in Film, Television, and News: Dead But Not Gone* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).

narratives, which, in the digital age, can apply to television studies. Additionally, the research of cultivation theorists such as Robert Hawkins and Suzanne Pingree suggest that exposure to mass media affects audiences and influences their perceptions of social reality, or constructed assumptions of reality.[13] Scholarship on the serial crime drama primarily focuses on its graphic exhibition of violence and the effects this imagery has on audiences.[14] However, little research exists on how mental illness is misrepresented in the serial crime drama and how music and images of violence affect this representation. In their research on stereotypes of mental illness in *Criminal Minds*, Scott and Caroline Parrott report that characters with mental illness are considered more likely to be victims of, and perpetrators of, violent crime.[15] However, many depictions of mental illness lack the physical and social characteristics stereotypically considered to be indicators of mental illness, such as disfigured facial expressions, poor hygiene, and social isolation. In this way, despite the tendency of mentally ill characters to be the focal point of violent crime, the lack of physical stereotypes may tend toward a more positive and realistic representation of mental illness in television.[16] The Parrott's work considers quantitative analysis

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[13] Robert Hawkins and Suzanne Pingree, "Using Television to Construct Social Realities," *Journal of Broadcasting* 25, no. 4 (1981): 347-64.

[14] Examples include Gregory Desilet, *Scenes of Blood: A Critical Approach to Film and Television Violence* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014) and examinations of gendered violence in Heather Pool and Allison Rank, "Exposing the War on Women: The Limits of Law and Power of Care to Address Sexual Violence in Contemporary Crime Drama," *New Political Science* 41, no. 1 (2019): 36-54.

[15] Scott and Caroline T. Parrott, "Law & Disorder: The Portrayal of Mental Illness in U.S. Crime Dramas," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 59, no. 4 (2015): 640-57.

[16] Ibid., 654.

and physical character attributes, but fails to address these characters' actions in the narrative and the cinematic approach (including camera work, setting, music, and sound design) that influence the audience's reading of a film or show; while their work comprehensively analyzes the visual aspects of *Criminal Minds,* the other sensory aspects of the show remain ignored. This thesis primarily focuses on how *Criminal Minds* uses music and sound to portray characters who have a mental illness. The aural aspects of *Criminal Minds* reinforce a negative representation of mental illness as it enhances an assumed violent nature of mental illness.

The music in *Criminal Minds,* and to a larger extent the serial crime drama, ranges from the use of original underscoring to the use of contemporary pre-existing music. For the purposes of this thesis, I use the term *compiled soundtrack* to reference the pre-existing music used within the series, which encompasses a vast array of genres and time periods from the western art music canon, children's songs, 1970s R&B, contemporary hip-hop, electronica, country western, and rock among others. In addition to highlighting explicit scenes of violence, *Criminal Minds* uses music to signify the changing environments of the narrative. The show focuses on FBI agents that pursue psychotic criminals set against the backdrop of the United States. Depicting cases across the country, *Criminal Minds* continually employs American popular music to reinforce the idea of regional diversity, often with genres tied to specific regions and time periods. The show draws from popular music to aurally invoke the city where the crime

occurs, utilizing sounds of country music when brought to Dallas, or salsa music when in Miami. This use of music sonically signifies a stereotyped portrayal of America.

Despite the backdrop of "normal" America sonically established through varying forms of pre-existing music, *Criminal Minds* also aurally signifies the abnormal or aberrant. *Criminal Minds* strategically draws from many genres for scenes that combine music with violent images and characters. This combination frequently serves to subvert the music's initial theme, lyrics, and intention. For example, *Criminal Minds* often uses a compiled soundtrack that contains themes of romantic love such as the band Chicago's 1984 "You're the Inspiration"[17] or Bon Jovi's 2007 "Make a Memory"[18] in conjunction with scenes of rape and sexual assault. The combination of conflicting image and sound is meant to further illicit a negative or emotional response from the audience by creating a *semantic disturbance*, or the conflicting of meanings generated between seeing and hearing that causes an emotional response. This also creates an aural association between the criminal's actions and the music used during these scenes. While this method is used frequently throughout *Criminal Minds* (particularly during scenes of violence), I specifically analyze episodes that use music to construct characters with select forms of mental illness.

This thesis explores the functions of music in *Criminal Minds* during scenes in which mentally ill characters are committing graphic or implied

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[17] *Criminal Minds*, "Unknown Subject," Season 7, episode 12.
[18] *Criminal Minds*, "In Name and Blood," Season 3, episode 2.

violence. The sounds and music of *Criminal Minds* function to further stigmatize perceptions of mental illness in times of fear and terror. Informed by studies of representation in media scholarship and a Bakhtinian perspective, I argue that the use of diegetic and non-diegetic music in *Criminal Minds* reinforces negative stereotypes of mental illness through the pairing of pre-existing music and images of violence.

Method and Scope

In *Criminal Minds,* psychology and fractured mental states are the driving forces behind criminal acts; the only way for the agents of the BAU to understand and predict these crimes is through behavioral and psychological analysis. Considering the ideas within narrative theory in relation to this show demonstrates that the audience may attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the societal anxieties that have been portrayed in non-fictional media (e.g. journalism, true-crime, news broadcasts, etc.) via fictional narratives (i.e. storytelling). This attempt to rationalize the irrational is tinted through the perspective of the show's creators (or storytellers) and the message they wish to communicate. In the case of *Criminal Minds,* the construction of mental illness tends toward stigmatizing the mentally ill, which I argue is reinforced through diegetic and non-diegetic music.

The works of Bakhtin analyze literature and how societal perceptions impact our interpretation of "texts." In cultural and media studies, "texts" constitute meaningful artifacts of culture where "[semiotic] meanings are made

and political processes are played out."[19] In a modern context, the term "text" can be applied to the analysis of film and television shows. Similar to literature, television shows can be interpreted as cultural artifacts. Through constructed narratives, these shows affect the viewer's understanding of social contexts and enact political processes surrounding the displayed ideas. I analyze *Criminal Minds* as a "text" that stigmatizes and exploits mental illness through misrepresentation, which is consumed by an audience eager for entertainment. These texts are later understood by the audience as portraying a valid interpretation of situations, events, and individuals.

To analyze *Criminal Minds* as a cultural text, I use Bakhtin's literary concept of *dialogism* to demonstrate how the show reinforces negative stereotypes. Bakhtin claims that humans define their sense of self via their conceptions of others and vice versa.[20] To follow Bakhtinian thought is to decipher meaning from the interactions between people and language, or how different ideologies discuss or speak about the same ideas. Relating Bakhtinian ideas to literary and art practices, Martin Flanagan summarizes Bakhtinian dialogism as "establish[ing] a philosophical basis for the understanding of how discourse in life relates to discourse in art."[21] Bakhtin's concept of dialogism

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[19] Jason Mittell, *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 117.

[20] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problem of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 207. Bakhtin's discussion concerns that the identification of "I" in relation to the self is mired by the continuous influence of the words of others, establishing that our own conception of self occurs in relation to others, or "I for another."

[21] Martin Flanagan, *Bakhtin and the Movies: New Ways of Understanding Hollywood Film* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 6.

establishes that, in order for a work of literature to promote "truth," it must portray both sides of an ideological conflict. In Bakhtin's examination of the work of Fyodor Dostoevsky, he employs the concept of "polyphony" to indicate the interaction of different ideologies through the voices and actions of individual characters.[22] On the opposite side of dialogism is the process of thinking that champions one voice, or ideology, over the others. Bakhtin describes this process as *monologism,* or the promotion of an authoritative viewpoint.

On a sociological scale, the perpetuation of a dialogic or monologic agenda through media can have lasting effects on an audience. Subsequently, both agendas can develop in response to an overwhelming presence of the other. In the case of *Criminal Minds*, the monologic agenda perpetuated by the show is supported by the overarching approach to talking about mental illness in the mass media. Journalistic news outlets such as CNN, Fox News, and CBS use derogatory terminology that associates mental illness with violence, often claiming that mass shooters suffer from mental illness regardless of the context. However, there are growing communities on the Internet that air their grievances over the representation of mental illness in *Criminal Minds*, and expound a growing dialogic awareness concerning the genre. These small proponents for positive mental illness representation are gaining traction with an aging millennial generation, and hint at the beginnings of an ideological shift within media.

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[22] Bakhtin, *Problem of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, 17.

Dialogic systems have influenced literary criticism since its inception and have also impacted analytical frameworks in cinema studies.[23] The application of a dialogic examination to *Criminal Minds* demonstrates its *monologic* characterization of mental illness through its depiction of mentally ill characters. By portraying mentally ill characters as consistently violent, the show provides a singular viewpoint in which all mental illness leads to violence. *Criminal Minds* enhances the monologic narrative through its strategic use of its compiled soundtrack when depicting mentally ill characters committing violent acts.

Music and violence in *Criminal Minds* work in tandem. To analyze the varying functions of music in this show, I use sound theorist Michel Chion's concept of the "audio-visual contract," or the silent agreement that sound and moving image when synchronized together can be understood by the audience as a reality.[24] According to Chion, music enhances the corresponding image and narrative through *added value*, or "the expressive and/or informative value with which a sound enriches a given image, so as to create the definite impression (either immediate or remembered) that is meaning emanates "naturally" from the image itself."[25] In the case of *Criminal Minds,* music and sound operate to enhance the audiences' emotions of disgust by intensifying violent scenes within the series.

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[23] Flanagan, *Bakhtin and the Movies*; Robert Stam, *Subversive Pleasures: Bakhtin, Cultural Criticism, and Film* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989), 187-218.

[24] Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 222.

[25] Ibid., 221.

When providing additional information, such as emphasizing emotion or augmenting a certain action, music can influence the perceptions of an audience that actively interprets messages received in conjunction with a moving image. In this fashion, characters with mental illness are often assigned particular pre-existing music as an aural signifier that alienates the audience from them and the narrative. These songs are classified by film music scholars Joe Thompkins and Phil Powrie as "music to confront spectatorship."[26] Tompkins addresses the conspicuously "audible" soundtrack of the horror film, *The Last House on the Left* (2009, dir. Wes Craven).[27] He categorizes Craven's pop-laden soundtrack as a break from conventional compositional norms, forcing the audience to confront their voyeuristic involvement in relation to scenes of violence.[28] Similarly, in the work of Powrie, the use of popular music goes a step further to confront spectatorship. Powrie details a scene in Quentin Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) where Mister Blonde brutally tortures another character as the song "Stuck in the Middle with You" by Stealers Wheel plays in the background. This effect is used to alienate and subvert the audience's empathetic immersion in the depicted violence through a semantic disturbance between the *act of seeing* and

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[26] Joe Thompkins, "Pop Goes the Horror Score: Left Alone in *The Last House on the Left*," in *Music in the Horror Film: Listening to Fear*, ed. Neil Lerner (New York: Routledge, 2010), 98-113; Phil Powrie, "Blonde Abjection: Spectatorship & the Abject Anal Space In-Between," in *Pop Fiction: The Song in Cinema*, ed. Matthew Caley and Steve Lannin (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2005), 100-19.

[27] Thompkins, "Pop Goes the Horror Score," 99. "Audible" in this sense refers to the opposite of the "inaudible" soundtrack theorized by Claudia Gorbman that exists solely in the background and rarely draws attention to itself.

[28] Ibid. 111.

the *act of hearing* caused by conflicting emotional responses.[29] *Criminal Minds'*

parallel placement of pre-existing music with scenes of violence creates this

phenomenon. These concepts provide a model to explain how filmmakers use

music to alienate their audience by enhancing scenes of violence through

musical selections.[30]

Music in *Criminal Minds* often functions as *audiovisual dissonance* to

scenes of extreme violence; the added value of music elucidates a specific

negative reaction from the audience, such as disgust and fear.[31] For example, in

one episode, we see an upper-middle class, white, middle aged, male character,

going about his daily routine. The shots in the scene identify varying neuroses

that imply this character has OCD, exemplified by his overtly immaculate living

space, his measured approach to normal activities, and an overwhelming sense

of isolation. The aria "Una donna a quindici anni" ("A Woman of Fifteen Years")

from W.A. Mozart's opera *Così fan tutte* plays from a record player. This choice

of aria, detailing how a woman of fifteen should able to handle a man, contrasts

with this isolated male figure. As this Mozart listener enters the basement, the

viewer realizes that this character has been holding a young woman there

against her will. While he puts on an apron, so as not to soil his clothes with

blood, he grabs a bloodstained baseball bat and puts on a vinyl of Brenton

Wood's 1970 classic soul hit "Great Big Bundle of Love" on a different record

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[29] Powrie, "Blonde Abjection," 101.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 34-39. Also known as audiovisual counterpoint, audiovisual dissonance occurs when visual and sound set up an opposition on a precise point of meaning.

player in the basement. The song serves as an underlying part of his compulsion as he tries to recreate his parents' murder-suicide. Roleplaying as his violent and aggressive father, the now revealed serial killer with OCD forces the captive woman to assume the role of his powerless and abused mother. Her inability to satisfy his compulsion drives him to kill her while Brenton Wood's song continues to play.[32] Signifying this character and his actions through pre-existing music alienates the viewer from the show by forcing them to "confront their spectatorship" and question why they derive pleasure from the violence on screen.[33] The conscious effort to alienate the audience through the use of music stems from the need to skew perception between the show's use of mental illness and gratuitous violence. In order to bridge the uncanny valley between innocuous mental illness and societal fears of violence, *Criminal Minds* exploits pre-existing music to justify the amount of violence it depicts and deepen a viewer's distaste for the episode's antagonist.

I apply similar analytical techniques to case studies from *Criminal Minds*. I also considering the popular and critical responses to these shows to better understand an audience's response to the representation of mental illness and the show's subsequent attribution of violence to the mentally ill. Throughout the show, I argue, music reinforces this ascription. The case studies in this project cover select episodes from the thirteen seasons (299 episodes) of the original series, spanning from 2005-2018. I have chosen episodes from various seasons

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[32] *Criminal Minds*, "Scream," Season 10, episode 15.
[33] Powrie, "Blonde Abjection," 100-19.

to demonstrate the repeated demonization of mental illness that occurs chronologically over time and how music reinforces this message. These episodes feature antagonists suffering with some form of mental illness who then commit acts of graphic (implied or descriptive) violence; these characters are aurally signified through the strategic use of music that further alienates their stigmatized representation. Using social theory and media studies to demonstrate the social construction of mental illness, this thesis examines the ways in which the music in *Criminal Minds* reinforces the societal stigmatization that mentally ill people are inherently violent. By combining a Bakhtinian framework with critical scene analysis, I demonstrate that music plays a pivotal and colluding role in demonizing mentally ill characters.

Review of Literature

In the field of academic inquiry, there is little to no research concerning the cross section of the three subjects of music, violence, and mental illness representation in television. Despite this absence, I draw from adjacent research on stigmatized visual representations of race and gender within media that can also apply to aural representations of stigmatized mental illness.[34] Musicological research on the representation of mental illness through music generally focuses on examination of the western art tradition and performative aspects of disability.[35]

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[34] Depictions of gender are examined in Dillman, *Women and Death in Film*. Issues regarding race in the true crime genre are detailed in Mary Beth Oliver, "Race and Crime in Media: Research from a Mass Media Perspective," in *A Companion to Media Studies*, ed. Angharad N. Valdivia (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 421-36.

[35] A wide view of the field can be seen in Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Strauss, eds., *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music* (New York: Routledge, 2006). Constituent essays include Maria Cizmic, "Of Bodies Pain and Narratives: Musical Representations of Pain and

Therefore, I borrow frameworks of musical analysis from the field of television and pop music studies relating to violence in the horror and thriller film genres to demonstrate how *Criminal Minds* negatively affects social constructions of mental illness by invoking sounds of horror and applying it to mental illness.[36]

Recent scholarship concerning representation in popular media sets a precedent for this method of research while also addressing issues of removing character agency. Joanne Clarke Dillman analyzes the representations of women and death within various forms of media.[37] She asserts that television, film, and news coverage operate on a contradictory logic of promoting feminist goals that serve androcentric culture and that this occurs through the depiction of dead women in popular media.[38] Dillman states:

> The common denominator in all the works under study here is that a woman comes to visibility *because* she is dead. I call this point of entry or inciting incident a "dead beginning" because figuratively or literally the temporal progression of this character is halted from the start even though she may feature in the story that follows. . . How can a film or television show profess to offer a woman agency if she is positioned as dead from the start?[39]

Although Dillman's research focuses specifically on the relationship of text and image in relation to gender, her approach easily applies to sound studies and representations of mental health. However, while Dillman's research focuses on

Illness in HBO's *W;t*," 23-40; Neil Lerner, "The Horrors of One-Handed Pianism: Music and Disability in *The Beast with Five Fingers*," 75-90; S. Timothy Maloney, "Glenn Gould, Autistic Savant," 121-37; Adam Ockeford, "Using a Music-Theoretical Approach to Explore the Impact of Disability on Musical Development: A Case Study," 137-56; L. Poundie Burnstein, "*Les chansons des fous:* On the Edge of Madness with Alkan," 187-98.
[36] Powrie, "Blonde Abjection" and Thompkins, "Pop Goes the Horror Score."
[37] Dillman, *Women and Death in Film, Television, and News*.
[38] Ibid., 2-3.
[39] Ibid., 3.

the agency of victims, the same concept can apply to the perpetrators. In *Criminal Minds,* depictions of mentally ill antagonists occur *after* they have already committed an act (or acts) of extreme violence. These offending characters (driven by their mental illness) are stripped of their agency and appear as monsters that need to be eradicated. Despite the often thrown-in disclaimer written within the dialogue, (not everyone with [mental illness] are killers), people with mental illness are already depicted as the demonized "crazy." This deprives the character of any agency, constructing them as beholden to their illness and prone to violence.

Dillman continues to examine the relationships between image and narrative in film, noting the tension between these two axes.[40] She states:

> Focusing on these axes as separate registers brings potentially contradictory meanings into view. The image component of a film, for example, can offer a sexualized and sexist rendering, while the narrative storyline can be read as ultimately "positive" or "feminist" if there is resolution or closure. I argue that these different registers can compete in the overall text, rendering films and television shows complex "sites of struggle" over meaning.[41]

I posit that the tension described by Dillman between narrative and image also exists between narrative and sound, as evidenced in the work of Joe Thompkins and Phil Powrie in their research on the use of popular music during scenes of graphic violence.[42] The application of Dillman's framework to the aural associations of mentally ill characters in serial crime dramas lends itself to the

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[40] Dillman, *Women and Death in Film, Television, and News,* 5.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Thompkins, "Pop Goes the Horror Score," 110-19 and Powrie, "Blonde Abjection," 98-113.

same apprehensions she elucidates in her findings: "the media's visible rendering and amplification of acts of gendered violence in the arena of representation has consequences for all women."[43] The same can be said for the aural renderings of the mentally ill.

Another exploration into the representation of social groups in mass media correlates with the representation of race within the "reality-based" crime genre such as the television series *Cops* (Fox, 1989-2013). Mary Beth Oliver's work looks at race and crime in media, drawing on Affective Disposition Theory (ADT) and the idea that viewers' enjoyment of crime drama relies on the hatred of criminals.[44] Oliver posits that moral judgements of the viewer, assumed by ADT, are also affected by depictions of race and the viewer's own perceptions (e.g. racist viewers would enjoy the arrest of an African American individual over a Caucasian one). In a quantitative study on this genre, Oliver demonstrates the discrepancy in representation between Caucasians and minorities.[45] She notes that non-white characters were more likely to be aggressive than white characters (53.3% to 51.5%) and that non-white characters were significantly more likely to appear as a criminal than as a police officer.[46] Oliver concludes:

> Given the salience of race as a social category, the available heuristic would suggest that heavy viewing of "reality-based" crime shows (particularly among white viewers) should be associated with higher estimates of the number of minorities involved in criminal activity.

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[43] Dillman, *Women and Death in Film, Television, and News*, 3.
[44] Oliver, "Race and Crime in Media," 427.
[45] Mary Beth Oliver, "Portrayals of Crime, Race, and Aggression in 'Reality-Based' Police Shows: A Content Analysis," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 179.
[46] Ibid., 179.

Furthermore, Entman (1990, 1992) has suggested that portrayals of black criminal suspects in degrading positions (e.g., physically held by police officers) may serve to enhance symbolic racism by implying that blacks are more dangerous or threatening than whites.[47]

While the "Othering" in Oliver's research deals specifically with the racial "Other," this tendency applies to any social group not perceived as the self. In the case of the serial crime drama, those afflicted with mental illness are treated as the "Other." Even within narrative shows, as opposed to "reality-based" shows, the "Other" appears more likely to commit crimes than the self. In *Criminal Minds,* the percentage of antagonists with mental illness outnumbers the protagonists that exhibit mental illness. One of the main characters of *Criminal Minds*, the socially awkward but highly intelligent Dr. Spencer Reid (played by Matthew Gray Gubler) displays, "hints of schizophrenia, Asperger's syndrome, and minor autism."[48] In addition to his various disorders, Reid has a fear of suffering from a schizophrenic break similar to the one his mother experienced; this fear acts as a narrative force that develops Reid's character.[49] During these episodes, Reid often hides his fears of having this mental illness (despite his already prevalent levels of neurosis) due to his experience with tracking down schizophrenic killers.[50] Reid's fears of becoming a killer and being hunted by the BAU demonstrate that the characters themselves consider the mentally ill as primarily

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[47] Oliver, "Portrayals of Crime, Race, and Aggression in 'Reality-Based' Police Shows," 179.

