

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized online

Chapter Title	War and Trauma in the Music of Bruce Springsteen: “Born in the U.S.A.,” “Devils & Dust,” and “The Wall”	
Copyright Year	2019	
Copyright Holder	The Author(s)	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	Välimäki
	Particle	
	Given Name	Susanna
	Suffix	
	Division	
	Organization/University	University of Turku
	Address	Turku, Finland
	Email	susanna.valimaki@utu.fi
Abstract	<p>In this chapter, I explore the musical representation of war and trauma in the music of Bruce Springsteen. The aim is to discuss, via detailed musical examples, the significance of music as a vehicle for dealing with collective trauma and transgenerational burden, and hence as a sociocultural site for the social healing process. By examining musical examples from Springsteen’s catalogue, I simultaneously urge the reader to view this notable artist in a new light. Methodologically I combine trauma studies and cultural music analysis, focusing primarily on the sonic substance and the mechanisms therein that construct meaning. I discuss three songs by Springsteen: “Born in the U.S.A.” (1984), “Devils & Dust” (2005), and “The Wall” (2014).</p>	

War and Trauma in the Music of Bruce Springsteen: “Born in the U.S.A.,” “Devils & Dust,” and “The Wall”

Susanna Välimäki

War and its traumatic aftermath for the individual is a prominent theme in the music of Bruce Springsteen, whose oeuvre encompasses more than four decades.¹ Already his very first album included a song about war (“Lost in the Flood” in *Greetings from Asbury Park, N.J.*, 1973), and in the twenty-first century, Springsteen’s repertoire of songs dealing with war has only grown.

In most cases in Springsteen’s war songs, the narrator is a soldier or a veteran struggling with a social and a psychological deadlock. Often it is a Vietnam veteran (e.g., “Born in the U.S.A.” 1984) or an Iraq War veteran (e.g., “Gypsy Biker,” 2007), but there are also veterans of World War II (e.g., “Youngstown,” 1995) and the Gulf War (e.g., “Souls of the

¹I have previously written about the representation of war and trauma in Springsteen’s “Born in the U.S.A.” in Välimäki (2015a), but no other songs by Springsteen are discussed in that article, which includes examples from various musical genres.

S. Välimäki (✉)
University of Turku, Turku, Finland
e-mail: susanna.valimaki@utu.fi

© The Author(s) 2019
N. Braae, K. A. Hansen (eds.), *On Popular Music and Its Unruly
Entanglements*, Pop Music, Culture and Identity,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18099-7_6

17 Departed,” 1992). There are further pieces that describe the point of view
18 of a friend, partner, parent, or other relative of a soldier or a veteran, a
19 casualty, an enemy, a bystander, or other ordinary citizen in a society col-
20 lectively characterized by the trauma of war. Sometimes it is not specified
21 from whose perspective the story is told, and the point of view may shift
22 during a single song (e.g., “Shut Out the Light,” 1984).²

23 Similarly, the war in question is not always explicit. Springsteen’s lyrics
24 are poetic, elliptic, and polysemic, and thus open to various interpreta-
25 tions. The resultant fluctuating subject positions and open contexts are
26 important factors in the poetics of trauma narration. Even if a particular
27 war is specified in the lyrics, the song is as much about other wars as well—
28 about war in general. With new wars, the traumas of old wars are resusci-
29 tated, and in stories of old wars, contemporary wars and horrors are
30 evoked. This is an important dimension in Springsteen’s transgenerational
31 war imagery, which draws intertextually on the United States’ long history
32 of wars and anti-war art, from the Revolutionary War and the Civil War to
33 today’s conflicts.

34 In this chapter, I explore the representation of war and trauma in
35 Springsteen’s music by concentrating on three songs, each of which
36 expresses the poetics of trauma in powerful, yet different ways. The first is
37 one of Springsteen’s best-known songs, “Born in the U.S.A.” from the
38 album of the same name (1984). The song portrays the distress of a vet-
39 eran of the Vietnam War (1964–75) and the structural violence of flag-
40 waving nationalism in the form of a rock anthem. The second example is
41 the title track “Devils & Dust” from the album of the same name (2005).
42 This contemporary folksong expresses an inner struggle and the psychic
43 mortification of an American soldier in the Iraq War (2003–11). The third
44 example is an elegiac song, “The Wall,” from the album *High Hopes*
45 (2014). The narrator visits the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington,
46 D.C., and reminiscences about a friend who died in the Vietnam War.
47 Methodologically, I combine cultural trauma studies with cultural music
48 analysis in order to examine the musical mechanisms by which the songs
49 construct a discourse of trauma and remembrance. The cultural study of
50 trauma deals with representations of collective traumas in cultural prac-
51 tices, such as art and popular culture, from the point of view of collective
52 memory, remembrance, and mourning (e.g. Caruth 1996; Alexander

²A year after a song title indicates the date that the song was first published as a commercial audio product (usually in an album).

et al. 2004). Cultural music analysis means that my focus is on the sonic substance and the mechanisms therein that generate cultural meanings. More specifically, the music analysis here draws on the procedures of musical hermeneutics that focuses on musical topics, figures, tone painting and word painting, and other conventional musical imagery, as well as the structural tropes these musical means construct in interaction with the song lyrics (e.g. Kramer 1990, 2011; Tagg and Clarida 2003; Scott 2003; Monelle 2006; Mirka 2014).³ By focusing in this way on the sonic substance and the mechanisms therein that generate cultural meanings, I aim to illuminate in a detailed way the workings of the sonic poetics of trauma (e.g. Cumming 1997; Schwarz 1997; Välimäki 2005, 2008, 2015a; Cizmic 2012) in Springsteen’s war songs.

