Ideology and *Zeitgeist* in the music of *Lost*

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Four years after the turn of the millennium, the TV–media seems to be undergoing a renaissance period. For a while, delegated to the last ranks of the entertainment industry, due to the emergence of media formats as diverse as DVD, 'video-on-demand', I pod-video and Internet, this development was in no way to be foreseen. However, during the autumn of 2004, one TV-series became hugely successful, namely *Lost*, produced by Touchstone Pictures. Shown at 9 pm/ 8 pm[1] at ABC in the USA, it rapidly gained a substantial audience in many countries. Additionally, it's popularity led to the establishment of numerous fan-sites, and considerable interest from the press as well as other off-spring articles.[2]

In this article, I will suggest that the success of *Lost* is to a large extent due to its sheer overwhelming materiality; a fact which is not least based on the enormous resources that has been put into its development. This is especially notable in the musical score. I will, by analysis of two key scenes, discuss how the music turns *Lost* into a powerful ideologically loaded cultural artefact of the post 9/11- world – an example of the "Shock and Awe" tactics within the field of popular culture.

'What you see is what you hear' – the visual and the audible

Within film music studies, there has for sometime been widespread recognition that whatever is heard influences what we see, and vice versa.[3] Clearly, this also applies to music in TV-series, although the medium itself poses restraints as well as possibilities compared to film. The most important difference is of course the timespan. A film is

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usually seen in a coherent setting, either at the cinema or on TV (sometimes chopped up by commercials), whereas a TV-series is usually followed every week, often becoming a ritual within the domestic environment. Therein also lies its pull: "The media and its messages insinuates itself into our consciousness by virtue of its omnipresence and repetition (…) TV bombards us with messages, manners, metaphors and models of reality"[4] It has even been claimed that "serial properties heighten its [televisions] effect as ideological forum"[5], making the weekly ritual of entertainment also to an arena of politics. Yet another important facet is that prime time TV-series on national television in the US also reaches out to a wide audience, thereby gaining a quantitative influence. This is of course also the case concerning *Lost*, which is aired every week, and – at the time of writing being at the end of its second season – still gets good ratings[6].

The main methodological emphasis in this article will be placed on discovering how *Lost*'s musical and visual features work *together*, and what aesthetic and ideological effect this creates. Of course, the results highlighted here are personalised: Film and television music can – as all features of popular culture – be read in a multitude of ways by their audiences; the latter being competent in their reading and negotiations of semiotic codes. "The meaning of popular culture exist only in their circulation", Fiske states, it is a "site of struggle."[7]

However, even if popular culture in general displays possibilities for multiple readings, the popular cultural artefact of TV-series might nevertheless challenge the notions of *how* much room there actually is for "subjective interpretation"[8] and "meaning potential."[9] I have selected two key scenes of the TV-series as springboards to identify that *Lost*'s musics actually greatly narrows down the possibilities of the individual readings and thus clearly limiting its subversive potential.

WHAT IS *LOST*?

Briefly, *Lost* is a TV-series describing the lives of a number of people stranded on a deserted island after a plane crash. However, after a short time, strange and inexplicable events occur on the island as we get to know more about each of the main character's (often troublesome) pasts through the frequent use of flashbacks. Apparently, nothing is quite what it seems, and when 'our' group of people understand that they are probably not alone on the island, the drama speeds up. Clearly, the storyline is much too complex and all-encompassing to be summarised here, but the main scenario is focussed on the interaction between the survivors and how they will deal with the threats lurking in the jungle on this island. The threats range from wild animals via un-explainable monster shadows to a group of people who seem to have lived on the island for a long time, amply referred to as "The Others." In Western literature, stranded people is a frequent topic, and *Lost* constantly oscillates between its apparent precursors, such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *Lord of the Flies* or perhaps even also Kafka's *Der Verschollene* –

who in different ways all thematize how people arrange themselves when they are lost in deserted spaces, devoid of civilisation, and where the aspect of being saved is rather slim. The topic similarity to (hi)stories prevailing in the Western canon probably accounts for a large part of it's success in the Western world.[10]

What intrigues me most is the overwhelming power of the materiality displayed in *Lost*. It is evident that there has been a great use of resources when it comes to the music, where large stretches are completely scored . In *Lost,* the way the music is used in connection with the visuals comes across as having a rather monolithic structure. While seemingly offering endless possibilities of interpretation concerning what actually is going on on this island, the music upholds a very closed discourse. The role of the music can be said to be both narrative and ideological, a effect further amplified by its contrast to how music in TV-series has used to be. *Lost* is much closer to the Hollywood, Golden-era style scoring than almost any larger TV-series has been before, which greatly contributes to its persuasive power.

'TV IS CHEAP' – A GLIMPSE AT MUSIC IN TV-SERIES

A short resumé of the role of music in a few well known TV-series will now be provided. In the 1980s *Miami Vice* established itself as *the* leading series, along with the lengthy soaps *Dallas* and *Dynasty*. The success of *Miami Vice* was based on many factors, including its music. The episode often featured current pop songs, and Jan Hammer's synthesizer-based score contributed to creating a contemporary soundscape, adding to the feeling of reality quite typical for many cop-stories. *Miami Vice* has for these reasons been analysed quite extensively by scholars. Robyn Stilwell and Peter Larsen have both.[11]

The 1990s saw the emergence of highly popular comedy series, such as *Seinfeld, Friends, The Simpsons*, and the new soap operas, *Beverly Hills 90210*, *Glamour*, where most soundtracks were rather blunt or directly cheap-sounding The animated *The Simpsons* clearly stands out in this respect, as they feature an almost satirical approach as well as an orchestral score to each episode. In addition, the *X-files* appeared, which was perhaps one of the few TV-series of the 1990s that really made a mark, with its combination of mystery, (quasi)science and conspirational theories. With the exception of that, one had to wait until after the millennium for the next big TV-series event. One trait that most of these series have in common, is that none of them featured music that in any way could resemble the way music was (and is) used in Hollywood films.[12]

