

# **The Infernal Cultural Complex**

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The Devil as a Symbol and Jungian Archetype of Change in late Twentieth  
Century American Popular Culture

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## Abstract

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The success of various civil rights movements in America, starting in the 1960s, changed social stratification based on race, gender, and sexuality. Also, within the 1960s, the less discussed occult revival seemed to place the Devil everywhere America looked. Social events often highlighted how the Devil, as an inner, hidden evil, was found in White American Christian men. Some of these men, usually privileged in society, perceived that equal rights, along with the public revelation that much of America's evil was committed by men like them, created a threat to their privileged positions in society, which developed into shared psychological trauma. This thesis examined the psychological effects of this perceived, shared cultural trauma through its expression in myth making using popular cultural narratives. In addition to using sociological theory and historical context, the analytical psychology of Jung was used, with emphasis on what Jung called the complex and the idea of cultural complexes, as put forward by later Jungian scholars. Because Jung stressed the importance of analysing myths to understand the cultural psyche behind their creation, three diverse types of popular culture, argued to be modern myth making, were examined. Three case studies explored the narratives of Hollywood films in the 1970s, investigative television programs of the 1980s, and grunge music videos from the 1990s, using a methodology which combines critical discourse analysis and Jungian amplification to interpret how the Devil is used to confront the evil located inside their creators. The data set found that although some othering occurred as a result of deviance from heterosexuality, the main archetypal force behind the Devil was one promoting a change towards the recognition of internal evil. The rich data set

highlighted the success of combining Jungian amplification theory and critical discourse analysis as a methodology in sociological research.

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## Chapter 1 | Introduction

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“If one tries beyond one’s capacity to be perfect, the Shadow descends into Hell and becomes the Devil.”

C.G. Jung (1976, p.569)

On April 8, 1966, Time magazine published its first issue to feature only text on the cover. That text asked: ‘Is God Dead?’, drawing on the debate raised by the Nietzschean-based ‘God is Dead’ movement, the accompanying article within discussed the movement’s idea to move the ‘Theos’ out of theology and have a godless religion (Figure 1, Time, 2023). Readers and non-readers alike saw this headline on newsstands across America on one of the most important days to Christian Americans, Good Friday.



*Figure 1. Time magazine cover for the week of April 8, 1966 (Time, 2023).*

Christian Americans would see further threat three weeks later when the Church of Satan was established in California on April 30, 1966. These two events heralded in the occult revival of the 1960s, which brought a figure central to Christian mythology to the forefront of American popular culture: the Devil.

This thesis will examine the role of the Devil in the psyche of Christian American men, using an analytical framework which draws upon the theories of Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) and Jungian scholars who continued his work. Jung, the founder of analytical psychology, believed that one way that the motivations behind the actions, beliefs, and desires of any society could be better understood was through examining the characters and narratives in myth cycles important to that culture. To Jung (CW9i, para.261, 2015), myths were involuntary statements about unconscious, psychic happenings. Jorgensen (2021) states that by reflecting the cultural expectations of the society, myths not only validate social norms but also explain and rationalize the relationships and power dynamics of the society which produced them; this includes Christian mythology and American culture.

An argument will be presented that, in response to being reminded that the source of evil – Satan – was often inside them, some White Christian American men – often unconsciously – created popular culture narratives between mid-1970s and the end of 1999 that would examine this evil impulse in the hopes of reconciling with the often-uncomfortable tension this caused in their psyches. In the most simplistic sense, this thesis examines how the idea of the Devil and social change – which would challenge the social standing and authority of some White Christian American men – interact to create a culturally situated psychological reaction, based in part on one of Jung’s earliest theories, the complex. Jung (CW10, para. 201) describes the complex in the psyche as an emotionally charged group of ideas and images which form around an underlying idea. The charge to these emotions came from what Jung termed archetypes, which are best defined as ‘a priori’ or inborn energy which can move

a person's ways of perception into patterns shared with all humans (Stevens, 2002). In 2004, Jungian Scholars Thomas Singer and Samuel L. Kimbles presented the argument that these complexes can not only influence individuals, but also groups of people who shared a common culture and experiences within this culture due to their social standing within it. The concept of what they termed a cultural complex has been debated and discussed ever since, but little research has been offered as to how individuals within the cultural group affected deal with this complex. Therefore, rather than presenting evidence similar to other projects that this cultural complex exists, this thesis looks to move the debate forward by examining one-way members of a collective group psyche, which has shared a culture-based trauma, deal with the imbalance in its psyche to relieve this tension.

### **1.1 | The Infernal Complex and America's Ultimate Evil**

To examine this proposed technique to better unify the psyche, the thesis will propose the existence of the 'infernal complex': an American cultural complex triggered in some White Christian American men in response to real and/or perceived threats to the social positions of privilege they occupy. When this privilege is threatened, it can cause internal tension as these men recognise that some evil is within – not without, in the Other. The two main components which triggered this complex will be examined; the various civil rights movements between mid-1970s and the end of 1999 – which helped to remove a once assumed moral authority from male, white skin – and the occult revival – which placed the religious concept of the Devil and related demonic imagery inside white, middle-class America. The infernal complex results in two primary reactions. First, those effected look within their cultural group for members to separate or 'Other,' so that the main group can maintain its positive image. The second reaction – and the one this project will focus on – is the creation of narratives in popular culture, often unconsciously, which explore the tensions within their psyches caused by being confronted with facts that point to these men being the real 'evil' – and thus the true

location of the Devil. For the purpose of this thesis, Satan/the Devil is the internal, psychic one as defined by Jung. When appearing in the unconscious, this Devil usually presents itself primarily as one of two, or a combination of, of the aforementioned archetypal forms; the Trickster and the Shadow. These terms will be further discussed in detail in Chapter Two as they are especially important to the analysis involved with the case studies presented in the latter half of this thesis.

With the overall argument this project will present – along with the framework it will be presented within – outlined, it is now necessary to discuss the key concepts used in this project and tell the reader how this thesis will be presented. First, a brief discussion of Christianity and Christian mythology in America is needed. Although a non-secular country, The United States of America has a majority Christian population. Between 1970 and 1999, Americans who called themselves Christians decreased little (88% in 1973 down to 85% in 1998; Newport, 2009), with church membership for these Christians remaining at approximately 70% (Gallup poll, 2009) throughout this period. In a more recent Pew Center survey taken in 2017, 80% of Christian Americans believe that God exists as he is described in the Bible (Pew Research Center, 2017). Most Christians believe the real source – or symbolic representation – of evil is Satan. Research by Nunn (1978) found that American belief in Satan rose from 37% in 1964 to 50% in 1973. This trend increased, with Gallup and Newport (1991) finding that in 1990 55-60% of American adults believed the Devil existed. The most recent national poll (Gallup, 2023) found that 58% of all Americans who responded believed in the Devil. This number rose to 80% if we only include those Americans stating that they were Protestant or some other Christian religion. Satan is an important symbol to Christian Americans, as belief in this figure only seems to grow in the country. Perhaps this is because the idea of the Devil offers a clear path to confronting what is socially unacceptable, as opposed to looking for it in an ever-changing social and political climate. Therefore, many

Christian Americans need to know what disguise Satan is currently wearing so that they know where he is. Even if he is not a tangible, external threat, knowing where the Devil is is a comfort to those who believe in him. As the source of ultimate evil, Satan also becomes the ultimate outsider, or Other for many Americans, even if located within the self.

As a mythical and iconic figure, the Devil has often found its way into representing what is evil in American popular culture. However, the traumatized environment of a post-World War Two America – an environment searching for answers – proved to be a particularly fertile ground for Satan to find representation in. This was especially true in the 1960s, when American exploration into alternate religions, such as Scientology and The Hari Krishnas, ushered in the occult revolution of the 1960s. This revolution would bring the Devil to the national forefront. It also brought reflection in America which focused on two principles important to those with a Judeo-Christian background: the idea of individual responsibility for salvation and the aforementioned need to locate what and where evil was. Jung recognized the Devil as an important figure within the psyche of many Christians, where they might place the negative or Shadow aspects of their Self in.

The next area of American Christianity important to outline is one which continues to be important to many Christian Americans: the belief that, as Americans, God has chosen them to succeed. This belief stems from the early Puritan settlers, who would establish the American New England colonies. They believed that God chose them to succeed and lead others away from the corrupt European church by lighting a beacon – a so-called ‘city on the hill’ – signalling the birth of a Christian nation the way God had intended. Indeed, some might argue that elements of American domestic and international policy still reflect this belief today. In 2017, 48% of adult Americans believed that it is God who determines what happens to them in life, while two-thirds of this same group believe that God has rewarded them at some point in their lifetime (Pew Research Center, 2017). This belief in a covenant

with God made by these White Europeans helped to create a social structure where these privileged people – primarily men, because of the religious and social order carried over from Europe – were entitled to be the ones in power; this placed those outside of this chosen group subservient to their direction under God’s will. Since this covenant was made, many of those who opposed the will of these men were said to be susceptible to, if not directly in league with, the Devil. Understanding this belief is crucial to understanding the threat civil rights movements posed to the social structure of some White Christian men in America, which will be discussed shortly.

## **1.2 | The Devil’s Work? Perceived Threats to American Social Structure**

This thesis will primarily focus on three decades of American cultural history, starting with the occult revival of the mid-1960s and ending in 1999. However, because this period is influenced by post-World War Two trauma, economics, and the Cold War, some events prior to these decades must be discussed to give context. The 1950s and the 1960s will be covered primarily within this introduction, while important social and civil rights movements between 1970 and 1999 will be covered in more detail in the case studies this project will present. It is not the intent of this thesis to provide a comprehensive historical overview of America during these turbulent, influential years; rather, an attempt will be made to focus the reader on events crucial to understanding this project’s overall argument and research questions.

The 1960s would bring desegregation to America, as well as a renewed interest to explore non-traditional religious beliefs by Americans who moved away from conservatism and towards more liberal outlooks – referred to in this project as the occult revival. The American cultural belief of Satan and Satanic influence is not a new one, but one which would find new significance as the Devil’s revival occurred alongside the civil rights movements that would finally achieve desegregation. The move towards equality took a huge step forward in 1948

when President Truman ordered the integration of the armed forces. At the same time, the defeat of the overtly evil Nazi Germany saw Satan's influence become more insidious and liquid to many Americans as it assumed a new, more subversive form in communism. Aiello (2005) suggests that, in the 1950s, communism was officially linked to the Devil when the most influential Catholic priest at the time, Francis Cardinal Spellman, defined communism as 'a threat from Hell itself'. Historian W. Scott Poole (2009) argues that the movement against communism, spearheaded by Joseph McCarthy, had all the elements of the colonial American witch hunts, which fed nicely into the paranoid style of United States politics at the time. The highest-ranking public Christian figure had stated that communism came from the same place the Devil did. This connected the threat of liberal politics with the Devil's influence: a new moral panic which needed to be dealt with by any means necessary. This is highlighted in McCarthy's 1950 speech, when he declared his campaign a 'final, all-out struggle between communist driven atheism and Christianity.' This reawakened narrative reinforced the ideas that evil could be hiding right next door – as communists often worked behind the scenes to wreak havoc on America – and that those who had liberal political beliefs were at least open to Satan's influence. Some Americans may have seen this liberal influence bearing upon the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, which ruled segregation in schools as a violation of constitutional rights – and therefore illegal. Although McCarthyism and the 'red scare' peaked quickly, it established a new position of evil, supported by political and religious discourse, in the eyes of many Christian Americans. The evil which threatened America was no longer strictly a foreign power, which could be directly confronted as in World War Two; It was also inside of some American men, who supported Godless concepts such as communism while living within the same communities that Christian families did.. While the open conflicts seen in The Cold War saw America standing against nations held accountable for this threat abroad, the more insidious

agents existed in America as well, albeit in a more discreet form: protesters and those who sought to erode the privileged position many White American Christians had access to by birth. This reinforced the idea that liberal, leftist thoughts and movements were against the will of God and therefore must be linked to Satan's influence.

Many of these liberal movements in the 1960s focused on African American civil rights, which made three major advances in legislation during this period.. After being proposed by President Kennedy in 1963, President Johnson finally got the Civil Rights Act passed in 1964. This Act outlawed discrimination and segregation based on race, religion, gender, and nationality. This was shortly followed up in 1965 by the Voting Rights Act, and later in 1968 by the Fair Housing Act, both also passed by Johnson. To some White Americans, these acts were seen as increasing competition in an economy that was already struggling. Although post-war America of the 1950s had seen strong economic growth and opportunity, President Johnson's so-called 'great society' legislative acts cost a significant amount of money within a 1960s economy strained by the past Korean War and present Vietnam conflict (Federal Reserve History, 2013). National inflation and unemployment seemed to reflect the Johnson administrations social reform policies. When the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964, inflation was at 1% and unemployment at 5%; ten years later inflation was over 12% and unemployment was above 7%. Although all this change could not be accounted for by new social reform, some Americans saw these two occurring at the same time as no coincidence.

Poole (2009) suggests that some of the liberal countercultures of the 1960s increased the belief that Satan might directly, or at least indirectly, have inspired every movement which involved the expansion of these liberal based individual rights. This belief informed a feeling of spiritual warfare in many conservative Christians of various denominations. This crusade was often fought in what was seen by many of these Americans as 'the Devil's playground': popular culture. This created the concept of an occult revival, which occurred from the mid-

1960s till the end of the 1990s in American popular culture. The following discussion will focus on elements of this revival primarily from 1966 through 1970, with a few relevant incidents in the 1970s being covered, to provide a narrative of the increased use of the image and concept of Satan in popular culture, which will be continued later within the case study chapters.

Setting the stage for the Devil's overt face in popular culture was the signing in 1965 by President Johnson of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which saw the elimination of race-based immigration quotas (Greenwood & Ward, 2015). This saw a sudden influx of people who practiced religions which were not Eurocentric, such as Buddhism and Hinduism. In addition to these religions having different deities, they encouraged their followers to participate in self-actualization activities. This empowerment of people to perform acts that Christianity saved for God, Angels, and its most trusted holy people happened at the same time the idea of magic and religion without any gods was also being openly discussed. To add to the worry for some Christians would be the fact that God's adversary, Satan, now had an established church on earth – and a very public face in the form of a man called Anton Szandor LaVey, founder of The Church of Satan.

### **1.3 | The Chosen or The Victims? White American Christian Men**

Now is a suitable time to go back and further discuss the idea that White Christian American men were 'the chosen ones' by God and more deserving of an often elusive 'American Dream' than others. Both of these ideas are large, complex ones, not easily defined, and will be discussed in Chapter Two. In believing the Puritan notion of being chosen by God, some men expected to also be the ones who decided what the dominant discourses in their America would be, based on their best interests. The term discourse will be used in this project as defined by philosopher and historian Michal Foucault (1984b); the rules of the formation of

statements within a given culture relating to a subject, so that they are accepted to be the truth of the matter. The Americans who saw themselves in the image of the Puritan settlers believed that what they said about how society should be viewed and structured should remain the dominant discourse. Part of the reason for this was that those who determined the dominant discourses – and thus what was ‘true’ in a society – had more opportunities to occupy the positions of power and influence in that society, which are often limited in nature (Foucault, 1994a). Many of these American men in the time period this research examines that felt that their positions were under threat from other social groups might have identified with President Donald Trump’s 2016, 2020, and 2024 campaign slogan ‘Make America Great Again (MAGA)’, which focused on the threat of illegal immigration and aligned itself with the far Christian right. The appeal of Donald Trump to many American voters is complex, and it would be reductive to offer any summary here. However, the fear used by his campaign of Others taking away privileged social positions, including jobs with good wages, was a fear based in the types of social change that started in the 1960s. As argued by Cohen (1980), much of the anxiety caused by the outsider or ‘Other’ is because they defy what is expected of them culturally or socially. Strong and often immoral policies towards immigrants and those who were not heterosexual men would indicate that the influences of underrepresented cultures and lifestyles were openly opposed and unwanted by some of those in power. It could be argued that one of the easiest ways to move someone into a social Other group in America would be to link them with the Devil, even if this evil occurs within some of those doing so.

The very problematic Christian idea of Satan, or an evil impulse, influencing people from within is important to this thesis. Technological advances quickly placed televisions and later cable and satellite worldwide television channels in a vast number of American homes. This likely contributed to making it more difficult not to acknowledge that a growing number of

actions commonly agreed to be evil, such as rape and paedophilia, were being committed by White American Christian men. These changes did not happen overnight but became more difficult to ignore as investigative news reporting emerged as a dominant media source in the early 1980s. As mentioned earlier, Farrell (1998) has suggested that a form of post-traumatic injury to the American psyche began with the Great Depression and World War Two, but never had a time to heal, with the Cold War, McCarthyism, and Vietnam quickly following this second 'war to end all wars'. Farrell continues to say that all this trauma occurred while traditional ideas of the American, middle-class family were slowly eroded away by social change. Winant (2004) supports this claim with his idea which he called the 'racial break'. Winant describes this break as an almost global rearrangement of racial power, resulting from successful social changes driven through American society by strong civil rights movements. Winant states that along with swift shifts in the power struggles over gender and sexuality, America's once unquestionable idea of being a hegemonic, Christian state came under question.

American Studies scholar Lee Bebout has termed the response of some of these men as a form of self-Othering to achieve what he terms weaponized victimization. Bebout's (2020) theory suggests that, beginning in the 1960s, some of these right-oriented, Christian men have both consciously and unconsciously positioned the social groups they represent in American society so that they can be the victims; this victim status is then weaponized as a tool to maintain the privileged position of these groups. Bebout described this as weaponized victimhood. Men whose position of power is threatened by civil equality efforts appropriate a discourse of victimization to maintain their status within the system of inequality they benefit from. Bebout continues by explaining that today's victimhood logic stretches across forms of social power relations, from gender and religion to race and nationality. Bebout states that this victimhood logic can be seen today as it is often used to frame the political right's so-

called battle for the rights of men. A social position created and supported within this discourse of victimhood is one of ‘entitled aggrievement,’ which may have contributed to the angry white man persona seen by many storming the American nation’s capital during the January 2021 riot. Most of the participants who broke the law during this riot after Trump’s electoral defeat were middle-aged, employed Americans unaffiliated with any known extremist groups; 85% of those who participated were men, with 93% identifying as white (Pape, 2021).

To fully address the questions outlined below, this thesis will examine some of the possible internal influences on external expressions of cultural beliefs. Therefore, an interdisciplinary approach is necessary. While interdisciplinary studies have become common place in academia, Jung’s school of Analytic Psychology is rarely paired with sociology. This is surprising, given that much of Jung’s theory – albeit written in such a way that it might be applied to an individual’s psychological treatment – is based in Jung’s core belief that humanity shared a certain amount of common and collective knowledge, which was stored and accessible in the layer of every individual’s psyche in a place called the collective unconscious. The answer to this is most likely a complex combination of several factors. One could be that many link Jung to antisemitism, due to his brief association with the National Socialist Party in Germany, which will be discussed later in Chapter Three. Another reason, and one which this current research hopes to address, is because Jung tended to draw from his own and other religions when discussing his theories, some viewed this interest located in mysticism, thus having no place in serious social debate. It is hoped that this research, which focuses on the Devil of Christian mythology, will show that it is because of Jung’s frequent engagement with religion in the psyche, his approach to psychology is strongly linked to unconscious forces that drive social activity. As stated by Main (2013, pg.291), inclusion of Jung in sociological thought can highlight how individuals that appear to be secular in their

outside appearance and actions, might have an unconscious religious identity that may unknowingly influence them in a fundamental way. By using Jungian theory to examine White Christian American men, it is hoped that this research proves the value of knowing what inside motivation these social actors may feel when creating popular cultural forms.

The field of psychoanalytic studies has also had a more recent, direct link to sociology in the aforementioned idea of the cultural complex. Discussed in more detail shortly, the cultural complex argues that like individuals, cultures which collectively share experiences may grow to have complex-like reactions to events on a larger, collective scale. Singer (2020) refers to the cultural effect on the psyche as ‘inner sociological building blocks’ which travel with the person, even when they move outside of the dominant cultural group and continue to shape them.

The use of any White American male demographic can be seen as a wide, sweeping term if not carefully defined. The men who are the focus of this project were born between the Baby Boomer generation (1943-1960) and Generation X (1961-1981), as defined by Howe and Strauss (1998), who define their race as white and their religion as Christian. Americans who self-reported their religion to be Protestant or Catholic was 91% in 1970, 89% in 1980, and 78% in 1990 (Statista, 2023). By Christian, this thesis does not exclusively refer to those who would be fundamentalists or those who attend church services weekly. Rather, this project refers to Christians as those who, when asked if they believed in God, would answer ‘yes’ as they were raised in communities which shared this cultural belief. This project’s demographic was further chosen because, although the aforementioned rapid social change also effected the entertainment industry, the majority of those in charge and creating popular culture which was widely distributed during the last three decades of the twentieth century were White men. Any doubt of this can be eliminated by looking at just a few key statistics. While women directed only 0.19% of over 7,000 major cinema released between 1949 and 1979(Smuckler,

2014), approximately three fourths of the scripts for all Hollywood major releases and television are written by White American men (Biebley and Biebley, 2002). That being said, the reader should still remember that the artists involved in the creation of the pieces of popular culture examined in the case studies which follow are not necessarily typical of the average White American Christian man; they belong to an outlier group privileged enough to be able to produce these often costly pieces of media.

The repeated, perceived threat to the social position and associated power these White Christian American men have benefitted from, can perhaps be viewed as the beginning of a form of masculinity sociologist Michael Kimmel (2017) would call the ‘angry white man’. While Kimmel’s term is not a product of the turbulent 1960s, it is during this decade that we perhaps begin to see the early formation of the male image which would be seen storming the aforementioned Capitol building in 2021. The high emotional response and dedication to a very rigid, specific way of viewing events, which many of these angry White men exhibited, might indicate they were under the influence of Jung’s aforementioned and defined complex. As Singer (2020) later states, a problematic characteristic of a cultural complex is that, once established, they tend to focus on memories which validate the established world view, placing information filtered through the collective and individual psyche in a very black and white manner. Like the effects on the psyche of individual complex, the cultural complex does not remove agency from the individual; rather, it offers an explanation as to why members of a culture who all receive trauma react to this trauma in similar ways.

#### **1.4 | Research Questions and Thesis Structure**

The idea of a cultural complex is still relatively new. As part of a series of texts designed to examine the concept of the cultural complex within specific societies, Singer served as editor for the publication *Cultural Complexes and the Soul of America: Myth, Psyche, and Politics*

(2020), which included essays from various scholars, primarily from psychology and Jungian studies. These essays focused on many aspects of the cultural complex, with most highlighting the energy these complexes have given to American national debates on topics such as gun control, race, and abortion. When considering his idea of the complex, Jung (1968) states that while the existence of complexes was mundane, the interesting and practical question was what do we do with these complexes? Singer's colleagues explored this question by examining American cultural tendencies but did not really discuss how the existence of these cultural complexes might present themselves within texts produced by members of this society. Interpretation of social and cultural products is a well-established area of interest in sociology, so the concept of a cultural complex presents this area of sociological inquiry several questions, which this thesis' research questions address, along with a larger, more general query: does the theory of cultural complexes provide a useful lens to view a society through for a sociologist?

The idea of this cultural complex will also allow for the examination of the dynamic interaction of the aforementioned self-Othering of weaponized victimhood and the internal, shadow Other Jungian's speak of. By examining how this internal Other is positioned and more importantly confronted in the psyche – through the often-unconscious expression within myth narratives in popular culture – it is hoped this thesis will add to the ongoing discussion about the validity of cultural complexes by explaining how individual psyches might use narratives to work through the issues a complex can present. In addition, insight into how the Devil of the 21st century is viewed, and what behaviours are still repressed and considered evil, will add to what the appearance of this character might mean to the psyche. With these goals in mind, the research questions this project hopes to answer are:

1. How do the narratives support the existence of a search for internal evil, which occurs when the proposed infernal complex is triggered?

2. How do the parts of Jung's psychic Devil find representation in these late twentieth century American popular culture narratives?
3. How does the historical context from within which these narratives are produced inform the way which the archetypal Devil appears, and acts, to evidence him as the self-other and the source of evil?
4. Do these popular culture narratives show self-othering with the Devil in such a way that reconciliation with the Shadow within, where this evil resides, is still possible?
5. How do the narratives presented within the case studies reflect the representation of Satan in the New Testament and previous popular cultural texts?

Because this thesis involves many areas of academic study, the structure will seek to give the reader all the tools necessary to really understand the focus and framework of it by time they begin to read the case studies. Therefore, the first two chapters will introduce the reader to important concepts that inform this research. Chapter Two will review relevant literature relating to important to the Other and the concept of self-Othering in America, the Puritan idea of being chosen by God, and the relationship between the American ideas of individual responsibility and salvation. As previously mentioned, while some degree of historical setting and analysis will be necessary, this project does not intend to offer a full historical review of the time periods in American history discussed. Rather, certain historical periods will be selected based on the importance to the overall examination and argument presented in this project. This will be followed by discussions on the origins of what would become the Christian Satan, the Devil within the Christian myth cycle, and the Devil in popular culture. This chapter will conclude by discussing the theory of the cultural complex and how this idea relates to the rest of the topics discussed.

Chapter Three will discuss the analytical framework used on this project's case studies as it relates to the theories of Jung, as well as other Jungian scholars. Focus will be on Jungian concepts such as the complex, archetypes, opposition within the unconscious, and the function of the Devil within the psyche. Part of what Americans might think of as an internal Satanic influence, Jung sometimes called the Shadow. A basic understanding of these concepts is important to the reader if they are to fully understand and engage with this project's discussion chapter, especially the Shadow, or Other part of one's psyche; this will be a central part of this thesis' closing discussion on how Shadow relates to self-Othering and an important psychological process Jung called Individuation, which will be discussed within this chapter on the framework.

The fourth chapter will discuss the principal elements of the projects methodological approach, as well as how they work together to provide the best analysis of the chosen popular culture, in hopes of addressing this project's research questions. American culture will be explored by combining several disciplines, including sociology, history, and the analytical psychology of Jung. This is similar to the traditional American studies method, as outlined by DeLoria and Olson (2017), in that the overall approach to methodology this project uses involves supporting conclusions as best as possible, while accepting that part of what is done has the subjective, creative quality of artistic expression. By synthesizing ideas originating from different fields into something new, one must also accept that the uniqueness of this approach will involve the researcher at a personal level which must be reflected upon (DeLoria and Olson, 2017). The personal, subjective synthesis of supported conclusions should, however, be approached methodically, in a way like traditional, empirical scientific methods, which will be achieved through examining the popular culture in three diverse case studies.

The varied nature of the narratives within the thirty-year time span this thesis examines fits very well within the general methodology of case study research, as outlined by Robert K. Yin in his now classic text, *Case Study Research: Design and Method (1985)*. Yin argued to achieve the best overall understanding of the relationships between the subject of inquiry and these contexts, the case study method provides a comprehensive research strategy which relies on drawing from multiple, and varied, sources of data, examined through triangulation. Each case study will examine either successful films, investigative television shows, or music videos, using a combined methodological approach of critical discourse analysis, as outlined in *How to do: Critical Discourse Analysis* by Machin and Mayr (2012), and Jungian amplification to provide insight and address the research questions posed in this project. In addition to further discussing why working with case studies is the best way to approach this project, this methodologies chapter will serve to highlight how the discursive theories of Foucault were applied to popular cultural studies by Stuart Hall, and how the combination of the resulting method of discourse analysis with Jungian visual amplification provides the best methodology to uncover the information desired. Popular culture was chosen as a medium to explore in the case studies and to support this project's argument because it is well established in sociology and Jungian theory that the examination of popular cultural narratives is an excellent way to gain insight into those periods and people who produced them.

The reader will then be ready to move onto the new research this project presents in the three case studies which follow. Each chapter will present a case study covering one of three diverse types of popular culture over the three decades following the beginning of the occult revival in the 1960s. The analysis of these case studies are alternate, and to some degree new, readings of events during the specific time periods which have been explored by academics in the past. Chapter Five presents the first case study which examines the portrayal of Vietnam

veterans in the 1970s Hollywood blockbuster film, exploring the visual and discursive structure of Vietnam veterans in these films as they relate to the exploration of the evil within the White Christian America fighting man. Chapter Six, the second case study, will examine televised investigative reports of the 1980s which focused on White male Americans being involved in serial murder and crime in the name of Satan. While some previous authors such as Walsh (2005) have suggested that the under representation of African American serial killers in television news during this period was because the news media were afraid of being labelled racist if they showed African American committing crimes on television, this argument is not supported by research such as that by Dixon and Linz (2000) which suggests that African Americans committing crime is overrepresented in the news media. With this topic clearly still a matter of academic debate, this case study will focus on why the White American man featured so heavily in these extremely popular televised investigative reports, which includes a brief discussion on how this media presented African American men significantly less. The final case study, presented in Chapter Seven, will visit the 1990s for an exploration of the lyrics and visual images presented in 1990's grunge music videos. Often viewed as a musical change to a more authentic sound than the previous decades so-called 'Hair-metal' of California's Sunset Strip, made popular by multi-platinum selling bands like Motley Crue and Poison, grunge lyrics and the resulting videos showed a certain recognition that something was not right within the White American man. These videos may have been so popular partially because their narratives allowed viewers to examine uncomfortable ideas of their own through these images, which symbolically presented the problematic evil these young men from Seattle, Washington, recognized.

Finally, Chapter Eight will discuss how the results from the case study analysis relate to this thesis' research questions, in addition to examining how elements of Jung's analytical psychology could offer an underused lens to examine traditionally sociological topics in the

future. Based on this project's conclusions, suggestions will be offered as to how more productive popular culture narratives in the future could better address the imbalance these men are feeling inside; future research into this area will be covered. Gaining insight into how a healthier expression of this 'evil' within is expressed is essential, because as stated by Bassil-Morozow (2017), the emergence of collective Shadow on a mass scale must be avoided due to potentially dire social consequences.

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## Chapter 2 | Identity, Salvation and The Devil

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### 2.1 | White American Male Identity and Othering

White American male identity is both complex and problematic. From a constructivist perspective, identity – ethnic, social, religious, or political – is not ‘given’ or ‘static,’ but rather fluid, dynamic, and dependent on social interactions and discursive processes (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). However, Bauman (1993) argues that all identities in a society are set up as dichotomies, which are crucial to establishing power relations; the second member of a society is simply what is Other to the first, like abnormality being the Other to what is the social norm. Crang (1998) defines ‘Othering’ as ‘a process through which identities are set up in an unequal relationship’. Othering can be seen as the simultaneous construction of the self, or in-group, and the Other, or out-group, in mutual and unequal opposition. This is often achieved through identification of some desirable characteristic that the self/in-group has, and the other/out-group lacks and/or some undesirable characteristic that the other/out-group has and the self/in-group lacks. Othering thus sets up a superior self/in-group in contrast to an inferior other/out-group.

Okolie (2003) states that identity has little meaning without the Other. To be a White Christian man has lost its meaning and, to a certain extent, its privileged power unless it is compared to the deviant Others within its own group. So, by defining itself a group helps defining others within that culture. Identity is rarely claimed or assigned for its own sake, with definitions of self and Other having purposes and consequences. They are tied to rewards and punishment, which may be material or symbolic. There is usually an expectation of gain or loss as a consequence of identity claims. This is one reason identities are contested. Power is implicated here, and because groups do not have equal powers to define both self

and the Other, the consequences reflect these power differentials; notions of superiority and inferiority are embedded in particular identities. In America, although contested by other groups more successfully over recent years, the identity with power in America is the White man, usually of the Judeo-Christian faith.

Before looking at specific discourses affecting the white American Christian males subjective position which have specific importance to this thesis, literature relating to the more general position of being white in America should be discussed. Frankenberg (1993) offers a definition of whiteness as being a location of structural advantage and standpoint from which white people look out at Others and the surrounding society. In addition, Frankenberg states that whiteness often has a set of almost invisible cultural practices, which are usually unnamed and undefined as they just tend to be seen as the day-to-day social norms. However low a White male is placed in each socio-economic order, they still benefit from being white, although not always intentionally (Clarke and Gardner, 2010). Within this privileged White male demographic, there will be internal friction as some subordinate White male identities stand out in a negative way. For many societies, the locus of evil is in what is different, what is the 'Other.' In addition to being a locus where evil may be placed, the Other often symbolizes other uncomfortable feelings within the culture. Seidman (2013) argues that the Other represents that part of society which is ungovernable and a source of not only anxiety, but disgust. When this part of society happens to be members of this white male group, a concept called self-othering can be used to cleanse the group from those elements they wish to not be associated with their group.

Chowdhury (2022) defines self-othering as the process a group uses to define what qualities make for a good member of the group while devaluing the voices of those in the group that deviate from this ideal. As discussed earlier, the in-group can only know itself by defining itself over and against another, an 'Other' (Crang, 1998); this principle is applied within the

group as well to identify those who might threaten the larger groups discursive positive power position. Bebout (2020) states that self-othering also allows a social group to construct its own history and identity, so that it appears to be subordinated by another powerful group. The constructed identity as 'Other' enables the group to affirm its legitimacy and to capitalize on what it means to be positioned as the Other.

Bebout called this self-othering, in-group process 'weaponized victimhood', which he defined as a practice in which dominant groups claim victimhood 'to maintain power and privilege in the guise of powerlessness and justice'. Bebout states that in America this is a cultural response by the dominant social group to the transformation of American social order through the various continuing civil rights movements. When these dominant social identities come under threat, real or merely perceived, weaponized victimhood is used to maintain power relations. Bebout (2020) further argues that weaponized victimhood may be seen as an outward expression of what Michael Kimmel (2017) has called "aggrieved entitlement. Kimmel argues that the so-called 'angry White man' image comes from aggrieved entitlement and a sense of victimization. Kimmel states that some American White men believe that benefits they are entitled to have been snatched away by often unseen, large social forces. The thought of being heirs to the 'American dream,' is now replaced with this dream becoming an almost impossible fantasy (Kimmel, 2017). The concept of 'living the American dream' seems like a grand narrative post-modernism would avoid, but Faludi (1999) sums up its basic principles as being able to earn a decent, reliable wage, which is appreciated at a home you own by the family you support. Kimmel (2005) adds to this definition by suggesting it is closely tied to the 'self-made man' myth, a single defining feature of American masculinity, which believes that anyone can rise as high as they aspire to through talents, discipline, and the dedicated challenging work to get there.

Faludi (1999) and Kimmel (2017) both stress that American men have lost their perceived, useful role in public life through the inability to attain this ideal of American masculinity they had seen in previous generations. The angry white man does not originate in a specific social class because what unites them is this central ideal of an American masculinity that they can no longer achieve. Kimmel (2017) continues by saying that these men are not angry at an external group, but at this ideology of American masculinity which has been passed down to them from their fathers. However, the anger and frustration are never reconciled because it is often unconsciously focused and projected on other groups who they blame for changing the rules. Kimmel (2017) further states that it is the very political structures and business leaders whom many identify with and support who are changing these rules, by moves such as shipping jobs off to other countries where they can pay less, if any, wages and increase profit. However, since these public leaders have used things like media discourse to shift the angry white man's focus on some huge, unlocatable force set in motion against them, there is no clear direction for resolving this anger. This frustration and inability to act meaningfully regarding their own future only leads to another part of masculinity being challenged as they cannot protect themselves and, therefore, their families, making weaponized victimization a viable option.

Like blaming others for the inability to achieve this ideal masculinity, the use of weaponized victimization is not always a conscious choice. Roberts-Miller (2009) use the term "cunning projection" to describe what they call a mostly unconscious process where one rationalizes aggressive behaviour in such a way that it looks defensive. Roberts and Miller add that this process serves to reinforce group identity, because one is either the oppressed or the oppressor. Bebout (2020) argues that the findings of Roberts and Miller do not suggest that actors are not fully aware of their choices; rather, the language used within these discourses of victimhood can expose both conscious and unconscious elements of right leaning political

viewpoints. Bebout (2020) describes weaponized victimhood as going through four stages when it is used. First, there is an identified threat to the societies status quo. Second, this threat triggers a sense of aggrieved entitlement within this dominant group. Next, the people whose identities are under threat perform actions making themselves look like the victims in society. Bebout (2020) argues that this is achieved by flattening out or even inverting social standing within the discursive realm, pushing forward the following as logic: if the oppressed truly are oppressed, the privileged power group are oppressed in equal or greater ways. Finally, these actions which make the group look like the victims in society, rather than the privileged, are weaponized to further oppress the other groups through politics and social actions which maintain the status quo of those chosen by God to lead America.

## **2.2 | The Puritan Discourse of the ‘Chosen Ones’**

From America’s early beginnings, the white male subjective position would be one of expected power and influence, as expressed by the white male Puritan ministers coming to America. McDermott (2020) argues that the very nature of European colonialism led to an equation between race and power, as settler colonies from Europe oppressed and exploited non-Europeans. Influential speakers such as Puritan Minister Cotton Mather associated Native Americans as ‘swarthy Indians,’ slaves brought to the colonies as ‘sooty devils’ and described Satan himself as a ‘small Black man’ (Blum and Harvey, 2012). Baker (2015) states that founders of the New England colonies were part of what he calls a ‘Puritan dystopia’ which led to a substantial migration of Puritans from England between 1620 and 1640. These early colonists fled from what most Puritans saw as growing oppression by the King and what many viewed as a corruption within the very Church of England. In response to this corruption of God’s intent, leaders like Governor Winthrop in Massachusetts claimed that he and his fellow Puritans had entered a direct covenant with God to fix what was wrong with the Church of England (Baker, 2015). In this way, the Puritans did not wish to

completely break from English churches forever. Rather, they believed that by creating some distance from the King and corrupting influences, they would be able to sow a new, pure seed of Christian belief which would spread back to England.

Although there were differences within Puritan beliefs, they could all be considered Calvinists in their basic religious philosophy. As Calvinists, they believed that because of the fall of Adam and Eve, all people were born sinners (Baker, 2015). Whereas the Catholic Church believed that people could win salvation through virtuous deeds and moral actions, Calvinists believed that God had already decided if a person was going to Heaven or Hell. In addition, being true believers in the Protestant reformation, Puritans were radical Iconoclasts, banning the depiction of images of God and Jesus. They believed that one should look inside oneself for examples of what God, Jesus, and Satan might look like (Blum and Harvey, 2012). Their identity as Christians acknowledged that although the outcome is already known to God, the individual soul held God or Satan within. Puritans stressed this fact that Satan could indeed lurk inside those not chosen for salvation.

In addition to the fear that Satan could already be inside them, waiting, colonial life was vastly different than the lives and roles most men had in England, challenging traditional European masculinity. The unfamiliar wilderness of the New England colonies challenged those men who thought they were destined to conquer it in the name of God. Carroll (1969) argues that the Puritan's anticipated some Satanic opposition to their settlements in the wilds of North America, with ministers warning that New England was still of the earth, and not of Heaven. Because of their belief in being the chosen-ones, Puritans thought that their sense of mission and destiny had made them special targets of Satan, as they settled in his world. The war between the New England Colonies and indigenous peoples of the Northeastern Woodlands between 1675-1678, called King Phillips War or the First Indian War, seemed to fulfil prophecies of the ministry, as settlements too far out in the wilderness and social

cohesion were wiped from existence. Carroll continues by stating that even as settlers became increasingly complacent about the dangers of the wilderness, ministers of the 1660's continued to warn their parishes that sin and the decline of religious zeal in New England would cause God to abandon them, or perhaps even unleash his wrath. Baker (2015) suggests that the very identity of places like Massachusetts Colony was threatened by an economy already spiralling from poor crops due to harsh winters, as well as a Sabbath attendance rate which continued to drop. This was viewed as a decline in Puritan values, upon which the covenant with God was based. Kimmel (2017) suggests that the anger some White men felt moved from being about the hard labour of working the fields to a focus on the competition they now perceived in the more urban and industrial work environments. Many perceived that not only women, but also newly liberated minorities threatened the dominating image of the white man providing for his community.

Baker (2015) argues that unlike the generation which founded the New England Colonies, many within the second generation attended church services, but did not become church members. This became problematic to Puritan beliefs, because only church members could receive the sacraments, such as baptism for their children. Without baptism, these children would be automatically damned to Hell. This was particularly worrying, as ministers had warned that breaking this oath to God would result in him abandoning the colonists. The fear of the abandonment of God, along with the anger and frustration Puritan ministers felt about the decline of the importance of God within their communities, was only worsened by the long and brutal war between the colonists and Native American's which lasted from 1675 till 1678. Baker (2015) states that Essex County, where the large Massachusetts colony was situated, was hit heavy with many of its male population never returning from the war. In addition, colonists themselves in outlying areas were directly affected by Native American raids. With most Puritan ministers already suggesting, or at the worst stating, that the native

population were servants of the Devil, it seemed to much of the population that God had left, and Satan was knocking at the door. Even after a treaty was signed, local Puritan leaders were economically less stable due to high war taxation and found more of their local power shifted to central government, an example of this being the 1886 establishment by King James the Second of the Dominion of New England. Baker (2015) continues by adding that this new super colony not only delocalized power but also welcomed the open practice and expression of other religions. This was seen by those with original, founding Puritan values as an almost direct return to the corrupt English church their forefathers had fled from and had sought to change, and in this sense a failure in their individual responsibility to God.

### **2.3 | Individualism and Salvation in American Christians**

Altizer (2017) suggests that the establishment of the United States of America, one of whose founding principles was the separation of church from state, ushered in a symbolic death of God, or at least his power on the new nation's lands. Altizer cites William Blake's poetic book *America the Prophecy* (1793), in which Blake describes the fall of a national god-image after the American revolution. With the removal of God from the nation, it fell upon the individual American citizen to form their own relationship with God and seek their own path to salvation. This was a concept embraced by a new wave of Christian faith revivalism which swept America as it headed into the nineteenth century, fuelled by the afore mentioned strong Puritan Calvinist roots and an influx of devote Catholic immigrants from places such as Eastern Europe, Ireland, and Italy (Poole, 2009). The need to address Satan's continued threat to Americans saw the rise of Evangelical Christianity, which reminded Americans of the need to cleanse the individual soul of Satan. This renewed evangelical interest in self-salvation is not a new path to Christian redemption; rather, it draws this technique from the religious focus of the New England Puritans. Paden (1988) refers to Foucault when he describes Puritanism as a technique and system of behaviour. Paden points out that Puritans did not

seek to use their subjective position as being chosen by God to perform evangelical works; instead, they focused using their chosen position to expose the actual sinfulness of the self, so that the miracle of the divine could be fully recognized. Puritans did not focus on any tension between the material world and God for salvation, but on the tension between the individual self and God. Paden identifies Puritan techniques of achieving their ideal self as including preaching, reading scripture, and prayer, which focused on an end goal of showing how different the sinful man was from the divine God. By doing this, each person took on the personal responsibility for their own soul. The continuation of this trend in America is supported by Muchembled (2005) when he argues that America has always been a society where individual responsibility is stressed, including the responsibility of salvation.

Muchembled suggests that because of these early Puritan techniques of salvation, America strives to be the land of the pure and strong, with others facing marginalization or sliding straight to hell. When one shifts a fault to an incorporeal being, this takes the external responsibility off the person's shoulders, allowing a 'Devil made me do it' attitude (Vernor, 2019). Victor (1993) argues that many Americans are trapped in a dialectic between being drawn towards these Puritan ideas of morality in the public eye and adopting a more pragmatic, at times amoral approach to practical applications of this morality in private, self-centred affairs.

Although Gnosticism was an offshoot, and one-time rival, of mainstream Christianity, Hart (2004) suggests that it is still important in understanding the individual Christian responsibility of salvation. Key to this understanding is the Gnostic belief that while the body was part of a corrupt, material world, the soul was part of a purer world, held captive within the flesh. The Gnostic way to salvation was the rejection of the corrupt body and a focus on the internal purity of the soul. Pagels (1995) supports this when discussing the teachings of Valentinus as it relates to the individual responsibility of salvation. Valentinus was a

Christian teacher who emigrated to Rome around 140 C.E., urging followers to focus on a concept he called 'gnosis', which he translated as wisdom or knowledge of self. Pagels (1986) stresses that the part of oneself most important to identify, according to the Gospels, was the 'root of evil'; that which more traditional Jewish teachings called the 'evil impulse'.

#### **2.4 | Satan as the Other**

Forsythe (1987) states that the ultimate representation of what is negative and evil in a predominantly Christian society is Satan. Wilson (2002) also supports Forsythe when he argues that Satan is present in all 'evil' behaviour. In his examination of representations of Satan in North American culture, Poole (2009) supports this as well by stating that Satan has been the ultimate image of the evil 'Other' since the arrival of European settlers, such as the Puritans. Poole argues that since this time, there has been a cultural propensity in America to attach Satan and related imagery to internal feelings which seem to challenge Christian idealized culture. Bauman (1991) argues that people distance themselves from the evil of society's Other by making the target of their negative feelings less like them and establishing more social distance. This being the case, a suitable Other is not always an easy choice. This difficulty in positioning evil in a specific place was addressed more recently by Bauman and Leonidas (2016), who argue that modernity's evil lies within the fluid, subjective position of anonymity, which can often be assigned too easily to certain members of a society through fear and uncertainty. Because the fluid nature of evil is so easily transferred, it may not provide enough focus for the individual's anxieties and fears. Satan, as presented in various Christian texts, has the ability to present themselves in various direct and metaphorical ways, changing form as they do so, which offers many Christians a solution to locating this evil. As Carter (1980) shows, it constitutes an integral part of framing opponents as an enemy holding exceptional powers, thereby defining it as demonic and dangerous.

As mentioned earlier, the concept of 'Othering' in the history of American society has been widely explored and supported through numerous academic endeavours. Schock (1993) argues that the myth of Satan began to be appropriated in political symbolism in the 1790s, when it was used to describe both sides in the French and American revolutions. Although the slavery of Africans was part of American society from 1776-1885, the use of slave labour was often politically justified by White American's based on the idea that people brought against their wills from other cultures in Africa were primitive compared to European cultures. This idea, still often finding its origin in these European settlers being chosen by God, left the civilized person the burden of bringing civilization to the primitives, even if forced through slavery. However, the treatment and very institution of slavery made White American's question how this fit into their Christianity. Fredrickson (1971) argues that Alexander Kinmont, who had converted to Swedenborgianism, believed that since people from Africa had a natural willingness to serve, which Caucasians often lacked, the White man could almost never be a true Christian due to this inability. Kinmont said that this was because the White man was not suitable to the tender messages Christianity taught. Fredrickson (1971) states that an additional problem fundamental Abolitionists had with slavery was that the limiting position of being a slave was directly against the idea that every person was morally responsible for their own actions.

This trend continued with the American colonist's war for independence from England. Poole (2009) argues that supporters of the independence movement found the Devil as a potent image to align with those it resisted, with effigies of the Pope, the British stamp collector, and Satan being burned at pre-war rallies in Charleston, North Carolina. King George the Third himself was likened to Satan at many points. Even with the founding father's war propaganda use of Satan, Foner (1970) argues that Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Pain believed that the 'Age of Reason' they saw America representative of would have no place for the intangible

Devil. This would prove to be wrong, as America's strong religious ties established by original colonists would not let the Devil rest. An interesting argument is put forth by Altizer (2017) when he suggests that the establishment of the United States of America, one of whose founding principles was the separation of church from state, ushered in a symbolic death of God, or at least his power on the new nation's lands. Altizer cites William Blake's poetic book *America the Prophecy* (1793), in which Blake describes the fall of a national god-image after the American revolution. With the removal of God from the nation, it fell upon the individual American citizen to form their own relationship with God and seek their own path to salvation, as national policy would not show the way.

Although the American Indian Wars started in the western regions of North America around 1811 (through 1914), the concept of Manifest Destiny strongly supported the Puritan belief in having a covenant with God to fulfil. The idea at the centre of Manifest Destiny was first captured by journalist John L. O'Sullivan when he authored an article which argued that America had a divine destiny to spread the values of equality and personal enfranchisement so that it could 'establish on Earth the moral dignity and salvation of man.' In a later article published in 1845, O'Sullivan became the first to use the term when he wrote that America should annex Texas not only because the residents desired this, but also because it was America's 'Manifest Destiny' to spread the republican based democratic way of living.