CULTURAL TRAUMA STUDIES AND MUSIC

Springsteen’s music has been copiously researched, especially since the turn of the millennium (see Harde and Streight 2010; Womack et al. 2012; Wolff 2018). Although many scholars have examined social critique and politics in Springsteen’s songs, the focus is seldom music-analytical, but instead revolves around the song lyrics. This is true of the research on his war songs as well (Woge 2007; Harde 2013; Schneider 2014, 2018;

³ *Topic theory* focuses on musical semantics in terms of conventions (*topoi*, “common-places,” stock of common ideas). Music is examined for its conventional codes related to styles, genres, expressions of sentiment, affects, figures, and other elements of musical rhetorics that have developed socially, culturally, historically, and aesthetically. Topics form a kind of standard vocabulary of semantic expressions in music; in this sense, certain musical constructions are comparable to metaphors, motifs, allegories, plot formulae, clichés, and other figures or tropes as defined in classical rhetoric. Topics are distinctive musical units, the structural characteristics of which have standard semantic references related to historical, social, compositional and technical styles, and genres. Most familiar classic topics include, for example, dances, military music, hunt music, horn signals, funeral march, tritone, dance of death, *dies irae* and other doomsday music. The category of topics is here understood as overlapping with genres, styles, and word painting (Välimäki 2005, 119–21). On topic theory and its applications, see, e.g., Ratner (1980), Monelle (2000, 2006), Välimäki (2005, 119–23, 236–300); and Mirka (2014); in popular music, see Tagg (1979), Tagg and Clarida (2003), Leydon (2010), and Spicer (2010). *Word painting* means that music imitates or reflects the word (or words) that is heard simultaneously; for example, a singer sings “down” and the melody simultaneously descends.

72 Neiberg and Citino 2016).⁴ Similarly, studies of Springsteen’s songs in
73 terms of collective trauma, mourning, and healing do not deal with the
74 sonic substance, but focus on lyrics, literary and other cultural influences,
75 media discussions and socio-political contexts (Garman 2007; Weine
76 2007; Yates 2010). Yet when it comes to representing trauma in song, the
77 musical aspects—that is, the non-verbal dimensions of a piece, including
78 the timbre of the voice—are of crucial importance, since the poetics of
79 trauma works most powerfully in the bodily and affective realms of subjec-
80 tivity (cf. Kristeva 1989). In the following analysis of Springsteen’s songs,
81 my aim is specifically to illuminate how the musical factors build the sonic
82 poetics of trauma, and thereby demonstrate that popular music is a dis-
83 tinctive site of cultural trauma process.

84 According to psychoanalytic trauma theory, the experience of psychic
85 trauma always defies reason and a sense of order, damages the ability to main-
86 tain a stable sense of reality and identity, and exceeds our understanding,
87 tolerance, as well as our capacity to master and respond to it and its long-
88 lasting effects (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988, 465; Caruth 1996, 2–4). When
89 the trauma is collective and not only individual, it involves a large group of
90 people and thus damages the elementary tissues of social life, collective iden-
91 tity, and sense of community (Alexander 2004, 4). Here, it is essential to
92 understand three intermingled aspects in the conception of trauma as a cul-
93 tural process. First, the emergence of trauma is related not only to a trau-
94 matic event, but also to the social repression of that event from the shared
95 cultural sphere of representations (ibid.). The repression can be total or par-
96 tial. A collective trauma requires collective processing and recognition in the
97 form of public cultural representations in order to be transformed, little by
98 little, from an unnamable affect that disables the culture (and its individuals)
99 into the symbolic sphere of collective remembrance and mourning.

100 Second, one does not have to experience war or its side effects directly
101 in one’s own life to suffer cultural trauma. It is enough to grow up or live
102 in an atmosphere of trauma. Collective traumas are transgenerational: they
103 are unconsciously transmitted from one generation to the next (Siirala
104 1983; Siltala 2012; Volkan 2014). The less the trauma is socially addressed,
105 the heavier is the *transferred burden*, that is, the suppressed heritage of
106 trauma (Siirala 1983, 92; Siltala 2012). As sociologists Ron Eyerman
107 (2002, 1–22) and Jeffrey C. Alexander (2004, 1–10) emphasize in their

⁴Exceptions include David Thurmaier’s (2011) research on Springsteen’s human rights songs, and Jefferson Cowie and Laurie Boehm’s (2012) discussion of working-class representation in “Born in the U.S.A.,” which take into account musical aspects as well as lyrics.

elaboration of the notion, cultural trauma always initiates “a meaning struggle”: a process of grappling with the traumatic event and signifying it painfully within a time span of several decades or even centuries. This is precisely what is meant by a cultural trauma process.

Third, a cultural trauma process is a prerequisite for social healing. Step by step, it results in acknowledging and naming the nature of the burden, the victim, and the responsible parties (Eyerman 2002, 1–22; Alexander 2004, 1–10). It is only through social mediation and collective sharing via public cultural representations that a disabling burden can be eased, by distributing it from the carrier groups to larger collectives of people who, by sharing the same social space (be it an ethnic or other kind of social group, society, nation, or the whole of humankind), should be able to respond, co-mourn, remember, and thus carry collective responsibility (Siirala 1983, 14–16, 60–61, 92–95).

Art and popular culture play a significant role in this process. As emphasized in psychoanalytic music research, music is an effective vehicle for representing trauma (see Cumming 1997; Schwarz 2007; Välimäki 2005, 2008, 2015a). Because of its temporal, bodily, and affective nature, music has the powerful ability to resonate with the basic experience of being, to invoke compassion, and to build an ethical space of encounter; attentive listening is always based on resonance between the source of the sound and the listener (Välimäki 2015b; cf. Nancy 2008). In this way, music teaches us how to listen to the Other and encounter their pain.

“BORN IN THE U.S.A.” 131

“Born in the U.S.A.” is a furious depiction of a Vietnam veteran and his desperate struggle to pursue a reasonable life in a society that hits below the belt again and again.⁵ The form of the song is as follows (Springsteen 1984a):

Intro ^[B]		136
A ¹	Born down in a dead man’s town [...]	137
B ¹	Born in the U.S.A. I was [...]	138
A ²	Got in a little hometown jam [...]	139

⁵ Among previous discussions of “Born in the U.S.A.,” there is an especially detailed one by Cowie and Boehm (2012). Another influential source for my research has been Stevan Weine’s (2007) study of song (lyrics) as societal trauma representation. Michael S. Neiberg and Robert M. Citino (2016) also emphasize structural trauma in their discussion of song (lyrics) as articulating the tragic connectedness of the working class to the military.