But this would change, with the return of the TV-medium in full force a few years after the millennium turn. In particular, the television chain HBO, via its productions *Sopranos*, *Oz* and *Six Feet Under* was amongst the first to revitalise TV-series. In this respect, *Sopranos* and *Oz* stand out in contrast to the prevailing comedy shows of the 1990s, both featuring rather epic forms, where the plot unfolds through several epi-

sodes. This is also the case with *24* and *Lost,* the former being the other most influential TV-series of the latter years. Another factor seems to be a much greater focus on scriptwork, locations and music – with all the implications this has for the aesthetics of TV-series. *Lost* is supposedly the most expensive TV-series ever produced,[13] and *24*, featuring the tireless hero Jack Bauer (played by Kiefer Sutherland), also impresses in its sheer materiality. The enormously detailed scenes, the complex storylines, the ever-surprising plot and not least the elaborate orchestral soundtracks, all make these series seem different in contrast to the comedy shows, *Friends* and *Seinfeldt,* on the one hand, but also to the 'tough cop' series *Miami Vice* and the drama of *Dallas* on the other. The difference between today's TV-series and its predecessors could not have been greater, which is noticeable in the substantial financial investment behind series such as *Lost* and *24.* The important point is how the financial framework actually influences the final audible result.[14]

Contributing further to *Lost*'s success is the carefully staged star personas emerging through the series. It is worth noting that all the actors of *Lost* have become almost instant celebrities, a fact not so often seen in media, where the film actors most often get the limelight. This also not least due to great pains undertaken from the side of the producers. Fame, Marshall argues, "relies on a public individual's connection to an audience and how that persona can embody some form of affective investment."[15] This is also the case with *Lost,*as the star personas of the actors contribute to how theTV-series gains and upholds a large audience.

TV GOES HOLLYWOOD

An important question here is how could TV strike back so powerfully? Especially in the light of the technological development in cinema (THX-sound, digital cinema) and the Internet-based 'video-on-demand', one would have thought that the era of the traditional TV-interface, with its commercial breaks and inflexibility, was over.[16] I would suggest that one of the most important factors of the re-vitalisation of TV-series we encounter today comes from TVs adaptation of rather traditional Hollywood codes with regard to the music. The two scenes of *Lost* analyzed in this article are very different, and each show different ways of how the use of music forms a substantial part of the series' captive power. Firstly, I will analyse the introduction of episode 12 of season 1, which consists of a rather traditional Hollywood-style underscore, that goes almost entirely through the whole scene (approx. 4 and a half minute). Secondly, I will analyse the introduction of the first scene of season 2. Here, the perceiver is treated with a pop-song, in what we traditionally would call diegetic music[17]. Both scenes stand in great contrast, but they both are good examples of the way the music in *Lost* works – especially in relation to what can be identified as the series' monolithic narrative strategy. By offering a comparative reading of *Lost* in relation to a number of movies concerning the

Vietnam war, I will also attempt to identify the way in which the music contributes to the overall ideological outline of the series; this ideology being exactly that of the "power block" coined by Fiske. I suggest that it is the use of rather tried-and –tested film music scoring that gives *Lost* its ideological edge. Kassabian has made this point very clear, when stating that "… classical Hollywood film music is a semiotic code, and that it can and should be subjected to various semiotic and cultural studies methods, such as discourse analysis and ideology critique... .[18]

KATE IN THE JUNGLE – EPISODE 12, SEASON1

In figure 1, we see a graphic overview of the interaction between the camera shots and the elements of the soundtrack in this particular scene. I have deliberately refrained from detailed transcriptions; my point here is rather to try to give an impression of "what film perceivers hear"[19] Therefore, I have included brief and simple descriptions of the development in the soundtrack ("legato strings", "'Psycho'-chords", etc), which can be read alongside the descriptions of what one sees. One of the reasons for the arrangement of this model is the belief that the soundtrack and the visual are perceived simultaneously, and thereby constituting a "cine-musical amalgam."[20] In other words, the different elements mutually influence each other in synaesthecial way, where "an input in one sensory mode (…) excite[s] an involuntarily response in another."[21]

After a short legato string introduction with shots of the green jungle on the island, we see Kate, the series most prominent heroine, in a tree, collecting fruit. The music runs continuously, and this whole part – with its slow, legato, clearly harmonically string melody, is in every way very typical of Hollywood-scoring. At this point, the perceiver understands the jungle to be quiet, vividly green and friendly. Suddenly, suspense builds up as Kate, who is now heading back to the camp, hears a cracking sound behind her. The music stops abruptly, and we hear two string chords played in the high register ("Psycho"-chords), followed by single, sustained piano notes in the lower register and quick, upward string tremolos. This is repeated after a short pause, as Kate looks around to see what the eventual threat is. To her relief, the one making the noises turns out to be Sawyer, another of the main protagonists, who now stumbles into the open. They then discover a very romantic little lagoon and after a bit of persuasion by Sawyer, they both plunge in.

As they reach the lagoon, the music changes. The string melody from the beginning of the scene is now accompanied by a light pizzicato string figure as the music elaborates on its thematic material as Kate and Sawyer's half-naked bodies plunge into the water. In major mode, the pizzicato rhythm – in all its playfulness –contributes to the flirting mood between Sawyer and Kate. It is also interesting to note how it is Sawyer who drives the narrative, as he undresses first and jumps into the water, urging Kate to come with him, in compliance with patriarchal notions of the man as the active and the

Figur 1

Time	Music	Visuals	Other sounds	Camera movement
00.00	Fade inn: String melody	Green and friendly jungle	'Jungle'	Slow
00.15	Continued strings	Focussing in on a tree	'Jungle'	Slowly ascending
00.26	Continued strings	Kate collecting fruit from the tree	'Jungle	Following Kate, slowly
00.40	Continued strings	Kate descending	Jungle'	Following Kate
01.06	Stop	Kate abruptly stopping movement	'Crack' sound	Rapid, scanning the jungle
	2 «Psycho»-chords			”
	Single low piano notes			”
	Short string tremolos			”
01.27	Single low piano notes	Kate worried, grabs a rock	2. 'Crack' sound	Close-up on Kates face
	Short string tremolos			
	String swell towards 01.34	Kate throws rock in direction of sound		
01.31	Stop		Saywer: «Son of a bitch»	
01.34	No music	Saywer comes forward		
01.40	”	Kate and Saywer talk while walking	'Jungle' + dialogue	Slow, following Kate and Saywer
02.20	Strings fade in	Kate hears something	Kate: Don't you hear that?	
02.36	String melody	Waterfall and lagoon appears	Waterfall	Slowly, focussing in on waterfall
02.40	Strings under dialogue	Saywer and Kate go to the water	Dialogue + Waterfall	Slow, focussing on Saywer and K
03.10	Strings continue	They undress and jump into the water	Waterfall	Slow, following Kate and Saywer
03.12	Added string pizzicatto	They swim	Waterfall	Slow, mostly following Kate and
03.40	Strings are getting louder	They climb up on the rock	Waterfall	”
				Underwater shots of Kate and Say
04.00	Music continues	They jump into again	Only «underwater»-sounds	as they get under water
04.05	String pizz. Returns	Kate and Saywer play underwater	”	”
04.10	Only one tremolo (strings)	Kate sees something	«eerie» sound fades in	”
04.15	Half-tone shift	Two bodies emerge underwater		
04.21	String tremolo fades out	The bodies are seen clearly	«eerie» sound + gong dominate	Slow, focussing on the dead coup
04.32	No music	«Lost» logo appears	Title track takes over	