As the fledgling country moved into the nineteenth century, a new wave of Christian faith revivalism swept the country, fuelled by the afore mentioned strong Puritan Calvinist roots and an influx of devote Catholic immigrants from places such as Eastern Europe, Ireland, and Italy (Poole, 2009). These cultures not only offered strong Christian conceptions of evil, but also rich mythical narratives featuring the old-world devils. The need to address Satan's continued threat to Americans saw the rise of Evangelical Christianity, which reminded Americans of the need to cleanse the individual soul of Satan, who could even influence

unwilling people, if one's allegiance to God was not announced regularly. Evangelic ministers saw Satan's true purpose was to stop the conversion of individuals to Christianity, thus denying them the rebirth of Christ (Poole, 2009). Danger still could be found in those external threats to Americans, but this served as a reminder that a more dangerous Other must be watched within.

## **2.5 | Satan's Origins**

The origin of the Christian Satan comes from a human need to name this evil impulse, as if knowing its name and location would enable some degree of security and control. This evil, internal impulse is arguably the most important thing for an individual to address on their quest for salvation and individual freedom because it confronts the Devil itself. Cervantes (1994) suggests that the individual battle against the Devil can be seen in how Christian colonists in New Spain, beginning in 1531 at Puebla de los Angeles, viewed possession. Being possessed by an evil spirit, or the Devil himself, was viewed as an opportunity to purge the soul of one's own evil doings. Being given this obvious chance at salvation by battling the evil within was seen in New Spain as a sign of divine mercy and favour. James (1902) remarks that the conviction of sin and the resulting religious melancholy has also played an influential role in Protestant Christianity, with the individual's interior a battleground for two forces they feel to be in deadly opposition: the real and the ideal. Fuller (1995) argues that while the Christian belief system was challenged in so many ways going into the 1990s, from the disintegration of the traditional family structure to a chaotic education system, the focus again centred on the internal battle against one's own destructive inclinations. The need for resolution of this internal battle was intensified by the approaching turn of the century, which many Christians thought would also bring the coming of the Anti-Christ. The identification of those evil impulses vulnerable to the influence of the Anti-Christ, Fuller further suggests, was partially a projection of socially unacceptable aspects of self. Pruyser (1976) states that in a

world were threats to one's spiritual and basic physical wellbeing are perceived, an individual almost automatically focuses the human mind to become mythopoetic, which allowed Satan and the Anti-Christ to become focuses for these fears. Psychoanalyst Melane Klein's (1930) findings supports this when she argues that obsessions with evil or a hostile adversary typically result in projections of one's own anxieties and impulses, placed on an object or idea to make it the focused 'bad object'; in the 1990s, this bad object was the Anti-Christ. While many Christians speculated on the identity of this apocalyptic figure, Klein would argue that it was the focus on this bad object as something one does not want to be which allowed a mobilization in Christians to be on guard against, and to combat their own destructive impulses. Wagar (1982) argues that identifying the source of at least some of these destructive impulses as Satan or the Anti-Christ, are related to fears of powerlessness and the fantasy about saving part of the world through self-salvation is used to combat these fears. This sense of foreboding and powerlessness was almost certainly heightened by the media which speculated that an event dubbed 'Y2K' would disable all of the worlds technological services. In addition, the Reverend Jerry Falwell's statements that Y2K was connected to the foretold time of religious revival when those good Christians would be saved by God in a rapture (Dutton, 2009), seemed to only heighten these feelings.

These feelings of lack of control over ungovernable individuals in Christian America could be tied to the original defiance of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden myth. Choices to act in a deviant way, such as Adam and Eve did, are labelled evil because they are beyond the understanding of a normal individual (Presdee, 2000). Why, if given a world of peace and endless beauty, would God's first humans have eaten of the forbidden fruit in the Garden? The snake tempted Eve to be selfish and think of herself first, a quality not viewed positively within Western culture. Javaid (2015) argues that what makes an act negative depends on the

social values of the subject's culture, as these norms and values bind the person to expected behaviours, which in this case would be individual responsibility to self and others.

Because of the importance to this thesis of the dualistic, often opposing nature of a corporeal or metaphorical Satan, it is important to unpack the various non-Christian, and Christian, social forces behind its creation. This brief discussion of the dualistic narrative between good and evil, God and Satan, will start in Persia with the religion of Zoroastrianism, which is still practiced today. Developed primarily between 440-600 BCE, Carus (2016) states that this religion is based on the teachings of Zarathustra, the same man the Greeks called Zoroaster. The primary interpretation of Zoroaster's writings details the cosmic struggle between the positive aspects represented in a being called Ahura Mazda, and negative aspects represented in the being of Angra Mainyu, also referred to as Ahriman. Another link to the influence of Zoroaster on early Christian texts is that during the time of Zoroastrianism's primary influence, Persia's most dangerous enemy were the Scythians from the plains of northern Asia, who worshipped their highest deity, Afrasiab, under the symbol of a serpent; Ahriman became associated with this god of the enemy (Carus, 2016). There exists additional compelling evidence that Zoroastrianism influenced the early development of Judaism, which is mentioned in the Book of Ezra (Carus, 2016). Before the full development of the one God in Yahweh, there existed a dualistic pre-Yahweh religion. As detailed in Leviticus xvi, most likely written between 538-332 BCE during the Persian period of influence, there is discussion of a divine lord and a demon of the earthly desert, called Azazel. Mack and Mack (1998) add that Azazel was king of the seirim, a species of goat-like people, an early link to the imagery of goats to dark Christian beings.

It is now necessary to again discuss Gnostic thought as it informed the creation of the Christian Devil present in the case studies this project will soon present. Gnosticism believed that a pure, hidden divinity existed, as well as a lesser divine being who created Earth and

dwells upon it (Carus, 2016). Direct experience of the divine would bring the only true knowledge of the divine because the material world was evil. Because of this belief, Carus (2016) argues that the Gnostics of Syria, once they became aware that the Biblical books claimed Yahweh created the world, viewed Yahweh as the Demiurge as he was the creator of the evil, material world. From the Syrian Gnostic point of view, the serpent in the Bible's Garden story was a representative of the true, hidden divine God because of its promise to give knowledge, or gnosis, to Adam and Eve. Baker (2018) suggests that the personification of evil as the Devil in texts accepted by the Christian religion began around 200BCE at about the time that Apocalyptic Judaism was becoming popular. Johnson (1998) supports this when saying that except for these few passages in Apocryphal texts, there exists no substantial narrative which is accepted as Christian canon as to how angels, fallen angels, and the character of Satan came into existence. Payne (1794) deconstructed the notion of Christian diabolology by claiming it was nothing more than an assimilation of pagan traditions which had been adopted by the church for the purposes of power and control, with Satan becoming the chief mythological figure responsible for establishing this control. Although disagreeing with Payne's critique, Priestly (1817) also states that since the character is not found anywhere within the writings of Moses, Satan was probably created with the intention of him being an allegory and not a real being; as such, Satan has been a myth misused by priests due to its openness to interpretation. Although featuring as an adversary to man in the Old Testament, Baker states that the character of Satan did not become an entity in direct opposition to God until his representations in the New Testament.

## **2.6 | Satan in American Christian Mythology**

Satan's place and function in what will be referred to as American Christian mythology will now be discussed. The nature of its 'American' ties are important first of all because it is the focus of this thesis, but also because it is argued that in addition to traditional religious texts

associated with Christian faith, American belief is also shaped and influenced by certain popular cultural texts. These texts have taken elements of scripture and presented them in such a way that it has impacted what the White Christian American man, as defined in the introduction, believes about the Devil. The popular cultural texts important to this study will be discussed soon, but the religious texts which make up the body for most Christian Americans are the Old Testament, the New Testament, and some of the released Intertestimonial texts discovered by the Dead Sea beginning in 1946, including chapters 1-36 of The Book of Enoch, which are collectively referred to as The Book of Watchers, and The Book of Jubilees.

Biblical scholar and expert on Satan in the scriptures William Caldwell examined the Devil's purpose in three essays. In the Old Testament, Caldwell (1913a) argues, there is only one supreme being in God, with his divine council of angels, all of whom have a specific purpose; the angel Satan is an adversary and also the anger God punishes with. Many Christians cite the tale of the Garden of Eden as the Devil's first appearance. However, here there is no personal Satan, but the snake performing functions Christians associate with the Devil, primarily seen in its temptation. In the story of The Garden of Eden, the choices of Adam and Eve are tied to temptation not from an evil spirit separate from God, but from a creation of God through which the Devil speaks (Caldwell, 1913a). This creates an early idea in Christian myths that the Devil can enter, and use, one of God's creations. The snake is also a phallic symbol (ARAS), which unconsciously may reinforce the idea of the entry into another. The widely held belief in Christian societies that snakes are tied to darkness is also socially reinforced through representations in popular culture. This representation supports Alexander (2003) when he argues that within any society, the assignment of what is evil must be coded, embodied, and positioned somewhere within that culture, so that good can be identified in contrast to it. Caldwell (1913a) stresses that the Devil's use as a tempter here

aligns with his overall function as an adversary and tester of good as part of God's divine council in the Old Testament. In addition, the Garden myth stresses the Christian idea of individual responsibility and the consequences of not realizing the uncaring individual can negatively impact their society.

Moving forward into the New Testament, the Devil seems to take on its most recognizable, separate form as a deity of evil. Caldwell (1913c) argues against this, stating that when Jesus is tempted in the desert it was not by a physical entity called Satan, but by the spirit of the Devil within him. Again, the idea of Satan being an internal threat is reinforced. Best (1990) supports this when he argues that the mythical narrative of the life of Jesus Christ, reported primarily through New Testament scripture, is one of a struggle against the evil within, rather than against an external Devil, as the scripture identifies a being called Satan as being defeated and bound early in Jesus' ministry. The evil men who oppose Jesus are not under Satanic influence, but that of their own hearts. Best goes on to further suggest that the deadliest temptation of Jesus comes in the Garden of Gethsemane, where Jesus battles not temptation in the form of an external Satan, but from the struggle of his internal terrestrial will against his external divine will.

One important tale involving Jesus which is important to this discussion of internal evil is the Harrowing of Hell, as mentioned in the New Testament's Ephesians 4:9 and alluded to in Peter 4:6. Ballou (1939) states that this journey of Christ to Hell, or Hades, after his death and before his resurrection is also detailed in the Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, by Bartholomew the apostle, a book which is part of several writings collectively called by some Christians 'The New Testament Apocrypha'. In this book, Christ tells Bartholomew that a voice he heard coming from the ground where Jesus died was Hades speaking to Belial, the Devil, who was warning him that God was coming. The Devil then tells Hades to worry not, as God is not coming, only Jesus. Hades tells the Devil that he hears the breath, or spirit of

God in Christ's voice, so he is frightened. Ballou (1939) finishes this description by saying that Christ then arrives and binds Hades with chains, allowing him to rescue Adam and other pre-Christian souls. Ehrman (2003) describes these works as writings by early Christians about various aspects of God and Christ. These books are not accepted or interpreted the same by all Christians; an example can be seen in the Puritan interpretation, which sees the journey of Christ to Hell as more of a personal one to save his own soul, as Puritan beliefs would not accept Christ going to Hell to save Christian souls; these souls were damned to Hell from birth.

Lemming (1998) argues the Harrowing of Hell by Christ to be the part of the monomyth hero's journey which involves a descent into the underworld, with the hero being an archetypal image of the Self-seeking reconciliation with the parts of its whole covered in shadow. Lemming (2005) states that Christ's journey to Hell focused on rescuing pre-Christians, such as Adam and Abel, from original sin. Lemming further states that what comes to the hero form of Christ archetypically represents that which comes from 'within,' as opposed to mountains or above, from the 'outside.' Lemming (1998, 2019) summarizes Christ's Harrowing of Hell, between his death and resurrection, as a symbolic rescue of mankind from original sin in the form of Adam, and a return to the forms Adam and Eve represented before original sin.

In John's Apocalypse, more commonly referred to as the Book of Revelations, the masculine physical power associated with God is often contrasted, if not directly opposed, by the seduction of the feminine on Earth. Pippin (1992) notes that one of the best examples of this can be found in the female personification of a city, the so-called Whore of Babylon. While Satan wants to tempt God's followers to the worship of idols through the seduction of the Whore, the city must be destroyed by the expected masculine violent response to maintain the illusion of freedom from the feminine.

## 2.7 | Satan in Popular Culture

Not so unlike other countries with a rich history of popular culture, how the Devil is perceived by many Americans also lies heavily on his portrayal in texts popular to American audiences. Baker (2018) states that literary works like Dante's *Inferno*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Goethe's *Faust* have shaped the way everyday Christians remember and relate to the character of the Devil. Although these classic writers were not American, their works are taught throughout the American education system, with their reflections on rebellion and individual salvation extremely popular. In 1320, Catholic Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) published *The Divine Comedy*, which is composed of three parts. The first part, *Inferno*, discusses the structure of Hell as it relates to the severity of sin, a concept which many Americans relate to. Satan himself, unlike other depictions of him, seems to be suffering the most, for being the very spirit of evil (Paolucci, 1964); his silent monstrous form filled holding eyes filled with tears. His silence, like that of the three sinners he is chewing on for eternity, makes it impossible for him ever to repent for his transgressions; he will suffer forever.

While *Inferno* presents the reader with the forever tortured spirit, Puritan John Milton's (1608-1674) main contribution to the periods Romanticism, *Paradise Lost* (1667), presented a Devil whose image still finds influence today. Empson (1960) notes that although Satan goes through various animal forms in Milton's work, it is the image of the pure, perfect angelic man, cast out of heaven, which is often depicted by artists. Caldwell (1913c) argues that Milton's tale of Satan was influenced by the Book of Enoch, which gives mention to a primeval fall of Satan, details of which Milton elaborated on so successfully that his poetic story has become 'pseudonymous mythology'. Caldwell (1913c) continues by stating that while the fall is mentioned in Revelations, as well as Luke 10, this fall most likely refers to one from the power Satan held on the divine council. Satan's loss of power as he is sent down

to be ruler of the air above earth is also seen in apocrypha literature (Caldwell, 1913b), where he grows jealous of man on Earth, thus prompting his temptation of Eve. However, Milton's romantic fallen angel is what many Christians remember, which reinforces the idea that a being called Satan has rebelled and been cast out.

In 1808, Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe (1749-1832), who described himself as inwardly Christian without following the dogma of the church, published *Faust* in two parts. Part one of *Faust* is most influential to Christian mythology, as it speaks of making a deal with the devil by selling one's soul. It is interesting to note that it is not the devil who appears to tempt Faust directly, but his servant Mephistopheles, who appears as a Greyfriar. In this initial meeting, Mephisto tries to warn Faust of what results from making a deal with the devil, by showing himself as an example. Fret-Rohn (1967) argues that Jung found one of the clearest manifestations of the archetypal Shadow in the figure of Mephistopheles in *Faust*. Goethe's words within of "I am part of that power which always wants to do evil, and yet always creates good," suggests that good may not only be found in the individual Shadow, but also within the collective one.

An event which seemed to place Satan in every form of popular culture was the occult-revival of the mid 1960s, as mentioned during this thesis' introduction. One such person who seized the opportunity to make the most of counter-culture America's renewed interest in the occult was Anton LaVey; his appearance on the scene in the 1960s is the most significant proof Christians needed that Satan was highly active in the form of this charismatic, White American man. Born in 1930 to Georgian and Ukrainian immigrants in Chicago, LaVey had a long background in the entertainment business, having worked at carnivals since age sixteen before becoming a musician at the more risqué burlesque houses in California. After moving to San Francisco, LaVey became a local celebrity through his organ performances and the paranormal investigations he had begun to offer. In 1966, he took his charismatic

stage performance one step further by declaring 1966 as ‘Anno Satanas’, the first year in the Age of Satan, and forming The Church of Satan. LaVey’s public support for Satan was problematic for many Christians, as he seemed to have achieved ‘the American dream’ of success and fortune, as the child of poor white immigrants who moved to America to chase this dream. The problem was that LaVey had a public voice, covered in the mainstream media, and he declared his success was due to Satan, not God. The Church of Satan attracted many of the more edgy, yet popular Hollywood stars, including Sammy Davis Junior and Jayne Mansfield, who made their association with LaVey public knowledge. While Davis was much more involved with the Church’s activities for a longer period of time, both celebrities said that LaVey’s doctrine of open sexuality and for being who you were with no regrets attracted them most. Regardless of the reasons that they chose to associate with LaVey, the public nature of these relationships gave Satan more daily news coverage. Even after Mansfield’s tragic death in 1967 following a car crash, photos she had posed for with LaVey at his church (Figure 2, Filmbuff, 2017) would to this day cause speculation that the Devil played a role in her fate. After performing the first wedding at his church the following year, LaVey would appear, bald with a sinister goatee, on popular national television broadcasts, such as *The Tonight Show*, and feature in numerous publications, the art of his church featuring on the June 1972 *Time* magazine cover titled ‘The Occult Revival’.



Figure 2. Anton LaVey in publicity photo for Church of Satan with actress and icon Jayne Mansfield (Filmbuff, 2017).

Another influence LaVey had which worried some Christians was his success in publishing books detailing magical rites and rituals, including *The Satanic Bible* (1969) and *The Satanic Rituals* (1972). The financial success of LaVey's books led to increased sales of older occult books, like *Diary of a Witch* (1968) by Britain's most famous 'witch', Sybil Leeks. Although many of the magical practice books finding success in the 1960s had foundations in non-Satanic beliefs such as Wicca and esoteric methods such as Kabbalah, LaVey's public face promoting magic linked to the Devil seemed to overshadow any attempts to differentiate these things. They all seemed to be self-empowering, liberal ideas which removed God's necessity and influence from the success of the Christian American. This alternate route to the American Dream matched well with counterculture movements, putting white American power groups, occupied mostly by White Judeo-Christian men, under a perceived threat. More insidious yet was what many perceived was the Devil's attempts to reach American children and youth through popular culture. Declining church attendance in the 1960s (McLeod, 2007) only seemed to emphasize this and support the danger present to America's young generation.

Founded in 1883 in Massachusetts, Parker Brothers' games emphasised the philosophy of its founder, George S. Parker, who believed that games should be played for fun with no reflection of wider morals or values (Parker Brothers, 1973). Creators of traditional, American family-favourite board games Monopoly and Cluedo, the company purchased the rights to make Ouija board games from its creators for \$975,000 in 1966. The Ouija board became an instant best-seller. Although these 'spirit' or 'talking' boards had been popular when used by mediums to contact dead relatives after the American Civil War, the name Ouija was not coined until 1890 by the Fuld family, self-proclaimed spiritualists from Baltimore, Maryland. While some argue the famous name means 'good luck' in Egyptian, it is more likely that the Fuld's made it up by combining the French and German words for 'yes': Oui-Ja. When first manufactured by Parker Brothers in 1967, the Ouija Board 'game' sold more than two million units, outselling the company's other bestselling game, Monopoly (Cassie, 2023). The fact that a successful, family-oriented company like Parker Brothers was now offering a device to talk to spirits – which many Christians thought might lead to possession – put another very influential, white face on the Devil.

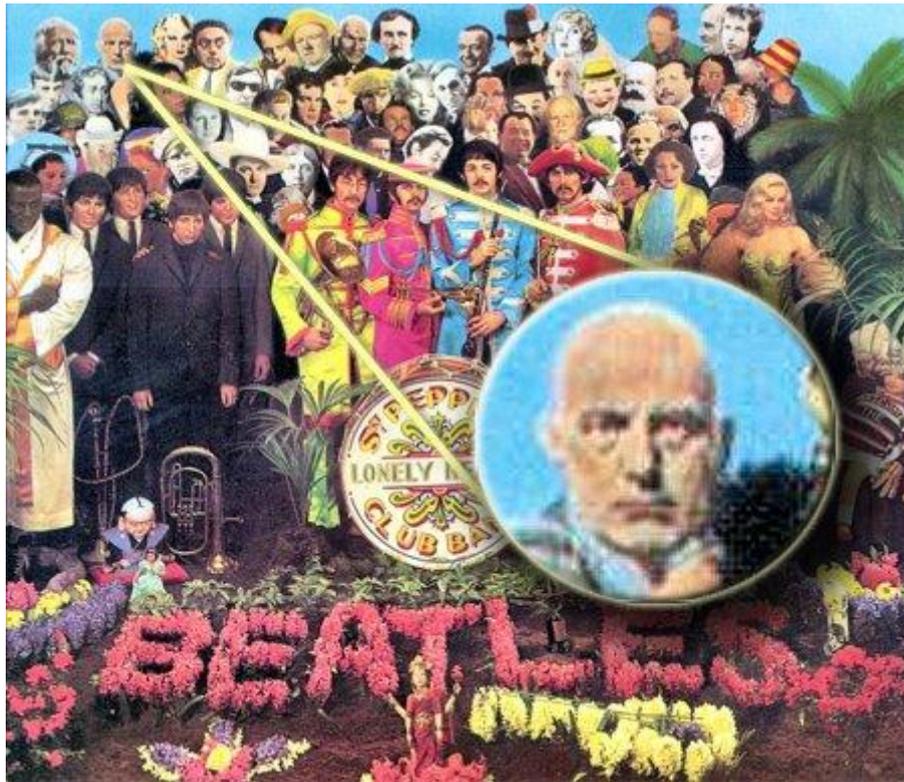
Another cultural product, then targeted at children, which would come under Satan's proposed influence was the comic book. Although a popular collector's item for all ages today, comic books were initially viewed as a product made for children, and – in a response to a growing concern over graphic content within comics – 1954 saw the creation of the Comics Code Authority (CCA) by the Comics and Magazine Association of America. Among other things, the CCA prohibited the depiction of zombies, vampires, werewolves, monsters, and anything macabre. However, the definition of a comic book by the CMAA relating to its size and price allowed an upcoming company called Warren publications to find a new way to America's youth. Founded in 1957 by James Warren, the company published black and white comics printed in a larger, magazine format which left them

outside of the restrictions of the CCA. Warren published three well received black and white horror comics in this magazine format: *Creepy* (1964), *Eerie* (1966), and *Vampirella* (1969), all of which depicted hellish scenes and nightmarish monsters. The success of these magazines saw pressure on the CCMA to change the code from comic companies, such as the up-and-coming Marvel comics. In 1971 the code was finally relaxed to allow monsters and the macabre in the smaller, cheaper comic format. This resulted in the successful creation of specific Marvel horror titles, such as *Tomb of Dracula* and *Werewolf by Night*, but also saw the inclusion of occult characters, such as Doctor Strange (1963), the demonically cursed Ghost Rider (1967), and even Marvel's 1968 version of Satan himself, Mephisto, into wider superhero universe. Worse yet, as is common in the superhero genre, these characters were not shown as evil: they were morally grey at best, and romantic anti-heroes at worst – much like Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost*. Christian family homes now had to worry about these Satanic images and characters entering their homes, and their children's mind, on the same type of pages as popular publisher Marvel comics character Peter Parker's persona, the 'friendly neighbourhood Spider-man.' Although Spider-man would have to wait many years to face Satan on comic book pages, Marvel created the character Daimon Hellstrom, The Son of Satan, in 1971, (Figure 3, Marvel, 2023) who was so popular that he would also star in his own short run series in the mid-1970s.



Figure 3. Satan appears on the cover of 1973s *Ghost Rider* and *The Son of Satan* is introduced as a Marvel universe character in 1971s *Marvel Spotlight* (Marvel, 2023).

Renewed interest in the many faces of the occult merged with countercultures striving for independence to create a public Satan of greater influence than the traditional Christian tempter of the New Testament. While minorities supporting civil rights and Vietnamese civilians were killed by a white, American male-based government, the proof that Satan was inside these men seemed to present itself through popular novels, film, and music. The so-called invasion of British rock which began in the early 1960s seemed to also now be under evil influences. On June 1st, 1967, The Beatles released their highly anticipated album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, with an iconic album cover showing the band members surrounded by several famous and infamous cultural figures. In the upper left corner of this cover was the face of Aleister Crowley, once dubbed 'the wickedest man in the world.' (Figure 4, The Vigilant Citizen, 2023).



*Figure 4. Occultist Aleister Crowley on the album cover of 1967's Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band album by The Beatles (The Vigilant Citizen, 2023).*

Crowley (1875-1947) was, and perhaps still is, the one person most associated with the darker elements of the occult. Crowley was well known as the founder of the Western esoteric tradition he called Thelema, a magical practice based in ancient Egyptian traditions and emphasising the 'Self' as the most important of all concepts (Campbell, 2018). Crowley had been resurrected by youth countercultures of the 1960s because his message of 'do what thou wilt' fit very well with the various rebellions against duty and conservative restraint. The fact that Crowley had been a very vocal opponent to Christianity and allegedly had sacrificed animals and summoned demons (Case, 2016), only helped to land him in the Devil's court for many Christian Americans. More concerning is that many believed the much-loved Beatles were making references to the teachings of Crowley in the album, which was confirmed by John Lennon in a 1980 interview when he said that the 'Sgt. Pepper' of the album's title was, indeed, Crowley (Taysom, 2020).

In addition to the influence Satan seemed to have on The Beatles, the motivations of The Rolling Stones were questioned later that same year when they released an album entitled *Their Satanic Majesties Request*, which was followed by the 1968 album, *Beggars Banquet*, whose first track was the still popular song ‘Sympathy for the Devil’, in which the Devil asks the listener for understanding as he details his actions. When discussing what had inspired him to write the song, singer/songwriter Mick Jagger said he wrote it after reading the Mikhail Bulgakov novel, *The Master and Margarita*. Now hailed by many as a Russian literary classic, Bulgakov’s novel is a wild satire of life in the Stalinist USSR, with strong ties to the classic Faustian deals with the Devil. Although both groups never claimed to have direct dealings in magic or Devil worship, a final band from the late British invasion made no attempts to hide their influences. Founded in 1968, Led Zeppelin found instant success which led to a very quick release of albums, with some lyrics influenced by the magical, dark fantasy worlds of J.R.R Tolkien’s Middle-Earth. In 1970, they released their third studio album, *Led Zeppelin III*, placing quotations from Crowley on the vinyl grooves. When asked about this, guitarist Jimmy Page openly discussed his long-time interests and involvement with Thelema as developed by Crowley. In 1971, Led Zeppelin released possibly their most famous album, *Led Zeppelin IV*, which contained the massive hit song ‘Stairway to Heaven’. Page’s open interest in the occult led many concerned Christian groups to believe that Page had sold the band members souls to Satan for success, and claimed that ‘Stairway to Heaven’ said the following when listened to backwards:

“There is no escaping,

Whose path will make me sad, whose power is Satan.

He will give you 666.

Here’s to my sweet Satan.”

The dark influence of these White British men came to a peak when the Ozzy Osbourne lead Black Sabbath released their debut album, *Black Sabbath*, in 1970, all but directly professing their alliance with Satan in his efforts to corrupt American youth. The confrontation between popular music's Satanic themes and the Christian Far Right would continue right up into the 1980s, with the Parents Music Resource Centre (PMRC), led by Tipper Gore, demanding labels be placed on albums to warn parents of dangerous content, which included mention of the occult. As previously mentioned, additional discussion of events within the occult revival will be discussed by decade in the case studies this thesis will later present. Regardless of whether it was real or perceived, the occult revival which began in the 1960s had a significant effect on the narratives in popular culture and it gave Satan a very public, white face which seemed to be everywhere Americans looked.

This idea of Satan and the Other fit well with a concern some Americans in privileged positions may have felt in response to the growing civil rights movements. The very visual and frequent way that Satan presented himself in the final three decades of the twentieth century may have added to a feeling of dread and perceived danger to social standing that some White Christian Americans already felt during these years because of advances in the aforementioned American civil rights movements. These victories, albeit hard fought and often minor, served to secure more equal rights for minority, women's, and LGBTQIA+ groups. This seemingly rapid increase in the recognition that opportunities in society should be open to all its members equally has been seen by some White Christian men as a direct challenge to their powerful social positions. Specific movements will be outlined and discussed later in the case studies relevant to the decade they occurred in.

The Devil has made numerous appearances in film and television. Poole (2009) states that *Rosemary's Baby* (1968), *The Exorcist* (1973), and *The Omen* (1976) significantly helped to shape a new Christian fascination with the Devil's internal influence. Although these films

differed in story, the central theme was Satan being inside an innocent person. Baker (2018) argues that evil spirits entering a body are the focus of five separate stories in the New Testament where Jesus is called upon as an exorcist. There are numerous similarities in the details of these Biblical exorcisms in *The Exorcist*, including the way the spirit inhabiting the little girl identifies itself as 'Legion': this name for an unclean, possessing spirit is taken directly from the exorcism of a man by Jesus in Mark 5:6. This idea of Satan being within is there in an obvious sense in *Rosemary's Baby*, with her being pregnant by the Devil, but also in an indirect sense in that her baby is the Anti-Christ. When this Anti-Christ is born, he usually looks like actor Sam Neill's son of Satan in 1981s *Damien: The Final Conflict*; a White American man. Weinstock and Hansen (2021) found that throughout different genres, when the Anti-Christ or, the Devil himself, appears, he is usually a version of this demographic, with social class representations favouring the wealthy.

## 2.8 | Concluding Summary

The literature review has highlighted several areas of interest to this current study. When considering the construction of individual and group identity in White male America, how will the perhaps unconscious ideas of being chosen by God and individual salvation inform the practice of self-othering when a perceived threat to social status is noticed? The historical origins of the evil personified in the character of Satan, the Devil's roles in American Christian mythology, and the cultural impact of Satan becoming an overt, iconic feature of popular culture in the 1960s will inform and direct both the selection of the case studies, and the ways his influence is interpreted through the methodologies applied to these studies.

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## Chapter 3 | Jung on the Complex, Myth, and the Devil's Purpose

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The psychological theories Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) and his school of Analytical Psychology will form much of the analytical framework for this study. This section will present an overview of his major theories of relevance to this study, drawing both from Jung's extensive body of work, as well as those of several Jungian scholars. This will be followed by a brief discussion of what questions this framework has raised, and how they will inform the direction of this project's case study analysis.

### 3.1 | Analytical Psychology and the Jungian Psyche

Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) was a Swiss psychologist who, after exploring the theories of psychoanalysis as established by his older contemporary, Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), founded his own school of psychological thought he called analytical psychology. Davis (1997) states that when Jung and Freud became friends through correspondence in 1907, Freud was twenty years Jung's senior and at the point in his career where he wanted to consolidate his life research. Jung had a background in medical-based psychiatry from the prestigious Burghölzli psychiatric clinic, as evident in his preference for empirical research methods and projective testing (Douglas, 1997). Freud's friendship with Jung allowed Freud's theories to be viewed away from his often-quarrelling colleagues in Vienna, as well as to be linked to the reputation of the Burghölzli, and its more widely accepted field of experimental psychology (Davis, 1997). Freud's extensive research on the unconscious would provide substantiated building blocks upon which his own theories could grow. Some of these theories, as they relate to Jung, will be discussed later in this section.

Douglas (1997) states that despite his firm groundings in empirical scientific methods through education, Jung also believed there was a vital, unseen link between all individuals. This thought process may have been influenced by Jung's romantic fascination with myth and occult topics such as possession, shamanic trances, and hypnotic healing; these interests would support his view that understanding the contents of the unconscious were important to psychological healing. Jung believed that the link between individuals was the first of many dialectics encountered in therapy, stating (CW11, para.291) that life needs opposites, because without this opposition, there is no energy for change. While Freud's school of psychoanalysis has branched into many specialized areas of thought, in general psychoanalysts following his theories focused on the effects of usually childhood trauma repressed into the unconscious, and the transference of this to the analyst, so that it may be examined by the conscious. Jung believed therapy should be more of a dialectical exchange between analyst and client, to include the concept of countertransference. Hart (1997) describes the classical Jungian psychology he trained in during 1948 as an analytical work of mutual discovery; dialog is between the unconscious and conscious, the client and the analyst. This seeks to help the client understand the unconscious parts of their psyche and remove compulsive thoughts which may be driving their lives by exposing their unconscious origins.

Based on his theories, Jung developed his own model of the human psyche, as seen in Figure 5 (Stevens, 1994) below.

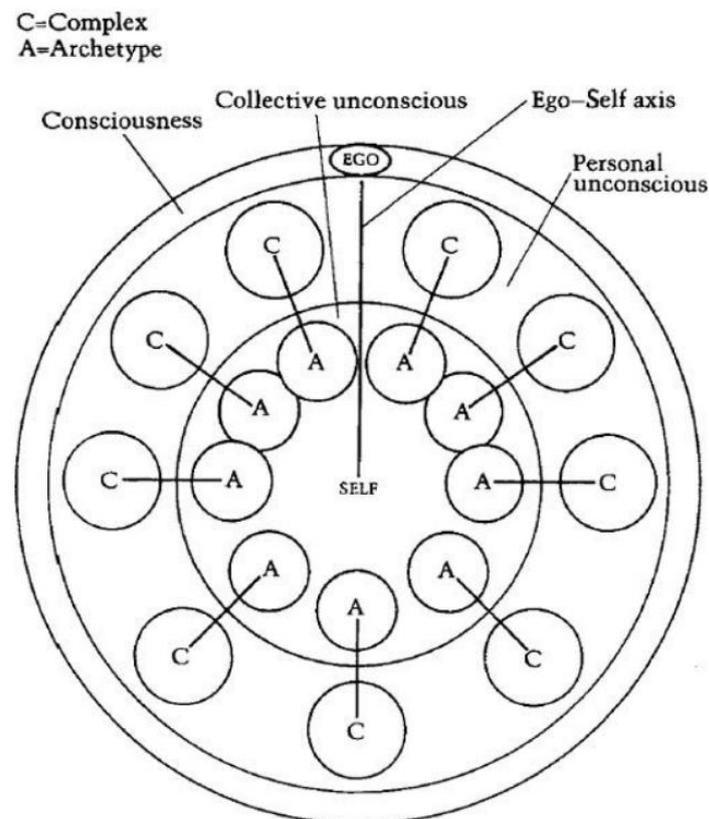


Figure 5. Jung's model of the psyche (Stevens, 1994).

In *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, he described the psyche of an individual to contain all aspects of conscious and unconscious processes of the mind (CW6, para. 797), while being almost biological in function as it is capable of self-regulation, just like the body (CW16, para.330).. Since the collective unconscious is the part of the psyche most important to this thesis, it will be discussed in more detail later. Briefly, the conscious is what the individual experiences daily, while the personal unconscious is a repository of the repressed and forgotten experiences of the individual (Skar, 2015). At the centre of conscious experience, Jung placed the ego, an executive operator which enabled everyday functioning. The term ego-consciousness, often referred to in Jungian psychology, refers to the sense of individual identity and existence, based on the ego's interaction with the consciousness, including the

regulation of intuition, feelings, senses. and non-repressed memories (The Society of Analytical Psychology, 2025).. This regulation often had to do with the ego's relationship with the Self, described by Schmidt (2025) as a symbolic struggle between a seemingly constructed, often narrow ego, and the wider, force of nature like Self. Further details of how Jung envisioned the Self will be discussed shortly.

### 3.2 | The Complex

The complex, as defined by Jung, was so important to his developing school of thought that he almost called his entire body of work 'complex psychology', rather than analytical psychology (Winborn, 2023). Understanding the complex is also important to this thesis, as the very idea of cultural complexes, as discussed in the previous chapter, originates from this. While conducting word-association tests at the Burghölzli Psychiatric Clinic during the early twentieth century, Jung theorized that discrepancies and delays in patients' responses were caused by unconscious, affective energy linked to the word, or topic, in question. Jung theorized that this was because the specific word in question somehow had ties to unpleasant, unconscious material the person was either trying to hide, or was completely unaware of. Jung called this phenomena he observed a 'complex' in the individual's psyche, which he described as an 'emotionally charged' (CW2, para.167) or 'feeling-toned' (CW2, para. 733) group of ideas and images which form around one or more archetypes (Figure 6, Own Collection, 2024). The emotions evoked by the triggering of a complex will all have a common emotional tone because of the source material (i.e., the concept of 'brother' in Figure 6) they were linked to. For Jung, the complex operates like a partial personality, interrupting that which one intends to think or say about a topic because of the emotional charge the topic has caused to the psyche.

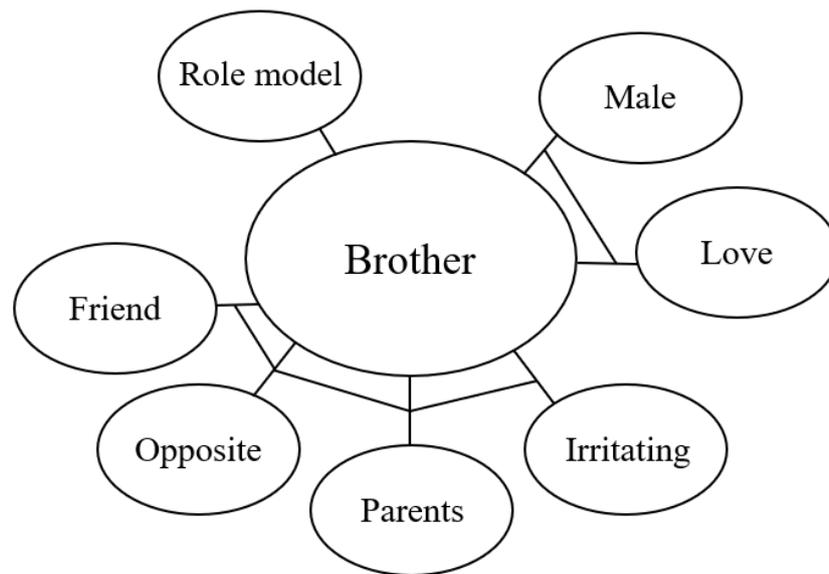


Figure 6. Example of a complex (Own collection, 2023).

Samuels (1986) calls it a collection of personal thoughts, attitudes and associated memories which focus on a single concept. The interference of the complex, Jung stresses, is the same as having ones intended thought interrupted by another person shouting ideas and words over theirs, drowning the original intent out. Samuels (1986) argues that the effect of a complex on a person is so strong because even if just one of the connected thoughts is triggered, its connection to the others brings the weight of the full complex upon the person at once, often taking the person back to the traumatic point where the complex was formed. An example can be seen in a complex centred on one's brother (Figure 6, above). In this example, ideas and emotions such as 'friend,' 'opposite,' 'parents,' and 'irritating' have become attached, through personal experience, to the concept of brother. These concepts then become further attached in an almost spider-web way, so that the memory of one is connected to another. If the person experiences someone who is also 'irritating,' this may unleash the emotional content of all the connected ideas, taking them back to the time that their brother acted in such a way. Samuels (1985) adds that the energy from a complex is not only imbued with personal experience and actions but also comes from archetypal forms that it is linked to in

the unconscious, which shall soon be discussed. Like many other psychiatric phenomena, the complex could become an issue if it interfered with the person's everyday life. West (2020) suggests that when some parts of our personality are split off because it is unacceptable to social norms important to the person, the resulting complex is avoided because it becomes a source of anxiety and even fear. However, Jung (CW6, para. 925)) stressed that most complexes were not problematic, and in fact were not only normal, but needed to add focus to everyday psychic life.

### **3.3 | Archetypes and Archetypal Images**

Jung's idea of the complex was significant because since the complex had the ability to act almost independently, interrupting the conscious intentions of a person, this supported his wider theory of a non-unitary psyche, and the existence of what he called multiple archetypes. First presented by Jung in 1919 at a London symposium he was speaking at, Jung spoke of archetypes as 'a priori', inborn forms of energy which direct a person's ways of perception into patterns, which share common elements with all humans (Stevens, 2002). This shared experience of these archetypal, primal forces formed what Jung called the collective unconscious (CW8, para.254). This collective part of the unconscious differs from the aforementioned personal conscious because the contents of the collective unconscious do not have to have been directly experienced by the individual. Jung's attention was initially drawn to the idea of a shared collective unconscious when he noted that patients he was treating for psychosis at the Burghölzli clinic had experienced images and narratives which could not be explained by events in their lives (Elkind, 1970). Jung (CW9i, para. 88) theorized that while direct experience within a person's lifetime is held in the personal unconscious, the contents of the collective unconscious existed before, and will continue to exist beyond, the individual's life span. As previously mentioned, these archetypes are innate, so they do not have to be learned or consciously activated. Jung (CW7, para.109) goes further

to describe them as deposits of constantly repeated human experience; because they pre-exist before the birth of an individual, these inherited systems are seen for the first time when they emerge through individual, conscious experience (CW4, para. 728).

Jung's definition of concepts he used throughout his theories changed as his understanding and use of the concept did; the archetype is no different. Jungian scholar Jean Knox (2003) addressed the multiple ways Jung used the term and argued that they could be broken down into four models. Rather than a lengthy discussion about these models here, clarification will be made as to how archetypes are viewed in this research. Using two of the models argued by Knox, archetypes discussed here are biological based information, present in human genes, which contain core meanings, as well as instructions on how to act accordingly. The meanings give the experiences in life symbolic significance based on what representative content is contained and how it relates to the persons cultural setting. Jung stresses that archetypes are exceedingly important with powerful effects; these effects on the psyche should not be suppressed out of hand but must be carefully weighed and considered because of the danger of psychic injury they carry (CW7, para. 172). These archetypes can also operate out of the conscious, as they have an autonomous nature that is not subject to the will of the centre of individual consciousness, the ego.

Part of this ability to act alone, often ignoring the ego, comes from the fact that they have a purpose, or intentionality, when they appear (Jung, CW5, para. 344). Some of the aforementioned danger these energies pose to the psyche comes from the fact that they are not always recognized before their effects are felt. Even when this unconscious, archetypal content becomes conscious and is perceived, it is in a form recognizable to the individual consciousness (CW9i, para. 6). This is because the archetype itself is too broad, too massive of a construct to be every viewed in its entirety by the human psyche (CW18, para. 589). Instead, Jung states that archetypal forces are experienced by the individual as archetypal

images. Unlike the archetypes themselves, which are universal to human existence, the archetypal images would represent things of a specific cultural and social nature, dependent upon individual experience (Stevens, 2002). Jung (CW3, para. 565) describes the archetypal images as drawing upon collective, mythological narratives, being more of an inherited way of functioning than a mere inherited idea (CW18, para. 523). Understanding what psychic need these images were tied to when they appeared to an individual was important to Jung's analytical psychology, as well as the individual's psyche. West (2020) suggests that Jung believed one or more archetypes provided the energy for each complex, and Williams (1963) adds that the archetypal images which will result from this energy depends upon the material supplied by the personal unconscious which the complex sits in. Knox (2003) supports this, arguing that while archetypes are key in psychic functioning and in providing the psychic symbolic imagery, the structures that emerge are the result from an interaction between genes and the environment. At the centre of the archetypal energy in the collective conscious in each person's psyche lies the Self.

The Self is the principal archetype of the individual, serving as a filter through which other archetypes must travel when entering the psyche. Jung (CW12, para. 44, 150) theorized that when a person was born, they possessed at the centre of their psyche archetypal energy which represented the 'whole' person they were born to be, and it was only through the interference of the outside world through the ego that this idea of one's true identity was lost. The archetypal core of one's true identity is what Jung would call the Self. Skar (2015) suggests that the Self provides the crucial function of presenting opposites of a self-regulatory manner, seeking balance. The Self always uses the ego to relate to the world and the ego must be aware of where it agrees and disagrees with the Self in presentation. However, since the Self is the god-like image of the person's psyche, and as such all-powerful, the ego will lose most direct opposition to it (Stein, 1998); therefore, compromise is in the ego's best interest. This

compromise often deals with the tension caused by opposites. As is true with much of Jung's psychology, tension between internal and external forces were important and necessary for human development. This was true between the ego and the larger Self which surrounded it. The ego, when confronted with parts of the Self that exposed its limitations and frailty, does not welcome this insight without resistance (Jung, CW14, para. 506). Some of these challenges to the ego come from the aforementioned archetypes through their related archetypal images, especially those from the personal and collective Shadow parts. Just as the ego seeks to maintain a balance as to what the Self brings to consciousness, Skar (2015) argues the Self is the principal mediator of opposites within all the unconscious, representing the totality of what an individual could become by the time they die. An ultimate goal of Jungian analysis is to bring the tensions these opposites present into the conscious, where they can be balanced through a process he called Individuation.

### **3.4 | Transcendence Through Myth**

If the reader recalls, this thesis will examine the often-unconscious use of myth narratives in popular culture to examine and hopefully alleviate the tension the recognition of internal evil brings to some. This process is a technique of Individuation. Skar (2015) describes Individuation as the conscious realization of both the strengths and weaknesses which make up the reality of one's psychic state. The process of Individuation is the development of the individual as a person who is distinct from the collective psychic unconscious (Jung, CW6, para. 757). To achieve the realization of becoming a distinct human being, a conscious harmony with unknown things within the unconscious is sought after (Skar, 2015). This journey of the conscious into the unconscious hopes to discover what is needed within to bring harmony by bringing it to conscious thought. As such, the Self decided what parts of certain archetypes were important to this process. As mentioned previously, the tension caused by underlying archetypes and their related images relates to what Jung called 'the

problem of opposites,' which was central to his overall theoretical outlook. He believed that there could be no life force without the spark provided through opposition (Jung, CW7, para. 78) and that this polarity was crucial to psychic life itself (Jung, CW7, para. 115). The most obvious pair of opposites in Jungian thought is the conscious and the unconscious. The conscious, once aware that there is something outside of its experience, treats the unconscious as an unknown 'Other,' experiencing it as an opposite. Like all oppositions, it then seeks what it is lacking in this Other, perhaps even being unaware it is doing so (Jung, CW7, para. 32). When confronted by the tension of opposites, the psyche uses its natural self-regulating tendency to seek a resolution of these tensions. To address how the psyche attempts to achieve this, Jung spoke of the transcendent function.

The transcendent function is dialectic in operation, as it shifts through the opposing thoughts and moves away from them, carrying their energy and creating a new situation (Jung, CW8, para. 167). This natural, human process consists of a series of fantasy scenarios which may manifest as visions or dreams (Jung, CW8, para. 152). Jung believed this process had origins in early man as he began to think, and in thinking he created dichotomies which divided their world into opposites. These opposites can be seen in creation myths, as well as concepts such as the sun and moon, odd and even, good and evil (Jung, CW6, para. 963). These creation myths allowed exploration of these opposites, which often resulted in psychic energy being refocused on deities who were the source of such things. This fundamental dynamic in each human being to seek balance and rid themselves of the toxicity of one-sidedness is often resisted by the ego, which discourages change. However, the ongoing process of recognition and resolution of opposites, often through mythic narratives, was an essential part of Jung's Individuation.

From Jung's theoretical view, if Individuation was the goal, with the transcendent function providing the tools, then a viable path to it was mythic narratives. Again, we turn to Freud's

influence on Jung's theory, as his initial shaping of these entities is well documented and cannot be disputed. Jung) initially wrote to Freud about the results of his word association test because he believed these findings supported Freud's concept of 'parapraxes', commonly referred to as a 'Freudian slip' (McQuire, 1990). Jung believed the behaviours he contributed to his complex theory were the same that Freud had encountered when people said things without consciously intending to do so. As stressed by Astor (2002), however, the two men disagreed with how to interpret these underlying forces. Astor argues that the main difference here is that Jungian theory focuses on the integration of these entities into the consciousness, rather than the Freudian focus on discovering what led to their repression and separation from the consciousness in the first place. Jung (CW8, para. 211) believed that these splits in the psyche, which allowed for multiple personifications of conscious and unconscious elements, are fundamentally normal. Jung was not the first to express the idea that the psyche was subject to figures of a foreign origin. In 1901, James Flournoy stated an individual's subliminal mind possessed an imaginative process of foreign personification. Jung stresses that we, as individuals do not personify unconscious figures, but that they have a personal nature from the very beginning (CW13, para. 62). These figures are not repressed representations of the personal unconscious, but free moving personifications which have the power to move independently of an individual's conscious will (Jung, 1987). Similar to Freud's later developed structural theory of the psyche (Cratsley, 2020), Jung viewed the psyche as many horizontal, parallel parts which interacted; emerging new parallel parts might be unconscious, yet necessary, parts of the psyche trying to attract the ego consciousness so that they may be integrated.