140	B ²	Born in the U.S.A. [...]
141	A ³	Come back home to the refinery [...]
142	B instr. ¹	(Oh yeah, oh no, no no no)
143	A ⁴	I had a brother at Khe Sahn [...]
144	A ⁵	He had a woman he loved in Saigon [...]
145	A ⁶	Down in the shadow of the penitentiary [...]
146	B ³	Born in the U.S.A. [...]
147	B ⁴	Born in the U.S.A. [...]
148	B instr. ²	(Oh no, no no no...)
149	B instr. ³	(Oh no...)
150	B instr. ⁴	(Aaaah...)
151	Coda ^[B]	
152	B instr. ⁵	(Oh no no no...)
153	B instr. ⁶	
154	B instr. ⁷	[fade out]

155 The song conveys the structural violence of a society that crushes the
 156 underprivileged citizen time and again. To be born turns out to be a psy-
 157 chological death sentence (Sawyers 2006, 93), since there are no real life
 158 prospects. The narrator is buried alive under the mortifying options of a
 159 refinery, jail, and the (Vietnam) War. Life has been lost before it even
 160 began, the first blow being received at birth (“Born down in a dead man’s
 161 town/The first kick I took was when I hit the ground”). The narrator
 162 survives Vietnam, unlike his friend. He returns home, but has nothing to
 163 return to. He has neither a job nor other chances of building a life, and the
 164 veterans’ union does not help him. He is an outcast who has been exploited
 165 by society and has nowhere to go. Thus, he just continues, year after year,
 166 his lonely and frantic struggle in emptiness.

167 The poetics of trauma and depression (e.g. Kristeva 1989; Välimäki
 168 2005, 257–66; Siltala 2012) is excessive in the song, which is repetitive
 169 and simple. The sounds, riffs, and figures are harsh and furious, and the
 170 music merely repeats one and the same thing over and over again, result-
 171 ing in an acoustic image of a jam or a psychic prison (cf. Cowie and Boehm
 172 2012, 30). There is one melodic motive (*f#–e–f#–g#–e–f#*), the melody of
 173 the synthesizer riff, which is played throughout the song, including the
 174 intro, in the verses (A), refrains (B), and instrumental interludes, which
 175 are refrains without vocals (B instr.). Moreover, the melody of the refrain
 176 is similar to the riff, and even the melody in the verse is a variant of the
 177 same motive. There is only one chord in the entire song (B major, the bass

of which undulates between the first and fourth scale degrees).⁶ The song follows a verse–refrain structure (AB), but the verse and the refrain are musically very similar. Altogether, it is a monotonous song. Nothing changes, in essence, except the anger, which grows to the point of collapse.

The instrumental components of the song underscore and emphasize this traumatic state of being. The beat is persistent, aggressive. The snare drum, which suggests a military drum, strikes mercilessly on every second and fourth beat of the measure. From the point of view of trauma expression, the drums musically paint the victim's societal experience of structural violence: what society offers is blows, time and again. The colossal reverb and gate effect in the snare drum seem to shake the unhealed wounds. The bass drum strikes its first blow right after the line, "first kick I took was when I hit the ground" [ba-bam], an example of effective and dramatic word painting. Likewise the synthesizer riff does not land on the tonic scale degree but cycles around the dominant, enacting a lack of resolution and the sense of an open wound. The lyrics are direct; short words and a disregard for neat or regular rhymes create a feeling of puff and blow, which adds to the sense of a documentary, an authentic, hard, real-life story (cf. Thompson 2007, 138).

Springsteen's style of singing is also aggressive: he shouts, rages, cries, and his voice shatters toward the end of the song. Moreover, while relatively regular up to this point, the structure of the song proceeds to disintegrate in the second half of the track (Cowie and Boehm 2012, 37). After the third verse, there is no vocal refrain, but rather an instrumental version of the refrain with the same musical material (B instr¹). Thereafter, three verses are played one after another (A⁴, A⁵, and A⁶), while the phrase structure in the lyrics begins to break down. The verses become incomplete: instead of four lines, there are only three or two. Thus, instead of words, there are more and more rests, silences, emptiness, which means that speech ceases, like the speech of a depressed person or someone describing painful memories (Kristeva 1989; Siltala 2012; cf. also Cowie and Boehm 2012, 37). All this creates a sense of the presence of trauma; instead of

⁶Whether the song uses one chord or two is a matter of opinion. The B-major chord (B or B5 when played as a power chord) alternates with an altered B-major chord that has E in the bass (B/E). This altered B chord can, however, be interpreted as an altered fourth degree chord, Eadd9. Most of the time the chords are played as power chords that emphasize open fifths and create a constant sense of drones.

210 talking, the narrator bursts into tears, and eventually, in the final
211 instrumental refrains, he no longer sings, but moans (B instr.²), shouts (B
212 instr.³), and screams (B instr.⁴), while (military) drums play explosive fills
213 (B instr.⁵).

214 In the official music video of the song (Springsteen 1984b), the long-
215 standing cry (in the beginning of B instr.⁴) begins precisely at the point
216 where the image shows soldiers' gravestones at Arlington National
217 Cemetery. The moment constructs a powerful point of synchronization
218 (Chion 1994, 83). Eric Rawson has identified this kind of non-lexical
219 vocal effect as an important stylistic feature of Springsteen. It is a moment
220 of exceptional emotional charge, which deploys the rhetoric of those who
221 have no alternatives by which to voice their pain: "an individual staring
222 into the abyss" (Rawson 2018, 133–35, 142).

223 Alongside the imagery of depression, pain, and rancor, central to the
224 song is the imagery of Americanism and American nationalism, such as the
225 synthesizer's bright and anthemic, fanfare-like riff and the heavily echoed
226 drumming. These elements refer to the exalted American style developed,
227 most significantly, by Aaron Copland in his Americana works during and
228 after World War II (Crist 2005; Taruskin 2009, 610–74). We may talk
229 about Americanism as being created by open intervals of fourths and fifths,
230 slowly shifting harmonies, and the solemn timbres and gestures of brass
231 instruments, especially trumpets, and military drums. The American
232 sound evokes the vast American landscape, brave settlers, the pioneer
233 spirit, and the American ideals of democracy and freedom. The topic is
234 well-known from such works as Copland's orchestral suites *Fanfare for the*
235 *Common Man* (1942) and *Appalachian Spring* (1944), as well as his Third
236 Symphony (1946).

