

“IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, SAY SOMETHING”: THE POWER OF THE ‘WAR ON
TERRORISM’ TO NAME WHAT WE SEE

by

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Abstract

“IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, SAY SOMETHING”: THE POWER OF THE ‘WAR ON
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This dissertation seeks to understand the cultural politics of the “war on terrorism” through a case study of the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign within the New York City Metropolitan Transit Authority Subway System. Drawing upon literature that focuses on an understanding of the affective transmission of culture, this research seeks to understand this particular campaign as a technique of social control. Through a content analysis of the advertisements of this campaign and a performative methodology that analyzes the performance of security within the subway system, an understanding of the connections this local campaign (as a security campaign) has with a greater “war on terrorism” is explored.

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Introduction

“The making of one general will out of a multitude of general wishes is....an art well known to leaders, politicians, and steering committees. It consists essentially in the use of symbols which assemble emotions after they have been detached from their ideas. Because feelings are much less specific than ideas, and yet more poignant, the leader is able to make a homogeneous will out of a heterogeneous mass of desires.”

- Walter Lipmann, advisor to Woodrow Wilson concerning national propaganda & public opinion¹

“My fellow Americans: America is at war. This is a wartime national security strategy required by the grave challenge we face – the rise of terrorism fueled by an aggressive ideology of hatred and murder, fully revealed to the American people on September 11, 2001. This strategy reflects our most solemn obligation: to protect the security of the American people.”

- President George W. Bush’s National Security Strategy March 16, 2006.

On no particular day, after four years of conducting research on a security campaign in the NYC Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) Subway System, I make my way down the steps into the station. I realize the metro card, which allows my access onto the subway platform, has expired. As I proceed to the kiosk to purchase a new metro card the screen reads in blue letters “If You See Something, Say Something.” I pause. It is the slogan of the campaign that I am studying. But for some reason, on this day, my attention was drawn to the message on the screen. Before purchasing my new card, I briefly think of the number of times I’ve seen this slogan repeated throughout my subway travels. It reminds me of the time when I am home, and I glance at the back of the metro card lying on my dresser and read the “If You See Something, Say Something” there. Again, I think about the repetition of this slogan and how this repetition affects me.

Another Pause.

¹ See Stuart Ewen, *All-Consuming Images*

In 2003, the MTA implemented its “If You See Something, Say Something” security campaign, which consists of ads sporadically displayed in trains, on train station kiosks and bulletin boards, and finally on the back of metro cards. There are also audio announcements on trains and buses, which remind riders to ‘protect yourself’ and announce the most common message of this campaign: if you see something (though this something is never necessarily clearly defined) you should report it to the authorities. Between 2003 and 2008, there have been several generations of advertisements appearing throughout the subway system: the first consisting of the campaign slogan itself and the last generation of advertisements thanking New Yorkers and reminding them of their continued vigilance in these matters. It is unclear the total cost of the campaign, but an article in the New York Times (Stuart 2007) reported that over 2 years the campaign cost 4 million and 3 million respectively. An MTA Press release also announced that the latest wave of ads cost 3 million dollars. It consists of “10,000 posters throughout the MTA system, 84 ads that appear in 11 regional newspapers and more than 4,000 10-second spots that run on television stations (MTA Website 2007).

The advertisements of this subway campaign seek to reach an audience with an intended message that circulates around notions of seeing something threatening and reporting it to the authorities. In advertising language this campaign seeks to continuously and repetitively brand a population with its message of seeing and saying, but this message of seeing and saying is bound to perceptions of security that exist within an already given framework or set of discursive practices popularly known as the “war on terrorism.” Since September 11th 2001, the Bush Administration’s “war on terrorism” has sought to fight what it perceives as a threat to its own security and what it perceives

as forms of terrorist activity. But in order to do this it must continually convince a population that this threat exists, and therefore its actions against this threat are justifiable.

The campaign provides the link between my questions surrounding the discursive practices of a greater “war on terrorism,” the cultural politics of fear, and the mechanisms through which a particular campaign circulates its messages throughout a population. The argument I am proposing is that the mass communication techniques of this local advertising campaign in the New York City subway system and its concern with issues of security reflect a notion of security that unfolds through (or is already attached to) a more global “war on terrorism” and here I am thinking of the Bush Administration and its policies between 2001 and 2009. Inevitably, what this dissertation seeks to demonstrate is the relationship that exists between governing policies that were initiated at the local urban level (and here I am thinking more specifically of New York City) and their relationship to national or even international policies that existed within the greater “war on terrorism.”

Furthermore, I am interested in how the discursive practices, particularly the branding² techniques of this local advertising campaign, brand a population’s perception of security and thus effectively act as a mechanism of social control through which the greater “war on terrorism” continually reproduced and potentially still does reproduce itself. Like any discursive practice, the “war on terrorism” is an event or set of events through which a number of cultural practices become attached. When an event occurs within the era of a “war on terrorism,” the question becomes how does the “war on

² Here I am referring to definitions of branding cited within advertising literature, which sees branding as the ability to label or mark with or as if with a brand.

terrorism” impact or shape this particular event. A pipe-line bursts and a gas smell is produced. Initially, this smell is possibly linked to a “terrorist” threat, but it turns out only to be a pipe-line that burst. It is this type of linking of events, which is discursive or ones through which discourses become produced, circulated and repeated.

Thus, I am interested in exploring and conceptualizing three terms as they relate to this production. One is the relationship of this campaign to notions of security: how security comes to be named, felt and circulated through a political project³ initiated by the Bush Administration but one that is actualized through this campaign as an aspect of local governance. The second is a consideration of bodies (and here I am thinking of populations more generally) as a mechanism that circulates the information of this campaign and thus the politics connected to it as well. Here, I am thinking about issues concerning the governing of populations and the impact this governing as on the bodies to which they govern. Finally, I am interested in exploring this circulation as an affective circulation, one in which theories and methods attending to affect⁴ open up a number of possibilities in exploring the potential of this campaign as a mechanism of social control.

³ Shortly after September 11th, 2001, the Bush Administration declared a new “war on terrorism.” This declaration by the Bush Administration that America is at war against the rise of ‘terrorism’ is a cultural moment that is defined as a political project. Throughout cultural studies and political sociology, the term political project refers to a certain strategy, tactic or policy that is used by the government to achieve certain ends. These ends are defined by the Bush administration through notions of security and “protecting the security of the American people.”

⁴ Here, I am assuming a definition of affect as the capacity to affect and be affected as defined by Brian Massumi and explored in works such as *The Affective Turn* edited by Patricia Ticineto Clough. There are a number of approaches to Affective theory. Traditions in various fields such as psychology, philosophy, literary studies, feminist studies, and communication studies each have their own approach to conceptualizations of affect. But here, quite literally, I am thinking of the branding techniques used by advertising campaigns and thus I am thinking of how these techniques affect and brand sense perception. So in considering advertising literature, and with Massumi as my guide, I am suggesting that affect is the capacity of this branding to take place. It is the capacity of this brand to affect a particular body or group of bodies and thus affectively circulate a particular sensation.

These three considerations, including the conceptualizations regarding the body and its relationship to affective theory, will be explored throughout the remaining chapters.

Cultural Politics of Affect in Advertising Campaigns

The immediate goal of any advertisement campaign is to influence an intended audience to purchase a product or the movement of an idea. Sergio Zyman, former Chief Marketing Officer for the Coca-Cola Company remarked that “emotional branding is about building relationships; it is about giving a brand and a product a long-term value. It is about sensorial experiences, designs that make you feel the product; designs that make you taste the product; designs that make you buy the product.” (Gobe 2001) It is essentially about grabbing and holding attention. Inevitably, what advertising seeks to do is to tap into the potential of sensorial experience and brand a message into the folds of possibility.

Advertising is usually defined as paid media content whose intent is to inform and influence people or organizations to buy a product or service where “advertising tends to be nonpersonal” which means it is carried via mass media as “opposed to personal communication that takes place between individuals” (Fullerton and Kendrick 2003). In terms of Coca-Cola, this exists in the attempt to make consumers feel and taste the product, as suggested above. As I think of this relationship, I am reminded of the fact that I actually enjoy the taste of Coke over water. Often when I am thirsty and really need drink, I do not think of water; rather I think of Coke. This is something that would make executives at Coca-Cola very happy for obvious reasons. But somewhere in all of this also lies the story of how my body came to this decision or to the moment where it preferred the taste of Coke to water. It is the story of the relationship between my own body’s need of thirst, Coke as a product to consume, and what I would like to believe is my own sense of taste.

Coke is favored over water because of a number of experiences I come to have with ‘coke.’ Henri Bergson would remind me that our sense requires education and that

neither ‘sight nor touch is able at the outset to localize impressions.’ (1994) Perhaps it is a love at first taste kind of moment but nevertheless it takes time and experiences for a brownish liquid with bubbles to envelop all the ‘meanings’ and ‘representations’ of Coke. As a baby, I can almost be positive that if given the taste of Coke, I would not have enjoyed it. More importantly, my body would probably in its own way have rejected it. Yet, there was the moment when a shift took place and my body not only welcomed the taste; but also came to crave it, or at least enjoy it more than water. It is a small moment I know, but it allows me to consider the conditioning, disciplining or habituating of taste, and its relationality to social relations regarding norms and productions of culture. In thinking of this conditioning, disciplining and/or habituating of taste, Brian Massumi suggests thinking of the concept of affect as “the rhythm without the regularity, or a readiness to arrive and relay in certain ways.” (2002) Rhythm, relay, and arrival, he suggests are the relations of motion and rest: “*affect*.” So in considering the arrival to my preferring the taste of coke over water, many things influence and affect my body to this rhythm of taste.