Although the two men disagree on what internal figures suggested about the health of the individual psyche, part of Jung's interest in the psychological applications of myth comes from his early meetings with Freud. Jung (CW5, para.1) notes that Freud, through his

exploration of the Oedipus tragedy, is the first person he had met that connected the personal Mother/Father images with the mythical ones. Through this pathway mapped out by Freud, Jung (CW5, para. 669) believes that this theory of myth can be expanded to allow individuals to access the blocked passages of their own psyche by grasping the living meaning of past civilizations. There is a collective meaning of things, and this collectiveness is expressed throughout the tribe, or society. Myths are involuntary statements about unconscious, psychic happenings, which have vital meaning to the living beliefs, or religion, of that society, the loss of which would be a moral catastrophe (Jung, CW9i, para.261). Jung (CW12, para.28) continues this idea by arguing that myth is the primordial, natural language to this psychic process, with no intellectual source coming close to the richness and expression of mythic imagery. This inner psychic language is usually producing these images through metaphoric speech. Myth cycles tell the individual through example where they can go right, as well as where they can go wrong, as well as consequences of both paths. Jung (CW9i, para. 7) stated that when processes observed in nature, such as the lunar cycle and seasonal change, are mythologized they can be used as symbolic, conscious projections of inner, unconscious psychic drama, so that these internal issues may be examined by the persons conscious mind. Even if the myth is inspired by a modern, external, phenomena, like a UFO, this takes nothing away from what the myth represents; why it is being used by an unconscious archetype as a symbolic image still requires interpretation. These ideas then bring together the personal and archetypal unconscious figures into a narrative form which makes sense to the inner idea of the individual's wholeness, as imposed by the Self (Jung, 1963).

Jung saw myth as an almost fundamental way the elements of the psyche acted out their roles in the process of Individuation. When Friederich Nietzsche (1882) announced that 'God is Dead', Jung interpreted this to mean that the vessel, or image which represented God to mankind had outlived its suitability, so a new vessel for this image needed to be found. Jung

believes possible new vessels to experience the God-image could be found within the narrative of myth (Segal, 1998). While disagreeing on some of the directions Jung's work would take, Freud (1941) found parallels in certain aspects that suggested mythic legends have a certain universal nature, independent of all cultural traditions, indicating that there must be some kind of 'myth-forming' structure within the unconscious of an individual. This quest is reflected in the myth of the hero's journey. Jung used myth as a medium to discuss, by example, archetypes, or motifs as he sometimes referred to them. Segal (1998) argues that myth not only consists of the collective unconscious, but of consciously elaborated stories that have been unconsciously appropriated and have been shaped by archetypal influences. Hillman (1979) suggests that mythology was the psychology of yesterday, while psychology is the mythology of the modern world. Images of such meaning continue to have a meaning to the individual even if they stop becoming recognized, or their meaning lessened, within the society. This is because the use of these myths is recognized by the individual psyche as a path that must be travelled to move towards Individuation. These ideas then bring together the personal and archetypal unconscious figures into an often metaphoric, narrative form which makes sense to the inner idea of the individual's wholeness, as imposed by the Self (Jung, 1963).

There are many mythic narratives which can be explored by the psyche, one of which is that of the hero's journey. When discussing the importance of mythical narratives to individual growth and in the journey towards the Self, Lemming (1998) suggests that the life-long effort it takes to find who one really is is reflected in this particular monomyth the best. Although Jung never looked specifically at myth as a monomyth, his ideas of the collective consciousness and archetypes influenced American writer Joseph Campbell (1993) to develop this concept, stating that monomyths are loose narratives found throughout the world, with details filled in specifically to suit the culture telling the tale. Lemming argues

that to find one's true being, one must fit their personal myths into a proper relationship with these larger myth structures shared by humanity. During the process of individual discovery, the journey of the heroic figure reflects the physical and psychological trials endured while on an evolutionary path to full consciousness of who one truly is.

In volume five of Jung's *Collected Works* (2015), he discusses myth by using the example of this hero figure. When talking about the hero's actions in a myth cycle, he speaks not only of the ways they symbolize archetypes, but also how they serve as a symbol for the psychological life cycle of the individual. Jung describes the ultimate symbol of energy in myth as being the human figure, displayed usually as a demon or a hero. Much like the seasons of the year and the cycle of life, the hero rises with the sun, sinks into darkness, and is reborn in their children to start the cycle again. The birth of the hero is often under extraordinary circumstances, because it is also part of a rebirth, dealing with two mother figures. Examples of two mothers raising Heroes in myth include the indigenous American Hiawatha epic, where Nokomis takes a motherly role after Wenonah dies in childbirth, Buddha, who was raised by a foster mother, and the she wolf who looks after twins Romulus and Remus when they are abandoned in the wild. Jung continues by saying that the two-mother legend is interchanged with the dual birth legend, as seen in the myths surrounding Christianity. The ritual of baptism represents rebirth as a Christian, while Christ's redemptive death on the cross can also be interpreted as a baptism, a rebirth through a second mother symbolized by death. In these tales the first birth makes the hero a mortal, while the second makes them a near immortal half-god. Jung (CW7, para. 160) continues referencing the importance of the myth of the hero to the psychological life cycle, describing the hero's journey into the underworld to retrieve some sort of treasure as a journey into the unconscious to recover unconscious material from the Shadow, often symbolized by a monstrous image. Lemming (1998) also cites the hero's descent into the underworld as a

‘night journey’, returning to the Earth’s womb and perhaps facing death, which points to a wholeness of self only achieved by reconciliation with the inner world of shadow.

In her essay *The Interpretation of Fairy Tales* (1973), Jungian myth scholar Von Franz argues that every archetype is an unknown psychic factor, and the best one can do is bring it to light through looking at the entire net of associations in which the archetypal image is embedded in the myth. As the regulator of the collective unconscious, the Self endeavours to describe these reoccurring psychic facts through the themes in myth, so that the conscious individual will understand their meanings within their cultural settings. Archetypes offer opportunities to reflect upon the psyche within mythic tales. Myth is a symbolic representation of the inner, unconscious drama of the psyche which becomes accessible to an individual’s conscious by way of projection, that is, mirrored in the events of the external, natural world (Jung, CW9i, para. 7). The fact that the unconscious spontaneously personifies elements of the psyche is the primary reason Jung takes over these personifications within his terminology and formulates them as names, such as the Trickster and the Wise Old Man (Jung, CW9i, para. 514). The personalities these figures assume allow for their use in therapeutic activities such as active imagination, as well as the creation of culturally based myth narratives in popular culture. Some of these figures, as they relate to the Devil, will be examined in the case studies on American popular culture this thesis will present.

### **3.5 | Jung’s ‘Devil’ and its Place in the Psyche**

As noted by Stein in his introduction to *Jung on Christianity* (1999), Jung was the son of a Swiss pastor who used his Christian background to explore the psychological influences he believed were behind all religions. Jung saw the myth cycle of the life of Jesus of Nazareth as being one of deep meaning and noteworthy influence on a Christian’s view of the world. Jung often discussed and searched for the origin of what one would call ‘evil,’ and often focused

on Christian legends for examples. Stein (1995) stresses that Jung recognizes evil as a genuine force which must be dealt with, as opposed to the Augustinian doctrine of *privatio boni*, which claims evil is simply the absence of good. Connolly (2003) argues that in seeing evil as a real thing, Jung insists that any analysis of what is deemed evil depends on conscious individual and cultural value judgements. Rensma (2017) identifies the search by Jung for the ‘dark side’ of the psyche as occurring in three key stages. The first stage, described in Jung’s work titled ‘The Role of Consciousness (1918)’, locates these dark impulses in the aforementioned barbaric corner of the psyche (Jung, CW10, para.17). Rensma identifies the second stage occurring in 1936 when Jung singled out the archetypal energy behind the image of Wotan as being the source of the dark psyche, which built on the aforementioned primordial urges. Wotan, a Germanic god of war, emerged from a place in the unconscious during the rise of German nationalism; the resulting modern man of Jung’s world possessed what he described as blacker hearts than those from the most brutal days of the Middle Ages (Jung, CW18, para. 1363). The final location Rensma mentions which Jung places the darkness within is the Shadow archetype, highlighted in Jung’s *Fighting the Shadow* (1946). Jung continues this discussion of the Shadow when he refers to the Shadow as the Devil, a sinister side of the unconscious which mankind has never really come to terms with, thus allowing it to still be in its original, savage state (Jung, CW16, para. 388). Jung wondered if the blood-and-fire forged history of mankind had, or ever would, give humanity enough consciousness of the Devil within to keep up with his furious pace (Jung, CW11, para. 293).

This does not mean that Jung’s Devil was just another name for the Shadow archetype. Like many ideas frequently referred to throughout Carl Jung’s work, the meaning he gives the Devil is often tied to the context in which he speaks. Jung (CW4, para. 727) saw the Devil as having a character of an autonomous personality, which is greater to man’s conscious or will,

which further suggests that the Devil is an archetype, experienced only through images. Jung spoke of the Devil as the left side of God, a dark antagonist as a force in human life, and as the counterpart of Christ which represents evil, or the Antichrist, to mention a few (Jung, CW18, para. 1537). It should also be noted that Jung uses the term the Devil interchangeably with Satan in most of his works, often as a personification of God/Christ's spin-off evil side, a divine Shadow, so to speak. Despite this, there are three primary concepts in analytical psychology which Jung believed contributed to the formation of the Christian Devil archetype. These concepts include a theory he calls 'the problem of the fourth,' along with the archetypes of the Shadow and the Trickster. In *Collected Works Volume 11*, Jung (para. 191) first speaks about what he calls the 'problem of the fourth'. The fourth Jung refers to is the Devil, who Jung argues is the first son of God, since the Devil resulted from part of God being split away. Jung (1995) believes if one is to allow for the sustainability of good, then one also must allow for evil. Good and evil are opposites which, according to Jung (CW11, para. 180), are subject to the tension which all opposites experience in the psyche. This division in the psyche precludes the individual to judge something as good or evil because it can be compared to its opposite. When a person then speaks of this good and evil, they are generally trying to put into words concepts whose deepest qualities are unknown to the individual mind (Jung, CW10, para. 860). If something is experienced as sinful or evil, this is a subjective opinion based on the individuals understanding. The narratives provided by active imagination through myth allow a structure for these subjective feelings to be better interpreted. Therefore, it is difficult to say what is good or evil for an individual's psyche, as they may have to face what they consider evil, and thus undesirable, to grow towards the goal of Individuation (Jung, CW10, para.814)). His argument states that if the Devil can influence God's creation of humanity, he must be a spirit of incalculable abilities (Jung,1995). This assumption makes Gnostic dualism more sensible than monotheistic Christian views where

even those things against God are only traceable back to, and created by, God himself (Jung, CW11, para. 249). The holy trinity in Christian myth is the father, the son, and the holy spirit. If, as Jung suggests, the Devil is the first thing created by God to be separate from him, this makes God's first son not Christ or Adam, but the Devil indeed, which suggests the possibility of an infernal anti-trinity.

Jung's idea of this infernal anti-trinity could mean Satan, the Antichrist, and the unholy spirit. Avens (1977) states that since Christ cast off his dark elements, calling these Shadow parts Satan, he removed half of his Self, which became the Antichrist. The opposition implied by the prefix 'anti' suggests that they are linked to a main archetypal force Jung (1995) refers to as the Shadow. Although the Shadow is the one of what he calls the major archetypes, Jung (1995) also states that it is the easiest to experience because the image this archetype takes in the psyche is heavily influenced by the personal unconscious. Avens (1977) argues that this is because while the individual's personal Shadow stands for their individual darkness, it also branches into humanity's ancestral, collective Shadow. Avens continues by stating that the collective Shadow of a shared culture, as opposed to the personal Shadow, usually manifests itself in a charismatic leader, who shows all of the qualities that have been rejected or repressed by that culture, or it is projected upon another group, usually those in the minority or of a rival spiritual faith. Because of this, the individual Shadow belongs to and is influenced by archetypal figures which contain evil of gigantic proportion. West (2020) adds that complexes attached to hidden feelings, which are not acceptable in the culture, lie in the Shadow as underdeveloped, primal forces. For this reason, attention should be paid to a culture's social Other, because it is here that these repressed primal forces will find purchase, exemplifying that which we cannot accept as being part of our internal whole. This projection of the Shadow to create Others will be seen later in my second case study, which examines televised investigative television reports of the 1980s.

Although with practice and a strong will certain aspects of the Shadow may be assimilated into the conscious personality, Jung (1995) finds that certain features of the Shadow were very resistant to conscious, moral control. Jung (CW14, para. 252) calls the Devil a part of the psyche which has not yet been assimilated by the conscious; as such, this part of the Shadow becomes an inner devil which, if left unchecked, can cause chaos in daily life (Jung, CW13, 2015).. That is because Jung (1995) believes that these certain features have been projected out of the psyche so much that the source of this part of the person's dark feelings lies, without a doubt, within the other person it has been projected upon. The person often does not realize this as it is the unconscious part of the individual psyche which has made the projection, so the conscious mind meets the projected shadow for the first time in its hidden, exterior guise (1995). The shock and repulsion which can result from this sudden appearance of the Shadow will be clearly demonstrated in the aforementioned case study on investigative television reporting. This projection is problematic, because the more of this type sent from the person's shadow into the natural world, the more malevolence this person sees in their external environment, and the vicious cycle of solation in an 'evil' world is felt (Jung, 1995). Jung suggests that a more productive way of meeting the Shadow, which could result in more personal recognition and integration, is through myth. These narratives provide a useful medium because accessing this Shadow requires the recognition of the dark aspects of personality as real, and efforts to do so may be met by substantial resistance from the ego, which resists acknowledging the Shadow (Jung, 1995). Meeting with the Shadow elements is important, because within its collective the Shadow contains the seeds which can lead to conversations with its opposites (Jung, CW9i, para.315, 474). Rather than this direct confrontation with the Shadow, myth allows the Self to present the ego with metaphorical images of this archetype so that they may be addressed in a way more acceptable to the ego. Avens (1977) suggests that the Shadow is more often than not personified in mythology as a

figure of the same sex as the hero, who clings to this hero as his 'light' counterpart. Examples of this include the Christian Cain and Abel, Egyptian Set and Osiris, Goethe's Mephisto and Faust, and George Lucas' Darth Vader and Obi-wan Kenobi. Regardless of how they are presented, these dark characteristics of the Shadow are of an emotional nature because they have primitive, primordial origins (Jung, 1995), originating in a dark and barbaric place of the psyche (Jung, CW16, para.388). When touching, or conversing with this lower level of personality, the individual may become a passive victim of the Shadow's emotional affect and become incapable of moral judgement (Jung, 1995). This makes expression of these shadowy forms through myth narrative important to the person's psychological well-being.

At one point in 'Psychology of the Unconscious', Jung (CW7, para. 152) referred to the Christian Devil as a variant of the Shadow archetype; this is because of the Devil's strong archetypal ties to another archetype, the Trickster. Although the Shadow element of the Devil is an obvious point of focus, it is the less overt, yet arguably more important, Trickster archetypal energy in the figure of the Devil that is of most interest to this thesis. Jung (CW9i, para. 456) discusses these links to the Trickster archetype when he mentions the medieval description of the Devil as *simia dei*, the 'Ape of God', and in folklore characterizations as the 'simpleton', who is 'fooled', or 'cheated'; all traits to be found in Jung's Trickster.

Although the exact definition of the Trickster is extremely broad, Jung says he is a shapeshifter who plays malicious jokes on people only to fall victim to those he has tormented (Jung, CW9i, para. 457). The presence of the Trickster in the psyche can be rooted in doubt, which Azaria (2015) argues is necessary before any change can occur. Radin (1956/1978) goes on to add that the Trickster is impulsive and amoral, following no code, his actions committed with absolutely no concern for consequences. When discussing the Trickster in myth, Callahan (1991) gives examples of this archetype in the Christian Gnostic Demiurge, as well as the figure of Lucifer, another title often interchanged with the Christian

Devil. Callahan continues his discussion of the appearance of the Trickster in major Hollywood film as one who pokes and prods other archetypes towards growth and change.

Jung believed that elements of the Trickster which present in the conscious are elements of a collective Shadow figure which has become fragmented and scattered within the psyche because of metaphoric myths being replaced by logical, 'civilized' thought (Jung, CW9i, para. 469). Like the Shadow itself, the Trickster never disappears but lays dormant within the unconscious until energy is projected its way. Elements of the Trickster, Jung (CW9i, para.457) argues, like other mythical figures, hold the low intellectual and moral level before the eyes of the more advanced individual, so that we do not lose sight of what has happened before. The seeds here are the rejected, often despised parts of humanity are brought back to the surface by the Trickster's influence. The Trickster therefore holds one or more of the aforementioned seeds of the fragmented Shadow which may indeed start the Individuation journey. For this reason, Jung suggests that the Trickster is a type of saviour, as he encourages transformation and 'psychological wholeness'; Yahweh in the Old Testament had many features of the Trickster, from senseless destruction to cruelties against the self (Jung, CW9i, para. 458). In the Old Testament, he had a divine council, which included an adversary, or a Satan, sent to Earth to challenge men. His transformation to saviour through Jesus in the New Testament also saw this adversary, or Shadow, split away completely into a being of opposites, the Devil. The Trickster behaving as this agent of change will be evidenced in the case study analysis' presented later.

The Satan of Christian mythology finds no clear place within one archetype and Von Franz (1973/1196) provides a likely reason for this. She argues that the psychic energy present in an archetype runs through all archetypes like a stream, so when one examines the sometimes vagueness appearance of an archetypal image, they must try to get as close as possible to the true character of each image, acknowledging that it may contain parts of other archetypes.

Von Franz states the stream of psychic energy means that all archetypes are contaminated with one another. The journey into the underworld of the Shadow psyche helps archetypal figures face opposite shades of the consciousness. This supports the idea that Satan in Christian myths is represented by different, shifting archetypes.

### **3.6 | Satan and the Christian Psyche**

Now that the structure of Jung's Devil in the psyche has been discussed, our attention shifts to this Devil's problematic role within the Christian psyche and myth cycle. Riches (2001) argues that the relationship of myth as it relates to stories found within Christianity has taken a back seat to more popular theological and historical examination of these texts. King (1953) suggests that the very idea of Christian teachings being 'mythological' comes under scrutiny by some Christians because the word myth tends to be commonly used to describe something which is not only 'less real', but also a term to position ideas presented in pagan, classical, and Asian literature in opposition to those presented by Christianity. Satan is an archetypal image in the Christian myth cycle who, drawing energies from both the Shadow and the Trickster, is a character which may be used to explore darker aspects of the individual and group psyches. The American Christian quest for the Devil within involves a journey of discovery, often using mythological frameworks known to humanity since the time of passing traditions through oral histories.

Although Jung did not agree with some Christian interpretations of Satan, he did come to realize that the image of the Devil was important when he explored the darker parts of the Christian psyche; he referred to the legend of Lucifer, like the story of the serpent in the Garden of Eden, as a 'therapeutic' myth, because the Christian mind could not fathom the idea of good and evil all coming from God (Jung, CW11, para. 291).. However, the most dominant reading of Satan in Christian mythology becomes problematic to the concept of

Individuation, which Jung saw the key goal on one's lifetime. This hegemonic version of the Christian Satan is an often external, undesirable force, but above all it is separate from that which is good. This was Jung's primary issue with the Christian figure of Satan; he became an opposite, opposing force to God. Jung (CW9ii, para. 189) argued that God was comprised of both the positive and the negative, like all things. As mentioned earlier, Jung often relates God to his interpretation of an archetype he called the Self, with the Self being God-like as it is the perfect union we can achieve as an individual. If the negative energy in a Christian's psyche associated with the Devil is projected outside the Self, Jung (CW9ii, para. 189) argues that this abolishment of the evil within has the unintentional result of poisoning the person's soul.

This is because the recognition of so-called evil in the psyche was not only necessary but could also contribute positively to the individual psyche. As mentioned previously, the process of Individuation is a conscious coming to terms with one's own inner centre, which was a balance of both the positive and the negative (Von Franz, 1964). Despite the negative psychic forces linked to the image of the Devil, Jung saw those aspects of what some might call 'the work of the Devil' were not entirely negative, but rather relating more to the Devil's ties to the Trickster archetype (Jung, CW11, 2015). The Devil was not unique in being a dark, divine figure attached to Trickster archetypal energies. During his investigation into Trickster gods in mythology, Lang (2018) discusses one such figure already linked to Satan; Set, or Seth, the Egyptian god of the desert and 'otherness.' The previous link between Satan and Set, as argued by Flowers (2012), is that in addition to representing rebellious spirit, both are also figures of isolated intelligence, who realize they are different and unique to the universe which surrounds them. Lang argues that Set is a Trickster who acts as an agent of dynamic change, evident in him bringing death to the world with the murder of Osiris. Lang continues by stating that Set, like all Tricksters, seeks to force change into the static world of natural

law so that humanity can experience life. Through this experience, people become self-aware and open to change, which leads them to the ultimate gift from the Trickster; wholeness.

In a comparable way, Jung saw the Trickster element of Satan to be a kind of agent provocatory for change, pushing the individual to face things they needed to face by deception and deceit (Jung, CW16, para. 522). Jung also commented on the relevance of what he called the Lucifer myth as a path to use Lucifer's 'light-bringing' qualities to shine a light on healing the psyche (Jung, CW11, para. 620). By exploring Satan's role in the psyche through Christian interpretations of myth and thus coming to terms with what Mehrtrons (2016) calls our 'inner city' through wake-up calls to our conscious which result from patterns of self-destructive behaviours and failed attempts in life, the process of Individuation could be moved forward. Jung was not the first to recognize Satan as a path to balance; Milton's *Paradise Lost* mythic narrative had referred to Satan as the 'principium Individuationis,' or the principle of Individuation (Jung, CW11, para. 470), while Goethe's story of Faust demonstrated that the intervention of the devil upon the psyche is needed to reconcile its imbalance (Jung, CW16, para.491).

The positive aspects of the Satan archetypal image does not take away its dangerous nature, if not integrated properly. Like any archetypal energy and its images, the Devil can then insulate itself into the fabric of everyday life and effect the psyche in unknown ways (Jung, CW13, para. 289). Jung (1984) stresses that if ignored or placed in the realm of unaddressed Shadow elements of the Self, the energy within the Devil's archetypal image will not simply go away; rather, it is likely to swell up, often unnoticed, until it builds up so much it explodes outward in an unforeseen way. Because Christianity has tried to force what Jung (CW13, para.50) calls an autonomous, numinous archetype of power into the narrow mould of the individual psyche, this force puts the person at risk for psychic trauma. Avens (1977) continues this argument by suggesting that this forced split in the Christian psyche, which

acknowledges only the good and casts out that which is evil, demands that the individual admits they are a sinner for letting the evil back in. This then leads to the need of salvation from an external God image, which causes more internal conflict as this moves against the natural drive of Individuation. Another unfortunate result is that since this evil has been rejected from within, it is often projected outside onto the Other. Jung (CW7, para. 152) argues that the appearance of the Devil within an individual's subjective view means that something perceived by that individual's Other has made this possible. Therefore, the inner journey inward to locate Satan and reconcile this uneven tension of opposites is relevant to Individuation. These narratives of inner exploration, however, must suggest, in a direct or metaphorical way, that the evil recognized as coming from inside must be accepted as part of the person's psyche, and not projected out upon another. In his work on the meaning of Jung's Shadow archetype, Stevens (2002) sums it up best by saying that without acknowledgement of the Devil within us, Individuation cannot begin. With the well-established, and often culturally enforced dogma Christianity presents to the individual, change will not be easy; Jung (CW10, para.911) believed most individuals to be incapable of self-critique, instead favouring self-deception.

### **3.7 | Cultural Complexes: An Inner Sociology?**

As mentioned during the introduction, 2004 would see Jungian scholars Singer and Kimbles present the field of analytical psychology with a theory which involves a collective response to trauma that has affected a group, with a focus on the trauma's relationship with the group's shared collective unconscious. Although there have been questions by scholar's such as Lu (2013) about this cultural complex theory removing individual agency, as though some unseen force was controlling destiny, the idea of such a complex in this thesis will be presented as having an origin which is very individual in nature. As stated by Cashford (2020), cultural complexes can be seen as personal complexes which are culturally shared.

Singer calls the psyche an inner sociology, which to an extent is included within a collective psyche, which exists externally presenting itself to the individual in the shapes, functions, and structures of the society they live in. This inner sociology, although it may be modified through life, is established primarily through the concept of socialization (Singer and Kimbles, 2004). John F. Scott (1971) believed that ideas, concepts, and beliefs move from the outside environment of the individual to inside the psyche through socialization of cultural norms. These ideas form an internal series of sociological building blocks, which Vygotsky (1978) argued were the result of a long series of reinforced cultural norms which have guided the initial interpersonal process into an intrapersonal one. Since the concept of internalization is defined in the *Oxford American Dictionary* (2012) as ‘making attitudes or behaviours part of one’s own nature by learning or unconscious assimilation’, it can be argued that the individual psyche is subject to a certain degree of unconscious assimilation of the collective cultural society it is part of. This assimilation includes cultural complexes which activate personal and collective archetypal forces shared by the individual and the society they are part of.

The central argument this project presents is that a cultural complex exists among some White American men of a Christian upbringing, which results in them looking for reasons within when they act evilly. If cultural complexes are viewed as Singer’s aforementioned inner sociology, cared forward by members of the same culture which influences how they react to future events, a similar concept was explored in the field of sociology by Alexander (2004), when he discusses the concept of cultural trauma. Alexander defines this as trauma occurring in the psyches of members belonging to a collective group who have been subjected to an event which has left scars on their unconscious, fundamentally, and irrevocably changing the shape of their future identity. Alexander (2016) continues by stressing that cultural trauma is a theoretical concept because it argues for empirical-causal

relationships between previously unrelated, not usually directly experienced events and future cultural identity formation. Alexander's theory links this collective experience to the eventual feeling by the group members that they need to assume moral responsibility for the trauma, an action which further builds the group's feeling of solidarity.

Singer and Kaplinsky (2004) used Jung's theory of the complex as one of two important building blocks they synthesised when developing their idea of the cultural complex. The other component used in this synthesis by Singer and Kaplinsky was Dr. Joseph Henderson's theory of the cultural unconscious. In an unpublished letter he wrote to Carl Jung on December 3, 1947, and shown to Singer and Kaplinsky (2010), Henderson told Jung that recent sessions with protestant patients had led him to believe that a cultural complex may be linking them, and he intended to investigate this through a historical investigation of the Protestant man. Although he never continued along this avenue of investigation, Henderson wrote a chapter in his text *In Shadow and Self: Selected Papers in Analytical Psychology* (1990) discussing his theory of the cultural unconscious. In this chapter, Henderson defines the cultural unconscious as a historical memory base situated between the collective unconscious and the manifestation of culture in a society. Although aspects of it might be observed in the individual or group consciousness, the complex's main identity is from one or more archetype, which will promote the development of individuals in certain ways, as well as providing corresponding myth and ritual to this process.

Using both Jung's theory of the complex and Henderson's of the cultural unconscious, Singer and Kaplinsky (2010) present their idea of a cultural complex as existing both in the psyche of the cultural group and individual group members in the same way, with emotionally charged and shared images linked to common archetypal cores. Singer and Kaplinsky highlight, within their definition, several ways which cultural complexes are the same as individual ones. First, the cultural complex expresses itself in highly emotive ways of

repetitive behaviours. Next, they resist most efforts to bring them to the conscious, thus remaining a mostly unconscious influence. Next, they continue to accumulate experiences within a kind of historical memory which support the complex's point of view, for use in a self-affirming way by the psyche. The cultural complex, like its individual counterpart, functions in an autonomous way, addressing uncertainty in the outside world with fixed, often self-righteous attitudes towards these issues. Finally, Singer and Kaplinsky argue that that both complexes are difficult to resist or reflect upon because they express primordial images about what is meaningful, which are firmly rooted in their archetypal cores.

The idea of cultural complexes is not new to Jungian theory, but it has been addressed more implicitly than explicitly. Singer and Kaplinsky (2010) suggest that this may be partially because exploration of the idea of a cultural complex in Jung's works would involve once again addressing Jung's problematic connections to and writings on German National Socialism. Jung (CW11, para. 1329) first began to explore the national character of the German people, as well as the rising spirit of the Germanic war god Wotan, which may have been connected to Austrian occultist Guido von List's (Goodrick-Clarke, 2004) nationalist and volkisch writings, along with his revival of a Wotanist religion which was built on the idea that the pure Germanic peoples had been spread across the world and should be unified. This connection to the very cultural ideas underpinning Nazi Germany, considering the devastating revelations of the Holocaust, may have turned away many previous would-be scholars.

Despite being caught up in the culture of German superiority, Jung's writings on evil during this period were mostly limited to the dark aspect of Wotan. Grossman (1979) states that Jung's essay entitled *Wotan* (1936) sought to find a causal relationship for Nazism in the German collective psyche, rather than more popular theories relating to economic or political factors. Jung (CW10, para. 385) seems to be attempting to provide an understanding and

alternate reading for Germany's embrace of the National Socialist Party by comparing it, and examining it, through the myth of Wotan. This god of storms and war occurs in many Scandinavian and Germanic myth cycles under various other names, with the most well known being that of the Norse god Odin, the All-Father. In this essay, Jung uses a term 'Ergriffenheit,' which means to be seized or possessed, to describe the effect of Wotan's archetypal energy on the collective unconscious of German society, or culture. It could be argued that Wotan is the centre, archetypal form upon which a cultural complex formed, because when discussing complexes, Jung also describes the person to have a feeling of being 'seized' by the complex, and often acting in ways they look back on in wonder. Jung's discussion about the effect of this archetypal force has been written about extensively by academics, like Dr. Nicholas Lewin in his text *'Jung on War, Politics and Nazi Germany: Exploring the Theory of Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious'* (2009). It is hoped that this project adds to this debate about how Jung applied a theory of a traumatized collective culture to explain some possible reasons for the rise in National Socialism, moving away from the problematic reading of this theory which suggests Jung was removing the individual's responsibility for the war atrocities committed.

Singer (2020) states that cultural complexes are like filtering systems inside people and the groups they most strongly associate their identities with, which have been shaped by generations of shared cultural experience, some of which may have been traumatic. These complexes examine and dictate through their own dominant discourse the meaning, emotion, thought, and image of both internal and external events. Singer and Kaplinsky (2010) highlight that one important application of their cultural complex theory is that it allows a new, unique perspective for understanding the psyche of the individual who finds themselves in conflict with individual or cultural identity, which is causing them internal distress. While Alexander (2016) argues that his similar theory of cultural trauma is constructed by

individual experiences of suffering, he suggests that the greater threat this trauma causes is to collective group identity rather than the identity of the individuals. Alexander further enforces this difference when stating that cultural trauma should not be addressed the same way as individual trauma. While an individual may repress or work through uncomfortable psychological issues, collective groups must create stories, which are symbolically constructed and framed to address the trauma, to begin to move on from its effects.

Carta (2020) argues that Puritan ethos, along with a need to pioneer, and the vast open lands the North American continent seemed to offer, all contributed to make up what he refers to as the American spirit. The mythical idea of a walled city on a hill, created to protect the righteous from the Others, has expanded till the city's walls have become the nation's borders; this separates what is good in the city, from what is bad in the wilderness beyond. It was easy to create a city safe from the wilderness, as Carta argues that one of the most popular American metaphoric narratives is that civilized, 'city' life is for the righteous, while the wilderness and all else beyond the walls was evil because it was not under God's protection. In order to facilitate both the need to be righteous and the pioneer spirit to expand, Christians cited Christ's Doctrine of Atonement, within a framework of grace (Smeaton, 1991). This doctrine allowed all of God's children to serve him as he created them to do; the Puritan ethos would stand strong in the city while other Christians would embrace their destiny to pioneer out into the wilderness.

Roy (2004) argues that it is logical to assume that the archetype of the Self took a specific form in America, becoming a cultural archetype, which in turn became the core of the cultural complex of Puritanism. Yahweh's righteousness and Christ's perfection created this cultural, God-image which demands that all endeavours achieve perfection. This created a conflict as wholeness of the Self would contain both light and dark aspects, which was different from perfection in Self. The complex of Puritanism resurfaced and became the

archetypal core energy when the hardship of outer circumstances allowed it. This complex was driven by strict judgement of others, with sexuality and immoral behaviour punishable by law. The absence of any awareness of one's Shadow.

Elements of this can be seen in a complex similar to the infernal complex, the purity complex. In writing about this complex, Flowers (2020) states that America is obsessed with making things pure, which she evidences exists in the Salem Witch trials and the ongoing debate on abortion rights. Of interest to the discussion here, Flowers argues that this complex leads to the pursuit of what is good in absolute terms, meaning the complete absence of evil. She further states that this means Americans tend to root out and destroy evil, rather than seek causes to understand it better or change the evil towards a balance with good. Flowers also mentions that the first election of Trump in 2016 activated this complex in such a way that compromise is limited and the demonization of the views of others is common.

As stated by Singer and Kimbles (2004), the individual has a duty to recognize and break the hold of the group to achieve Individuation, which is not an easy task as the archetypal energies within complexes are powerful and well established in their 'truths'. Examples of what happens when reconciliation with the negative impulses inside the individual is not obtained can be seen in what Victor (1990) called episodes of blood libel, or blood sacrifice, in which society creates a mysterious group of Others within their society who are after their children. Hanna (2021) supports this by adding that not only have these blood libel myths occurred during the American colonial witch trials and the Satanic panic of the 1980s, but that the pattern is also evident in the current Q'Anon movements' discourse. Started in 2017 primarily by supporters of President Trump, Q'Anon claims that a poorly defined liberal group exists which promotes the sexual exploitation and cannibalism of children, among other things.

When examining a culture for complexes, it is important to remember the wider picture, as well as the individual agency of each actor within the cultural group under examination. With this in mind, several relevant critiques have been raised of the cultural complex theory, which shall help guide the way this concept is applied and developed within this project. Lu (2013) argued that to keep the theory from being a kind of ‘wild ‘psychological’ approach to applying Jung’s ideas of the individual psyche onto collective cultures, historical contexts need to be considered. Cerminara (2020) argues that examining a particular part of culture, without considering the historical and cultural forces acting upon it, results in a misinformed, one-sided view of what a possible connected psychological experience really means. In her paper, Cerminara suggests that when examining the psyche of a culture, care must be taken to make sure this is done in terms of relational mutuality. By this, she means that a cultural complex, although it may be more visible in one part of the cultural society than another, still affects all cultural identities which help form it. Along with her example of how the trauma of the Holocaust effected the psyche of not only Jewish people involved but also Germans, Cerminara cites how the legacy of slavery in America has influenced both Black and White American psyches, albeit in possibly separate ways. The idea was first put forward by Jung (CW10, para. 963) in 1930, when he wrote about problems with examining the American psyche after a trip to New York. Jung attributed this problem to the fact that White and Black Americans existed subconsciously under each other’s skins.

To address some of the concerns voiced by Lu and Cerminara, the research in this project is presented in case study form, with each time period discussed in depth to provide the reader a review of the pertinent historical and social forces at work during the time period discussed. This approach allows the reader to have a better understanding of the broader American historical and social issues at work, allowing them a more informed reading of the analysis and discussion presented at the end of each case study.

### 3.8 | Concluding Summary

The concepts and theories discussed will provide a guide to analyse the modern mythic narratives, as presented in various forms of popular culture, in the case studies this project will present. How the need to confront internal evil may have influenced these narratives to move closer towards reconciling opposing internal forces will be examined, asking do they succeed in this effort and, if so, to what extent? Particular attention will be paid to how the archetypal energies, expressed in the archetypal images relating to the Devil, are used in these narratives. If these narratives do not seem to provide a way for their creators to better understand the evil within, is it projected onto existing, external Others? Are parts of the characters which are unacceptable split away, to create new Others, in a comparable way that what was called God's anger or his agents in the Old Testament was cast further out in the New Testament to be the individual being known as Satan? Ultimately, can the concept of a cultural complex help to explain collective behaviour after shared cultural experience? The presence of these archetypes and their images, as they relate to the Devil, and this internal struggle will be used to support the existence of a cultural complex affecting some White American Christian men.

## Chapter 4 | America's Internal War Revealed: Research Methods

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### 4.1 | Representation of Popular Cultural Narratives

This thesis is interested in what role the symbolic and archetypal Devil represented in popular cultural narratives during the last three decades of the twentieth century in America.

Although the symbolism will vary, the primary archetypal cores of interest are that of the Trickster and the Shadow, as outlined previously. Bassil-Morozow (2017) argues that not only is the expression of psychological elements like the Shadow in cultural productions healthy for the individual psyche, but that popular media also generates Individuation narratives for the mass consumption of those too busy to examine their psyches individually.

Cultural theorist Joseph Campbell (1993) suggests that since early civilization, storytelling has been a way to transfer customs, morals, and traditions, and that mythologies are in fact 'public dreams', which move and shape society (Campbell, 1981). Social theorist Stuart Hall (1997a) states that the primary function of a society's culture is the production and exchange of meanings between members of society, which includes the use of stories through media text narratives. Although people go through their lives having a great deal of direct life experiences, they also gain understanding through texts that present a reality to them that they might never get to experience otherwise (Carah and Louw, 2015). Since cultural texts are not produced outside society, in isolation from the social trends around them, a great deal of what is going on socially goes into their creation (Carrabine, 2012). Berger (2014) argues that because of this, interpreting the content of media texts is an effective way of learning about the culture and the social actors during the historical time of the texts' creation.

One way that important cultural norms are explored is through myths; Levi-Strauss (1962/1989) argued that one way of mythical thinking was to generate new, updated myths by using the frameworks of those myths already established within a society. He noted, however, that this practice did limit the interpretation of the myth under the restraint of its original meaning, making the contents less open to individual interpretation. In discussing these more current uses of myth in narratives, Hirschman (2000) suggests that although it is not marketed as such, myth surrounds today's society in various forms of popular culture media. These myths use cultural examples that instruct us how to behave, how to fight and what goals are worth fighting for. These actions are conducted by fictional heroes one should emulate, or villains that can be condemned for their actions against social norms and punished.

The case studies which follow will draw from examples of these popular culture narratives in media. Breaking the term 'popular culture' down into its two components, the Oxford Dictionary (2010) offers two primary definitions of the word popular. First, popular is defined as 'liked or admired by many people or a particular group, while the second states 'intended for or suited to the taste and understanding of the public, rather than those with specialist knowledge or intellectuals. It is important to note that this second definition is prefaced by saying it relates to cultural activities and products. The second definition of culture presented in this dictionary, is 'the ideas, customs and social behaviour of a particular people or society.' Storey (2018) contributes to this debate when he argues that any definition of popular culture must take into consideration that the term is always defined by what it is not, such as high culture or folk culture. Williams (1983) remarks that popular, when related to culture, implies well-liked by many people, and works in a deliberate way to continue winning the favour of the people. To this end, the people often make the product they also consume, which often results in the successful marketing of new media which expresses the

same cultural themes. Hebdige (1988) points out that ultimately in Western cultures, popular culture for most of the people most of the time is simply their culture. However, in order to communicate the intended meaning through popular culture, the way it is represented must be commonly understood within that culture.

Representation, as used in this thesis, will be defined from a constructionist approach. Stuart Hall (2013b) argues that since nothing has an inherent meaning, people construct meaning using language in a representational system common in the culture they share. By language, I refer to the definition given by Hall(1997a), who states language can be spoken, written, digital, body language, or a piece of clothing, to just name a few examples, which serves to externalize a meaning so that it becomes a social fact within that culture. In order to make day to day sense of the meanings given to things through a shared culture, Hall states the culture's members have shared, internal maps of meaning which allow things to make sense in the context they are represented within that culture. Hall (2013b) points out that within a culture, meaning is often connoted through larger groupings of distinct types of language, such as narratives and guidelines. These larger units, or discourses, become authoritative areas of knowledge about a topic within a culture.

Foucault (1984b) describes a discourse as a group of statements which provide a language for discussing a subject. He further goes on to say that the dominant discourse on a subject is the one which provides an acceptable language for knowledge which is accepted to be the 'truth' about the subject in that particular topic at a particular historical time period. Foucault further states that meaning is decided as true or false depending on the discursive formation it is part of. These presentations of meaning often fit within wider, cultural discourses, which Hall (1997b) described as rules within a space of communication. Nothing meaningful exists outside of these discourses, as meaning needed the framework discourse provides (Hall,

1997b). Meaning is always dependent on interpretation and, although it cannot be fixed, it depends on fixing within discourse at that moment (Hall, 1997c).

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Foucault stresses that individuals are restricted to certain positions they can occupy in society by discursive power structures. Hall (1997d) further argues that although individuals are subject to these discourses, it falls upon the person to locate themselves within these discourses in the position which makes most sense to them. To put it another way, Hall believes that individual agency plays a significant part in determining what subjective positions are constructed within these discourses. By taking part in the position, or positions, which make most sense to the individual they can better understand their place within the entire discourse (Hall, 1997d). These discourses are important to cultural research because, as suggested by Elder-Vass (2012), identifying and critically examining discourses of specific social entities will help understand the identities of the human beings which are part of them.

#### **4.2 | Critical Discourse Analysis**

Part one of the two-part combined methodological approach this thesis uses is critical discourse analysis (CDA), as described by Machin and Mayr (2012). They developed CDA as a response to the underdevelopment of the link between language and power in the field of critical linguistics. Machin and Mayr state their use of ‘critical’ means ‘denaturalizing, in that their techniques are designed to remove any idea of language occurring naturally, and to open the researchers’ eyes to ideas, absences, and assumptions previously taken for granted. Their focus is on the ‘why’ and ‘how’ features in linguistics are produced, making CDA a departure from the more traditional, descriptive forms of discourse analysis. Although usually used to examine ideological goals and power structures in things such as news texts and political speeches, it has also been used successfully on more cultural topics such as masculinity in

magazine advertising (Al Falaq and Puspita, 2021) and oppression in Harper Lee's classic American novel '*To Kill a Mockingbird*' (Al-Mamoory and Witwit, 2021).

CDA was chosen for this project for two key reasons. First, the method for conducting CDA is outlined in detail by Machin and Mayr, providing a rigorous, structured analytical method which will compensate for the more creative, interpretive nature of the amplification used, thus providing the results with a greater degree of empirical credibility. The second reason is that since CDA was developed with the intention of being usable in what the authors refer to as Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA), this makes the use of CDA and amplification an even better fit. MCDA is interested in how text and images work together to create meaning and, as argued by Kress and Leeuwen (2001), CDA has taken a distinctly visual turn, acknowledging that discourse shards can be expressed through both linguistic and visual choices. In addition to these two primary reasons for the selection of CDA for this project, Blommaert and Bulcean (2000) have suggested that CDA has more to offer when the historical context of the item analysed is included, as well as an investigation into the human meaning given to the text in question. The case study structure used in the chapters which follow examines the popular culture texts within their historical and social contexts.

It is not the intention of this chapter to repeat the methodology presented in Machin and Mayr's 'How to' text, in which each chapter describes an aspect of CDA. Rather, some of the analysis tools key to this paper's research goals will now be briefly highlighted. When discussing lexical analysis, the authors stress identifying connotations words carry in a particular culture, as they help to place the text within a particular discourse. The use of structural oppositions, which can be overt or covert, are also important as they convey a sense of what is culturally good and bad, dependent upon their use. Another lexical consideration important to this paper, especially with the second case study which examines 1980s investigative reporting, is the choice of authoritative voice. While the use of 'common

language' gives a sense that the speaker is one of us, speaking from within our group, use of scientific and other words associated with professions of authority says that the speaker is the one in our culture who has specialist knowledge in a subject, and as such should be listened to.

When examining visual discourse, Machin and Mayr note three areas essential to analysing the visual semiotic choices of an author. The first is the use of iconography, which is placing items in a visual image which connote or denote cultural meanings. Important to the correct reading of these objects is asking 'why' a particular image has been chosen to convey this meaning to the viewer. The second essential area to examine is the attributes of the image, which they define as all the components, which represent values and ideas, placed together to create new meaning by the image's author. The third and final area outlined by Machin and Mayr is the actual setting of the image, where the attributes are placed within. While attributes serve to connote and denote specific things, settings are usually used to communicate more general ideas, wider discourses, and their accompanying values.

Machin and Mayr also speak about the importance of recognizing and reading the use of metaphors correctly in both written and visual texts. The use of this part of CDA is so integral to the collection of data in the case studies which follow, it will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, as it relates directly to elements of Jungian amplification, which the discussion will now move on to.

### **4.3 | Jungian Amplification**

Jung (CW7, para. 122) mentions the concept of amplification to make meaning of dream and fantasy images which might be products of the collective, rather than personal, unconsciousness. Fredericksen (2001) suggests that since the meaning of visual images in moving images are characteristically puzzling to us, we must use amplification as an

interpretive method. The Jungian meaning of amplification and how it differs from interpretation is important. While interpretation would involve breaking the subject item into pieces to decipher its meaning, amplification increases the intensity of the image so that where the image fits within the whole picture is more apparent (Hauke, 2000). The main purpose of amplification is to bypass the conscious and unconscious to explore the possible psychological meanings behind the images produced (Hockley, 2017b).

Bassil-Morozow (2017) discusses the use of Jungian theory in analysis of visual images captured on film in *Jungian Film Studies: The Essential Guide*, which she contributes to both as author and editor. She argues that not only do human beings tend to organize information about the world in narratives, but that personal and external narratives allow individuals to connect themselves to wider society, helping them to find a place in the community and culture. Jung believed the unconscious to use a visual language based on pre-civilized and pre-linguistic images, which Bassil-Morozow argues is why, although the personal layer of the unconscious may be affected by culture, the collective part of the unconscious remains an original source of meaning. She argues that these meanings, when presented in a stream of visual images such as film, give viewers the opportunities to reflect upon themselves as individuals as well as participants in their society.

The analysis of popular culture texts has been the focus of previous research using Jung's amplification techniques, with the field of film studies having a large body of research and literature about the application of Jung's theories and concepts to the visual aspect of film. Waddell (2006) suggests that there are three major Jungian concepts that can be taken from this which provide an obvious framework for analysing visual media. First, images commonly presented in creative constructions are often projections of the collective unconscious. Second, there is a receptive collective unconscious which understands where these projected images are constellated in relation to other images. Finally, the conscious

unravelling of these structures through visual media promotes more awareness of sense of self. Izod (2006) continues this focus on the importance of the individual finding meaning in the images by saying that since the individual is the focus and centre of much of western culture, Jung's concept of Individuation is particularly applicable in the analysis of western visual images. Izod continues by saying that cultural forms are essentially vehicles for symbolic energy, which is charged by not only the collective unconscious, but also with the shared, irrational material in the individual's personal unconsciousness.

Since the person who creates the images is not always present as a source to the researcher, analysis of personal amplification would be difficult. Therefore, Fredericksen (2001) suggests the use of transpersonal amplification, which suits very well as the type of imagery associated with media is essentially collective, transpersonal, and archetypal in origin. Transpersonal amplification brings forth imagery, which is analogous to the symbols under consideration, often found in such places as fairy tales, folk lore, and religious imagery. Fredericksen further supports the validity of transpersonal amplification when he argues that all imagery used in the production of cultural texts is essentially collective and archetypal; only an artist with an inflated self-image could claim that their personal intent in the piece has exhausted a symbol's possible associations.