237 It is with this topic of archetypal American sound that "Born in the
238 U.S.A." opens, and the beginning of the song indeed resembles *Fanfare*
239 *for the Common Man*, because of the same topics of Americanism in both
240 pieces (open intervals of fourths and fifths, slowly shifting harmonies, the
241 solemn timbre of trumpets, and military drums). However, in Springsteen's
242 song the splendid and shiny signs of Americanism are converted into a
243 constrained emptiness. They are repeated over and over again, exagger-
244 ated loudly, aggressively, and mechanically—in an inhuman way. The
245 shouting, the drum blows, and the excessive repetition of the fanfare riff
246 expose the violence and trauma beneath the surface of the national

discourse. The production of American gestures is forced; the gestures of Americanism convey violence.⁷

Yet at the same time, noble music can be heard as dignifying the underprivileged by re-signifying the traumatic discourse, and elevating it to a level of grandiosity. Indeed, it is important to notice that here Springsteen’s “lamentation for the common man” is not only a dirge, but also a big-time power pop track (by the E Street Band). The music transforms the trauma into a loud song of revolt that rivets the listener. It is an example of music that integrates, enlivens, and empowers its listener by bringing cultural trauma into the symbolic sphere of shared experience and creating out of it a fabulous-sounding representation.⁸

“DEVILS & DUST”

“Devils & Dust” is somber folk music, with stripped-down singer-songwriter roots and Americana elements. Harsh in its lyrical content, the song is written from the viewpoint of a soldier in service at the front.⁹ The song begins acoustically with guitar and voice signifying the basic storytelling style of American folklore (cf. Schneider 2018, 167–68) and creating a sense of intimacy and fragility:

I got my finger on the trigger 265
 But I don’t know who to trust 266
 When I look into your eyes 267
 There’s just devils and dust [...] 268

⁷ Drawing intertextually on American imagery and history is characteristic of Springsteen’s music (see, for example, Harde and Streight [2010]; Womack et al. [2012]). For example, the title of “Born in the U.S.A.” echoes Ron Kovic’s book *Born on the Fourth of July* (1976), the autobiography of a paralyzed Vietnam War veteran, which was later adapted into a film (1989). The ironic title of Kovic’s memoirs, in turn, is a reference to the famous line in the patriotic Broadway song “Yankee Doodle Boy” (1904): “I’m a Yankee Doodle Dandy / A Yankee Doodle, do or die / A real live nephew of my Uncle Sam / Born on the Fourth of July.”

⁸ It is a subject of dispute just how clear the political message is of “Born in the U.S.A.” See Cowie and Boehm (2012) or Schneider (2014).

⁹ The song (lyrics) has been discussed in detail by Jason Schneider (2018), who examines it as an artistic response to the discourse of fear and the socio-political climate in the U.S. in the early 2000s. Also Jason Stonerook (2018, 66) suggests listening to the song (lyrics) as describing America’s fearful and paranoiac psyche in wrestling with the consequences of the Iraq invasion.

269 The song is like a short story or a character portrait, which paints the
270 dark, inner landscape of the soldier's mind. As regularly happens in
271 Springsteen's socially critical songs, the narrator is placed in a situation
272 in which the choices are untenable (Sawyers 2006, 175); and it is the
273 social structures that have forced the protagonists into their hellish dis-
274 position (Neiberg and Citino 2016, 59). The soldier's psychological and
275 spiritual dead-end struggle—about the justification of war and killing—
276 is the song's theme. As Jason Schneider points out, "Devils & Dust"
277 draws on the device of a "dramatic monologue" (2018, 170), which
278 Alan Rauch (1988) has noticed as typical of Springsteen. The song
279 invites the listener to enter the world of someone who is in a dramatic
280 moment and "to empathize with the plight of the speaker, while remain-
281 ing critical of the circumstances that generated that plight" (Rauch
282 1988, 30, 46).

283 Although the lyrics make no explicit references to the Iraq War (2003–
284 11), many factors suggest that it is the song's immediate context (Weine
285 2007, 45; Woge 2007, 145; Harde 2013, 137–38). Springsteen com-
286 posed it right after the invasion of Iraq (2003), played it in sound checks
287 during the *Rising* tour of 2003, and performed it again the next year dur-
288 ing the *Vote for Change* tour. During the Grammy Awards show in 2006,
289 he ended a performance of this song by saying, "Bring 'em home!," refer-
290 ring to the U.S. troops in Iraq (Springsteen 2006; see also Schneider
291 2018, 173).

292 Furthermore, the imagery of dust and dirty wind in the lyrics readily
293 conjures up the patrolling soldiers' environment in Iraq (or Afghanistan).
294 Simultaneously, it depicts the murky psychic condition of the soldier:
295 there is no answer to the question of whether killing is right in any situ-
296 ation. Similarly, the opening line, which is repeated at the song's turning
297 point (the last verse, A³)—"I got my finger on the trigger/But I don't
298 know who to trust"—illustrates both the outer environment of the sol-
299 diers (e.g. in the streets of a town) and their inner struggle to justify
300 killing. Typical of Springsteen, a rich mix of contemporary and historical
301 imagery from dust-bowl ballads to Wild West mythology addresses
302 transgenerational traumas and the age-old problems of human kind. The
303 basic conflict of "to kill or die" has always been the same in war-like situ-
304 ations. The dust is that of the western United States and of Iraq, and is
305 biblical ("dust to dust"), and Homeric ("bite the dust"), among
306 other things.

The form of the song is as follows (Springsteen 2005):	307
Intro	308
A ¹ I got my finger on the trigger [...]	309
B ¹ I got God on my side [...]	310
A ² Well I dreamed of you last night [...]	311
B ² We’ve got God on our side [...]	312
Solo ^{1[A]} (harmonica)	313
A ³ Now every woman and every man [...]	314
B ³ Well I’ve got God on my side [...]	315
Solo ^{2[A]} (harmonica) = Coda	316

The song follows a verse–refrain pattern (AB), the key is D Major, and the chord progressions are simple, revolving around movement between D, G, and A.¹⁰ But step by step, the song incorporates richer and more intense, hard and noisy sounds into the mix, and, through this timbral change and sonic growth, musically portrays the theme: the destruction of the former self and the irrevocable transformation into the personality of a killer. The music evolves gradually from acoustic singing and guitar strumming (A¹–B¹), with an ambient-like soundscape emerging as the song progresses. The sound changes dramatically at the beginning of the second verse (A²), when an electric guitar enters with deep sounds using distortion and echo, as if painting the notes with pain and anguish. Simultaneously, a synthesizer begins a chorale-like texture of slowly changing triads with the timbre of organ, which traditionally in Western music refers to (the Christian) religion, God, and spirituality, but also death. At the halfway point in the second verse, the string section joins in, playing a low-pitched, mechanical pattern,¹¹ and bass and drums add up to a sense of finality.