woman as the passive part. Moreover, the explicit display of Sawyer's muscular upper-body (while he keeps his jeans on while swimming![22]) and the display of Kate's body is telling: She takes of her pants but keeps her top on. In this way, the stereotypes are further strengthened: Saywer's muscular upper body speaks of many hours of work-out, quite in tune with the notion that "men act."[23] The perceiver understands the underlying code that he has had to 'do something' in order to become a man[24] in the sense that he can survive on a deserted island. Kate's body, on the other hand, is most prominently displayed by her legs. This serves as a double strategy: by not showing e.g. her naked upper-body, *Lost* can still get a rather family-friendly rating, while at the same time draw on the long tradition in Western culture, "the sexual emphasis given to women's legs."[25] The emphasis on Sawyer's upper-body might on the other hand imply that "the subject of the gaze as no longer centred"[26], as the scene seems to leave up to the perceivers which of the attractive bodies – the male or the female – they which to indulge themselves in.

Obviously there are clear signs of a heteronormative discourse as well: Soaked in the playful string melodies and pizzicatos, the scene displays an innocence reminiscent of adolescent romance, a feature further strengthened by the scenery. The romantic surroundings (the green palm trees and the waterfall) also hints to the notion of nature as a place where "innocence can be refound,"[27] while at the same time maintaining an implied sexual connotation through the display of half-naked bodies. This double morale is also a feature of the patriarchal society's repressive stance towards (especially female) sexuality, at the same time both controlling it as well as visually indulging in it. This hidden subtext is being enforced by the use of the type of Hollywood scoring the perceiver has been used to equate with what Brown calls the "reality of the signifieds."[28]

The Hollywood scoring in this scene is important in two ways: First, it uses codes that audiences recognize, thereby enforcing the suspense, secondly, by using these well-known codes, the perceivers are also reminded hat they actually see a Hollywood-type production,[29] namely a production that 'shows off' that there have been used resources on it. This enforces the appeal of *Lost* as a whole, thereby making it stand out from other TV-series. By using the codes of Hollywood scoring, the series aligns itself, and it's *ethos*, to the film tradition. And since TV-series often are being perceived as 'easy' entertainment (such as the before mentioned series *Seinfeld*, *Friends*, etc.), *Lost* gains its monolithic style by resembling the film, which to a much larger degree is associated with the notion of 'high art': it establishes itself in distinction to the other artefacts of its genre, to borrow Bourdieu's term.[30]

This scene is of great importance, not least because are also given the clearest example of the TV-series underlying ideological heteronormative content. For followers of *Lost,* this might be surprising. During the whole first season, Kate is until this very scene portrayed as a rather strong and self-sufficient woman. And after this scene, the subtexts of patriarchal gender roles seem to take over.[31] In this respect, it is crucial to understand that

it is the use of the traditional Hollywood music that gives life to these patricarchal stereotypes, by giving them a sense of reality. Today one would perhaps think that a casting of men and women in stereotypical roles from the stone ages (i.e. as hunters and farmers) would cause a certain bemusement or perhaps anger, but this is not the case. "The non-diegetical musical score (…) by helping transform the object-event in to an affect-object event, draws our attention away from the physical properties of the cinematic signifiers and, paradoxically, makes us believe in the reality of the signifieds."[32]

Another important effect of the use of Hollywood music in this scene is one of intertextuality. It is commonly held that "all music refers to other music,"[33] but here it is also the intertextuality of the phenomenon of the TV-series itself that plays an important part. The obvious point, which I have already touched upon, is the difference on all levels to the TV-series of the 1980s and 1990s. *Lost* is in other words breaking new ground. The other, perhaps more important intertextual contrast, is to the emerging field of TV-series made with new technology. Today, web-cams, digital cameras and editing software for home computers have greatly improved the possibility for almost everyone to make their own films. Not least thanks to the Internet, short films manage to make their ways to customers, undermining the (once) enormous power of the film studios as well as the broadcasting corporations. Yet, however sophisticated these new technologies have become, they still cannot make anything they produce look or sound like Hollywood. Rather, the new technology creates new aesthetic forms.[34] By focussing on traditional Hollywood strengths, *Lost* shows how a great investment in resources greatly influences the final result. The plot is extremely complicated and interwoven, the music ranges from full orchestral scores to carefully selected diegetic music, the cast is large and the location in which it has been filmed – namely Hawaii – can only be realized by using an enormous amount of resources. Kassabian states that due to the "monopoly practices of U.S studios in the global film, television and music industries, virtually everyone grows into some degree of competence in the languages of film, television, and popular music."[35] And precisely since perceivers know these codes, they probably (consciously or un-consciously) pick up on the differences between *Lost* and its competitors – namely leaning their interpretative practices towards the notion of film rather than a TV-series – thereby greatly contributing to the monolithic structure of the series. The music enforces the series' penetrative power, thereby enabling the ideological subtext of *Lost* to come through. This will be further analysed in the reading of another scene, namely the first scene of season 2.[36]

SEASON 2: BACK WITH A VENGEANCE

The first scene of the second season is in many ways the most important for any TV productions where the question stands: will it be able to pick up the trail and regain its audience? *Lost* is no exception to this, and I have chosen this scene both due to the mentioned latent vulnerability, as well as to how the rather surprising way the producers solved this

task, namely as far away from the former example's Hollywood soundtrack. It all starts with a person waking up from a computer 'beep' emerging from a computer screen (reminiscent of a Commodore 64).[37] The person, whose face is not revealed during the whole of this scene, types something into the computer and sets out on what seems to be some sort of morning ritual, complete with a swift work-out, breakfast, laundry, etc – all accompanied by a vinyl record the person turns on, that plays the song "Play your own kind of music", by Mama Cass.[38] The persons face and identity is not revealed in this scene, although we get to see that the person is male due to him working out with a bare upper-body. Each camera shot of the different stages of what seems to be a morning ritual are extremely short. We are shown 10 seconds of his indoor bike work out, 6 seconds of pull-ups, 6 seconds of sit-ups, 5 seconds in the shower etc. Clearly, the music is here taking on one of its rather traditional roles in film music, namely the creation of what Royal S. Brown calls "the illusion of a chronological time progression."[39] And an illusion it is, if we consider how long a work-out, breakfast, doing one's laundry, would take – perhaps an hour. Notably, it is still the same song that is playing, as we can deduct from fig. 2. The whole scene lasts as long as the song is playing, namely approximately two and a half minutes. At the end of the scene, the person shoots some sort of fluid into the arm (clearly reminiscent of popular conceptions of doping), at the same moment a distant explosion is heard going off. This interrupts the music as the needle scratches along the record due to the vibration off the blast.