The most straightforward definition of affect (as mentioned earlier in this introduction) suggests that affect is what affects or is affected. Patricia Ticineto Clough refers to affect as an “implicit form, where affect subsists in matter as incorporeal potential.” She goes on to suggest that affect:

is a dynamism, or a self-informing, immanent to all matter, any method of attending to affect will profoundly unsettle any conception of method as being in the control of human agency or human consciousness inhering in the human subject. Any method of attending to affect will necessarily become entangled with an immanent dynamism with the potential for individuation (2009).

It is why affect is sometimes difficult to define because it is unqualified intensity (as opposed to emotion which is qualified intensity) or the capture or continuation of that which circulates (Massumi 2002). Massumi suggests that “formed, qualified, situated perceptions and cognitions fulfilling functions of actual connection or blockage are the capture and closure of affect. Emotion is the most intense (most contracted) expression of that capture.” (2002) This capture is that which circulates between, among and through bodies affecting these bodies and thus also being affected, much like the habituation of taste.

Affect thus provides the social sciences and the humanities with a way of exploring the moments at which the ordering of experience in events become sustained or where the possibility for representation emerge. It allows an exploration into the circulations of branding techniques in advertising campaigns and the events through which these circulations become actualized. Advertising literature suggests that in the battle for public opinion or to rally consensus, bodies must be affected and impinged upon. But literature on affect is theorizing something that advertising is already using in their techniques to brand sense perception. Thus it is a crucial element to consider in researching this particular advertising campaign. It also allows me to introduce an inquiry into how bodies come in contact with objects and events and on-going articulations of sense that is at first, as Massumi would suggest, potentially nonpersonal or preconscious though evermore affecting persons. It might be a very small moment but when considering the power and value of branding it provides a window into something that circulates above, below and around representation.

The Use of Emotion in Advertising

Advertising is an ‘art of persuasion’ that aims at making consumers want to touch, taste and feel a product. In thinking of the art of using words and images not so much for their meaning but for their affect, I began to look at various research on advertising. One particular collection of essays focused on the use of emotion in advertising. The introduction to this collection suggests that most advertising research focuses on how consumers process the brand information conveyed in an advertisement. It also suggests that the consumer is seen as an active information seeker and thus advertising techniques must speak to the consumer in this way. However, the introduction goes on to say that it has only been in the last few years that researchers have begun to conceptualize about and capture emotional reactions in ads. Moreover, there has been somewhat of a shift or at least an opening in this research that suggests emotional appeals may in fact be more effective than cognitive ones (Agres et al, 1990).

For Example:

Description in Citizen Brand⁵

Emotions are complicated collections of chemical and neural responses. They are biologically determined processes that affect the body and the mode of operation of numerous brain circuits. They are part of the bioregulatory devices that help us survive. For example they can provide increased blood flow to arteries in the legs so that muscles receive extra oxygen and glucose in the case of danger...Most psychologists, philosophers, and spiritual scholars speak of five or six basic types of emotions...

Here, Marc Gobe goes on to list these emotions including fear, love, grief (sadness), anger, surprise, and envy. He also describes why some brands are better able to establish an emotional connection than others (2001). He mentions that in “the new emotional landscape we have become sensation seekers. But today we do not only ‘emotionalize’ as individuals, we also want to emotionally vibrate together.” In a sense, he is referring to an understanding of what sociologists refer to as crowd behavior, but here it is the focus on how bodies emotionally vibrate together that becomes a nuance way of describing it.

Julie Edell advises that “a growing body of mood research suggests that feelings can change the nature of cognitive processing.” (Agres et al, 1990) Here I would clarify that this use of the term feelings refers more to emotions themselves. It is different from Massumi’s notion of affect, which focuses on the physiological capture of the potential or ability to affect and be affected. More specifically, he would state that the difference between emotion and affect is a question of degree of intensity where, again, affect is unqualified intensity and emotion is qualified intensity. Emotion is thus a feeling/mood that is recognized, represented, and claimed in conscious or unconscious thought, much

⁵ A book that explores branding techniques in Advertising

like my enjoyment for the taste of Coke. But advertising research on emotions has shifted away from cognitive understandings of emotion to theorizing about perceptions of sense and notions of affect. They have done this because of the implications of studies on the nervous system, which have given us a greater understanding of how bodies receive and circulate messages affectively.

The Cultural Politics of Information

From an informational perspective, communication is neither a rational argument nor an antagonistic experience that is based on the capacity of a speaker to encode a shared meaning. The purpose of the information flow is to establish contact between sender and receiver by excluding all interference-by holding off the transformative potential of noise: communication is a signal sent to a receptive partner in a hostile environment. -Tiziana Terranova⁶

How do bodies circulate fear and thus become the conduit through which the politics of the “war on terrorism” moves? In her work on the cultural politics⁷ of emotion, Sarah Ahmed suggests that emotions “are not ‘in’ either the individual or the social, but produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allow the individual and the social to be delineated as if they were objects.” She is building on a sociological perspective that sees the sociality of emotions as constituted through cultural and social practices, where it is “through emotions or how we respond to objects and others that surfaces or boundaries are made.” (Ahmed 2004) It is as if these objects of emotion proceed as an effect of the circulation of emotional states. Her work situates a notion of an affective economy, where emotions like love, hate and fear can attach themselves to

⁶ See Terranova 2004.

⁷ Here Cultural Politics refers to the understanding that what exists in culture can be seen as inherently political. It is the understanding that political ideas and actions often move throughout cultural practices.

various bodies precisely because of the ability to circulate among these bodies. For example, she explores how “hate works by sticking ‘figures of hate’ together, transforming them into a common threat.” Here, she analyzes how hate crime works within law, and asks how the language of hate affects those who are designated as objects of hate. I am interested in how emotional states like fear designate the boundaries of the “war on terrorism” based on a perception of threat that is continually defined and actualized by the Bush Administration. Yet, I am not interested in these definitions *per se*; rather, I am interested in understanding how the boundaries of a “war on terrorism” become constituted through a cultural politics of fear that circulates among a population.

Classic models in mass communication theory discuss the relationship between sender-message-receiver. These models suggest a focus on the transmission of a message through a channel, from a sender to a receiver. This model focuses on understanding the meaning of the messages that are sent and the ones that are received. But in thinking of wartime propaganda, Tiziana Terranova posits the latest developments in communication and information theory. She suggests a focus on information dynamics (the circulation of information), in order to understand the movements of contemporary culture, specifically, the transmission of intended (and unintended) messages (2004).

Moreover, Terranova suggests that the “emergence of communication theory-with its attendant applications in the fields of public relations and public communications, perception management, advertising, marketing-constitutes a challenge to an understanding of cultural politics” that has tended to focus on understanding the construction of meaning. Here a focus on informational dynamics suggests that the meaning and understanding of security and/or the messages of the “If You See

Something, Say Something” campaign emerge and unfold through the process of circulation.

Here, models of sender-receiver become a bit more complex as the focus shifts away from the deliberate meaning a sender intends to send and/or the willingness of a receiver to accept or reject the message; rather the focus moves toward understanding the importance in establishing a connection in the process of communication and the circulation of these messages. As mentioned by the quote above, Terranova goes on to suggest that according to informational theory “communication is neither a rational argument nor an antagonistic experience that is based on the capacity of a speaker to encode a shared meaning. The purpose of the information flow is to establish a contact between sender and receiver...” (2004).

Inevitably this dissertation seeks to understand the circulation of the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign among a population and the ways in which branding techniques of advertising campaigns are used to impact this population. It seeks to explore the techniques of establishing contact between sender and receiver and to explore the implications of these mass communication techniques. Mass communication strategies in advertising campaigns are inherently tied to a cultural politics of information. These are the strategies that move information, which seek to impact an audience with an intended message to be received. These are affective strategies that seek to change opinion or influence various modes of opinion through the dynamics of information itself as an affective circulation. These strategies seek to touch an audience and in that moment of connection, they seek to galvanize that moment.

In thinking of mass communication research and in considering the goals of advertisement campaigns, bodies become a site of investment for the circulation of this security campaign and the information it seeks to circulate. As these bodies become invested in, fields of potential control emerge through these entanglements. These are the moments where mechanisms of control can potentially take hold. These are the moments where contact with bodies and the connection they establish with these bodies, allow these mechanisms to seep into and move a cultural politics that is one of containment, and yet one of potential as well.

This dissertation is thus relevant for social science research that is seeking to understand how mechanisms of control impact populations through the dynamics of information, and how the mechanisms of a greater “war on terror” are inherently tied to notions of security originally defined by the Bush Administration and the mass communication strategies used to implement its own discursive and non-discursive practices of security. The “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign is one mechanism which emerges through practices of local governance, but it is inherently tied to issues of national governance and a greater “war on terrorism.”

Mass Communication as a Mechanism of Population Control

Mass Communication research in sociology, particularly after World War II, focused on propaganda efforts and their impact on public opinion but also the role of mass media in disseminating and influencing this opinion (McQuail 1985). Subject areas in sociology and theoretical schools like the Frankfurt School in Critical Theory thus began developing methods of understanding mass communication efforts (particularly during

war time) and the industries that fueled these efforts. In thinking of the Mass Communications research that followed World War II, I situate my exploration of the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign in the techniques that it uses to reach a population and explore the ways in which this is a cultural politics: one that informs what is cultural about politics and what is political about culture.

Our cultural perception of events and the overall experience we come to have of these events unfold within a number of on-going articulations. They become named in conscious and unconscious thought and defined in their historicity according to the negotiations that take place in culture, which are inherently related to power. The moment at which we experience them, this named event, is always being negotiated through what Michel Foucault would call an “already defined set of power relations.” This is not to suggest that these power relations are stagnant or frozen in time and space, but that once our own experience is named and declared in its historicity (present or past or future), it is through these power relations that this experience is mediated and thus experienced.