#### **4.4 | Towards a Stronger Methodology: Discourse Analysis and Jungian Amplification**

Both Stuart Hall and Carl Jung argued that the understanding of an individual's internal processes, once socialized, was crucial when examining the meanings assigned by an individual to their world. Hall (1997b) argued against the use of analysis techniques which did not look at these internal processes, as most of these techniques focused incorrectly on how what was represented became distorted through some manner of 'misrepresentation'. Hall believed this to be a problematic stance, as the idea that an image can be distorted by

representation alludes to the fact that this image has a true, universal meaning to all individuals perceiving it. As stated earlier in this chapter, Hall argues that meaning does not exist until representations of these meanings are agreed upon and practiced through language within a culture. Because of this stance on the meaning of an object existing only through culturally constructed representations, Hall's theory resonates with what Jung might explain as the archetypal image experienced by the individual. Jung (CW9i, para. 267) states that although the core archetypes have certain, common universal similarities, it is the shared, cultural socialization of their collective psyche that assigns often metaphorical meaning to the image. As noted briefly above, Hall suggests that culture is the primary source in assigning meaning to representations, as it involves the specific cultures' members using a shared 'map of meaning,' similar to the inner sociological building blocks suggested by Singer. Hall continues his argument by saying that these maps of meaning allow communication within a culture based on the shared socialization of the cultures members to classify ideas and meanings.

The use of discourse analysis provides a cultural and historical framework through which the archetypal image can be correctly amplified. Jung (CW9i, para. 271) is very explicit when he stresses that the archetype is like a psychic organ which must be cared for, so when an archetype or a related archetypal image is used to explain some contents of the psyche, care must be taken to be true to the meaning of the archetype and not to stretch it to reach things it does not naturally fit (Jung, CW9i, para.271). When culture or societal forces change abruptly or over time, the individual is confronted with the task of finding a new interpretation appropriate to this order to connect the life of past and present. With archetypes, which Jung argues represent something existing both in the past and present, the best one can do is dream the myth onward and give it a modern tone or interpretation (Jung,

CW9i, para. 271). Hockley (2017b) stresses that the interpretations must be seen considering the actual content of the visual image and must not be forced upon the text to make it fit.

In her chapter on the use of discourse analysis within Jungian analysis, Miller (2011) highlights the strengths of combining these two different approaches. Discourse analysis, as argued by Miller, with its attention to specific operations of culture and its focus on repetitive imagery across discursive strands, helps to bridge the gap between the archetypal and the personal. While Jungian analysis of images has tended to look at one text at a time, with a focus on imagery that can be fit within archetypal categories, discourse analysis tends to focus on the reproduction of discourse strands. Miller suggests that this asks the more specific question of ‘How does the imagery work within the cultural context of these strands?’ This amplification of a source must move away from the actual image to the myth behind it, which seems to depict the same or similar archetypal forms (Rowland, 2017). To do this but remain true to the contextual setting in which the text was produced, Miller states that the addition of discourse analysis to Jungian analysis addresses the two main constraints of the use of amplification to examine these parallels to myth. The first of these constraints is that amplification should only proceed as far as is necessary to understand the image at hand, to avoid a thinning of the archetype. Second, it needs to be stressed that Jung (CW9i, para. 103) said that to draw a valid parallel, it is important to know the functional meaning of the symbol in use and then find out if the parallel mythological symbol has a similar function with that myth.

When looking at myth narratives, Jung stressed that any archetypal content expresses itself, primarily, in a metaphorical way (Jung, CW9i, para. 271). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discuss the use of metaphors within discoursing strands as consisting of two distinct domains, which are relatable to Jung’s Archetype and the archetypal image. According to Lakoff and Johnson, any metaphor consists of both a source domain and a target domain. The source

domain is the concept that is drawn upon within discourse to create the metaphor, while the target domain is the topic the discourse seeks to describe through the metaphor. An example of this cited by Machin and Mayr (2012) is the discursive connection they argue exists between 'ideas' and 'food'. By their account, when somebody says a statement like 'Your idea is half-baked,' the target domain item to be discussed is 'idea,' which draws upon the source domain of 'food' for its metaphorical construction. In addition, Cameron (2007) adds that certain targets may be dominated by references to particular source domains. This structural description of the two domains of metaphor resonates with Jung's idea of an Archetypal core and an archetypal image. In this sense, the source domain would be the archetype, and the target domain would be like the archetypal image used to experience the core, or source. Hockley (2017a), when discussing the relationship of metaphors to Jung's concepts of sign and symbol, states that the sign points towards something that the consciousness can readily understand, while the symbol provides psychological insight to the core meaning the conscious mind needs to comprehend. Within this, Hockley states the metaphor is the mostly recognizable part which links the mostly stable meaning of the sign with the psychological energy of the symbol, so that the conscious might understand the symbol better. Jung (CW8, para.148) states that the symbol or image should not be evaluated semiotically as a sign for an intellectual process, but more symbolically as a possible expression for those unconscious forces not yet fully revealed. In this sense, the archetypal image, the metaphoric target domain, and the sign may be linked, as may the corresponding archetypal core, metaphoric source domain, and the symbol.

With these methodological approaches in mind, each item from an area of popular cultural texts taken from three American historical time periods will now be examined using CDA to develop dominant cultural themes, or discourses, which will then be further developed using amplification of the visual images to reveal possible unconscious meaning in the cultural

group primarily concerned with the item's production. Spoken words, especially descriptors about visual images amplified, will be of particular interest when situating the amplified object within the correct cultural discourse. The extent each part of the project's methodology is important to each case study will be discussed in each of the chapters to follow, as the nature of the medias chosen will affect this application. After the discursive shards, or themes, present in the case study's media have been developed, alternate readings from previous literature, when available, will be discussed along with these findings to better demonstrate this project's findings.

## Chapter 5 | Case Study 1: The Vietnam Veteran in 1970's Hollywood Blockbusters

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In 1979, America cinema audiences watching Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* heard the final words of the film repeated by Marlon Brando's troubled character, Colonel Kurtz, as the screen went black, and credits rolled:

“The horror, the horror.”

These words summed up the journey into the cinematic Hell viewers had just been on for the last two and a half hours, as they participated in a visual hero's journey into the underworld. While Coppola's award-winning adaptation of Joseph Conrad's 1899 novella *Heart of Darkness* allowed Americans traumatized by the losses of the Vietnam War a chance to travel with Martin Sheen's psychologically broken war veteran Captain Willard back to revisit the Vietnam many had viewed nightly through televised news reels, it also signalled an end to the so called 1970s 'New Hollywood' era. This was because *Apocalypse Now* was not only the highest grossing film about Vietnam in the 1970s, but it was also the sixth highest grossing film of 1979 (Box Office Mojo), and as such was one of the blockbusters which would drive power back to the big studio production companies and put an end to the artistic turn of director driven film making of the 1970s.

Hollywood production in the 1970's was driven by the success, and low production cost, of several late 1960s films created by film makers who challenged the traditional successful motion picture narrative, as well as representations of morality, such as 1967s *Bonnie and Clyde* and 1969s *Easy Rider*. In these films, directors used the medium to explore this new American moral landscape, where good guys were hard to distinguish and hardly ever prevailed. This backdrop became the perfect stage to further develop a popular film trope, the

war veteran, using already familiar, televised images of Vietnam fighting men. American's were only just beginning to see brief mentions of war atrocities committed by American fighting men, tarnishing the previous image of the United States as a kind of worldly 'white knight,' arriving just in time to save the day. The diversity of this New Hollywood also provided film makers a chance to explore perhaps the most iconic of all images of evil, Satan, who had been represented primarily only in marginalized films from small, foreign studios such as the United Kingdom based Hammer and Amicus production companies. Like the other, previously mentioned late 1960s films, Roman Polanski's 1967 *Rosemary's Baby* proved just how successful, and profitable, the Devil could be in Hollywood. The sudden inclusion of some of the first, and arguably most memorable, representations of Vietnam veterans in film offered a vergence point, where American interest in visual representations of Satan's influence on humanity and a need to explore the narrative that these men experienced, which transformed some of them from the ideal boy next door to the savage seen on the nightly news, met with an artistic, director driven narrative.

This first case study will examine the representation of the internal struggle with Satan that these New Hollywood directors and writers experienced, and often-unconsciously expressed, in the narrative of the Vietnam veteran in Hollywood films of the 1970s. By unconscious, the reader is reminded that Jung (CW9i, para. 67) described this part of the psyche as having two parts, a personal and a collective unconscious. While the personal unconscious is a repository of the repressed and forgotten experiences of the individual (Skar, 2015), the collective unconscious is a collection of primordial forces shared by all of humanity, although often experienced through diverse cultural imagery (Jung, CW9ii, para. 152). To achieve this, this chapter will first outline the so-called occult revival which began in the mid to late 1960s. This chapter will begin with a continuation of the discussion of the occult revival which we began in the introduction. This will be followed by a brief discussion of some of the main

cultural and social issues which caused anxiety to many in 1970's America. Next, an examination of how the artistic influence of European cinema helped shape the 'New Hollywood' movement, which would allow for the films being discussed to be made. This will be followed by a discussion of the Vietnam War veteran in American films of this decade, and how popular existing genres contributed to these onscreen images. Then, a discussion about the films selected and an analysis of these films will be presented. This analysis will relate to the discourses the films present as to what a Vietnam veteran was, as well as how these discourses relate to an inner exploration of the struggle with the Devil within, through Jungian amplification the primary archetypal forms associated with Jung's Devil: The Shadow and the Trickster. Finally, a detailed discussion of the films analysed within this chapter will highlight how these cinematic narratives expressed themes of the need for some White American men to examine, and in some way explain, the appearance of what some Americans would call the Devil was within these men.

### **5.1 | Social and Cultural America of the 1970s**

In addition to the ongoing, worry trend of so-called occult influence in popular culture, several direct challenges to the dominant social identity of some White American men occurred from the mid-1960s through the early 1970s. This was made even worse when highlighted against the violent image of the televised American GI in Vietnam. The most direct domestic challenges to this social order, second wave feminism and the civil rights movement, also highlighted the inherent, violent nature of the White American man. Lear (1968), writing for the *New York Times*, discussed what she termed second wave feminism in the 1960s as a fresh focus on women's rights, which had fallen out of the spotlight since the first wave of feminism achieved voting rights. Lear continued by explaining that proponents of this revitalization of the interest in Women's rights focused on family, sexuality, and violence against women, especially domestic violence. Although these women's rights

affected American women of all backgrounds, most leaders within the feminist movement would not openly embrace the plight of minority women in their campaigns until the third wave feminist movement of the 1990s, which will be discussed in a later case study.

Therefore, the focus on the potential for women to be joint, if not primary wage earners in the family structure and the idea that women were in charge of decisions effecting their own bodies, primarily threatened the real and perceived power of White male Americans, both financially and sexually.

In addition to the violence of domestic abuse highlighted by this movement, the televised broadcast of nonviolent civil rights actions, such as sit-ins and boycotts, brought the reality of white violence into homes. Although many viewing Vietnam war footage could allow themselves the luxury of believing the horrors of war forced these atrocities, they now saw on a regular basis white police and military using force on peaceful protesters (Poole, 2009), including Nixon's newly formed Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), with an agenda to punish minority areas with high drug related crime rates. Viewers watched as liberal and minority opponents of a dominant White male government met harsh, brutal response.

Higashi (1990) stresses that significant movements in civil rights were always underlying America's debates about the war. Hard fought civil rights victories, including the Voting Bill of Rights in 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968, faced extreme retaliation and televised violence by authorities. The escalation of the war saw Black activists and student radicals both focus on the conflict, with more Black people than White people being drafted and more African Americans comprising a greater percentage of combat troops.

Kirshner (2012) states that a true sense of despair hit America beginning in 1973, when the last US troops left Vietnam, quickly followed by Nixon's embarrassing exit from office in 1974. Although these events moved two major focuses from public outrage, numerous other concerns rose to public attention, with a new trend of investigative bodies scrutinizing the

efforts of America. Organizations such as the Rockefeller Commission and the Church Committee highlighted senior political corruption, beyond Nixon, which often targeted the lawful rights of Americans. These foreign and domestic events presented a significant challenge to the ideal of the White American male saviour image. When looking at general American belief in the internal goodness of their countrymen, Mailer (1968) points out New England based, American novelist John Updike, who suggested that many Americans believed that God had removed the blessing from America after the assassination of Bobby Kennedy. Although this internal, negative aspect of the American psyche would appear throughout the nation's formative years, such as the doubts of America being chosen by God during the slavery of Antebellum America, the advent of television allowed these questions of morality to be viewed by millions. Viewers questioned the image of a US Soldier as a hero, a force for truth and justice who would always choose the right path (Kirshner, 2012). Dresser (1991) argues that although armed conflict in Vietnam had started prior to direct American involvement, most Americans still considered it to be an 'American war', and as such one of benevolent necessity. This was at least partially because, according to Dresser, many Americans still believed in the notion that America itself had become the Puritan 'city on the hill,' a new Israel to light the darkness of the world. The Vietnam conflict prevented some Americans from continuing to see themselves as God's rightful heroes and liberators abroad, as live war news coverage of the front lines brought incidents like the My Lai massacre right into people's living rooms (Poole, 2009). On March 16, 1968, a company from America's 11th Infantry Brigade slaughtered over five hundred Vietnamese civilians in the village of My Lai (Hastings, 2019). Although this was not reported until several national news broadcasters broke the story on November 17, 1969, it had a significant effect on the collective American identity of being 'the good guy' (Jones, 2017). Eyerman (2019) describes this resulting trauma to American collective identity as perpetrator trauma, which is

when an event committed by group members goes so against the groups moral identity that its long-held ideas of collective identity and pride are shattered. Eyerman continues by stating that the subsequent war crimes trial and conviction of one officer removed the framing of the incident as 'war,' presenting it with photos of the victims and details of rape to audiences which clearly framed this American fighting man as a 'criminal,' and the villain on the world stage.

These violent, criminal atrocities committed by Americans in Vietnam, as well as what many viewed as rise of corrupt politicians through incidents like Watergate, awoke cultural anxieties of what evil might be within the average, once trusted American man. This and other questions of evil weighed heavily on the minds of many Americans, including many of the directors and writers who would hold profound influence in the film production of New Hollywood. This effect on the American psyche was so profound that Keathley (2004) suggests even when films of the 1970s do not explicitly mention Vietnam, they show the onset of the cultural trauma resulting from a national sense of powerlessness in a world where once clear ideas of right and wrong had been broken down by White American politicians and war horrors.

### **5.1 | Americans and the 'Scariest Movie Ever Made'.**

The aforementioned occult revival would enter the 1970s spearheaded by two works of fiction that were so successful that their success would transfer to major Hollywood productions. Both *Rosemary's Baby* and *The Exorcist* would reinforce the idea of Satan being inside the white American home, but also that the Devil's true face was human in form. In 1967, Jewish writer Ira Levin (1929-2007) authored the novel *Rosemary's Baby*, which was followed by a successful film adaptation the following year, as briefly mentioned in this chapter's introduction. This story brings forth two notions linked to Christian mythological

narratives. First, that Satan is influencing everybody, even the ‘normal’ neighbours next door. Case (2016) suggests that the normal nature of the Satanic characters in the film made the occult seem fashionable, as these were societies affluent who discussed real estate, European cinema, and Broadway Theatre, while worshipping the Devil. Second, and more relative to this argument, that Satan will father a child from a human woman, like God did, to create the Antichrist. With this emergence of the Antichrist into popular culture narrative, some American Christians embraced the concept that among any person there could be the Antichrist within. Since this enemy and ally of Satan could even be within their souls, it became even more necessary to look inward and confront the Shadow, the Satan within. Anton LaVey called the film ‘the best paid commercial for Satanism since the Inquisition’ (Wright, 1991). With the Antichrist image appearing again in the late 1970s with *The Omen* (1976) and *Damien: The Omen II* (1978), this time in the image of an innocent White boy, the idea of the end of the world being orchestrated by Satan’s Antichrist already hidden within man on Earth was never far from the American public mind.



Figure 7. *Exorcist* cinema lines in 1973 (Thirty5cents, 2024).

Argued by many to be the scariest and most important horror film ever released, *The Exorcist* drew record box office numbers in 1973 (Figure 7, Thirty5cents, 2024). Based on the 1971 novel by Catholic writer William Peter Blatty (1928-2017), it told the story of an innocent girl who unwittingly allows a demon, who at one point identifies itself as the devil, to possess her. This demonic entity enters the girl's soul because she played with the aforementioned Parker Brother's Ouija Board. This story reinforced the location of Satan as being within a person and that he found his way in using magic, a theme which was reflected upon by early Puritans in Salem. The metaphoric journey of the external personalities of the devil back into God's greatest creation can be seen in *The Exorcist*. Satan is allowed access to a young girl's soul through a magic portal, partially because this girl's mother has not given her the opportunity to go to church regularly. Because this girl was not given the tools to face evil within herself, the devil as a Trickster at the height of his malevolence proceeds to almost

destroy the girls mind and body completely. Only by the actions of a White priest drawing Satan into his body from hers is the girl freed from Satan's influence.

### 5.3 | The Hollywood Blockbuster

Miller (2011) describes films as a dominant cultural form which is also unstable, in that although the film makers may try to emphasise a preferred meaning onto the viewer, the response from those viewing adds more intricacies to its meaning. These unconscious content with images on film is altered to some extent by the social and historical context of the wider society when it becomes conscious and perceived (Waddell, 2006). Biskind (1998) argues that the late 1960s saw a release of director-driven, artist films by major Hollywood production companies which broke the taboos of language and behaviour, often without presenting a hero or any obvious choice for the audience to 'cheer' for. With the release of 1967s film *Bonnie and Clyde*, the thirteen years which followed was a time a so-called 'New Hollywood' emerged, which produced a large body of the risky but now classic films, driven by strong characterizations rather than traditional plot formulas.

This change of film production focus in Hollywood did not occur overnight, but rather was the result of a growing insecurity in the economic value of film production, the alteration of standards which had previously prohibited the distribution of so-called lurid material, and government commercial and industrial incentives to produce independent films which could now successfully compete with Hollywood level finances (Berlinger, 2010). With regards to removal of guidelines relating to lurid material in films, the adaptation of the Motion Picture Association of America's (MPAA) new film rating system in 1968 gave the struggling film industry an effective tool to attract customers to a product which was different from television because of the more mature content (Cook, 2000). The effects of the 1948 Supreme Court ruling which ended studio monopolies by no longer allowing them to have any

financial holdings in cinemas which showed their films finally seemed to be affecting Hollywood, with major film studios losing six hundred million between 1969 and 1971, an event referred to as the 'recession of 1969' (Cook, 2000). This losses may also be attributed to a steep decline in people going to cinemas, with attendance dropping by 62% between the years of 1956 and 1971 (Steinberg, 1978). Hollywood was producing films which now seemed out of touch with potential customers, as highlighted by the flop of expensive, artistically conservative films such as box office disasters *The Bible* (1966) and *Doctor Dolittle* (1967). However, as noted by Berlinger (2010), the success of offbeat, inexpensive films such as *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) and *Easy Rider* (1969), suggested that Americans needed to see narratives which explored moral ambiguity and evil, as they had been exposed to so much nightly televised reality of political corruption and war. An artistic story without age old traditions of a clear line between black and white, focusing on the grey, may have drawn people back to cinema seats to reaffirm their national identity. This was so even if this national image of being the world's saviour was no longer a dusty John Wayne fighting for a civilized west, but a dapper Warren Beaty trying to make his American Dream come true by acknowledging the evil impulses within. Instead of these film heroes expressing and resolving American ideological conflicts in their narratives, they supported the meaninglessness and ineffective use of choice (Keathley, 2004).

As a result of this melting pot of economic and social change, producers in Hollywood found themselves ready to embrace a new way to get movie audiences back into their seats. During the Hollywood of the 1930s and 1940s, it was the film's producer who stayed with the project from early conception through release. An exception to this producer-dominated creative process was the company United Artists (UA), who had actively empowered its directors since its formation in 1919, although the limited success these films had saw UA change hands financial several times due to this risk taking (Biskind, 1998). The unpredicted success

of 1969s *Easy Rider*, driven by a cast of Hollywood newcomers playing social outcasts, left many production company executives anxious as they could no longer predict the success of films and no longer had an easy formula to repeat successful releases (Biskind, 1998). Like 1967s *Bonnie and Clyde*, first time director Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider* portrayed outlaws and rebels, an extension of the counterculture, as victims of an often government run, law abiding world trying to extinguish their rebellious spark (Biskind, 1998).

With the producers of more studios realizing that they needed to take risks in hopes of re-establishing the dominance of the Hollywood motion picture, more once ignored, up and coming writer-directors like Hooper were given almost complete control of their films. Helping legitimize some of this new power and influence directors had been the newly circulating ideology of 'auteurism,' a creation of French film critics who argued that the director was to film as a poet was to the poem (Biskind, 1998). First mention in 1954 by French film journalist Francois Truffant, the 'policy of authors' was a way that films should have the individual stamp of the creative impulse of its director-writer (Cook, 2000). Many of the up-and-coming directors strove to emulate the almost non-existent narrative structure, use of flashbacks, radical shifts in mood, and an overall moral ambiguity that these European art house films possessed (Berlinger, 2010).

Primarily born in the 1930s, the first wave of directors to step into this role was composed of White men who brought the rebellious spirit of the 1960s to Hollywood, including Stanley Kubrick and Francis Ford Coppola, while the second general grouping of this style of hands-on directing came from baby-boomers born post-World War 2, such as Martin Scorsese and Brian De Palma (Biskind, 1998). As opposed to previous recent decades in Hollywood, where the influence of the director usually ended on the last day of filming, this wave of so called 'New Hollywood' directors were determined to assume a more influential, artistic role during the films entire production.

Although, as highlighted by Kirshner (2012), the main component of the 1970s Hollywood film was its non-formulaic risk taking, there were still several attributes 1970s films had in common. First, these films set aside the white-hat/black-hat approach to characterization in favour of exploring the complex greyness of adult life. Kirshner adds that these characters drove the films, rather than a stable plot, with endings often feeling unfinished, leaving the viewer to ponder upon what happened after the credits rolled. These films show the concerns of the directors, often reflecting their convictions, but offering no real solutions to these often-complex social issues addressed. As it turned out, this non-judgemental style of artist presentation of things like moral ambiguity was exactly what American's needed to start to engage with the questions of internal evil which had been brought to the forefront nightly by the evening news.

#### **5.4 | Vietnam Veterans in Film: Reframing the Conflict**

Early (2003) suggests that when it comes to a cultural record of the war veteran returning home, film and television are the most dominant record in the twentieth century, with the characterization of the veteran giving viewers a sampling of how society viewed them through their positioning within the narrative structure. Because the use of the war veteran character can be seen from the lowest budget productions through to major Hollywood releases, Early continues by saying that besides having the common elements of having experienced war, the veteran characters themselves cannot be generalized into a cultural group; however, the placement of these veterans into narratives can give viewers insight into their cultural meaning. The Vietnam conflict has had a profound effect on the American psyche and, as such, there has been extensive previous readings of films approaching its varied subject matters, including the return home of the soldier. This section will not attempt to cover all readings of the veteran's homecoming; rather, it will focus on how dominant genres and discourses in American narratives informed the placement and role of the

Vietnam veteran in these 1970s cinematic tales, as well as attempts to reframe America's image of these men, and the reasons America lost.

As noted by Walker (1991), the only Hollywood film to use the Vietnam War as a plot element while American men were still on the ground fighting was the 1968 John Wayne character driven film, *The Green Berets*. Moving into the 1970s, Walker continues, most Vietnam War films did not highlight the actual war and combat involved. Although the films of the late 1970s would show elements of combat in Vietnam, it would not be until the 1980s when films more traditional associated with the war film genre would appear, culminating with the 1986 Academy Award winning film *Platoon*. Anderberg (1991) suggests that part of the reason for the under representation of the war in popular media at that time was that the Vietnam conflict was the most visually represented war in history, presented as a moving image of a tragic, serial drama stretched over American nightly news. Because of this, Walker (1991) suggests, there was little desire to see films recreating the black and white war footage into a colour big screen spectacle.

Despite this, these early cinematic representations of the Vietnam War seem to have supplanted even so-called factual analysis of war, with many critiques of the products of American capitalism responding positively, and passionately, to these cinematic discourses (Anderberg, 1991). Opinions and analysis of the war was a constant in the news and many peoples everyday conversations. Kirshner (2012) states that even though both director Scorsese and writer Schrader seem reluctant to pin the violence depicted in *Taxi Driver* on the war, Robert De Niro's character Travis Bickel is clearly coded as a Vietnam veteran. Coppola has also distanced himself from readings of his film *Apocalypse Now* as a political, anti-war statement. Berman (2022), however, disagrees stated that even if this was Coppola's intention, American soldiers in the film are at the best a type of anti-hero, and at the worst just violent aggressors with little respect for a foreign land. Berman says that this alone

makes the film anti-war because viewers cannot empathise with these fighting men. Although these films brought back the images of violence viewers had seen in reality on nightly television, Vietnam veteran characters seemed to fit well into existing, popular genres of American film. This would provide a welcome, and familiar way for audiences to negotiate symbols associated with this unpopular war through mythic functions.

The creation of the veteran in films of the 1970s relied on the use of already established American film genres, adapted to fit into current popular discourses. As defined by Solomon (1976), genre is a central mythic structure formed upon a narrative which is related to or belong to a cultural group. Directly proceeding the Vietnam War, the two genres most enduring to American pulp fiction were the western and the hard-boiled detective thriller, which provided some Vietnam veteran films a culturally recognized way of interpreting the national experience of this war through film (Hellman, 1991). Chase (1997) states that mythic, allegorical, and symbolistic ideas associated with genres such as these is the main way that the American literary tradition uses to explore contradictions, and the often-extreme ranges of the American cultural experience.

The afore mentioned western, of course, was the American frontier at its most vivid, with civilized white hats of good virtue protecting the innocent from black hats and rebellious Indigenous Americans. The hard-boiled detective thriller genre provided a more morally ambiguous hero against a system which required an anti-hero to step-up and do things the traditional hero would not, but still with the goals to protect the innocent and what was 'right.' These genres also fit well into the 'saviour' narrative provided by the American government regarding the need for more direct involvement by the United States military. Baritz (1985) states that President Lyndon Johnson set up this version of American involvement with two separate, yet powerful statements that lifted American interests in Vietnam over the colonial interests of previous combatants, such as France. At his

inauguration, Johnson stated that ‘we aspire to nothing that belongs to others,’ addressing the afore mentioned links to colonial France, and reinforced this in 1965 by stating ‘we fight for values and principles, rather than territory or colonies’. Although it could be argued that American Cold War interests did include an almost overt agenda of occupying foreign nations with democracy, most Americans believed that the Vietnam War was indeed another, noble American war effort.

With this background in mind, the 1970s Vietnam veteran in these films had journeyed to a new, wild frontier, the Vietnamese jungle. In some cases, where the veteran travelled into resembled the romanticized American wild west, like Robert Duvall’s character Lt. Colonel Kilgore in *Apocalypse Now*, who is preoccupied with bringing the civilized nightly BBQ and the sport of surfing to Vietnam, noting the savageness of the Vietnamese in the infamous line “Charlie don’t surf.” Rollins (1984) agrees that the film uses the established western genre but offers a different interpretation. Rollins argues that *Apocalypse Now* ‘flips’ the formulaic American western in that Lt. Kilgore and his American troops are the Native Americans, swooping down on small establishments across the frontier occupied by shocked, Vietnamese ‘cowboys.’ He adds that this feeling is strengthened by the flat, narrative tones of Sheen’s Captain Willard, a kind of ‘inverted’ John Wayne with destroyed moral values. In other cases, the veteran returns from the war to a once familiar world which now does not fit into their code of right and wrong. Fuchs (1991) argues that Travis Bickel in 1976’s *Taxi Driver* has returned from his journey into the wild frontier only to discover the world he came from is now the wild west, out of balance and drowning in corruption and in need of salvation. The beginning narrative highlights Travis believing himself to be opposite of the Other, with the cinematic Other being the filth on the streets which he must clean up. As stated by Rollins (1984), these veterans are morally challenged but still offer a clearer purpose than the broken morality of the America they return to. The quest to uncover, to discover what has gone

wrong with America is taken over by the hard-boiled detective in some films, who reflects the men who came back from a war experience with truly little clear parameters of good and evil. The film *Apocalypse Now* follows Captain Willard as he returns to the wild west while investigating the activities of rogue Colonel Kurtz, like a private detective hired to sort out a problem using his own judgement. In a similar fashion, Travis Bickel searches the city streets for something untouched by the corruption, and upon finding what he thinks is this within Cybil Sheppard's character Betsy, Travis says "She appeared like an angel out of this open sewer. Out of this filthy mass. She is alone: they cannot touch her."

Travis believes he has found the goodness he fought for but, when Betsy does not live up to his expectations, Travis embraces the anti-hero detective by taking matters into his own hands in the film's violent conclusion, to set the scales of justice right. Reframing the war and its veterans was important for America to heal as a nation and these popular films played a significant role. Lembcike (1999) argues that unlike cultures with strong oral traditions of storytelling, modern America reflects upon its historical memories through visual media. With this focus in mind, Lembcike argues that Vietnam war films in general focus on coming home after the war and facing some sort of betrayal. Angry, anti-war veterans are replaced by 'victim-veterans,' in a myth that America lost the war because they had no support from the government or the people. This is an important, although sometimes subtle change in the veteran that makes them the victim of often unnamed forces which, being elusive to locate, elevates the placing of blame at all and leaves only a feeling of the veteran as a victim. Huey Chong (2005) sums this up nicely when arguing that even though *The Deer Hunter* takes place mostly in America, the scenes in the middle of the film in Vietnam are so striking and brutal that they replace the shocking image in Eddie Adams' famous photograph Saigon Execution (Figure 8, Adams, 1968) with that of a Viet Cong imposed game of Russian

Roulette with captive American GIs in the film (Figure 9, REX/Shutterstock,2018), recentring the narrative of the Americans as victims.



*Figure 8. Nguyen Ngoc Loan, the national police chief of South Vietnam, executed a Vietcong fighter, Nguyen Van Lem, in Saigon (Adams, 1968).*



*Figure 9. Mike (Robert De Niro) as a POW being forced to play Russian roulette by the Viet Cong in The Deer Hunter (REX/Shutterstock, 2018).*

One way these macho GIs, once seen committing atrocities like in My Lai, are now positioned as victims in some of these films is accomplished is using masculine and feminine stereotypes. Boyle (2020) argues that De Niro's character Mike Vronsky in *The Deer Hunter* and Bruce Dern's character Captain Bob Hyde in *Coming Home* are both coded as traditional, 'self-made' masculinity types, while Christopher Walken's *The Deer Hunter* character Nick and Jon Voight's character Luke Martin in *Coming Home* adopt more submissive, feminine traits; this stops them from achieving the 'self-made' man image whose destiny it is to live the American dream. Jeffords (1988) calls this a kind of cultural 'debriding' of the dead flesh left on America's national war wound, which helps remove the sense of loss and failure from traditional American masculinity and places it, through coding of broken, unsuccessful veterans, on the feminine aspects of society. Muse (1993) has also argued that the success, or failure, of veterans in these films is tied to certain gender stereotypes. As an example, Muse cites *The Deer Hunter* as providing a narrative based on these characteristics as to who survives in the film and who does not. While Walken's Nick succumbs to mental illness and suicide, De Niro's Mike's survival is linked to his ideal of the so-called 'one-shot' he refers to while deer hunting. The idea of 'one-shot' has its roots in the aforementioned western genre in the notion of the shoot-out at sunrise. In this scenario, the good guy often allows the villain to draw first before shooting him dead, which serves to justify this as a killing in self-defense. In an equivalent way, Mike says you only take one shot to kill a deer, as by doing this he feels he has placed severe, self-imposed restrictions on his end to somehow balance the scales and legitimize the killing of an animal. While Mike understands and lives by this trait of the 'self-made' man's masculine code, Nick never really gets it, managing just to mumble it slightly at the film's end just before killing himself.

One thing most Vietnam veteran films reflect is that the characters, successfully or otherwise, have been on a journey to Hell. The visual elements used to connote and denote

this journey to the viewer in the films this case study examines will be discussed in more detail in the analysis, which will follow shortly. Walker (1991) states that 1978 films *The Deer Hunter* and *Coming Home* show the effects of this journey through Hell on White American men. This journey, and its effects on the veteran, is a central theme used along with the other techniques mentioned in this chapter to create the cinematic 1970s Vietnam veteran. Besides the overall feeling of loneliness and alienation, the film *Taxi Driver* visually evokes a city on the brink of the abyss, with smoke billowing up from manhole covers in the street (Kirshner, 2012). As the film progresses, Travis' previously mentioned differences from the external Others becomes less distinguishable because the elements of these Others are now internal, with Travis prowling the city streets trapped in a nightmare. Like the heroes of Greek mythology with God-like superpowers to use on their journey to the underworld, Luke Martin in *Coming Home*, despite being broken, is transformed into a man who used a wheelchair who not only equals but surpasses those men in an almost superhuman way. Quart (1990) stresses that the superpowers of the hero in the Vietnam veteran during his journey to Hell is best shown within the portrayal of Robert De Niro's character Michael in *The Deer Hunter*. Before the war he is a thinking, controlled man who quotes the likes of Nietzsche, clearly on a different level of awareness than the friends he surrounds himself with and he has the previously discussed 'one-shot' code which allows him to be violent. This moral killer, also seen in Sheen's Willard and De Niro's Bickel, has survived in Vietnam, but is changed when returning home, partially because they have unleashed, and faced, the Devil inside. This change has occurred because they have recognized the inner evil and, on some level, sought to acknowledge it; in doing so, they have eased the tension within.

## 5.5 | Media Selection and Analysis

The films selected for this case study had to meet two main criteria. First, they had to be released after American troops stopped fighting in Vietnam in March 1973. Next, the films

selected had to place within the top twenty highest grossing films in the United States during their year of initial release (The Numbers.com, 1997-2022). It was also desirable for the films to have been received well by the critiques as well as the paying audience. With these selection criteria in mind, the films *Taxi Driver* (1976), *Heroes* (1977), *Coming Home* (1978), *The Deer Hunter* (1978), and *Apocalypse Now* (1979) were chosen. Appendix A provides a brief synopsis of each film, as well as characters important to the narratives examined. Although these films were all viewed on DVD, the versions of these films viewed were the versions originally shown at movie theatres in the 1970s, and not any extended or directors cuts. Finally, although this is not an analysis of the individual directors and writers who created the chosen films and is in no way offering an argument that these men had the conscious intention of examining the cultural complex being discussed, it is still worth noting the similarities these film directors, who's creations are the subject of this case study, have with the White American male as defined in this paper. Martin Scorsese, director of *Taxi Driver*, director/writer Francis Ford Coppola (*Apocalypse Now*), and director/writer Michael Cimino (*The Deer Hunter*), all grew up in Catholic Italian American neighbourhoods in New York (Andrews 1991; Biskind, 1998; Schumacher, 2000). Scorsese describes his early life as being surrounded by Italian gangsters and priests, with he himself entering Seminary briefly after High School, before beginning his film career (Biskind, 1998). Only Hal Ashby, director of *Coming Home*, grew up outside of New York, coming from a strict Mormon upbringing on a farm in Utah. Biskind notes that after his parent's divorce and his father's suicide, Ashby moved away, participating in many civil rights protests, and stating his deep beliefs against the war in Vietnam. Besides Ashby, the only director who had any direct link to Vietnam was Cimino, was an army medic reservist during part of the war, but was never deployed to Vietnam (Andrews, 1991). The writer of *Taxi Driver*, Paul Schrader, was raised in a strict Calvinist household in Michigan. Although Nancy Dowd produced the story for

*Coming Home*, it was Waldo Scott and Robert C. Jones who wrote the screenplay based upon the story. While Jones was drafted into the army, learning film editing there, Scott had been previously blacklisted in Hollywood after refusing to testify before the House Committee on un-American Activities in the McCarthy fuelled atmosphere of 1951. Perhaps this tension between screenwriters is part of the reason *Coming Home* portrays both sides of America during the Vietnam war so vividly.

As discussed in the earlier chapter on the methodology of this paper, the primary analysis for this case study comes from discourse analysis and Jung's version of visual amplification. Critical Discourse Analysis, as outlined by Machin and Mayr (2012), was applied to both spoken and visual discourse within these films. In line with the rest of this project, the term discourse in these case studies refers to both its use by Foucault and by Hall. While Foucault's (1984b) base definition that a discourse sets rules for the creation of a subject within that discourse is accepted, Hall's (1997d) expansion on the term to include personal agency is also included. Hall says that although a person cannot help but be subject to these discourses, it falls upon them to interpret positions within the discourse and express this interpretation through language. By language, Hall (1997b) clarifies that he means not only spoken words, but written, visual, and all forms of non-verbal communication through which individuals of a common culture communicate shared meanings, which often reflect and fit into wider cultural discourses.

The discourses identified within this analysis will highlight what the subject of the cinematic Vietnam veteran is shown to be. With these dominant discourses in mind, Jungian amplification will be used to examine how images and narratives relating to Jung's archetypal forms of the Shadow and the Trickster as they relate to the Christian Devil, are presented in these cinematic, mythic stories to examine the recognition and confrontation of the Satan within. Regarding the Jungian amplification of imagery, there are many texts on the

symbolic meaning of things, so careful selection was made to find ones with both the most credibility as well as connection to the focus of this project. Therefore, The Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism (ARAS) online database, as well as their accompanying 2010 publication, *The Book of Symbols: Reflections on Archetypal Images*, were consulted for this project. These sources are a pictorial and written archive of mythological, ritualistic, and symbolic images from various historical time periods and mythology, with their analysis based in Jungian archetypal theory. In addition, the *Dictionary of Symbols* (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994) was selected as this extensive resource dictionary covers many obscure symbols not found elsewhere, while also including notes about the symbol's history and, where applicable, mythologies. While on the topic of mythology, as this project is interested in the symbolic projections of Christians, the main material looked at when analysing the data was that based in Christian, Judaic, and civilizations in the Middle Eastern region which may have contributed to the development of these primary mythologies.

The results of this analysis that follow are presented in a specific order. First, the use of certain settings in the films will be discussed, as they provide base upon which the discourses relating to the veteran and the archetypes of the Devil can more easily be viewed upon. Next, the three major discursive strands describing what the cinematic veteran in these films is portrayed to will be outlined. Finally, the archetypes Jung most associated with the Devil will be examined as they interact with these discourses and the narratives provided.

## **5.6 | Setting the Cinematic Journey to Hell**

Fielder (1975) states that film, especially those emphasising violence, have long provided a space where symbolic devices can be used to explore conflicting feelings with the collective American conscious. The violence within the films analysed often occurs within a setting which simulates Hell, either in the Vietnamese jungle the characters have travelled to or in

the experiences they have brought back inside of them. In *Heroes*, Henry Winkler's character Jack Dunne keeps the Hell he experienced inside of him throughout most of the film. When he finally remembers what happened in Vietnam, the film shows Jack running through city streets which have been transformed into a fiery Hell by Jack unleashing his repressed memories; this sudden flood of traumatic images is sudden, shocking, and chaotic in a film which had been grounded in scenes of suburban, post-war America up till that point. Unlike this, Travis Bickle in *Taxi Driver* returns to a world he now sees as Hell, due to his trauma, while also being mentally in a state of alienated Hell, because he cannot relate to anyone and is isolated. From the opening credits, *Taxi Driver* immediately invokes heavy images of Hell existing on the city streets of America that Robert De Niro's veteran Travis has returned to. During the evening panning shots of the city streets, there is an almost constant glow of red hues from the city lighting, which at times illuminate the eyes of Travis as they are reflected in the taxi's rear-view mirror. The eyes are seen as a gateway to the soul, so it's as if he is aware he is in Hell and resisting it or perhaps reflecting it with his own evil within. The streets of this city constantly seem to have Smokey fog bellowing up from manhole covers, with steam and bubbles throughout the film indicating the boiling, mental Hell Travis has returned with. Walker's (1991) analysis supports this when he says that the bubbles in a glass of cola and the antacid Travis normally takes are seen boiling to overflow, which is reflective of Travis' inner state of mind. It is unclear, at times, if what Travis is seeing externally is real, as it is only from his point of view. Fuchs (1991) states that New York city is a symbol of the crisis of an America under fire, which the viewer sees in this constant heat and crisis. It is through Travis we experience and see an interpretation of this.

Out of the films analysed, *Apocalypse Now* portrays possibly the most overt journey into Hell, as the hero travels down a snake-like River Styx to confront the Devil. From the opening scenes, fire in the form of napalm is shown scorching a picturesque 'Garden of

Eden,' dropped by invaders to this paradise. Martin Sheen's Captain Willard is introduced as a man so consumed by the darkness he has experienced, that he fights even his own reflection in the mirror. Willard knows the Devil is within him, the American GI who now can call nothing but this Hell home. However, imagery as he completes his journey show him that although he had a devil inside him, he was now in the centre of Hell facing the Devil incarnate, in the form of Marlon Brando's Colonel Kurtz; Boggs and Pollard (2015) suggests that the film presents war as evil, and this evil is personified by Kurtz. As he gets closer to Kurtz, he sees that local Vietnamese people have painted their faces with white skull-like paint, invoking thoughts of La Catrina, the skeletal character associated with the Day of the Dead. The evil of Kurtz is seeping out and touching all around him. Heaps of bodies lay around randomly, emphasising that these skull-faced people worship the death brought to them by American invaders. Fires and torches burn to illuminate the nightmarish scenes, with smoke whispering through the air. Colonel Kurtz himself is a figure shrouded in shadows, murmuring temptations to Willard as he explains the Hell he created within Hell. After killing Kurtz, who perhaps symbolizes the actual Devil in the American fighting manmade corporeal, Willard steps out to face the Vietnamese people there, standing above them tempted to be their new Satan; instead, he resists this, walking away to order an airstrike to destroy this Hell on Earth. The river that Captain Willard travelled down into Hell, and now travels again, is nothing less than a liminal pathway to traverse into Hell and confront the evil within.

*The Deer Hunter* signifies this journey to Hell is both direct and indirect visuals. Director Cimino does not use transitional scenes of boot camps and dialog from seasoned soldiers discussing what to do and not to do in Vietnam. Instead, he throws the viewer directly into a hellish, surreal scene of a wounded Michael emerging from of pile of bodies. Hellman (1991) states that this transition from Michael listening to a piano with his friends at the bar to him

gaining consciousness among the pile of bodies in Vietnam helps move the viewer in a shocking way to the Hell he is now in. *The Deer Hunter*, as opposed to *Taxi Driver*, uses scenes in the foreign location to establish Vietnam as Hell in several ways. The few Vietcong soldiers shown are almost unrecognizable as human in their behaviours. Quart (1990) supports this when he states that the Vietcong are presented as guttural sounding demonic figures. Hellman (1991) also argues that the film present Vietcong as demonic, dark figures from Hell, possibly also representing the dark, unconscious impulses in America. Even in the city of Ho Chi Minh City, which would bring an expectation of a more structured state of living, chaos abounds, and death is very much present, once again presented by uncaring Vietnamese. Quart states that Ho Chi Minh City is depicted as a literal inferno, shot through red filters or in blueish-black darkness, always ominous and uncaring. Regarding the feeling of chaos, Boggs and Pollard (2015) state that the artistic inclusion of Russian Roulette in the film, still played in the civilized areas like Ho Chi Minh City, is a metaphor which they say relates war to a 'casino of death', where anything can happen to anyone. This dark, forbidding foreign land has seduced the American soldiers with its temptations of action without moral thought; Hellman (1991) sums this feeling up when he states that director Cimino transforms the American Vietnam experience into a Biblical myth which explains the trauma as a 'fall from grace' for the American Adam.

The artistic use of areas where transition can occur, or liminal spaces, is used in these films to allow the Trickster archetypal element of Jung's Devil a place to provoke change. This symbolization of liminal space, or transitional plot devices, is the final visual item to be discussed. Hellman (1991) noticed that *The Deer Hunter* presents the unconscious struggles of the White American conscious through use of symbolic, contrasting settings such as light and dark, civilization and wilderness. The areas between these extremes are liminal, and as such denote change. As the hero in the narrative travels to face their inner Hell, they face

some liminal element which divides the upper and underworlds of their consciousness. In *Coming Home*, this place of transition is the veteran's home, where broken men must make the choice to stay in the Hell inside their heads or accept and face it, beginning a journey of hopeful change. While Jon Voight's character Luke Martin decides to face what he has done and move forward, another character kills themselves. In *The Deer Hunter*, John Savage's veteran Steven refuses to return to society until fellow veteran and friend, Robert De Niro's Michael, comes to take him home. Although Michael is successful in bringing Steven out of this liminal realm between life and death, he is not successful in saving Christopher Walken's Nick from the place of death he cannot escape in Vietnam. Michael's ability to deal with the transitional state these men are trapped in is foreshadowed by his awareness of the veil between realities as he hunts before going to Vietnam. Michael is shown walking through curtain-like fog in the mountains of Pennsylvania, a Garden of Eden which he is about to bring violence in by killing a deer there. This visual is remarkably similar to the aforementioned beginning of *Apocalypse Now*, where the American man brings death to paradise. The activity of the Devil's Trickster archetypal element will be discussed in more detail, as it relates to these changes, towards the end of this chapter.

### **5.7 | Discourses to Explain the Vietnam Veteran**

While three dominant discourses telling what these film makers believed Vietnam veterans to be emerged during the narrative analysis of these films, they all contributed to an exploration of how these 'normal,' often conservative American men became demons in the flesh on the nightly news. Before discussing the three discourses captured in this analysis, it is worth briefly discussing how the normal, conservative man was often quickly established in these films. In *The Deer Hunter* and *Coming Home*, part of the films narrative allowed for the viewer to see these men before the war experience, while the films *Taxi Driver* and *Apocalypse Now* only hinted to what the men may have been before we see the post-war

results on screen. Either way, the so called normal American man called to war was portrayed as clean-cut, hardworking, and above all honourable, choosing to 'do the right thing.'

Michael in *The Deer Hunter* stays away from temptation of the mutual attraction between him and a friend's girlfriend. Hellman (1991) described Michael's character as an almost heroic figure of great virtue and mental resources. Bruce Dern's character Bob Hyde in *Coming Home* is literally a model of post-World War 2, 1950's morality as the bread-earning family man who forbids his wife to work, even fixing the family toaster in the early hours before shipping out to Vietnam. In addition to showing what behaviour was normal for American men, the narratives also highlighted obvious deviant behaviours to contrast this point. The narrative of *Taxi Driver* clearly establishes Travis as deviant, showing his everyday life to be consumed by watching pornography, drinking from a never-ending flask, and being very voyeuristic in general, never indicating if this was a result of the Vietnam experience or if it was just his personality. Although Michael in *The Deer Hunter* is the aforementioned heroic figure, the energy he fuels this control with comes from a dark place within. When out drinking, Michael becomes a very obnoxious, out of control drunk, completely opposite of his behaviour throughout the rest of the film; Hellman suggests this is because if his abilities are not channelled in an acceptable way, he could become dangerous. In the same film, Michael's friend Nick is shown to have an interest in gambling, which culminates with him gambling with, and losing his life by the end of the film. The vices of drinking, pornography, and gambling are perhaps included to provide a grounded feeling for characterizations, but they add to highlighting that the 'normal' American man is in control of his impulses. Now that an almost cinematic base line for normal, male pre-war behaviour has been briefly discussed, what follows is a discussion of the discourses developed, which present the post-war male returning from his journey to Hell, having lost control, and often still influenced by the internal Devil he faced.

### 5.7.1 | *Mentally Broken Men*

The first theme developed tells the viewer that while the man who returns from Vietnam may have suffered physical injury, the often-hidden mental trauma is most significant. They suffer from sudden, erratic mood changes which they cannot explain to people who didn't experience the horrors which they did. These mental wounds are not so easily addressed as the physical ones, shown by the often-sudden suicide of characters who are physically untouched or healed from injury. Bob Hyde and Robert Carradine's character Bill Munson very quickly end their lives in *Coming Home*, with little discussion beforehand. Nick in *The Deer Hunter* never returns home, instead choosing to play 'Russian roulette' in the Vietnamese underworld until his eventually death doing so. Hellman (1991) states this is because Nick is psychologically crushed by the realization that the violence he has witnessed exists within himself and other men. Nick literally cannot allow an evil like himself to exist.