[48] Quote by Matthew Gray Gubler in Rachel Thomas, "An Interview with Matthew Gray Gubler (Dr. Spencer Reid, *Criminal Minds*)," ThoughCo.com, April 17, 2018, retrieved September 22, 2018. https://www.thoughtco.com/an-interview-with-matthew-gray-gubler-3283992

[49] *Criminal Minds,* "Corazon," Season 6, episode 12. Text appears as written without the correct Spanish spelling.

[50] *Criminal Minds*, "Corazon," Season 6, episode 12, 16, 17.

violent criminals. This association further demonstrates the presence of ADT in the serial crime drama and how perpetrators in these shows mirror social anxieties prevalent in the social discourse on mental illness and violence.

Musicological research on the cultural constructions of disability has expanded in recent years through the research of Neil Lerner, Jennifer Iverson, and others; however a considerable amount of this research addresses historical examinations of the western art tradition, performative aspects of disability, and culturally stigmatized *bodily* difference, specifically in terms of physical disability.[51] Although this sets a precedent for new studies in musicology regarding cultural and societal constructions within music, it does not address the media representations of mental illness and its use of music. Despite this focus on bodily disability, Lerner's edited volume provides useful examples of the interplay between cultural and social perceptions of "Otherness" within narratives. Jennifer Iverson's analysis of the film *Dancer in the Dark* (2000, dir. Lars von Trier) provides a scathing review that exposes the social historical influences surrounding narrative, stating:

> Films typically depict disability as a pathology of individual bodies rather than a construct of social stigma and discrimination. . . If the disabled character cannot pass or be miraculously cured, filmic narratives eradicate the character, thus implying that the external disability is a sign of internal deformations and that the character must be removed for the good of society. In this way, the incurable disabled character is commodified,

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[51] Lerner and Strauss, eds., *Sounding Off.* This source's most applicable chapter concerns the representation of mental trauma in the film score for Krzysztof Kieślowski's, *Three Colors: Blue* (1993), through the lens of female subjectivity; Kelly Gross, "Female Subjectivity, Disability, and Musical Authorship in Krzysztof Kieślowski's *Blue*," in *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music,* ed. Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Strauss (New York: Routledge, 2006), 41-56.

institutionalized, demonized, ignored, or murdered. In Longmore's words, "Better dead than disabled."[52]

Dancing in the Dark's plot follows the character Selma, who progressively goes blind due to a genetic defect. Her blindness leads to a "moral blindness" that causes her to kill; she is summarily executed for her crimes. Iverson continues:

> Expelling Selma from rational, safe society is justified not only by the plot line, then, but also by her irreversible blindness. The plot thus reflects the sociohistorical formula that the physically disabled and emotionally disfigured must be removed from able-bodied society.[53]

Iverson then argues that the musical soundtrack mirrors Selma's perception of life through enhanced ambient sound that forces the audience to identify with Selma and her blind perspective.[54]

This project takes into consideration and acts in dialogue with the field of disability studies, specifically in relation to the social constructions of mental illness; however, I do not consider my research here as a part of cultural disability studies due to the emphasis on sociological thought. This thesis instead focuses on how certain media sources use music to further stigmatize perceptions of mental illness, and how these representations act in a sociological context.

Musicological research on representation within film and television does not address either mental illness as a characterization or the crime drama as a

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[52] Jennifer Iverson, "Dancing Out of the Dark: How Music Refutes Disability Stereotypes in *Dancer in the Dark*," in *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music*, ed. Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Strauss (New York: Routledge, 2006), 57-58.
[53] Ibid., 58.
[54] Ibid., 59.

genre; research on characterization exists, but is concerned with the use of pre-composed music as a *leitmotif* or musical theme.[55] James Deaville's edited volume on music in television highlights several instances where cultural, social, and political theory are influenced by music in television. While this provides a history for these types of analysis, these studies focus primarily on parody television such as *South Park* and outreach TV specials.[56] Though Kip Pegley's chapter concerns the use of the televised benefit concert and the problematics of identity issues and representation through music, it ultimately addresses national identity through a live performative context.[57]

In examining the literature above, I have determined that while there are various forays into the relationship between music and mental illness, stigmatized representation in media, and the use of music to generate a negative audience reaction, I have yet to discover research that synthesizes all three when analyzing a single genre. This thesis attempts to fill in this research gap and inspire other research within the field of musical representation and stigmatization in media. The importance of this research stems from the need for understanding that crime dramas attempt to provide. We currently live in an era

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[55] Ronald Rodman, "The Popular Song as Leitmotif in 1990's Film," in *Changing Tunes: The Use of Pre-existing Music in Film*, ed. Phil Powrie and Robynn Stillwell (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 119-36.

[56] Sean Nye, "From Punk to the Musical: *South Park,* Music, and the Cartoon Format," in *Music in Television: Channels of Listening*, ed. James Deaville (New York: Routledge, 2011), 143-64. See also Norma Coates, "*It's What's Happening Baby!* Television Music and the Politics of the War on Poverty," in *Music in Television: Channels of Listening*, ed. James Deaville (New York: Routledge, 2011), 165-82.

[57] Kip Pegley, "The Rock Man's Burden: Consuming Canada at Live 8," in *Music in Television: Channels of Listening*, ed. James Deaville (New York: Routledge, 2011), 199-215.

when mass violence and mental illness have emerged as key points in American culture. Politics surrounding gun violence, gendered violence, and public health issues are at the forefront of political debates. These concerns have informed the production of shows that utilize fictional narratives for entertainment. Additionally, I contend that this style of musicological research is important to the field as it proves that musicology can be used to illuminate and identify contemporary social issues. For the field to develop, musicologists must demonstrate how musicological analysis can explicate problems in the present rather than the past and provide information that is culturally relevant. This thesis provides a metaphorical "finger-on-the-pulse" look at the state of mental illness representation in media, and a framework for how crime dramas use music to recycle a prevalent perception in the minds of the public.

Thesis Contents and Outline

The remainder of this thesis examines the history of the serial crime drama, *Criminal Minds*' alienating use of music, and how *Criminal Minds* interacts with its audience amidst the current political climate. In Chapter 2, I provide a historical overview of the crime drama genre in television and how music is utilized to enhance various monologic agendas in these shows. Starting in the 1950s with the show *Dragnet* (1951-1959), the crime drama has occupied a space in the public imagination through its appropriation of societal fears. *Dragnet* created the illusion of realism through a pseudo-documentary format. To enhance this sense of reality, *Dragnet* often utilized criminals that were characterized by controversial

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ideals for the time period. Criminals in *Dragnet* exhibited liberal ideals in the age

of McCarthyism or were defined by their race during the burgeoning stages of the

Civil Rights Movement. Portraying a social group perceived to threaten American

values as criminals became a hallmark of the genre. During the 1960s to the

1980s, the crime drama branched into various subgenres. The police procedural

in the 1990s (*Law & Order*) came to normalize drug violence and murder under

the guise of the NYPD, while the forensic crime drama in the 2000s (*CSI*)

resulted from post-9/11 anxieties concerning terrorism and mass violence.

       Although the crime drama genre first appeared on television in the 1940s

(*Stand By for Crime* (1949)), the first crime drama to exclusively explore the acts

of serial offenders did not occur until the 1990s with *Millennium* (1996-1999).

After 2000, however, the serial crime drama stood at the forefront of television,

with shows such as *Dexter* (2006-2013), *Luther* (2010-2018), and *Bates Motel*

(2013-2017). Television during this time period underwent a change where music

included both original scoring and an increase in the licensing of popular music.[58]

This conflux of popular and pre-existing music and depictions of violence, I posit,

created a mode of televisual production similar to that found within the research

of Powrie and Tompkins.[59] In keeping with an ongoing trend that stigmatizes

societal fears in contemporary media, *Criminal Minds* features extreme violence

to increase the shock value and spectacle expected from the series. It enhances

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[58] Annette Davidson, "The End Is Nigh: Music Postfaces and End-Credit Sequences in Contemporary Television Serials," *Music, Sound, and the Moving Image* 8, no. 2 (2014): 195-245.
[59] Powrie, "Blonde Abjection," 100-19 and Tompkins, "Pop Goes the Horror Scene," 98-113.

this through its use of music as demonstrated in the scenes described in Chapter 3. Furthermore, I demonstrate that *Criminal Minds* is not the only offender in preying on societal anxieties but merely represents the most recent iteration in the crime drama genre.

Chapter 3 focuses on case studies from *Criminal Minds*, its use of a compiled soundtrack, and how this soundtrack affects representations of mental illness. The episodes "Revelations" (Season 2, Episode 15), "With Friends Like These…" (Season 6, Episode 19), and "Scream" (Season 10, Episode 15) specifically depict Dissociative Identity Disorder, Schizophrenia, and OCD respectively, using mentally ill characters that commit acts of extreme violence. By analyzing various episodes, I argue that *Criminal Minds* repeatedly uses specific musical choices in combination with images of violence to elicit a visceral negative emotion from their audience. This is accomplished by combining images and sound that contradict each other in the emotional response it elicits. *Criminal Minds* often combines scenes of violence with children's music such as "The Itsy-Bitsy Spider," scenes of sexual assault with love ballads from the 1980s, and contemporary pop hits to create a simulation of the present reality. In purposefully evoking such feelings, the show creates a negative association with not only the act being depicted, but also with the representation of the perpetrator. *Criminal Minds* utilizes this tactic when portraying characters with mental illness, influencing social perceptions and further stigmatizing negative social constructs.

In Chapter 4, I provide evidence that *Criminal Minds'* stigmatized

representations of mental illness have reached the audience and highlight the

reactions generated in popular media as seen in blog and critic reviews.

Discussion generated on Internet blogs, social media websites, and op-ed pieces

represent the public's dialogic realizations of the mistreatment of mentally ill

characters in the show. The amount of critical feedback demonstrates the

pervasiveness of the series in popular media and the wide-ranging effect it has

on its audience. To demonstrate the opposite view, I also consider the monologic

agenda regarding violence and mental illness that is perpetuated throughout

mainstream mass media and national politics in the age of Trump. In addition, I

examine how music often gets omitted from these critiques despite the

importance it plays within the scenes. Here, I turn to Claudia Gorbman's concept

of the *unheard melody*, where she argues that the most effective soundtrack is

the one that lies underneath the perceptual sonic foreground, making it both less

noticeable yet more effective.[60] This concept suggests that even though music is

not mentioned in the responses, its placement in the show has served to

persuade audiences to accept the representation and actions on screen.

The final chapter synthesizes the results of the previous case studies with

recent currents in popular culture, such as mental illness awareness in music and

media, to demonstrate some future areas of study for this type of analysis. I

examine a new wave in media that focuses on mental illness as a central

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[60] Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

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narrative theme, and how it utilizes a dialogic depiction of mental illness. I argue that *Criminal Minds* exemplifies the past and current cycles of mistreatment present in the media, observable through the framework of literary criticism and social theory that I offer in this work. The violence and misrepresentation extolled by *Criminal Minds* serves to stigmatize mental illness further and uses the compiled soundtrack to do so.

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORY OF VIOLENCE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE CRIME DRAMA GENRE

This chapter provides a historical overview of the crime drama genre and demonstrates that *Criminal Minds'* depiction of mental illness builds from previous practices. Historian Nichola Dobson states that, "the crime series reflects the anxieties of the viewing public."[61] I trace examples of these anxieties throughout specific instances in the history of the genre. These anxieties constitute societal fears present in the viewing public. *Criminal Minds* reflects social concerns about an increasing amount of violence depicted in the media and considers rampant mental illness as the initial cause. By examining the origins of the crime drama on television, I determine that the exploitation of societal fears has been a core part of the crime drama narrative model from its beginning.

Each generation of the crime drama creates and incarcerates criminals who represent an ideological, racial, or grotesque "Other." In the 1950s, racial tensions and liberal ideological movements created accordingly biased characterizations of violent African American and supposedly un-American academics, while the 2000s promoted terrorist depictions of Muslim and Muslim Americans in the wake of 9/11. This trend of "Othering" in the crime drama is

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[61] Nichola Dobson, "Generic Difference and Innovation in *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*," in *The CSI Effect: Television Crime and Governance*, ed. Michele Byers and Val Marie Johnson (Landham: Lexington Books, 2009), 85.

continually reinvented throughout its history based on the anxieties of the time period. Additionally, the function of music within the crime drama changed alongside the genre. As the "Othering" function of the crime drama became more pronounced over time, music has played an increasingly larger role in the character stigmatizing process, ultimately resulting in the examples that I examine from *Criminal Minds.*

This chapter initially defines the major narrative and musical elements of the crime genre and its subgenres, concentrating on what makes each approach distinct in structure and how music is utilized in each. I explore the origins of the genre beginning with *Dragnet* (1951-1959) and its development through the 1990s and 2000s on the CBS network, the same network that televises *Criminal Minds*, and CBS' development of the forensic crime drama. Most importantly, I establish that since the genre's inception, these shows continually exploit the anxieties of their audiences, constructing fear and violence into a type of spectacle. I demonstrate this historical phenomenon via an examination of *Dragnet*, *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (2000), and *Criminal Minds,* focusing on how they incorporate themes that create societal anxiety in the American mindset for a specific time period, and how music functions within each iteration.

The Crime Drama and its Variants

 The transition of the crime drama to the serial crime drama can be understood from the development of its various subgenres. Genre theorist Jason Mittell discusses the issues of classifying shows into genres and subgenres due to the

inherent hybridity within genre theory. The overlapping of various themes,

character types, and cultural meanings, obfuscates a clear way to define shows

based on their structure or form. Ultimately, Mittell labels genres based their

relevance in popular culture and the general consensus in how audiences and

writers refer their work. He defines this as a genre's *operative coherence*.[62] For

example, the police drama, as a term, has enough operative coherence due to its

use by audiences, press accounts, and industry workers to be considered a

genre.[63] Widely accepted as an overarching genre, the crime drama serves as a

catchall nomenclature for shows that involve any act of crime as part of the

central narrative. Nested within this genre is the police drama, or crime dramas

that feature police and law enforcement as the main characters. The police

drama and its variants (discussed below) constitute most crime dramas on

network television. Since the 1950s, the police drama has gained enough

operative coherence to be considered its own genre from which most popular

crime drama subgenres stem.

Subcategories within the police drama are based on characters or specific

actions, in this case, the mode of investigation. These subcategories include the

police procedural and the forensic crime drama, both of which serve as

predecessors to the serial crime drama and both of which feature specific

processes that define the genre. For example, police procedurals include

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[62] Jason Mittell, *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 10.
[63] Ibid.

narratives with law enforcement characters and depict the process of a criminal

investigation including the initial investigation, arrest, and interrogation. The

paragons of this genre are Jack Webb's *Dragnet* and NBC's *Law & Order* (1990).

During the early 2000s, the forensic crime drama adopted the characteristics of a

police procedural, but added the element of highly fictionalized, hi-tech scientific

investigation practices. Forensic crime dramas such as *CSI: Crime Scene

Investigation* (2000) eventually expanded from scientific investigations into

psychological ones, giving birth to the serial crime drama. Serial crime dramas

fixate on the acts of serial criminals in a dualistic way that juxtaposes a law

enforcement point-of-view (good) against a criminal perspective (bad). In the

case of *Criminal Minds*, the forensic capabilities of the BAU, or the Behavioral

Analysis Unit, allows FBI agents to hunt serial killers through their extensive

background and training in aberrant psychology. Despite the subtle differences

between these genres, a common formulaic structure is recycled within each,

which is modeled after the first successful televised crime drama, *Dragnet*.

Dragnet and the Televised Crime Serial

The first televised crime drama was ABC's *Stand By For Crime* (1949).[64] The

series narrative focused on the murderer's point of view, and the uncovering of

clues by investigating officers.[65] The murderers of the episode would remain

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[64] Ken Dowler, "Police Dramas on Television," Criminology.oxfordre.com, November, 2016, retrieved February 16, 2019, http://criminology.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264079-e-175.
[65] Ibid.

anonymous and viewers of the show were encouraged to call the television station to guess the killer's identity.[66] Following the failure of *Stand by For Crime* in 1949 due to a poor reception by the viewing public, *Dragnet* premiered on NBC to popular and critical acclaim. *Dragnet*'s allure stemmed from its previous run as a successful radio program, the growing popularity of the television set, and the newfound fascination with police work in the American public amidst societal fears during the post-WWII era.

The creator, writer, and lead actor for *Dragnet*, Jack Webb, designed the series to be as factually accurate as possible. Working closely with the Los Angeles Police Department, Webb used police terminology and wrote scripts following the most mundane forms of police work, including minor crimes such as check fraud or illegal business practices.[67] *Dragnet* also featured sensationalized crimes such as murder, told through the stories of the morally incorruptible Sgt. Friday. Webb constructed *Dragnet* as a pseudo-documentary that portrayed a dutiful LAPD officer solving actual crime, which appealed to the mass audience.[68]

At the beginning of each radio and television broadcast, the iconic four-note *Dragnet* theme played (Figure 2.1). The four-note theme, characterized by its subsequent reiteration and tritone consequent, became ubiquitous within the crime drama genre. Sounding over the image of a LAPD sergeant's shield, the

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[66] Dowler, "Police Dramas on Television."
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.

narrator states: "Ladies and gentlemen, the story you're about to hear (see) is true. The names have been changed to protect the innocent."[69]

The distinctly masculine voice speaks with an air of authority, combined with a minor key brass and woodwind underscore, thus grounding the image with the sound of severe gravitas. Immediately following the opening, the voice of this omnipresent narrator is replaced with the voice of Jack Webb who sets the scene of the crime through a narrative monologue.[70] Webb details the crime committed; he identifies his partner, the commanding officer, and himself, always as "My name's Friday." The same thin textured underscoring continues throughout Webb's narration and includes several cues reminiscent of hunting calls that recur in different instruments.

Underscoring in *Dragnet* is only utilized during scenes featuring Webb's narration or during transitions between scenes. The lack of music during moments of spoken dialogue creates the illusion of reality required for the pseudo-documentary style and aurally suggests that the narrative constitutes real-life events.

Figure 2.1., *Dragnet* Theme.[71]

[69] "Dragnet 1951," Mill Creek Entertainment, retrieved from Youtube.com, retrieved February 16, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hj-qhIGTXdU.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Walter Schumann and Miklos Rosza, "Dragnet," musicnotes.com, retrieved April 8, 2019, https://www.musicnotes.com/sheetmusic/mtd.asp?ppn=MN0095966.

However, the *Dragnet* theme and underscoring return during the final moments of each episode, where it assumes a status as an aural signifier of serving justice to the criminal offenders and condemning their actions. The end of each episode of *Dragnet* depicts the criminal that was captured during the installment and their sentencing, which is accompanied by the *Dragnet* theme. Visually defeated, the criminal appears silent, aurally stripped of their freedom. The *Dragnet* theme sounds in the brass followed by soft woodwind underscoring, as the omnipresent narrator announces the verdict. While the large majority of episodes feature a conviction, some episodes end in ruling certain crimes as accidents or dropping charges against innocent parties. Regardless, the *Dragnet* theme musically signifies the moral high ground of justice being served.

Dragnet established many standards for the police genre that are utilized in modern crime dramas. Sgt. Friday became the "good cop" archetype still utilized today; he represents the inherent good of a police force through his unwavering commitment to protect and serve. Each popular police procedural today includes a version of this archetype, including the characters Olivia Benson (Mariska Hargitay) in *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* (NBC, 1999), Leroy Jethro Gibbs (Mark Harmon) in *NCIS* (CBS, 2003), and Jason Gideon (Mandy Patinkin) in *Criminal Minds*.

Additionally, *Dragnet*'s insistence of the true nature of the crime depicted in its episodes was meant to prey on the social anxieties of the time period, as do currently airing crime dramas. Episodes often included criminals that were

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afflicted by radical political thoughts in the age of McCarthyism, such as by the subversive literature of Gustave Flaubert, and, as they called it, unfounded racial tension created by the Black Panther movement.[72] *Dragnet* exploited these purportedly subversive movements to characterize its depiction of criminals and antagonists. As representatives of the societal fears of a conservative post-WWII America, these portrayals fell in opposition to Friday's conservative moral compass.

In order to enhance both the aspects of incorruptible characters and societal fears, *Dragnet*'s soundtrack served to create a dramatic atmosphere. Friday's stoicism becomes stronger when accompanied by triumphant high brass, while the crimes become more ominous with middle range woodwind ostinatos. The combination of these components molded the formula for the police drama and the crime drama as a whole. The true-to-life social anxieties of contemporary society are put to rest by the moral fortitude of incorruptible police officers.