As a political project, the “war on terrorism” is concerned with rallying consensus and impacting the cultural perception of events. It therefore incorporates mass communication strategies and tactics to inform and influence a population. The goal of any form of mass communication and here I am thinking of advertising more specifically, is to reach an intended audience with what Jami Fullerton and Alice Kendrick suggest are communication strategies that seek to change the receiver’s attitude in favor of the sender’s position (2005). Here they introduce a discussion of propaganda and offer up various definitions, such as Harold Lasswell, who defined it as that which “refers solely

to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or, to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumors, reports, pictures, and other forms of social communication.” Later, in the encyclopedia for social sciences 1937, he redefined it as “the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations. These representations may take spoken, written, pictorial or musical form.” (Fullerton and Kendrik 2005)

Through these definitions, both Fullerton and Kendrik go on to suggest that social scientists, mass communication practitioners and politicians have long been interested in understanding the power of propaganda and the process through which carefully crafted messages can move the so-called masses toward uniform thought and action. More specifically in their review of *Advertising War on Terrorism*, they focus their discussion on propaganda efforts during wartime in the United States. They offer up an extensive historical overview of wartime propaganda efforts since World War I, which culminates in the review of an advertising campaign used by the State Department during the “war on terrorism”.

In the last paragraph of *Propaganda*, Edward Bernays, one of the most prominent proponents of the scientific technique of the shaping and manipulating of public opinion suggests that:

Propaganda will never die out. Intelligent men must realize that propaganda is the modern instrument by which they can fight for productive ends and help bring order out of chaos (2005).

Bernays further suggests that public relations efforts during World War I opened up the understanding of the tremendous potential in manipulating public opinion and the “engineering of consent.” From a governmental perspective, he argues that through

studies of mass psychology, mass communication, and the public relations efforts of the war demonstrated the potential of an “invisible” rule, which could control and regiment the public mind. This brought about an understanding of the potential of this “invisible” rule not only in terms of governance but also for any other form of group control, as suggested by Bernays himself. Thus, any form of advertising and/or public relations effort through works by those like Bernays became widely understood as a mechanism that could easily shape, manipulate and control the public mind.

The “Normalizing” Society

In his lectures on *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault was attempting to tease out the implications of techniques of security on his notion of power, and the movement of power as an inevitable set of relations that gets negotiated or articulated through bodies themselves (2007). To understand this he situates this discussion in notions of disciplinary power,⁸ and its movement throughout populations. He makes the argument that to conceptualize how power moves throughout populations, the question inevitably comes to one concerning the governing of this population. He reminds us that the “question of the population is the question of government” (2007) and therefore it must (when considering governing) be concerned with the question of security. In terms of this campaign, I take on these conceptualizations in my own work because reaching (and also governing) a commuter population with an intended mass communicated message is the goal of the campaign itself.

⁸ Foucault is referring not only to the disciplining of bodies but regulating bodies. Therefore it isn't disciplining in the sense of *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* where he describes the process bodies can become disciplined or habituated to do something but rather there is also a regulatory aspect that is connected to larger questions regarding populations.

The “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign illustrates the moment when a population is not only subjected to security and surveillance techniques within the subway system but as they are called to join this policing apparatus and “see and say,” they, too, are the objects through which understandings of security and surveillance emerge and move. Even though the “war on terrorism” as a political project, and as a discursive practice, may attempt to define notions of security based on its own perceptions of a “terrorist” threat, the population is the mechanism through which this notion becomes actualized. In more straightforward terms the mass communication techniques used by governance to inform and impact a population only impact this population if they become the channel through which this circulation moves. These mass communication techniques according to Foucault’s thoughts on governance are, in fact, techniques of security for governance and therefore, security takes on a rather specific definition.

A title of a *New York Times* article reads:
 “Bush Presses for G.O.P Unity; Party Set to Focus on Security” (2008)

In terms of exploring and understanding bodies as a site of political investment, I draw upon Foucault’s understanding of discourse and discursive practices as a set of power relations. Here he suggests that “the Discourse of Discipline is about a rule: not a juridical rule derived from sovereignty, but a discourse about a natural rule, or in other words a norm.” Discipline, he argues, will not define a code of law, but a code of normalization (2003). He is thus suggesting that the norm or a rule of behavior is coded; that it is something that undergoes a process of being coded into “normalization.” He further suggests that up until this moment of history, power is exercised through two

limits: the public right of sovereignty and the mechanism of discipline. The latter (newer) form or expression of disciplinary power is exercised on bodies and is applied through constant surveillance techniques. It consists of two forms of power, disciplinary mechanisms and regulatory mechanisms where:

there is one element that will circulate between the disciplinary and the regulatory, which will also be applied to body and population alike, which will make it possible to control both the disciplinary order of the body and the aleatory events that occur in the biological multiplicity. The elements that circulate between the two is the norm. The norm is something that can be applied to the body one wishes to discipline and a population one wishes to regularize.

He goes on to argue that the “normalizing society” is a society where the norm of discipline and the norm of regulation meet (Foucault 2003). He talks of this notion rather abstractly, but in understanding this norm or process of normalization (which are terms he uses to describe this particular movement of power) he gave us these conceptions to try to explain two things he saw happening with changes in how power exercises itself. In this new type of disciplinary power which does not erase sovereign power but perhaps surpasses it, he is suggesting that two aspects: one disciplinary and one regulatory, intersect. Where they intersect, where they come together in and through bodies is the norm and this is what he set out to demonstrate.

In thinking of discourse and in looking at discursive practices, he is suggesting that the norm emerges through the intersection of these two movements or expressions of power. My research opens up the exploration of these conceptions by looking at the circulation of affects or how affect moves through bodies and thus can become a mechanism through which power moves as well. This campaign may effectively seek to discipline bodies to see and say but it regulates populations of bodies by branding sense

perception through the circulation of fear, which is a different mechanism but one that works alongside disciplinary techniques as well. It is these mechanisms working together through which norms regarding security and norms regarding “terrorism” emerge.

If the normalizing society is one where the disciplinary and regulatory meet, consider the moment when a population may see a bag in the subway station and view it suspiciously. This moment is one where norms regarding the treatment of this bag as a ‘suspicious’ bag emerge but it is not a moment that can be assumed; rather, there is a process through which it unfolds. It is one where this bag first needs to be seen as suspicious (a regulatory/control mechanism of branding sense perception) and then perhaps (at the same time) a population is disciplined and habituated to respond to this bag in a certain way. This campaign is thus one mechanism through which this moment becomes possible, the one through which norms of security emerge and begin their circulation. Foucault goes on to suggest that this moment of a ‘normalizing’ society was one where the disciplinary and the regulatory meet. But he considered this a moment that actualized security and population as both subjects and objects of the mechanisms of what he called an Age of Security, which is defined by the question of governing populations (2007).

Foucault initially spoke of a body relation in terms of punishment (1977). One that was necessary for the law to reach and manipulate the body of the convict. This was different than the law of the sovereign, which previously had existed up until the 19th century. In this ‘new’ economy of suspended rights, he suggested “a whole army of technicians took over from the executioner.” Here, he began to explore the various policing assemblages and institutions that made up this army of technicians, and the ways

in which they utilized disciplinary techniques to regulate the bodies of the condemned. Thus he developed and shared with us diagrams of prison layouts and panopticon-like apparatuses that provided an ever-ready, ever-reaching mechanism through which the surveillance of a population could take place.

This surveillance, which required constant policing, became the mechanism that ensured the success of these disciplinary techniques including the time-table that was used to enforce them. Vivid descriptions of prison layouts, the elaborate architecture of prison bars and cells, the movement of bodies throughout this prison system (when and how they are allowed to move) and of course, the watchtower, all became a part of the techniques of a political economy of discipline that was well on its way to becoming a political economy of control. As it was these types of techniques through which bodies truly became a part of the policing assemblages of governance, but here he focused on the techniques that disciplined bodies to these forms of policing.

Operation Lucky Bag

It is suggested that scholarship on surveillance seeks to understand the process of watching, monitoring and recording the behavior of people and objects and events, in order to govern activity.⁹ I would argue that this campaign offers itself up as a technique of surveillance by asking commuters to participate in being the eyes and ears of the MTA. In this sense, governable populations are added to a growing list of technological devices used to watch a population. One example is the placement of security cameras or other monitoring devices and systems within the subway system itself. Thinking of these

⁹ See Editor's Note in "Taking a Look at Surveillance Studies: A Symposium" *Contemporary Sociology* V36, March 2007.

monitoring devices, the following case vignette offers up an inquiry into the expanded policing and surveillance techniques unfolding within the subway and the connections these techniques have to the branding techniques of the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign.

Decoy bags are planted in department stores and fast-food restaurants, once someone picks up the item they are arrested by the police (Dwyer 2007). Operation Lucky Bag also consists of shopping bags, purses, and backpacks, which are left around the subway system by the police. Anyone who picks up these item and walks by the police are arrested. It is a program that is eventually shut down but a newer version of the program exists outside of the subway system. The focus of this crime prevention technique is on theft. Here, the police are leaving decoys in the attempts to catch would-be felons by providing them with an opportunity to become real, actual felons. Or at least providing them with an opportunity to pick up a decoy and thus become designated as real actual felons.

It is as if a game of suggestion unfolds through these mechanisms, which are attempting to prevent crime. Samuel Nunn analyzes the ways in which this (potential) or power of suggestion can influence and impact mechanisms of control including various surveillance strategies aimed at prevention, such as the ones we see in the subway system (2006). But in his examples, he considers the ways in which surveillant assemblages depicted in film circulate public perceptions of fear. Here he uses content analysis to analyze how surveillance is depicted in crime films and in television. He goes on to suggest that public perceptions of fear allow the social acceptance of the technological

systems of surveillance put in place to provide more security. Thus he is considering the ways in which these films and television shows affect people's perceptions of fear.