Note that since the music in this scene is not scored to match specific moments in the visual, such as in the former scene we analysed, the figure apparently becomes less complex:

Figur 2

Time	**Visuals**	**Music**
00.30	Computer 'beep'	-
00.40	Shot of Computer Screen	-
01.02	The person pushes 'Execute' on the computer	-
01.23	The LP-record is turned on	Play your own kind of music
01.35	The person does some dishes	"
01.40	He works out on an indoor training bike	"
01.50	He takes pull-ups on a metal bar	"
01.56	He does sit ups on a bench	"
02.01	Shot of water coming out of the shower	"
02.07	Shot of a tumbling dryer drying clothes	"
02.10	Making some sort of protein shake in	"
02.30	He injects himself with a shot of something in the the left arm	"
02.31	Explosion, needle scratches off the record	-

The appearance of "Play your own kind of music" in this scene displays a multitude of meanings, all of which require careful analysis. First, the visual shot of the needle and the vinyl player, combined with the sound of a vinyl record is a clear indicator of a period in time preceding our present digital age. Due to *Lost*'s rather complex narrative structure that consists of several retrospective shots, (each of them concerned with the life of the main characters before stranding on the island), one is in doubt as to whether this is a retrospective or whether this is actually part of the (mostly) chronological unfolding island-narrative. The song's parameters clearly evoke the epoch of the 1970s, with traits such as female vocal and finger-picking guitar (reminiscent of the singer-songwriters of that epoch), as well as an instrumentation leading one's associations to features reminiscent of funk – a repetitive bass riffs over a steady drumset track. The sound production also hints at the 1970s, with a strongly dampened drum set and a bass sound with lots of middle, but little high-end (contrary to the fashionable 'slap-hand'-technique of the 1980s). The camera shots of the needle and the record (and the following "vinyl"-noise) add to how the song is perceived auditively, influencing the perceiver's "interpretative moves"[40] in relation to the period this particular music must stem from – namely the pre-digital era. But there are strong synaesthetic effects at play here as well, since the visual representation of the musical source together with the song as such contributes to the song's effect on several levels. On the one hand one is not sure as to where in the narrative this scene is situated, while on the other hand one – as persons being competent in the reading of popular music codes, clearly understands the 'datedness' of this track. Kassabian describes how the use of pre-existing music differs substantially from the use of scored music in film, arguing that "compiled scores offer what I call *affiliating identifications*, and they operate quite differently from composed scores. These ties depend on histories forged outside the film scene, allowing for a fair bit of mobility within it." [41] It would seem the term of affiliating identification is very suited to this particular scene, especially since it opens for several readings, furthering the ambiguity that runs like a red thread not only through this scene, but through the whole of *Lost* itself.

But in this particular scene, it might be to the contrary. The ambiguity is even more enhanced by the fact that the face of the person is never shown, nor do we see anything in his surroundings that point to a particular place or space. It is only the song, with its connotations of the 1970s that gives the perceiver a certain point of orientation. If we argue along Kassabian's lines, the use of pre-existing music in this scene should open up for multiple interpretations. I will suggest that in this case, it is only seemingly so. In this scene the openness applies only to a very basic level of interpretation, namely the one concerned with unfolding of the plot itself. It does not, however, open for any subversive readings that concern the ideological level of the scene. Rather, the use of pre-existing music in connection with what is shown visually creates a feeling of unease. This sense is difficult to escape from precisely because it

is impossible to read the music or the visuals 'on their own' – since they have already been perceived together.[42]

The effect is multi-layered. Instead of giving the perceiver freedom to interpret, it rather leaves her longing for a solution. Even if we agree with Fiske's claim that popular culture is "shot through with contradiction, for contradictions require the productivity of the reader to make his or her sense out of them,"[43] in this clearly contradictory scene, the longing for a certain 'closure' is overwhelming. I will argue that this urge for closure is an important trait of the monolithism of *Lost,* and therefore an important part of its ideological power. In this respect, *Lost* seems to be a part of larger picture, a reflection of the current *Zeitgeist*. Compared to series of the 1980s and 1990s, most of the TV-series of the post 9/11 era seem to have a stronger ideological undercurrent, to a point that it even provides more clear-cut and unambiguous readings than for example the series of the ironic 1990s, where postmodern play with signs and ideologies were more in vogue.[44]

The ambiguity of the first scene of season 2 therefore cannot be read as a open interpretative field for the perceiver to fill, since it is so disturbing that one is simply longing for an explanation of what *really* is going on. This scene is telling of the authoritarian narrative structure that *Lost* imposes on its perceivers by constantly holding the perceiver in suspense, uncovering layers after layers as the narrative unfolds to the point that the perceiver is left with the feeling that one actually can interpret what is going. But the sheer complexity of the narrative, especially in relation to the threatening (and constantly differing) notion of "the Others," greatly diminishes the space for creative personal interpretation. One has to wait for the next airing of the next episode in order to understand more, or at least that is what one hopes for. The openness is with other words only a *Schein*.

Once again the difference between the ways a TV-series and a cinema movie works must be taken into account. A film company is primarily concerned with box-office numbers, secondly with rentals of DVDs and videos. A TV-series has to create and recreate the suspense each time, in order to draw the viewers back. Robynn Stilwell is one of the scholars within the field of musicology who has analysed the differences between film and television (and the implication this has for musicology):

> Film and television *are* different. Television as it exists in most parts of the world is a commercial enterprise, a long flow of advertisements for products interrupted by a schedule of entertainments which in effect serve the as inducements for the real commodity – the consumers who are sold to the advertisers on the basis of the shows they watch.[45]

Clearly this has implications for the musical score as well, but also since "for various historical and technical reasons, television is thought of in terms of limitations *vis-à-vis*

film (smaller screen, smaller budgets, shorter attention span) – sound is also different." [46] Although this is true, we have already established that one of the most interesting features of *Lost* is exactly the fact that its non-diegetic musics sounds like a Hollywood film. Due to this, the diegetic music in the opening scene of season 2, stands out even more. Thereby, the affiliating identifications and the reader's productivity (to use Kassabian's and Fiske's terms respectively) are decreasing rather than increasing, since it is the Hollywood sound one is longing for.