Dragnet's style of narrative became standardized and spawned numerous imitators, such as *The Lineup* (CBS, 1954-1960), *Highway Patrol* (Syndicated, 1955-1959), *State Trooper* (Syndicated, 1956-1959), *Harbor Command* (Syndicated, 1957-1959), *M-Squad* (NBC, 1957-1960), and *Naked City* (ABC, 1958-1963).[73] The music of these series also features variations of *Dragnet*'s

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[72] Christopher Sharrett, "Jack Webb and the Vagaries of Right-Wing TV Entertainment," *Cinema Journal* 51, no. 4 (2012): 165-71.
[73] Dowler, "Police Dramas on Television,"

theme. *The Lineup, Highway Patrol, State Troopers,* and *Harbor Command* include four-note themes, whereas, *M-Squad* and *Naked City* focus on the criminal and undercover aspects of police work utilizing jazzier underscoring meant to signify seedier themes. The establishment of the police drama formula with *Dragnet* reveals similar tendencies present in the current media to stigmatize and prey on social anxieties.

Dragnet began as a half-hour radio drama, but later transitioned to television as the medium became more popular. The first television set was developed in 1927, but was not commercially available until 1938.[74] During the late 1940s, television sets were too expensive for average middle-class families, but as the price of the sets dropped during the 1950s, the American public rapidly bought the new technology.[75] By 1959, 90% of electrically wired homes in the U.S. owned a television set.[76] Operating under the mindset of "offend no one," advertisers and television show creators sponsored apolitical and conservative programming geared toward the white middle-class.[77]

Conservative moral values and the avoidance of controversial subjects, such as liberal political movements, police brutality, and civil rights, led to dualistic characterizations featured in *Dragnet* described above. *Dragnet*'s adherence to conservative values has led scholars to examine the series and its

[74] Johnson Hur, "History of the Television," Bebusinessed.com, retrieved January 21, 2019, https://bebusinessed.com/history/history-of-the-television/
[75] Joan Beam, "American Social Attitudes and Popular Culture of the 1950s: A Selected Annotated Bibliography," *Reference Service Review* 17, no.3 (1989): 8.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

relation to the LAPD of the 1950s. During this period, the LAPD faced charges of police brutality, racism, and corruption. *Dragnet*, however, often moved to discredit the charges through their narratives. Film historian Christopher Sharrett describes *Dragnet* as right-wing propaganda for the LAPD, citing various episodes that target liberal characters to discredit them as communist and immoral.[78] Sharrett details the attacks on homosexuals, intellectuals, and counterculture movements in various episodes, but the most obvious example of conservative rhetoric occurs when Sgt. Friday appears on so-called liberal media and calmly confronts various left-wing and subversive critics of the LAPD.[79] Friday quickly dismisses or redirects accusations of police brutality and racial violence turning the blame on the purportedly faulty logic of his dissenters. At the time, these issues stood as a part of American social anxieties concerning crime and subversion from non-conservative forces. This fed into the creation and stigmatization of those forces in media, further demonstrating how the police genre reflects social worries and moral panics.

The popularity of *Dragnet* and the crime genre slowly lost public attention during the 1970s and 80s. However, police and crime dramas were still produced and followed the model created by *Dragnet*. Landmark series during the time period such as NBC's *Hill Street Blues* (1981-1987) as well as *Miami Vice* (1984-1989) represent popular crime dramas that altered genre conventions set by *Dragnet*, primarily in their narrative style. *Hill Street Blues* revolutionized the

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[78] Sharrett, "Jack Webb and the Vagaries of Right-Wing TV Entertainment," 165-71.
[79] Ibid., 170. The episode in question is *Dragnet,* "Public Affairs," Season 11, Episode 8.

crime drama genre by abandoning the pseudo-documentary style of *Dragnet* and

utilized a serialized format.[80] Hailed for its dramatic storylines, *Hill Street Blues*

brought dramatic characters with "authentic" emotions to the genre; in this way,

Hill Street Blues intersects with the soap opera genre separating it from police-

procedurals such as *Dragnet*.[81] Similarly, *Miami Vice* influenced popular culture

through its gritty themes and flashy style. The focus on the drug and sex

trafficking world of undercover vice detectives correlates with social anxieties

surrounding the early Regan administration, but in the same way as *Hill Street*

Blues interacted with the soap opera, *Miami Vice* resembled more of an action

series rife with police clichés.[82] Both series hold a moment in crime drama

history, but the current construction of the crime drama was developed in the

1990s with the advent of *Law & Order.*

      The next time the crime drama genre achieved the same popularity that it

had seen in the 1950s was during the 1990s with the premiere of *Law & Order*.[83]

Although considered a reimagining of another police procedural drama from the

1960s (*Arrest and Trial* (NBC, 1963-1964), *Law & Order* follows the conventions

established by *Dragnet* to the letter, including the use of an iconic opening

narration.[84] Primarily featuring violent offenses, *Law & Order* would track the

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[80] Dowler, "Police Dramas on Television."
[81] Roger Sabian et al. *Cop Shows: A Critical History of Police Dramas on Television* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014), 111.
[82] Ibid., 115.
[83] Dowler, "Police Dramas on Television."
[84] "In the criminal justice system, the people are represented by two separate but equally important groups: The police, who investigate crime, and the district attorneys, who prosecute the offenders. These are their stories. DUN DUN."

progress of a single case from beginning to end. After police detectives gather

evidence, interrogate suspects, and make an arrest, the narrative then follows

the prosecuting attorneys as they pursue a conviction. Similar to *Dragnet*, *Law &*

Order focused on a single diverse metropolitan area, in this case New York City.

When transitioning between areas within NYC, *Law & Order* imposes a dark

screen with the location and address of the next scene written in white, creating

the effect of a documentary ID card, implying a pseudo-documentary style.[85]

Accompanying these transitions is a sound that has become ubiquitous in

popular culture. Known in common parlance as the "dun, dun" sound effect, it is

meant to aurally signify justice, much like the theme from *Dragnet*. The composer

for *Law & Order*, Mike Post, created the effect to resemble the "stylized sound of

a jail cell locking."[86] This sound aurally suggests the serving of justice as the door

"clangs" shut on their suspects. In a series intended by its creator, Dick Wolf, to

have "minimal music and a harder-hitting tone," the "dun, dun" sound has

become one of the most memorable aspects of the series and continues

throughout its various iterations.[87] NBC's *Law & Order* created a crime and police

drama revival that spurred the creation of imitators on other networks. *Law &*

Order, however, stayed on the top of the crime drama ratings for nearly two

decades until the advent of a new genre, the forensic crime drama.

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[85] Dan Gunderman, "Examining the Legendary 'Dun, Dun' Sound from 'Law and Order' on the Anniversary of the Pilot Episode," *New York Daily News*, nydailynews.com, September 13, 2016, retrieved on February 6, 2019. https://www.nydailynews.com/entertainment/tv/examining-legendary-dun-dun-sound-law-order-article-1.2790190

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

CBS, *CSI*, and Post-9/11 America

The inception of the forensic crime drama occurred on CBS during the 2000s.

CBS aired multiple unsuccessful crime dramas in the early 1990s as a part of

their "Crimetime after Primetime" initiative, none of which achieved critical

acclaim.[88] "Crimetime after Primetime" predominantly aired more adult content

during the late-night hours starting in 1991.[89] The line-up consisted of primarily

Canadian programming such as *Dark Justice* (1991-1993) and *Scene of the*

Crime (1991-1992). Despite their foray into the genre, the "Crimetime" initiative

ended in 1993 as CBS saw greater success with action and legal dramas such

as *Walker, Texas Ranger* (1993-2001), which combined western style justice

with martial arts, and *JAG* (1997-2005), which depicted the inner workings of the

United States Navy legal system. CBS finally broke into the modern crime drama

genre with the smash hit *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*. *CSI* marked the first

forensic crime series on television by combining police procedural crime dramas

with fictionalized cutting-edge science. The series spawned various spin-offs

including *CSI: Miami* (CBS, 2002-2012) and *CSI: New York* (CBS, 2004-2013).

Other forensic crime shows on the network include the series *NUMB3RS* (CBS,

2003-2010), which solved complex crimes with the power of math, and *Criminal*

Minds.

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[88] Steve Coe, "CBS Find Crime(time) Does Pay," *Broadcasting* 120, no. 21 (May 27, 1991): 38.
[89] Ibid.

After the advent and success of *CSI,* CBS invested heavily in crime dramas. Currently, twelve out of the sixteen programmed dramas on CBS are crime dramas.[90] Modeled primarily on the police procedural genre such as *Law & Order* and *Dragnet*, the forensic crime drama follows strict conventions in characterization of both law enforcement and criminals.[91] Other popular crime series on CBS demonstrate close connections to military and public service, also seen as professions of morality serving the greater good. For example, two other critically acclaimed serials on CBS are *NCIS* (2003-), which focuses on law enforcement in the United States Navy, and *Blue Bloods* (2010-), which features an Irish American family that serves at all levels in the New York City legal system as patrol officers, detectives, district attorneys, and the NYPD police commissioner. Much like *Dragnet* and *Law & Order*, *CSI* inspired imitators on other networks, such as *Bones* (2005-2017) on the Fox network, and *Dexter* (2006-2013) on Showtime.

The popularity of the forensic crime drama has caused critics and scholars to question why it became a phenomenon. One explanation of the continued popularity of the forensic crime drama deals directly with the exploitation of societal anxieties, especially the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, when Islamic extremists hijacked four commercial airplanes and purposefully collided with the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington

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[90] "The Best Current CBS Dramas," ranker.com, retrieved April 7, 2019, http://www.ranker.com/list/best-current-cbs-dramas/ranker-tv.

[91] Dobson, "Generic Difference and Innovation in *CSI*," 84.

D.C. The result was the death of almost 3,000 people in the deadliest attack on

American soil and marked a turning point in U.S. history.[92] After 9/11, the U.S.

experienced a conscious shift in cultural and social dynamics centered around

what it meant to be an American and who was to blame for these acts of terror.

The concept of "terrorism" still haunts current media as an "Othering" narrative

force.

The events of 9/11 impacted all forms of media within the United States.

The melancholy and anger that gripped the nation stood at the forefront of the

public mindset. Musicological research regarding the performance and utilization

of music in the post-9/11 world focuses primarily on how music was used to

rouse a sense of nationalism for both the United States and other nations.[93]

Research has been conducted on the music of North American news outlets

during the days following 9/11 and how it clearly intones sounds of "fear and

anger," aurally calling for military action with military percussion during opening

news segments.[94] Media studies scholar James Castonguay considers the

fictional programming in the post-9/11 media and its role in George W. Bush's

"War on Terror" stating,

> Most media scholars analyzed Gulf War TV news in order to expose its
> fictions but largely overlooked fictional programming, thus implicitly
> accepting the generic hierarchies that the television industry both
> assumes and constructs. A similar trend toward focusing primarily on

[92] "9/11 Attacks," History.com, December 12, 2018, retrieved February 6, 2019.
https://www.history.com/topics/21st-century/9-11-attacks#section_6.

[93] Jonathan Ritter and J. Martin Daughtry, eds., *Music in the Post-9/11 World* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

[94] Deaville, "Sounds of American and Canadian Television News After 9/11: Entoning Horror and Grief, Fear and Anger," in *Music in the Post-9/11 World*, ed. Jonathan Ritter and J. Martin Daughtry (New York: Routledge, 2007), 43-70.

news programming is occurring during the current cold war. Moreover, a more complete critique of both news and non-news programming would benefit from being plotted along a broader discursive continuum that includes Web sites, films, music, speeches, parades, T-shirts, magazines, and the other text that comprise the cultural production of the "war on terror."[95]

Castonguay's call for research reiterates that the exploitation of societal fears stretches beyond journalism media; narrative genres such as the crime drama contribute to the cultural production of stigmatization that exists in all forms of media. Media scholar Yvonne Tasker further states that the migration of themes of homeland security and political violence from action-oriented media to the procedural crime drama normalized terrorism in a domestic mindset.[96]

This normalization of violence occurred as the American people searched for an outlet to understand the trauma of 9/11 through media. When discussing *Law & Order*, media studies scholar Susanna Lee describes "the modern television crime drama as a forum for working through the trauma of living in violent culture."[97] After 9/11, this crime drama "forum" began to include societal fears concerning extremist Islam and Muslim Americans. As a result, Muslims and people of Arabic and Middle Eastern descent became scapegoats within the U.S. mindset, fueling the generational trend of increasingly negative depictions of Islam. However, Muslim and Muslim American popular culture scholar Evelyn

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[95] James Castonguay, "Conglomeration, New Media, and the Cultural Production of the "War on Terror,"" *Cinema Journal* 43, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 105.

[96] Yvonne Tasker, "Television Crime Drama and Homeland Security: From *Law & Order* to "Terror TV,"" *Cinema Journal* 51, no. 4 (Jan. 2012): 44-65.

[97] Susanna Lee, ""These Are Our Stories": Trauma, Form and the Screen Phenomenon of *Law & Order*," *Discourse* 25, nos. 1-2 (2004): 96.

Alsultany has revealed another trend in extensively examining media following

9/11 and its portrayal of Islam. She states that since 9/11, depictions of Arab and

Muslim identities have tended toward the sympathetic to mask discriminatory

policies in law making. Alsultany describes these depictions as *simplified*

complex representations designed to circumvent accusations of stereotyping

while simultaneously exploiting them.[98] These representations create a

precarious balance between positive and negative depictions of social groups. In

her work, Alsultany cites instances where Muslims are portrayed as terrorists that

are being pursued by government forces. In an attempt to offset this problematic

depiction, the show then create a supposedly good representation of Muslims

that acts on the behalf of the protagonists. This character then often decries the

negative representation, embodied by the phrase, "Not all ___ are evil!," through

pithy dialogue. Despite the ostensibly sympathetic portrayal of Muslim Americans

in media, hate crimes and discrimination reached an all-time high, which

Alsultany argues is a product of this media representation.[99]

 CSI's premise of solving heinous crimes through forensic science

resonated with an American audience. The attacks of 9/11 left the nation in a

state of shock and the collapse of the World Trade Center left many Americans

without the bodies of their loved ones and without a sense of cathartic justice.

The forensic team on *CSI,* however, only needed the barest trace of evidence or

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[98] Evelyn Alsultany, "Arabs and Muslims in the Media After 9/11: Representational
Strategies for a "Postrace" Era," *American Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2013): 162-63.
 [99] Ibid., 162.

the smallest lead to bring evildoers to justice, often with a dogged sense of determination against the unending waves of carnage they experience every week. Additionally, these brutal crimes were wrapped up during the cable television hour, providing a satisfying conclusion often absent in real life. As an indicator of their ability to solve crimes and to identify their victims, musicologist Lawrence Kramer asserts that *CSI*'s theme song, "Who are you?" by The Who, is meant to indicate the show's promise to never forget the identity of a single victim, such as the those lost in the collapse of the World Trade Center, which resonates with the post-9/11 world.[100]

Kramer states that the increased popularity of the *CSI* franchise, and the forensic crime drama genre, was due to the trauma caused by 9/11. He posits that the parade of gruesome violence and death within these series alongside the hypertechnical investigation of crime provides a sense of normalcy and justice that addresses trauma in small episodic amounts.[101] Joanne Clarke Dillman also makes this connection from a feminist perspective for shows such as *CSI* and *Dead Like Me* (Showtime, 2003-2004). She interprets these shows as responses to America's rapid progression into forensic science and surveillance technology in the name of crime prevention, and the American population's evasion of responsibility in the months following 9/11.[102] Additionally, Dillman attributes the

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[100] Lawrence Kramer, "Forensic Music: Channeling the Dead on Post-9/11 Television," in *The CSI Effect: Television Crime and Governance*, ed. Michele Byers and Val Marie Johnson (Landham: Lexington Books, 2009), 206.

[101] Ibid., 201-20.

[102] Joanne Clarke Dillman, *Women and Death in Film, Television, and News: Dead but Not Gone* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 18, 114.

escalation of violence in forensic crime dramas to what she dubs the "dead-but-not-gone" convention, which is a plot device that gives a "voice" to the voiceless victims through forensic science.[103] She further states that this trope deprives the victims of agency through recontextualizing their lives in relation to androcentric ideals. The dead-but-not-gone convention directly correlates with the anxieties felt in the wake of 9/11 where victims of these attacks were left without justice or closure.

These anxieties became a trope within the crime drama and often encouraged the creation of new media, specifically on the CBS Network. More so than any network, CBS capitalized on the genre and the standards implemented by *Dragnet*, recycling them in their programming. CBS applied the forensic nature of *CSI* to societal fears of serial killers and aberrant psychology, ultimately resulting in the new genre of crime television found in *Criminal Minds*.

Criminal Minds and the Music of the Serial Crime Genre

Despite serial crime not being explored in visual media until the late 20th century, human fascination with serial killers stretches as far back as the late nineteenth century, beginning with the murders in the White Chapel neighborhood of London committed by the notorious Jack the Ripper.[104] Popular culture scholar Jane Caputi marks the presence of serial crime in America beginning in the 1950s and the archetypal character of the mythical "serial killer" becoming a common fixture

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[103] Dillman, *Women and Death in Film, Television, and News*, 10.
[104] Jane Caputi, "American Psychos: The Serial Killer in Contemporary Fiction," *Journal of American Culture* 16, no. 4 (1993): 101.

in film and literature, such as in Davis Grubb's novel *Night of The Hunter* (1953)

and Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* (1960). She further states that the serial killer

began to make standout appearances in film during the 1980s, as seen in

Silence of the Lambs (1988, dir. Jonathan Demme) and in the 1990s, as in

American Psycho (book 1991, Bret Easton Ellis: film 2000, dir. Mary Harron).[105]

One of the first examples of serial crime as part of a central narrative in television

is *Millennium* (Fox, 1996-1999).[106] Created by Chris Carter of *The X-Files* fame,

the series followed an ex-FBI agent who has the ability to see into the minds of

serial killers and murderers, and joins a secret society called the Millennium

Group whose goal is to decrease violent crime as they approach the year

2000.[107] The dark and violent nature of the series appealed to viewers earning

the People's Choice Award for Best New Drama in 1997, but was eventually

canceled by 1999 and closed the series during a crossover episode of *The X-Files.*[108] Sparse in its sense of humor, the dark and stoic nature of *Millennium*

foreshadows other serial crime dramas such as *Luther* and *Criminal Minds* while

utilizing both a dramatic soundtrack by Mark Snow (composer of *The X-Files*

theme) and a compiled soundtrack that includes The Carpenters, Cypress Hill,

and White Zombie.[109] These serials resemble each other in formula and tone,

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[105] Caputi, "American Psychos," 102-03.
[106] David Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities: Serial Killers in American Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005), 165-67.
[107] "Introducing Chris Carter's *Millenium* TV Series," Millennium-thisiswhoweare.net, retrieved Jan 21, 2019, https://millennium-thisiswhoweare.net/guide/analysis/millennium-tv-series-introduction/
[108] Ibid.
[109] "*Millennium* Season One-Episode Music Guide," Millennium-thisiswhoweare.net, retrieved Jan 21, 2019, https://millennium-thisiswhoweare.net/guide/music/season-1/.

and also utilize similar musical conventions. As with most forms of media, music serves a variety of roles.

The serial crime drama uses pre-compiled music to create violent spectacle, but also adheres to musical conventions featured in the sparse underscoring and musical themes from other crime shows such as *Law & Order*. Echoing the sentiments of Dick Wolf about the role of music in the crime drama, the serial crime drama eliminates continuous underscoring, using music in a sparser, more atmospheric role,[110] and mirrors Gorbman's concept of the *unheard melody*.[111] Shows such as *Criminal Minds* often utilize minor or dissonant chords in their orchestral and synthesized underscoring during scenes of tension to intone a feeling of urgency or unease, thereby accentuating the desired emotive atmosphere. The same can be said for *Law & Order*, which uses sustained synthesized piano chords in major or minor depending on the scene's consequences. Rather than remaining in a distinct style, the underscoring adapts to the action and the atmosphere of the scene. For example, in the *Criminal Minds* episode "About Face," the show aurally represents the majesty of the great outdoors, utilizing underscoring in a major key with orchestral brass heralding major chords alongside a violin ostinato while depicting sweeping aerial images of expansive untamed forest.[112] In the episode "Lo-Fi," the underscoring

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[110] "minimal music and a harder-hitting tone," quote by Dick Wolf, in Gunderman, "Examining the Legendary 'Dun, Dun' Sound from 'Law and Order'."

[111] Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 12.

[112] *Criminal Minds*, "About Face," Season 3, Episode 6.

uses percussive electronic music and techno beats to aurally accompany images of a busy New York street and subway, conveying a modern crowded setting.[113] However, music usage remains sparse overall, indicating *Criminal Minds'* alignment with the musical norms of crime dramas.