What interests me in terms of my own research is the placing of suspicious bags in the subway system and the ways in which this entangles with notions of an advertisement campaign that is asking riders to report suspicious packages or activity. But here this comes to culmination in the placement of decoys, which in some ways can seem to have the same effect as Hollywood television shows and films. It's a play on themes that both Brian Massumi and Samuel Nunn explore in terms of techniques of surveillance and their relationship to a cultural politics of fear, particularly in the production of eventualities that have not yet taken place. But here policing assemblages provide the actualities by placing bags in the subway system – the best of reality TV exists here. This forces eventualities to become actualities by producing objects which make these events real: a crime that doesn't exist but is a reality because a decoy bag is placed in the subway system. As these bags are placed for people to potentially steal or perhaps report, the branding potential of bags as suspicious packages also jumps to another level, and in this sense, becomes more 'real' as well.

During my research, I often thought about the implications of populations allowing themselves to be searched but here the understanding of disciplining and policing mechanisms like *Operation Lucky Bag*, which act to brand notions of security or at least the perceptions of bags suggest the disciplining techniques that can be employed to alter sense perception largely through perceptions of fear. As Samuel Nunn suggests the social acceptance of technological systems of surveillance is not surprising,

particularly if we consider the ways in which these policing operations normalize this social acceptance.

Campaign Slogans: Branding What is Seen and Said

In an article concerning the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign in the *New York Times*, Stuart Elliot argues that the “opportunity to enter the public discourse is becoming more valuable as so-called buzz marketing or word-of-mouth marketing grows increasingly important to advertisers.” “If the goal is to encourage consumers to tell one another about ads, a knack for creating a word or phrase that will come readily to their lips is priceless.” (2007). He suggests that the ‘If You See Something, Say Something’ slogan is such a phrase.

It is a slogan that in terms of any sort of campaign whether it is one that is selling a commodity, a political/cultural idea or a feeling, is an advertiser’s dream. It is why it has spread to a number of other cities within the United States but also in other countries as well (Elliott 2007). It is affective; it circulates affectively, and we can imagine this partly because of the lack of meaning in the phrase itself. *If You See Something*: Is something that is never defined necessarily, though in most cases it comes to mean some sort of ‘terrorist’ activity. But how do we come to define ‘terrorism’ and who decides? We could then talk about what ‘terrorism’ means and how various populations might view this differently. But even in the advertisements themselves ‘terrorism’ is never mentioned, only in terms of suspicious packages or activity can it be inferred. Regardless, if you do see something, *Say Something*. Both the content of this message and its’ meaning are left open to possibility.

Christopher Boylan, Deputy Executive Director at the MTA stated that, “we wanted something that was punchy and catchy enough to not fade in the background...[something that] makes a connection with everyone of our passengers.” Here I am not concerned with the meaning of this statement but its overall tone. Boylan is suggesting that a catchphrase has to be one that jumps out at people: one that makes a connection with ‘everyone of our passengers.’ So even though “If You See Something, Say Something” is a rather vague statement, it is in actuality much more precise than is often assumed, because it leaves the meaning of the words and the way these words affect people open to possibility...See what exactly? Say what? To whom? Granted the message is intended to remind transit riders they are to tell the authorities what they have seen or heard, but no clear directive of what this could be is made through the words of this statement. Therefore, it is much more open.

It is a statement that a number of friends and fellow students have commented and joked about: the openness of the phrase itself. But I would argue that it is the very openness of the slogan (and the campaign) that ensures its potential success. It hasn't faded in the background, as it is still in circulation. Though how this circulation functions and what it actualizes will be explored throughout the remaining chapters, it still does move. Through this campaign and the statements attached to this campaign, a rhythm is established or emerges where norms or potential norms are introduced or reintroduced, concerning issues of security, governance and control. As this slogan appears on metro cards, on train station kiosks, as it is heard over the loud speakers in stations and trains, as it moves from the subway system itself and onto the sides of buses, and finally into television commercials, it takes on its own movement as a form of mass

communication. It comes into contact with train populations and television viewing populations but also populations that walk throughout city streets. It comes in contact with these bodied populations and through its own repetitions, transmits messages to and through them, at least potentially.

In considering the transmission of messages through bodied populations, I am interested in Foucault's approach of a normalizing society that effectively disciplines a population but also provides an introduction to understanding the control mechanisms that underpin, move, or render discipline somewhat unnecessary. How does a campaign and a slogan like "If You See Something, Say Something" circulate through a population? And as it moves, what forms of control does it potentially and in actuality provide? Consider MTA Executive Director Katherine N. Lapp as she suggests that "we want to reinforce among our customers how important it is that they continue to be aware of their surroundings and to report suspicious activity or packages," "As events in Madrid, London, and other cities have demonstrated, the threat of terrorism remains very real, and we need to remind ourselves not to become complacent." Or as the MTA website suggests, "watchfulness is necessary to help prevent terrorists from carrying out their plans" (MTA Website 2006).

This approach thus seeks to understand the "element that circulates between the disciplinary and the regulatory, which will also be applied to body and populations" or masses alike (2003). One where notions of 'terrorism,' 'threat,' 'security,' 'suspicious,' and the ways in which events are named and experienced are not something that can be assumed, but a process that continually unfolds, a process that continually becomes 'normed.' Inevitably advertising campaigns like "If You See Something, Say

Something” are invested in the operation of norms and the ways in which communication theories and branding techniques circulate messages through a population. Here a Foucaultian approach suggests this norm is one of disciplining a population in terms of habituating thought and action but also a mechanism of control through which bodies become the conduits of information itself and thus the site of political investment.

Insecurity: The New Normal

Ted Brader’s book on the persuasion used in political advertisements particularly ones found in campaign elections offers up a clear introduction into the branding techniques of advertising campaigns. Brader seeks to understand the role emotions have in the process of political communication, he suggests that contemporary “political advertising is saturated with emotional appeals, and the consultants who make the ads believe these appeals matter.” (2006)

In being asked if emotions are more relevant than the intellect in trying to predict a person’s decisions, Frank Luntz ,a corporate and political consultant suggests that “80 percent of our life is emotion, and only 20 percent is intellect. I am much more interested in how you feel than how you think. I can change how you think, but how you feel is something deeper and stronger, and it's something that's inside you. How you think is on the outside, how you feel is on the inside, so that's what I need to understand.” (2004)

Considering “If You See Something, Say Something,” and the vagueness of this statement and what it’s meaning may or may not entail, I came across a quote by Aristotle that Brader used to explore this sentiment,”...An emotional speaker always makes his audience feel with him, even when there is nothing in his arguments.” What is interesting about the main slogan of this campaign is that it is neither the argument nor the meaning of the words that is most important here; but mainly that this directive, “If

“You See Something,” captures attention or seeks to capture attention so that a population “Says Something”. The ‘nothing’ in the argument or at least the openness of the statement offers up its greatest potential.

Throughout the remaining chapters I seek to explore coded bits of information¹⁰, meaning I seek to understand how an advertising campaign and the messages it circulates can code and inform notions of security, and thus impact how bodies experience these codes and these messages. In thinking of the goals of advertising agencies, particularly in thinking about their techniques of impacting consumers, the modulation of fields of potential in connecting with bodies is crucial for their ability to impact and circulate various codes of information (like the ones attached to this security campaign). The goal of this campaign as stated by the MTA website, asks for the participation of subway commuters in keeping the system safe. But what keeping the system safe means is a whole other question. It is one I wish to tease out the implications of. In seeking the participation of subway commuters, a second problematic I seek to explore concerns the ways in which these mass communication techniques touch and connect with a population by impacting and thus affectively branding sense perception.

In analyzing the color-coded terror alert system, the one that informs the nation if it is on red alert, orange, green or blue, Massumi explores the way that this system calibrates a public’s anxiety and the way in which branding sensation can become yet

¹⁰ In thinking of the way that sociologists code data into variables and thus come to define them, I am interested in understanding how definitions themselves become coded. Here in thinking of Foucault’s normalizing society, I am interested in teasing out the implications of how notions or norms of security, “terrorism”, and violence are being coded through political projects like the “war on terrorism.” Here, I am not interested in understanding what security does or doesn’t mean or even what is or isn’t considered “terrorist;” rather, I am trying to look at how a political project like the “war on terrorism” and advertising campaigns like “If You See Something, Say Something” influence the bodily experience of events and thus impacts definitions of these events and the sense of security that emerges from them.

another tool of control. The reality is one of activation. Activating or tuning into these notions of fear become potential, where the “intensity of that activation is the immanence of their potential.” He suggests that “safe” or notions of safety do not even merit a hue, as we notice that often the nation is dancing between red, orange or yellow. Again, he reminds us that “insecurity, the spectrum says, is the new normal.” But in thinking of a global “war on terrorism” and the ways in which it seeks to tap into this calibrating sense of fear, the question regarding where all this fear is coming from, still remains. “The future will be better tomorrow,” Bush remarked, but it may very well be that the ‘art’ of governmentality is trying to convince itself of its own statements.

The concept of fear as a political idea is an old one, as Corey Robin provides a detailed account of the ways in which fear has moved governance and also been a tool for governance as well. It was Thomas Hobbes who stated that “when man lives without security” the threat of continual fear and violence exists where the state of nature consists of man at war with other men. His prescription for this possibility and for ensuring the safety and security from this actuality is implicated in the *Leviathan*. It is a political idea that to some degree, particularly as it relates to conceptualizations of the State and notions of legitimacy in the *Age of Reason*, have remained with us ever since. It seems to have trickled into current perceptions of the Bush Administration’s so-called “war on terrorism” and the ways in which the policies of local governance and the production of campaigns like “If You See Something, Say Something” entangle and become connected to one another, through perceptions of threat and fear.