The veteran in these films recognizes that something has changed in them and are angry and lost as to their future purpose. The darker part of their personality which they unleashed or saw unleashed in war still has a conscious place in their mind, and they do not know how to integrate this part of themselves in a healthy way. Travis in *Taxi Driver* tries to occupy every waking hour with activity in a regimented way to avoid the dark thoughts he now has. Boggs and Pollard (2015) argue that this is because Travis is in the grip of what would be diagnosed today as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), detached and feeling different in a world he has returned to, but no longer recognizes. In this sense, he falls back on the military training which allowed him to act without moral consideration to prevent himself from embracing this very Shadow now. In a comparable way, Michael in *The Deer Hunter* stays in his uniform when returning home perhaps because he cannot leave the safety the moral ambiguity of his soldier identity provided him in Vietnam, knowing that inside he is a changed person.

Captain Willard in *Apocalypse Now* drowns himself in alcohol and random self-violence to

be able to manage being back in civilization, disparate for a mission to use his new dark skills. Jack Dunne in *Heroes* is a man severely traumatized who has lost himself in a fantasy about starting a worm farm with comrades who were also affected by the war, like Harrison Ford's character, Ken Boyd, who escapes the trauma through high risk driving behaviour, and the unseen character of Adcox, whose wife tells Jack her husband just wonders off for days at a time. Walker (1991) calls Jack insane but presented in a shamanic way as he attempts to reconnect with his wartime friends.

In Vietnam, they faced and drew upon the Devil within them to survive, but this sudden acknowledgement, and often embrace, of the darkness within has resulted in unbalanced, psychologically traumatized minds. *Taxi Driver's* Travis sums this up perfectly, as he now looks for 'untouched angels,' in a world of filth, to offset his mind full of 'bad ideas;' these bad ideas are not only towards others, but against what he thinks he has become as well. Fuchs (1991) states that this element is shown clearly in the film when, after shooting a poster of Senator Palantine, he turns and pretends to shoot himself in the mirror. Fuchs also says that Scorsese's camera angles reflect this hate at what is within, as Travis often shoots at the camera itself, at the 'Other' him. Like Nick in *The Deer Hunter*, Travis knows the evil is within and turns the gun upon himself.

### 5.7.2 | *Men Without Humanity*

The second theme the analysis revealed was that the characters lost what made them human to the Shadow driven impulses within. The result of the mental trauma from facing both outer and inner sources of darkness is a loss of humanity, which plays out within these narratives. In *Coming Home*, Luke begins his narrative as a man who is so angry about his loss of humanity, that he lets him define who he is. Luke is introduced as an angry, paralyzed man who wheels himself around face down on a hospital gurney, abusive and explosively angry to

any he encounters. This character, however, has perhaps the only story arc in the films examined who manages to come back from the darkness and regain a new sense of humanity. As stated by Conlon (1990), Jane Fonda's character Sally Hyde confronts Luke's dark, aggressive behaviour showing him that there are other ways to express his post-traumatic identity. Although Luke manages to achieve some sort of post war balance through a new sense of purpose found, this plays out in stark contrast to the afore mentioned fate of Sally's veteran husband, Bob, who loses his humanity very quickly. Bob enters the war willingly, wanting to be a hero, but his character is overwhelmed by the horror of seeing fellow soldiers mutilating dead bodies to frighten the enemy. This loss of sensitivity about death results in Bob almost shooting several people before he takes his own life.

The fates of Michael, Steven, and Nick in *The Deer Hunter* address the question, once humanity is lost, can it be regained? The character of Nick answers this with a firm no, as he can only find belonging now through addiction to drugs and death. With Steven, again the viewer sees a man who is hiding, feeling he cannot go back to the small Pennsylvania town he left, because after his experience he will not fit in. This is similar to Travis' feelings of alienation in *Taxi Driver*; however, Steven is forced back to his hometown by Michael, the ultimate results of which are unresolved by the film's conclusion. The character of Michael has been affected, but less than his friends, perhaps because he has never fully embraced humanity like his friends. Although Michael has a heroic, stable exterior, much of this comes from his extremely strict control of any emotions he feels. Michael is affected in a sense that he wants all of the stabilizing forces, namely his two best friends, around him again so he can return to normal and not have to face the changes within him. This, however, proves impossible; Early (2003) states this best in his analysis when he notes that the final Russian roulette game between Mike and Nick not only symbolizes chance, but also the idea that nobody is ever free of the traumatic experience of combat as long as the threat and thrill of it

still influence their actions. When Nick finally shoots himself, Michael has his only outpouring of emotion in the film, realizing that Nick's death means that nothing will ever be the same and he will have to face the changes to his humanity. This feeling is best summed up in the film's final scene, where all of the surviving members of the cast are sitting at a table, preparing to eat. Michael has assembled them because he knows there is no chance of illusion anymore, no pretending that the war has not changed them all inside. He will have to face the Shadow he knows lies within him, which is supported by Quart (1990) when they state there are no more ways heroic Michael, or anybody else, can magically heal the loss and trauma they, and America, have suffered. They are changed inside.

The infamous Colonel Kurtz in *Apocalypse Now* knows he has lost what made him human once, and he embraces it. In response to the Hell of Vietnam, the same man who is described earlier as a man of conscience and morality by other serving soldiers has now decided that if he cannot beat the evil he has seen, he will become a 'horror' so terrible it will overshadow all around him. Kurtz has become a God, or Satan of sorts, representing those men who have been consumed by darkness. Bowen (1990) notes that much like Michael in *The Deer Hunter*, Kurtz represents the missing in action soldier who has lost their individual identity to the war; the part of their humanity that is lost must either be accounted for in some way or silenced forever. In Kurtz's case, the latter solution is chosen. As Captain Willard travels back into the jungle, he feels suited for this job as an assassin in *Apocalypse Now*, looking upon other men simply as unknowing tools to help him achieve his mission of murder. Those men Willard shares most of his river boat journey with show elements of the humanity he once possibly possessed, but he is now back in the Hell he understands to kill Colonel Kurtz.

The estranged veterans' point of view is also seen in *Taxi Driver's* Travis. He has returned to the streets of a world he now views as Hell, because he cannot remove himself from that place he travelled to during the war. Fuchs (1991) notes that *Taxis Driver* is filmed in such a

way that the viewer only sees the world from the eyes of Travis. Travis relentlessly patrols the night-time city streets, dehumanizing others he sees as, specifically, “Whores, skunk pussies, buggers, queens, fairies, dopers, junkies, sick, venal,” or in general as just ‘all animals.’ Much like terms used by soldiers in Vietnam to remove the humanity from those they had to kill, such as ‘gook,’ Travis removes the humanity of those he feels he will have to one day release his darkness on to ‘clean up the trash from the streets.’ The film makes the viewer aware that Travis considers himself an Other of sorts, not sure where to place himself now. Travis, however, does have enough self-awareness to remove any notions of humanity from himself, so that he can perhaps more easily kill himself if necessary. This can be seen towards the end of a series of shots in which Travis ‘trains’ himself for the upcoming battle with the Others, Travis talks into a mirror reflection, pointing a gun as his reflection to symbolically show he is ready to kill even the Other within (Figure 10, *Little White Lies*, 2018).



*Figure 10. Travis (Robert DeNiro) confronts his 'Other' self in Taxi Driver (Little White Lies, 2018).*

Fuchs states that his idea of now being an Other becomes deeply internalized, trapping him in the endless nightmare he narrates for the viewer. Travis' actions in the film show him to at least be aware of his lack of identity in his post-traumatic self.

Initially, as mentioned in Fuchs' analysis, he responds positively to Palantine's campaign slogan 'We are the people,' wanting to be part of this undefined 'we.' After interacting briefly with Palantine in his cab, Travis realizes he needs more than this undefined grouping. He needs to attach the skills he has developed in war to a greater purpose, and he finds purpose in the characters of Betsy and Iris. Fuchs continues by stating even though Travis has made these women objects in distress, they are still part of the Other to him, which he cannot understand. Because of this, Travis decides to use the skills he now has, which go with his loss of humanity, to save them for his own sense of purpose, if not for theirs. Like other Vietnam veteran in these film narratives, the ultimate release from humanity was to disregard God's commandment of 'thou shall not kill' and follow the evil impulses within. Travis will sacrifice himself willingly, as he is also no longer human.

### 5.7.3 | *Men Who Like To Kill*

The final theme which resulted from the analysis is that regardless of how they got there, the Vietnam veteran is comfortable with killing. It would be hard to argue that a basic part of humanity is the desire not to kill; as part of their removal from humanity, the veteran has also lost this desire. The only time Travis tells any other character in *Taxi Driver* about his growing 'bad ideas,' Peter Boyle's character Wizard responds by telling him "You choose a certain way of life. You live it. It becomes what you are" and "Look, a person does a certain thing and that's all there is to it. It becomes what he is. Why fight it?" The Vietnam veteran has become a killer, natural or otherwise, during his time in Vietnam. Fuchs (1991) found that while Travis' decision to kill Palantine is an extreme reaction to Betsy rejecting him, it is

also still a way he sees to put his skills to use in this strange world, thus ‘saving her’, from the rotten world Palantine represents. Although almost any real or fiction soldiering could require killing for the cause you fight, the narrative in these films show a more permanent change in the psyche of these characters. Perhaps this is because rather than transitional victory parades and even any concept of success in the war effort at all, these veterans are portrayed as making life and death decisions one day, with the almost divine given right to do so, with an abrupt return to a society the next day where one must not kill. Jack Dunne in *Heroes* is presented in an equivalent way, being very comedic throughout most of the film but still presented as a killer, like when he threatens to kill a man by ramming the bone in his nose up into his brain. Berg (1990) also noticed this, calling Dunne a comic madman who still manages to have the obligatory violent confrontation with some locals who fail to realize the danger Vietnam has awoken inside of this man.

These men do not directly say they like to kill, but deadly force against others is seen as the way to deal with threats; both Willard in *Apocalypse Now* and Bob Hyde in *Coming Home* sleep with guns when back in civilization. Colonel Kurtz, when finally confronted by Willard towards the conclusion of *Apocalypse Now*, tells his would-be assassin that one must ‘use the primal urge to kill without judgement,’ while being ‘moral in the action’ of this killing. This acceptance of bringing the act of murder into a new sense of individual morality is perhaps the most striking evidence that the veterans in these narratives have given into the will of Satan rather than God.

Unlike other veterans in the films examined, Michael in *The Deer Hunter* had a relationship with killing before the war through hunting. Although all three main characters we follow into Vietnam participate in deer hunting, the viewer is only given insight into the Michael’s views on hunting. He is portrayed to view the experience as an almost spiritual one, using violence but honing his skill to such an extent that he brags about ‘one shot’ kills. This

experience is framed as a way that he can experience the fringe between life and death.

However, when Michael returns home to rural Pennsylvania after the war, he has found that his views on this matter have changed. Although he finds himself no longer able to justify killing the deer, he finds himself attending and gambling on underground Russian roulette games when returning to Vietnam. It's almost as if the thrill of killing a deer cannot compare to the killing of a human, even if Michael is just a spectator of this suicidal behaviour.

Although he had killed before the war, the killer inside now wants more than deer hunting.

### **5.8 | Archetypes of the Devil Played Out Through Narrative**

The three discursive shards, or themes, just discussed give insight into what characteristics of the men returning from Vietnam these film makers put forward to explain the violent, and sometimes questionable, behaviour of these American soldiers in this war. These three discourses can also be viewed as negative, unwanted behaviour shoved into the unconscious of a wounded national American psyche. Although not a popular war at home, Americans still wanted to be seen as the 'white knight' liberators of the world and could not without these negative images being forced into what Jung would call the nation's collective Shadow. However, Jung (CW9i, para.48) stressed that meeting with things in the Shadow is important because within this dark area are seeds which can lead to a healthier recognition that this dark part of the American psyche did exist. Hellman (1991) found that not only is Willard's quest in *Apocalypse Now* a mythical heroes journey into American corrupted reality, but also an investigation of how American's view the ideal 'self'. This American ideal of the Self is still one which must address both the light and dark parts of this Self, according to Jung. The narratives in these films allow a way, through the myth of cinema, for some degree of reconciliation with these unconscious, dark parts, often expressed by the two archetypal forces most associated with the image of the Christian Satan; the Shadow and the Trickster.

In *Taxi Driver*, Travis has killer urges inside of him, suggested to be from his war experience, which has made him mentally ill. He is often on the verge of exploding and self-medicates with alcohol and pills. Walker (1991) found that the film's external violence is a metaphor for the violence Travis feels within himself; he tells Betsy she is not trapped in Hell, but 'In a Hell, just like the rest of them.' Travis is trapped by what he feels inside. Trickster narratives often start with the Trickster being trapped, or restricted in some way (Crossley-Holland, 1993, pgs. 169-170). Jung also describes the Trickster as being unaware of its purpose, unconscious of itself, and one of the afore mentioned possible seeds from which the Shadow can be contacted. The Trickster is a shapeshifter and first assumes the form of Senator Palantine. This allows Travis to recognize that he must release the killer inside of him, so that he can regain his humanity. When Travis completes his training and prepares to confront his shadow through possibly killing Palantine, the Trickster changes form and Travis aborts this mission. It might be argued that Travis is discovered before he can kill Palantine, but a man this prepared would not simply run away without even attempting to. Travis flees the scene easily because the Trickster has shapeshifted into the character of Sport, the street pimp who is using Iris and other young girls for his own profit. Sport allows Travis the opportunity to change by being the perfect representation of the external Other Travis projects upon. Fuchs (1991) supports this, calling Sport Travis' alter ego and a corrupted reflection of him. Travis releases and confronts the killer inside of him by killing Sport and others connected to the prostitution ring. Walker (1991) states that in this scene, Travis purges his inner demons by attacking the street pimps. The film ends with a much healthier, balanced Travis who has now reconciled with parts of his Shadow. This transformation is emphasised by his normal, pleasant reaction to seeing Betsy again, with whom he was once obsessed. The Trickster allowed this transformation, as killing Palantine would have not granted Travis the kind of hero status you see as the film ends. Walker states that this is because he chose to attack the

whorehouse; any other potential target in the film would have left him with a more monstrous label.

Luke Martin in *Coming Home* begins the film as an angry, broken man who cannot let go of the rage inside of him. He is almost trapped within the Shadow elements which moved into his conscious actions in Vietnam. Bob Hyde begins as a strong conservative family man, ready to do his part in America's war effort. He has yet to see the Shadow parts of his own psyche. Bob's wife, Sally Hyde, provides the Trickster character in this narrative, unaware of her own purpose in the fates of these two men. In his film analysis, Walker (1991) supports this when he recognizes the character of Sally as an agent for change, effecting both Luke and Bob. As the Trickster transforms Sally from a traditional housewife to an outgoing, liberated person, she guilds Luke to a confrontation with his Shadow, which he achieves through becoming what he feels a man should be again and also a strong anti-war voice. Luke accepts that the dark parts inside mankind exist, and war must be avoided to prevent them from coming out in unhealthy ways. Sally's transformation, however, does not provide support for a mentally broken Bob who returns home. Even when Sally meets Bob when he's on leave during his time in Vietnam, his identity is visibly shaken. Conlon (1990) states that Bob's identity as the 'man of steel marine' has already been shaken when he meets Sally on leave, which is evident in the fact that he cannot talk to her about anything but the horrors he has witnessed. He is being consumed by the Shadow parts within. After almost killing Luke and unleashing the killer inside, he becomes overwhelmed by the internal Shadow he is now conscious of and kills himself, a path also chosen by *The Deer Hunter's* Nick. Boggs and Pollard (2015) state that while Luke looked outward, Bob only looked at the darkness within, resulting in his suicide. Trickster narratives often end in death because this is still a transformation of sorts (Crossley-Holland, 1993, pg. 171), after he recognized the evil within.

*The Deer Hunter* presents the viewer with a character unique to this analysis in the form of Michael. The reason this is said is because unlike the other men in these four films, Michael was a killer with a recognition of his Shadow before going to Vietnam. Hellman (1991) notes this in the way he describes Michael as alienated from the rest of the people in his small town because of his strict personal codes, including his ritualistic talk of the 'one-shot' kill, which he thinks only Nick understands. Michael therefore begins the film with at least some form of awareness of his Shadow side, his path to Individuation perhaps partially started. The reader should remember that to Jung, the process of Individuation involved recognizing and bringing to the surface all light and dark aspects of a person's true Self. This does not mean that the Trickster is not present to help Michael reconcile with these dark psychic parts. In Vietnam, the killer in Michael consumes him as his Shadow parts help him survive, as can be seen in the almost inhuman killing machine that emerges from the pile of bodies as we first see him in Vietnam. It can be argued that the character Michael thrives in the combat environment of Vietnam, which Hellman (1991) supports by stating that Michael is in his natural element there, finding that his intense compulsions being released in a violent way, which is expected and appreciated here, as he protects his friends. This still affects Michael so much that he rejects killing when he gets home, no longer wanting to kill deer and reacting very strongly when a friend plays with a gun, an item Michael now sees in a terribly negative light. Hellman (1991) suggests by responding to his friends violence this way, Michael is beginning to transform part of his violent self, moving closer to an acceptable community protector role. The Trickster moves Michael towards recognizing and accepting his Shadow through the characters of his two best friends, both of whom he decides to find and bring home. By doing this, he is confronting parts of his own traumatized psyche. The Trickster appears in Nick, who guides Mike to reconciliation. Mike is still interested in seeing the death Vietnam offers until his finally game of Russian roulette with Nick. At this point, when

Nick dies, Michael's emotional outpouring signifies him accepting that things have changed and with that change, the evil inside must be acknowledged. Hellman found that the trauma Michael has suffered results in him rejecting the simplistic way of viewing death as 'one-shot,' without emotion; Nick is now obsessed with 'one-shot' determining his life in an uncomplicated way, which appeals to his mentally broken self. Nick's death at his own hand allows Michael to fully reject killing, recognizing that this Shadow part of his psyche needs to be expressed in a healthier way. Steven, Michael's other friend, is mentally broken but allows Mike to accept that the war has made him aware of the darkness, and fragility, in himself. The film ends with Michael and Steven, along with other people touched by the war, sitting down to dinner aware that there is a darkness inside humanity, and questioning if it can ever be removed. The friends try to comfort themselves, but the overall feeling is that although these men have changed, evil has not gone. Hellman (1991) states that this scene shows a group of friends who embrace a shared love for America but are aware of the dangers to their very souls when trying to function as a police force for the entire world. Hellman argues that it is a form of regeneration of American identity through violent rebirth. The survivors have a more realistic view of the evil inside, freed from innocence, and may experience an individual rebirth bringing them closer to their true, core Self.

Jack Dunne in *Heroes* is an interestingly unique character in this study, as he himself is the Trickster behind his own transformation. In addition to guiding himself towards change, his chaotic cross-country quest to start a worm farm also sparks change in fellow traveller Carol Bell, portrayed by Sally Field. Early (2003) refers to Jack as an example of the Trickster archetype in his worst form, a manic, babbling fool carrying a box of earthworms. However, Jack succeeds in reaching the home of his deceased friend, so that he can be told that this friend is truly dead. This allows him to reexperience, in a cinematic literal way, the events which lead to his friends death and to his survival. This vivid, violent rebirth brings the

darkness within Jack to the surface where he must face it; whether or not he felt relief after this confrontation is not revealed to the viewer, as he is last seen weeping in the arms of Carol.

Finally, Captain Willard begins his journey in *Apocalypse Now* as a man ready to be fully consumed by his Shadow. He travels into the jungle again to confront arguably the most direct representation of a Satan figure in the films analysed, Colonel Kurtz. As mentioned before, Jung saw strong, direct representations of Satan in the Trickster, or the 'Ape of God.' As the primary Trickster in this narrative, Kurtz waits for Willard at the end of the river through Hell, appearing briefly in the form of Lt. Colonel Kilgore as he rains savage fire down upon the native Vietnamese, highlighting that the American soldier in Vietnam is consumed by his own Shadow, which comes from a dark and barbaric place (CW16, para. 388). Upon Willard's arrival at Kurtz's compound, he is almost consumed by his own Shadow. The strong pull he has felt towards the Devil in Kurtz has been evident during his narration of the film. Hellman (1991) states that as the film progresses in its examination of the ideal American self, Willard begins to associate his identity more with Kurtz and less with the government, saying that Kurtz has become more of a 'goal than a target.' Despite these feelings, he finally finds and kills Kurtz, because he cannot understand him. As the Trickster, Kurtz finally helps Willard define evil as something chaotic, with no structure. Willard then only just resists becoming the new Shadow, or Satan, to Kurtz's cult, and instead realizes that an air strike to destroy all of this 'hell' at once is the only way. Stewart (1981) suggests that the ritualized killing and confrontation with the cult further enforce the idea that Willard is not killing an external evil, but evil, internal elements once hidden within his unconscious. However, even as Willard's boat moves away from Kurtz's compound, it is unsure if he has really confronted all of the Shadow within his psyche, making his character the least reconciled with the dark impulses inside.

## 5.9 | Concluding Summary

The results of this case study found that men mentally broken from the trauma of war, men who have lost their humanity, and men who liked to kill were the three dominant discourses used to explain. These discourses were revealed to the viewer by taking them on a cinematic journey into Hell, where the agent behind this evil, the Devil, could be examined in action, so to speak. the evil actions attributed to the American Vietnam veteran in Hollywood film.

These narratives have presented the Devil as an agent for change and transformation; Jung (CW9i, para.475) once said that the Trickster narrative cycle shows a civilizing process, where often hidden, unconscious actions that are brutal and senseless eventually give way to reveal sensible ones. By confronting the evil force within that many Christian men would attribute to Satan's influence, these narratives show that the Christian Satan is such a complex creation that it draws a significant amount of energy from the Trickster archetype.

This archetypal force provides a way for the conscious psyche to interact with the dark elements within the unconscious in a way that will not be all consuming; rather, the Trickster narratives discussed above provide a safe, modern mythic path to reconcile with the undesirable discursive strands attributed to the evil seen in the American Vietnam soldier.

Overall, these films allowed some audiences, and perhaps the creative teams involved, a chance to explain why some American fighting men gave into the Devil within, become the villain and not the hero of this televised war. They provided a kind of visual mythology for Americans to understand many of the challenges to the subjective position of the White American man being a chosen saviour, an ideal which faced a string of contradictions through horrific war images and government corruption. Hellman (1991) states that with *Apocalypse Now*, Cimino represents the American conscious, with Vietnam functioning as a mirror image of an America turned upside-down. In addition, these stories provided narratives which identified what evil, unacceptable parts came to the surface in these America

GIs and showed a confrontation with these dark, Shadow elements, offering some hope and closure. Although the war experience seemed a reasonable explanation as to why these men behaved this way, the narratives also showed that the American government, mostly controlled by White Judeo-Christian men, as being the force responsible for destroying the Vietnamese jungle paradise with the fires of napalm. Boggs and Pollard (2015) suggest that this can be seen in the singing of 'God Bless America' at the end of *The Deer Hunter*, which in addition to being the aforementioned recognition that things had changed, was also a reaffirmation of the restoration of community after the division of the nation over the war.

Whether or not artistic, liberal Hollywood was consciously behind this view of the American government is a question beyond the current discussion. The 1979 blockbuster success of *Apocalypse Now* and the 1980 election of conservative Ronald Reagan helped bring New Hollywood and its counterculture to an end, removing the illusion that the Watergate scandal, Nixon, and anti-war protest had ushered in a new liberal political consensus, spearheaded by moral and social critique of film (Elaesser, 2004). The 1970s ended with formulaic, sequel driven films such as *Star Wars* (1977), which placed villainous Darth Vader in black and heroes Luke and Leia in white. Even morally ambiguous rogue Han Solo, dressed in black and white, abandons his past to join the good fight in the end. With thinking, politically conscious directors overshadowed by these blockbusters, the cultural exploration of the Devil with the White American man would find new purchase in a new American television sensation, the investigative news special.

## Chapter 6 | Case Study 2: The Investigative Television Report and 1980's Murderers

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On April 21, 1986, a rising journalist by the name of Geraldo Rivera hosted a primetime, syndicated television special entitled '*The Mystery of Al Capone's Vaults*'. Although the opening of a sealed vault once belonging to notorious mobster Capone revealed only a few prohibition era beer bottles, the program became the highest rated special in syndication, drawing in more than thirty million viewers (Borowitz, 2019). More importantly, it established Rivera as a host viewers wanted more of, helping to bring the growing trend of investigative, so called 'infotainment' television to a national level. Rivera's success now had the backing of producers with significant resources, along with a peaking public concern about secret Satanic cults and associated murder. After interviewing, arguably, the most significant persona of evil in American popular culture, Charles Manson, Rivera's almost inciting reporting style culminated in his highly controversial, albeit successful, 1988 primetime special '*Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground*'. Although this broadcast came at the end of a decade of building paranoia, it was a synthesis of many of the themes concerning the American public in the 1980s. When Geraldo introduced this program describing a teenager as 'a heavy metal freak from Louisiana' who may have drunk blood like other teens, viewers were hooked, wanting Geraldo to tell them why these all-American White boys had turned to darkness.

This case study continues the examination of how the often-unconscious recognition of internal evil in some White American men was expressed by the discourses provided within these special broadcasts and investigative news reports broadcast in the 1980s. Like the previous case study which looked at the exploration of internal evil within representations of the Vietnam veteran in Hollywood films, the focus here will be on the rather sudden need to

answer the question how come so many seeming normal White American men participate in cult activity and/or serial murder? There has been a significant number of theories offered as to why large numbers of Americans throughout the country were drawn into perhaps the largest moral panic in America, the so-called 'Satanic panic'; although this social phenomenon would seem a very fitting match for a thesis exploring White America's relationship with the devil, the overt, very public nature of this topic draws away from the paper's focus. Therefore, to further argue and examine the internal confrontation with the evil some American men were almost forced to acknowledge came from within their persons, this chapter will look at how these men sought to explain participation in Satanic cults and serial murder by members of their demographic group.

To accomplish this, some of the reasons this topic and period have been chosen will first be outlined. Next, an overview of American television in the 1980s and the production of television will be discussed. This will be followed by a more specific examination of the investigative reporting that provides the data for this case study, as well as a brief overview of Satan in 1980s America and some of the topics which were popular in these televised investigative specials. Finally, the analysis of several investigative news reports will be discussed and a conclusion to these findings offered.

## **6.1 | Social and Cultural America of the 1980s**

Jenkins (2006) argues that the year 1980 was one of the most frightening in modern American history because of what he calls a growing feeling of national weakness and disillusion fuelled by political and economic events. In addition to the recently discussed cultural trauma of Vietnam and Watergate, American citizens were still being held hostage in Iran, and a failed rescue attempt in April of this year had left eight American service men dead with no results. This tense situation with the Middle East region was also leading to a

fuel shortage which saw Americans questioning if they would be able to fuel their vehicles and heat their homes. To look for answers to these questions, the public's demand for immediate news updates lead to the development of shows such as ABC's *Nightline* and the launch of the twenty-four-hour broadcast of Cable Network News (CNN). Jenkins states that this perceived need for immediate news in a world of constant danger contributed towards sensational, immediate presentation of news stories not only for information, but also as a new form of prime-time entertainment; sensationalist investigative reporting.

Televised investigative reports, evening news casts, and specials were chosen for this case study because, as discussed previously, the 1980s saw a continuation of an exposed evil which seemed to be lurking within some White American men, fuelled by both war footage of violent men who now lived back in society, as well as the resurgence of the interest in the occult which had started in the 1960s. These programmes attempted to answer the question why the greatest evil seemed to be lurking within White American men. Although the focus of this case study, it should be noted that the printed tabloid media at the time also contributed to this debate. Rows of weekly magazines, such as *The National Enquirer*, *The Sun*, and *People* magazine offered sensational images and headlines to draw the eyes of shoppers waiting in lines at the grocery store.

The format of some traditional news sources was altered to reflect this new commercial need for this type of news. When Rupert Murdoch purchased of *The New York Post* in 1976, the trend towards sensationist, tabloid news coverage became widespread, seen as a widely successful, and profitable, business model (Jenkins, 2006). Tabloid news, as defined by Sparks and Tulloch (2000), is a shift away from the focus of news on information to a focus on presenting news as entertainment. The high point of tabloid sales was during the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, when sales of traditional printed news fell, while tabloid news rose to unexpected heights (Bird, 1992). Coverage was like what is seen in such media today, but

the focus was on unexplained events and conspiracies, rather than celebrity gossip (Sloan, 2000). Even a celebrity-oriented magazine like *People* found many of its covers focusing on people outside of Hollywood, often involved in abuse conspiracy cases such as the infamous McMartin child abuse scare, which will be discussed more later. While many journalists resisted this type of entertainment news, these tabloid stories came to dominant news and popular culture; *National Enquirer* owner Murdoch's purchase of the Twentieth Century Fox network in 1985 allowed him to launch the Fox broadcasting corporation in 1985 (Jenkins, 2006). The importance of broadcast news programs and viewer demand for this format of news, such as the investigative report, is suggested in research by Xiaoming (1994) into changing American television viewing trends, which found not only an increase in male viewers in the 1980s, but also an increase in viewers who did not normally seek out printed news to read.

This explosion from Tabloid printed press stories of the evil in society to similar visual media platforms is not surprising. The developing tension about this evil within 'normal' American men was intensified by President Ronald Reagan's pledges to restore American morals and the resurgence of the moral right with the support of this administration. Christian Fundamentalism discourse which had been gathering strength on the fringes of American society now had a degree of legitimacy in major social and political debate. This allowed for evangelistic, including Pentecostal and Charismatic elements, Christianity to interpret the seemingly continuous growing trend of overt Satanic imagery to be a national threat. In addition to these visualized images of Satan in mainstream media, the publication of Michelle Remembers in 1980 told of ritualized child abuse by secret, Satanic groups. This anxiety also gave rise to the American tradition of externalization of the Other during the so-called 'Satanic Panic,' which hit its peak in America between 1983 and 1988, which located the devil in Satanic cult groups, often hidden in white, suburban America (Hatton, 2015). This

moral panic gave a human face to Satan at a pace not seen in America for years. Even during this moral panic, Americans questioned why would the individual align themselves with Satan and welcome him into their souls? This focused the embrace of Satan to be one of individual choice, which in turn reemphasised the need for the individual quest for salvation.

White men of usually a Christian upbringing were almost exclusively the topic of discussion during these investigative reports. For example, although African American men made up 40.2% of the inmates on death row in all American states (as opposed to 58.3% white and 1.6% other male prisoners) in 1988 (Greenfield, 1989), the Geraldo Rivera primetime special *'Murder on Death Row Live'*, which aired on April 13, 1988, featured only one brief mention of a male murderer who was not white. In addition, reports on serial killers also almost completely excluded non-White men, even though African American serial killers were also on the rise during this period examined, with thirty-four known of in the period between 1980-1989, as opposed to only twenty-four being identified in the 34-year period before this, from 1945-1979 (Walsh, 2005). These findings are supported in a study at Florida Gulf Coast University (2018), which found that the amount of known White serial killers had dropped from them making up 60.9% in 1970 to 53% in 1980. The lack of representation of minorities in these various investigative reports is noticeable. Even when included, non-White killers are merely mentioned and never explored with the same depth as their white counterparts. Lang (2015) points out that the segment on Afro-Caribbean voodoo during Geraldo's special sticks out as the only mention of 'black mysticism', after which viewers are quickly moved onto clips and accusations about ritual abuse not involving voodoo by white victims. This case study will explore the discourses offered in these programs to add understanding as to why it was the White American man who was the focus of these reports.

## 6.2 | Satan Looks Just Like Me: A Decade of Moral Reflection

Following on from McCarthy's crusade against the evil of leftist political views in the 1950s, the 1960s saw a new unity in Fundamental Christians, Protestants, and Catholics which would set up the building blocks upon which the far Christian right would grow into a movement upon in the 1970s (Poole, 2009). When President Ronald Reagan proclaimed that it was now 'morning in America,' which would usher in a return to the pre-nineteen sixties innocence of neighbours helping neighbours, he also indirectly identified the evil 'others' as ghetto rioters, liberal hippies, and flag burners who had changed things in the first place (Poole, 2009). Areas of the country with heavy crime and minority populations, such as South-Central Los Angeles, were identified as areas of immoral drug gang rule, and specialized police units were given increased powers to deal with this issue, often at the expense of people's constitutional rights. While the Reagan administration fully supported the almost militarization of these large urban police forces to combat areas of moral poverty in non-white communities, middle-class America had to deal with the fact that some of these marginalized, drug addicted and evil 'others' lived among them, possibly committing heinous crimes undetected (Poole, 2009). Reagan's proposed major social, cultural, and political changes, Hughs (2017) argues, reflected the expansion of the 'New Right', a movement which had been gaining strength since the 1960s. This 'New Right' consisted of neoconservatives, economic conservatives, and evangelical Christians who, despite differences in ideology, unified against a liberal America they believed began with the dangerous hippie movement.

Another specific group highlighted as deviant by the Reagan administration, mostly by omission, were homosexual men. Along with the aforementioned civil rights activism highlighting racial inequalities in the 1960s, the Stonewall uprisings in 1969 in New York highlighted unlawful, and often brutal, police raids on bars catering to openly LGBTQIA+

clientele, as well as the general discrimination against this growing community (Stein, 2019). This was yet another marginalized group which some White American Christians may have perceived as a threat to their social position. After a small article in the *New York Times* in July 1981 (Altman), reported the death of eight homosexual men due to a rare form of cancer, popular printed news such as the *Times* would not give front page coverage of the AIDS epidemic until 1983 (Pear, 1983); by this time, the disease had already ravaged many communities. Florencio (2018) suggests that even when AIDS awareness public service messages were released, they refused to discuss the ways that homosexual men could reduce transmission, fearing that this would give these 'deviants' some sort of recognition as belonging to society at large. Keeping with its aforementioned strong allegiance to the conservative Christian right, the government's AIDS response was based in moralistic views on normal sexual behaviour, with deviance seen as sinful and akin to evil impulses.

Although not overtly addressed within American culture at the time, misunderstood diseases like AIDS and their link to so-called deviant sexual behaviour had many Americans asking what went wrong. Victor (1993) highlights an overall loss in faith in the moral order in American society, rooted in sources of shared social stress in rural and small-town areas across the country which also faced high rates of economic decline and the seemingly overnight disintegration of the core American family, which had been traditionally thought of as a father, a mother, and two children. Statistics highlighting this breakdown of the rural heartland of America include the fact that by 1988 the poverty rate for fifty-four million Americans in rural areas climbed to 18%, which was double that of those living in urban settings (O'Hare, 1988), and that by 1988, 49% of American children under the age of eighteen were not living with both biological parents, showing the breakdown of the Christian ideal of marriage lasting for life (Victor, 1993).

The American peoples' faith that the federal government, and its elected officials, were acting on their behalf had been already shaken during the 1970s from events like the Watergate scandal, as well as the Carter administrations' poor handling of the America hostage situation in Iran. This insecurity was intensified in 1986 when the Iran-Contra operation, which dealt in the illegal transfer of drugs and guns, was exposed as having happened behind the back of voters. In 1987, the percentage of Americans who were dissatisfied with the countries moral standards rose to 71%, almost as high as it was at the peak of the Watergate scandal in the early 1970's (US News and World Report, 1987).

One of the biggest growing concerns in America during the 1980s was the evidence presented by the news that many White American men, who appeared to be normal citizens, were Satanic cultists and serial murderers. Victor (1993) argues that searching for an internal enemy can serve the same function as placing aggression on an external enemy. A social position under scrutiny must identify a sub-category within this group as being traitors, or deviant in some way from the over-arching moral values of society. Heller-Nicholas (2015) locates the publication of the 1980 book '*Michelle Remembers*' as a key moment in the new American decade that would begin a search for the devil in white, primarily Judea-Christian suburbia. This book was phenomenally successful, netting the authors up to \$342,000 in profits. *Michelle Remembers* tells the story of a girl given over by her mother to a secret, Satanic cult of White men, described by the girl Michelle who has had her memories restored with the help of her co-author, her psychologist. Unlike other moral panics such as Salem, however, the enemy this time seemed to be taking the form of the socially dominant, White American male. This fear was confirmed for many Americans in February 1984 when news channels reported claims of widespread ritualistic abuse at the McMartin preschool, where all the suspects were white middle class, with mostly Christian backgrounds. Between 1976 and 1986, reports of child abuse in America increased from 669,000 to over two million; statistics

such as this led many Americans to ask what was so wrong with American family men that so many of their children were being abused. Hughs (2017) suggests that this story began a powerful delusion in which viewers started to confuse the world created by the media with real life. The fear of cults living within these white communities was picked up upon nationally, as reports of similar abuse came in from every corner of America. Often tied to these tales of abuse was murder, especially that of the ritualistic and serial variety.

### **6.3 | America and Serial Murder**

When looking at serial killers in American popular culture, one might think that London's Jack the Ripper of 1888 was simply a statistical abnormality of a recent trend in murder. However, despite some popular representations in media and pop psychology literature, serial killers are not a new thing. Bartol and Bartol (2004) define serial murder as the separate killings of at least three people by an individual, committed over a period. To many, the meaning behind serial killing lies in an obsession by the killer with ritualistic fantasies which must be acted out in perfection (Ressler, 1992). Serial killers become a media event and source of public interest because most people are statistically unlikely to experience the form of crime first-hand; these killers receive a degree of fame and notoriety through this media celebrity status, so people want to know more intimate knowledge, presented in breaking news headlines (Haggerty, 2009). The development of specialists who could provide this intimate knowledge of these dangerous others has part of its origins in the way which crime was viewed in America. In most western states during the nineteenth century, there was a major shift in the discourses involving the understanding of crime, which put more focus on the dangerous individual who committed the act rather than the wider social setting (Seltzer, 1998). This emphasis on individual responsibility, as stated previously, is an important part of American society. The worst criminals were irrational monsters driven by lust and violence, rather than the products of an unjust society; these men chose evil (Jenkins, 2006). This focus

on the individual would eventually explode into the highly published role of the forensic psychologist, or ‘ profiler,’ who could identify and predict who among the population was most likely to become a serial murderer. Criminal behaviour went from being a curable illness or a result of poor social upbringing to an image of these offenders as predators who had to be hunted down by these experts (Friedman, 1993).

There are numerous sociological and psychological works on serial murder and those who commit it. Of interest to this study is the argument that those who commit serial murder are linked to certain demographic groups whose subjective positions within society are being challenged. Haggerty (2009) studied serial killers as a type of person within a historical period which occupied one of the subjective positions available at this time, but it is research conducted by Leyton (1995) which is of particular interest to this study. Leyton used several historical periods to study the class background that these killers emerged from, arguing that at each historical moment, the social groups these men primarily came from were experiencing a perceived threat to their social standing. This perception of a threat may have resulted in a high number of serial killers coming from this class, because some of these men begin to fantasize about killing those threatening their standing. Leyton (2003) further argues that the modern serial killer was ushered in during the 1960s, a period he identifies as a time where the number of desirable positions for middle-class men in America decreased. The serial killer from this time was drawn from the middle working-class, who perceived that their standing in society was being oppressed by other competing groups. It is also interesting to note that the truly oppressed during this period, women, and minorities, were hardly represented by the increasing number of serial killers (Leyton, 2003). Leyton argues that not only did the closing of potential middle-class positions mean that more men would feel like ‘losers,’ incapable of achieving success, but other social changes allowed some of these men to act on violent feelings more easily. These social changes included the break-down of the

traditional family structure, leaving more young people isolated and alone, as well as the expansion of the anonymous city environment which made it progressively easier to find strangers that would challenge some killer's morals less.

Media and popular culture tried to make sense of the devil's public face, examining people like Ricky Kasso and Richard Ramirez to try to better understand the devil within, and how to keep him from coming out. People wanted to understand and be horrified by these killers who looked just like them on the evening news. More specifically, people wanted reassurance that there must be a way to spot these evil White men and that these were indeed 'Others,' for some reason which had to be exposed. Responding to this consumer need for shows that would do just this resulted in the popularity of investigative news reporting.

#### **6.4 | Satanic Cults and Murder**

In addition to the face of Satan appearing on Earth directly in the faces of those such as LaVey and Crowley, one man's image still appears more than almost all others in popular culture discussing 'true evil;' Charles Manson. By all accounts, Manson was more of a clever con man than Satanic cult leader; however, the murders on August 9-10, 1969, which Manson is alleged to have ordered, officially ended what many called 'the summer of love'. The brutality of the murders in affluent Hollywood homes was made more terrifying by the fact that the young women, and one young man, who committed them could have all been part of a local American church choir. American's quickly took to early gossip and speculation that Manson was a cult leader who had somehow convinced these young people to murder, much like the Devil influenced those to commit evil. Manson's alleged affiliation with the questionable Process Church of the Final Judgement, a fact the movements leaders would deny, gave further purchase to the idea that Manson was yet another White American man who had let the Devil inside take hold of him. The idea that Manson was, indeed, the

result of what happens to one who lets the Devil inside win was further supported by the first bestselling book detailing the Manson family murders, *Helter Skelter: The True Story of the Manson Murders* (1977), by lead case prosecutor Vincent Bugliosi and Curt Gentry. This book was the world's first 'authoritative' account of Manson, and many of the elements made him an almost perfect poster child for all the public faces Satan had assumed during the occult revival. Manson was said to have been influenced by the words of The Beatles on their 1968 *White* album, the follow-up to the already discussed *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, and one of the victims of the murders, actress Sharon Tate, was the wife of director Roman Polanski, who had directed *Rosemary's Baby* the previous year. If anyone summed up the tensions the new, public face of Satan caused Christian America, it was Manson, who stated after his conviction that he has shaved his head because 'I'm the Devil, and the Devil always has a bald head' (Didion, 1979).

American tabloids became obsessed with the idea that the so-called Manson family had larger, more insidious plans than just murder. Jenkins (2006) argues that the theme of conspiracy conducted by secret groups living among the population is deeply imbedded within American culture, with imagery of dangerous men lurking in the shadows to unleash evil upon society. It should come as no surprise that the notion that America's ultimate evil 'other,' Satan, had secret cults within America was not a hard story to establish. Since these cults dedicated to Satan could exist, they might also explain why White American men were committing possibly the greatest sin against God, that of murder. The link between these devil cults and serial murder has heavy ties to the previously discussed murders committed in late 1969 by Manson and his associates. With the Tate murder not immediately solved and the following nights LaBianca murders not officially linked as the work of the same group for a similar amount of time, the media quickly spread panic and misinformation, most of which focused on the word ritualistic. Words written in human blood on the walls referred to

political war, but the media became fascinated with the misspelled words 'Helter Skelter' left at one crime scene. 'Helter Skelter' was a song that featured on the Beatles' *White* album, which was released in 1968 and attracted the attention of Manson. Bugliosi and Gentry (1974) argued at the trial of Manson family members that Manson incited the families murder spree by claiming Helter Skelter meant the beginning of a race war that he wanted to start to kill off the rich 'pigs', along with their political allies. It was even widely reported that actress Sharon Tate had her baby cut out of her body. In fact, this did not happen, and there were certainly no satanic or ritualistic links to these murders, which now appear to be the work of a very manipulative man trying to cover his own crimes up (Atkins and Slosser, 2005). Although some may argue that Atkin's version is questionable, as she was a co-defendant, a critical examination of the timeline of events leading up to the Tate-LaBianca murders of 1969 supports her version of events. However, these theories were not the ones people watched on the evening news at dinner time, and the sensationalized headlines had such an effect on the American public that these urban legends became what many still believe. The idea of Helter Skelter being attached to Satanic activity was reinforced when the group Motley Crue, known for their use of satanic imagery already at the time, released a cover of the song Helter Skelter in 1983 on their '*Shout at the Devil*' album. It made sense for investigative journalism to present Manson to the public in the 1980s during the Satanic cult scare. Television journalist Geraldo Rivera (1991) claimed that he wanted to use Charles Manson as an example of a Satanic killer, just one of which he argued were all over America. Another serial murder brought back into the headlines during the 1980s was David Berkowitz, also known as the Son of Sam killer from New York City in the 1970s. Of particular interest to the investigative reporters was reviving early misleading news reports that Berkowitz's crimes were Satanically motivated.

It was not only historic cases that Satan's influence was found in, but current ones as well. In 1984, Northport, New York, teen Ricky Kasso Jr. killed another teen in the woods, which was witnessed by two other friends of Kasso. Although Kasso committed the gruesome murder by himself, one of he and one of the other teens were arrested based on a witness statement given by the third teen. The witness said that Kasso made the victim say that they loved Satan before the murder, and once the media heard this the idea of a teenage Satanic cult was suggested heavily. Hatton (2015) states that although the prosecutor would later argue that heavy drug use and a drug deal gone wrong by those involved was the primary factor in the murder, it was the story presented by David St. Claire in his book *Say You Love Satan* (1987) that would convince much of the public of a strong Satanic motive behind Kasso's violent killing of another teen. Kasso's version was never heard as he committed suicide shortly after arrest and the other teen charged was acquitted in 1995. Hatton further argues that rather than having been influenced by popular culture, this murder provided popular cultural images which would be used repeatedly during reports of Satanic crimes, such as the link to certain heavy metal music groups and symbols. One serial killer who captured the attention of the public in 1985 was Richard Ramirez, the so-called 'Walk-in killer', or 'Nightstalker'. His identity unknown for mothers while he entered homes at night in California at night, when captured Ramirez made very public declarations about Satan, even flashing an inverted pentagram on his palm to the media. While cases like Manson, Berkowitz, Ramirez, and Kasso were quickly linked to Satanic influence, others were linked by qualities deemed negative and dark. For example, Ted Bundy had no direct links to Satan, yet he was described by himself and others as a normal man who gave into his dark, hidden side which consisted of deviant sexual desires.

The reason morality in some White American men like Bundy decreased so significantly is one that challenged American society. With veterans returning from war, it could be argued

that they journeyed away from the morality of their own shores and became corrupted by the violence outside of American society. However, when looking at cult members and killers who had never left American society, the question became what evil do these men have hidden inside of themselves? Research by Bartels and Parsons (2009) found that discourses used to discuss serial killers re-enforce the widely shared idea of the killer being a sexually motivated deviant, devoid of Christian values. Some of these discourses serve to construct the killer as being a man with a good, sympathetic side who is himself a victim, of sorts, to his darker, killer side (Bartels and Parsons, 2009). Literature on serial murder tends to focus on these killers being so different than normal that they are too difficult to be understood by the public or scholarly discussion (Haggerty, 2009).

### **6.5 | American Television Production and Broadcast in the 1980s**

Despite any claims of being an objective entity for reporting current affairs, news programming is a commodity, expensive to collect and distribute, so it is essential that it attracts a repeat viewer base (Jenkins, 2011). Miller (1989) states that during the 1980's, the monopoly enjoyed in American broadcasting by networks ABC, CBS, and NBC suffered their first loss of viewers to the new fifth national broadcaster, FOX, as well as cable television networks, such as CNN, Home Box Office (HBO), and Music Television (MTV). According to Nielsen (1994), before cable televisions and the ability to record programmes on VCRs, the three major American broadcasting companies (ABC, CBS, NBC) accounted for 92% of primetime viewing in 1977, as opposed to only 61% of the same viewing in the early 1990s.

This had a major impact on programming because viewers could now discriminate more.

Although initially seen as an obstacle, Miller (1989) continues, the examination of the specific demographics of these splintering viewer groups allowed more successful selection

of advertisements to target these viewers. This resulted in lower rated shows, such as police drama *Hill Street Blues* and sit-com *Cheers*, being renewed despite low viewing numbers because the ad campaigns these viewers attracted generated significant revenue (Miller, 1989). Fledgling network FOX set the standard for this approach to programming, by targeting younger viewers with short comedy shows, including the previously unheard-of broadcast of a cartoon during primetime, called *The Simpsons*. Lin (1995) states that since network programming strategies in the 1980s took a while to adjust to changing audience preferences, and as a result when a popular show aired on one network, other networks were likely to reproduce it on another night in hopes of achieving similar success. This trend can be seen with the investigative reports examined in this chapter, which will become apparent shortly.