The religious elements increase in the second refrain (B²), when a powerful organ-like sound (from the synthesizer) calls attention to the word “God.” The religious sounds (the topic of chorale and organ, heard together with the lyrics) communicate and evoke, on the one hand, both

¹⁰ In B² and B³ there are two additional measures, owing to the repetition of the last two lines. In the DVD version, packaged with the CD and featuring an acoustic solo version of the song (voice, guitar, and harmonica), the key is E Major.

¹¹ This pattern divides the measure (4/4) metrically to 3/8 + 3/8 + 2/8, which forms a hypnotic-like contrast against the basic beat, thus adding up the sense of finality outside one’s control.

AU2 338 spirituality (hope and goodness) and apocalypse¹² (death and structural
AU3 339 violence), thus encapsulating the unresolvable conflict in the soldier's
 340 psyche, the “God-filled soul” occupied by the “devil”:

341 We've got God on our side
 342 We're just trying to survive
 343 What if what you do to survive
 344 Kills the things you love
 345 Fear's a powerful thing
 346 It'll turn your heart black you can trust
 347 It'll take your God filled soul
 348 Fill it with devils and dust [...]

349 The first half of the third verse (*A*³) is given special emphasis by the
 350 band, which stops temporarily (this is a standard pop-rock technique of
 351 releasing textural tension in third verse after an instrumental). The musical
 352 space is occupied by the voice and acoustic guitar only, although in the
 353 background we hear ambient echoes of the previous refrain, especially the
 354 distorted electric guitar. This is effective as musical means, because here in
 355 the last verse, the dramatic climax takes place. The first half of the verse,
 356 with the voice and acoustic guitar, is like the last act of soul-searching or
 357 holding back:

358 Now every woman and every man
 359 They want to take a righteous stand
 360 Find the love that God wills
 361 And the faith that He commands

362 This reserve is then replaced by the nihilistic second half of the verse,
 363 where, precisely with the word “trigger,” the band returns, affirming the

¹² By *apocalypse* I refer to the idea of large-scale unavoidable destruction of human culture as well as to the idea of war as the end of the world. War as apocalypse is a common topic in art on war, from Albrecht Dürer to Francis Ford Coppola, and from Arnold Schönberg to Judas Priest. The Christian eschatological imagery in the Book of Revelation of the New Testament is central to the topic of apocalypse (e.g. the various forms of the beast and the devil, dust and wind, the army of Christ, and doomsday trombones). This is a topic evoked in the lyrics of “Devils & Dust,” and enhanced by its musical imagery of the unavoidable fate. On apocalyptic imagery in popular culture, see Wallis and Newport (2014). In music, see also Abbate (2001), Scott (2003, 103–51), and Välimäki (2005, 267–300). On the musical imagery of religion and death, see Monelle (2000), Abbate (2001), and Scott (2003).

soldier’s disposition: the band “presses” the trigger (“I’ve got my finger on the trigger/And tonight faith just ain’t enough”). Simultaneously, a new “snapping” sound made up of percussive rim clicks enters.¹³

The song has a touching narrative character, yet the music seems frozen into a kind of audio installation of irrevocable destiny, psychic prison, and growing burden. This steadily growing, machine-like musical structure recalls notions of the *post-traumatic stress disorder* (PTSD). The music can be heard as playing out the symptoms of immobilization, whereby a person is struck by a fight-or-flight response with mounting blood pressure, pounding heart, and tightened muscles, even if the danger passed long time ago, perhaps years before. PTSD is characterized by a constant feeling of extreme loneliness, emotional numbness, and being on edge. Distressing thoughts, nightmares, and flashbacks are recurring reminders of the traumatic event, which makes one feel as if the event was happening again (Paulson and Krippner 2010; Briere and Scott 2015). Such distress can also be heard in the lyrics. The line “I got God on my side” is repeated in the refrain like a mantra as if in an effort to avoid the trauma-related cues, and the tempo of the delivery rushes forward as if overcoming unpleasant thoughts, insecurity, and inner resistance. The empty mantra, however, is not guaranteed to put the narrator back on the right track, since the other side too has their God.

Moreover, the narrator is haunted by disturbing dreams in the second verse (A²), which is exactly where the musical growth begins. The narrator describes a comrade being killed in combat. In this context, the line in the refrain—“What if what you do to survive/Kills the things you love?”—might be heard as expressing the survivor’s guilt, fear, and shame, which are part of PTSD. Thus, the pulling of the trigger may also be interpreted as referring to the high rate of suicides among Iraqi (and Afghanistan and other) war veterans who suffer from PTSD (cf. Paulson and Krippner 2010). The song is less a lament for those who were killed in the war as it is a lament for those who survived.

The piece ends with a second harmonica solo. The end is not rounded off in any way, through a ritardando or a separate closing cadence, for instance. The piece simply stops with the last measure of the solo in a steady tempo, and with the last strums and beats continuing the reverbera-

¹³This kind of arrangement in which a song begins with voice and guitar only, and then gradually grows with the addition of new instruments is typical of Springsteen’s socially conscious songs (Thurmaier 2011, 151).

399 tion as if tone-painting the idea that there is no resolution to the soldier's
 400 dilemma. Yet, as is characteristic of Springsteen's trauma songs, even in
 401 the midst of describing the worst trauma, the very same music, paradoxi-
 402 cally, embodies the healing power of sharing and communality. As Liza
 403 Zitelli suggests, the powerfully resonating and intensifying music of
 404 "Devils & Dust," in which new instruments join the band, can also be
 405 heard as an acoustic image of a sharing and healing community (2012,
 406 86).¹⁴ This is an example of how multi-layered and effective the cultural
 407 trauma process in music can be.