Literature that discusses the production of the “us” and “them” type of rhetoric where through the production of a ‘war on terrorism’ new “others” are named or renamed

and designated, reminds me of the works of Jasbir Puar and Amit Rai and also those like Mahmood Mamdani and Sara Ahmed who all suggest that this politics of “othering” is a useful tool in maintaining and administering control. In their assessment of the political uses of fear what seems striking in this literature though not teased out, is the implications that the government or apparatuses of governance are concerned with losing control in the first place. Something of these circulations suggest that the reason fear is calibrating is very much because as Hobbes originally suggested, governance believes it still has something to fear. Here, I am not thinking of territorial disputes or even threats in their actualizations, but rather governance’ own perception of fear and the ways in which this fuels the use of control techniques in circulating fear throughout a population. Capital always moves where there is investment, and this movement of fear becomes a very lucrative circulation for security industries and perhaps in the ones related to national defense as well. But it is interesting to think about the ways in which this “othering” response is very much connected to a nervousness about its own identity or at least about its own status and position within an “us” and “them” type of framework.

This potential in the circulation of fear thus becomes entangled with potential and actual investments in capital. But in thinking of concerns of managing, maintaining, and modulating populations (inside and outside of the United States), there is another site of investment, which has been illustrated throughout my research of this campaign. This is the investment in bodies, and in thinking of the fears governance has concerning its own ‘place’, it is not surprising that it focuses on calling bodies back to attention. Through this diagram of insecurity, which is produced by governance, the way that bodies are invested in, perceived and named become a necessity. Yet, these moments also exist as

a lucrative investment for capital as well, as we think of the technological mechanisms and production of apparatuses and techniques to modulate these bodies, and to watch over these bodies as they move.

It is therefore the modulation of potential in terms of moments of openness (and moments of enclosure as well) entangled within its own perception of fear that drive a notion of sovereignty designated by a ‘war on terrorism’ through which mechanisms of control emerge and circulate. A campaign seeks to brand a population into ‘seeing and saying’ actualities that may or may not occur, but this is very much connected to a greater “war on terrorism” that has defined these parameters in the first place. This campaign, as a local expression of governance, one that through its own movements entangles or is always-already entangled with a “war on terrorism,” actualizes one gigantic vignette of the notion of security(threat) which is what Hobbes laid down. And in terms of investment, it is what governmentality continuously emerges through: an overall perception and circulation of its own fear. This perception or actualization is a performance of security initiated by the Bush Administration and its “war on terrorism,” but it is one that is circulated and perpetuated throughout a population. Discursive practice is produced and reproduced through cultural exchanges. The subway system offers up a space to explore the potential of one particular advertising campaign in its ability to circulate a message that is initiated by the federal government but actualized through the practices of local governance.

Chapter Two begins with a consideration of issues of security and introduces this campaign as a mechanism of security. It ends with a discussion of methodology including an introduction into the use of performative methodology. Chapter Three

considers the “body in performance” and suggests understanding the body as a moving body: a body that is a conduit of societal norms surrounding notions of security. Chapter Four is a content analysis of the advertisements of this campaign. Chapter Five explores the ability of this campaign to move beyond the subway system and explores the relationship of this campaign with other forms of mass media. Chapter Six concludes with a discussion of the relationship that exists between this particular campaign and the greater “war on terrorism.” In thinking of discursive practice as a practice and as a performance, this dissertation looks at how performances of security move throughout populations. It seeks to understand how bodies themselves are inherently and continually entangled with performances of governance and the implications of this performance as bodies move into the subway, out of the subway, and back onto city streets. The remaining chapters thus explore the rhythm of this movement and the potential that it has as a mechanism of social control.

Chapter Two: From Autoethnography to Performance Methodology

When I first began to think about the implications of this advertising campaign and its ability to impinge and affect a population with a particular message, I hadn't yet understood this advertising campaign as a "security" campaign. But as I continued with the analysis of these advertisements and as I spent more time in the subway, I began to understand the ways in which this campaign was a performance of security, one that was attached to a greater "war on terrorism" and its own performance of security as well. As I proceed through a content analysis of the advertisements of this campaign and as I consider narrative responses to this campaign, a general reflection on notions of security become apparent, as the remaining chapters of this dissertation will suggest. My methodological approach was thus entangled with questions regarding the perception of this campaign, which unavoidably led to questions regarding the perception of security.

Eviatar Zerubavel posits that the mechanics of social pattern analysis and the methods laid out by formal sociology "cut across various methods of collecting data, ignoring the conventional split between "qualitative" and "quantitative." (2007) He suggests that within this methodology, the idea is to look for general patterns that transcend specific instantiations. He goes on to suggest that social pattern analysis involves comparing phenomena that span diverse settings and contexts. I consider these thoughts and his methodological suggestions, as I attempt to understand the ways in which the perception of security or the social organization of security plays out in the subway system according to this particular campaign.

Logic of Security: The Logic of Being Prepared

The literature which cites changing approaches in security after September 11th, highlights a fundamental trade off in issues of governing public spaces, between the openness and services these public spaces provide and the need to control or maintain their functioning as public spaces (Jerome and Pontille 2008; Loukaitou-Sideris et. al 2006; Molotch and McClain 2003; Taylor et al. 2006). But in the age of the “war on terrorism” it is assumed (even in these writings) that the subway system is a “defensible space,” which must be protected from any outside threats to the system. For example, in their treatment of ‘urban terror’, Molotch and McClain begin by suggesting that 9/11 indicated a new threat to urban security (2003). They proceed to analyze the various approaches to this new threat particularly in considering and eventually arguing against the Bush administration’s “command system” approach. They argue that the “zero-tolerance” approach used in normal crime situations cannot be applied to the problem of terrorism because of its specificity as an “abnormal” crime. They conclude by asking for wider surveillance from “the eyes on the street” to help maintain the safety of the subway system citing that “we know from this past history that fear of crime – to take the crucial precedent – leads to major policy consequence, including race and class effects. Fear of terrorist crime in the US now escalates global consequence around the world.”

The researchers go on to suggest that “we need more knowledge about how cities, including those in the rich centers of the world, work in the context of terror – both for the sake of better policies as well as more informed and effective populations.” But the question here is better policies for what? Or, how does the subway system as a public space that is used by people to get from one place to another come to find itself cached in

issues of policing systems, no longer a system of transportation but a system of security and one of defense. More importantly, how has the rhetoric of the “war on terrorism” changed the ways in which we define the ‘functioning’ of the subway system? This is not to say that issues of security aren’t inherently tied to the functioning of any system. But what I am interested in teasing out the implications of, is how much the language or practices of the “war on terrorism” informed perceptions or notions of a logic of (in)security that Andrew Lakoff demonstrates is a logic of being prepared against a threat, which derives and emerges through governance but also impacts governance and its ability to maintain public spaces as well (2007).

Managing a public transportation system in the sense of security described above, focuses on threats to the system and thus becomes a matter of policing, not one that is merely concerned with providing access to public transportation or maintaining a well functioning system. It may sound trivial but it is something to consider. In this instance, maintaining a well functioning system is tied to perceptions of threat and thus providing access to public transportation is preceded by concerns over the perceptions of threat against the system. Something in this shift, or at least in the ordering of this perception, has great repercussions and effects on the way in which governance views itself, particularly in terms of its responsibility in providing services to those it governs.

The roots of the “war on terrorism” as a political project are thought to emerge and exist either as a new imperialist project seeking resources and greater hegemony or as an attempt to return to “us” and “them” dichotomies that were deemed successful during the Cold War. These two positions are not necessarily mutually exclusive. And the literature that refers to the “war on terrorism” as a specific project produced initially by

the Bush administration often refer to these two positions simultaneously, unless they are making specific arguments about ideological debates within the Bush administration and/or amongst the greater power elite.

In thinking of the domestic security policy of the Bush administration as a concern of national interest, Lakoff describes the logic of these policies as a logic of preparedness regarding security. He suggests that this particular logic is based on notions of a perceived threat. He argues that a logic of preparedness consists of:

A form of rationality for approaching questions of domestic security in the United States. Preparedness provides security experts with a way of grasping uncertain future events and bringing them into a space of present intervention. An analysis of this form of rationality helps to address a puzzling aspect of State-based security practices in the contemporary United States (2007).

In this argument he traces the history of this rationality of preparedness within domestic security beginning with the Cold War up to the current practices of the Department of Homeland Security. In one example, he focuses on a discussion of Hurricane Katrina and the debates that took place regarding the lack of preparedness for the effects of this Hurricane. The consequences of this logic, which is an extension of a logic of domestic security based on perceived threat, is that it allows for events like Hurricane Katrina and other possible “terrorist” attacks to be linked together as the same problematic i.e. an event to which governmental measures and security agencies of the State must be prepared for.

In thinking of the “war on terrorism” as the Bush administration’s and the Department of Homeland Security’s approach to domestic security issues and concerns, I consider the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign as an extension of this

domestic security policy. But as it is instituted at the city level, I also consider it as a mechanism or performance of local governance.

*We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systematically break them. If we wait for **threats to materialize**, we will have waited too long. Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security, and they're essential priorities for America. Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats **before they emerge**. In the world we have entered, the **only path to safety** is the path of action. And this nation will act...**Our Security** will require transforming the military you will lead – a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And **our security** will require **all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute, to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our lives**¹¹.*

The amount of uneasiness that seems to be circulating in counter-terrorism policies and the surveillant assemblages that move them are as Samuel Nunn suggests, “assemblages composed of many discrete technological forms used to observe and infer patterns of behavior in the interests of control, investigation, and crime prevention.” (2007) For example, he describes a meeting between a brigadier general and a select number of Hollywood writers, producers and directors to “develop terrorism scenarios that had not been considered before.” In this, he is suggesting that “Hollywood imagination would supply the potential fuel for the development of preventive strategies.” He also mentions the number of productions and shows that were cancelled or changed after 9/11 because of “government concerns they would spark creative criminal imitation and intensify public fears of future attacks.” This is what Massumi refers to as a Logic of Preemption (2008) that is entangled with a concept of a state of exception, which a substantial literature concerning the “war on terrorism” has explored

¹¹ *President Bush as he addresses West Point Graduates in 2002 (Palast 2003)*

(See Armitage 2002). It is through this logic that security techniques acquire their legitimacy.