In the series I have observed, musically thematic material in the serial crime drama is often restricted to the series' opening theme. While musical themes are often utilized in film scoring to represent different characters and their development, the law enforcement officers in these shows are aurally categorized by the show's opening theme. Instead of using different themes for each character, this singular theme binds the show's heroic characters together as a unified force for good. As a result, the individual characters in *Criminal Minds* are instead characterized by their role in law enforcement, rather than as individuals. For example, in the CBS crime drama *NCIS*, episodes usually end with a small cathartic moment of character development. Alongside this small narrative moment, a slower more exposed version of the *NCIS* opening theme sounds, usually on piano. This serves to both bookend the episode and aurally indicate the unity between the different law enforcement characters. The opening themes of modern crime dramas consist of orchestral and electronic instruments that combine a simple theme overlaid with electronic effects, as in *Criminal Minds* and *NCIS*. However, CBS' new line-up of crime drama programming includes reboots of older franchises, including *Magnum, P.I.* (2018), *Hawaii Five-0*

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[113] *Criminal Minds*, "Lo-Fi," Season 3, Episode 20.

(2010-), and *S.W.A.T.* (2017). These reboots re-imagine the original theme

songs that are reminiscent of jazz and pop hits from the 1970s. Additionally, the

underscoring of a series often juxtaposes the use of a compiled score of pre-

existing music that conveys a sense of time and place or serves a narrative

purpose.

The curation of popular music into television and film media has

historically been used for the purposes of cross-promotion, economics, and a

signal of production value.[114] Television and film scholar Annette Davison,

however, states that the incorporation of popular music into television series of

the late 1990s and early 2000s has developed a way to create complex

storytelling through the inclusion of said music.[115] She describes the moments

during high-budget serial dramas where popular music sounds non-diegetically

over final scenes or end credits, dubbing them "musical postfaces." Davison

defines this as incorporating specific music to encapsulate the meaning and

themes in the episode as a sort of musical "conversation" relevant to only those

who have watched the episode.[116] For example, Davison provides the pilot

episode of *The Sopranos,* where the protagonist, Tony Soprano, a high-ranking

member of the New Jersey mafia, seeks help for his repeated panic attacks.[117] In

a double reference to Tony's capability for violence and his mental illness, the

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[114] Annette Davison, "The End is Nigh: Music Postfaces and End-Credit Sequences in Contemporary Television Serials," *Music, Sound, and the Moving Image* 8, no. 2 (2014): 195.
[115] Ibid., 205-06.
[116] Ibid., 197.
[117] Ibid., 200.

show accompanies the final credits with Nick Lowe's "The Beast in Me," a choice that seems innocuous for those who haven't seen the episode, but is intimately tied to the preceding narrative.[118]

This inclusion of pre-existing music as a formal narrative element appears in the "postface" mode within *Criminal Minds*; however, music is often inserted into the narrative to shape the story and the perception of the characters. Particularly uplifting or poignant moments of *Criminal Minds* feature this postface method. In chapter three, specifically the case study on the episode "Revelations," the final moments are accompanied non-diegetically by the song "The Funeral" by Band of Horses.[119] Over the course of the narrative, BAU agent Dr. Spencer Reid is taken hostage by a serial killer and is continually dosed with the narcotic Dilaudid against his will. In the end, the killer is killed, and Reid is rescued by his team, but in the final moments before the credits, Reid is seen stealing vials of Dilaudid from the body of the killer. Simultaneously, "The Funeral" reaches a musical climax with the lyrics, "It's really too late."[120] The lyrics and sudden musical accentuation highlight this particular narrative where Reid's salvation comes "too late" and now has a narcotic addiction as a result of his trauma.

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[118] Davison, "The End is Nigh," 200.
[119] *Criminal Minds,* "Revelations," Season 2, Episode 15, 42:45.
[120] Ibid., 43:52.

Conclusion

By examining the origins of the crime drama as well as contemporary currents present within modern serials, the formula and tendency to harness societal fear becomes evident. The admonition and characterization of liberal currents in *Dragnet* provides a precedent to the malignant stereotyping present in post-9/11 crime dramas. In a Bakhtinian examination, the crime drama has fluctuated in its monologic vs. dialogic agenda. According to Sharrett, *Dragnet* is the definition of monologic propaganda that promotes a singular view toward conservative American values. Conversely, *Law & Order* and *CSI* present as more dialogic due to a non-specific cause for violence, generating from all parts of the human condition. After 9/11, however, one can see a dramatic shift toward the monologic as random violence re-established itself at the forefront of societal anxieties.

Musically, the crime drama and the serial crime drama use music sparingly to enhance the emotive contexts of its narrative and manipulate an emotional response from its audience. While this is true of most media, and theorized heavily by sound theorists such as Michel Chion, the crime drama's musical manipulation of their audience, in combination with themes that prey on societal fears, further negative stereotypes through aural characterization. I conclude that since its premiere in an audio-visual format, the crime drama has continuously utilized music in this way as a conscious effort to attract viewers and shape social perceptions through the exploitation of societal anxieties. In the

following chapter, I demonstrate how these practices are used in representing

mental illness and how this representation has been further stigmatized by the

strategic use of pre-existing music to create violent, grotesque spectacles.

CHAPTER THREE

MUSIC AND THE MONSTER: CASE STUDIES FROM *CRIMINAL MINDS*

In the previous chapter, I provided an overview of the crime drama, its variants, and the narrative and musical models employed in these series. In analyzing these models, I demonstrate that media often embraces and enhances societal fears through stigmatized stereotypes. By doing so, these shows advocate for Bakhtin's definition of a monologic viewpoint, or the promotion of a single authoritative idea.[121] *Criminal Minds*' monologic view advances a negative visual and aural characterization of mental illness. The foundation of the series lies in the assumption that people with mental illness commit violent acts and need to be institutionalized or killed. Attempts to disguise this monologism as dialogism*,* or the voicing of conflicting ideas, often result in *simplified complex representations* detailed by Evelyn Alsultany.[122]

Despite dialogue that poorly promotes a dialogic agenda, the creators, writers, and supervisors of *Criminal Minds* appropriate pre-existing music to enhance visual moments of the series that endorse the monologic agenda that mental illness ultimately leads to violence. To this end, the music supervisor for *Criminal Minds,* Ken Edelman, employs a compiled soundtrack that is meant to create a deeper sense of horror, although the music alone does not achieve this

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[121] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problem of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 17.
[122] Evelyn Alsultany, "Arabs and Muslims in the Media After 9/11: Representational Strategies for a "Postrace" Era," *American Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2013): 162-63.

function. This musical decision causes a semantic disturbance within the audience, generating an emotional contradiction where the image instils one feeling while the sound promotes another.[123] In other words, in *Criminal Minds*, the grotesque images produce feelings of revulsion while the sound encourages a conflicting emotion depending on the choice of music. In the following case studies, I analyze select sequences from the episodes "Revelations" (Season 2, Episode 15), "With Friends Like These…" (Season 6, Episode 19), and "Scream" (Season 10, Episode 15) to demonstrate the monologic schema within *Criminal Minds* via their use of pre-existing music. Music functions diegetically and non-diegetically, and serves as an integral part of the narrative, which I argue intensifies the stigma of mental illness by conflating it with violence.

The Narrative of *Criminal Minds* and the Procedures of the BAU

Criminal Minds synthesizes aspects of the police procedural and forensic crime drama. The show follows the activities of the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) of the FBI, who specialize in the psychological analysis of serial killers and capturing offenders whose mental illness causes them to act erratically and violently. The forensics part of this series resides in law enforcement's ability to psychologically analyze criminals through their actions. The agents of the BAU are often depicted as Sherlockian in their deductive abilities, demonstrating their ability to profile anyone through their behavior, body language, and speech

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[123] Phill Powrie, "Blonde Abjection: Spectatorship & the Abject Anal Space In-Between," in *Pop Fiction: The Song in Cinema*, ed. Steve Lannin and Mathew Caley (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2005), 100-19.

patterns. In order to emphasize the almost pseudo-scientific aspects of the unit, the dialogue uses consistent terminology based on the profiling taxonomy employed by the actual BAU.

Each episode of *Criminal Minds* follows the work of the BAU and the episode's "unknown subject," or unsub, a term used for the suspect before the team discovers their identity. As the BAU uncover clues, they develop a profile on which to base their investigation. The profile includes various assumptions based on their findings including age, race, gender, and, in these cases, mental illness. The profiles often support overly complex narrative origins for the unsub characters that feature variations of mental illness stereotypes, such as the "murderous multiple-personality" and "dangerous schizophrenic." After they produce their profile, the BAU narrows down their suspects according to their results and determines why each unsub started killing and why they kill in a particular way, indicated as their *modus operandi* (MO). Usually sparked by a "stressor," a term used by the BAU for a life altering event, the unsub is driven to kill. The stressors, such as reliving a previous trauma, have occurred before the episode begins and has caused the unsub to break from reality. This timeline causes the audience to recognize the unsub primarily as a killer who has already committed extremely violent acts. Recalling Dillman's work on dead women in media, these unsubs lack any agency as characters due to previously committed atrocities. These characters suffer from what Dillman calls a "dead beginning"

that effectively causes them to become objects within the narrative.[124] The other characters, in this case the BAU, can then ascribe their own meanings to the unsub, reducing them to a psychological profile. Ultimately, the profile is correct, both validating the BAU's deductive abilities and resulting in the death or incarceration of the unsub.

Under the mask of behavioral science, *Criminal Minds* is a crime drama that preys on societal fears of mental illness. While series such as *Law & Order* depict murder and violence for less sensationalized reasons such as anger and greed, *Criminal Minds* presents these same acts while constructing the worst possible portrait of mental illness. *Criminal Minds* attempts to obfuscate this portrait through supposedly dialogic dialogue, understating that "not all mentally ill people are violent;" however, the numerous visual and musical components of the show, in which mentally ill characters perpetuate violence while accompanied by music, create an oppressive monologic reading that buries any positive representation. The act of using blatantly negative stereotypes alongside pithy so-called positive constructions reflects Alsultany's definition of *simplified complex representations*.[125] The confrontation of spectatorship enhances this negative depiction.[126] The show attaches pre-existing music to violent images, creating new associations between mental illness and violence, and deepening

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[124] Joanne Clarke Dillman, *Women and Death in Film, Television, and News: Dead But Not Gone* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 3.
   [125] Alsultany, "Arabs and Muslims in the Media After 9/11," 162-63.
   [126] Powrie, "Blonde Abjection," and Joe Thompkins, "Pop Goes the Horror Score: Left Alone in *The Last House on the Left*," in *Music in the Horror Film: Listening to Fear*, ed. Neil Lerner (New York: Routledge, 2010), 98-113.

these associations through semantic disturbance.[127] The following case studies follow narratives in *Criminal Minds* and demonstrate that the monologic tendencies of the series are enhanced through the use of various types of music, thus reinforcing the depicted stereotypes of mental illness.

"The Big Game" and "Revelations:" Dissociative Identity Disorder

Formerly known as multiple personality disorder, Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID) indicates a "mental disorder in which two or more independent and distinct personality systems develop in the same individual."[128] Estimated to affect anywhere from one to three percent of the population, psychologists hypothesize that DID results from a dissociative mental process, or the splitting off from conscious awareness and mental control to protect the consciousness from severe trauma. This process causes the afflicted person to develop different personalities as a means to escape from inner conflict within the psyche, which often entails a contradiction between ingrained values and personal tragedy.[129]

DID has a sordid history of representation in media. The first appearance of DID in popular culture media dates back to 1957, in the novel and subsequent film *The Three Faces of Eve* (1957, dir. Nunnally Johnson).[130] Popular representations of DID include Sally Field's portrayal of thirteen separate

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[127] Powrie, "Blond Abjection," 119.
[128] *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-5* (Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Publishing, 2013), 292-93.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Robert T. Muller, "The Media and Dissociative Identity Disorder: Examining the Facts and Fiction of Media Portrayals of DID," psychologytoday.com, January 19, 2013, retrieved February 1, 2019. https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/talking-about-trauma/201301/the-media-and-dissociative-identity-disorder

personalities in *Sybil* (1976, dir. Daniel Petrie), Edward Norton's/ Brad Pitt's

manic portrayal of Tyler Durden in *Fight Club* (1999, dir. David Fincher), non-

violent exaggerations in the recent comedy-drama series, *United States of Tara*

(Showtime, 2009), and multiple instances in *Criminal Minds*. Each of these

representations includes both facts and fictions concerning DID. However, most

DID patients do not manifest a violent and dark "Mr. Hyde" type of personality.[131]

Primarily, DID patients develop personalities as a response to trauma; these

personalities are designed to shield the original identity from painful memories.[132]

The misrepresentations of DID in media have a negative effect on real patients

struggling with the stigma of mental illness. Psychologist Dr. Kristina Hallett

recounts issues concerning the stigmatization of women with DID:

> Media depictions of women with serious mental health issues as dangerous, dependent and/or deficient in some fashion contribute to the stigma associated with mental illness. DID in particular has been portrayed as "false," unbelievable, a means of "getting off" or "getting away" with crimes. The myths and overgeneralizations about DID are heightened by media descriptions. . . The reality of living with a serious mental illness poses challenges that are exacerbated by stigma and negative media portrayal.[133]

Despite the protests of advocates such as Hallett, the media continues to

characterize DID in increasingly negative ways. The following examples from two

Criminal Minds episodes, "The Big Game" and "Revelations," feature many

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[131] Muller, "Media and Dissociative Identity Disorder."
[132] Ibid.
[133] Kristina Hallett, "Intersectionality and Serious Mental Illness—A Case Study and Recommendations for Practice," *Women & Therapy* 38, no. 1-2 (2015): 156-74.

negative representations of DID as means of constructing a killer with a penchant for extreme violence.

"The Big Game" and "Revelations" together form a two-episode arc featuring James Van der Beek as the mentally ill unsub. Van der Beek plays Tobias Henkel, a seemingly innocuous man suffering from DID. Henkel grew up under the thumb of his abusive father, a fanatical Christian fundamentalist named Charles Henkel (Don Swayze). One of the few accuracies in this representation was that Tobias developed DID from being abused at a young age. Tobias suffered enduring physical and mental trauma through his childhood and into adulthood. Evidence of this appears in the "The Big Game" during a flashback where Tobias's father, Charles, brands Tobias's forehead with a Protestant cross.[134] Tobias's DID did not manifest until after his father, suffering from a painful unnamed illness, ordered Tobias to shoot him to end his misery. The act of killing his father caused Tobias' mental state to fracture, leading Tobias to develop two other personas, or "alters." Tobias's body language and voice changes as he switches between his other two personalities, physically and aurally suggesting his illness, a common trope for the stereotype. To avoid confusion in characterization, I will refer to each personality by name, but when referencing the entity as a whole, I will refer to him as "Henkel." One of these personas is a version of his father, Charles, while the other represents a manifestation of the Archangel Raphael who, contrary to the benevolent

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[134] *Criminal Minds,* "The Big Game," Season 2, Episode 14, 10:36.

depictions of the angel, desires to bring the wrath of God to earth.[135] Taking on

the duty of an avenging angel, the Raphael identity begins to murder those he

deems as sinners and deserving of divine wrath. The FBI brings in the BAU to

solve Raphael's serial killings.

The portrayal of DID in this episode relies upon religious overtones that

derive from Charles' Christian fundamentalism; this fundamentalism inspires the

murders committed by Raphael, who morally justifies each of the murders. Each

victim commits specific sins, such as greed or adultery, and therefore must die.

Raphael records each killing and posts them on the Internet to a webpage to

serve as a warning to other would-be sinners. Additionally, Raphael leaves

biblical passages at each of the crime scenes, deepening the religious

connotations of Tobias' delusions while tying each murder to a specific sin.

Tobias' dialogue often consists of conversations with his alters where they quote

scripture. For example, before Tobias appears on screen, prior to the reveal of

his DID, a slow traveling shot throughout a house eavesdrops on a conversation

between Charles and Tobias. The audience can only hear two distinct voices as

Tobias argues with his other personality; Charles recites Deuteronomy 13:4,[136]

stating that the murders are sanctified in service to God.[137] This scene follows

after the BAU determines that his crimes are driven by apocalyptic Christian

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[135] Often associated with healing, Raphael appears in the deuterocanonical Book of Tobit as the angel that heals Tobit of his blindness. Irene Nowell, "The "Work" of Archangel Raphael," in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception*, ed. Friedrich V. Reiterer, et al. (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 227.

[136] Deut. 13:4 (King James Version): Ye shall walk after the Lord you God, and fear him, and keep his commandments, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him.

[137] *Criminal Minds,* "The Big Game," 9:43.

scripture. At this point, Tobias is solely characterized, according to the BAU, by his Christian fundamentalism, but Tobias' DID isn't revealed until the end of the episode. When this reveal happens, the conversations Tobias had with his unseen accomplices are reinterpreted by the viewer, who realizes that his religious zealotry is subservient to, or a result of, his DID. After the show exposes the truth, any sympathy developed for the character, created when the audience believed Tobias was an unwilling accomplice, is overshadowed by the sensationalized and inaccurate representation of DID.

Tobias' alters, Charles and Raphael, represent the "Mr. Hyde" tropes in negative depictions of DID. Neither Charles nor Raphael protects Tobias from the memories of his abuse and act as the dominant personalities, contrary to medical accounts of the illness. In addition to this negative representation of DID, Tobias also exhibits non-specific negative stereotypes of mental illness, such as living in isolation, social awkwardness that drives him to work from his extremely disorganized home, and an addiction to the highly addictive painkiller, Dilaudid.

The writers for these two episodes, Edward Allen Bernero and Chris Mundy, are longtime writers and producers for *Criminal Minds* and creators for the spin-off series*, Criminal Minds: Suspect Behavior*.[138] Each has a history in writing for television crime dramas on series such as *Cold Case* (CBS, 2003-2010) and *Crossing Jordan* (USA, 2001-2007), indicating that both understand

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[138] "Edward Allen Bernero," IMDB.com, retrieved March 2, 2019, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0076708/?ref_=tt_ov_wr and "Chris Mundy," IMDB.com, retrieved March 2, 2019, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0612768/?ref_=tt_ov_wr

the narrative conventions of the genre. Adhering to these conventions creates Alsultany's concept of *simplified complex representations* throughout the episode. They continually portray Tobias as a sympathetic victim throughout, an unwilling accomplice at the mercy of his father's abuse. However, despite the lackluster attempt to avert accusations of stereotyping, the narrative depends on the dangers of mental illness and presumed inherent violence of DID that can only be solved through Tobias' eventual death.

The narrative for both episodes of this arc relies on the dual characterization of Tobias Henkel as a serial killer due to the result of an abusive Christian extremist upbringing and violent mental illness. In order to heighten this characterization, *Criminal Minds* music supervisor Kevin Edelman uses The Rolling Stones' "Sympathy for the Devil" to deepen and highlight Henkel's mentally ill characteristics.

"Sympathy for the Devil"

In 1968, during the popular music period known as the "British Invasion," The Rolling Stones' album *Beggars Banquet* was released. It quickly generated a torrent of scrutiny from religious right-wing groups due to satanic references. Their previous album, *Their Satanic Majesties Request* (1967), had also fallen under suspicion for promoting a Satanic agenda despite the lack of any Satanist lyrics.[139] Subsequently, *Beggars Banquet* and "Sympathy for the Devil" (which hereafter I will refer to as "Sympathy") fed the religious fervor as audiences

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[139] Douglas Cruickshank, "Sympathy for the Devil," salon.com, January 14, 2002, retrieved February 1, 2019, https://www.salon.com/2002/01/14/sympathy/

recognized Mick Jagger's vocals in "Sympathy" as assuming Lucifer's voice. The

song itself serves as an allegory influenced by the literature of Charles

Baudelaire and Mikhail Bulgakov that features Jagger (Lucifer) commenting on

the human propensity for violence.[140]

Jagger cites Baudelaire as an influence for "Sympathy" but *The Master*

and Margarita by Bulgakov serves as a direct corollary. Bulgakov's novel

recounts a meeting between two men in a Moscow park that are approached by

a sophisticated stranger during a discussion about Christianity.[141] The stranger is

actually Satan and begins to recount historical atrocities committed by humanity,

including the death of Jesus and the cleaning of the hands of Pontius Pilate, as

well as the death of Tsar Alexander Romanov's family during the Russian

Revolution.[142] These events are detailed in the Jagger's lyrics along with other

tragedies:

> And I was 'round when Jesus Christ
> Had his moment of doubt and pain
> Made damn sure that Pilate
> Washed his hands and sealed his fate.
> …
> I stuck around St. Petersburg
> When I saw it was time for a change
> Killed the Czar and his ministers
> Anastasia screamed in vain.[143]

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[140] Cruickshank, "Sympathy for the Devil."
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] "Sympathy for the Devil: The Rolling Stones," genius.com, retrieved February 1, 2019, https://genius.com/The-rolling-stones-sympathy-for-the-devil-lyrics, verses 1 and 2.

In addition to denouncing political violence, Lucifer makes a condemning reference to the religious violence committed by European monarchs during the crusades, along with other more contemporary atrocities:

> I watched with glee while your kings and queens
> Fought for ten decades for the gods they made
> I shouted out, "Who killed the Kennedys?"
> When after all, it was you and me.[144]

The lyrics imply that, although the devil was present during the violence, it was human nature that had committed these acts; furthermore, they committed them in the name of God.