408 "THE WALL"

409 In the song "The Wall" we hear the thoughts of neither a veteran nor a
 410 soldier, but those of an individual who has lost a friend in war. The title
 411 refers to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., which
 412 consists of two walls, 246 feet and nine inches each, and made of black
 413 stone, on which are engraved the names of 58,318 American soldiers who
 414 died or went missing in action during the Vietnam War. The narrator visits
 415 the memorial and thinks about their lost beloved.¹⁵

AU4 416 As Michael S. Neiberg and Robert M. Citino write (2016, 53–54), the
 417 song expresses with exceptional clarity the theme of individual suffering
 418 owing to mistakes in American foreign policy, and it indicts a system that
 419 allowed some people to grow rich from military contracts while others
 420 reluctantly gave their lives for unclear causes. The narrator speaks to the
 421 lost friend in a casual and touching way, and then refers bitterly to a gov-
 422 ernment that let a friend and others die. The form of the song is as follows
 423 (Springsteen 2014):

424	Intro	
425	A ¹	Cigarettes and a bottle of beer [...]
426	A ²	Your high boots and striped T-shirt [...]
427	Organ solo ^[A]	
428	A ³	I'm sorry I missed you last year [...]
429	A ⁴	On the ground dog tags and wreaths of flowers [...]

¹⁴This can be seen as an important aspect of many folk music practices and being linked, for example, to the Celtic-Americana thread in Springsteen's music in the twenty-first century.

¹⁵For previous studies of the song, see especially Chad Wriglesworth's (2017, 168–73) discussion of the song (lyrics) and their relation to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Trumpet solo ^[A]	430
Coda ^[A] (Hammond organ and trumpet solo), fade out	431

The Wall is a popular place in Washington, where visitors leave sentimental items in remembrance of their loved ones. These items also appear in the song: cigarettes, a bottle of beer, clothes, dog tags, flowers, ribbons. People also leave letters, flags, teddy bears, medals, even motorcycles. These items are collected regularly and stored in a museum (NPS 2017; see also Hagopian 2009). Through such activities, people make the Wall their own. This is one of the features that make the Wall exceptionally resonant as a memorial of a cultural trauma, for it creates a place for visitors’ personal experience, memories, and burdens and does not force their reflections into one particular form of thought.

What is important here is that the Memorial itself is simple and minimalist, even nihilistic. There are no grandiose patriotic discourses or ornaments on the Wall, no excuses or explanations, but only the names in black stone, in chronological order according to date of loss, and the polished granite’s highly reflective surface. Visitors looking at the Wall and its engraved names simultaneously see their own reflections, a symbolic bringing of the past and present together, as explained by the memorial’s designer, Maya Lin (see Hagopian 2009, 160, 358). Likewise, in the lyrics of Springsteen’s song, the narrator looks at the reflection of his own, aged face and his tears in the stone (cf. Wriglesworth 2017, 170). Reflection refers to the idea of remembering, but also makes the encounter with the Wall personal. The Wall functions as a mirror of self-knowledge and healing; the reflection gives a visitor a sense that one’s burden is seen and acknowledged.

The music of Springsteen’s song conveys this idea of personal reflection. It has a funeral character with its slow tempo (about 47 bpm) and its timbres of organ, tubular bells, solo trumpet, and bass drum. The music also contains abundant rests, pauses, and silences.¹⁶ These are conventional symbols of death and the transience of life, but they also open spaces into which listeners can project their own reflections, sorrows, and remembrance. These acoustic mirrors (cf. Schwarz 1997; Välimäki 2005), including repetitions and echo effects, are central to the song’s poetics of trauma.

¹⁶Nick Braae informed me that musically the song can be heard as an Irish lament, a genre revolving around a theme of a personal loss. In this sense, the song is reminiscent of the well-known Irish traditional song “The Parting Glass,” for instance.

464 The first verse begins with a clean electric guitar sound and voice. In
 465 the second verse, the piano enters, and more instruments are added in
 466 further parts. The key is E Major, and the harmonic structure is simple.
 467 Although the strophic, one-part form is as simple as possible (like the
 468 monument), some irregularities in the number of measures and some
 469 extra beats in the verses create a sense of a troubled narration. When the
 470 name of the song, “The Wall,” is mentioned at the end of the second and
 471 fourth verses (“And apology and forgiveness got no place here at all, at the
 472 wall”), the word is emphasized by an extra beat with an elongated vocal-
 473 ization (5 beats in the measure instead of 4; also the chord changes from
 474 E to A).¹⁷ In this way, “the wall” jumps out of the song’s regular structure
 475 and meter, like a trauma that cannot be forgotten or controlled and that
 476 may attack at anytime.¹⁸ Moreover, right after the first mention of the
 477 word “wall,” (A²) the bass drum, which appears rarely in the song, strikes
 478 for the first time, and the solemn organ solo begins to the accompaniment
 479 of tubular bells (“church bells”).

480 In the coda, a military drum strengthens the association of the solo
 481 trumpet with a military signal, especially with “Taps,” musically symbolic
 482 of its first line, “Day is done.” The signal is typically played at dusk, in flag
 483 ceremonies, and at military funerals. Once again, the conventional musical
 484 signs of America and Americanism are transformed into poignant social
 485 criticism. The coda fades away, as if there were no end to the processes of
 486 dealing with trauma and mourning.

487

CONCLUSION

488 Above, I have examined the musical means by which Bruce Springsteen’s
 489 war songs construct a discourse of trauma and remembrance. In doing so,
 490 I have tried to demonstrate the significance of popular music as a vehicle
 491 for dealing with cultural traumas.

¹⁷I have interpreted the tempo of the song here as a very slow funeral march, about 47 bpm (another option would be to interpret it two times faster, about 94 bpm). This interpretation is justified by the funeral march character of the song, which is most clearly heard at the end of the piece, in the trumpet solo and in the coda with the snare drum back beat.

¹⁸The harmonic structure of verses A¹ and A³ is: A / A E / A / A E / C#m E/B / E C#m C#m/B / E, in which the last measure is only half as long as the others. The harmonic structure of verses A² and A⁴ is: A / A E / A / A E / C#m E/B / E C#m / E/B E A / E, in which the last measure is half as long as the others, and the one preceding it contains an extra beat with the word “wall” (underlined here).

A central point in the theory of cultural trauma is that official and governmental memorials and modes of remembrance—if such exist—are usually not enough for the processing of cultural traumas; in fact, they can even be experienced as false and become a further source of traumatization. Memory is a social phenomenon, and thus, representations of collective memory are always politicized. They bring up the question of whose way of remembering is the right way (Erll et al. 2008). Representations in art and popular culture can tell stories about the experiential history of cultural traumas with exceptional freedom as well as from various perspectives, waving aside the “official truths” and modes of representation in a society (this potential naturally depends on the society). Singer-songwriters mediate between the cultural and political spheres, not so much to give voice to their own ideas, but rather to articulate ideas to and for others (cf. Eyerman 2002).