As I researched some of the advertisements that were used during the Cold War, I spoke to a journalist standing in line next to me in the public library. In mentioning comparisons between the Cold War and the 'War on Terrorism': he commented that they were "not the same thing." He went on to suggest that although propaganda techniques were used during the Cold War, what is happening now is different. He was suggesting that what is happening now is a 'real' security threat rather than propaganda techniques that are used to sway political opinion concerning ideas about security.

What is interesting in this example (and may seem obvious) is how much the perception of threat determines what is or isn't considered a threat, rather than the threat itself.

The four examples I list below offer an introduction into the performative aspect of my research. They also reflect some of the key assumptions and questions regarding the perception of security by governing institution that are discussed throughout the remaining chapters. These issues include an understanding of security as that which threatens the subway system, which exclude understandings of security based on crowd control, economic security in general, or perhaps workplace safety and/or security. Here, the understanding is that this system is potentially under threat from an outside 'attack' and thus the definition of security takes on a very specific meaning.

A. Transit Security

I recently took a trip to the transit museum. Seeing the pictures of faces of workers who built the subway system in the early 20th century made me think of the type of security issues they faced, and how this was treated and/or viewed. I thought of the working conditions they faced but also the health concerns they might have had as well. But this trip to the museum also reminded me of the time I experienced a delay in train

service, while riding on the train. We were underground, between train stations, as we slowly made our way along the tracks. At the time, a number of workers were busy doing track work. I could see these workers because they were close enough to the train but also because the train was moving at a slower speed. Considering the security issues they faced, I thought about the type of security (or even preparedness) this campaign has us focus on and the ones it leaves out.

B. Flatbush Avenue Turnstiles

As I am leaving a side exit at the Flatbush Avenue station, I notice that the low entrance turnstiles are blocked off because there is no one working in the station booth. The only permissible way to leave the train station from this particular exit is through the high entrance turnstile. It is the type of turnstile that is a revolving door, which allows one person to pass through at a time. But it also produces a sort of time delay as one person passes through after another. Thinking of the people lined up to exit the subway station, I thought of issues of crowd control and issues of safety. But I also thought about norms regarding subway behavior.

Interestingly enough, people began using the “emergency exit,” which is a swinging door that allows many people to pass through at once. With alarms sounding, many people just continued to exit the subway in this way because waiting to exit through the one available high entrance turnstile was taking too long. It is interesting to think of this scene in terms of issues of governance. Here by providing commuters with only one exit, they merely began using an exit they aren’t allowed to use because no other alternatives are offered to them.

C. Policing Security

Entering a train station, I find that the low entrance turnstiles are, again, blocked off because there is no transit worker behind the station booth. As I wait my turn and finally enter onto the subway mezzanine through the high entrance turnstile, I notice five police officers standing in a line along the wall. I found this image quite striking. While there have been persistent cutbacks in MTA personnel working behind station booths, there seems to be an increase in the number of police officers standing in this particular station. Or at least this particular image of five police officers standing along the wall, suggests a shift in focus toward a policing security. It reminded me of the ways in which security, in this sense, is being defined and practiced.

D. Considering Bag Searches

In 2005, the MTA allowed the bags of commuters to be searched as they entered or left the subway station. I remember when they first began these searches. I remember being appalled that people would allow themselves to be searched. I was surprised and shocked that more people didn't see this as some sort of violation. It is in the name of 'security' that people allow or adhere to these searches. This understanding of security, initiated and circulated through technologies of governance, which are entangled with a global "war on terrorism," culminates in the permission of bodies to be searched. But of course, we first have to perceive bags and belongings as a potential threat, before we give up this 'right' to governance to search our things.

This is where an advertisement campaign can potentially play its role in branding sense perception, or move a security technique that further allows the control over a population. For if people are given the choice between a 'right' not to have their bag or

body searched and ‘security,’ of course, they will choose security. This is the cultural politics of (in)security as the new normal that Massumi speaks of; the one that circulates throughout the subway system in the form of bag searches and surveillant assemblages, which monitor the movements of populations and is now allowed to search them as well.

This perception of threat and framing the problem of “making the system more safe” is the perception through which notions of security become defined and coded as security(threat). Thus as Lakoff argues, events like Hurricane Katrina and other possible “terrorist” attacks can be linked together in the same problematic, because there is a general assumption within governance of needing to continuously be prepared for a number of events that could potentially be seen as a threat. Thus, this code of security is not one that is based on notions of security but actually a sense of insecurity that governance has come to assume. I am thus interested in understanding how this perception has impacted cultural perceptions as well.

Bodily Surveillance as Performance: Toward a Method

In the final stages of my research, I volunteered and attended a conference where a friend and I began discussing my project. Some of the best research material I have collected over the years has come haphazardly from various events I have attended. We began a rather random discussion of notions of security, not necessarily intending to do so. He focused his part of the discussion on the cutbacks that have taken place in personnel in the New York City MTA (Metropolitan Transportation Authority). Commuters who enter and leave train stations are less likely to find a train booth operated by an MTA employee, especially during non-rush hour service. He mentioned the rising

costs of train fares as well. He was suggesting that this might be an issue of economic security. It is interesting to think of rising train fares as a ‘security’ issue in this way. This got me to thinking about the logic of the security measures that were unfolding in the subway system and my own questions regarding norms and codes. It also provided me with an opportunity to think about the movement of bodies throughout the subway system.

We spoke a little of the L train and the problem of congestion that is taking place, due to population growth within the area in Brooklyn that it serves. My friend spoke of sometimes needing to allow two or three trains to pass full of commuters before he is even able to get on the train, particularly during rush hour. Our discussion turned to the configuration of turnstiles and how bodies, which move throughout these turnstiles, enter onto a subway platform. My mind began to play with configurations of space as we spoke. We talked about the difficulty or ease through which bodies move in and out of the subway system and a number of potential possibilities entered my mind. Though we were ‘playing’ with the discussion, the thought we came to was one concerning the type of security this particular advertisement campaign focused on and the relevant ones we felt it left out. Though security may mean a sense of feeling safe, there is more to the meaning of this word than we might initially imagine. This discussion seemed a perfect moment to describe the type of exploration of discursive practices this research could consider.

This discussion also reflects the aspect of my research that included my own participant observation in the subway system and the interactions I had with various people on or about the subway. These interactions and discussions helped me to

understand aspects of the branding potential of this advertising campaign that I was previously unaware of. But it was only in assuming my own body as a participant and my own person as a subject, which allowed me to see the dynamics that existed in the transmission of these messages and the information of this campaign. Thus, in order to tease out the implications of these performances of security and the production of insecurity, it was necessary for me to find a method that would allow me to grasp the affective transmission of fear and threat throughout a commuting population. It was only when I assumed my own body as a participant and my own person as subject that I came to see, or feel, the dynamics that transmission of the messages of this campaign.

Erving Goffman states that:

By participant observation, I mean a technique that wouldn't be the only technique a study would employ, it wouldn't be a technique that would be useful for any study, but it's a technique you can feature in some studies. It's one of getting data, it seems to me, by subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, or their work situation, or their ethnic situation, or whatever (1989).

Within my own research, I took his reflection on participant observation quite literally. In thinking of the developments of ethnographic research, particularly in its relationship to autoethnography or the recording of personal narratives, my research draws upon the participant observation techniques used in these forms of qualitative analysis. As I considered my own body as it moves through the subway system and as it comes in contact with the information of this campaign, and as I recorded notes that reflected these moments of interaction, I subjected myself and my own body to the "contingencies that play upon a set of individuals," in order to understand the implications and impact of this particular campaign.

In her use of autoethnographic method, Margot Duncan suggests that “autoethnographic research has not yet enjoyed the popularity and respect of its ethnographic predecessors...however, the autoethnographic method I employed in the study of my work...was the only method that could have answered my research questions.” (2004) I feel a similar sentiment toward my own research. Without incorporating my own body into the study of this campaign, I could not have gained the same insights regarding the circulation of branding techniques, their ability to impact sense perception, and their relationship to notions of security.

In his reflections on participant observation, Goffman goes on to suggest that: When you do that, it seems to me, the standard technique is to try to subject yourself, hopefully, to their life circumstances, which means that although, in fact, you can leave at any time, you act as if you can't and you try to accept all of the desirable and undesirable things that are features of their life. That “tunes your body up” and with your “tuned-up” body and with the ecological right to be close to them, you are in a position to note their gestural, visual, bodily response to what's going on around them...(1989)

In considering this methodological suggestion, as I live in New York City and as I ride the subway every day, I couldn't leave at any time. And so my daily commute into the city became a part of my study as well. Though Goffman suggests that these observations shouldn't necessarily be a prominent feature of any study, I would argue that with this particular dissertation it became imperative. I wanted to understand what “tunes our bodies up” particularly in thinking of the branding techniques of this campaign, and so I needed to pay attention to observations of riding on the subway when I was officially taking field notes and the times when I was not. In a sense, these observations, reflections, and stories happened sporadically. And so I recorded them when they took place, whether I was at a conference or at a friend's party or walking down the street on my way to an event.

The Use of Personal Narratives

There are a number of definitions (and applications) of autoethnography. Stacy Holman Jones suggests that it is a “theoretical, methodological, and (primarily) textual approach that seeks to experience, reflect on, and represent through evocation the relationship among self and culture, individual and collective experience, and identity politics and appeals for social justice.” (2007) She furthers in saying that “autoethnography fuses personal narrative and sociocultural exploration,” that it is closely associated with ethnography, but a renewed interest in individual experiences as situated in larger cultural systems has led to a reconsideration of the power and importance of personal narrative. Carolyn Ellis and Arthur Bochner describe autoethnography as “an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal in the cultural.” They suggest that autoethnography is often written in the first-person voice and that it appears in a variety forms, here they stress the importance of the blurring between the personal and the cultural and the dialogue that occurs in autoethnographic texts due to this relationship¹².