The lyrics of the song, where especially the refrain line "Make your own kind(s) of music" is easily heard, are also an interesting contrast to the activity we see. The resoluteness of the male persons workout, and the shots of his trained body show a controlled, scientific environment (especially the shot of the fluid in his arm) that stands out in stark contrast to a lyric that is praising individual music making and -interaction. The 'folky' sound of the song with its connotations of the 1970s is contrasted by the visual shots of the computer and the clearly structured, routine-like activities. Also, the connotations of individualism that the 'singer-songwriter'genre carries, stands in stark contrast to the glimpses of the weapons we see right after the music has been interrupted by the explosion. The way "Play your own kind of music" is used in this scene is clearly an effective way of creating suspense, but it is not a way of inviting for any subversive readings.

THE 'NEW' HOLLYWOOD AND THE TV-INTERFACE

While stating that a large part of *Lost*'s success is due to its use of Hollywood music (and sometimes its contrasts), it is also recent developments of the cinematic language that has had an impact on how *Lost* is perceived, and perhaps also in part responsible for its success. I have several times stated that *Lost's* strong point is its enormous resourceful basis, which is especially interesting with regard to why these cinematic techniques work so well on the TV-screen. One reason is that TV-series are seldom cinematic, but another, perhaps more important point, is how recent technological development has changed the cinema as such. Manovich points out that "3-D animation, composting, mapping, paint retouching: In commercial cinema, these radical new techniques are used mostly to solve technical problems while traditional cinematic language is preserved unchanged."[47] *Lost* works along the same lines, especially in the scenes of the plane falling apart in mid-air, the crash, and the scenes involving monsters and polar bears (!)[48]all of which are created with extensive computer-wizardry. But, just as in Manovich' description of development in Hollywood releases after the millenium shift, the use of the computer technology is never seen. Rather, the visual effects come across as strikingly real. Also here, *Lost* is in complete compliance with Hollywood: "Commercial narrative cinema continues to hold on to the classical realist style in

which images function as unretouched photographic records of events that took place in front of a camera.[49]

Lost constitutes a return and a re-vitalisation of the TV as interface. Manovich explains in great detail the role and the importance of the computer interface in the information society, where "work and leisure activities not only increasingly involve computer use, but they also converge around the same interfaces"[50] thereby greatly differ from the "industrial society, with its clear separation between the field of work and the field of leisure."[51] The success of *Lost*, however, points to the fact that there is also in a information society different degrees to which people want to actively pursue their leisure-time activities The modest mark for video-on-demand also shows this. Most people still like to be entertained by a relatively non-interactive medium, such as the TV. In a world after 9/11, affected by terrorist threats and pre-emptive strikes, the sense of insecurity and lack of overall direction is overwhelming. One is simply not sure what to believe anymore. The monolithic, almost numbing impact of *Lost* is a perfect escapist hatchto a world where civilisation prevails through great challenges, where there is room for morals and ethics, and where a microcosmic version of the USA still works. The TV-interface is with other words back with a vengeance, and it is only through the great economic and organisational muscle of the large media concerns (such as Touchstone Pictures), that such a cultural artefact can be produced that has enough power to penetrate what Martin Seel identifies as the ever present "Rauschen" (approximately meaning 'buzz') in our popular culture.[52] And the music plays the main role, especially in the before analysed scenes do we notice how it constitutes itself as "eine Kunst der Überwältigung", and thereby indispensable in the realisation of the ideological subtext of *Lost*.[53]

SO WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT?

I suggest that *Lost* is one of the most all-encompassing media-events of the present day.[54] It is therefore also extremely powerful insofar as what possible ideological interpretations it presents. When I argue that *Lost* does not offer the same degree of multiple interpretations as other artefacts of popular culture, this must of course be understood discursively. It is only in relation to the present political situation in the post 9/11-world, that *Lost* gains its monolithic power. There is a constant interplay between the *Lost*-text and its surrounding discourse, in very much the same way that as diverse movies *Death Wish, Die Hard*, *Rambo, Platoon, Apocalypse Now* and *Dirty Harry*, which all in different ways relate(d) to their respective political climates. The relation between movies and their respective ideological eras has been made very clear in studies by Stilwell (1997) and Tasker (1993), among others. In her analysis of *Die Hard* – Stilwell states this quite clearly: "*Die Hard* is unmistakingly a product of the socio-political atmosphere of the USA in 1988."[55] She further explains that just as *Rambo* and *Die Hard* show distinctive features of 1980s Republicanism, being "the inherent contradiction

between 'traditional' values that would imply deep patriotism and respect for one's elders and for institutions – all conspiring to make the government a focus of loyalty and honour – and distrust of centralized 'big government.'"[56] Interestingly enough, *Lost* has many similar features that refer to a number of values that can actually be seen as traditional and republican, such as the constant reference to the discussions between the doctor Jack, being the 'man of science' and Locke the 'man of faith' (echoing the debate between Darwinists and proponents of the "intelligent design" in the US), the focus on the need of firearms and later even a army to defend oneself against "The Others" (echoing the rhetoric of the National Rifle Association), and the apparent morality every couple on the island is embodying – not once there have been any signs of adultery or other 'un-moral' behaviour, for that matter.[57]

As indicated, one possible reason for why *Lost* is more monolithic than the beforementioned movies of the 1980s, might be relatively straightforward. The overall ideological and political climate in the Western world has changed. In her article on *Die Hard*, Stilwell claims that "(I)n its dominant narrative, *Die Hard* is clearly a conservative document, but it is one which also offers tremendous scope for a subversive reading (…),"[58]a line of thought clearly relying on among other things the prior mentioned theories of John Fiske. While Stilwell's position cannot be completely adopted to 2006, the question remianing today is whether there is any room left for subversive readings, at least outside the self-proclaimed liberal and intellectual elites?