Although trauma awareness takes place in all the arts, popular music is consumed by a far larger audience than many other musical and art genres. Therefore, popular music that deals with cultural trauma may contribute to the cultural trauma work in exceptionally broad terms (cf. Weine 2007, 44–45). Springsteen’s war songs are examples of music that carry an ethical responsibility in dealing with cultural traumas in a form that is available, in principle, for anyone to listen to. As a shared sonic space of collective mourning, popular music may help in articulating meaningful statements about the past, the present and the future and their interconnectedness.

REFERENCES

- Abbate, Carolyn. 2001. *In Search of Opera*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2004. Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma. In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander et al., 1–30. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, and Piotr Sztompka. 2004. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Briere, John N., and Catherine Scott. 2015. *Principles of Trauma Therapy. A Guide to Symptoms, Evaluation, and Treatment*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Caruth, Cathy. 1996. *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- 529 Chion, Michel. 1994. *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*. Edited and translated by
530 Claudia Gorbman. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 531 Cizmic, Maria. 2012. *Performing Pain: Music and Trauma in Eastern Europe*.
532 Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 533 Cowie, Jefferson, and Lauren Boehm. 2012. Dead Man's Town: 'Born in the
534 USA,' Social History, and Working-class Identity. In *Bruce Springsteen,
535 Cultural Studies, and the Runaway American Dream*, ed. Kenneth Womack,
536 Jerry Zolten, and Mark Bernhard, 25–44. Farnham: Ashgate.
- 537 Crist, Elizabeth B. 2005. Copland and the Politics of Americanism. In *Aaron
538 Copland and His World*, ed. Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick, 277–306. Princeton,
539 NJ: Princeton University.
- 540 Cumming, Naomi. 1997. The Horrors of Identification: Reich's 'Different
541 Trains'. *Perspectives of New Music* 35 (1): 129–152.
- 542 Erll, Astrid, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B. Young, eds. 2008. *Cultural Memory
543 Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 544 Eyerman, Ron. 2002. *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African
545 American Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 546 Garman, Bryan. 2007. Models of Charity and Spirit. Bruce Springsteen, 9/11,
547 and the War on Terror. In *Music in the Post-9/11 World*, ed. Jonathan Ritter,
548 J. Martin Daughtry, and Gage Averill, 164–195. New York: Routledge.
- 549 Hagopian, Patrick. 2009. *The Vietnam War in American Memory. Veterans, Memorials,
550 and the Politics of Healings*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- 551 Harde, Roxanne. 2013. 'Living in your American Skin': Bruce Springsteen and the
552 Possibility of Politics. *Canadian Review of American Studies* 43 (1): 125–144.
- 553 Harde, Roxanne, and Irwin Streight, eds. 2010. *Reading the Boss: Interdisciplinary
554 Approaches to the Works of Bruce Springsteen*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- 555 Kramer, Lawrence. 1990. *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900*. Berkeley:
556 University of California Press.
- 557 ———. 2011. *Interpreting Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 558 Kristeva, Julia. 1989. *Black Sun. Depression and Melancholia*. Translated by Leon
559 Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 560 Laplanche, Jean, and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis. 1988. *The Language of Psycho-
561 Analysis*. London: Hogarth Press.
- 562 Leydon, Rebecca. 2010. Recombinant Style Topics: The Past and Future of
563 Sampling. In *Sounding Out Pop: Analytical Essays in Popular Music*, ed. Mark
564 Spicer and John Covach, 193–213. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 565 Mirka, Danuta, ed. 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*. Oxford: Oxford
566 University Press.
- 567 Monelle, Raymond. 2000. *The Sense of Music. Semiotic Essays*. Princeton, NJ:
568 Princeton University Press.
- 569 ———. 2006. *The Musical Topic. Hunt, Military and Pastoral*. Bloomington, IN:
570 Indiana Musical Press.

- Nancy, Jean-Luc. 2008. *Listening*. Translated by Charlotte Mandell. New York: Fordham University Press. 571–572
- Neiberg, Michael S., and Robert M. Citino. 2016. A Long Walk Home: The Role of Class and the Military in the Springsteen Catalogue. *BOSS: The Biannual Online-Journal of Springsteen Studies* 2 (1): 41–63. 573–575
- NPS. 2017. National Park Service: Vietnam Veterans Memorial, District of Columbia, Collections. <https://www.nps.gov/vive/learn/collections.htm>. 576–577
- Paulson, Daryl S., and Stanley Krippner. 2010. *Haunted by Combat: Understanding PTSD in War Veterans Including Women, Reservists, and Those Coming Back from Iraq*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 578–580
- Ratner, Leonard F. 1980. *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style*. New York: Schirmer. 581–582
- Rauch, Alan. 1988. Bruce Springsteen and the Dramatic Monologue. *American Studies* 29 (1): 29–49. 583–584
- Rawson, Eric. 2018. When Words Fail: Nonlexical Utterances and the Rhetoric of Voicelessness in the Songs of Bruce Springsteen, 1975–1984. In *Bruce Springsteen and Popular Music: Rhetoric, Social Consciousness, and Contemporary Culture*, ed. William I. Wolff, 133–146. Abingdon: Routledge. 585–588
- Sawyers, June Skinner. 2006. *Tougher than the Rest. 100 Best Bruce Springsteen Songs*. London: Omnibus Press. 589–590
- Schneider, Jason. 2014. Another Side of ‘Born in the U.S.A.’: Form, Paradox, and Rhetorical Indirection. *BOSS: The Biannual Online-Journal of Springsteen Studies* 1 (1): 9–35. 591–593
- . 2018. ‘Bring ‘em home!’: The Rhetorical Ecologies of *Devils & Dust*. In *Bruce Springsteen and Popular Music: Rhetoric, Social Consciousness, and Contemporary Culture*, ed. William I. Wolff, 163–177. Abingdon: Routledge. 594–596
- Schwarz, David. 1997. *Listening Subjects. Music, Psychoanalysis, Culture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 597–598
- Scott, Derek B. 2003. *From the Erotic to the Demonic. On Critical Musicology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 599–600
- Siirala, Martti. 1983. *From Transfer to Transference. Seven Essays on the Human Predicament*. Helsinki: Therapiea Foundation. 601–602
- Siltala, Pirkko. 2012. Sukupolvien ketjuissa kulkevat vaietut traumaattiset kokemukset—taakkasiirtymät [Suppressed Traumatic Experiences that Pass from Generation to Generation—Transferred Burdens]. In *Psykoanalyttisia esseitä* [Psychoanalytic Essays], 9–62. Helsinki: Prometheus. 603–606
- Spicer, Mark. 2010. ‘Reggatta de Blanc’: Analyzing Style in the Music of Police. In *Sounding Out Pop: Analytical Essays in Popular Music*, ed. Mark Spicer and John Covach, 124–153. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 607–609
- Stonerook, Jason. 2018. ‘This Turnpike Sure is Spooky’: Bruce Springsteen and the Politics of Fear. In *Bruce Springsteen and Popular Music: Rhetoric, Social Consciousness, and Contemporary Culture*, ed. William I. Wolff, 58–70. Abingdon: Routledge. 610–612