In this text (and in a number of texts that I read concerning autoethnography) they often mention what Arthur Bochner suggests is the turn to narrative as a mode of inquiry due to the need to “construct a different relationship between researchers and subjects and between authors and readers.” One autoethnographic account suggests that:

¹² For an extensive discussion of autoethnography in terms of its use in the Social Sciences, the various methods described as autoethnography and examples of autoethnographic writing see Ellis and Bochner “Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity: Researcher as Subject” in the *Handbook of Qualitative Research V3* edited by Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln.

The autoethnographic subject blurs the distinction between ethnographer and Other by traveling, becoming a stranger in a strange land, even if that land is a fictional space existing only in representation. As a diary of a journey, the travelogue produces an otherness in the interstices of the fragmented "I" of the filmic, textual self. As the memory of the trip becomes enmeshed with historical processes and cultural differences, the filmic image becomes the site of a complex relationship between "I was there" and "this is how it is."
(Russell 1999)

Thinking about debates within ethnographic research, these accounts suggest an approach which attempts to challenge certain conceptions of the other that have long been contested within and around ethnography. However, this type of research and writing actually challenges the very ways in which ethnographic research is conducted, written about and experienced. Whether in feminist studies, in literary analysis, Anthropology or even within sociology, this approach suggests making the researcher a subject, or at least, incorporating some sort of personal narrative or acceptance of the personal in the process of research itself.

Deborah Reed-Danahay suggests that in thinking of autoethnography as a response to a changing relationship between self and society, and also as a response to questions of self-reflexivity and representation, that it stands between three genres of writing 1-“native anthropology”, where people who were once subjects of a study become authors of their own studies 2- “ethnic autobiography,” which are personal narratives written by members of ethnic minority groups and 3- “autobiographical ethnography,” in which anthropologists fuse their own personal experiences into ethnographic writing. Her edited book is thus a collection of essays that have in some way, shape or form used or incorporated aspects of one of the above mentioned genres, where the boundaries between autobiography and ethnography as forms of documentation, to some degree become blurred (1997).

My research is thus informed by an autoethnographic approach or displays similarities with this type of approach, in that I needed to focus on my own reflections and experiences in the subway system to tease out the implications of these experiences as they related to the circulation of this campaign. Whereas my research does not reflect an autoethnographic methodology per se, it does incorporate my own observations as “personal” narratives or vignettes and thus is informed by these approaches and their own methodological challenges and concerns. Catherine Kohler Riessman describes her research approach as incorporating both sociology and narrative (1993). She focuses her analysis of conducting interviews and studying texts in terms of a particular model of narrative analysis, not necessarily on the analysis of personal narratives themselves. However, she suggests that narrative analysis must engage with personal experiences and the communication of these experiences, even in terms of the research process itself. For instance, in thinking of recording observations and conducting research she suggests an approach called “attending experience:”

Then I attend and make discrete features in the stream of consciousness—reflecting, remembering, recollecting them into observations. I scan the beach (metaphorically speaking) and isolate certain images, which are known in a given language community by certain words—sun—light, sand, waves, fishing. On this particular occasion, the sound of fishermen chanting is the object I attend to, not the smell of the surf, or the feel of the water—yesterday’s images...By attending, I make certain phenomena meaningful...I actively construct reality in new ways...to myself, by thinking.

I find this description helpful because it is the play on meaning or the play upon sense perception that has become a crucial aspect of my research in the subway system. In considering how branding techniques of a particular campaign impact the sense perception of a population (which I will discuss more extensively in Chapter Three and Chapter Four), isolating certain images and thinking about the ways in which these

images become isolated from other experiences, or the way in which certain sounds are attended to one day and not the next, is crucial in making the phenomena meaningful, as she suggests here.

In her reflection, Riessman suggests that after attending experience comes the telling of experience, or what she refers to as “the performance of a personal narrative”. When returning from the field, a researcher must sit down and try to convey the experiences of another group of people to a particular audience or even to friends and to family or to oneself. Riessman goes on to describe this process as a performance; one where certain words are chosen to depict or capture the observations she collected, one where other words are omitted or perhaps other feelings or sentiments left out. It is interesting that in this stage of research she describes it as a ‘performance,’ but it is not surprising as this is what Goffman often spoke of in terms of the presentation of an everyday self. Only in this instance, she is using it to describe or reflect on the process of research as well.

Clarifying Depictions of Methodology

In *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Erving Goffman explains that throughout his book “very considerable use is made of anecdotes cited from the press and from popular books in the biographical genre (1986).” He suggests that he doesn’t present these anecdotes as evidence or proof but rather as clarifying depictions. He notes the limitations of this data, particularly as it is based on a hit-or-miss basis and principles of selection “mysterious” even to himself, and thus suggests a caricature of systematic sampling is involved. He incorporated this method as he was trying to tease

out the implications of social interaction and the meanings individuals gave this interaction. He incorporated terms like performance or the “theatrical frame” to suggest frameworks through which experience is potentially organized and thus understood and negotiated by individuals.

In my own research, I incorporate a similar methodology, but here I am not attempting to understand the meaning behind or within social interaction; rather, I am attempting to understand how bodily experience and the circulation of emotions like fear can impact not only people’s experience of these sensations but also play a political role as well. Goffman suggests that *Frame Analysis* is about the structure of experience individuals have at moments in their social lives (Goffman 1986); yet, I am not trying to understand the frameworks through which individuals understand the cultural politics of the “war on terrorism,” or this particular campaign. Rather, I am attempting to understand how bodies in turn circulate these politics and thus become the mechanism through which a cultural politics of fear move.

At different stages of this research my approach to this security campaign and the ways in which I would explore these advertisements and the information they circulated, changed. My intent was to understand how this campaign as a form of mass communication circulated and potentially controlled or sought to control and impact a population with an intended message. Thus, in the fall of 2006, I spent a number of hours riding different train lines to get an understanding of where these advertisements were placed, whether within train cars or on subway platforms. I also wanted to see how often the audio messages associated with this campaign were repeated on the trains as well. For instance, the R train has eight train cars and as I rode this particular train, I would get

off at every station and run to the next train car before the doors closed so that I could see how many train cars had an advertisement relating to this campaign. It was also during this stage of my research that I would exit the train at certain subway stations, like the Atlantic-Pacific Street Station in Brooklyn, to walk around and see if the advertisements were placed in the stations as well.

These initial observations allowed me to understand aspects of this research that I would need to explore later. For instance: it was during this time I observed that on the latest models of trains introduced into the subway system (like the 2 train) audio messages are much clearer because these trains are equipped with up-to-date sound systems. These sound systems are also automated. As I rode the train from Brooklyn College into the Bronx, I could get a sense of how frequently and how clearly these messages were being played. I also observed that there were small placards of the “If You See Something, Say Something” slogan displayed on a number of bulletin boards on subway platforms, and also in station booths as well. I began to keep track of their placement in these stations and on these platforms. In riding the R line versus the 2 line, I became aware of the differences between the automated messages played on the sound system on the 2 train versus the messages that the conductor of the train announced on the R line. But as I began to keep track of this type of data, I soon realized it was not going to help me understand how the messages of this particular advertising campaign impact a population.

In the beginning of 2007, I began to collect field notes of my experiences riding the train. I had realized that if I wanted to understand how these messages affect populations, I would have to begin to understand how these messages impact commuting

populations as they rode the trains themselves. Thus I not only needed to understand the perception of these messages, but the impact that the subway system and riding on the trains themselves has on the perception of these images. As I had a sense of where the advertisements of this campaign were located, I then needed to research the way in which they impact commuters. So in this second stage of data collection, I began to keep track of my experiences on the train as they related to this particular campaign. I also recorded any information that would help me to understand how the rhythm of riding on the train impacts experience. For instance: how might a disruption in train service impact the experience of these advertisements or my experience of the subway in general? Thinking of the experience of the train as a ‘moving’ train became an important aspect of my research, which I will explore in the following chapters. Finally, I recorded conversations I had with friends, family, and even strangers regarding their own observations of this campaign.

During 2007, I also created and began to administer a survey to transit riders. It asked questions regarding this campaign, the greater “war on terrorism” and perceptions of fear. I only collected a handful of surveys, because I quickly observed that respondents telling me whether they had seen this particular campaign and how much it had affected them would not help me understand how branding techniques of advertising campaigns brand sense perception. In seeking this type of understanding, I turned to both C. Wright Mills and Goffman who “performed” sociology or approached sociology by recording notes on social behavior, and thus sought to understand the implications of interaction, its meaning and its effect. But here, in thinking of the study of this campaign and the field notes I maintained, I saw no better subject than my own body.

I have incorporated two methods in exploring the branding techniques of this particular advertising campaign. One is a content analysis of the advertisements and messages of this campaign. The second is a narrative component through which I explore various vignettes and personal experiences I have had conducting research regarding the circulation of this campaign within the subway system. What I explore in Chapter 4 and 5 is thus a content analysis of the advertisements themselves and these field notes, which are vignettes written in narrative form. Mills spoke of the social scientist as a practitioner of the craft of sociology (2000). He spoke of this craft as one that maintains a file like a literary journal, but here he focused on its role in becoming part of the process of intellectual production. It is a file that becomes a growing store of ideas, statements, temporalities, rhythms and movements. This became my approach to this advertising campaign in the subway system.

My point of departure is my own body and my own experience but not in terms of my own personal narrative, necessarily, or the connection of my narrative with someone else's (though this is a possibility as well) and not in the symbolism, meaning and/or construction of my own experience. But more as Bergson suggests, as my body becomes a conduit of the circulation of culture: of norms that become named and reified, re-circulated, re-disciplined but also become the movements that come to take hold of bodies and provide potential moments for mechanisms of control to circulate as well. In Mill's case, he said he based his studies on a desire to articulate his own experience. As a sociologist, I think of my desire to articulate processes that are unfolding in relation to a 'war on terrorism' and how I would approach a study of something that seems to be sticking and seeping into our sociality – reformulating the way we move and approach

notions like terrorism, security, and questions of violence. As I proceeded and thought of the various research tools that I could use in this analysis and even attempted to use some of these research tools, they didn't seem to be able to capture the movements of this campaign as a bodily mechanism of control. And so I began to focus on the movements of my own body, as it came in contact with this campaign and thus offered up a potential for the circulation of this campaign and the cultural politics of information that moves and is moved by it as well.