A glimpse back in time might be useful. There is a development that started which is traceable back to when the USA's disastrous war in Vietnam got it's cinematic counterparts. The role of the American 'big government' had come to disarray,[59] and almost every successful Vietnam movie, such as *Apocalypse Now*, *Platoon*, *Hamburger Hill* and *The Deer Hunter* does not ever give the 'official' USA any credit at all. The focus is on 'ordinary' Americans, usually white men, who "'find themselves' within the colonial space of Vietnam."[60] In *Lost*, this theme takes one step further. The setting itself, the deserted island, is actually in itself a guarantee against a 'big government'. Just as the first colonialists of the USA, they construct governing bodies (such as the army our *Lost*-heroes attempt to establish during season 2) not for the sake of it, but mostly in order to defend themselves – a rather honourable cause. In *Lost* the perceiver is often presented with notions of 'right' and 'wrong' , and in relation to the vicious "Others" it is clearly right to defend oneself. Consider this rather recent quote from George W. Bush in relation to this: "Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right or wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities."[61]

The notion of "The Others" can be interpreted as an intertextual reference to both the Native Americans and the Vietnamese, both different but important adversaries of the USA. These wars have forever been internalized in the historical metanarratives of the USA, not least due to the cinema,[62] thereby helping sustain and enforce US identi-

ty. As Samuel Huntington claims, "We know who we are only when we know who we are not and often only when we know who we are against."[63] Another important intertextual reference to the Vietnam movies is the invisibility of "The Others," a threat that is also perfectly attuned to a USA which sees itself under attack from terrorists. The main feature of terrorists is that they are hidden (and therefore also *ipso facto* cowardly) – note the way in which "The Others" infiltrate and kill of several of the survivors of the crash during both seasons one and two.

By using the techniques of mainstream Hollywood scoring, the spectators form their relationships with the characters, it is also interesting to note that "The Others" themselves have no music; their appearances are mostly underscored by the traditional codes of 'suspense music' such as I analysed in scene 12 of the first season. When Kate turns around, we are clearly reminded that whatever is out there is threatening – a fact that becomes increasingly clear throughout the series, as "The Others" start threatening the survival of the stranded passengers.[64]

LOST IN BETWEEN AESTHETICS AND IDEOLOGY

Although it is difficult to point to a one-to-one relation between the aesthetic choices and the ideological content of *Lost*, it is nevertheless possible to see many traces of underlying and covert ideological content. The interesting point is that there are many features in *Lost* that are quite overtly ideological. For example, this is discernible in the role of the Iraquian Sayid (the perfect parallel to the 'outsourcing' of torture), the frequent use of religious symbols such as baptism, prayer, etc and the politically correct casting (the blacks are resourceful, the Hispanics are presented as funny (Hurley) or attractive and strong (the police officer Ana Lucia). Notably, there is not a single sign of racism at any point, expect for a scepticism against the Korean character Jin. Throughout the series he is increasingly portrayed in a sympathetic manner, but his initial violent and patriarchal (even for conservative Western standards) appearance is an embodiment of a post -Vietnam scepticism towards Asians. [65] The role of his character is to signify to the perceivers that it is ok to be a little afraid of the ethnic category of 'Asians'. [66]

However, these above mentioned overtly ideologically driven stereotypical notions are not the most effective ones. For propaganda to be efficient it has to invisible, a fact that Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's minister of propaganda stated very clearly: "Es ist im Allgemeinen ein wesentliches Characteristikum der Wirksamheit, dass sie niemals gewollt in Erscheining tritt. In dem Augenblick, da eine Propaganda bewusst wird, ist sie unwirksam."[67] And it is in this respect that the two scenes analysed in this article unfold their propagandist power. They are important not for displaying any *direct* ideological content (although the patriarchal gender discourse is very strong in the 'lagoon' scene), but rather for enforcing the monolithic aesthetic of the TV-series as a whole. These scenes and their music have an important role in establishing the *underlying* and

therefore more powerful ideological power of *Lost*. Kassabian has analysed several instances where traditional Hollywood scoring supports a rather one-dimensional reading, since "the score limits possibilities by narrowing access to perceiver's histories' and focussing instead on their competence in assimilation."[68] She however usually links the use of pre-existing music to a position where the perceivers are given more power to establish their own readings "by opening perception onto perceiver's own (socially conditioned) histories."[69] I will nevertheless argue that this is not the case in scene 1, season 2, as the ambiguity it creates, (even if the song must be known to a segment of the audience, since it was a rather large hit) is so large that it simply demands a resolvment. The interplay between visuals and musics renders the scene ambiguous, and the perceiver is not even aware of where in the narrative structure the man is: is it a flashback/retrospective or is it something else?

The sense of insecurity invoked by the interplay between the music and the visuals in this particular scene is stronger than any connotations a perceiver might have to the particular song. This might also be partly due to the nature of the TV-interface as such, which has not the same overwhelming force as a film in a movie theatre.[70] The chopped up-chronology of a TV-series, which is withholding the *catharsis* from the perceiver (thereby forcing her to put on the TV at the same time every week), contributes to the sense of urgency for resolution. As the vinyl player glides over the record due to the explosion [71], and after the relatively short (but due to the very typical Hollywood scoring very dramatic) scene of the person getting his gun and going to his observations post, one is relieved when seeing Jack and Locke at the top of the hatch looking down. Finally, the relation between the two seasons has been set, and the narrative is ready to continue. I will argue that the music does not leave room for any considerable deviation in understanding of this scene. In the strengthening of the monolithic nature of narrative, which in *Lost*'s case is clearly chronological, and by giving it a sense of "mythical necessity," the use of music described in these two scenes strengthens the overtly ideologically elements of the TV-series, simply because it is via the musical narrative that all is made believable and trustworthy.

HOW LOST ARE WE THEN? – CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

My main point in this article has been to show how music, visuals and ideology form a coherent whole in *Lost*, making it a cultural artefact of the post 9/11 world. In my opinion, the analysis of popular culture must, in addition to stressing the active role of the audiences/the perceiver, also include a larger political scope. Samuel Huntington's thesis of the "Clash of Civilisations"[72] might contribute to a greater understanding of the role of (popular) culture in the (re) shaping of the world after the end of the cold war and after the start on the 'war on terrorism'. His (highly controversial) thesis depicts that today's conflicts are about culture rather than between political ideologies, a

view that is gaining more ground in a time where the Western world seems to stand opposed to Islam and China as main opponents. A TV-series such as *Lost* plays an important part in this confrontation, as media constitutes an integral of USAs "soft power", meaning their non-military power.[73]

This is especially important as the numbers supporting the war in Iraq (originally also seen as a part of the war against terror) is waning.[74]By re-activating images of Vietnam, a war whose aftermath today is mostly settled, and by using the deserted island-location and "The Others" as setting, *Lost* becomes the hyperreal parable of a mini-USA surrounded by enemies. In *Lost*, just as in the Vietnam war, the omnipresent jungle hides the dangers. This visual connotation is of outmost importance in order to make the parable work. If it had been shot in a desert, the pictures would too strongly resemble present pictures of CNN. The war in Vietnam ended in 1975 (the last American soldiers withdrew in 1973), and this is therefore 'safer' to refer to.