The anxiety and fear many Americans felt in the 1980s may have led some to look for a safe place where they could be told the truth of the day. In her research on the American morning news show *Good Morning America*, Feurer (1983) argues that the structure of the program is designed to invite viewers to be part of the family on the show, with the lead anchor selected because of his traditional family man image. Jenkins (2011) argues that any successful televised programme presenting news depends on the presenters making the audience identify with them in some way; as unified, invested viewers they are more likely to ignore any discomfiting contradictions in the program they are watching. Jenkins suggests the networks select news anchors who can make the viewer feel like part of the family during a morning or evening news broadcast they tune into regularly. Using these visual representations of a safe family environment, the networks practice their social duty as parents to the viewers, with their codes of conduct written to reflect traditional American family values. In this way, news production sets up an opposition of ‘the world out there’ and the ‘family in here’ (Ellis, 1982); this negative and threatening outside world is a potential disruption to the viewers

television family, so the audience have a personal responsibility to tune in and listen to those in authority (Jenkins, 2011).

When discussing the establishment of authority within the construction of a news report, Bignell (2002) refers to the specific use of cues by the producers that the target audience should be able to decode. The news reporter speaks directly to the audience, supported by the authority of the viewers chosen news provider, whose network logo is predominantly displayed. The immediacy of the event, which must be watched now, is expressed by on-screen captions such as 'live' and 'breaking news,' which this authoritative member of the TV family must share with other family members. Hartley (1982) adds that although the stories may be new, or at the very least a slight update on previously presented information, they are presented in the same narrative pattern so that the viewers may easily understand them. This presentation usually starts by framing the topic as being presented impartially by the news anchor, who is working on the networks behalf to establish a neutral platform. Next, the focus of the story comes from specific reporters or correspondents, who use their personal authority and experience of being at the scene of the news, or having been there earlier, to provide a sensory filled, first-hand account. Hartley continues by describing the next stage he calls 'realising,' in which this reporter adds to the authority and accuracy of their report using real footage and the accounts of individual eyewitnesses at the scene. Finally, the closing is achieved by discouraging alternate narratives of the 'truth,' as it has just been reported and by repeating points of view which supports the authority of this news cast. These 'closing' arguments, Hartley states, will have been carefully woven into and ongoing throughout the report, so that bringing the viewers to feel they have reached their own opinion naturally could be more easily achieved. This is not to say that all agency was removed from the audience; viewers were choosing to tune in because of the need to know about the dangers in their communities.

Key to establishing the news family as a safe place to learn all one needs to know about the dangers of the world is to reinforce that these dangers exist. Galtung and Ruge (1973) go as far as to claim that one element crucial for an event to be newsworthy is that it can be interpreted in some way negatively, or at least as a force that will disrupt the viewers normal day. If this interpretation is correct, can it be argued that there is truly no such thing as good news on broadcast television? Jenkins (2011) suggests that this common interpretation that the news is always bad ignores the fact that most of this 'bad' is treated as deviant from social norms, so the 'good' is the unspoken social norm. Jenkins further suggests that when such deviations from a country's norms are highlighted in international news, it is often framed in a way to highlight that things were better in the broadcasters' 'families' country, so they should feel safe in this knowledge.

## **6.6 | Exclusive: The Investigative Television Special Report**

What would become the televised investigative report of this case study combined the elements of using known television news reporters, who were already part of the viewers TV family, along with elements of a documentary. Shattue (2005) states that besides having a high degree of audience participation, these programs needed to be structured around the moral authority and educated knowledge of a host, who would use these advantages to mediate the discussion between the guests and the audience. The authority of the host would be supported in a documentary like presentation of supporting evidence. Corner (2008) argues that the sequence of images presented in documentaries are that of a specific discourse, even though it is grounded in a sequence of representations. The authoritative host would present these pieces of the story in such a way that viewers would be drawn into the programs discourse because of their decoding of images flashed before them; this technique was especially true in the specials broadcast by Fox and hosted by Geraldo Rivera. Rivera was a Brooklyn law school graduate who started his career as a major network host on ABC's

*Goodnight America* in 1973. Rivera's popularity and controversial nature reached its height during the late 1980s, when he began to host the *Geraldo!* syndicated talk show in 1987 (Rivera, 2018). Several of his primetime investigative specials form part of the material analysed in this chapter.

Abdenour (2018) defines investigative reporting of consisting of three primary elements. First, it had to be an original piece of news, even if touching on a well discussed matter of concern. Second, it must claim to reveal added information which has been concealed from the public deliberately or the reporter needs to have gathered the information in such a way that it shows a previously unknown, widespread pattern. Finally, Abdenour argues the third crucial component of an investigative report is that it must be in the public's best interest to know these revealed facts. Abdenour and Riffe (2019) found that exclusive reports on previously concealed information was the most predictive factor in estimating audience size.

Several factors are thought to have contributed to the wide appeal and success these investigative television programs received during the 1980s. When discussing the history of journalism in the United States, Krause (2011) suggests that the trend towards investigative reporting began in the 1960s, with Phil Donahue's show in 1969 being the first remarkably successful national syndication of hot topics on television, breaking the then current mould of television bringing happy, comical topics to its viewers (Keller, 1993). Krause argues that these investigative reports heightened in cultural standing and appeal during the Watergate scandal of the early 1970s. Coverage of Watergate placed an expectation from viewers that the media would hold those who did wrong accountable, no matter who they were (Downie, 2012).

While the public popularity of investigative reports was on the rise, content of these programmes also became less regulated and driven by commercial profit during this time.

The supreme Court of the United States gave credibility to the investigative reporter in a 1964 ruling which protected them from libel suits by public figures (Armao, 2000). In the years following 1981, the Federal Communications Committee (FCC) removed most rules on broadcasting content, with advertising guidelines also relaxed (Fairchild, 1999). The last few decades of the twentieth century saw the trend towards private ownership of media increase, which saw managers of programming become obligated to company owners to maximize profit more than anything else (Krause, 2011). The major networks responded to this desire for more information on current topics of public concern by not only using segments of ongoing investigative reports on evening news broadcasts but also creating primetime specials which assembled panels of experts and news footage to explore these issues. Victor (1993) argues that the American tension between traditional values and ever-expanding personal freedoms were often played out in public conflicts he refers to as ‘tripwire’ social issues, such as the debate on abortion and the debate on a woman’s role in the workforce. These cultural value clashes are often expressed in a reductionist way as popular media labels one side conservative and one side liberal, insisting the viewers must take a side. These investigative shows not only provided new exclusive information but also allowed journalists to confront those on both sides of the topics in a public forum, broadcast into the homes of a vast number of Americans.

Hughs (2017) labelled these broadcasts of social concern as ‘infotainment’, which was aided by significant advances in technology which had resulted in an America where houses with at least two televisions rose from 50% in 1980 to 65% in 1990. In addition to this, most homes now also had video cassette recorders (VCRs), allowing programs to be watched again and shared privately. Shattuc (1997) states that these new so called ‘confrontainment’ shows played on the fear of a general loss of social order and the need for an authority to be found to re-establish order. Keller (1993) suggests that the sheer number of panels talk shows

suddenly available to viewers encouraged programmers to focus on highly emotional issues, to evoke anger, excitement, and fear, increasing ratings.

While these programs grew in popularity and profit, arguably the largest moral panic since the 'red scare' of 1950s American McCarthyism was about to provide programmers with a steady source of new material. Jenkins (2006) states that this fast paced, manipulative presentation of news can be seen in the CBS news show *48HRS*'s 1986 special on the spread of crack cocaine, which Jenkins describes as a group of accurate individual reports from around the entire country strung together in such a way as to present it as a greater national threat than it was. In a comparable way, stories of ritual abuse in the name of Satan and moral crusades such as Tipper Gore's 1985 establishment of the PMRC (Parents Music Resource Centre) to regulate the lyrics added to the widespread belief that there was a national, if not worldwide, Satanic underground working against morality. Victor (1993) suggests that although stories of occult ritual abuse had been locally circulated since at least the late 1960's, the May 1985 national broadcast of the respected news program *20/20*, entitled '*The Devil Worshipers*', lent a new level of credibility to what had been previously considered local urban rumours by most. Nathan (1988) states that those promoting Geraldo's 1988 special '*Devil Worshipers: Exposing Satan's Underground*' claim that the show attracted about fifty million viewers, the largest television audiences up to that date for a two-hour prime time special. The public's interest in these investigative reports continued beyond the 1980s, with Willnat and Weaver (1998) reporting that the number of American viewers who wanted to see more investigative reporting increased from 66% in 1981 to 84% in 1997. This consumer demand was met by the addition of primetime investigative reports to the already episodic presentation of the nightly news, who seemed compelled to give the public even a smallest update on these horrors within their communities.

There are several possible contributing factors which lead to the decline of these investigative programs on major television networks beyond the 1980s. As suggested by Hughs (2017), the conservative New Right suffered many blows due to sexual scandals and fraud accusations in the late 1980s, which may have discredited their panel show evidence somewhat. In addition, all of those accused of abuse in the McMartin Satanic cult scare, a major event which contributed to the Satanic panic of the decade, were cleared of any wrongdoing by the end of the eighties. The most significant reason, however, was that most of these types of shows simply found new homes and smaller viewer bases on the numerous specialist cable channels, such as The History Channel and The Discovery Channel, with cable television reaching 60% of American homes by 1990 (Encyclopedia.com, 2019a). Revenue raised by advertising on Cable TV rose from fifty-eight million in 1980 to 2,546 million in 1990 (Krugman and Rust, 1993).

### **6.7 | Media Selection and Analysis**

This case study continues to use discourse analysis and Jungian amplification to examine the media selected. Data of interest for this analysis was drawn from several types of investigative journalism and news reports focusing on cults, murder without clear motives, and serial murder. The programs selected include segments of news reports broadcast during the evening, special investigative reports broadcast for primetime audiences, and one special program broadcast on the newly established cable network channel, Home Box Office (HBO).

The data used for this study consists of thirty-three video clips which were originally aired on main broadcast television in the United States between 1981 and 1989 (Appendix B). They consist of both programs specifically created to discuss these topics, for an audience who had most likely wanted to know more about specific issues, and of short news clips broadcast within the evening nightly news. People who viewed these clips were most likely watching

the entire news cast, so there was a need to present the stories discourse of these dangerous Others in a truly brief time. The use of both types allowed this analysis to look for common elements used in both. The actual clips used were selected using several criteria. First, they had to have an original broadcast date between January 1, 1980, and December 31, 1989. Second, the clip had to be the best quality of the video which was available with no indication it had been edited since its original broadcast. Finally, the clip had to be readily accessible and available for repeated viewing during this study. A broad search of the internet located acceptable versions of all the clips used on YouTube, so they were viewed using this platform. It should be noted that although Richard Ramirez has been previously mentioned and was perhaps the most notorious serial killer during the 1980's, the only news footage used was gathered from before his identification and arrest. This is because this footage implies the killer may be white, as opposed to Ramirez's Mexican American origins that were revealed upon his capture.

### **6.8 | Exposing the Evil Within Through Camera and Discourse**

The most significant discourse found within these programmes is that the men who are involved with abusive cults and serial murder are under the influence of internal, negative forces which are expressed in deviant behaviour. An interesting part of this discourse as it is presented has to do with the concept of insanity. The programmes try to negotiate a balance between showing those men identified as different and evil as 'crazy,' yet still having chosen this path. This agency given to these men show that they have chosen evil over good, a de facto choice of Satan over God. The relationship to the question of their sanity to their choice is usually implied to be a causative one; these men see the world in an unusual way and now insane because of their choice to be evil.

With this overall framing of these deviant cultists and killers coming from the White American male demographic, much of the other references to race in the clips are presented in a way to ask why these normal White men, with good family values and social standing, become killers and cultists. An example of this seen in the 1985 *Archive Footage of Larry Eyler Case*, when the news report includes neighbours stating that Eyler seemed like a normal guy, with definitions of 'normal' including 'mowing his grass' and raising kids who 'did not seem abused'. This implied descendant of the all-American boy, AKA the all-American man, comes from the heartland of America, behaves like you and I on the outside, yet seems to be where this internal evil is found the most. In addition to this disturbing fact, it also appears that women, children, and homosexual men, who usually are seen as subordinate to the White American male subjective position, chosen as victims. Why would a person at the top of the American food-chain, so to speak, prey on the weaker if not under Satan's control? When examining the question, some programs address obvious questions the viewer might have as well, as to why women also kill. When these women are mentioned as being the killers, they are presented as killing for reasons linked to emotions such as passion, or emotions dealing with fear because male accomplices have threatened them. Because emotion is something viewers can understand, this places these women above the remorseless men who are beyond human understanding. African American killers are mentioned only in passing or relating the afore mentioned crimes of passion committed by women. The only time African Americans are discussed relating to Satanic cults is a poorly cut segment on a Rivera special where demonic possession is discussed while showing scenes related to religious practices of Voodoo, nothing to do with Satanism whatsoever.

When men who are homosexual have been involved with murder, the nature of their sexuality is usually presented as part of the deviance which led them to ritualistic abuse or murder.

This observation is supported by the descriptors of these men used in these programmes, such

as ‘gay murder’ and ‘homosexual slayings.’ One of the only times a negative aspect is applied to a victim is when a man attacked by serial murderer Robert Eyles is implied as a deviant when it is said the victim ‘liked to be tied up.’ Although the use of sexual behaviour which is not considered normal heterosexual activity is perhaps the strongest metaphor to evoke deviance within these discourses, the strong effort to ‘other’ these White American men from the rest of the demographic is also readily apparent.

This aspect of establishing those giving into their negative side as social Others is expected. In addition to sexual deviance, the ‘Other’ nature of the men these programmes focus on is supported throughout these discourses with descriptors implying they have no remorse/feelings, and membership to groups such as Satanists, heavy metal fans, and drug users. Hanna (2021) states that since the 1960s, drug use has been an activity closely related to Satan, with users who associate with Satanists becoming ‘dependent on them as well as the drugs. In addition, those almost completely removed from humanity are placed in a separate category called ‘human hunters,’ connoting that they are indeed not even human having given into their dark side. Several areas will now be individually discussed as to how they relate to and support the overall discourse. First, the production of the programmes will be examined, which will be followed by more specific examinations of the two main themes developed by this analysis, sexual deviance and internal evil.

### *6.8.1 | Program Production*

As news and investigative news clips, these programmes are produced to give viewers previously unknown information which they need to know. Although some programs present the evidence collected for the viewer to decide, appearing to give them some form of agency, the presentation has been framed in such a way that all normal viewers should arrive to the same conclusion. The programmes sampled seem to have their own interpretation of events

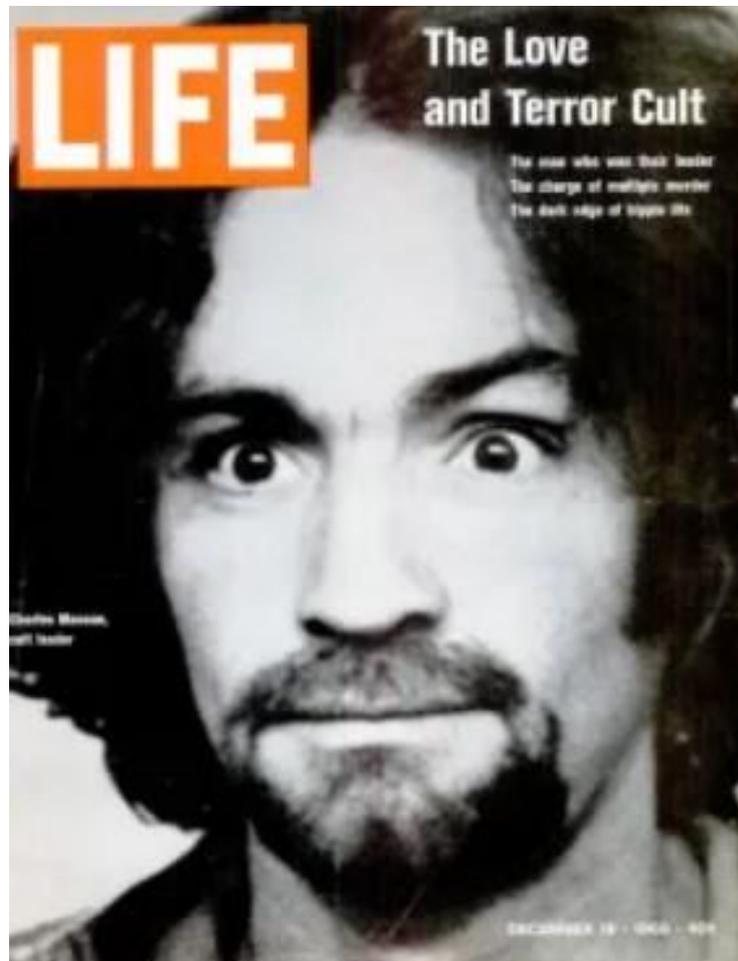
ready to present to the viewers, and the discourse of most programmes support this point. The overall discourse supported by these programmes is that these White American men who participate in cults and murder are dangerous deviants not like the normal viewer.

These programs stress that the men and their actions shown are so evil, that the programme itself is dangerous. The news agencies and journalists, however, have decided that it would be riskier not to warn the public. This point is stressed quiet often and visually represented as well. When beginning his interview with very respected anchor Tom Sawyer, Manson complains that he's going to look bad because he wasn't even allowed a haircut and shave before the interview (Figure 11, NBC's *Tomorrow Coast to Coast*, 1981).



*Figure 11. Charles Manson during his 1981 interview with Tom Sawyer (NBC's Tomorrow Coast to Coast, 1981).*

Sawyer quickly dismisses this by offering Manson one now, trying to show his ‘fairness’, when the ‘Manson’ that Sawyer wanted for his interview was the one immortalized by his infamous 1969 Life magazine cover photo (Figure 12, Time, 2012).



*Figure 12. Charles Manson's infamous 1969 Life Magazine Cover (Time, 2012).*

One report shows the journalist standing on either a set or a real location which is loaded with signs for xxx movies and peep shows, transmitting the iconic red-light district to viewers. Presenting these programmes as forbidden, dangerous knowledge appears deliberate to add to the overall discourse of these men being different and dangerous. The shorter, episodic segments from nightly news broadcasts also place an emphasis on stressing the dangerous nature and unpredictability of these killers within the short airtime they have. The words ‘freak,’ ‘psychopath’ and descriptors of violence are used, intercut with short snippets of

interview footage showing people saying that they are not sleeping, buying guns, and having an overall feeling of 'they could be next.' The questions these people answer is usually not shown, with the answers left as statements from the concerned, frightened public.

Both the nightly broadcast news clips and investigative programmes rely heavily on crediting or discrediting witnesses, both the experts and the laymen. Referred to as primary definers by Hall et al. (1978), the expert witnesses which support the programmes discourse are almost always referred to by professional titles and a list of what qualifies them as experts. These experts are assumed to bring a degree of specialist knowledge which the viewers are lacking, and establishing their credibility is key to supporting the programmes discourse (Hall, et al., 1978). Alternately, to look impartial most of the programme's present witnesses for competing discourses, whose credibility is lessened using several noted techniques. A general way the information these witnesses present is made more questionable is by the investigative reporter using their professional title as little as possible, as well as not mentioning any of the persons credentials. A more direct way these witnesses are discredited is by attacking their character directly. Geraldo Rivera was a primary example of this when he invited guest representing officially recognized Satanic religions and a musician from the heavy metal scene to his 1988 show '*Devil worship: Exposing Satan's Underground*'. Geraldo mentioned the fact that one such guest had been investigated for child abuse, before saying that no charges were ever brought up. However, presenting this in the context of ritualized Satanic abuse most likely left a negative impression of this guest, despite his doctorate and high-ranking military career. The suggestion of child abuse and sacrifice causes panic partially because of the afore mention idea of a 'blood libel' when children are abducted by nameless Others and killed. Although these crimes might be horrific to hear of, some viewers might find vague causes like blood libel as a better reason, than none at all, for the rapid changes in cultural values during the decades leading into the 1980s (Victor, 1990; Frankfurter, 2008).

During a commercial break, Geraldo told this same guest that the words he was using were too big, and to use smaller, two-syllable words as the audience has the mental capacity of thirteen-year-olds (Lang, 2015).

In addition to the use of expert witnesses, another definer of the truth was the everyday person, who was 'like the viewer.' Although not experts with specialist knowledge, these people function as definers because they represent what the normal, layman in society think, perhaps making them more relatable to some viewers. These people were selected from audiences or found on the streets near murder scenes to give their opinions. These people appeared to be selected to support a certain narrative, with those who edited the clips for nightly broadcasts selecting what fit best and investigative report show hosts selecting people planted in the audience, knowing full well what they would say. Once again, if a live presenter, such as Rivera, received comments heading away from his narrative from these lay people, he would cut them off and close with his own opinion before quickly moving forward.

These programs sampled appeared to have varying degrees of editing used, with a few showing what could be argued was a deliberate attempt to alter the speakers original intent. A 1987 interview with Charles Manson on the Today Show features only him answering questions which have been edited out, so the viewer cannot have any sense of what he is responding to. In a similar fashion, Geraldo Rivera presents very edited clips of an earlier interview he did with Manson during a later investigative report, using cuts of Manson appearing to say he is the devil, which was not the case. The other obvious use of editing occurs during the two clips sampled of Ricky Kasso; since there was so little footage of Kasso before his suicide, the clips used what blurry images they had of Kasso being led into the police station in handcuffs, zooming in on his face as though Kasso was smiling.

### 6.8.2 | *Themes of Internal Evil*

The first of the themes developed during this analysis to be discussed is that of internal evil and influence by the men's dark side. The term 'psychotic' is used quite often, connoting a certain image of a deranged killer, possessed by something. Satan's influence on the person agency of men is debated within these programmes. During his primetime special '*Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground*,' Rivera first says that the Devil took over their mind, showing a lack of agency, while later stating that Satanism is very much a choice of dark over light, evil over good. These men are either possessed by an evil, dark side of their nature, such as Ted Bundy who said he snapped and could not control, or come back, from his actions, or driven by Satan they have done things so horrible that no sane person could understand them. A content analysis of newspaper reports by Victor (1990) found that the actual violent act, such as murder, was mentioned in 45% of the articles sampled before any mention of Satanic cult activity in the story. Either way, the dark part of the individual comes out to take control from within, or external forces cause a weakened mind and morality which Satan can be seen in. While under the influence of the evil part of their psyche, these men are sick-minded and alienated from normal society and morality.

The evil part of this duality these men express is linked to Satan through both denotation and connotation. Men are described as 'manipulative,' 'the personification of evil' and as 'the dark side of humanity,' all of which connote characteristics of Satan. The use of the words 'ritual' and 'ritualized' also connect to the idea of these crimes being committed for something other than criminal gain, since the concept of a ritual is generally a purposeful act to achieve a desired effect. With these rituals described as involving human sacrifice, child abuse, and the drinking of blood, the ritualistic aspect connotes Satanic influence. Again, these images resemble the easy accepted blood libel myth (Victor, 1990), and people are quite willing to connect chains of events, even the weakest of ones, if they support this idea

of a group of Others acting together against normal society. In addition to implied influence of Satan, the devil is referred to directly as well in these programmes. Rivera describes Manson as having a ‘satanic glint in his eye,’ while saying that even during the interview Manson was still possessed by a ‘Satanic spirit.’ Men who belong to recognized Satanic religious organizations and who serve in the military are referred to as ‘Satan’s soldiers,’ and the most frequent symbol to appear in these programmes is the inverted pentagram as well as the symbol of Baphomet, which is the pentagram with this mythological beings’ head in the centre. The numbers ‘666’ are also used frequently, and the Satanic nature of these things is reinforced by using extremely specific Heavy Metal album covers. These themes support the discourse that the dark nature these men face inside is at least influenced by Satan, if not directly controlled by him.

### 6.8.3 | *Themes of Sexual Deviance*

The other main theme developed in the analysis was the idea of the deviance of the ‘other’ being linked to sexuality. Although never defined specifically in any of the programmes sampled, the term sexual deviance is used frequently in removing these men from the White American male demographic. Although never stated, the link between sexual deviance, including homosexuality among men, and mental illness is strongly implied. Examples include the use of phrases like ‘the sexual psychopath is the sickest murderer’ and that most, if not all, serial killers at large are ‘deeply sexually troubled.’ Although later research by Johnson and Becker (1997) would find that a sexually sadistic type of serial killer did indeed exist, which developed in troubled adolescents who developed fantasies about violent crime, there was no attempt to define parameters as to what is considered normal sexual behaviour and what is not, as if the programs assume that the viewers are all the same. By labelling these deviant sexual acts as bazaar and perverted, they allow the viewers to use their imagination to place anything they personally deem to fit into these categories, without

alienating a viewer with too specific examples. The crimes are referred to as the work of men who are 'sexually impotent without the violent act' and are addicted to pornography.

The link between the deviance in these men and pornography is strongly supported by these discourses. Pornography is called Anti-Christian during one program, and it is implied that the killers are godless. There is also linking between porn and violence, with statements made including 'female victims in slasher films are sexualized' and showing a young female horror film fan saying, 'blood and guts turn me on.' Within the same programme featuring this young fan, it is stressed that many involved in the pornographic film business have moved into the production of these types of horror films. This extraordinarily strong attempt to link pornography to extremely deviant Others in society, such as Satanists and serial killers, is most likely linked to the moral crusades of Reagan's moral right. Sexuality and Satan was not difficult to link, with many of the key films released during the occult revival, discussed last chapter, using this theme frequently. Frankfurter (2008) states that *Rosemary's Baby* not only located evil within a woman's body, but also in the sexuality of title character Rosemary, who is presented as both childlike and womanly at once. An example of the push to link the moral rights crusade against pornography with killers can be seen in the 1989 interview Ted Bundy gave on the eve before his execution. While always protesting his innocence, Bundy decided as a final effort to avoid execution to begin confessing to unsolved murders. The 1989 interview was conducted by Dr. James Dobson, a Christian conservative who focused on lobbying for stronger controls on pornography. His questions allowed the Bundy to describe a strong link between an escalating addiction to pornography and his murders. This discourse links in very well with the influence of the Reagan administrations far right war against indecency, as highlighted by Tipper Gore's crusade against sexually explicit and satanic music. Hughs (2017) found that the media was so influenced by the far right during this time period that it was commonly used to attack feminist and LGBTQIA+ activist

movements, placing some women and homosexual men as a threat to idealized, white suburban family life.

Finally, there was some indication of women having some responsibility for the actions these men committed, which might be linked to the above-mentioned media attempts to discredit feminism. An expert in one of the programs analysed says that since many of these men are still dependent on a feminine figure because they have not developed correctly, they find others to represent people like their mother or wives whom they can safely destroy. It is said that these men want to control the bodies of women because they have been emasculated by important women in their life. This suggests the blame lies in the mother who chose to pursue a career outside of the house, rather than finding happiness in being a housewife. This creation of a deviant Other implies not only the abnormal upbringing of the man, but also a negative outside influence which has contributed to the deviant sexual practices this man now prefers.

### **6.9 | The White Male Subject Under Satan's Control**

Satan's influence on the person agency of men is debated within these programmes. These themes all relate in some way to a force which is inside these men, either invited by their choice or influencing them without choice. Rather than accept that these men are very much like the typical White Christian man, there are reasons identified as to why these men have become overcome by internal evil. Sweeny (2015) found in his analysis of 1984s *Murder: No apparent motive*, that the serial killer is shown to be an almost incomprehensible, destructive 'force of nature', rather than an individual responsible for their own actions. There are two possible reasons uncovered as to why these men were not actually like the viewer, despite appearance. These explanations are meant to cover both the 'all-American boy' type of killer and the 'social outcast' type. The first reason suggested is that these men might have been

sexual deviants with violent desires fuelled by an almost separate identity of evil inside which eventually gets out. In her comparative research on the media popularity of serial killers Ted Bundy and Jefferey Dahmer, Pearson (2021) found that the homosexual nature of Dahmer's crimes, framed as an additional proof of his deviance, formed a basis for him being portrayed as more monstrous, as opposed to the heterosexual murders committed by Bundy. As discussed earlier, this case study also found that homosexuality was included as a deviant sexual act to make the perpetrator seem eviler. The second probable reason uncovered is that those White men who have come from fringe elements, where such dark behaviour might be expected, are outcasts with different or no moral standards, have welcomed the Devil to show himself through their actions. This supports earlier findings by Pace (2019), whose research found that the media focused on serial killers as reclusive loners with no ties to normal society, using loaded terms such as deviant, violent rage, and mentally disturbed to further this Othering.

The discourses and their presentation relate to both Satan from Christian mythology and to Jung's Devil in a few interesting ways. These shows present viewers with two stages of a journey into Hell, similar to the Biblical 'harrowing of Hell' by Jesus in Ephesians 4:9. The first way the viewers are taken on this journey is through the host and the programmes production. A host like Rivera will greet viewers, making them feel as if he is an expert tour guide preparing the viewer for a journey he will accompany them on. Even at the beginning of a short segment on the nightly news, the news anchors in these clips implied that they would be journeying with the viewer to the reporter live on the scene, often warning them that what they see may be distressing. This technique of making the viewers feel like they are part of the program, with an invested interest, supports the structure of American television reporting as described by Feurer (1983) and Jenkins (2011) earlier in this chapter. Once the journey has started, the aforementioned presentation of evidence and witnesses may give the viewer the

feeling they are viewing dangerous people, with only the host between them and direct evil. Examples can be seen in 1988s *Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground*, in the way the representatives for religious groups who use the image of Satan in worship are presented to the viewers. Just before Zeena LaVey from the Church of Satan (Figure 13, Geraldo Rivera Specials, 1988) explains to the viewers what the concept of sacrifice means to her belief system, the camera zooms in to a close up of the symbol of Baphomet hanging around her neck, most likely in an attempt to frame what she is about to say as something coming from an evil person (Figure 14, Geraldo Rivera Specials, 1988).



Figure 13. Zeena LaVey explaining the religion of Satanism to Geraldo Rivera during his prime time special 'Devil worship: Exposing Satan's underground' (Geraldo Rivera Specials, 1988).



Figure 14. After Zeena was introduced to viewers, the camera zoomed in on the necklace she wore – the Symbol of Baphomet, created from images denoting evil such as the goat and the inverted pentagram (Geraldo Rivera Specials, 1988).

Moving on to the Charles Manson interview with Heidi Schulman, Manson is lead into the room wearing numerous chains, unshackled before the camera for viewers like some wild animal. Even when not entering the interview in chains, Manson's dangerous nature is connoted heavily in his 1986 interview with Charlie Rose, as he is escorted into the room by several large armed prison staff (Figure 15, *Nightwatch*, 1986), who remain during filming, and separated from the interviewer by a large table (Figure 16, *Nightwatch*, 1986).



*Figure 15. The three prison guards whose continued presence suggest that Manson is a dangerous man (Nightwatch, 1986).*



*Figure 16. Manson can be seen walking around an enormous table to shake the hand of a pensive Charlie Rose, before returning to sit on the opposite side of the table for the interviewer's safety (Nightwatch, 1986).*

The producers and hosts create a visual journey which they believe best represents the evil that they are obligated to expose the viewers to.

The second way these programs offer a journey to Hell for the viewers is by exploring the minds of these men to find out what has made them different. This is usually done through so-called expert witnesses who explain the deviant persons mind, like Nuel Emmons, Manson's former cellmate and biographer, who helps reporter Tom Snyder interpret his 1991 interview with Manson, because Emmons claims he knows when Manson is lying. This journey into the mind of the evil person is also offered to the viewer when the programs allow these evil men to explain what was going on in their heads. This public 'harrowing of hell,' however, is not to save souls from the underworld; rather, this journey through investigative reporting brings knowledge from the underworld about why these men are evil, which the hero/journalist must bring back to society to make it better. Unfortunately, the narratives examined appear to Other the deviants involved, regardless of how ordinary these predominantly White Christian men may have seemed.

The concept of these men perceiving women as a cause for their behaviour and a focus of their rage at society in some of these narratives seems to reflect a popular reading from the Bible about the fall from The Garden of Eden, which blames Eve for original sin. In 1984s *Murder: No Apparent Motive*, an unidentified expert witness tells viewers that the serial killer has often had a negative experience with a controlling woman, so they find people who represent that person that they can destroy symbolically; a revenge against emasculation. This suggests that women who have treated the killer badly earlier in life are in some way to blame. Taking this one step further, *Murder: Live From Death Row* (1988) tells the viewers about convicted murderer Judith Ann Neelley, who claimed she killed two because she was abused and threatened by her husband. Host Geraldo uses witness to argue that this was not true, and Judy was in charge, disputing psychologist who claims Judy was psychologically

destroyed by her husband. Geraldo further states that ‘normal’ people do not believe Judy, implying anybody who does is abnormal. Even in the 1987 20/20 Special Report on VCR Horrors, one of the clips has the only teenage girl, from a group of teenage boys, state ‘blood and guts turn me on.’

In addition to this myth, the temptation of Jesus in the desert by Satan in the New Testament is arguably even more heavily represented within these narratives. This can be seen during numerous interviews, during which the evil person describes their temptation and fall. The clips in *Murder: No Apparent Motive* of Kemper’s interview have him describing a raging inside, full of positive and negative energies, and having given into the negative ones. In *Devil Worship: Exposing Satan’s Underground*, self-proclaimed teen Satanist Peter Rowland tells viewers the desire for power drew him to Satanism, the promise of popularity, money, and girls; even though he was good looking and smart, this was a faster way. Rowland describes how he and friends would be so into heavy metal music, drugs, and killing animals, that the devil would take over their minds. These men describe what was going on when they were tempted to do evil by this force inside, and how they responded. Having not been successful in fighting this temptation like in the Jesus wanders the desert myth, they show viewers examples of what can happen from following these evil impulses inside. It is not surprising that the topics in these programs fit in so well with Christian mythology, as Victor (1990) argues that the Satanic cult myth functions as a collective metaphor to express social anxiety. Going back to Victor’s previously discussed concept of the blood libel myth, strangers from areas outside of normal society are usually the evil Others who want to steal the lives, or futures, of regular people by stealing their futures, represented by the children. Victor adds that the Christian Satan’s rebellion against God, as detailed by Milton, has been combined with the cross-cultural blood libel myth to create an environment of fear.

The discussion now moves from Christian mythology to Jung's Devil of the psyche. As opposed to the previous case study, the main archetypal component of Jung's Devil present in these narratives is the Shadow, with the Trickster elements making less, if any impact. The results show that elements of the psyche, which one might relegate to the unconscious Shadow because they desire to participate in non-heteronormative sex or watch pornography, are projected upon Others who have given into the Devil by openly displaying these desires. Because some of these notorious Others have openly declared their desire to murder and worship Satan as well, to admit they have some of the same desires might make the viewers extremely uncomfortable. There is little reflection in the narrative of these shows as to how these explorations of internal evil might invoke change, a crucial part of the missing Trickster archetype. This absence might be because the psychic path to change, towards the Individuation which Jung stresses is the totality of what that person is supposed to be, has been blocked by repression of some of the Devil's archetypal energy. This chapter has shown a need to identify, discuss, and display evil in White American men in the public space of televised media, which could be related to repressed guilt associated with the treatment of minorities within society. An example of placing these Othered White men on display can be seen in the documentary *Murder on Death Row Live*; even though African American men are more likely to not only be placed on Death Row but executed, the producers and their guests are presenting examples of evil White men in American society who are also punished and treated as 'Others.' This overcompensation would explain the disproportionate representation of African American serial killers and convicted murders featured on these investigative program, as the statistics given during this chapter's introduction shows. Jung (CW7, para. 29) believed that repression such as this was a process which began at an early age in life, heavily guided by the moral structure around the individual as they grew up. The 1980s presented a particular challenge to this morality, as Reagan's war on drugs saw military grade

vehicles being used, often in error, on Black family homes in poverty ridden cities, possibly fuelled by the afore mentioned (Hanna, 2021) connection of drug use to evil and Satan. The same nightly news showed an almost completely opposite, humane treatment of so-called white-collar criminals, usually White men, committing much more significant crimes and being sentenced, if at all, to country-club like detention centres. This morally inappropriate behaviour may have been repressed through rationalization, but the guilt was still unconsciously present, so it became necessary to show examples of how harshly society also deals with white, deviant Others. Garland (1990) and Hale (1981) both support this when they argue that despite public whippings being obsolete, the spectacle of public punishment still exists in modern media. Programs such as televised investigative reports show that those who deviate from acceptable social norms are punished (Garland, 1991); with official prison statistics not supporting this, the content of these investigative reports presents a more acceptable narrative for casual viewers.

Frankfurter (2008) argues that once evil is recognized, there is always a need to completely purge it from a group; in the case of 'the cult next door, how is this done? This may be the primary reason for the need to identify the evil inside these people by looking at this evil's connection to minority members of the group, so that they may be Othered, and the group can return to feeling safe in its moral identity.

## **6.10 | Concluding Summary**

The results of this case study explain the evil acts committed by these men as being linked to giving in to the Devil's influence inside of them, as well as to the participation, and even the viewing of, so called deviant sexuality. In a more immersive way than the Hollywood film, viewers were guided into the dangerous, evil world of these deviants by television hosts bound by their moral duties to make the audience aware of this Shadow part of society. While

the Shadow's portion of Jung's Devil was clearly the most influential here, Jung (CW10, para. 131,572) stressed that although this projection of unconscious material is inevitable and necessary because it is one way an individual may gain awareness of elements of the unconscious, these 'sacrificial' Others do not seem to provide a healthy way to examine and come to terms with the Shadow elements of the White American Christian man's psyche. This could be because while police efforts against minorities seemed to target entire communities, those presenting these White males up as a sort of proof of equal justice also spend a significant amount of effort to show that these Others are not representative of the rest of the community through their deviance. The rest of this community, primarily composed of the White Christian demographic, are safe from this deviant label, but also denied a chance to confront it and change through Trickster elements of the psychic Devil. Combined with the increasing likelihood of not being able to achieve financial success and a call by the Reagan administration to return to pre-1960's morality, White male America prepared to face the 1990s with nobody to focus on except themselves and salvation as millennial apocalyptic fears grew. Sweeney (2015) argues that expert witnesses on investigative television, who presented false facts since serial killing did not occur in the 1950s, it must be related to the liberal 1960/70s, only served to reinforce this belief. Post-Vietnam news coverage of the late 1970's and 1980's seemed to show an explosion of White American men who lived who were primarily low to middle-class, working-class people involved in murder and ritualized abuse. With seemingly overwhelming evidence that evil was inside these men and influencing them, the investigative news report became a popular cultural tool to examine and expose this issue in White America. While violence in minority neighbourhoods could be easily reduced to drugs and gangs in the media, these privileged White men needed to be examined in more detail to expose the reasons they were indeed deviant Others hiding in plain sight. Visually, the prime-time news specials depended on the

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amplification of standard images associated with Satan, including celebrity interviews like Ozzy Osbourne and Charles Manson, as well as popular slasher film characters roaming suburban streets with knives (Hughs, 2012). Even more important, these programs allowed White male America to look at their television screens nightly, with the assurance that they were not like these men who had given in to their dark impulses. Therefore, if they did not give in to Satan, listened to the right music, and only had heterosexual relationships, these men could avoid becoming evil, as following this impulse to deviance was a choice, and fortunately not one taken by most of the White American male viewing audience.

## Chapter 7 | Case Study 3: Internal Reflection in 1990's Grunge Music Videos

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“The day the music died”, as repeated by American folk singer Don Mclean in his 1971 hit song American Pie, refers to the 1959 plane crash which killed early rock and roll legends Buddy Holly, The Big Bopper, and Ritchie Valens; if he were to write a sequel to this song reflecting the day that ‘grunge’ music died, the day he would refer to would be April 5, 1994. On this day, the person that to this day is the most used representative of grunge music, Nirvana frontman Kurt Cobain, died from a self-inflicted gunshot in Seattle, Washington. After a long, publicized battle against heroin addiction, Cobain ended his life and the struggle inside that was reflected in many of the songs he wrote. Although his death was not the first or the last within the 1990s Seattle music scene, his death gained worldwide attention as people asked why one so young and so successful would take his own life.

Like the previous case studies, this chapter aims to provide one final, specific examination of the narrative of internal evil some White American men explore to address a feeling that the evil in society was within them, rather some external foe to be fought. This case study will examine this narrative in the 1990's through its representation in music videos created by artists from the emerging grunge music subculture, which became extremely popular and influential to American culture during this period. The grunge music video was selected because of its close ties to the beginning of third wave feminism, especially with the Seattle Riot Grrrl movement, and because of the importance of visual music representation through the thriving, decade old Music Television (MTV). Like the previous case studies, this chapter will first outline and discuss of the prominent issues facing and shaping Christian views within American of the 1990s. This will be followed by a brief examination of the music video as a product of popular culture and what this means to this study. This section has been

included because most previous research on music videos involving any analysis of the content has tended to ignore that the item being examined exists within a consumer market influenced by supply and demand. Although not meant to be a full discussion on all forces influencing the decision what to produce, it is hoped that this focused exploration will provide a general framework about the effect of these forces on artistic expression.

Next, some of the cultural meanings Satan represented to some of White American Christians during this decade will be explored, followed by a more in-depth discussion of the social origins and importance of the Seattle grunge music scene. Unlike similar discussions at the beginning of previous case studies, this examination will explore the nature of the grunge scene by breaking it into three major influential components, namely generational factors, drug subcultures, and the music. This will be followed by an explanation of data selection and analysis. Finally, research results of this case study will be presented and discussed as to how they relate to the overall argument of this paper.

### **7.1 | Social and Cultural America of the 1990s**

The overt Devil of murder and cult activity discussed last chapter changed its form as America entered the 1990s. The so-called ‘satanic panic’ era came to an almost abrupt end, with the final court case from the infamous McMartin preschool abuse trials ending with no guilty verdicts in 1990. As quickly as this case seemed to draw in interest to ritual abuse of children by secret Satanic cults, the final verdict, along with countless discredited witnesses, helped bring an end to this interest in Satan’s public face. The influence in popular culture of the occult revival, however, continue to express itself as the Devil was linked to the coming of the Antichrist, with the removal of the Soviet Union as an international, communist threat to God helping the Satan of the 1990s find new purchase. Poole’s research suggests that when the Soviet Union began to collapse in the mid-1980s, the removal of this foreign enemy had

two effects. Primarily, this collapse removed an external locus of evil from the American conscious which had been an underlying theme since the Cold War began in the 1950's. In 1987, When President Reagan challenged Soviet Premier Gorbachev to end the division of Europe in 1987, a series of events would unfold resulting in the very public tearing down of the ultimate symbol of Soviet communism, the Berlin Wall. When this occurred in 1989, the decade seemed to conclude on a positive, reaffirming note that American values and democracy had prevailed. However, American still had the public nature of the Devil, raised by the occult revival, on their minds; if one of his locus' of power had moved, where did it move to? International Soviet relations specialist Georgi Arbatov this psychological effect up when he stated, to the American people, "We are going to do something terrible to you; we're going to deprive you of an enemy" (Power and Arbatov, 2007). This very rapid change left a huge gap within American moral ideology.

The second effect of the fall of the Soviet Union important to this paper was that the victory of Christian lead democracy over the evil of communism was seen by some evangelistic ministers as signalling the beginning of the end of days, made even more relevant by the approaching millennium. Entering the 1990's, America's Satan became a more problematic, apocalyptic figure, difficult to locate within the American culture, which is supports Bauman and Leonidas' (2016) concept of liquid evil. Although focus had been removed from Satanic cults, some Christian Americans thought this evil might take the form of an Antichrist, hidden within society until it was too late. Christian influences on Americans have long had the notion of a form of Satan lurking within, waiting for an opportunity to strike. Keeping the ultimate Other so close in this way allows a locus of evil to always be available. This introspection is linked to Jung's concept of the need to reconcile opposite feelings within the individual psyche. The shadowy part of the Jungian concept of an individual's psyche is a fertile place for such a figure to lurk. Once again, some White American men may have felt

that since third wave feminism highlighted violence against women, injustice against women, and the fact that this was felt along all social and racial groups of women, evil must dwell within those committing these violent acts.

As briefly mentioned in this chapter's introduction, the Seattle grunge music scene was intricately linked in its development to the all-girl, punk infused bands of Seattle's Riot Grrrl music movement. The Riot Grrrl music scene was started in the early to mid-1980s by women who argued that previous feminist concerns were rooted in the world of the White, heterosexual American woman (Marcus, 2010). These musicians set the stage for what some have termed Third Wave Feminism, which defined a renewed emphasis on marginalized groups of women. As examined by Gillis, Howie, and Munford in their 2007 collection *Third Wave Feminism: A Critical Examination*, the actual definition, or parameters of what is called the third 'wave' of feminism is hard to define, as the term had originated from those who simply wanted to mark themselves as different from previous feminist movements. Although the generational approach to feminist movements and thought has been criticized since it was first suggested by Kristeva (1986), writers such as Heywood and Drake (1997) argue that the generational approach has validity, as they point out that the majority of noted third wave feminists were born between 1963 and 1974.

This era of feminist thought reacted to the previous, overall presentation of feminist issues from a heterosexual, White woman's point of view, combining women's rights with the rights of other marginalized groups in America. Evans (2015) suggest that much of the debate over the very use of the term third-wave feminism comes from these intersectional views, looking at class, race, and sexuality, spurred on by events such as the Riot Grrrl movement and Anita Hill's 1991 testimony, which was a defining point as an African American woman had her claims of sexual harassment challenged by a panel of older White men on evening television. This emphasis on expanding the inclusion of both women and minorities into areas

some White men felt belonged to them may have caused a certain degree of perceived threat to already existing masculine social positions.

Many of the top news headlines coming from 1990's America seemed to only support the fact that much of the evil in society was indeed coming from predominately Christian White men. Examples of a 'devil' inside influencing these men was not hard to find. In 1992, white police officers in Los Angeles were acquitted after a highly publicized beating of a Black man captured on video, resulting in riots throughout Los Angeles. The botched 1993 federal government siege of Branch Davidian headquarters in Waco, Texas, ended in another fiery scene of Hell on Earth, which resulted in the deaths of 76 Branch Davidians, including twenty children, two pregnant women and leader David Koresh. This was used for an excuse for some angry White men to act against what they perceived as threats to 'their' American way of life. In 1995, ex-soldier Timothy McVeigh exploded a truck Bomb full of fertilizer outside a federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people and injuring over 680 others. The decade ended with the April 1999 shootings at Columbine High School by two White teenagers, linked by the news to extreme, dark, and often violent video games acted out upon their fellow classmates. Kimmel (2017) suggests that many of these violent acts resulted from what he called alienated masculinities having nowhere to express themselves within a changing society which empowered many women through third wave feminism and saw social examination of the African American experience through popular media discourse (hooks, 1996). The images of Los Angeles and Waco in flames, rising racial social tensions due to other high-profile events such as OJ Simpsons acquittal for murdering two White people, and men violently acting out against their fellow man was seen by some Christian fundamentalists as being linked to an approaching apocalypse in the year 2000.

This approaching millennium brought an additional emphasis and urgency to locate evil in America, as apocalyptic themes appeared in popular culture. Films and television shows

dealing with the coming of the Antichrist and the apocalypse included 1995s *12 Monkeys*, 1999s *End of Days*, and the phenomenally successful series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997-2003) focused on locating the evil before it was too late. Although Satan appears on Earth at various times in the New Testament, many Christians believe that, either metaphorically or literally, Satan will reveal himself in true form, along with the Anti-Christ, in the apocalyptic narrative of the Book of Revelations. This Christian apocalypse offers itself up to individual interpretation with vivid imagery and suggested meanings. Although the idea of an ‘end of days’ does not completely originate in this book of the New Testament, Collins (2018) argues that most of the works that figure into Jewish apocalyptic thought were not explicitly designated as so in antiquity, so the Book of Revelation is the first book of Christian mythology specific in this purpose. Strozier (1994) argues that although apocalyptic thought existed in the American culture from the beginning, its true roots lie in the mid nineteenth century. Strozier continues his argument by saying that pre-civil war America made boisterous claims about the superiority of American life and land, while living under the great moral blot of slavery. During this time, the anti-slavery northern states gained the higher moral ground, with an intense revival of fundamental Christianity, which preached that a drastic resolution would come to solve these conflicting feelings; this resolution would be the apocalypse. While various fundamentalist groups, such as the Millerites, saw their prophecies of the date of the apocalypse come and go, this foretold time of reckoning always stayed in the background of American Christian thought.