The use of "Sympathy" in conjunction with the characterization of Henkel amplifies the religious connotations of his violence, but also comments on his mental illness. Although one of Tobias' personas imagines themselves as an archangel, his mental illness casts him down as the devil. Characterizing Tobias with music that was antithetical to his upbringing further emphasizes the inherent contradictions between Tobias' point of view as God's warrior and his actions as an earthly murderer.

"Sympathy" for the DID "Devil": Scene Analysis

The previous episode, "The Big Game," ends on a cliffhanger, where BAU agents Dr. Spencer Reid and Jennifer Jareau (J.J.) question Tobias in his home before they realize he is the unsub.[145] Eventually, they come to the realization that he fits their profile. Meanwhile, the rest of the BAU arrives at the same conclusion

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[144] "Sympathy for the Devil: The Rolling Stones," verse 3.
[145] *Criminal Minds,* "The Big Game," 36:53

and rushes to Tobias' homestead. Henkel flees into a barn with Reid and J.J. in pursuit after he realizes he has been discovered. The agents decide to split up so that Reid searches behind the barn in a cornfield, while J.J. investigates inside the barn. Reid overhears Charles arguing with Tobias, claiming that the agents are actually "devils" who need to die, reinforcing Henkel's delusions. As J.J. searches the barn, she discovers one of Raphael's victims, a woman he had condemned for adultery and, while quoting a biblical passage concerning the "whore of Babylon, Jezebel," fed to his dogs. Immediately after discovering a mattress covered with the victim's remains, the dogs attack J.J. herself. At the same time, Henkel assaults Reid. In this scene, it becomes apparent that Tobias suffers from DID, ending the episode.

"Sympathy" is used during the opening moments of the following episode, "Revelations," as a way to aurally characterize Tobias and his personalities.[146] It also functions as an instance of Powrie's concept of confronting spectatorship. The version of "Sympathy" used in the episode is a remix by the production duo The Neptunes. While they utilize Jagger's original vocals, they make minor alterations to the accompaniment, removing the sound of the shaker present in the original recording, adding clapping beats to the bongo rhythm, and intermittent hits of a triangle. The original piano, background vocals, and guitar solo remain unchanged from the original recording. The writers of this episode take advantage of this particular rendition to add value to the moving image,

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[146] Powrie, "Blonde Abjection," 102.

utilizing various aural cues in the remix to emphasize specific images and actions in the sequence.

   Sonically, "Revelations" opens to the sound of police sirens as well as Jagger's opening vocables.[147] The first verse of "Sympathy for the Devil" begins in the sonic foreground of the scene as the BAU agents search Tobias' property. Sounding non-diegetically, the words "Please allow me to introduce myself" echo the audience's understanding that Henkel's multiple identities have revealed themselves and that these personalities persuaded him to commit these acts of violence. As the agents enter the barn, the first verse continues and the religious nature of the text accompanies the scene of violence within:

> I've been around for a long, long year
> Stole many a man's soul and faith
> And I was 'round when Jesus Christ
> Had his moment of doubt and pain.[148]

The lyrics, "had his moment of doubt and pain," occur as the camera pans over the corpses of two dead dogs and settles on the bloody mattress. Here, the foregrounded music operates to confront spectatorship; although the violence is only implied, the scene leaves little to the imagination regarding the excessiveness and gore of the attack as the image of a filthy mattress, drenched with dark red blood, and covered with large chunks of human remains appears while the audience hears Mick Jagger's voice.[149] The scene shocks the audience as BAU agent Derek Morgan—the show's depiction of peak masculinity—recoils

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[147] *Criminal Minds,* "Revelations," 0:49.
[148] "Sympathy for the Devil: The Rolling Stones."
[149] *Criminal Minds*, "Revelations," 1:12.

with horror and mutters an explicative at the sight.[150] Musically, the juxtaposition of lyrics about Jesus Christ, generally considered as a benevolent figure, against the image of gore generates a semantic disturbance for viewers. The music then fades to the background, but returns to the foreground when Derek leaves the barn to search the rest of the property.[151]

The music returns with the lyrics that critique the crusades, which, in this context also comments upon the religious violence committed by Henkel: "I watched with glee while your kings and queens / Fought for ten decades for the gods they made." Tobias is solidified as the narrator in "Sympathy" when Gideon, seemingly confused by Henkel's disappearance states, "So where the hell is he?" as the shot cuts to Tobias driving with his captive in his truck, accompanied by the lyrics, "Puzzling you is the nature of my game."[152] During this shot, Tobias's actions align with the instrumentation, demonstrating that the editors aligned the scene with the flow of the music. As Tobias looks down to the floorboard of the truck, the triangle sounds, and then cuts to a shot of a bloody, unconscious Reid, the triangle's chime punctuating his actions. The lyrics and the narrative double down on Henkel's "devilish" cleverness in which he confounds the police, purposefully misleading them. As the local sheriff tells the BAU that a man matching Henkel's description just asked for directions toward a town named Ft. Bend, the lyrics, "confusing you is the nature of my game," sound as Tobias

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[150] *Criminal Minds*, "Revelations," 1:21.
[151] Ibid., 1:54.
[152] Ibid., 2:31.

drives in the opposite direction of a road sign toward Ft. Bend.[153] In the minds of

the audience, Henkel's presumed evil illness allows him to successfully escape

the grasp of the forces of good for the time being.

As Tobias drives toward a second location, the lyrics "just as every cop is

a criminal, and all sinners are saints" sound. Meanwhile, Tobias has a flashback,

visually indicated by muted colors and a grainy image, to a drive with his father

on a way to a hunting cabin.[154] Charles' dialogue again consists of

fundamentalist rhetoric about getting closer to God and having the power to kill

animals. Gentle Tobias states that he doesn't want to kill anything, but is quickly

shut down by his father. During this flashback—meant to inform the viewer of

Henkel's and Reid's destination and to instill further sympathy for Tobias—the

music shifts to the background in conjunction with lyrics that call for both

sympathy and respect:

> As heads is tails, just call me Lucifer
> Cause I'm in need of some restraint
> So if you meet me, have some courtesy
> Have some sympathy, and some taste
> Use all your well-learned politesse
> Or I'll lay your soul to waste.[155]

The instrumental accompaniment of this scene also changes, reduced to a solo

acoustic guitar strumming the chord progression. Additionally, high string

instruments enter the soundtrack before the end of the verse. In this moment, the

prominent position of the music reinforces the *simplified complex*

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[153] *Criminal Minds*, "Revelations," 3:08
[154] Ibid., 3:29.
[155] "Sympathy for the Devil: The Rolling Stones."

representation.[156] The narrative and use of music in this sequence characterize

and foreground Tobias as the devil, while the singular sympathetic point is aurally

diminished. The following moments in the scene further reinforce the extremely

negative, monologic depiction of the character and simultaneously minimizes the

possibility of an alternate reading in a Bakhtinian sense.[157] As the lyrics "Or I'll lay

your soul to waste" sound in the foreground when the flashback ends, it

reiterates that Tobias's penchant for religious violence stands as his defining

characteristic despite his "sympathetic" character.[158] The brief dialogic break in

the scene is demolished though sound, as the thin texture thickens with a return

of the percussion and piano quickly after the flashback ends, aurally reminding

the audience that the music is still "Sympathy for The Devil."

A final characterization of Tobias as the devil occurs during the last chorus

of "Sympathy." As the show transitions to the image of frying fish hearts and

livers (intended, as explained later by Raphael, to ward away demons), the final

"pleased to meet you / won't you guess my name" sounds as Henkel looms over

Reid, who is slowly regaining consciousness.[159] After the song fades, Reid asks

the obvious question "who are you?" to which Henkel responds, "I'm Raphael,"

finally solidifying the "devil's" name as Raphael, and by extension, Tobias.

"Sympathy" plays in its entirety during this episode's opening sequence.

The majority of actions within the scenes seem purposefully edited around the

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[156] Alsultany, "Arabs and Muslims in the Media After 9/11," 162-63.
[157] Bakhtin, *Problem of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, 17.
[158] *Criminal Minds*, "Revelations," 3:30.
[159] Ibid., 4:03.

lyrics and music, as visual and audio cues combine together to personify Tobias

for the audience. In other words, the song structures the narrative of the

sequence and highlights his actions, as well as the actions of his alters. The

effectiveness of this sequence demonstrates how pre-existing music can be

utilized to construct a particular instance of DID and to exert an emotive influence

over the audience. To achieve the intended reaction, writers and music

supervisors reinforce negative stereotypes regarding serious mental illness; in

this case, that people suffering from DID will become aggressively violent serves

as this trope. Here, the strategic use of "Sympathy" establishes this implication.

While this example emphasizes the characterization of DID through pre-existing

music and displays how to increase the shock value of implied violence through

this music, examples from later seasons of *Criminal Minds* demonstrate this

approach during scenes of graphic violence.

"With Friends Like These…:" Paranoid Schizophrenia and Insomnia

In the previous example from "Revelations," *Criminal Minds* misrepresents a

fairly rare disorder; however, the show has a tendency to take more common

ailments, such as schizophrenia, and conflate similar stereotypes. Medical

professionals define schizophrenia as a psychotic disorder, or class of disorders,

that causes severely impaired thinking, emotions, and behaviors.[160] Affecting

about one in one hundred people, schizophrenia patients have high suicide rates

among those with similar disorders.[161] While schizophrenia takes on various

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[160] *DSM-5*, 87-9.
[161] *DSM-5*, 104.

forms, this case study of the episode "With Friends like These…" focuses on the

representation of paranoid schizophrenia. Paranoid schizophrenia patients are

more likely to function in society than other schizophrenics, but suffer from the

combination of delusional beliefs and auditory hallucinations, often dealing with

perceived persecutions, overinflated self-importance, and excessive religious

beliefs.[162] Although paranoid schizophrenics are higher functioning than other

schizophrenics, they are more likely to commit violent behavior and suicide.[163]

"With Friends Like These…" uses schizophrenia in conjunction with

insomnia, or the inability to obtain an adequate amount or quality of sleep, to

characterize its unsub.[164] While insomnia constitutes a disorder on its own, it is a

common symptom that affects millions and is associated with a number of

illnesses, both physical and psychological.[165] Insomnia is so commonplace that

an estimated fifty-eight percent of adults suffer from some form of insomnia a few

days a week, while thirty-five percent experience insomnia every night of the

week.[166] While not stated specifically within the episode, the type of insomnia

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[162] Ibid.*,* 87. While paranoid schizophrenia is a subtype of schizophrenia that is not included in the DSM-5 due to fluctuations in a patient's behavior, the standard symptoms of schizophrenia such as persecuted delusions and auditory hallucinations similarly occur.

[163] Rebecca J. Frey, "Schizophrenia," *The Gale Encyclopedia of Science*, ed. K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, 5th ed. (Farmington Hills: Gale, 2014), retrieved on February 2, 2019, http://link.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.utk.edu:90/apps/doc/CV2644031969/AONE?u=tel_a_utl&sid=AONE&xid=dc6fa411.

[164] *DSM-5*, 362-63.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Jennifer Kramer, "Insomnia," *The Gale Encyclopedia of Science*, ed. K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, 5th ed. (Farmington Hills: Gale, 2014), retrieved on February 3, 2019, http://link.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.utk.edu:90/apps/doc/CV2644031204/AONE?u=tel_a_utl&sid=AONE&xid=94faf0ff. Accessed 3 Feb. 2019.

portrayed could be considered a form of idiopathic chronic insomnia rooted in

psychiatric causes, due to its connection with the unsub's schizophrenia and its

constant recurrence.[167] In this episode, the unsub's insomnia is so severe that it

heightens his schizophrenic delusions.

Schizophrenia stands as one of the most stigmatized mental illnesses in

media. Depictions of schizophrenia range from the mass murderer in *The Fisher

King* (1991, dir. Terry Gilliam) to the genius John Nash in *A Beautiful Mind* (2001,

dir. Ron Howard), among others. Psychologist Dr. Patricia Owen performed a

study on the misrepresentation of schizophrenia in contemporary film between

1990 and 2010.[168] She discovered that the vast majority of schizophrenic

characters in forty-one films were portrayed as violent, Caucasian males

suffering from auditory and visual hallucinations.[169] Of these characters, one-third

committed murder while another one-fourth committed suicide.[170] Additionally,

Owen reports that the media simplifies the causes and treatments of

schizophrenia. Specifically, the media promotes the idea that schizophrenia is

only caused by traumatic life events and can only be treated by psychotropic

medications.[171] Her conclusions reinforce the claim that negative portrayals of

schizophrenia lead to stigmatization and misinformation for the viewing public.[172]

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[167] *DSM-5*, 368. References to idiopathic insomnia are from the related text *International Classification of Sleep Disorders,* 2nd edition (ICSD-2).

[168] Patricia R. Owen, "Portrayals of Schizophrenia by Entertainment Media: A Content Analysis of Contemporary Movies," *Psychiatric Services* 63, no. 7 (2012): 655-59.

[169] Ibid., 655.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid., 658.

The common pejorative image of the "homicidal maniac" prevalent in media often contradicts true depictions of schizophrenia.[173] Misrepresentations of schizophrenia in media show symptoms of positive schizophrenia, or subtypes similar to paranoid schizophrenia, when the reality is that the more subdued version of negative schizophrenia, categorized by disorganized and catatonic behavior, is much more common in patients than the positive type.[174] Additionally, symptoms such as visual hallucinations remain much rarer than auditory hallucinations, but still appear as the most common signifier of schizophrenia in media.[175] In this example from *Criminal Minds*, the writers use insomnia, brought on by an egregiously stereotyped instance of schizophrenia, to justify the extreme amount of violence portrayed in the episode "With Friends like These…" To overcome the unrealistic nature of the narrative, music supervisor Kevin Edelman uses pre-existing music and explicit sound cues to characterize the unsub's affliction and instill a sense of fear mental illness in the audience.

"With Friends Like These…" is a self-contained single episode that focuses on the unsub Ben Foster, who has suffered from adolescent schizophrenia and insomnia since his childhood. The young Ben often saw imaginary friends, a supposed early manifestation of his visual hallucinations. Ben's mother, a staunch Catholic, believed that Ben was being possessed by demons and had a local church perform an exorcism. During this exorcism, Ben

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[173] Owen, "Portrayals of Schizophrenia by Entertainment Media," 655.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid., 657.

met three parishioners who participated in the ceremony named Matt, Tony, and Yolanda. Although the exorcism worked for a time due to an unspecified reason, Ben later set fire to the church, killing Matt, Tony, and Yolanda. Ben's hallucinations then took the form of these victims. Prior to the time period of the episode, the narrative implies that Ben coped with his hallucinations and insomnia with sleeping medication; however, a month prior to the murders, Ben was involved in an apartment fire that triggered his childhood trauma. This stressor caused his sleep medication to stop working and the hallucinations gradually prevented Ben from getting rest, inciting him to kill instead. Ben's hallucinations took the form of Matt, Tony, and Yolanda, who demonstrate psychotic tendencies and they urge Ben to murder seemingly at random.

Due to the intricacies of the narratives, *Criminal Minds* often hides the unsub's affliction from the audience until the BAU produces their profile, creating a explanatory reveal of the stereotyped mental illness. This often results in a staggered or disjunct characterization of the unsub that the show retroactively attributes to their mental illness as the episode progresses. For instance, in this episode, the BAU believed that Ben was a part of a group due to the disorganized and frenetic state of the crime scenes, while in reality he was alone and driven to chaos by his hallucinations. In the cold opening of the episode, the first victim depicted in the episode is a woman in a supermarket.[176] Ben asks her a question and she responds in a terse manner. Ben's "friends," who have not

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[176] *Criminal Minds*, "With Friends Like These," Season 6, Episode 19, 0:24.

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yet been revealed as hallucinations to the audience, imply that Ben has to kill her

so he can get some sleep. Ben demonstrates an unwillingness to commit

murder, but quickly caves under the pressure of his delusions. In the following

scene, Ben breaks into the unnamed woman's home and immediately kills her.[177]

The BAU quickly determines that Ben is not a part of a group but a lone killer that

murders with an extreme amount of violence; after he attacks his victims with

"weapons of opportunity," he then stabs them excessively postmortem. The

highest number of stab wounds seen in the episode is seventy-one.[178] This

severe amount of brutality plays on societal fears of violence, both in home

invasions and random killings, but also acts as a plot device to explain why Ben

kills his victims. Driven by his hallucinations, Ben's insomnia proves so severe

that in order to sleep he needs to exhaust himself through his murders. The

repetitive stabbing serves this purpose; in one instance, he falls asleep next to

his victim after stabbing them. This amount of overkill and evidence of him

sleeping at the crime scene successfully leads the BAU to his insomnia

diagnosis.

Similar to Tobias Henkel's character in "Revelations," Ben's story contains

religious overtones; he also demonstrates an unwillingness and moral aversion

to murder meant to create sympathy for the character. The differences in the two

characters is that, instead of religion being a defining characteristic for Ben, it is

seen as a solution to, rather than the source of, his problems due to the previous

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[177] *Criminal Minds*, "With Friends Like These," 1:42.
[178] Ibid., 28:44.

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successful exorcism. Ben's character is much more defined by his symptoms and illness. A possible explanation for this medical focus stems from the writer for the episode, Janine Sherman Barrois, who was an executive producer for 119 episodes of *Criminal Minds*, but also wrote for sixteen episodes from 2010 to 2015.[179] In her previous work, however, she wrote for medical dramas such as *ER* (NBC, 1994-2009) and crime dramas that include medical personnel in *Third Watch* (NBC, 1999-2005).[180] Through her background in both medical and crime shows, she acquired insight into the narrative tropes of both genres, giving her excellent experience for writing for *Criminal Minds*, which unabashedly combines both. The characterization of mental illness as inherently violent again creates the need to utilize a *simplified complex representation* of schizophrenia.[181] This time, however, it takes on a more prominent role through a dialogue between the BAU agents.

A recurring theme in the show is that the character, BAU agent Dr. Spencer Reid, has a history of schizophrenia in his family. In earlier seasons, his mother, a retired English literature historian is seen suffering from schizophrenia, a situation that constitutes a major plot device for Reid's character. During season six, Reid is afraid that he is manifesting schizophrenic symptoms due to his age and his family history. In this episode, Reid has an aside with BAU agent Derek Morgan after they deliver the psychological profile to local law

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[179] "Janine Sherman Barrois," IMDB.com, retrieved February 3, 2019. https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0792471/?ref_=ttfc_fc_wr2
[180] Ibid.
[181] Alsultany, "Arabs and Muslims in the Media After 9/11," 162-63.

enforcement.[182] This particular moment, of the cases I examined, represents the closest resemblance to Bakhtin's concept of polyphony, where two or more characters voice dissenting opinions or ideologies.[183] However, the presence of two conflicting voices quickly dies as the briefest moment of dialogic thought is subsumed into the monologic narrative. In the dialogue, Reid proclaims that their profile, "makes it sound like schizophrenia leads to serial killing."[184] Followed by a brief informational statement:

> **Reid**: You know, my mom has schizophrenia. There are many different types.
>
> **Morgan**: I know that.
>
> **Reid**: Catatonic, disorganized, just because someone suffers from and inability to organize their thoughts, or they can't bathe or dress themselves. It doesn't mean they'd stab someone in the chest thirty times postmortem.[185]

Reid's diatribe on the differences in schizophrenia draws on the characteristics of negative schizophrenia, while Ben clearly suffers from positive schizophrenia. However, a *simplified complex representation* is solidified in Reid's next statement:

> **Reid**: Our unsub's hallucinations aren't fractured like a typical schizophrenic. They're vivid and clear, leading me to believe that we're missing an important variable. Rather than making crazy conjectures, I think we should be trying to figure out what it is.[186]

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[182] *Criminal Minds*, "With Friends Like These," 21:50.
[183] Bakhtin, *Problem of Dostoevsky's Poetics,* 17.
[184] *Criminal Minds,* "With Friends Like These," 21:54.
[185] Ibid., 22:03.
[186] Ibid., 22:20.

While Reid's questioning of the BAU's methods is justified, and provides a tiny glimpse of dialogism, the following conversation reveals that Reid's own fears and traumas concerning schizophrenia influence him, and displays that the BAU's monologic reasoning is ultimately correct. The overall narrative of the episode resembles the cultural master narrative indicated by Jennifer Iverson, where incurable disabled characters are removed from society or destroyed.[187]

During the final confrontation between Ben and the BAU, Ben hallucinates that Reid wants Ben to kill him and attacks.[188] The BAU ultimately captures Ben, who then goes to a mental institution.[189] The final indicator of a cultural master narrative occurs when Ben appears in a wheelchair in a psychiatric ward.[190] A doctor speaks with him, even while he seems to be close to a catatonic state. She tells him that the electroshock therapy was successful, to which he seems relieved that his suffering is over. Matt, Tony, and Yolanda reappear, cutting Ben's relief short and indicating that his nightmare is beginning all over again.[191]

This conclusion demonstrates stigmatization of mental illness in a few ways. Primarily, while electroconvulsive therapy constitutes an effective treatment for mental illnesses such as depression and schizophrenia, it carries its own stigma in films such as *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975, dir. Miloš

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[187] Jessica Iverson, "Dancing Out of the Dark: How Music Refutes Disability Stereotypes in *Dancer in the Dark*," in *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music*, ed. Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Strauss (New York: Routledge, 2006), 57-58.
[188] *Criminal Minds,* "With Friends Like These," 38:21.
[189] Ibid., 38:50.
[190] Ibid., 40:23.
[191] Ibid., 41:16.