- 614 Tagg, Philip. 1979. *Kojak. 50 Seconds of Television Music. Toward the Analysis of*
 615 *Affect in Popular Music Studies*. Gothenburg: Department of Musicology.
- 616 Tagg, Philip, and Bob Clarida. 2003. *Ten Little Title Tunes. Towards a Musicology*
 617 *of the Mass Media*. New York: Mass Media Music Scholar's Press.
- 618 Taruskin, Richard. 2009. In Search of the "Real" America. In *Music in the Early*
 619 *Twentieth Century: The Oxford History of Western Music, Volume 4*, 599–674.
 620 Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 621 Thompson, Graham. 2007. *American Culture in the 1980s*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh
 622 University Press.
- 623 Thurmaier, David. 2011. 'The Country We Carry in Our Hearts is Waiting': Bruce
 624 Springsteen, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and the Search for Human Rights in
 625 America. In *Popular Music and Human Rights: Volume I: British and American*
 626 *Music*, ed. Ian Peddie, 143–155. Farnham: Ashgate.
- 627 Välimäki, Susanna. 2005. *Subject Strategies in Music. A Psychoanalytic Approach to*
 628 *Musical Signification*. Acta Semiotica Fennica XXII, Approaches to Musical
 629 Semiotics 9. Helsinki: Finnish Society for Semiotics & International Semiotics
 630 Institute.
- 631 ———. 2008. *Miten sota soi? Sotaelokuva, ääni ja musiikki* [How Does War
 632 Sound? War Film, Sound and Music]. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- 633 ———. 2015a. Musical Representation of War, Genocide, and Torture: Treating
 634 Cultural Trauma with Music. *Acta Translatologica Helsingiensia* 3 (Pax):
 635 122–136.
- 636 ———. 2015b. Psychoanalysis, Resonance, and the Art of Listening: A Comment
 637 of Arnfinn Bø-Rygg's 'Hearing, Listening, and the Voice. *The Scandinavian*
 638 *Psychoanalytic Review* 38 (2): 152–155.
- 639 Volkan, Vamik D. 2014. *Animal Killer. Transmission of War Trauma from one*
 640 *Generation to the Next*. London: Karnac.
- 641 Wallis, John, and Kenneth G.C. Newport, eds. 2014. *The End All Around Us:*
 642 *Apocalyptic Texts and Popular Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- 643 Weine, Stevan. 2007. Blood Not Oil: Narrating Social Trauma in Springsteen's
 644 Song-Stories. *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 9 (1): 37–46.
- 645 Woge, Susan H. 2007. Songs of the Common Man. *Interdisciplinary Literary*
 646 *Studies* 9 (1): 139–147.
- 647 Wolff, William I., ed. 2018. *Bruce Springsteen and Popular Music: Rhetoric, Social*
 648 *Consciousness, and Contemporary Culture*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- 649 Womack, Kenneth, Jerry Zolton, Mark Bernhard, and Howard Kramer, eds. 2012.
 650 *Bruce Springsteen, Cultural Studies, and the Runaway American Dream*.
 651 Farnham: Ashgate.
- 652 Wriglesworth, Chad. 2017. 'Apology and Forgiveness Got No Place Here at All':
 653 On the Road to Washington, DC with Bruce Springsteen. In *Music and the*
 654 *Road: Essays on the Interplay of Music and the Popular Culture of the American*
 655 *Road*, ed. Gordon E. Slethaug, 157–174. London: Bloomsbury.

- Yates, Bradford L. 2010. Healing a Nation: An Analysis of Bruce Springsteen’s *The Rising*. *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 22 (1): 32–49. 656
657
- Zitelli, Lisa. 2012. ‘Come to the Door, Ma.’ Mothers, Women, and Home in Springsteen’s *Devils & Dust*. In *Bruce Springsteen, Cultural Studies, and the Runaway American Dream*, ed. Kenneth Womack, Jerry Zolten, and Mark Bernhard, 79–96. Farnham: Ashgate. 658
659
660
661
- DISCOGRAPHY 662
- Springsteen, Bruce. 1984a. *Born in the U.S.A.* /Bruce Springsteen. Columbia Records 5112562000. LP. 663
664
- . 1984b. *Born in the U.S.A.* Official music video. Directed by John Sayles. CBS Records. 4 minutes 43 seconds. 665
666
- . 2005. *Devils & Dust*. Columbia Records CSK 55416. CD. 667
- . 2006. “Devils & Dust.” Live Performance at the 48th Annual Grammy Awards, February 8, 2006 at the Staples Center in Los Angeles, CA. Accessed 11 January 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y5SNqgtTrq8>. 668
669
670
- . 2014. *High Hopes*. Columbia Records 88843015461. CD. 671

Author Queries

Chapter No.: 6 0004473330

Queries	Details Required	Author's Response
AU1	The citation "Cizmiz 2012" has been changed to "Cizmic 2012" to match the author name in the reference list. Please check if the change is fine in this occurrence and modify the subsequent occurrences, if necessary.	
AU2	The citation "Wallis and Newport (2009)" has been changed to "Wallis and Newport (2014)" to match the author date in the reference list. Please check if the change is fine in this occurrence and modify the subsequent occurrences, if necessary.	
AU3	The citation "Scott (2001)" has been changed to "Scott (2003)" to match the author date in the reference list. Please check if the change is fine in this occurrence and modify the subsequent occurrences, if necessary.	
AU4	The citation "Neiberg and Citino 2018" has been changed to "Neiberg and Citino 2016" to match the author date in the reference list. Please check if the change is fine in this occurrence and modify the subsequent occurrences, if necessary.	