On a methodological level, I will argue, that by incorporating these current political processes into the analysis, a new insight into both the ever-growing importance of popular culture and its possible political (mis)uses can be gained. Melvin R. Laird, US Secretary of Defence from 1969 to 1973, wrote the following on the war in Iraq: "I believe the American people would still want to follow Bush if they had a clear understanding of what was at stake."[75] And it is precisely the stake that is made clear in *Lost*: it is about survival. The monolithic structure and "dense cinematic aesthetics"[76] of this TV-series can be read as an artefact integral to the Clash of Civilisations: "(…) culture and cultural identities (…) are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the post-Cold War world." [77] When considering the role of the musical and visual techniques employed in *Lost*, Baudrillard's analysis of Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979) seems disturbingly fresh: "La guerre s'est faite film, le film s'est faite guerre, les deux se rejoignent par leur effusion commune dans la technique."[78] And the technology factor is especially important, as it broadly can be understood as constituting exactly what US supremacy, both military and culturally, is based upon. The enormous resources of a major TV production firm such as Touchstone Pictures, which are integral to *Lost*'s ideological power and penetrative ability, become a part of the civilatory clash , of the war itself.

In this analysis of *Lost*, I have attempted to show how the music plays an important role in shaping this TV series into an ideological weapon, which cannot be only seen as a part of Fiske's before mentioned "site of struggle,"[79] but rather as a part of the larger Clash of Civilisations. Contrary to Clausewitz' thesis that war is "die fortgesetzte Staatspolitk mit anderen Mitteln," we are confronted here with an artefact of popular culture that is a continuation of the war with other means.[80] Ideological struggle is not only present *within* the realm of the popular, but also between cultures on a global scale. This is reflected in artefacts of popular culture such as *Lost*, and I suggest that studies of this important relation can and must be viable within the field of musicology as well.

Notes

1 Airing time depending on time zone.

2 At ABCs website devoted to *Lost* (*http://abc.go.com/primetime/lost/index.html*) one can download podcasts, read recapitulations of the different episodes and contribute to various message boards dealing with different aspects of the TV-series.
Also note the shop, which sells a large number of merchandise, among others T-shirts with quotes from the TV-series, the series' soundtrack as well as mugs (sic!) displaying the so called 'magic numbers' that turn up in most of the episodes.

3 See, among many others: Brown 1994, Kassabian 2001, Larsen 1988 and 2005.

4 Gini 2004: 8.

5 Cassidy 1989: 42.

6 Even at its current all-time low in the US, it still has approximately 14 million viewers. See http://www.tvsquad.com/2006/05/18/lost-ratings-at-all-season-low/

7 Fiske 1989: 4 and 6.

8 Hawkins 2002:10.

9 Fiske 1989: 3.

10 To name one example: According to a fan site, *Lost* was seen by 17.64 million viewers in the US on the 19.November 2004. See http://www.lost-tv.com/2004_11_01_archive.shtml

11 Stilwell 2003: 66–67, Larsen 1988, Kassabian 2001:19, 25–26. Also see Anahid Kassabian's discussion of Tagg and Clarida's work on the same matter.

12 For a thorough discussion of the hegemony of Hollywood films, see Shohat and Stam 1994. Also see Robynn Stilwell's discussion of the difference between Hollywood film and television, reminding us that the musics of TV-series depend mostly on synthesizer-programmed soundscapes rather than orchestral scores. (Stilwell 2003).

13 According to "The International Movie Database", the production cost of the two-hour pilot alone was 12 million US dollars. See http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0411008/trivia

14 This has been elaborated among others by Stilwell, who in great detail describes the financial strains under which the *X-files* was produced, (Stilwell 2003). Also note Stilwell's following comment on the financial implications on the *X-files*' aesthetic: Some of the technical aspects of the visual style of *The X-files* are not only appropriate to the subject matter – and constitutive of its narrative discourse – they are also cheap." [sic!], Stilwell 2003: 63.

15 Marshall 2004, no pagination available.

16 For a discussion of the development of the big media firms see the issue "King Content" of *The Economist* Vol 378, number 8461 (2006).

17 Anahid Kassabian argues convincingly for using the terms (originally coined by Earle Hagen) "source music, source scoring and pure or dramatic scoring" (Kassabian 2001: 43) instead of the terms *diegetic* and *non-diegetic*, which until now has been used by most other film music scholars, such as Gorbman (1987), Brown (1994) and Stilwell (1997a, 1997b and 2003). This debate cannot be explored in full detail here, but since the two examples in this article clearly fall into each of the categories *diegetic* and *non-diegetic*, I will use them throughout. I do however think that Kassabian's use o fterms are highly relevant, especially in instances where the distinction between diegetic and non-diegetic becomes blurred. Se Kassabian 2001: 42–49 for a discussion of these terminological challenges.

18 Kassabian 2001: 36.

19 Kassabian 2001: 37.

20 Brown 1994: 19.

21 Cook 1998: 25.

22 This is clearly a way to get the perceiver to focus on his upper body (and not on anything else…), but anyone who has tried to swim with jeans on (e.g. on lifesaving course) knows that that is almost impossible to do.

23 Berger 1972: 47.

24 See Segal's discussion of how the term 'masculinity' among others is seen as the power of a man "over his own body" (Segal 1990: 123).

25 Berger 1972: 138.

26 Pegley & Caputo 1994: 300.

27 Berger 1972: 138.

28 Brown 1994: 31.

29 Simon Frith even gave the exposure to Hollywood music scoring its credit for being vital to people's understanding of music: "We may not all have attended music schools, but we have all been to the movies," Frith 1996: 109.

30 Bourdieu 1979.

31 Kate is after this scene often shown in this way and together with the Korean woman, Sun (who is working on a small garden most of the time) and Claire (who gives birth to a baby while on the is-

land), they are perhaps the most apparent indicators of the gendered discourse prevailing in *Lost*. This is made especially clear when we note that while the women are gatherers, the men – especially Locke and Boone– quickly become hunters and fishers in their 'new lives' on the island.

32 Brown 1994: 31.

33 Kassabian 2001: 51.

34 Manovich has a detailed discussion of the emergence of the 'new' language of cinema, especially the chapter "What is Cinema," Manovich 2001: 286 – 334.