Forman) and *The Changeling* (2008, dir. Clint Eastwood).[192] Secondly, the

resolution of this narrative contends that Ben will always be a slave to his mental

illness regardless of the amount of treatment he receives, effectively becoming

inseparable from his violent tendencies.

In keeping with *Criminal Minds'* tendency to characterize mental illness

and confront spectatorship, "With Friends Like These…," constructs Ben's

insomnia through its compiled soundtrack and exaggerated sound cues.

Simultaneously, the episode also uses music to create a sense of reality to the

violence being committed by mentally ill characters. I examine two scenes from

this episode; the first uses electronic dance music (EDM) and sound cues to

characterize Ben's insomnia, while the second uses W.A. Mozart's piano music

to create a realistic sonic environment for one of Ben's victims.

Ben's Waking Nightmare: Scene Analysis

The episode's first aural characterization of Ben and his mental illness occurs

after the first murder.[193] This action that occurs in the physical space of scene

constitutes a hallucination that Ben experiences. While Ben sleeps, the EDM

track "No Man is an Island" by Losers plays.[194] The scene then cross-cuts to

images of Tony, Matt, and Yolanda "partying" in a different space. Interspersed

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[192] Jonathan Sadowsky, "Electroconvulsive Therapy: A History of Controversy, But Also of Help," theconversation.com, January 12, 2017, retrieved April 8, 2019, http://theconversation.com/electroconvulsive-therapy-a-history-of-controversy-but-also-of-help-70938. *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975) stigmatizes the treatment of mental illness patients in general through sadistic medical staff and *Changeling* (2008) portrays the use of ECT on a mental sound woman as a form of punishment.
[193] *Criminal Minds,* "With Friends Like These," 4:46.
[194] Ibid.

with images of drugs and food, the electronic beats of the track play non-

diegetically in the foreground and disturb Ben's sleep. As he awakens, the depth

cue changes to become slightly softer, indicating that the music is coming from

the next room.[195] At this point, the audience is unaware of Ben's schizophrenia,

implying that the music could initially be considered diegetic. In order to maintain

this illusion, music supervisor Ken Edelman utilizes the music to create spatial

depth to the scene. Claudia Gorbman states that music can be used in this

function to both create temporal continuity as well as depth through dynamics;

soft music is considered farther away than louder music.[196] After Ben opens the

door to see that Matt, Tony, and Yolanda are having a party, the music becomes

louder, implying that the sound is coming from that room. Now that Ben stands in

the room, the illusion of reality begins to fade and transitions into a clearer view

that we are experiencing his hallucination in action. As he admonishes his friends

for waking him from sleeping in a normal speaking voice, the music, still

discernable, quickly and magically drops below speaking level as he begins

talking.[197] The music following Ben's actions indicates that the music, and by

extension the other people, are in his head and stand as characterizations of his

insomnia. Further implying that the music is a hallucination, the scene does not

provide a diegetic source (or point of audition) within the room.[198] Another sound

that pierces through the scene comes from Matt, who repeatedly opens and

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[195] *Criminal Minds,* "With Friends Like These," 5:02.
[196] Claudia Gorbman, "Narrative Film Music," *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980): 200-01.
[197] *Criminal Minds,* "With Friends Like These," 5:09.
[198] Ibid., 5:19.

closes a small gas lighter. Sounds designers amplify the sounds of the lighter,

giving off an echo effect. This exaggerated sound cue plays at a higher volume

above the character's dialogue and the electronic dance music, forcing the

audience to adopt Ben's perspective and see the narrative from his hallucinatory

reality, where his schizophrenic delusions continually bombard him.[199] When Ben

realizes that blood from his previous murder still covers him, the sound of a

woman's voice plays backwards as the scene ends.[200] The distorted nature of

the voice characterizes Ben's inability to organize his thoughts properly, further

hinting at his currently concealed schizophrenia.

The sound design within this scene serves to both create his

hallucinations and to convey the first indicators of his mental illness. Sound

editors construct Ben's reality through the changes in sound depth throughout

this first scene, but the exaggerated sound cues of the lighter and the

disorganized nature of the accompanying musical examples ultimately subvert

this reality. These aural indicators hint at a hidden mental issue, without directly

implying that Ben's friends do not exist. Ben's bloody hands and sweatshirt stand

out in the scene as a visual reminder of his violent act as the electronic dance

music continues, demonstrating another instance of confronting spectatorship by

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[199] *Criminal Minds,* "With Friends Like These," As the episode progresses, the sound of the lighter becomes a recurring auditory hallucination, implying that it is a representation of the fire that Ben started when he was a child.

[200] Ibid., 5:24.

combining conflicting sounds and images.[201] However, another, more obvious

example of conflicting image/sound relationship occurs later in the episode.

The second instance of pre-existing music is the use of W.A. Mozart's

Piano Concerto No. 20 in D Minor. Due to the seemingly benign nature of the

source material, it functions to create a so-called normal aural environment for

the victim. The term normal in this sense refers to the increasingly problematic

ideal set by the writers of *Criminal Minds*. Despite the natural relativity that

constitutes what is ostensibly normal, as well as the inherent "Othering" implied

for all individuals outside of that normal, *Criminal Minds* consistently attributes

normalcy to both whiteness and middle-classness. The inclusion of Mozart's

piano music furthers *Criminal Minds'* middle-class, white definition of normal via

historical associations that Mozart's music has with the middle class.

Musicologist Richard Leppert's work on socio-cultural formation in eighteenth-

century England reveals that the piano, and by extension Mozart's music,

symbolized domesticity in the English middle-class.[202] Similarly, in musicologist

Nicky Losseff's research on Wilkie Collins's novel, *The Woman in White* (1859),

Mozart's piano works "stand as a symbol of order, sanity and simple happiness

that characterizes Laura's life," particularly in this case of a domestic woman.[203]

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[201] Powrie, "Blonde Abjection," 100.

[202] Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 167-200.

[203] Nicky Losseff, "Absent Melody and 'The Woman in White'," *Music & Letters* 81, no. 4 (November 2000): 540.

Prior to the scene in question, Ben travels on the same bus as his new victim, a middle-class, white older woman.[204] Ben seemingly chooses this target at random; the BAU later makes the discovery that she is closer to the same age as his mother, with whom he has a negative relationship. This reasoning stands as the only indicator of Ben's choice of victim, preying on the societal fear of random violence that is deepened during this particular victim's death.

The scene that accompanies this example is problematic in a number of ways. Disregarding the aforementioned presumed normal issue, this particular moment is poorly shot, mixes multiple implied points-of-view, and conflicts with the cinematic style present in the rest of the episode, resulting in an overall awful sequence that feels tacked on. When considering the point-of-view problem, the audience must adopt the victim's perspective, supposedly grounded in the episode's physical reality. Simultaneously, the audience also has to incorporate Ben's point-of-view and his delusions from his hallucinatory reality, which complicates both an analytical reading and casual viewing of this scene. This scene lasts less than thirty seconds, and Mozart's concerto accompanies all of the action, encouraging a reading that is directly related to the function of the selected music.[205]

The scene opens on the image of an older, analog style radio, with knobs and physical indicators of AM/FM radio bands. The third movement of Mozart's concerto plays over this image, indicating diegetic music. The older woman,

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[204] *Criminal Minds,* "With Friends Like These," 25:03.
[205] Ibid., 27:13-27:40.

dressed in a nightgown, goes through her nightly routine of applying moisturizer

to her hands when Ben's corporeal delusions suddenly manifest behind her.

Their appearance in the absence of Ben indicates his proximity, though he

remains hidden, a situation that creates dramatic irony. The audience knows that

the woman will die because of the presence of Ben's personified mental illness,

even as she remains unaware of it. When she unknowingly walks past Ben's

hallucinations, the piano concerto drives to the final notes of the Allegro Assai

movement. As the music moves towards its final cadence, Ben appears

seemingly out of thin air, climbing through an open window in the background,

and stabs the older woman in the stomach. The gaze focuses on her as she

gasps from the assault, and then pans to the left as the scene fades to black.

While the fade occurs, the music becomes non-diegetic on the penultimate and

ultimate reiterations of the final note.[206]

      The incorporation of Mozart's Piano Concerto represents an anomaly in

the episode's soundscape. Until this moment, western art music has been absent

from the soundtrack and the characterization of Ben's mental illness. Rather than

being linked to Ben, Mozart's music in this instance is associated with the victim,

or more accurately, as a severely limited representation of the victim's sense of

normalcy. According to recent demographics, the fifty-and-older bracket makes

up *Criminal Minds'* core audience.[207] The victim, only known as "unnamed

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[206] *Criminal Minds,* "With Friends Like These," 27:40.
[207] Mitch Metcalf, "Showbuzzdaily Wednesday Network Scorecard—1.30.2019,"
showbuzzdaily.com, January 30, 2019, retrieved February 15, 2019,
http://www.showbuzzdaily.com/articles/the-sked-wednesday-network-scorecard-1-30-2019.html.

woman," becomes a surrogate (or avatar) for those of the same demographic: the target audience for the series parallels her gender, age, and socio-economic status. The use of this musical example connects the audience with the victim by creating a quasi-realistic space through music. Here, Mozart's music adds value by encouraging the audience to identify with this victim; in then immediately, unceremoniously killing her, the action creates a semantic disturbance between image and sound, thus instilling a sense of shock.[208] I posit that, due to extreme brevity of the scene, the poorly constructed nature of the cinematography, and the distinct deviation in style and soundscape from the rest of the episode, this moment was included purely to increase the overall shock value of the episode rather than provide any narrative progression. While the episode exploits societal fears of seemingly random violence, *Criminal Minds'* narrative provides an explanation even for random violence; namely, that innocent, middle class, middle age, Caucasian, female lives are at risk of suffering from violence committed by the mentally ill.

The previous two examples demonstrate how *Criminal Minds* uses these particular musical moments both to categorize and negatively reinforce stereotypes of schizophrenia. Edelman's use of EDM and a Mozart piano concerto provides an effective way to manipulate a negative emotional response from an audience. "With Friends Like These…" displays how media can use pre-existing music to create negative emotions and prey on societal fears of violence

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[208] Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 221.

using various musical genres. The next case study demonstrates one of the most

effective examples of *Criminal Minds'* attribution of violence to innocuous mental

illness, as well as its blatant exploitation of music to enhance negative

stereotypes.

"Scream:" Obsessive Compulsive Disorder

Obsessive-compulsive disorder, or OCD, is categorized as a type of mental

disorder in which an individual experiences obsessions, compulsions, or both.[209]

Obsessions, in these cases, indicate persistent thoughts or impulses that afflict

the patient.[210] These obsessions are inherently negative and are accompanied

by anxiety. They can concern a variety of issues such as contamination from

contact with others, persistent doubt about safety, or the committing of violent

acts.[211] Many cases with obsessions also suffer from compulsions, classified as

urges or impulses to perform repetitive acts.[212] These compulsive acts often

correlate to the preceding obsession. For example, patients with obsessions

concerning illness and physical contact might be compelled to wash their hands

repetitively, while doubts about safety might lead to a ritualistic checking of locks

inside of their home.[213] These compulsions serve as outlets to release anxiety

built up by the obsession, and ignoring these impulses can lead to overwhelming

anxiety. OCD affects 1.2 percent of the general population, meaning that in the

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[209] *DSM-5*, 235.
[210] Ibid., 235.
[211] Ibid., 238.
[212] Ibid., 238.
[213] Ibid., 238.

U.S. alone, six million to nine million people demonstrate OCD behavior.[214]

Additionally, the highest rates of OCD occur in high-stress social groups,

primarily in the young, divorced, and unemployed demographics.[215]

　　　　Much like the previous two case studies, OCD has had a negative

representation in media. Sociologist Dana Fennell and film studies scholar

Michael Boyd's research on the media depictions of OCD suggests that the

media "reinforce[s] and complicate[s] common media stereotypes of those with

mental disorders—fostering a stigma hierarchy and having contradictory effects

on mental health literacy."[216] Popular representations of OCD in media occur in

series such as *Monk* (USA, 2002-2009), a crime drama where the main

character, Adrian Monk (Tony Shalhoub), solves crime through his OCD inspired

attention to detail, and the film *The Aviator* (2004, dir. Martin Scorsese), which

depicts the director and aviator Howard Hughes (Leonardo DiCaprio) and his

struggle with mental illness. In these representations, Fennell and Boyd suggest

that, although the depictions of OCD are either negatively or positively

stereotyped, they reinforce a stigma hierarchy in which some mental illnesses

are worse than others.[217]

　　　　In this stigma hierarchy, OCD represents a "joke condition," or a condition

often seen as something that can be resolved through personal growth and does

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[214] *DSM-5,* 239.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Dana Fennel and Michael Boyd, "Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder in the Media,"
Deviant Behavior 35, no. 9 (2014): 669.
[217] Ibid., 674.

not constitute a real illness.[218] Shows such as *Monk* that often depict comical

situations brought on Monk's recurring OCD support this incorrect stereotype.[219]

Similarly, the romantic-comedy *As Good as It Gets* (1997, dir. James L. Brooks)

features Jack Nicholson as a romance novelist with OCD that drives him into

causing ridiculous situations around his compulsions.[220] Violent depictions in

which the obsessions drive the characters to stalk other people, and compulsions

drive them to murder, undercut the joke representation of OCD. An example of

the violent OCD stereotype appears in the French film, *Jeanne Dielman, 23*

Commerce Quay, 1080 Brussels (1975, dir. Chantal Akerman) where the main

character, Jeanne Dielman (Delphine Seyrig), murders a man for interrupting her

daily routine.[221] Conversely, OCD has been utilized in a positive role, taking the

guise of a super power for characters such as Sherlock Holmes whose OCD

allows them to spot tiny details for their detective work. Monk also exhibits this

characterization; however, despite the positive spin put on it, this still connotes a

misrepresentation of real OCD. Additionally, media often portrays characters with

stereotyped OCD tendencies without explicitly stating that have the disorder,

indicating that the stereotype is so widespread that the symptoms serve as

obvious indicators to the audience. Fennel and Boyd demonstrate this in

examining films such as *The Aviator*, which never specifically labels Howard

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[218] Fennell and Boyd, "Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder in Media," 674.
[219] Ibid., 681.
[220] *As Good as It Gets*, dir. James L. Brooks (Culver City: Tristar Pictures, 1997).
[221] Fennell and Boyd, "Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder in Media," 680.

Hughes as OCD, but Leonardo DiCaprio consulted with an OCD specialist on how to act obsessive-compulsive symptoms in preparation for the role.[222]

In *Criminal Minds*, the severe tone of the series does not allow for the light-hearted representation of OCD, but rather brings the violent stigmatization to new heights through compulsive serial killers. In "Scream," the unsub, Peter Folkmore (Brian Poth), exhibits stereotyped OCD tendencies throughout the episode.[223] The opening sequence features a very tidy and particular living space in addition to other more graphic portrayals of compulsions such as when Folkmore, unable to fulfill his compulsion, continuously hits his head against hard objects to relieve his anxiety.[224] Much like *The Aviator*, *Criminal Minds* never labels Folkmore as OCD via the BAU profile. Despite this omission, audience responses to the episode on fan blogs and forums attributes Folkmore's behaviors to having OCD.[225] Other sources reveal that Folkmore's OCD depiction was intentional; in an interview, the director for the episode, Hannelle Culpepper, confirmed that Folkmore's OCD influenced her cinematography for the opening sequence, stating:

> I let the story guide the shot choices. Because the character is OCD, and thus obsessed with the little details, I wanted to shoot it with a lot of ECUs

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[222] Fennell and Boyd, "Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder in Media," 673.
[223] *Criminal Minds*, "Scream," Season 10, Episode 15.
[224] Ibid., 6:36, 22:27-23:50, 25:47.
[225] SETW, "Criminal Minds Season 10–1015. Scream–Review," Criminalmindsroundtable.blogspot.com, February 16, 2015, retrieved February 10, 2019, http://criminalmindsroundtable.blogspot.com/2015/02/criminal-minds-season-10-1015-scream_16.html and Zannej, "S10.E15 Scream," forums.previously.tv, February 9, 2015, retrieved February 10, 2019, https://forums.previously.tv/topic/21848-s10e15-scream/.

[extreme close-ups]. Also with the opening, I was purposely delaying seeing him fully until we saw him outside.[226]

Criminal Minds features other unsubs that suffer from OCD throughout its 15 season run, including in the second episode of the series, "Compulsion," where a young girl is driven to set fires due to religious delusions onset by her OCD, and "The Big Wheel," which attempts to paint a sympathetic picture of an OCD unsub who ultimately commits suicide to stop his compulsions.[227] However, in terms of using pre-existing music to promote a monologic depiction of mental illness, "Scream" utilizes various musical examples to characterize the unsub immediately and confront the audience quickly during the opening sequence. "Scream" presents a compelling case study of the use of pre-existing, diegetic music used exclusively by Folkmore's character to accompany his actions, cementing the semantic disturbance caused by the music in the reality of the episode.[228]

In this episode, the BAU characterizes Peter Folkmore under the vague description of "budding serial killer," or a serial killer that is beginning to find their ritual, stalks, abducts, and tortures; he murders his victims that remind him of his mother. Folkmore's MO stems from the physical and mental trauma he sustained

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[226]Tari Jordan, "*Exclusive* 10x15 Director Hannelle Culpepper Talks "Scream"!," Criminalmindsfans.com, February 12, 2015, retrieved February 10, 2019, https://criminalmindsfans.com/exclusive-10x15-director-hanelle-culpepper-talks-scream/.

[227] *Criminal Minds,* "Compulsion," Season 1, Episode 2, and *Criminal Minds*, "The Big Wheel," Season 4, Episode 22.

[228] Additionally, the writer for this episode, Kimberly A. Harrison, has a history of incorporating music into the unsubs MO. Previously, Harrison was the executive story editor for episodes such as "Unknown Subject" (S7E12), that featured an unsub who raped and murdered his victims while listening to 1980s power ballads "Kimberly A. Harrison," IMDB.com, retrieved February 10, 2019, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm2336731/?ref_=tt_ov_wr.

during childhood. Depicted in the episode through a flashback, the show reveals

that a young Peter and his mother were chronically abused at the hands of his

alcoholic father. After their frequent visits to the local hospital, a police officer

took an interest in helping Peter and his mother escape from the situation. Due to

Peter's mother's refusal to testify against her husband, the police officer gave

Peter an audio recorder hoping that he could capture evidence of his father's

abuse. One night as Peter's father began to abuse his mother, Peter began

recording the incident.[229] While Peter records the abuse escalates; to cover the

shouting, Peter's father turns on a vinyl record player and Brenton Wood's soul

song, "Great Big Bundle of Love," begins to play.[230] As the song aurally indicates

themes of love, Peter's father kills Peter's mother by slicing her throat.[231]

Realizing that his son just witnessed him murder his wife, Peter's father takes a

gun out of the side table and kills himself.[232]

This event imprinted upon Peter, and he kept the recording of his parents'

death into his adult life. The BAU determines that Peter's loss of the original

recording in a small house fire served as his "stressor," or the event that caused

him to begin killing.[233] His obsession with the recording, another indicator of his

OCD, caused him to mentally break and attempt to recreate the recording. To

pursue this, he used his job at a battered women's shelter to find suitable

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[229] *Criminal Minds*, "Scream," Season 10, Episode 15, 29:28.
[230] Ibid., 29:58.
[231] Ibid., 30:14.
[232] Ibid., 30:18.
[233] Ibid., 31:30.

surrogates for his mother. He then abducted the women and forced them to recite his mother's last words while he played the role of his father so that he could record their screams. During these scenes of torture, Folkmore plays the same song that his parents died to, "Great Big Bundle of Love," in order to recreate the experience.[234] By inextricably linking Brenton Wood's music to Folkmore's murderous actions, "Great Big Bundle of Love" becomes an aural trigger for his character and for emotional fear and disgust from the audience. The association begins early in the episode, as music supervisor Ken Edelman and writer Kimberly A. Harrison establish the synthesis in the opening sequence.

"Great Big Bundle of Love": Scene Analysis

The opening sequence for "Scream" does not begin with "Great Big Bundle of Love;" rather it starts with a piece from W. A. Mozart's opera *Così fan tutte*, namely Despina's aria, "Una donna a quindici anni" ("A Woman of Fifteen Years").[235] The song itself has no obvious connection to the scene, other than possibly hinting at the unseen woman bound in Folkmore's basement. I interpret this musical example to function as it did in the previous example from "With Friends Like These…", by establishing a sense of *Criminal Minds'* assumed normalcy. Aurally indicating a presumed normal setting, the sequence utilizes various extreme close-ups to focus on the details in the scene.[236]

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[234] *Criminal Minds*, "Scream," 3:27, 20:55, 30:22.
[235] Ibid., 0:51.
[236] Ibid., 0:51-2:27.