As discussed last chapter, Greer (2012) states that the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 set the stage for the return of fundamentalist Christian leaders and their accompanying apocalyptic thought to come back into political circles in Washington, D.C. During this time, Satanic imagery began to focus on the coming of the Anti-Christ, with anxiety building as to who, or what this might be (Poole, 2009). Fukuyama (1992) supports this end of history

narrative when he argues that the victory of liberal democracy in the cold war brought in the question ‘Is this the end of history?’, which fit nicely into the American Christian story of the coming apocalypse. Poole suggests that this growing fear and uncertainty of the apocalypse can be seen played out in texts, such as some of the aforementioned films of the 1990’s, where a lone hero confronts a hidden satanic force, or the Anti-Christ himself. These images of evil forces at play everywhere resparked American interest in individual spiritual warfare against this evil, which has always been a powerful theme in American Christianity. For many Americans and some White American Christian men, the evil which had been confronted externally and successfully during the Cold War was now more fluid and mobile, so the war against Satan must now look within once again, with the additional importance of finding the Anti-Christ. Some of this exploration of the possible evil lurking inside of men was explored through popular culture, such as those in the often-abstract music video narratives.

## **7.2 | Entertainment or Advertising: The Music Video**

When the Music Television Channel (MTV) launched in August of 1981, the visual element of music changed significantly. Although musicians and record labels had been releasing both concert performance video and video clips of artists performing songs much earlier, the almost instant popularity of MTV made it almost an essential element of any recent music release. The essential nature of creating this new visual element of music raises the first question many scholars examined; was the music video a new form of popular culture or merely a new form of promotional advertising for record labels? Banks (2018) suggests that although musicians and directors want to create an artistic vision, record labels and broadcasting stations often consider the finished video as a commercial to sell commodities. Kaplan (1987) supports this by referring to videos as ‘rock promos’, and broadcasters such as MTV as a continuous advertisement, as all of its content is commercial. Early research by

Greeson and Williams (1986) showed that some aspects of music videos were good advertising platforms with teenage viewers being more likely to purchase products placed in the music videos of popular artists. Goldberg (1990) argues that music videos became the most prolific way to advertise latest music releases, with record companies in the United States alone spending over fifty million dollars per year on videos by the end of the 1980's. Because of statistics such as this, Gow (1992) argues that rather than being a new form of artistic expression, some view music videos as simply a new type of advertising.

However, Gow continues, this assumption of videos being purely advertising for the recorded audio product is debateable, because unlike other forms of advertising, music videos are also in and of themselves packaged and sold both on streaming services and on DVD's. As well as being created prior to the advent of MTV, music videos were available on VHS as early as 1979, when Blondie's *'Eat to the Beat'* album was released in video format as well as its audio recording (Nielson Business Media, 1980). The independent nature of the music video can also be seen in the fact the Grammy Awards have acknowledged music videos through an award category since 1982 (Musicians Hall of Fame, 2019) and MTV launched its own Video Music Awards (VMA) show in 1984, highlighting more specific subcategories of music videos than the Grammy's (MTV, 2021). In 1985, Billboard recognized the separate nature of video music sales when it established its yearly 'Top Music Videocassette' chart, which is still recorded today under the name of the 'Music Video Sales' chart (Billboard Media LLC, 2021). The continued recognition of music videos as distinct popular cultural products which people purchase alongside of audio recordings can be seen in the various charts which record and track music video sales, such as iTunes (Pop Vortex, 2010-2021). The desire for people to own visual music as well as audio recordings gives more strength to the argument that regardless of the way they are used to promote recent music, videos have an independent place as a consumer product.

This very nature of music videos being produced to attract buyers raises the second issue discussed by scholars and is of more importance to this paper; how much of what the artists intended when they wrote the song finally makes its way to the television screen? Garnham (1986) states that the ultimate determinant of mass media content produced in capitalist societies take place in its economic base. Banks (2018) and Pflugfelder (2020) argue that while music may be the centre of a specific subculture, this subculture is still subject to the local, social, and individual contexts within which it is produced and consumed. Production of a music video may start with the musician's original artistic work, but then it is filtered through various creative forces within the production industry before viewers see the final visual music clip. After a single is released from an album, the record labels publicity team help decide what message they want the first release to send in promoting the album, with directors then submitting ideas and cost proposals in a bid to create the video. Bagdikian (2007) states that in 1992, only twenty corporations owned the majority of media in the United States, including music video distribution, which was a drop from fifty companies owning the same number of media in 1981. Like all other aspects of the music produced, videos are still subject to the fact that resources must be allocated to the production of any cultural product. With so few corporations responsible for funding all video production, it is highly likely that dominant cultural discourses will be reflected in even the most independent of record labels. The inclusion of the performers into the narrative structures of the finished video can be a way that the producers of the video try to convince viewers that the musicians are the true and only authors of the video production as well (Burns, 1990). Despite certain criticisms, Kaplan (1987) does recognize that music videos are very postmodern in nature, arguing that the primary function of postmodernist work is the blurring of traditional categories and the questioning of traditional structures. Postmodern works, by their nature of not being easily identified, serve to obliterate existing categories, and implode the established

meanings of such categories, allowing one area to blend into another (Baudrillard, 1994).

When examined in such a way, the idea that a music video is produced with some aspect of brand advertisement in mind does not take away from the relevance of it as a cultural text.

The very fact that it is successful in promoting the bands image and associated products could be argued to indicate a deeper, authentic connection with its audience, bringing it more back in line with what the artist intended.

Although the influence of production on the content of a final music video cannot be debated, it is argued that the impact on this study is not that significant. This argument is based on the idea that most of the media production in the United States is owned by White American men. There are numerous published financial statistics which support this. MacBride (2021) reports that the 12.5 million White male business owners comprise about 41% of the 30.5 million total owners of small businesses in America. In addition, Women comprise over 51 percent of the U.S. population but own a fraction of all TV and radio station licenses. The same applies for people of color, who comprise 39 percent of the U.S. population (Free press, 2021). Although these are current statistics, it also important to note that MTV was created by Robert Pitman, John Sykes, Les Garland, and Tom Freston in 1981, all of whom are White American business entrepreneurs (encyclopedia.com, 2019). Viacom has the current controlling interest in MTV and its spin-off channels, such as Video-Hits 1 (VH1), and is headed by a majority of White American men (Funding Universe, 2005). If this study focused on examining videos release by African American artists these facts would undoubtedly have a more significant impact, but the heavy involvement of White American men in the production of these videos supports the validity of this study.

Having established the grounds for an argument that White American men participate in the production process of these cultural texts, there is still the concern that this study focuses the inner struggle of the grunge artists which is reflected in their music videos, not the often-

wealthy business owners making production decisions. To alleviate part of this concern, all the videos selected have also been directed by White American men. Within the production of grunge music videos, evidence would suggest that artists had an open dialog with directors about how their songs were visually depicted. De Sola (2015) states that the video for Alice in Chain's first hit single, 'Man in the Box', uses a Jesus revelling himself from under a black cloak at the videos end as a sign of rebirth. This was based on what images one of the band members told video director Paul Rachman they wanted to include in the visual representation of this song. Kurt Cobain of Nirvana told biographer Azzarad (1993) that he got ideas for some of the lyrics after watching a program about kids with cancer, which made him incredibly sad. Cobain also indicated that the song referred to a heart shaped box containing doll heads, given to him by Courtney Love, and reflected many aspects of their long relationship (Azzarad, 1993; Cross, 2001). When discussing the visual images depicted in Nirvana's 1993 video for the song 'Heart Shaped Box', Cross (2001) states that Cobain told his friends that many of the images shown in the video were from his dreams. These images include a sickly-looking Jesus character who ends up in a hospital room with recovery in question. It is likely that other artists in the grunge scene had discussions such as this, which is supported by Unger (2016) when he states that artists within a specific music scene are subject to a certain amount of creative repetition because of shared, intersubjective understanding of that scene. These statements by the artists about their involvement in the visual production of the music video supports this paper's use of the images in videos as a projection of the artists feelings.

### **7.3 | Made in Seattle: Grunge**

Smith (2017) suggests that grunge is a word which derives from the word 'grungy', slang first used in the 1960's meaning filthy and dirty; it officially became related to the emerging Seattle sound in 1988 when Sub-Pop promoted a Green River' album as "ultra-loose grunge

that destroyed the morals of a generation.” Johnson (2014) suggests that major Seattle record label Subterranean Pop (Sub-Pop) made a conscious, commercial effort to sell grunge as the new authentic, commercially untainted music choice.

When discussing grunge, the relationship between musicians and drug use will be examined, as well as the concept of Generation X, as they both relate to the case study of grunge. First, however, the idea of sub-cultures as a place for individual expression will be discussed briefly. The importance of the academic study of individuals who form subcultures has a long sociological history. Crucial texts in cultural studies (Cohen, 1972; Hall and Jefferson, 1975/1991; Hebdige, 1979) have shown individuals to use subcultures to resolve aspects of belonging which have been marginalized by co-existing cultural groups with wider influences. In his text *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, Hebdige (1979) argued that the punk movement, which is a clear predecessor to grunge culture, allowed expressions of white ethnicity like the representations of black ethnicity through reggae. Hebdige suggests that punk allowed musicians to almost transform white identities magically into signs which transcended the reality of being part of the poor, British working class. A similar trend was occurring the late 1980's in African American areas of the greater Los Angeles area. Musicians in this area, living the daily reality of escalating drug use and related violent street crime, developed a style of rap music which would soon sweep the nation, labelled 'gangsta rap.' This allowed them to find positive elements of identity and a chance of gaining control through contributing a real voice to the growing narrative (Westhoff, 2016). A few states north of this, young White men in Seattle, Washington, found themselves in a comparable situation. The angry, working-class white identity from punk would find new energy as grunge. Two elements forged an image of what grunge was: Seattle's Generation X population and the Seattle sound.

### 7.3.1 | *Grunge: Generation X*

Many of the above outlined events of the 1980s had left the generation coming of age during the turbulent 1990's unprepared. Economically, the end of the Reagan era in 1989 saw the richest one percent in American grow by 77%, while the poorest two-fifths of the population saw no gain at all, with even a slight downturn (Zinn, 2003). Farrell (1988) argues this point when he suggests that the 1980's Reagan era, unlike the altruistic, parental governments of Roosevelt and Eisenhower, transformed this nurturing image of leadership into the sinister image of 'big government' and, in doing so led an attack of the support networks for children growing up in the 1980s. Farrell suggests these now vulnerable young people, often subject to television 'babysitting' with both parents away from home, were left to a constant bombardment of media consumerism with little parental direction. This generation, already thought by many to have been abandoned at birth by their parents in the culturally diverse 1960's, would come to be known as Generation X.

Defining the exact years of American generations is a matter of debate among historians. For this thesis, the years provided by Howe and Strauss (1998) will be used. They identify Generation X as those born between 1961-1981, based on the fact their estimation of the previous, post-war Baby Boomer generation being 1943-1960. Furek (2008) argues that both within this group known as Generation X, as well as the surrounding society, there is a perception that they are worthless, lazy losers who would not be able to achieve 'the American dream'. The media and marketing label of Generation X became synonymous with this perception of dumb, numb, and lazy underachievers who slunk back home to live with their parents after graduating university (Brinkley, 1994). Generation X did not enjoy a stable, growing economy like their baby-boomer parents, who had also depleted certain financial securities, such as social security. In addition to this bleak view of financial success and future, Furek adds that unlike the baby-boomer generation who enjoyed positive, group

defining moments such as participation in the civil rights and anti-war movements, Generation X never had such a defining moment. In addition, Holtz (1995) suggests that unlike the post-World War 2 optimism of their parents, Generation X had no such view. Their Baby Boom parents had developed a new view on having children, which coincided with the first birth control pill, Evovid 10, becoming available in late 1960. Holtz argues that this gave Americans an obvious choice about having children, and even many of those who did were offered what would be called 'the third great awakening.' Those Baby Boomers who experienced this awakening of 'in the moment' activities found themselves often too busy to focus on their children, while finding themselves in various protests and the sexual revolution. Their children, too young to participate in these new freedoms, watched the often-nightmarish breakdown of family structures and experiences a chaotic education system which seemed to try countless new experimental approaches.

As Wasser (1993) argued in his examination of heavy metal music in the 1980s, although on the surface it did not appear that this music dealt with serious issues, it was a way for disaffected, powerless young people to connect with something more significant than themselves. The approach of Generation X was like this, but with a key difference. Tow (2011) suggests that unlike 1980's trend for musicians in heavy metal to follow a pattern which led many to success, Generation X musicians did not buy into this popular path. Instead, already disfranchised from society they did not expect to land big record deals, so they had a certain confidence to make music with a 'nothing to lose attitude, seeing it as more of a way to individual expression rather than wider cultural acceptance and security. Some of Generation X found purposeful direction in a new form of music appearing on the scene, and it was called Grunge. Unfortunately, the grunge scene was a pathway for musicians to Seattle's other big recreational activity, heroin use.

### 7.3.2 | *Grunge: Caught by the 'Dragon'*.

In some drug subcultures, 'chasing the dragon' refers to often new heroin users smoking a line of powdered heroin from aluminium foil. This way to ingest heroin through the lungs usually quickly gives way to users 'skin popping,' injecting the drug subcutaneously just under the skin, to the final, ultimate high of 'mainlining' through intravenous injection. As argued by Anderson (2007), although it is clear heroin had been dabbled with by some of the biggest names in music, Grunge was the first music scene to use heroin as a collective and form part of its identity around this. The seduction of the musician by heroin is a well-established trope in popular music cultural studies. Blake (2007) argues that the link between the musician, heroin, and the devil can be seen in what he refers to as the Faustian musician myth. Blake traces this tale back to bluesman Robert Johnson's reported meeting with the devil at the crossroads around 1936. The meeting, and the eluded influence of Satan, resulted in Johnson having a remarkably successful heroin fuelled career, before dying at a youthful age. This quest for short term fame has been linked to Jazz and Blues musicians thereafter having tried heroin to achieve the soulful expression Johnson achieved in his short life.

Schneider (2008) states that in the 1980s, heroin use by music subcultures was replaced by cocaine, which became purer and more affordable, as well as the strong, inexpensive freebase version of cocaine, crack, in mostly lower income areas. Heroin, however, never left the scene and became purer, allowing it to be sniffed like cocaine or smoked, which was referred to as 'chasing the dragon.' This allowed its continued use during the HIV/AIDS scare when intravenous drug use was a major cause of concern. However, as public information campaigns and clean needle clinics became more prevalent in the late 1980's, heroin use was about to enter a new phase of popularity, which coincided with the rise of Grunge music. Seattle bassist Duff McKagan (2011) states that sometime as early as 1982, when the early musical influences on grunge scene were really expanding and a new recession hitting the

Seattle area, addiction suddenly skyrocketed with a huge influx of heroin and pills hitting the streets. A drug counsellor in Seattle explained heroin as a loner drug, the anti-thesis of cocaine, which musicians told him they used because it is the best pain reliever that hides demons and insulates them from them, plus their success gave them a sense of personal power which made them believe they could control their use. (Ho et al., 1994). Mark Lanegan (2020), singer for one of the first successful grunge bands, Screaming Trees, described heroin as lifting him from the grave by quieting a voice inside his head which constantly dragged him down; with heroin, the world became black and white, tolerable. Lanegan further stated that heroin gave him a more controlled feeling than the train wreck of alcohol abuse he had been using. Prato (2009) states that grunge band Alice in Chains' singer Layne Staley described his first use of heroin to his friends as the first time in his life that he thanked God for feeling good.

While the excess use of heroin provided some of these young men with a sense of confidence and control, this drug may have impeded their unconscious attempts to reconcile with the evil they felt came from within. Jung (1975) saw drugs like opium, the source of manufactured heroin, as a poison which paralyzes normal apperception of the world, thus giving free reign to psychic forces underlying these sense perceptions. This must not be taken to mean that Jung supported the use of drugs to achieve access to the psyche, because he did not. In his *Letter to A.M. Hubbard* written in 1955, Jung made it clear that drugs were not a shortcut to an enlightened psyche, because although they may provide a brief insight into the unconscious, they offered no way to integrate the meaning of this experience into everyday life (Jung, 1975). Such experiences while influenced by drugs, Jung argued, are isolated events, and since they are in no way integrated in any meaningful way into the psyche, they offer little towards development of self. Addenbrooke (2020) goes on to argue that Jung said the use of drugs blurred the boundaries of the outer and inner worlds, giving a false sense of

wholeness while impeding true Individuation. Evan' (1976) argues that the only useful thing Jung believed a person could gather from their use of drugs was why, at that very moment when they ingest the drug, do they feel the need to do so? Jung believed that this could give insight into what Jung called the 'souls' purpose. This purpose could be determined by listening to the soul speak through intuitions, images, and feelings brought into the consciousness only through attentive intention (CW10, para. 140). This could not be achieved in a state of mind under the influence of drugs, which he said were a simple, dangerous regression for the civilized man as it removed the soul further from finding truth (Jung, 1975). Some grunge musicians came to realize this before it was too late, while others were not so fortunate. Increased heroin use by Screaming Trees vocalist Mark Lanegan and Alice in Chains singer Layne Staley prevented even further artistic exploration of the inner turmoil. In Lanegan's autobiography (2020), he reflected upon how his writing was severely interrupted when heroin consumption saw him selling drugs and stealing to survive before being incarcerated, while Staley died of an overdose in 2003, being so removed from musical production that his body was not found at home for weeks (Prato, 2009). However, for the young men within the early grunge scene who managed to continue producing music, the elements of unconscious expression found in their music may have allowed them a pathway confront the inner turmoil caused by the triggering of the infernal complex by social and historical forces.

### 7.3.3 | *Grunge: The Music*

Grunge emerged as a subculture of music which grew out of Seattle, Washington's, punk movement in the late 1980's. Grossman (1996) suggests that as early as the 1970s, the American punk movement was already splitting into distinct trajectories, including the Hardcore bands of California. These bands were more politicized while dressing down from the more flamboyant iconic punk clothing styles. Grossman continues by saying that they

rebelled against normative and legal campaigns, such as Nancy Reagan's 'Just Say No' to drugs, often pushing their use, and overdoses, to extremes. This hardcore punk identity continued to fragment, with anti-drug punks clashing with right-wing, racist punks, leaving the clear, rebellious image of a punk rocker in question. As Hardcore crossed over into more mainstream heavy metal and became more commercialized, grunge identity began to emerge as an authentic choice (Grossman, 1996). Grunge built on several key themes which developed during the hardcore movement, especially a surprising focus by male musicians on concerns usually thought of as women's rights. Johnson (2014) argues that this trend can be seen when the hardcore band Fugazi wrote the 1988 anti-rape song *Suggestion* from a women's point of view, performed by male singer and writer Ian Mackaye. This style of confessional subjectivity and nihilistic approach, Johnson further argues, were also key to grunge's approach to social issues. Part of the reason for grunge's close association with women's rights and its need to distance itself from the party-girl, groupie image of women found in 1980s Hair metal videos, Strong (2011) argues, was because it developed alongside the Riot Grrrl movement of late 1980's Seattle. The Riot Grrrl movement collectively supported women helping each other, along with reclaiming negative labels such as 'slut' and 'whore' by physically using terms like these in lyrics and body art (Strong, 2011). Riot Grrrl musicians used traditional male music territory to express anger at inequalities. Yarm (2011) further suggests that the need to openly support traditionally feminist concerns was spearheaded by the most successful grunge group, Nirvana, when they played their last performance in Seattle at a benefit concert to raise money to fund the search for the murdered and rapist of Mia Zapata, singer of the Riot Grrrl band The Grits. Even after the Riot Grrrl scene started to fade, women from the Seattle scene continued to make their strong presence felt on grunge. Yarrow (2018) argues that Courtney Love's actions on and off stage threatened the masculine rock star image and status of Kurt Cobain, being taller, more

muscular, and more fitting the Rock n' Roll 'bad-boy' image than Cobain. This caused her a significant amount of negative backlash for the primarily White male consumers of grunge music.

Although women, like Courtney Love and her band Hole, formed grunge bands, young White men made most grunge music. Located in the Pacific Northwest, Seattle is known for its rainy, isolated, and more understated culture. The thriving Seattle music scene, which offered many of these young people a stage for this expression, would also reflect this. It was called grunge because of its combination of early heavy metals sludging guitar riffs produced in the lo-fi, raw tradition of punk (Kallen, 2012). Grunge music used these heavy riffs to accompany lyrics about equally heavy social topics, and almost replacing the aforementioned glam 'hair-metal' bands of the 1980s overnight (Yarm, 2011).

Henderson (2016) argues that any definition of grunge needs to involve what he calls the four key elements of this subculture, which he suggests are music, geographic location, economics, and attitude. First, the musical influence comes from a diverse group of artists, from classic heavy metal to 1980's new wave, which all have some connection to punk music. Next, Seattle's location away from the media spotlight on band from Los Angeles and New York allowed for a more experimental approach to music. Next, Henderson continues, is the economy of Seattle during the formation of these bands. The ability for young people to live their daily lives cheap and focus on music gigs which paid little or no money, allowed an artistic focus on lyrics reflected broader social issues. The final element which defined grunge was the attitude of those involved, which links into the first three components. This self-perception of we are 'losers' from broken homes whose music will never be noticed outside of the Seattle scene created an interesting lyrical mix. This half-serious approach was complimented by profoundly serious topics being expressed such as alienation, anger, and disgust. As argued by Johnson (2014), the afore mentioned relative social isolation of Seattle

was important in the formation of Grunge music and culture. This nihilistic and generally dissatisfied approach, resulted in musical expressions exploring an individual's place within narratives such as rape, domestic violence, mental illness, and substance abuse (Johnson, 2014). This exploration of issues such as these, it is argued, lead these musicians to the conclusion that the evil lay within the White American man, which they mostly represented.

In examining the effects of social and economic influences on the music created in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Wall (2013) cites not only the wider economic turns, which threatened jobs, but also the previously discussed increase of focus on feminism, along with LGBTQ and African American equality struggles. Rojek's (2011) work on pop music in culture argues that the formation of grunge was influenced most significantly by the aforementioned punk subculture, borrowing punk's embrace of both wider public alienation which resulted in them not wanting to fulfil any civic obligation to be involved in wider social trends. Rojek calls this an 'involvement shield,' which was used by grunge culture to fend off the dominant consumer culture trends. Although grunge music was predominantly created by groups, it was usually one or two of the group members who embraced this extremely individual suffering and social withdraw the most. Unlike dominant leisure forms which are positioned in acceptable public spaces, Rojek (2005) describes what he calls invasive leisure practices as those in which the individual slowly withdraws from a society, they consider unauthentic, often using drugs to drown this outer world. Schneider (2008) suggests that social settings, like those involved in leisure activities such as music, are key to understanding the increase in heroin use, which was firmly linked to the grunge scene. Anderson (2007) argues that although not all grunge music was brooding, Seattle's approximately two hundred days a year of cloud cover and relative isolation can be found in the often nihilistic and depression based grunge lyric, which was a perfect fit for a fourth wave of American heroin use.

Instead of focusing on the long-standing trilogy of drugs, sex, and rock and roll, Browning (2017) states grunge lyrics showed a different youthful perspective, fuelled by anger with society and represented in morbid lyrics. Henderson (2006) argues that despite the corporate absorption of grassroots music of Woodstock, this revolutionary rock period also succeeded in mobilizing a youthful ‘guitar army’ which made real contributions to social and political change through its critiques. Like other White American men, those coming of age in Seattle, Washington, as the new decade began, found their place in America uncertain. In one sense, what emerged as grunge culture can be seen as a direct masculine projection onto a world where gender had been blurred by the popular, feminine fashion of Glam Rock in the 1980s. The sudden disappearance of Glam-Rockers from the radio and MTV may show that American White men wanted a more defined masculine look for their rock idols. Visually, grunge culture achieved this, but probably initially this was not by choice, as many youths in the Seattle area had to purchase an assortment of odd cloths from second-hand shops due to the economy. These young people represented their chaotic outlook on life through the mixtures of styles purchased from these charity shops. Young men within this scene favoured flannel shirts and military styled combat shorts, while women wore the same, or chose the option of representing themselves in the more feminine style, which was dubbed ‘kinder whore’ by the media. This look combined baby doll dresses with heavy eyeliner and make-up, as female grunge artists reclaimed some feminine forms of expression which had been sexualized by previous 1980’s rock. Male grunge artists looked more like rural farmers from the American heartland than rock stars. There were exceptions to this, from the flannel shirt being tied around the waist during grunge performances looking almost dress-like, to Kurt Cobain performing in a dress at a major televised event. However, for the most part, grunge favoured a very blue-collar working-class aesthetic. Despite this casual look, the rage of previous rock generations was still deeply embedded in grunge. Wilson (2008) argues that

negative energy, apparent in the lyrics and performance style of bands like Nirvana, lashed out not only towards the social, but inward as well. The self-loathing, self-harming characteristics associated with Generation X is evident in the malevolence of Nirvana lead singer Kurt Cobain's anguished voice. Sanford (1995) calls Cobain's vocals more of a screaming, lacerating force, almost trembling with fury.

#### **7.4 | Data Selection and Analysis**

Studies involving popular culture can focus on various points of the production and consumption chain. This analysis does not focus on how the audience view the possible meanings in the videos they watch and does not rely too much on the conscious intentions of the artists, although this is taken into consideration during the analytical process used. Rather this analysis focuses on unconscious influences observed in the lyrical and visual elements of the music videos. Machin (2010) argues that song lyrics are not only artists telling stories, but also artists communicating discourses about their identities. Becker (1974,1976) supports this when he states that music is not so much about creativity but about communicating shared conventions and definitions as people come to inhabit cultural space. Machin (2010) argues that the romantic way art forms, including music, is viewed is not removed through the lens of discourse analysis; like the text retains its character and meaning, so does the art. Since the arrival of MTV, study of the representations found in popular music have moved towards a multimodal methodology. This is supported by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), when they argue that discourses within music, as within all communication, are multimodal, being connoted using visual, audio, and linguistic choices.

Music videos were chosen as a popular cultural text to explore this inner strife felt by some for several reasons. Music videos are one medium in which individuals can explore subjective, cultural experiences through myth, while keeping within the wider, boundary

origins of the myth so that it remains globally decodable (Pflugfelder, 2020). Greeson and Williams (1986) argue that while television transmits traditional values, music television transmits ideas and values of often rebellious youth subculture. Wilson (2008) suggests that cultural products such as music videos offer a powerful vehicle for expression of frustrated desires and discontent within the artist. The combined inner turmoil and the external commercial desire for material touching on all subject's dark, Wilson continues, allowed some musicians a kind of self-therapeutic stage to examine their inner demons. Wall (2013) argues that when wider cultural contexts change, so do the meanings of those things made and consumed within the culture, including popular music. Wall continues by saying that music offers insight to how people view their world through the discourses they use in their artistic expression. Becker (1976) supports the importance of these discourse when he argues that music is not so much about creativity, but more about shared conventions and definitions as people inhabit these social spaces. Like a novel adapted into a screenplay for a film, music videos allow for a visual interpretation of the lyrical narrative presented by the artist. Gow (1997) suggests that this visual analysis provides a rich picture of subject matters that have been blended with the musical performance to communicate specific and general themes to the audience. This blending of established categories has raised the question to some of what a music video represents in society.

This section continues to use discourse analysis, with specific attention on those areas unique to the discursive analysis of song lyrics. Like the other case studies which used discourse analysis, emphasis will be on the cultural and emotional based connotations associated with the words and images, rather than what they may directly denote. Vernallis (2004) argues that unlike the study of films which use the shot or scene as a fundamental unit of analysis, music video can be broken down into the song's sectional divisions as the fundamental analytical unit. The use of these sections' places more of a focus on the varied repetition of things rather

than the narrative flow of a film which the scene shot relates to; using the structure of the song as analytical ground for the music video better reflects its sematic structure. Vernallis goes onto suggest that the sections of most songs will involve an intro, verses, chorus, a musical bridge, and an outro or out-chorus. The analysis of the videos in this section will include all visual elements presented. Gow (1992) noted that content analysis of conceptual videos in the past has tended to downplay the predominance of depictions involving the performers of the music itself, instead focusing on visual story elements around them. This can be seen in previous content analysis of music videos by Sherman and Dominick (1986), Brown and Campbell (1986), and Walker (1987), who presented the results of their content analysis into the sexual and violent content of music videos without taking into account the performance aspects of the text examined; it could be argued that this approach did not take into account the overall structure which the content analysed fell within, thus leaving it unable to fully understand the larger communicative dimensions of the video. To correct this omission, this paper will include the performers in the analysis, as they are acting out some of the emotion and intent they had when writing and recording the music. When developing his multimodal discourse analysis technique for popular music, Machin (2010) stresses the importance of looking and listening the complete presentation the artist has provided of his music, not just one component. Machin states this is crucial as music is not only artists telling stories, but also them communicating the discourses relevant to the construction of their identities. For this reason, a mixed methodology using discourse analysis, and the Jungian concept of amplification will be used. The lyrics and visual presentation of their music will be examined in this study.

The music created in Seattle called grunge was chosen because above all other popular mainstream genres of the time, its musicians represented young White American men from predominantly Christian backgrounds. The seven bands from which material was selected for

this study are Alice in Chains, Soundgarden, Screaming Trees, Candlebox, Nirvana, Pearl Jam, and Mad Season. From 1990 through 1996, four of these bands (Pearl Jam, Nirvana, Alice in Chains, and Soundgarden) sold a combined 62.1 million albums (Reed, 2019), with the other three also receiving gold albums for record sales in the 1990's. The material examined in this study consists of twenty-five music videos created for and by these bands between 1990 and 1998, which is the peak period of grunge popularity and commercial success. The music videos examined have been chosen because they are presented in a conceptual way; videos released by these bands which are just performance videos have not been selected as they lack the visual symbolism needed for the amplification position of this case study. This is so a complete evaluation can be made as to the meaning within the entire representation of the song, which is more in line with Jung's theory which stresses both the need to examine all sides and the recognition that opposites, like visual and audial, complement each other. All videos were accessed on YouTube ([www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com)) and all lyrics from Genius ([www.genius.com](http://www.genius.com)). A list of the videos analysed for this study, along with links to them, can be found in Appendix B.

### **7.5 | Letting the Music do the Talking: Identity, The Devil and the Grunge**

Unlike the previous two case studies, linguistic choices were important to note in this case study and helped inform the visual amplification of images presented in these videos. While examining the use of metaphors during discourse analysis, seventeen of the videos focused on describing the self through metaphor, 6 focused on The Other, 6 on Truth/deception, and 4 on Life/death. When the self was described, some of the source domains where metaphors were selected from included being trapped, broken, beaten dog, old dollar bill, disconnected, and buried. Source domains selected to describe The Other included crucifixion, butterfly, disguised, flies, fluid, and comforting. Truth and deception were described by drawing on sources involving the outside world being a lie and the internal one being even worse. Life

and death were described by death being shadow, time passing, female, and sweet oblivion, while life was meaningless and cluttered. The fact that the self was the main character and the dominant topic which was described, and depicted, during these videos supports the argument that self-examination was a major focus for these artists. This supports Callais (2012) who found that grunge musicians presented their lyrics in a confessional style, exposing things like childhood trauma and personal demons. The focus on the self in the visual elements analysed also supports Johnson (2014), who observed that the position of the camera in videos like Pearl Jam's "Jeremy" suggests to the viewer that the singer is expressing their pain directly to them, asking for some sort of salvation through admission, while bathed in reds which have a clear cultural link to Satan (Figure 17, Pearl Jam, 1991). Breton and Irish folk tales often link red objects to otherworldly beings like the Devil and its link to Satan in Christian culture is well established, as can be seen in Russian Catholic paintings and statues which use prominent red colours to detail Satanic images.



*Figure 17. In the 1991 video 'Jeremy' by Pearl Jam, singer Eddie Vedder sings to the viewer, confessing his inner torment and anger, with red light often bathing the background to indicate the turmoil inside has links to Hell and Satan (Pearl Jam, 1991).*

Discourse analysis of the lyrical content of the twenty-five music videos identified that the three most significant ones were ‘Man and internal opposition’ (occurring in fifteen of the videos), ‘Man fights internal evil’ (occurring in 10 of the videos), and ‘Man being evil/inferior inside’ (occurring in 8 of the videos. Minor discourses included ‘being trapped inside something’ (occurring in five out of 25) and ‘self-deception’ (occurring in 2 out of 25). These results support the thesis in that they show exploration of internal opposition, internal evil, and the flawed nature of man was important to these artists.

Although a few videos just expressed one of these discourses, most had a combination of them. Upon examining how often these discourses related and appeared within each other, three overall major themes were developed, which were then visually amplified under the analytical lens of Christian mythology. These three thematic groups which will now be discussed are ‘man confronts internal evil,’ ‘man is imperfect and weak,’ and ‘man’s relationship with the feminine.’ For practicality and clarity, one music video has been chosen as the primary example for each theme discussed, with other music videos discussed to support the prevalence of the ideas presented in the primary example.

### 7.5.1 | *Man Confronts Internal Evil*

As discussed in an earlier chapter about Christian mythology and Satan, the Harrowing of Hell is a story between Jesus’ Death and resurrection where he travels to Hell to confront Satan and save souls. The theme of man confronting evil inside reflects this decision to confront the evil directly. In Alice in Chains’ 1990 video “Man in the Box”, which is the main video of discussion for this theme, the lead singer takes the role of a man who is buried in, and burdened by, his own negativity. The singer walks the viewer through an internal journey, to where it is initially unclear. He is awaiting slaughter as he does not even know himself and is trapped by what the outside world wants, which is only to see the goodness. A

black cloaked Satanic figure, the singer's shadow, walks around outside him but cannot get in as the narrator is blinded by the light from the heavens above to his own darkness. This symbolizes the concept of Christian duality, keeping evil out, preventing the singer from integrating with his own personal darkness, and thus preventing him from becoming the individual he was supposed to be.

The use here of this black hooded, priest-like figure supports an observation by Pflugfelder (2020) that not only do such hooded figures signify a sense of deindividualization, but such a figure also connotes an evil priest, due to its dark features and hooded silhouette. The narrator realizes this is his chance to confront the underworld figure of Satan and allows the black cloaked figure to merge with him (Figure 18, *Alice in Chains*, 1990) and bring him to Hell, giving focus that this narrative will be an internal exploration of self.



*Figure 18. The black cloaked figure (left) becomes almost translucent as it moves onto the singer, and they finally become one (Alice in Chains, 1990).*

The identity of the black cloaked figure as Satan is reinforced immediately in the scene which follows, which is the image of a black goat in the barn (Figure 19, Alice in Chains, 1990). In Christian mythology, the goat sits at the left hand of God during the final judgement, representing impurity (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). Popular culture has only served to reinforce the association of the goat with evil, so this is a clear implication of what the dark figure entering the narrator connotes.



*Figure 19. Following the merging of the dark figure with the singer, the immediate cut to this image of a black goat connotes the influence of evil or the Devil itself to viewers (Alice in Chains, 1990).*

The internal battle now begins, as nuclear explosions of the apocalypse are shown on television. The Christ figure then returns from Hell reborn, saving the soul through knowledge of the evil within. The cloaked figure continues to walk about, finally emerging from the barn and removing its hood, showing a Christ like figure with its eyes sown shut, signifying that the shadow has been recognized and is now part of the singer, the eyes closed to prevent the blinding light of God, which does not allow the darkness within to be

acknowledged (Figure 20, Alice in Chains, 1990). This act also symbolizes a final effort to keep evil within, as the eyes are seen as gateways to the soul (ARAS, 2010).



*Figure 20. After confronting the evil inside, the now corporeal figure removes his cloak for the first time to reveal a Christ-like shape with eyes stitched shut; this keeps the newly recognized evil inside to maintain balance by blocking God's future blinding light from the soul (Alice in Chains, 1990).*

The key elements of this video which represent a journey to hell to confront evil and save souls can be seen throughout many of the videos examined. The journey to the underworld is an important part of any journey of self-discovery, as detailed in the extensive work on hero myths by Campbell (1993). The underworld here is reflected in holes, caverns, and caves, which often serve as a setting in these videos (Outshined, 1991; Them Bones, 1992; The Day I Tried to Live, 1994; Grind, 1995). The presence several times of caverns within caverns further indicates the underworld, or even a place of alchemy where the change within the cavern can occur (ARAS, 2010). Singer and songwriter Chris Cornell of Soundgarden said that "The Day I Tried to Live" is about trying to live the same day again, trying to change and do better (Foegen, 1995). The dualist nature of these underworld caves, both as a comforting womb and a shadowy abyss, adds to the theme that change is possible even if death is

inevitable (Them Bones, 1992). When asked about the meaning behind the song “Them Bones,” singer and songwriter Jerry Cantrell (2018) said that it’s about his fear of death, adding that the album in features on is very dark in nature, influenced heavily by his interest in duality, the positive and the negative (Turman, 1993). Cantrell adds during this interview that he believes the division of things into positive, and negative is something everybody does subconsciously.

While this video showed the integration of the external to confront the internal by combining the black robed figure with the singer, other videos used different devises to show the confrontation with Satan. The battle within the man and his underworld shadow can be seen in a young man’s fantasy of being king of the world and having others bow before him (Jeremy, 1991) and a man fights the notion of a world outside too good to be true so that he can find balance with the evil within, which is also real (Blow Up the Outside World, 1996). Self-reflection and confrontation with man’s dualistic nature is seen in the image of a woman sitting in a chair who confronts a demonic copy of herself which emerges from a mirror (You, 1994), the reflection of the narrator within his own face, eyes rolled back as if possessed (Them Bones, 1992), and puddles of liquid in a cave seen to reflect the band members faces, as well as reflected scenes of animals preying on other animals. These mirrored reflections show the truth of the person, what they really look like (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). The reflection is a creative, divine intellect; the human heart is a mirror which reflects God (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). The reflection through the glass darkly allows one to see what they look like before being confronted by this in the afterlife, thus allowing the possibility for change.

In addition to the black figure and goat in this video, this theme contained the most direct depictions of the demonic, possibly because this theme deals with the confrontation of this evil Other within. Winged demons descend on a man trying to ascend to heaven who must

first place monstrous creatures, including a demonic goat, into the pit below him before he can ascend (Grind, 1995) and a serpent tongue comes out of a smiling lady as the apocalypse is occurring outside (Black Hole Sun, 1994). Smiling devil masks which flash with flames and surround the singer who is examining himself (What the Hell Have I, 1993) and flies, associated with the Satanic Lord of the Flies Beelzebub, which when released from a jar cause chaos and destruction (I Stay Away, 1994) Fires light the underworld (Outshined, 1991) and a child in red seen through the blue light of Heaven (Heaven Beside You, 1996), drawing the contrast of blue and red, heaven and earth, God, and Satan (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994).

The colour red, as discussed towards the beginning of this section as it related to Pearl Jam's 1991 video 'Jeremy', is used for additional demonic connotation throughout the videos; depicting a man met just below the consciousness who is dressed darkly with a beard, splashing red paint all over white walls, which ends up looking like some winged creature/demon (Far Behind, 1994). This internal journey to the underworld draws upon the actions of Jesus traveling to Hell to save souls, in that the narratives explore how man looks within to confront shadow images, to save his own soul.

### 7.5.2 | *Man is Imperfect and Weak*

When Jesus enters the desert to be confronted by Satan, there is a realization that the desire and evil he represents lurks in the souls of all men, which he tempts Jesus with. In this sense, Jesus is confronting his weaknesses and admitting his imperfections. In Soundgarden's 1991 video 'Jesus Christ Pose', the primary video under this theme, the lead singer is Christ like in

image and walks across a surreal orange hued wasteland, which becomes purple (Figure 21, Soundgarden, 1991).



*Figure 21. Soundgarden's lead singer Chris Cornell arrives shirtless, with the rest of the band, in a luminol wilderness of transitional colours where he hopes to confront the evil within (Soundgarden, 1991).*

The narrative flow shows the singers journey through states of consciousness to confront problematic images from his own psyche. The purplish sky connotes a process of spiritual growth, foreshadowing the internal confrontation to come (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). The desert represents duality, a place where unclean spirits are as well as a place to be at one with God (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). Images of crucifixion, piercing red eyes and crosses of various composition, both upright and inverted, flash periodically while this happens. Pflugfelder (2020) argues that any repetition of symbols denoting religion, even in variations of the symbols normal presentation, solidifies its use as part of a visual discourse within the culture it is created.

Finally standing before a cross which stabilizes to show a blindfolded crucified woman, the narrator appears to look up and off camera asking why he is being looked down upon by this holy cross which symbolizes persecution (Figure 22 and 23, Soundgarden, 1991)



*Figure 22. Striking a crucifixion like pose, the singer looks up towards the heavens, and the woman on the cross off screen, asking why he is being looked down upon as something evil that needs salvation (Soundgarden, 1991).*



*Figure 23. The ever-changing image of a woman nailed to the cross, this time in an almost negative lighting, which meets to singer in the dessert and beckons to him to acknowledge the evil within (Soundgarden, 1991).*

The cross can be seen symbolically as a lure for the devil, something to hook him into place. This is partially how Christ's crucifixion removed sin from humanity (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). Soundgarden's Chris Cornell states that the idea to use a cross came from his view that celebrities are stealing and exploiting the symbol to say that they have been persecuted, which he believes removes significance from it (Levine Schneider Public Relations, 1991). The narrator asks why he is being looked down upon, why he needs to be saved. The sky turns blue, signifying heaven has taken over the scene (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994), from the once transitional purple and orange (Figure 24, Soundgarden, 1991). This suggests that he has recognized that he has persecuted others, including the feminine, and must now confront this evil inside in the real world.



*Figure 24. Freed of delusions of innocence and the belief that true evil is external, the singer enters the real world illuminated by the blue skies of Heaven to begin integrating the evil within himself, and achieving a safer psychological balance (Soundgarden, 1991).*

The narrator, still blinded to his own evil shadow by the light of heaven, now addresses the viewer, asking why the viewer thinks he needs to be saved, why they think he is evil, as he would never hurt them. The narrator then appears to drive crucifixion nails into the viewer, a violent act emphasised by breaking glass, clearly something that would be painful to his audience. At this point, the narrator recognizes, through this violent, evil act, his shadow within. This fight against the temptation to be evil is shown through flashing images of the narrator and other band members receiving soft sand upwards from the now unbroken ground, as well as the narrator returning to earth by laying down in it. This exorcism type scene ends when the narrator stares into the camera, making a low, growling animal-like noise. The nails which crucified Christ, which the narrator used to crucify the viewer, have allowed him to recognize the evil within and become more integrated with it. The flashing crosses are now all right side up, signifying a unification of the shadow, because the internal Satan has been faced and acknowledged.

The desert is used as a setting in other videos (Dollar Bill, 1993; Down in a hole, 1993; Sworn and Broken, 1996), as well as wilderness settings such as woodlands (Jeremy, 1991; Rusty Cage, 1992; All I Know, 1996). Despite it being a creation of God in Christian mythology, nature and the wilderness are often linked to pagan religions and Satan. In his study of Nordic metal music videos, Leichsenring (2011) found that natural settings in the videos connote a turning away from rationality and the civilization, moving the viewer closer to images associated with pre-Christian paganism. As Christ entered the danger of the desert where he could find the meaning of God and as well as the danger of the wilderness, so do the characters. The possibility and hope for salvation can be seen in very distinct visual colouring of the skies and scene lighting. Blue lighting (Down in a Hole, 1993 Black Hole Sun, 1994; Heaven Beside You, 1996) connotes the heavens and the sea (Understanding, 1995), implying that Heaven is offering hope (Blow Up the Outside World, 1996). Orange

lighting connotes fire and the dangerous environment of Hell (Outshined, 1991; Shadow of the Season, 1992; What the Hell Have I, 1993; All I Know, 1996). Purple lighting (Down in a Hole, 1993; What the Hell Have I, 1993; All I Know, 1996) is used to show a luminal space where transformation is possible if the correct decisions are made and temptation to be evil is resisted. These colours interact frequently in many of the videos, highlighting the duality of blue, Godly heaven and orange, Satanic earth, as well as the presence of a purple area of change between the two. This liminal area is one where transformation and change is possible, and possibilities are always in motion. The liminal nature of Soundgarden's "Outshined" can be seen when Chris Cornell discusses the songs meaning relating to extremes in personality, going from 'feeling like a hero, then like a piece of shit.' (Friend, 1992).

Like Jesus in the desert, Man knows he is open to temptation because of the evil inside. This recognition of the evil, broken nature inside, allowing him to realize that it is he who destroys and causes pain, is also apparent in these narratives. In extreme cases, man discovers that he is too evil inside to be saved so he kills himself to trap the beast with (Jeremy, 1991) or welcomes the apocalypse as it cleanses the earth and exposes the evil within, if only by its final destruction (Black Hole Sun, 1994). Hope must be maintained; the death of a butterfly signifies the end of a metamorphic cycle, but the butterfly itself signified transformation, so man reasons that since transformation is now impossible, he is sick with the evil inside, and wants to 'die,' or return home (Butterfly, 1992). Man feels broken and no longer useful, like a torn, old Dollar bill, so he goes away from those he could harm (Dollar Bill, 1993) and the evil shadow within chokes the person unconscious (You, 1994). In a worst-case scenario, man deceives himself by not acknowledging the evil within, choosing to remain forever in pain (River of Deceit, 1995).

Whatever this recognition of the imperfection, and perhaps even evil inside, one iconic Christian image appears frequently. The cross is significant sign in these videos of a choice made to be saved by God and trap the devil within. In addition to the cross being viewed as a hook to catch Satan in this video, the cross can be seen in many of the visual narratives. An old man walks across a field of poppies towards a cross, which has a ladder to climb up on it built into it (Heart Shaped Box, 1994). The cross can be seen as a pathway, or ladder, to climb to be closer to God (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). Flashing crosses switch between inverted to upright, with upright ones becoming dominant only after the internal battle with evil (Jesus Christ Pose, 1991) and a man emerges out of baptism waters, after acknowledging the evil within on a conscious level, wearing a cross (Far Behind, 1994). This prevalence of the cross suggests that acknowledgement of the shadow inside must be made before man can seek salvation, as Jesus faced the trials of Satan in the Biblical desert myth.

### 7.5.3 | *Man's Adversarial Relationship with the Feminine*

It can be argued that a Christian man's relationship with what is feminine has been complicated since the Biblical telling of the Garden of Eden and Original Sin. Nirvana's singer and songwriter Kurt Cobain told people that Dante's *Inferno* had a profound effect on both the written and visual components of Nirvana's first three albums (Pantalei, 2019), which includes 1993's *In Utero*, where this section's example is drawn from. At the beginning of the video from that album, titled "Heart Shaped Box," the camera looks down upon a body in a hospital bed, with a black, sideways cross on the floor in front of it. The narrative now shifts to characters other than the band exploring a dreamlike, or perhaps nightmare realm of the mind. The primary character in this narrative is an old man, who plays a more passive role, and a female child, who interacts more with the narrative as it unfolds. The first scene in this dream realm shows the old man in a diaper and Santa hat as he places himself in a crucifixion pose on a standing cross (Figure 25, Nirvana, 1994).



*Figure 25. Masculinity in its decline is connoted by this incontinent old man, possibly even once the Christian Father Christmas, who looks to climb to the blue heavens and offer his frail body to change, symbolized by the transformative properties associated with poppies (Nirvana, 1994).*

Robotic looking ravens sit on each side of the cross. The man climbs towards God but is crucified on the cross for his own darkness. The ravens signify clear sight and purification of the rot within (ARAS, 2010). The Poppies symbolize the power of sleep during the transformation process of birth, death, and rebirth (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). Flowers in bloom also are associated with female genitals in western culture (Pantalei, 2019), which adds to the feeling of opposition of the feminine to the male. The little girl, initially appearing in a white robe, can now be seen standing in the poppies. As opposed to the wise old man, who knew he needed to address the evil within through crucifixion, the little girl's purity does not yet allow her to recognize the evil within. The little girl jumps first at a tree with foetuses hanging from it, symbolizing death, and rebirth (Figure 26, Nirvana, 1994). The foetuses also

signify the safety of the womb, a feeling of unity which cannot be achieved again without the integration of internal opposites.