35 Kassabian 2001: 8.

36 First aired on ABC 21.09.2005.

37 The Commodore 64 was one of the first personal computers to become popular among a greater public. It's characteristic green screen is vividly remembered among those who worked on it in the 1980s – which in this scene contributes to the ambiguity towards where in the chronological unfolding of the narrative this scene is placed.

38 She is also known under the name Cass Elliot, and is perhaps most known for being a member of the band *The Mamas and the Papas.*

39 Brown 1994: 23.

40 A term borrowed from Steven Feld, pointing to the fact that interpretation is always an active process. Feld 1994: 85.

41 Kassabian 2001: 3.

42 Kassabian makes a similar point in her discussion of the relationship between the music and the narrative: "This [a "film" prior to the music] clearly cannot be the case, since music (and sound more generally) contribute significantly to the construction of spatial relations and time passage in narrative films." Kassabian 2001: 42.

43 Fiske 1989: 6.

44 The before-mentioned TV-series *24* is a good example of a post)/11 series completely devoid of any irony or self-irony. Rather, torture, unlawful arrest and other non-democratic means are made fully morally justified as long as the task is to counter terrorist threats, which functions as the metanarrative for the whole series.

45 Stilwell 2003: 60.

46 Stilwell 2003: 60.

47 Manovich 2001: 309.

48 For a Norwegian such as myself, it is a bit peculiar to see a polar bear appearing in a jungle.

49 Manovich 2001: 309.

50 Manovich 2001: 65.

51 Manovich 2001: 65.

52 Seel 2003: 223.

53 Seel 2003: 249.

54 There are magazines purely devoted to *Lost*, and even relatively 'serious' newspapers publish articles both on the TV-series as such, as well as the surrounding stories emerging around the actors themselves. A quick Google search with the word "Lost ABC" made on the 31.03.2006 generated approximately 30. 3000 000 hits.

55 Stilwell 1997: 557.

56 Stilwell 1997:558 (fn). Also see Taskers discussion of *Die Hard* in relation to other movies of the 1970s and 1980s, who are "only very rarely associated with the established forces of state or government." Tasker 1993: 62.

57 It might be noted that the apparent 'morality' is also due to ABCs which to be able to air *Lost* in prime time. Also, the actors – although often displaying their bodies – never appear in overtly sexualized ways. But his does of course not inhibit the use of implicit sexual connotations, such as those I described in my analysis of scene 12, season 1.

58 Stilwell 1997: 574.

59 On must also remember that the American Declaration of Independence of the USA in 1776 was in every way supposed to be a guarantee against too strong government, but rather a "social contract formed by the common will of its constituents." Barber 2003: 87.

60 Tasker 1993: 100.

61 Barber 2003: 77. This quote is originally from a speech George W. Bush held at West Point – "Remarks by the President, 2002 Graduation Exercise of the United States Military Academy", West Point, N.Y., June 1, 20002 and is published in the epigraph of section II of the publication "Champion Aspiration for Human Dignity" of the National Security Strategy of the USA.

62 It is almost impossible to name all the cowboy movies that tell tales of the noble white man against ' the savage Indians'. See Shohat and Stam for a thorough discussion of questions concerning cinema as imperialistic strategy (Shohat/ Stam 1994, pp. 100 – 136); also refer to Tasker's discussion of further aspects of the western genre. Tasker 1993: 66 –70, 163.

63 Huntington 1996: 21.

64 Also note the similarity of the very seldom direct appearance of "The Others" with Tasker's description of the "stereotypical invisibility of the

Vietnamese enemy [that] allows a focus on the tensions within the male group"(Tasker 1993, p. 101) Although the cast in *Lost* is mixed, both racially and gender-wise, often the white men are the ones how display tension among themselves, perhaps most particularly Jack and Locke – the 'man of science' and 'the man of faith'.

65 Not to mention the fear of China. This would probably have been to direct, so one uses rather a Korean, to invoke the visual connotations, while at the same time maintaining full deniability for any concrete propagandist intentions.

66 A good example of the fear of China in today's USA is a *Foreign Affair's* edition published last year– where a whole special section is devoted to the challenge China might pose for USA in the future. See *Foreign Affairs* 2005: (84) 5.

67 This excerpt is from a speech held by Joseph Goebbels in 1937 to the "Reichsfilmkammer". Quoted from Knopp 2001: 298.

68 Kassabian 2001: 113.

69 Kassabian 2001: 113.

70 Also see Stilwell's discussion of the difference between films and TV in Stilwell 2003

71 Also note the use of this sound as it was used in *Ally McBeal*, usually to signify interruptions of different sorts – e.g. from a daydream back to reality.

72 This term was first used as the title for an essay by Huntington published in *Foreign Affairs* in 1993 (albeit with a question mark at the end). After "That article, according to the *Foreign Affairs* editors, stirred up more discussion in three years than any other article they had published since the 1940s"(Huntington 1996:13) – Huntington dropped the question mark and used the term in the title to his book *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of the World Order* (1996).

73 "Soft power" is originally a term coined by Joseph Nye in the late 80s, to describe the main underlying difference between USA's and Europe's way of dealing with crisis. He claimed that USA was using hard power – meaning sanctions military interventions, while the Europeans prefer negotiation and persuasion. For a detailed discussion of this, see e.g. Kagan 2002.

74 See Mueller 2005: 47 for statistics on public support for the wars in Korea, Vietnam and Iraq.

75 Laird 2005: 33.

76 A term first used by Manovich in relation to his discussion of "Cinema as an Information Space" Manovich 2001: 326–330.

77 Huntington 1996: 20.

78 Baudrillard 1981: 89.

79 Fiske 1989: 6.

80 Clausewitz 1832–1834: 9.

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Summary

This article attempts to analyze the widely successful TV-series *Lost* in relation to the overwhelming materiality of its musical score, as well as situating it within a post 9/11 ideological context. Special emphasis is placed on the revitalisation of episodic TV-series after the millennium turn. The Hollywood scoring techniques in *Lost* stand out from other series through the covert subtexts that are used. Two key scenes have been selected as analytic examples. By analyzing how the music in these scenes limit the possibilities of subversive interpretations, and by relating it to its ideological context, a reading is provided of *Lost* as a cultural artefact of the post 9/11 world, a period marked by the continuation of USA's hegemonic power through various means.

Key words

film music analysis, media studies, popular music analysis, ideology, TV

Biography

Kyrre Tromm Lindvig has studied philosophy and musicology at the University of Oslo. Currently, he is a Ph.D-student at the Department of Musicology , University of Oslo, where he is writing a thesis on the German band *Kraftwerk*. He is also active as journalist and musician.