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Folkmore methodically goes through a morning routine in his house. His particular approach to cleaning as meticulously makes his bed, smoothing out the lines and bumps in his linens to create a portrait of extreme tidiness; these actions imply his OCD.[237] During his neatly laid out breakfast of one egg over easy, two pieces of bacon, and a single slice of toast, the music plays diegetically. During an extreme close-up of Folkmore's glasses, the camera pans left, and a racking focus reveals that a running record player is emitting the aria.[238] This device further grounds Folkmore's seemingly OCD morning in reality. The aria continues throughout the rest of the scene and ends without resolution when the shot follows Folkmore out of his home and into his basement.[239]

As he descends, any characterization of Folkmore as a presumed normal guy with an OCD quirk is shattered when a match cut of him walking down the steps tracks his movement while the audience hears the sounds of a woman crying.[240] He then dons an apron and rubber gloves, and moves to lay down newspaper while acknowledging something off-screen.[241] This part of the scene is accompanied by emotive original underscoring that punctuates the unsettling atmosphere when a middle tracking shot of Folkmore reveals that he has been beating and holding a young woman against her will.[242] The underscoring

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[237] *Criminal Minds*, "Scream," 0:51-1:09
[238] Ibid., 1:30-1:34.
[239] Ibid., 2:27.
[240] Ibid., 2:30. A match cut occurs when a scene transitions into another while the shot travels in a continuous direction, implying a continuous movement between scenes.
[241] Ibid., 2:34-2:52.
[242] Ibid., 2:52- 3:27.

functions empathetically, featuring minor chords on electronic instruments, high- and low-pitched long tones, and eerie sound effects that effectively immerse the audience in the scene. Suddenly, the underscoring fizzles out in the same manner as the previous aria, leaving a moment of silence when Folkmore moves to another record player and starts "Great Big Bundle of Love."[243]

The song creates new conflicting emotions for the audience as "Great Big Bundle of Love" contradicts the previous immersive underscoring while accompanying an escalating fear of violence as Folkmore hefts a blood covered bat.[244] The complete aural reversal from intense underscoring to love-struck soul music constructs the semantic disturbance indicative of confronting spectatorship.[245] Brenton Wood's song, complete with rhythm guitar and brass line, plays a sound we perceive as emotionally antithetical to the impending violence and creates a visceral emotional response from the audience. The disturbance deepens as Peter begins his monologue, imitating his father and the woman, whom he forced to memorize his mother's last words, responds as his mother. Folkmore's OCD reveals itself again when the woman says the word "hard" instead of "rough," deviating from Folkmore's first recording.[246] This deviation causes Folkmore to lash out and hit the floor with the bat as this incorrect word ruins his attempt to recreate the recording.[247] The scene ends as

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[243] *Criminal Minds*, "Scream," 3:27.
[244] Ibid., 3:31.
[245] Powrie, "Blonde Abjection," and Thompkins, "Pop Goes the Horror Scene."
[246] *Criminal Minds*, "Scream," 3:57.
[247] Ibid., 4:00.

Folkmore decides to find a new surrogate for his mother and swings the bat, implying the woman will now be killed as the scene transitions out.[248]

Establishing the relationship between Folkmore and "Great Big Bundle of Love" early in the episode replaces empathetic underscoring with Brenton Wood's music to augment associations with danger and violence. The song returns later in the episode when a woman he kidnaps escapes from her bonds and attempts to hide in the basement.[249] When Folkmore enters the scene, he lays down the newspaper at the foot of the empty chair and restarts the telltale music.[250] The music, now an established aural cue for Folkmore's violence, fills the audience with dread as he slowly searches the basement for his victim. Edelmen and Harrison's strategic use of the song in the narrative instills a sense of revulsion from the audience for Folkmore. While the sounds of minor low strings and violin ostinato in the underscoring can generate a sense of ominous tension, "Great Big Bundle of Love" amplifies this tension and promotes a more intense reaction through the counterpoint of sound and moving images. The music accomplishes this enhanced stereotyping of ritualistic OCD behavior. Combining this stereotype with a violent characterization of mental illness links the disgust felt by the audience for Folkmore to the quality that makes him supposedly evil: his mental illness.

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[248] *Criminal Minds*, "Scream," 4:21.
[249] Ibid., 31:55.
[250] Ibid., 32:48.

Conclusion

The narratives of the episodes can be categorized as monologic in a Bakhtinian context. Despite the presence of *simplified complex representations* that aim to subvert accusations of stereotyping, the stories create one narrative agenda. In *Criminal Minds*, the narrative monologic agenda upholds the agents of the BAU as good, moral, and, most importantly, sane individuals who hold back the unending tide of the violent and malevolent mentally ill. To display this would-be epidemic, *Criminal Minds* exploits representations of DID, schizophrenia, and OCD in multiple episodes, but also depicts violent versions of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, clinical depression, hypochondria, and brain trauma. The series continually plays on the stereotypes of common mental illnesses that affect millions of people, and highlights the worst possible examples to prey on societal fears regarding mental illness and violence.

While not all of these illustrations include an aural characterization, *Criminal Minds* consistently uses music, functioning either diegetically or non-diegetically, to create a sense of disgust, fear, or anxiety through a semantic disturbance. Edleman's work includes adding Billy Joel's "Only the Good Die Young," to sadistic videos of the torture of young women,[251] Creedence Clearwater Revival's "Susie Q" to a serial killer gleefully preparing to kill an adolescent girl,[252] and Louis Armstrong's rendition of "Sittin' in the Dark," to the

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[251] *Criminal Minds*, "The Perfect Storm," Season 2, Episode 3.
[252] *Criminal Minds*, "The Hunt," Season 10, Episode 23.

actions of a Satanic cannibal.[253] Additionally, music becomes a characterizing

factor concerning gender, age, religion, regionalism, and social class. Each song

featured in *Criminal Minds* carries emotional connotations for either the

characters or members of the audience, and the writers and supervisors exploit

them to their fullest potential.

The extent to which the writers of *Criminal Minds*, such as Edward Allen

Bernero, Chris Mundy, Janine Sherman Barrois, and Kimberly A. Harrison,

accomplish this would not be as extensive without music supervisor Ken

Edleman's musical selections for the show. The placement and manipulation of

this music encourages further gross stigmatization of mental illness. At the

present moment, in a time where societal anxieties concerning mental health

have reached an all-time high, furthering the exclusion and fear of those with

mental illness serves only to harm those who do not deserve it.

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[253] *Criminal* Minds, "Lucky," Season 3, Episode 8.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DIALOGIC AND THE MONOLOGIC: A CASE OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

The clear ways that writers and supervisors use music to create violent portraits of DID, schizophrenia, and OCD reveals the lack of research on the subject. A possible explanation resides in Claudia Gorbman's concept of the *unheard melody*, where the most effective soundtrack is the one found least noticeable and least memorable by the audience. Music's role in visual media has served the purpose of adding value to the moving images, creating a unified feeling between sound and film. The effectiveness of this unity often determines what maintains the existence of shows on network television. Appealing to every small factor that contributes to maintaining high ratings and future renewals, shows such as *Criminal Minds* attempt to harness the violent and grotesque spectacle for which they became famous through every possible avenue, including their soundtrack. Every effective method to elicit an emotional reaction from the audience is used, presenting a possible explanation as to why this music appears in the narratives in the first place. Despite this, music in crime dramas is often ignored in academia and other popular media perhaps following writer Dick Wolf's attitude towards music in *Law & Order*, calling for "minimal music, and a harder-hitting tone."[254] This approach created a musically bland score that was

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[254] Dan Gunderman, "Examining the Legendary 'Dun, Dun' Sound from 'Law and Order' on the Anniversary of the Pilot Episode," nydailynews.com, September 13, 2016, retrieved on February 6, 2019, https://www.nydailynews.com/entertainment/tv/examining-legendary-dun-dun-sound-law-order-article-1.2790190.

imitated by other shows, effectively removing the crime drama from the musicological imagination.

While it is true that the music in the crime drama is often minimal and functions to fulfill the barest empathetic needs, there are truly effective musical moments in certain shows that have been ignored in academic fields. *Criminal Minds* is one of these shows that lacks an in-depth analysis in various fields including media studies, literary studies, and musicology. Despite this, the show's treatment of mental illness has not escaped the attention of its audience. By maintaining a Bakhtinian analytical mindset, it becomes apparent that the public parlance and conception of mental illness demonstrates both dialogic and monologic currents. To demonstrate this, I examine various responses from Internet blogs and entertainment websites that reveal an audience awareness of how *Criminal Minds* negatively portrays mental illness and its monologic agenda. In opposition to the monologic voice heard in *Criminal Minds,* these audience members utilize their platforms to discourage this type of characterization and advocate for more dialogic interpretations. Additionally, I examine how mental health and the vilification of mental illness acts as a part of policy in the current administration and how the U.S. media describes and talks about mental illness.

The Dialogic Minority: A Public Cry for A More Realistic Representation

Up until this point, this research has uncovered the media's tendency to pursue a monologic agenda regarding mental illness and violence. Due to its widespread power and allure, mass media, specifically journalistic media, receives the most

viewership, as opposed to narrative media, by both public and academic circles.

However, in the age of the Internet, the search for dissenting opinions is only a

click away. Internet blogs, social media sites, and independent journalism

demonstrate that the monologic steamroller of mass media does not control

every outlet of opinion. The dialogic outcry for positive depictions (and

discussions) of mental illness has begun in these sectors.

For example, Sian Ferguson is a queer freelance writer and journalist

based in South Africa. In a guest written column for *Wear Your Voice* magazine,

she examines her own experience with *Criminal Minds* and reveals the

dichotomy that exists in the crime drama audience. She realizes that her former

love of the show conflicts with her identification with the mental health community

and how *Criminal Minds* contributes to the stigma of mental illness.[255] Ferguson

states that she suffers from depression, PTSD, and anxiety, all of which she

notes are less severe than typically vilified illnesses such as schizophrenia and

antisocial-personality disorder.[256] As a part of this, Ferguson realizes how the

show both represents all mental illness as violent, but also suggests

neurotypicality for those with non-violent mental illness. She states:

> The representation of mental illnesses on crime shows does more than
> just perpetuate the idea that I'm dangerous. It also suggests that I'm
> neurotypical — which is possibly an even more harmful myth. For most of
> my family, the term "mental illness" evokes images of dangerous,
> delusional people. **It's hard for them to recognize my mental illnesses
> because I don't seem dangerous, and I seem to have a good grip on**

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[255] Sian Ferguson, "I'm Mentally Ill, and I Love Crime Shows Like Criminal Minds – Even Though They're Dangerously Ableist," wyv.com, November 2, 2016, retrieved February 18, 2019, https://wearyourvoicemag.com/culture/mentally-ill-criminal-minds
[256] Ibid.

reality. As a result, many of them don't realize how much help and support I need, and many of them unintentionally downplay my trauma.[257]

Ferguson's op-ed constitutes only one of the various passion pieces that span the Internet that call for the same goal: realistic representations of mental illness in media and the reversal of stigmatization.

Many of these sources cite *Criminal Minds* as the primary offender of depicting mental illness being equated with violence. In their piece about mental illness in media, RMIT (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) University student Neve Mahoney cites research performed at Johns Hopkins Medical center that states: "the number of violent acts committed by mentally ill people is disproportionate to how widely covered it is on the news and other media."[258] Other dialogic thinkers in the audience also explore the reasons for the obsession of stigmatization within media, focusing on sociological issues. In a piece on the social media website theodysseyonline.com, Megan Smith confronts the issues surrounding monologic thinking:

> So what's so dangerous about portraying criminals as objectively different? It helps create an "us" vs. "them" barrier that isn't real. "Criminal Minds" assumes that there are criminals, and then there are normal people. The suspects are so profoundly "Other" that we can assure ourselves we could never be like them in any way. But all criminals are human. And we, the viewers, are human. So what separates us from the

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[257] Ferguson, "I'm Mentally Ill, and I Love Crime Shows Like Criminal Minds," Bolded text appears as such in the article and represents Sian Fergusson's own emphasis.

[258] Neve Mahoney, "Mental Illness Does Not Equal Violence," international.la-croix.com, February 24, 2018, retrieved February 19, 2019, https://international.la-croix.com/news/mental-illness-does-not-equal-violence/7003

killers? The answer for most people, especially the BAU, is that they must be sick.[259]

The belligerent "Othering" of mental illness, perpetrated by the media, is a result of the societal fears of violence, and the scapegoating of the atypical. While there are numerous other impassioned bloggers citing research that expressly demonstrates data contrary to the public image of mental illness, these academic writings are beginning to surface, gaining more exposure as the situation gets worse.

Dr. Jennifer J. Brout is a psychologist who specializes in misophonia, a condition that causes heightened physiological responsivity and high emotional reactivity to auditory stimuli. Dr. Brout is a specialist that founded the Misophonia and Emotion Regulation Program at Duke University and is herself misophonic. In a blog for *Psychology Today*, Brout condemned the under-researched characterization of misophonia in *Criminal Minds*.[260] Brout's reaction to *Criminal Minds* stem from an episode where the unsub is diagnosed by the BAU as misophonic, describing the condition as a psychiatric issue that could cause extreme violence in reaction to particular noises in certain conditions. The two problems with this representation, according to Brout, is that there is no scientific evidence linking violence with misophonia, and misophonia is not a psychiatric

[259] Megan Smith, "Why I Completely Stopped Watching "Criminal Minds," theodysseyonline.com, June 6, 2016, retrieved February 19, 2019, https://www.theodysseyonline.com/stopped-watching-criminal-minds.

[260] Jennifer Brout, "Misophonia was on Criminal Minds?: Who are we to blame?" psychologytoday.com, May 1, 2018, retrieved February 19, 2019, https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/noises/201805/misophonia-was-criminal-minds

disorder, but a neurophysiological one.[261] Brout's inquiry into this

misrepresentation of misophonia led her to interview executive producer and

writer for *Criminal Minds,* Breen Fraizer.[262] During this interview, Brout asked

how the writers came up with ideas and how they researched the illness:

> I asked Mr. Frazier how the writers derive ideas and how they follow up
> with research. He explained to me that writing the show is a collaborative
> process, and that ideas often flow from real-life and personal experiences
> of the writers and actors. Someone may casually mention a psychological
> or psychiatric disorder that a relative or friend suffers from, and the writers'
> job is to explain how this particular disorder (or sometimes traumatic
> event) might lead to serial murder.[263]

Fraizer's somewhat apologetic remarks show that *Criminal Minds*' primary goal,

despite their frail attempts of sympathetic portrayal, is to twist a representation of

mental illness to fit their needs while accuracy comes in a distant second. Brout's

response and correction of *Criminal Minds'* error demonstrates that the show's

audience extends into academic circles, where experts in the field have

responded to its stigmatic practices and have commented on how inaccuracies

(dramatic liberties) in the show's writing within affects the public perception of

mental illness.

Despite the public outcry detailed here, there are an equal amount of

responses hailing the "Salacious" and "Sleazy" qualities of *Criminal Minds* as a

thriller masterpiece.[264] While correlation is not causation, the open acceptance of

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[261] Brout, "Misophonia was on Criminal Minds?"
[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Diane Werts, "Diane Werts: Newsday," Metacritic, September 16, 2018, retrieved
October 27, 2018, https://www.metacritic.com/critic/diane-werts?filter=tvshows.

representations of mental illness as portrayed in *Criminal Minds* speaks to the

public mindset and the current administration's national policy on mental illness.

The Monologic Majority: Mental Health Policy in the Age of Trump

While all former United States administrations have provoked controversy, the

Trump administration is known for its inflammatory rhetoric and "Othering"

strategies. Often cited as utilizing racist and xenophobic language and discourse,

the Trump administration also has vilified and defunded mental healthcare and

has promoted a stigmatizing monologic approach to mental illness.

The Trump administration's financial cuts to Medicaid, Medicare, and the

Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) has had a detrimental effect on the mental

health infrastructure, resulting in lower-income populations not receiving mental

health treatment.[265] Additionally, the Justice department has supported lawsuits

that attempt to undermine the ACA and allow health insurance companies to

deny coverage due to pre-existing conditions. Among these conditions are

diagnosed anxiety, depression, and postpartum depression.[266] In tandem with

this attack on public health, President Trump has often been quoted using

stigmatizing rhetoric in the wake of mass shootings, namely in reference to the

mass shooting incidents at both Santa Fe High School in Texas and in Marjory

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[265] Danielle Campoamor, "Donald Trump is Devastating Our Mental Health with his Policies and Rhetoric," teenvogue.com, June 12, 2018, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.teenvogue.com/story/donald-trump-devastating-mental-health-policies-rhetoric.

[266] Jen Christensen, "The Most Common Pre-existing Conditions," CNN.com, September 21, 2017, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/20/health/most-common-pre-existing-conditions/index.html

Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida.[267] Trump reportedly

described the Santa Fe shooter as a "Wacky kid in a wacky trenchcoat,"[268] and

the Parkland shooter as "mentally disturbed."[269] Further commenting on the

Parkland shooting, Trump stated, "You know, in the old days we had mental

institutions. We had a lot of them. And you could nab somebody like this,

because they knew something was off."[270] While it is unclear if President Trump

is aware of the abuses committed in these historic settings,[271] his words follow

his proposed 2019 budget that cut 665 million dollars from the Substance Abuse

and Mental Health Administration and reduced the National Institutes of Mental

Health's funding by 30%, just two days prior.[272]

     While Trump's words speak to the current U.S. stigmas, the stigmatization

of public violence as the result of mental illness spans to previous years as well.

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[267] Campoamor, "Donald Trump is Devastating Our Mental Health with his Policies and Rhetoric,"

[268] KC Baker and Adam Carlson, "Santa Fe Victim's Mom Challenged President Trump in Private Meeting for Calling Shooter 'Wacky'," people.com, May 31, 2018, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://people.com/crime/donald-trump-meets-santa-fe-shooting-families-mom-confrontation/.

[269] David Nakamura, "In Response to Florida Shooting, Trump Calls Suspect 'Mentally Disturbed,' Does Not Mention Gun Control," washingtonpost.com, February 15, 2018, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2018/02/15/trump-weighs-in-on-florida-shooting-calls-suspect-mentally-disturbed/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.2f52fc39214d

[270] Tim Hains, "Trump on Mental Health: "In The Old Days, We Had Mental Institutions, A Lot Of Them," realclearpolitics.com, February 26, 2018, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2018/02/26/trump_on_mental_health_in_the_old_days_we_had_mental_instutitons_a_lot_of_them.html.

[271] Abuses include 50,000 reported lobotomies in 1949-1952. "Frequently Asked Questions About Lobotomies," npr.org, November 16, 2005, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5014565.

[272] "Trump Calls For Mental Health Action After Shooting; His Budget Would Cut Programs," npr.com, February 15, 2018, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/02/15/586095437/trump-calls-for-mental-health-action-after-shooting-his-budget-would-cut-program.

As a response to the mass shooting that included Arizona Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords in Tuscon, Arizona, Dr. Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton warned of the problems with decrying mental illness as the cause of violence: "merely *labeling* a person as suffering from a chronic mental illness led people to think that person as more animalistic: without the capacity for reason, control, or compassion."[273] Regardless of Mendoza-Denton's warnings, the media continuously labels perpetrators of mass shootings as suffering from mental illness. CNN's coverage of the Aurora movie theater shooting in 2012 promises a "look inside the 'broken' mind of James Holmes," as a primary cause to his violence.[274] As well as the perpetrator of the Pulse nightclub shooting in 2017, despite his homophobic rhetoric and professed desire to be a member of ISIS, is primarily identified as mentally disturbed.[275]

This small examination of media shows two disparate views of mental illness. One recognizes, as Mendoza-Denton claims: "The automatic association of mental illness with violence leads us to then dehumanize [those with mental illness]," this realization creates an activist voice in media, and therefore

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[273] Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton, "The Arizona shootings, Hanibal Lecter, and Arkham Asylum: The Arizona Shootings Should Focus on Mental Illness Policy," Psychologytoday.com, January 12, 2011, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/are-we-born-racist/201101/the-arizona-shootings-hannibal-lecter-and-arkham-asylum.
[274] Ann O'Niell, Ana Cabrera, and Sara Weisfeldt, "A Look Inside the 'Broken' Mind of James Holmes," cnn.com, June 10, 2015, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2015/06/05/us/james-holmes-theater-shooting-trial/index.html
[275] Holly Baxter, "Think Omar Mateen Must Have Been Mentally Ill to Shoot 49 People Dead? Sorry, That's Too Simple," independent.co.uk, June 14, 2016, retrieved February 20, 2019, https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/omar-mateen-orlando-nightclub-shooting-mentally-ill-49-people-dead-sorry-too-simple-a7082091.html.

contributes to a dialogic conversation.[276] This minority understands that violence is a part of life, and that while people with mental illness can and have committed violence, the mentally ill are statistically less likely to do so. They also realize that the media's inaccurate representation of mental illness harms and demonizes those who actually live with mental illness. The other voice, one promoted by the current administration, follows a trend of convenient scapegoating through discriminatory and stigmatizing monologic rhetoric, while simultaneously crippling treatment options for those they vilify. Mental illness becomes the primary affliction of the extremely violent and avoids other inconvenient issues present in these instances. This includes the growing acceptance of homophobia from a radical right during the Pulse nightclub tragedy, and the transition of labels from "gun violence" to "school violence" when referencing the mass shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School.[277]

The disparity between these views occurs when examining their platforms. The dialogic is present in social media, academic, and liberal journalism, while the monologic makes headlines at the corporate news and presidential levels. *Criminal Minds* exists as a result of a history of stigma and fear that still grips members of the American public. Popular media, however, has initiated a

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[276] Mendoza-Denton, "The Arizona shootings, Hanibal Lecter, and Arkham Asylum."
[277] Steve Benen, "On Parkland Anniversary, Trump Changes 'Gun Violence' to 'School Violence,'" msnbc.com, February 14, 2019, retrieved February 20, 2019, http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/parkland-anniversary-trump-changes-gun-violence-school-violence

possible shift from the monologic to the dialogic through popular music artists,

new television series, and a new call for destigmatization.