*Figure 26. Unaware of the evil inside because of youth, the feminine still feels incomplete and is compelled in the field of poppies to reach back towards the womb, where they once felt the wholeness they now lack (Nirvana, 1994).*

Next scene, a giant cherub can also be seen trying in vain to reach the tree of foetuses; even an angel cannot achieve rebirth this way. The little girl is then shown trying to jump up at the man on the cross, but she cannot reach him either. The child is then shown skipping through the poppies, with butterflies and the wind symbolizing rebirth by the Holy spirit and transformation. Wind has long been associated by Christians as the breath of the Holy Spirit and the metamorphosis offered by butterflies shows the soul free from the covering of the body (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). The girl's hat is blown off, falls into some dark liquid on the ground and absorbs/eats this blackness, turning the hat and the little girls entire robe black, signifying the unification of the evil within, which is supported by Cobain (2002) who called the character 'a four-year-old Aryan girl in KKK robes' in his notes for the video.

The feminine has absorbed what is evil, or perhaps it has just unified with it at last. The liquid is also linked to the lyrics when the narrator talks about ‘eating the cancer when it turns black,’ to reabsorb it in a way. These scenes are cut with images of the band playing against a surreal, forest background during the songs chorus (Figure 27, Nirvana, 1984).



*Figure 27. Kurt Cobain (far right) and the rest of Nirvana perform the chorus against a background which matches Dante’s ‘Forest of Suicide,’ a favourite of Cobain. This literal Hellish landscape, along with the faster, heavier guitar chords which make up the chorus, convey a sense of the internal struggle the feminine to absorb all of the evil which drained off of the masculine to achieve a more balanced feminine (Nirvana, 1994).*

Pantalei (2019) notes the afore mentioned influence of Dante’s Hell on Cobain is most apparent here, with this forest background faithfully following Dante’s description of ‘The Forest of Suicide’ in the thirteenth canto of his text. The video concludes with a change of scenery, as the band and the little girl, first in black then changing back to white, move about in various poses inside a box like room, which symbolises the results of unification with the child within, after she has recognized the evil of her own shadow. The wise Oldman in the

beginning, knowing he had evil within, had the shadow drained off him on the cross, with rebirth was only possible once the little girl reabsorbed the darkness. The overt use of duality in this video shows the internal tension of opposites within. This supports Pantalei, who stated that he found that the most powerful element of “Heart Shaped Box” was that it overturns, and examines, some of the most significant images associated with the concept of good in American culture; black, robotic ravens replace doves of peace, the Pope has lost power and is a frail old man on his deathbed, and the normally plump Santa Claus is anorexic in his crucifixion.

The feminine can be seen as completely detached from man’s internal struggle, as the woman sitting outside of man’s battle within his psyche (Far Behind, 1994) or forcing the man to look at the evil he is doing and face his shadow (Jesus Christ Pose, 1991). Either way, the feminine part of man is important in its presence or absence in these videos. Rarely within these videos, the feminine can be seen as protective and nurturing, like the numerous cavern settings can signify a return to the womb of creation, an initiation process where one may be reborn (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). Even the lyrics of the video just discussed contains not only references to wanting to get back in the womb but calls the umbilicus a noose. In one video (Sworn and Broken, 1996), the central item is also a box, the open end of which faces the viewer; this appears to contain past events which peel away to show others. The box can be seen as symbolising the female and maternal side of the unconscious (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). It can also be seen as relating to the Greek myth of Pandora’s box (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). The contents of this box can be valuable, but can also be a curse, as when Pandora released the evils upon the world. In one video the lyrics talk about a ‘mothering, comforting, blanketing’ effect, but they are referring to drug use and are represented visually as a woman facing and losing to a demonic mirror image of herself (You, 1994).

The box-like structure of a house also appears several times. In Candlebox's 1998 video 'It's Alright', a woman is shown sitting in her bedroom, looking out the dominant window connoting her receptivity to the outside, but its square shape shows this receptivity to be of the terrestrial nature, of which the Devil is king, rather than the round windows of heavenly insight (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). It also helps in this case to note that the singer in this video refers to Sirens, who lead men, often willingly, to their own doom. The home is a womb-like place of birth, with the first home being that of the Garden of Eden (ARAS, 2010). Within the house, she sits in the bedroom, often a symbol of the individual's ideas of safety or nightmares (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994). It's a liminal space of sleep and unconsciousness, where spirits may roam (ARAS, 2010). This dualistic nature of the feminine inside being drawn to earthly things and tempting the man to think the same way reinforces the mythical narrative of perfection in the Garden of Eden until a woman allowed Satan to tempt her. This selfish nature of the female over the male is also reflected, to an extent, in the failure of the maternal figure. This example of the mother can be seen in a video (Jeremy, 1991), when references are made to the story of the Garden of Eden in flashing word phrases 'Genesis 3:6' and 'the serpent was subtile'. The serpent nature of the female is also shown with a serpent tongue emerging from a woman's mouth during an apocalypse (Black Hole Sun, 1994) and a pale woman, perhaps connoting death, with dark fingernails seals a man's fate in an old, worn bag (All I Know, 1996). However problematic this relationship with the internal feminine side of the psyche appears in some of these narratives, it also highlights a push towards change between the metaphorically represented self and Others.

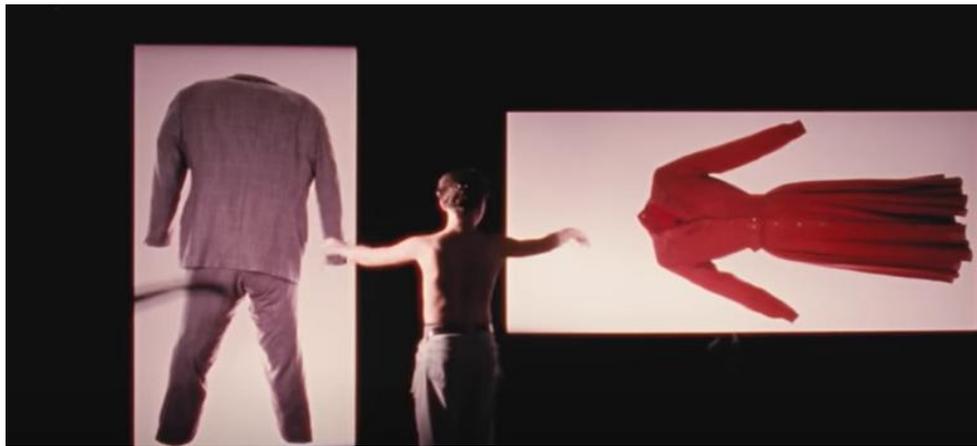
## **7.6 | The Old, Masculine Devil Vs The New, Feminine One**

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter's results, the concept of the self was the most prevalent topic explored using metaphors, and that the dominant discursive strands of the

lyrics examined supported an interest in the internal battle with this self, often involving that which was not the self; the Other. Poole's (2009) argument supports this internal placement of Satanic influence when he discusses this representation in late twentieth century pop culture. This is also supported by Holtz (1995), who argues that some music of the 1990's, including grunge, focused less on the popular 'us vs. them' theme of previous Rock-and Roll eras, and more on the 'me vs. myself', a popular motif for young people coming of age in the 1990's. While the metaphors drawn upon to describe the self-included broken, beaten, and disconnected images, descriptions of the Other drew upon things like crucifixion, butterflies, and water; all things often associated with change of some sort. Looking back one final time upon the two primary elements of Jung's psychic Devil, the Shadow and Trickster archetypes, it would seem that the later can be seen at work here, guiding the less dominant elements of the Shadow parts. More than in the previous two case studies, the Trickster archetype aligns with that which is feminine in these video narratives, while the self is predominantly masculine.

Forms of masculinity shown in the videos seem to both support and contradict the image of most grunge musicians. By supporting a more traditional idea of American male masculinity, it is meant that the dressed down, flannel shirt charity shop look which artists within the Seattle scene preferred denotes an almost classic blue collar working man look, which would carry with it an assumed masculinity involving the man doing physical labour to support his family. The blue-collar work identity also supports an embracing of the protestant work ethic, with demanding work the way God desired it. In Pearl Jam's "Jeremy" (1991), the nameless father's neglect of the title character is connoted to be work responsibilities, as seen by a display of his suit, while the nameless mother's neglect of the child seems to come from the fact that she simply cannot accept him for what he is (Figure 28, Pearl Jam, 1991). This supports Johnson (2014) who noted that words like 'numb', 'disturb', and 'wicked', flashed

during the video, show Jeremy's inner anguish, as he strikes a cross-like pose, asking his mother for salvation, or recognition. This is also a very direct rejection of the masculine by the needed, nurturing feminine. The Self, as represented in the character of Jeremy, knows that they must change and confront the old, masculine Shadow inside by looking for the Trickster in the feminine; but they have no guidance as to how to locate these within (Figure 29, Pearl Jam, 1991).



*Figure 28. The title character Jeremy looks upon the emptiness provided by both the masculine and feminine in his life, striking one of many Christ-like poses in an attempt to find internal balance (Pearl Jam, 1991).*



*Figure 29. Jeremy can be seen here as his eye, watching himself in third person, and as the son ignored by both his masculine and feminine influences. Just as he is invisible to them, he is also invisible, in a sense, to himself because he cannot find any feminine example within to guide him with the integration of the masculine shadow within.*

When still ignored by the feminine symbolized by the mother, Callais (2012) says that Jeremy drops his arms from the Christ-like pose and, the fury of his evil aggression inside is shown as he chops wildly against a tree with an axe, as the words ‘unclean spirit entered’, are flashed. The explosion of violence into the outside world at the conclusion of this video shows what can happen if the Shadow is allowed to grow without change, because the feminine has been denied (Figure 30, Pearl Jam, 1991).



*Figure 30. Figure 30. Jeremy, unable to achieve inner balance, is consumed by the Hell which rages within him. He raises his arms up through the Christ-pose and into a 'V' for victory, which reoccurs in the video to symbolize the only peace he will know; death (Pearl Jam, 1991).*

Despite some other symbols of traditional masculinity, similar to those in Jeremy, a stronger element in the visual and lyrical discourses presents a submissive masculinity which accepts that the man has at the very least wronged the feminine, if not acknowledging the direct need for the feminine parts to achieve balance. The male is shown as old, incontinent, and ready for death, often trapped in his own body. The video for Grind (1995) shows an old man who is unable to climb the stairs to heaven until he returns to an underground, cavern-like womb

to make peace with his inner Devil, represented by overtly Satanic looking puppet creatures. In another video narrative, the weight of a man's very skin prevents him from doing a self-critique alone, his pride leading him only to comfortable self-deceit (River of Deceit, 1995), or his self-realization is blocked by the rusty, aging cage of a body that has to be shocked back into a conscious state before taking action (Rusty Cage, 1992). The feminine aspect of these videos is often young and active, symbolized at least twice directly with a little girl (Heart Shaped Box, 1993; Heaven Beside You, 1996). Even when the trapped male's only escape is death, the worldly suffering he endures is stagnant, while the changing to the natural progression of death offers is a feminine, 'sweet oblivion' (Shadow of the Season, 1992). The aforementioned little girl in Alice In Chain's Heaven Beside You (1996) is shown to be in control, capturing images of the band in photos and transporting them from an inside, blue-hued 'hell' to a wide-open ocean of rebirth. The feminine form appears symbolic as change in the crucified, with the singer accusing the feminine of staring at him, like it is he who 'needs to be saved' (Jesus Christ Pose, 1991) and as the crossed feet of a woman, implying crucifixion, seen hanging from a body above and off screen, with a church in flashing scenes nearby (Butterfly, 1992). In the later video, the transformation of life to death through crucifixion is reinforced even more by visual images of in the metamorphic qualities of a butterfly, which will transform a 'sick' man to something better. Even in the video for It's Alright (1998) by Candlebox, which is arguably the most traditional love ballad examined in this study, the singer accepts that the woman has him trapped under her siren's spell, lost in her world, but that 'it's alright', because this state is better than he was without her. Consequences of not accepting the change offered by the Trickster is also shown; if man does not accept at least the need for change as expressed in the feminine, they will be trapped in the past by not making, and constantly breaking, promises to change (Sworn and Broken, 1996). The acceptance of death rather than living in an unchanged state, with the is still

linked to the feminine, as the male singer sees hope of life, and angels bringing forth an image of the virgin of mercy to shelter him in this final transformation (Dollar Bill, 1993).

### 7.7 | Concluding Summary

The results of this case study have shown that the three discourses most often used within these music video narratives to explain why some men committed evil acts were man confronting the evil he finds inside, man finding that he is imperfect and weak, and man finding himself in an often-adversarial relationship with what is feminine. For this final case study, the only travel necessary to examine these discourses was the examination of what was inside these men that caused this evil. Within the Self, it is in the feminine, albeit often contested force, where the Trickster was shown to be the most dominant part of Jung's Devil in these music videos.

This chapter has discussed what unconscious needs may have contributed to the lyrical and visual imagery used to create the extraordinarily successful videos of the 1990s grunge music scene. These musicians addressed some of the inner discomfort they felt, when realizing that much of the evil in America came from men such as themselves, by offering insight into what they felt inside, as a way to almost apologize for the way White Christian men had been treating women and minorities. The most complex theme developed was man's relationship to the feminine aspect of society and Self. The narratives of these videos showed some degree of desire by the artist on some level of the psyche to examine, and question, the narrative of White American Christian men being chosen by God by reflecting how current and historical social movements challenge this. While admitting that the relationship between man and woman was problematic, the Trickster element of the Devil needed this feminine to use as an element of change, a pathway for the Shadow to be examined in a productive way. Nirvana's Kurt Cobain (2002) was aware of the far-right political platform and addressed this inequality

in his music, linking some of the ideas this political viewpoint held to Hitler, Satan, and the general idea that privileged White men could rape, metaphorically or not, anything they wanted in society. Cobain was clearly uncomfortable being part of the demographic these ideas were supposed to appeal to, and he openly challenged ideas of sexuality and norms by wearing dresses during live performances. To an extent, these grunge musicians used their almost overnight evolution to front cover news stories to continue the work for third wave feminism started by the less successful Riot Grrrl movement.

Overall, this tension between visual, classic American masculine forms and a submission to the female form as being a crucial, if not dominant force in the internal examination of masculinity, highlights at least two possible unconscious drives. First, there was still a desire to project an authentic masculinity associated with the everyday, hardworking man who was promised some part of the 'American Dream.' Admitting that this social position was flawed did not diminish the importance of this image to grunge musicians, so any address of the Shadow parts of the internal Devil had to find a way to still embrace some forms of traditional masculinity. One way this was achieved was that once recognition that some of this social evil must come from within was made, they sought a way to achieve a degree of their traditional masculine roles as protectors by confronting this internal threat to their dominant social position, as if to say, 'don't worry, I know I've got some evil inside, but I've confronted it, like a man.' This acceptance of the need to address the evil within through change fit in well with the traditional male protector image and allowed the psyche to address the evil within without completely changing what made them American men.

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## Chapter 8 | Conclusion

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This project has taken the reader on a journey into the collective psyche of some White American Christian men during the final three decades of the twentieth century, hopefully addressing the key questions which inspired this research. I began by putting forward an argument that the combination of social change, which brought more equality to all Americans and perhaps challenged the privileges felt by some, along with a very public occult revival featuring the ultimate Christian adversary, the Devil, on national headlines had triggered what some Jungian scholars would call a cultural complex. I further argued that this cultural psychological event, which I referred to as the infernal complex, compelled some of these men, often unconsciously, to confront the evil they recognized within them through creating myths in popular cultural narratives. I hoped that an examination of some of these narratives produced as Hollywood films, television news programs, and music videos would add insight into how the Devil was viewed during this time period, the use of self-othering as a form of weaponized victimhood, and to answer a very basic question; could the concept of a cultural complex provide a useful lens through which sociologists could examine society? The following conclusion will outline the projects key findings, address the research questions presented in the introduction, compare the findings to anything relevant previously discussed in the literature reviews, and make recommendations for future research.

### 8.1 | Key Findings: A Summary

In general, the case studies highlighted several possible answers to these inquires. The most complex cause of the internal evil was often linked to an imbalance with the feminine, both internal and external. This tension was also noted by Pippin (1992), when they argued that Satan was linked to the seductive side of feminine power, with the masculinity contrasted in

God's often violent attempts to keep the feminine separate from the masculine. This problematic relation was also tied into sexuality, with any deviance from heterosexuality being linked to evil impulses. There was also a strong overlapping theme that imperfection, or difference, in mental health or heterosexuality, was linked to the internal evil men struggled against. These narratives often presented the viewer with a visual journey to Hell to see that the evil these men possessed came from deviance, with the Devil's presence signposted through very overt imagery, such as fire and wastelands. Unfortunately, this often allowed the viewer to create Others within their demographic to show, through a form of self-victimization, that these evil men did not represent the core group of White Christian America men and, indeed, were a threat to this group as well.

Although this self-othering was not a healthy way to resolve the recognition that these men had evil inside of them, the fact that the Trickster archetype was dominant over the Shadow parts of the psychic Devil examined in these narratives was hopeful. I find that the use of Jung's psychic Devil as a symbol and archetype of change to be the most significant finding of this thesis, overlapping almost all of the other points to be discussed within this conclusion. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Jung (CW11, para. 291) stressed that for any change to occur, a great degree of energy is needed. The archetypal Devil became a potent force for change, even using the conflict with the feminine as energy to do so, primarily in two of the three case studies. The Trickster encouraged the psyche to confront the Shadow elements of the psyche in a safe, and productive way both in the studies involving the 1970s and the 1990s. The narratives in the films and music videos allowed a medium which not only presented the evil impulses identified in the psyche but also offered a path to closure and at least a partial reconciliation with the Shadow parts.

This was not the case in the case study covering the 1980s, where self-othering was the most dominant way of casting the Shadow parts of the psyche out upon others without any effort of

integration; perhaps this is because the Nation as a whole was affected by the often documented Satanic-panic, and the need to prove one was innocent of the Devil's influence was more important than reflection. This might also be a cross-over effect of what Roy (2004) called the Puritan complex, a psychological event which is often triggered by real or perceived external hardships, which demand the effected person judge others harshly in a pursuit of perfection. Roy states that others were judged by sexuality and morals, which is also evident during the Satanic panic of the 1980s and also seen in this thesis' results. The need to completely root out evil and make things 'pure' again is also seen in the Purity complex, as presented by Flowers (2020). They argue that a past example of this complex includes the Salem witch trials, which have many similarities with the 1980s panic discussed here. If these other American complexes were triggered at the same time as the Infernal complex, this may be a reason why the case study on investigative news programs found little desire to accept and integrate the evil seen into the psyche; the quest to remove evil in absolute terms to achieve perfection had no room for self-reflection and psychological growth towards Individuation.

Overall, the combined use of CDA and Jungian amplification as a methodology provided a thorough and detailed way for researchers to combine Jung's theories relating to the images within cultural texts with the focus of topic provided by CDA. The visual image became an integral part of the discourse analysis, very much in line with the multimodal approach encouraged in more recent sociology.

## **8.2 | Revisiting the Research Questions**

Beyond these general observations, the case studies developed various themes perhaps best interpreted by revisiting this projects research questions, which were presented in the introduction to this project. The reader is reminded that the first research question asked in

what ways the cultural narratives examined provided evidence of a search for internal evil, which occurs when the proposed infernal complex is triggered. To answer this question, it will be important to look at the presentation of the male subjects within the narratives. There were two main ways the search for internal evil was presented in these narratives; through characterization and through setting. Characterization relied on removing God's humanity from them by showing men committing acts associated with evil and the Devil. The men in Hollywood films show a general loss of humanity which allows them to be violent men. When asked about the sanity of Charles Manson in Geraldo's 1988 special *Murder on Death Row Live*, victim Sharon Tate's mother says Manson is 'sane, but not human.' This is important because humanity ties man to God in that God created man in his likeness. Whatever the Devil is, he is not in God's image, so removal of humanity separates man from God and his associated goodness. This violent urge is apparent in the shorter narratives of the grunge videos as well. The title character in Pearl Jam's video for *Jeremy* expresses his violent urges inside by drawing himself, on a mountain top, 'Arms raised in a V, and the dead lay in pools of maroon below.' (Jeremy, 1991) Jeremy later kills himself instead of others in the video. This act of self-destruction results because, as stated by Jung (1984), if not addressed the energy from the archetype of the Devil will swell up, unnoticed until it explodes violently outward, because Christianity has not acknowledged it to be an important part of the Self and has therefore not offered healthier integration options. So, with no expression, this evil within often resolved through suicide in the narratives, often viewed as the ultimate sinful act against the life given to one by God.

This violence against self and others is situated within a wider characterization device used in these narratives; lack of Christian morality. In addition to the willingness to kill, this lack of morality is highlighted by themes of sexual deviance, which often includes homosexuality. This characterization relies heavily on Christian views that sexuality is to be shared between

man and woman in a loving act. *Taxi Driver's* Travis only understands sex through pornography and is unable to attempt a normal heterosexual relationship with Betsy. In *Coming Home*, Bob spends his first night with his wife on leave from the horrors of Vietnam drinking and talking about violence; this is a change from the man shown making love to his wife when the film began. Again, this lack of normal sexuality removes the man from being one of God's creations. This lack of adherence to standards of morality is often linked to a weak mind. Both the aforementioned Bob and Travis snap towards the end of the film, bringing violence in some way. Mental illness is linked often with sexual deviance in the investigative reports, with non-scientific terms like sexual psychopath being used to describe these men. This weakness of mind allows the Devil to tempt these men into acts using their bodies in ways not intended by God.

The next way the search for internal evil is evidenced in these narratives is in the use of settings which denote a journey to Hell. Each case study offers a version of this to the viewer. The most direct use of this journey is the link to 'war being hell' in the Vietnam veteran films examined. *Apocalypse Now* offers an almost literal trip down the River Styx towards the Hell created by the dark god Colonel Kurtz. In addition to the journey being through fiery fields of war, the viewer is welcomed into Kurtz' Hell by Vietnamese with faces painted like skeletons. Travis returns from War to find the city streets are now Hell in *Taxi Driver*; smoke belches from city streets illuminated with an often-red glow to help take the viewer there. The journey through Hell Travis takes resembles the biblical Harrowing of Hell, as previously discussed by Lemming (2005). Like Christ in this story, Travis will journey into Hell between his 'death' in Vietnam and his 'resurrection' at the end of the film. On this journey, Travis seeks to rescue the angel Betsy, as well as the whore Iris, in an attempt to restore some sense of balance like he had before his traumatic 'sins' in the war.

The format of the 1980s investigative reports offered viewers a guided tour up close and personal into the world of killers and Satan worshippers from the safety of their homes. These journeys were signposted as evil with warnings before the broadcast that the viewer would soon see things outside of their normal comfort zone. Finally, the grunge artists used often iconic imagery to denote the viewer was in the Hell of the artists own mind, often suffering with them. This was accomplished through the use of deserts and caves, along with filtered lighting and often very obvious demonic faces showing evil present. The settings were almost more significant in their inference of the existence of internal evil than the characterization because they highlighted that Hell was more often than not inside of one's own mind. This individual, private Hell suggests that what Ehrman (2003) called the Puritan interpretation of the Harrowing of Hell story. Ehrman states that because some souls are doomed to Hell at birth, there would be no reason Christ would travel to Hell to undo God's will, so the story must be read as a personal, inward journey to save one's own soul.

The second question this project asked was how the parts, or archetypes, of Jung's Devil found representation in the narratives? The reader is reminded that Jung believed the Devil, as it presents in his psychological model, as a combination of energy from two primary archetypal sources, the Trickster and the Shadow. Jung stressed this relationship was complex and also spoke of repressed Shadow elements presenting themselves to the conscious as Tricksters, pushing the Self to change and grow through a safer recognition of these Shadow parts. The narratives in the case studies examined stressed the Devil as an element of change, with the Trickster holding dominance over the Shadow in most cases.

When the Trickster appeared, it was often to ask, 'why is this darkness inside me?' To encourage change, by recognition that there were indeed Shadow parts of the psyche which needed integration into the Self, the Trickster energy aligned mostly with the fluid, feminine elements of the narratives. This nurturing element often countered a Shadow which was

situated in old, less adaptable masculine energy. This confrontation was observed in many ways. Sometimes, it was a physically female character who would enter the life of a violent man and promote change. This can be seen in Jane Fonda's character from *Coming Home*, Sally Hyde; she does not know her purpose, yet transforms both Luke and Bob as an agent of dynamic change, shocking the natural senses of both men, with clearly distinct types of change resulting. In other narratives examined, it was only through the acceptance of an often-feminine death that would bring this change. In the video for Dollar Bill (1993), the singer would accept death over living without change; he is guided by the Virgin of Mercy towards the end of his life. Throughout the case study on music videos, striking examples of the old and inflexible masculinity were countered with characters full of youthful and symbols of metamorphosis; the video Grind (1995) sees an old man forced to return to a cavern-like womb before being able to ascend stairs to Heaven, and change, while 1992's video for 'Butterfly' uses a female crucifixion and death, as well as butterflies, to show that the transformation of an evil man into something better is possible.

When the Shadow appeared in a dominant way, it often asked 'why is this darkness inside them?,' projecting itself outward. The appearance of the Shadow removed agency from the actor, becoming an identity one could not escape from, often because of past actions. If one gave into so called 'sexual deviance,' doing so was not always a decision of free will; it was often attributed to a force already inside, or invited inside accidentally through poor life choices, such as watching pornography. These behaviours brought Shadow elements to the surface of the psyche in an unhealthy way, with no Trickster element guiding this recognition of the evil inside in a positive direction. This resulting recognition with no change often resulted in actions society would rightfully label as evil. This is demonstrated multiple times during the study on investigative reports, which I have previously identified as the only case study where the influence of the Shadow was dominant. The Shadow, often identified as a

negative or evil impulse, is identified by the murders interviewed to be the ‘voice they chose to follow.’ A good example is seen in *Murder: No Apparent Motive*, when serial killer Ed Kemper describes how a raging feeling inside of him is full of negative and positive energies, and when he killed he followed the negative ones. Throughout these narratives on television, there was little hope offered that these men might change, with most of the time used to explain why these killers and Satanists were part of a subgroup completely separate to the White Christian male identity they seem to draw heavily from.

When the Trickster element did guide the emerging Shadow, it often involved embracing and being consumed by the Shadow first. Once the Shadow was faced in this direct way, change through integrating these Shadow parts into the Self in a safe way could begin. An example of this ‘violent rebirth’ could be seen in the case study on Vietnam veteran films. In *The Deer Hunter*, Michael is part conscious of his Shadow before his war experience. However, when he allows the Shadow to take over in Vietnam, becoming a killing machine to survive, he was able to recognize parts of the Shadow better and was forced to integrate them better into his Self to fit in when he returned home to Pennsylvania. Another good example of the Trickster emerging from the Shadow to promote change can be seen in the grunge music video for Soundgarden’s ‘Jesus Christ Pose’ (1991). After screaming at a silent, feminine voice that tells him he needs to be saved, the singer goes through what appears to be a possession, or fight for his soul, during the musical bridge; this ends with the singer transformed into a calmer person, who then walks out of the desert as the song ends, somewhat changed. In both these examples the Devil has emerged as what Jung (CW9i, para. 456) refers to as a saviour, using an otherwise unnoticed fragment of the Shadow to spark transformation through Individuation.

The next research question asked how might the historical time period these narratives were produced in effect the way which the archetypal Devil appears, and acts, to evidence him as

the self-other and the source of evil? The historical period had a significant effect on how the Devil, as the source of ultimate evil, was used in the popular cultural narratives examined. It is important to remember that this period was selected because it is argued that American cultural products were affected by the occult revival, which started in the 1960s. In addition to substantial civil rights movements in the news of the 1970s, which might have caused worry to the Christian White male population that enjoyed most of the privileges, the media coverage of the Vietnam War traumatized the entire nation. The atrocities reported might have had less of an impact with an American victory, but the defeated American fighting man, now revealed to be at least part of the evil, was something of great concern. This, along with the discussion provided in the second case study on the effect of New Hollywood and director driven films, produced a type of cinema that examined the very souls of characters, often without offering a conclusion, or even an explanation as to why they acted evil. In the narratives examined, the evil inside of these men was examined partially through, but not fully attributed to, war. Going to war had either awakened them to their Shadow parts or allowed them to use their Shadow in a more overt, violent way. Therefore, these narratives used recognition of the Devil within as a way to change towards something more suitable in the world; much like a traumatized, post war America might have felt the need to do.

The 1980s began with an event examined extensively by sociologists and other academics; the 'Satanic panic'. This period of public paranoia and anxiety started with the publication of 1980s *Michelle Remembers*, which started a belief in repressed memories of Satanic abuse, but became a daily, national news story in 1983 when parents at the McMartin preschool made accusations that their children had been abused by a secret, Satanic cult. With the Devil already in the forefront of popular culture and often violent films of the slasher horror genre being produced weekly since the box office success of 1980s *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>*, the concept that a wide based, secret cult of ritualistic Satanic abusers spread rapidly across America. The

crimes in the Devil's name against children were so vile, reported nightly in such detail, that there was no desire to be associated with these evil actions. So, the evil inside, as examined in the televised investigative reports, was placed as far as possible from what society considered normal. If the reader recalls, Crang (1998) argued that othering was a process where identities are created to be unequal to each other, which allows the 'in-group' a better definition of who they are, by othering elements that do not belong 'in-group'; White Christian men could not these impulses inside them, because they were different than the carefully defined out-groups which did. The purpose of these narratives was therefore not an integration of this Shadow element, but an explanation as to why some of these men were difference. This difference was identified as being sexually deviant, which included homosexuality, and violent, often mixing the two in one act. That homosexuality was included is not surprising, as the 1980s also saw a misinformed panic over the spread of the human immunodeficiency virus by primarily homosexual men, men who were often portrayed as sexual predators. These narratives placed any non-heteronormative acts, and the aforementioned evil acts, within a Shadow which could never be integrated, and had to be locked away.

During the final case study, the historical period of the 1990s saw the more overt effects of the occult revival fade, while the interest and need to locate the AntiChrist as the millennium approached intensified. Hollywood and television offered numerous narratives exploring the coming apocalypse and who the AntiChrist might be. This quest turned inward which can be seen in the grunge music videos examined. It was in the visual imagery of these videos that I first noticed this internal examination of evil, which lead me to develop this project. These musicians accepted that civil injustices were often committed by White Christian men like them and asked why. The questioned violence against women and the dark, destructive impulse many of them felt that lead to substance abuse. In these narratives, the evil became portrayed as the Devil, or demons, in the most overt way yet, with visualizations of Hell and

limbo dragged directly from Dante's *Inferno* by Nirvana's Kurt Cobain. Along with the Devil, the internal Hell they felt was seen in desert landscapes and red filtered shots. Against this internal Hell, symbols of change like children, blooming flowers and the butterfly gave hope that this Shadow could be integrated. These narratives showed a recognition of the Shadow and a need to integrate it into the larger Self, often through Trickster elements; however, the success or failure of this recognition for change was rarely shown.

The fourth question this project asked was do these popular culture narratives show self-othering, using the Devil, in such a way that reconciliation with the Shadow within is still possible? The reader is reminded that Jung believed that the ultimate goal of the psyche was to become what that person's Self archetype always knew the person was destined to be. Jung termed the journey of the Self towards a unified psyche Individuation. As discussed in the first chapter, self-othering was something that occurred when undesirable traits within a group were identified as belonging to a smaller group within the whole, a group which was not representative of the views of this larger group. This question asks that since Jung identified the projection of the Shadow as an unhealthy psychological practise, is reconciliation with the Shadow, or Devil parts, possible if they are projected onto subgroups through self-othering? Based on the case studies examined in this project, the practice of self-othering seems to project the dark parts of the psyche out, into others who are then offered as examples as to why the Shadow seen was linked to sub-groups within the larger White Christian male demographic. These out-groups, identified through self-othering, included the general category of sexual deviants, those suffering from mental illness, murderers without an acceptable reason for their actions, and those possessed by the devil, or some form of dark impulse, through choice or moral weakness. In a way, all of these groups could be placed under the heading of moral weakness, with the ideals of morality taken from the Christian faith.

This was seen extensively in the middle case study, which examined investigative news programs from the 1980s. The discourses presented in these programs encouraged the viewer to believe that the reason White Christian men, who looked like their next-door neighbour, were committed atrocious murders and joining cults was because they were not like the normal, moral based man. Once projected outside the individual psyche, this Shadow became a separate, external entity. Self-examination, crucial for Individuation, ended with the projection of evil onto these morally weak White, Christian men. In no way did these narratives attempt to explore the reasons such evil might exist inside of its viewers; instead, it presented the viewer with evidence from specialists that these men were not like them and existed within these morally lacking ‘evil’ groups. This identification of evil, out-groups who were very much a danger the larger White Christian population they had come from, is an example of ‘weaponized victimhood’ as argued by Bebout (2020); Christian male group maintained its power and privileges by showing that they also were victims of those under the influence of this evil and would use their power to stop these individuals to protect society at large. The televised special *Murder of Death Row: Live* (1988) goes so far as to list the reasons murder might be justified and ‘not evil’, including self-defense and the so-called crime of passion, when the killer temporary loses their moral compass because of some event, like one of their children being molested by a man from a clearly evil sub-group. This sign posting sets up a clear train of thought viewers are supposed to follow, coming to the ultimate conclusion that these men are actually not like them, so they don’t have to worry about recognizing dark parts of their own psyche.

This leads nicely into a discussion about the final research question this project set out to answer; how do the narratives examined within the case studies reflect the already present representations of Satan in the New Testament and previous popular cultural texts? The Devil within the case study narratives drew heavily on three previous representations, two of which

were more obvious than the third. The first noticeable representation drawn from was the idea that the Devil tempts man to do evil. The temptation in these narratives was usually seen as an internal force, perhaps the so-called 'evil impulse' that a person suddenly found themselves listening to when they chose to act in an evil fashion.

The second noticeable representation the Devil of these narratives drew on was that of one who possessed God's creatures, including man. Whereas giving into temptation by the Devil still showed a degree of agency and individual responsibility, possession removed this agency and responsibility for one's actions. It is interesting that the mental condition military personnel may subject to after combat, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), has been argued to remove some of the accountability for their actions, almost as if they were 'possessed' by the violent nature of war. Possession is also used in attempts to describe a person's behaviour if it is vastly different than normally expected from that individual. Jung himself described the effects of a triggered complex on the psyche to be as if that person was momentarily possessed.

The final representation of the Devil in these narratives was perhaps less noticeable, most likely because it was not as negative and associated with evil as the previous two; one who encouraged transformation. The Satan, of the Old Testament, was an agent of God sent to challenge men by making them use their free will to make choices. They can also be seen in the New Testament when Satan confronts Jesus in the desert. His temptation transforms Jesus into a man full of resolve of his faith in God. The use of luminol, or transformative spaces in several of the narratives signified this change from worldly to supernatural, summoning up visions of alchemy were the only thing definite was change. One must remember that Jung (CW16,2015) saw the Trickster archetypal energies in the Devil to be, above all, a strong proponent of change, challenging the individual to face themselves.

### 8.3 | What Next? Future Research with Sociology and Jung

In addition to providing a successful example of Jungian theory used in sociological research, this project has served to add to the ongoing discussion of cultural complexes and has also presented the idea of a new cultural complex effecting some Americans, the infernal complex. Relating to both is this project's argument that the myths created in popular cultural narratives can be examined in a similar fashion as individual dreams, giving the social researcher insight into what might have triggered the complex and how to mediate the more severe effects of it in the future. With this in mind, future research could examine how the infernal complex appears in other popular cultural narratives of the same time period or perhaps look forward to examining the post 9/11 period which immediately follows the scope of this thesis.

I also believe that using the concept of cultural complexes is a valuable tool for sociologists in the future. As wider social action and change often reflects emotional important cultural issues, understanding the collective emotional state of the demographic in question gives an additional, deeper level of observation; this would be especially useful in the case of cultures who have suffered a collective traumatic event, such as the wars in Ukraine and Gaza.

In summary, the focus of Jung's psychology on the importance of shared cultural experience, including trauma, make it an informative additional lens for sociologists to examine the inner-sociology, or social building blocks, people carry within them.

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## Appendix A | Synopsis of the 1970s Vietnam Veteran Films Used in Case Study 1

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### **Taxi Driver**

Release in the USA on February 9, 1976.

USA Gross: \$28,262,574 (2022, IMDB.com)

Directed by Martin Scorsese, the film is about Vietnam veteran Travis Bickle (Robert De Niro), who becomes a New York taxi driver to occupy a troubled mind which seeks to find some good in the world he now sees as filthy and corrupt. He tries to convince political activist Betsy (Cybil Shepherd) and child-prostitute Iris (Jodie Foster) that he will save them from the world's corruption, but fails, and eventually concludes that he must use the skills he possesses to clean up the corruption. After failing to assassinate the government hopeful Betsy works for, he unleashes his violence on all the men he sees involved in the prostitution of Iris, killing them all. The film ends with him being framed as a hero for his actions in the media.

### **Heroes**

Released in the USA on November 17, 1977.

USA Gross: \$33,500,000 (2022, IMDB.com).

Heroes, directed by Jeremy Kagan, the film follows veteran Jack Dunne (Henry Winkler) as he escapes from a veteran's mental health hospital in an attempt to travel across the country to start a business growing earth worms with friend and fellow veteran Larry Monroe. Fate finds him traveling most of the way with Carol Bell (Sally Field), who is having doubts about her upcoming marriage. Along the way, Jack and Carol meet up with fellow veteran Ken

Boyd (Harrison Ford), who has returned to his hometown and lives as a recluse. Carol and Jack fall in love along their journey, but when they reach Larry Monroe's house it turns out that Larry was killed in Vietnam saving Jack's life, and that Jack has been suffering PTSD from this loss. The film ends with Carol holding Jack, who seems to have finally accepted this loss.

### **Coming Home**

Release in the USA on February 15, 1978.

USA Gross: \$32,653,905 (2022, IMDB.com).

Directed by Hal Ashby, this film tells the story of several Vietnam veterans and connecting character Sally Hyde (Jane Fonda). Captain Bob Hyde (Bruce Dern) is Sally's husband, a patriotic, traditionally moral man who is about to willingly go to Vietnam. When he leaves, Sally begins working at the local veteran hospital where she is reacquainted with a veteran who recognizes her from school, Luke Martin (Jon Voight). Before running into Sally, paralysed Luke is a bitter, often violent man who refuses to help himself or let others help him. Another veteran at the hospital, Sally's friend's brother Bill Munson (Robert Carradine), suffers from mental rather than physical trauma, and kills himself. With Sally functioning as a new reason to live, Luke begins to actively help in his own recovery, eventually being discharged and starting a romantic relationship with Sally. Bob returns from Vietnam as a man questioning the horrors he and his countrymen committed and almost kills Sally and Luke upon finding out about them. The film concludes with Bob walking out into the ocean to kill himself, and Luke finding purpose in speaking and acting out against the American war effort.

## **The Deer Hunter**

Release in the USA on February 23, 1979.

USA Gross: \$48,979,328 (2022, IMDB.com).

This film was directed by Michael Cimino and tells the Vietnam era experience using three blue collar working friends in rural Pennsylvania, Michael (Robert De Niro), Nick (Christopher Walken), and Steve (John Savage). The roughly first hour of the film shows the strengths and weaknesses of these friends and their community, which includes Nick's fiancé Linda (Meryl Streep). Steve is portrayed as a highly moralistic man, marrying a woman who is carrying another's child as the right thing to do, while Nick seems to be a man afraid of upsetting the status quo, even after he notices the mutual attraction between Michael and Linda. Michael is the film's 'superman' in that he seems to have a higher insight into the world's ambiguous nature and morality. During the war, all three men are captured and forced to play 'Russian roulette' by their Vietnamese captors. Through Michael's leadership, they escape but then separate. When Michael returns home to a war heroes welcome, he avoids this to look for Nick and Steve, who have not returned. He finds Steve injured in a veteran's home, not willing to return home due to his trauma; Michael forces him to do so. Nick is found to have gone AWOL from the army and is now in the Vietnamese underground playing Russian roulette for money. When Michael arrives to 'save' him as well, Nick's mind is too far gone, and Nick shoots himself in the head while playing the game. Michael returns to his home, now in a relationship with Linda, their fates all changed.

## **Apocalypse Now**

Release in the USA on August 15, 1979.

USA Gross: \$96,042,913 (2022, IMDB.com).

Directed by Francis Ford Coppola, this film was a loose adaptation of the 1899 Robert Conrad story *Heart of Darkness*. This version is told through the eyes of Captain Willard (Martin Sheen), a would-be assassin for the American military who is given the task to go through Vietnam, and into Cambodia, to 'remove' American colonel gone rogue, Kurtz (Marlon Brando). He travels to Kurtz down a river in a patrol boat, stopping several times to meet American soldiers existing in the Hell of Vietnam. Through interaction with characters like Lt. Colonel Kilgore (Robert Duvall), his journey illustrates that America has brought Hell to Vietnam, despite many traumatized GI's believing that they are truly still the civilized ones. Although Willard does follow orders and kill Kurtz, he and the audience are left wondering if there really is a difference between Willard and Kurtz was, besides the sanction of Willard's actions by the government.

## Appendix B | Investigative News Reports and Specials used for Case Study 2

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*Tom Snyder's Interview with Charles Manson* (1981) NBC's Tomorrow Coast to Coast.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T0BFZiKe4i0&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=14>.

*Ed Kemper Interviews | Chronological Order | From 1981 - 1991 | Video Footage* (1981-1991) Various Unknown.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NxSUgNKX714&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=31&t=86s>.

*Robin Gecht's Neighbours React to his Arrest* (1982) CBS News Chicago.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LZ9jTbtbc&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=17>.

*NBC Archive News Footage of the Green River Killer* (1983) NBC.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xMFt8DOHFG8&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=25&t=1416s>.

*Ed Kemper Interview* (1984) Unknown Source.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I8x5PeZZFNs&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=32&t=13s>.

*The Acid King: Ricky Kasso: 80's Teen Killer* (1984) NBC.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHI83M4bmZE&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=24>.

*HBO America Undercover: Murder, No Apparent Motive* (1984) HBO.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1RmXtAeDAXM&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=3>.

*Archive Footage of Larry Eyler Case* (1985) Various Unknown.

Part one: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bCsDIbmUrgU&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=26>.

Part two: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AxOInECgVXE&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=27>.

Part three: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q39QvtyBiw8&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=28>.

Part four: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8WSg9\\_hTMNs&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=29](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8WSg9_hTMNs&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=29).

Part five: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BGeGQCGWs44&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=30>.

*The Devil Worshipers* (1985) ABC's 20/20.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_UQuwxBgpAg&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_UQuwxBgpAg&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=4).

*Charlie Rose's Interview with Charles Manson* (1986) Nightwatch.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H4uT6ou\\_ZGw&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=5](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H4uT6ou_ZGw&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=5).

*Night Stalker Strikes Again in California-News Footage* (1985) NBC.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZyZCV-sJAm4>.

*Ted Bundy News Report* (1986) NBC's 1986.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tYM8eImFV-I&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=6>.

*VCR Horrors* (1987) ABC's 20/20.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHQ7SB3wnwM&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=7>.

*Report on Heavy Metal Music* (1987) ABC's 20/20.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TnlimbTnrN4&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=8>.

*Mass Murderer Charles Manson's 1987 Interview in San Quentin Prison* (1987) Today Show. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Edw-ftS2Jo&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=9&t=38s>.

*Murder, Live from Death Row* (1988) Geraldo Rivera Specials.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NLYPI-iEq8g&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=10>.

*Geraldo Rivera Interview with Charles Manson* (1988) Geraldo Rivera Specials.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m93rM6XIPP8&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=11>.

*Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground* (1988) Geraldo Rivera Specials.

Part one: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qocBf3\\_mmic&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=12](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qocBf3_mmic&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=12).

Part two: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4kK4yAmwpCU&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=13>.

Part three: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qnM95xmLoMY&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=14>.

Part four: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YTY0p-yEo70&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=15>

Part five: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B5KaTXjMUaA&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=16&t=4s>.

Part six: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aGHulFE7-o0&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=17>.

Part seven: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WvjFzrH90pk&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=18>.

Part eight: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xDpZGBQ4h4k&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=19>.

Part Nine: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v1Y8xWMxqus&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=20>.

*Special Report: The Execution of Ted Bundy* (1989) ABC.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEIIL4UbOis&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=22&t=1420s>.

*Ted Bundy full final interview from 23rd January 1989 + Interview with Dr. James Dobson* (1989) ABC. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08dpnn0cd10&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=23&t=1375s>.

*Penny Daniels Interview with Charles Manson* (1989) Inside Edition.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CNPW0WHIAvo&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS-G-VTnc0kV8wPZwZHwB7pb&index=21>.

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## Appendix C | Music Videos Used in Chapter 11 Analysis

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Man In the Box (1990) *Alice in Chains*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TAqZb52sgpU&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=1](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TAqZb52sgpU&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=1)

Jeremy (1991) *Pearl Jam*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MS91knuzoOA&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=6](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MS91knuzoOA&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=6).

Jesus Christ Pose (1991) *Soundgarden*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14r7y6rM6zA&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=12](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14r7y6rM6zA&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=12)

Outshined (1991) *Soundgarden*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sNh-  
iw7gsuI&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=19](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sNh-<br/>iw7gsuI&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=19).

Butterfly (1992) *Screaming Trees*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KjZ\\_Zz13wC0&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=11](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KjZ_Zz13wC0&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=11).

Rusty Cage (1992) *Soundgarden*. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pBZs\\_Py-1\\_0&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=13](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pBZs_Py-1_0&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=13)

Them Bones (1992) *Alice in Chains*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zTuD8k3JvxQ&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=2](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zTuD8k3JvxQ&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=2)

Shadow of the Season (1992) *Screaming Trees*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vujMy\\_r5NsY&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=9](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vujMy_r5NsY&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=9)

Dollar Bill (1993) *Screaming Trees*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=11fd7zeHRRs&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=10](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=11fd7zeHRRs&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=10)

Down in a Hole (1993) *Alice in Chains*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f8hT3oDDf6c&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=20](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f8hT3oDDf6c&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=20)

What the Hell Have I? (1993) *Alice in Chains*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qKXIk45pL0o&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=3](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qKXIk45pL0o&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=3)

Black Hole Sun (1994) *Soundgarden*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mbBbFH9fAg&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=15](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mbBbFH9fAg&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=15)

Far Behind (1994) *Candlebox*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eu3EuWg2qNI&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=7](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eu3EuWg2qNI&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=7)

Heart Shaped Box (1994) *Nirvana*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6P0SitRwy8&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=5](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6P0SitRwy8&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=5)

I Stay Away (1994) *Alice in Chains*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ODTv9Lt5WYs&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=18](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ODTv9Lt5WYs&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=18)

The Day I Tried to Live (1994) *Soundgarden*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dbckIuT\\_YDc&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=14](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dbckIuT_YDc&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=14)

You (1994) *Candlebox*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fyz->

[bOqmwIo&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fyz-bOqmwIo&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=8)

Grind (1995) *Alice in Chains*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83gddxVpitc&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83gddxVpitc&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=4)

River of Deceit (1995) *Mad Season*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fm72DPJCX58&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=17](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fm72DPJCX58&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=17)

Understanding (1995) *Candlebox*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oL2rX2rfrIQ&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=24](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oL2rX2rfrIQ&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=24)

Blow Up the Outside World (1996) *Soundgarden*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sC2GjXMk7i4&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=16](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sC2GjXMk7i4&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=16)

All I Know (1996) *Screaming Trees*.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rwvIUem\\_fmA&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM\\_qLy0RxSec2O&index=22](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rwvIUem_fmA&list=PLw2LuhCbGSS90GlnyN2oM_qLy0RxSec2O&index=22)

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