CHAPTER FIVE
MANIAC (2018) AND DESTIGMATIZATION: OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In recent history, various artists and scholars have worked toward destigmatization through social activism and promotion of social awareness. Sociologist Michèle Lamont defines destigmatization as "the process by which low-status individuals or groups gain recognition or cultural membership,"[278] and states that it occurs through inclusive cultural membership or the inclusion of stigmatized groups in the collective identity. Social movements such as Occupy, Black Lives Matter, and #metoo have made success in claiming cultural membership and social inclusion in an increasingly populist political climate. Mental illness activism, however, has not had the same strides as these other movements, but the beginnings of a mental health awareness movement can be heard in recent media, their soundtracks, and the popular music scene.

In the past decade, popular music, specifically in the hip-hop and pop genres, has conveyed themes that call for mental health awareness. Popular artists such as Demi Lovato, Selena Gomez, and Logic speak out about depression and anxiety through their music.[279] With his hit "1-800-273-8255," Logic (Bobby Hall) creates a musical and lyrical narrative around a phone call to the national suicide prevention hotline. After its release, the suicide prevention

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[278] Michèle Lamont, "Addressing Recognition Gaps: Destigmatization and the Reduction of Inequality," *American Sociological Review* 83, no. 3 (2018): 419-44.
[279] Clair Lobenfeld, "Music Fights the Stigma," *Billboard* 129, no. 30 (2017): 40-41.

lifeline hailed it as a watershed event and posted record breaking numbers

whereby more people than ever before sought out and received help from the

hotline.[280] In an era when depression and anxiety affect a large portion of the

global population, a new wave of mental health awareness activism

simultaneously occurs in spite of a degrading rhetoric toward mental illness in the

media. Logic's music, as well as the work of other artists mentioned, can be

interpreted as a dialogic Bakhtinian response to the monologic agenda present in

the American mindset.

　　　　While the infosphere is rife with negative stereotypes, various media

sources have begun to produce material with a sympathetic dialogic agenda.

New modes of media production, such as internet streaming sites like Netflix,

have created avenues for dialogic media. Netflix's comedy-drama, *Maniac* (2018)

tells the story of a paranoid schizophrenic, Owen Milgrim (Jonah Hill), and a

spiraling addict, Annie Landsberg (Emma Stone), as they take part in an

experimental drug trial that promises to cure them of their mental illnesses and to

leave them experiencing "pure, unaffected joy."[281] Hailed for its experimental

style and approach to mental illness by critics and psychologists, *Maniac*

ultimately attempts to break down stereotypes and stigmatizations in order to

[280] Megan Armstrong, "Logic Tweets National Suicide Prevention Lifeline Statistics Since His '1-800' Release," Billboard.com, November 16, 2017, retrieved March 15, 2019, https://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/hip-hop/8039094/logic-1-800-273-8255-national-suicide-prevention-lifeline-statistics-tweet

[281] Quote by Dr. James Mantleray (Justin Theroux) a character from *Maniac*, retrieved from Rebecca Patton, "How Netflix's 'Maniac' Uses Mental Illness To Interrogate What It Means To Be Normal," bustle.com, September 25, 2018, retrieved February 27, 2019, https://www.bustle.com/p/how-netflixs-maniac-uses-mental-illness-to-interrogate-what-it-means-to-be-normal-12019062.

question ideas of normalcy. To accomplish this, the writers and supervisors

utilize a diverse compiled song list. Similar to the methods in *Criminal Minds*,

Maniac characterizes mental illness using pre-existing music. However, unlike

the examples studied in this thesis, *Maniac*'s compiled soundtrack creates a

sympathetic aural narrative through sounding the pain of living with mental illness

rather than creating a violent connotation.

Maniac approaches mental illness with a darkly comedic, tongue-in-cheek

attitude while still maintaining a sensitive and compassionate view. Cary

Fukunaga, the director of *Maniac*, describes his approach to humor and mental

illness in an interview stating:

> I think the intent was to be as sensitive as possible to mental illness – to
> not make that a joke. . . And this goes to a theme that I think is really
> important to show – the question of what is normal. . . And so we just
> wanted to, in some ways, hopefully break down some stereotypes and
> stigmatizations, but also be a little smarter about our humor and our
> themes.[282]

One aspect of "being smarter" in their destigmatization manifests in music

supervisor Susan Jacobs' use of popular music within the series. Jacobs' song

list covers a gamut of genres, featuring them diegetically and non-diegetically to

enhance the various hallucinatory settings within the series. Jacobs' choice of

music also serves to comment on the destigmatization of mental illness through

the inclusion of the songs that reflect a realistic portrayal of mental illness. In one

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[282] Patton, "How Netflix's 'Maniac' Uses Mental Illness to Interrogate What It Means to Be Normal."

case, she utilized the 1990s gangsta rap track "My Mind Playing Tricks on Me" by Geto Boys to characterize Owen in relation to his schizophrenia.

The Geto Boys, comprising of rappers Scarface, Willie D, and Bushwick Bill, constitute a gangsta rap group from Houston that broke onto the rap scene in 1991 with their hit "My Mind Playing Tricks on Me."[283] Scarface (Brad Terrence Johnson) describes that the inspiration for the song stemmed from his struggles with manic depression and drug use during his youth.[284] Scarface poignantly states, "I was in a real f—ed-up state of mind, to the point where I just wanted to die."[285] Jacobs' takes this expression of what it feels like to live with depression and assigns it to Owen in several scenes within *Maniac*. In a scene that features the track, Scarface's lyrics detail living in paranoia:

> At night I can't sleep, I toss and turn
> Candlesticks in the dark, visions of bodies being burned
>
> Four walls just staring at a n——
> I'm paranoid, sleeping with my finger on the trigger
>
> My mother's always stressin' I ain't living right
> But I ain't goin' out without a fight
>
> See, every time my eyes close
> I start sweating and blood starts coming out my nose.

Despite the violence portrayed in the lyrics, the song samples a groove from Isaac Hayes "Hung Up On My Baby" (1974) that features a soft R&B guitar with

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[283] Michael Hall, "The Secret History of Texas Music: "Mind Playing Tricks on Me" (1991)," Texasmonthly.com, June 11, 2015, retrieved December 6, 2018, https://www.texasmonthly.com/list/the-secret-history-of-texas-music/mind-playing-tricks-on-me-1991/

[284] Ibid.

[285] Ibid.

an underlying percussive beat. The song's theme of paranoia resonates with Owen's character-defining schizophrenia, which deepens the added value of the scene.

Using lyrics about living with paranoia over the drug-induced hallucinations of a paranoid schizophrenic carries the obvious meaning but also demonstrates Owen's transformation over the course of the series. As he comes to terms with his own situation, Owen realizes the need for human connection and that his life ultimately matters. Susan Jacobs' compiled song list enhances a sympathetic depiction of these characters, striving toward a goal of destigmatization through musical association.

This example demonstrates the primary difference between *Criminal Minds* and shows such as *Maniac* that use pre-existing music toward a particular narrative function. *Criminal Minds* exploits its soundtrack to promote a negative monologic agenda regarding mental illness and violence. By doing so, the show creates stereotypical depictions of mental illness that are devoid of agency. *Maniac*, however, utilizes pre-existing music with sympathetic or empathetic intent to enhance a mentally ill character's agency. The aural characterization then functions in a dialogic mode, advocating for a destigmatized look at illnesses such as schizophrenia. While *Maniac* is not a crime drama, Netflix has also experimented with crime drama shows such as *Mindhunter*, which ironically is based on the same real-life inspiration for *Criminal Minds,* the BAU, but has a more sympathetic portrayal of mental illness in the latter half of the first season.

Mindhunter, set during the 1970s, focuses on the creation of the BAU

(then the Behavioral Science Unit, BSU) and their development of a

psychological taxonomy by conducting descriptive interviews with serial killers.

FBI Agents Bill Tench (Holt McCallany) and Holden Ford (Jonathan Groff) travel

across the U.S. and talk with some of the most heinous real-life serial killers,

such as Edmund Kemper and Richard Speck, to psychologically profile those

involved in a "random violence phenomenon" during the 1970s. The music of

Mindhunter adds value to its scenes by creating *audiovisual harmony* through

aural characterization that uses music to highlight aspects of a character's

psychology.[286] The show accomplishes this by initially assigning pre-existing

music, particularly popular music of the 1970s, to characters and scenes that

symbolize "normalcy" and the construction of America within the narrative;

Mindhunter then synthesizes its original scoring composed by Jason Hill to

characters and situations who are defined by aberrant psychology.

In the show, the protagonist's girlfriend, Debbie (Hannah Gross), is

consistently accompanied by dance and disco music; this establishes her as a

foil to the main character, Holden, and keeps him grounded in normalcy despite

his day job. As the season progresses, Holden becomes increasingly obsessed

with the interviews that are accompanied only by Hill's original scoring, which

consists of minimalist string and piano motives. When Holden's relationship with

Debbie begins to fragment, the compiled song list disappears from the musical

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[286] Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 33.

track entirely and does not return until the final scene of the last episode. Holden

becomes the target of an FBI internal affairs investigation for his obsession and

his conduct during those interviews, which causes his other relationships to

spiral, and alienates him from supposedly normal society. After an interview with

Ed Kemper "the Co-ed Killer," Holden suffers a massive panic attack that is

accompanied non-diegetically by Led Zeppelins's "In the Light," synthesized with

voiceovers of past characters criticizing his deteriorating relationships. This

restatement of pre-existing music signifies that Holden's fear and anxiety, and

obsession with serial killers, is his new normal.[287] The added value provided by

the music becomes intensified by altering, and eventually inverting, the initially

defined aural characterization.

Both *Maniac* and *Mindhunter* use mental illness for narrative development,

but other series on Netflix have also been hailed for their accurate approach to

mental illness, including representations of PTSD in *Jessica Jones* (2015-

2018),[288] depression in *Bojack Horseman* (2014-),[289] and most recently, mental

illness stigma itself in *Russian Doll* (2019).[290] These new shows differ from others

[287] *Mindhunter*, "Episode 10," Season 1, Episode 10, 48:10.

[288] Katharine Trendacosta, "*Jessica Jones* Is a Show About Trauma That Doesn't Skip Over The Complexity of PTSD," io9.gizmodo.com, November 25, 2015, retrieved February 28, 2019, https://io9.gizmodo.com/jessica-jones-is-a-show-about-trauma-that-doesnt-skip-o-1744577582

[289] Courtney Enlow, "How 'Bojack Horseman' Depicts Depression More Honestly Than Any Show On TV," bustle.com, September 8, 2017, retrieved February 28, 2019, https://www.bustle.com/p/how-bojack-horseman-depicts-depression-more-honestly-than-any-show-on-tv-80926

[290] Spencer Kornhaber, "*Russian Doll* Shatters the Word *Crazy*: Understanding Netflix's trippy masterpiece means understanding what it's saying about mental illness and the stigma around it," theatlantic.com, February 19, 2019, retrieved February 28, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2019/02/netflixs-russian-doll-theory-debunking-crazy/582901/.

on network television, and all present avenues for further study using Bakhtinian methodology. One might investigate whether, as representations change from the monologic to the dialogic, change in music occurs as well. In the previous examples, we see that pre-existing music is still being used to characterize mental illness, but the music, contrary to *Criminal Minds,* contains themes about stigma and mental health. Now, as the agenda shifts, the detailed analysis of these shows can demonstrate how music is utilized to either stigmatize or destigmatize mental illness, and how music functions as a narrative/emotive force in visual media.

Conclusion: The Societal Fears of the Next Generation

Throughout this thesis, I have demonstrated the history of monologic narratives in the crime drama with particular attention to the representations of mental illness and violence. Recalling the master cultural narratives described by Jennifer Iverson, representations of mental illness are "commodified, institutionalized, demonized, ignored, or murdered."[291] By examining this trend within the crime drama through a Bakhtinian lens, I posit that the genre (along with several of the subgenres) has promoted a monologic agenda through the exploitation of the societal fears during different eras. During the 1950s, *Dragnet* protected the U.S. from an imagined subversive liberal scourge. Later, the detectives of *Law & Order* stood against the unending wall of drugs and murder

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[291] Jessica Iverson, "Dancing Out of the Dark: How Music Refutes Disability Stereotypes in *Dancer in the Dark*," in *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music*, ed. Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Strauss (New York: Routledge, 2006), 58.

during the 1990s. Post-9/11, *CSI* gave the U.S. hope by establishing the importance of a surveillance state, while the FBI agents of the BAU exposed the underlying mental illnesses of the violent criminals in *Criminal Minds*. The stereotypes created, utilized, and exploited in these shows create caricatures that negatively impacted many social groups. Particularly in a post-9/11 world, groups that are scapegoated as the cause of mass violence, such as depicting Muslims as terrorists and the mentally ill as serial killers, become victims of social violence.

While I examine and analyze different examples of stigmatization, I primarily demonstrate how music is used to enhance these monologic narratives, specifically how *Criminal Minds'* use of a compiled soundtrack to characterize extreme negative stereotypes of mental illness. The pre-existing music selected for various episodes of *Criminal Minds* functions in a myriad of ways both diegetically and non-diegetically. The Rolling Stones' "Sympathy for the Devil" in "Revelations" is used to both non-diegetically characterize and illustrate the violence committed by the Dissociative-Identity Disorder "Devil" Tobias Henkel. Electronic music augments Ben Foster's hallucinatory reality, an aural manifestation of his paranoid schizophrenia and insomnia in the episode "With Friends Like These." In this same episode, the diegetic use of Mozart's "Piano Concerto No. 20 in D minor" creates an atmosphere of reality for the unnamed woman, which enhances the target audience's identification with the victim and preys on fears of violence caused by mental illness. Finally, in "Scream," Brenton

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Wood's "Great Big Bundle of Love" serves as a narrative and emotional indicator for extreme violence committed by the serial murderer Peter Folkmore, who exhibits OCD tendencies as a means to confront spectatorship through semantic disturbance. These represent only a few examples of the musical characterization of mental illness, and even a smaller sample of *Criminal Minds*' negative aural, visual, and narrative depictions of severe and common mental illness.

The Bakhtinian analysis featured above focused primarily on the monologic nature of the crime drama and how the music featured in the shows impacted its representation of mental illness. Continuing this type of analysis throughout the series would yield many other examples related to mental illness. It would also reveal how the compiled soundtrack has been utilized to prey on other societal anxieties, including foreign and domestic terrorism, drug trafficking, human trafficking, kidnapping, sexual assault, and government corruption. Alternatively, we can examine the social discourse surrounding the audience of similar series and examine how different agendas in media affect the discussion around problematic issues. Just as Evelyn Alsultany recognized the racist overtones in media directly following 9/11, and a growing online community is understanding the misrepresentation of mental illness in *Criminal Minds*, in the future, one can examine dialogic shifts as it relates to different media.

Recently, CBS announced that *Criminal Minds* will end after its fifteenth season in 2020.[292] The 325 episodes span three different presidencies and two decades. This ending crystalizes its status as a cultural representative for the time period spanning the late 2000s and 2010s. Its fifteen seasons convey varying representations of societal fears and anxieties occurring within our recent history and can be understood as byproducts of this cultural mindset. Additionally, *Criminal Minds* popularity will solidify its place in the history of television. In the future, I predict that *Criminal Minds* will be studied and criticized for the problematic agenda it promoted. Much like labeling *Dragnet* as conservative right-wing propaganda, *Criminal Minds* will be scrutinized for the grotesque violence it depicted every week, the amount of sexual violence it portrayed against women, and its unabashed stereotyping of various social groups. Future researchers will place it against the political landscape of the 2000s-2010s and conjecture, hopefully with disgust, why these narratives were accepted, praised, and repeated throughout the media.

The ending of the series could indicate various factors present in the viewing public such as poor ratings, oversaturation of the genre, an increased cost/benefit deficit, and scandal.[293] Simultaneously, its ruin could also be a symptom of a growing dialogic mindset. The increasing call in recent years for

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[292] Neelie Andreeva, "'Criminal Minds' To End Run With 10-Episode 15th & Final Season On CBS," deadline.com, January 10, 2019, retrieved February 28, 2019, https://deadline.com/2019/01/criminal-minds-end-15th-final-season-cbs-canceled-renewed-1202532632/.

[293] Lesley Goldberg, "Thomas Gibson Fired From CBS 'Criminal Minds,'" August 12, 2016, retrieved February 22, 2019, https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/live-feed/thomas-gibson-fired-criminal-minds-altercation-919150.

the media to depict a realistic and positive representations of mental illness, to re-examine the portrayal violence against women in media, and the transition from network media to Internet streaming has constructed a new mode of production that seeks to portray more realistic perspectives of social groups. By catering now to younger demographics who are simultaneously more aware about and afflicted with mental illness, narrative media has begun to adjust to the ideals and identities of a younger generation.[294]

In this sense, the death of *Criminal Minds* can be understood as a generational transition. The societal fears of violence committed by an archetypal "Other," an evil force of destruction explained by extremist views or a fractured mind, begin to fade with the Baby Boomer/Gen X generations.[295] *Criminal Minds* served its purpose: to create a narrative bulwark that normalized these fears and attempted to assuage them through the ultimate victory of a monologic good versus evil, regardless of the irreparable damage its extremely problematic premise and execution caused. That damage is now being addressed through new forms of media, which attempts to destigmatize mental illness through a dialogic rhetoric. A rhetoric of understanding that people with mental illness can commit violence, but the majority of the neurotypical population is more likely to

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[294] John-Manuel Andriote, "Young Are More Aware of Mental Health, Yet Less Resilient: Millennials Don't Stigmatize Mental Illness. They Also Have More of It," psychologytoday.com, August 7, 21018, retrieved February 22, 2019. https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/stonewall-strong/201808/young-are-more-aware-mental-health-yet-less-resilient.

[295] Harry R. Moody, "Baby Boomers: From Great Expectations to a Crisis of Meaning," as aging.com, retrieved on April 8, 2019, https://www.asaging.org/blog/baby-boomers-great-expectations-crisis-meaning

do so. This dialogic transition, however, can still be seen as the depiction of societal fears through narrative media.

The new generational anxieties no longer come from the outside but are centered within the self. While the fears of the 2000s-2010s surround an impending attack from outside forces, I argue that new societal anxieties stem from an inward collapse of U.S. democracy[296] and a growing sense of social isolation.[297] To combat this, the media creates shows themed around political corruption such as *House of Cards* (Netflix, 2013-), *Blindspot* (NBC, 2015), and *Quantico* (ABC, 2015-2018). With regard to mental illness, the growing fear of isolation in an era of exponentially expanding communication technology has created a generation that is markedly more prone to mental illness, particularly anxiety disorders and clinical depression.[298] The new instances of sympathetic media mentioned above (*Maniac* and *Russian Doll*) paint narratives of realistic mental illness and promote a way, not to cure, but to live a healthy life with mental illness through human connection. Mental health is a difficult thing to maintain without the fear of stigma, and these shows combat that stigma by depicting the overcoming of bias or fear and seeking help in others. The writers

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[296] Harvard Kennedy School: Institute of Politics, "Nearly Two-Thirds of Young Americans Fearful About the Future of Democracy in America, Harvard youth poll finds," iop.harvard.edu, retrieved April 8, 2019, https://iop.harvard.edu/about/newsletter-press-release/nearly-two-thirds-young-americans-fearful-about-future-democracy.

[297] Alison Bowen, "The Overarching Generation: As Millennials Strive for Perfection, Anxiety and Depression Increase," chicagotribune.com, October 31, 2018, retrieved April 8, 2019, https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/sc-fam-perfectionism-college-students-1106-story.html.

[298] Philip Perry, "Millennials Are at Higher Risk for Mental Health Issues. This May Be Why.," bigthink.com, January 8, 2018, retrieved March 1, 2019, https://bigthink.com/philip-perry/millennials-are-at-higher-risk-for-mental-health-issues-this-may-be-why.

and music supervisors of these shows use the same compiled soundtrack tactics

as *Criminal Minds*, not to create the fear of the "Other," but to ease the fear of the

self. Millennial fears are no longer afraid of others with mental illness, but of

trying to live with mental illness themselves.

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