Coding Information

In thinking of the movement of the information of this campaign throughout bodies, my own body becomes a measuring apparatus used to understand and perceive the movements/reflections/norms of this campaign. This is a performative methodology that seeks to understand how branding techniques that are used in advertising circulate, how they come to touch bodies and potentially connect and transmit various bits of information through these bodies. Performative methodology suggests approaching research from a notion of performance rather than representation¹³. In *Meeting the Universe Halfway*, theoretical physicist and feminist theorist, Karen Barad goes on to suggest that a performative understanding of empirical practices takes into account the

¹³ In "Time, Non-Representational Theory and the "Performative Turn"-Towards a New Methodology" in *Qualitative Social Research, FQS* 9: May 2008, Peter Dirksmeier and Ilse Helbrecht suggest that social research has a lot to discuss with performance studies particularly if in Goffman's view or commentary on the notion that "All the World's a Stage." More specifically, they define this performative turn as qualitative research, which focuses on the verbal, bodily, and multi-modal performances of artistic or social practices. They focus more on the performance aspect of this methodology and its implications for the arts but they incite Goffman as a forerunner, as he referred to "performance" as "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers." (Goffman, 1969). He was referring to individuals and understanding the interaction between them but this allows us to consider the movement or "performance" of interaction rather than assuming a fixed definition of what this interaction comes to represent and mean.

fact that knowing does not come from standing at a distance and representing but rather from a direct material engagement with matter itself (2007). The issue is thus one of the nature of these enactments, engagements, and entanglements, rather than one of representation and fixed meaning.

This engagement is not a constructivist approach in privileging epistemological issues over ontological ones rather it is an approach that considers relationality "...that which exists is that which we can use to intervene in the world to affect something else." (Barad 2007) To give an example of this, she offers that "electrons are counted as real because they are an effective experimental tool", meaning it is not the fixed nature of electrons which gives them their 'properties' but the way in which they are used as a methodological tool. Thus the way in which they are named and operationalized defines their movement and the properties attached to this movement. In this case study, my own body, in a performative sense, becomes an affective and effective experimental tool as "theory and experiment are no longer understood in their reified forms but seen as dynamic practices of material engagement with the environment," (2007) and here I am thinking of a social environment, or thinking of material engagement in its sociality, and thus my own body's entanglement with this sociality. So I am not only interested in the ways in which bodies perform this campaign or perform the information of this campaign, as Goffman may suggest, but also how my own body is included in this performance as well.

Barad suggests that I approach this campaign from the point of view of momentum itself¹⁴. Considering momentum, within the Social Sciences we often

¹⁴ A Bohrian understanding of quantum mechanics suggest that we cannot have knowledge about a particle or variable's position and momentum at the same time, but rather there is a trade off between how well we

contain variables into quantifiable codes or at least codes fixed in position. As we comb through our data collection, we code information into measurable variables that we can then describe in quantitative or qualitative terms. Here, as performative methodology suggests, I seek to understand these coded bits of information as movement instead.

What I am most concerned with is not the positionality of the campaign itself as a fixed variable or frozen object: what it is or isn't, but rather: how it moves, where it moves to, what it comes into contact with, what it informs and what comes to inform it as well.

These, after all, are the fields of potential that the production of norms moves to or how they become defined and actualized within culture. These are the fields of potential that come to define norms and offer up the moments that these norms become 'normed.'

In this sense, I did not code variables as much as I coded vignettes. As chapters proceed, I focus on the power of the branding techniques in advertisements to impinge and affect a population with a particular message regarding what they should be seeing or saying. In this sense I coded vignettes in terms of 1) the potential of branding particular objects 2) the potential for branding sense perception more generally and 3) the power of repetition in branding and modulating sense perception. These are the moments when norms of security within a greater "war on terrorism" become linked to notions of threat and a bodily perception of fear, which is attached to various events and objects like those found in a local security advertising campaign.

Chapter Four begins with a content analysis of the advertisements of this campaign but as I proceed, I incorporate a performative aspect of this analysis, as I

can know both quantities at once (2007). The more we know about a particle's position the less we know about momentum. Therefore in the classic technique of understanding variables, objects of study and the construction of meaning what this approach is suggesting is that in focusing on movement or momentum itself another aspect of understanding can be explored.

analyze and discuss the field notes that I collected throughout my research. My project is thus divided into two linked trajectories: one that incorporates a more straightforward content analysis and the other that uses vignettes or narratives that I collected to highlight aspects of the findings of the content analysis. Thus I employ Case Vignettes (similar to case studies), which are described and incorporated to further tease out specific examples of analysis and build on the vignettes that have been collected. Chapter Five furthers this analysis by exploring examples that suggest the branding of notions of security. It also introduces examples of the more performative aspect of this analysis: a performative methodology that through the use of case vignettes and other examples seeks to understand, or at least explore, the complexity of the circulation of information inherent in the mass communication techniques and strategies of this particular advertising campaign, and in the strategies employed throughout the “war on terrorism.

Chapter Three:
The Body in Performance

“The skin is faster than the word”
-Brian Massumi, Parables for the Virtual

In Clifton Hood’s research on the changing perception of transit riders in the New York City Subway System from 1880-1920, he makes the argument that the developments that took place in transit at that time (mainly the introduction of the city’s elevated railways and subways) broke down many of the physical barriers and social distances between people (1996). He goes on to suggest that this changed residents’ relationship to the subway as a public space including their relationship with other people as well. By the 1920s, New York could “boast of having the longest and most densely traveled subway system in the world” (1996). It is interesting to then think about the relationship of transit riders to this public space and how this perception changes over time. But he also talks about this in terms of a public space that is contested, one that incorporates commuters, employees, city officials, and thus issues of governance and capital alike.

To think about this space in these terms, brings in a number of discussions regarding urban development, decentralization of the city and the politics of transportation decisions. (1996) But it also allows for a more in-depth discussion regarding the changing perception of these public spaces and the relationships that bodies have to these spaces, and the performances they lend themselves to. It thus allows us to imagine people’s orientation towards a particular space and their movements throughout

this physical space. In her review of literature on the body, Lisa Blackman suggests that the body is a “somatically felt body” (2008). That it is a biological, social, cultural, psychological, physical and economic body. Literature in sociology has understood that these bodies or this body is something that I have and that I am but here she looks at some key questions regarding the use of the body in sociology, particularly in terms of mind/body dualisms and the focus on the body as socially constructed, reproduced and/or an agent of social change. In this sense, she suggests that we think of the body as one that is regulated, or lived, or a communicating body, or an affective body or finally one that is of enactment in and of itself.

Disciplined Bodies as Moving Bodies

Brian Turner suggests that in Western thought “the human body is an ancient metaphor of political institutions, and was the dominant mode of theorizing political behavior up to the 17th century, when the doctrine of individual property was fully articulated.” But he goes on to suggest that even then (and as time goes on) the body is seen as a metaphor for the “structure and function of society as a whole” (1996). In considering the body as a metaphor for society as a whole, this metaphor is leaving out a very important aspect of bodies themselves: their movement.

The body is something that does something, or as Massumi suggests, it is something that senses and moves. Its skin and its flesh have a history, or multiple histories, and although it is something that is constructed or perhaps shaped, it also does move. This is the type of thinking or theorizing that Massumi assumes in his attempt to understand what the body is and what it does. This is an alternative approach to theories

that propose an already socially ordered or disciplined body, but it doesn't necessarily disregard those approaches, it merely highlights the fact that they already incorporate a set of assumptions regarding what a body is and perhaps also what it is not.

This introduction into movement (and into the performance this lends itself to) is important because there are many elements to consider in understanding how the messages of an advertising campaign can impinge and affect bodily sense perception. Scott Appelrouth researched the power of musical rhythm to impact the body of the listener. Here, he focused on the discursive battles that took place over jazz in the early 1920s, especially as this form of music offered a challenge to a number of normative practices (musical and otherwise) as it entered the cultural mainstream (2005). In this discussion he notes the power of music to harness an “infinite number of effects on the listener,” but he also contends that various individuals and institutions feel the need to “protect” or govern the social ordering of this experience:

With the individual body serving as a metaphor for the broader social order, the contest to define jazz was a battleground on which was fought a larger “culture war” with regard to competing behavioral codes and the moral universes they affirmed.

In thinking of the transmission of the audio and visual information of the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign as movement, this movement of information is similar to the wave-like properties and characteristics of other forms of matter¹⁵.

¹⁵ Karen Barad describes the potential wave-like behavior in all forms of matter. Considering the circulations and movements of affect suggest that affect itself exhibits wave-like properties that Barad advises all forms of matter (under the right set of conditions) can assume (2007). Consider the transmission of sound waves through a sound system: the audio messages of this campaign exhibit wave-like behavior as they are transmitted through speakers. They thus potentially touch or affect a population because of the transmission of this information in sound waves. Methodologically speaking, I consider my body as a conductor of the movement of the audio and visual messages of this campaign. I am particularly

Karen Barad furthers this notion by introducing a concept, which reflects the moment when one wave comes in contact with another. In one of the most straightforward examples, she asks us to imagine the moment when two ocean waves entangle with one another. As waves become superimposed, a resultant wave begins its own circulation. Thus my analysis of this campaign considers these waves, or the moments when the messages of this campaign not only entangle with the technologies that transmit them, but also with the bodies that circulate them; yet, another wave of information.

In thinking of the way in which the rhythm of jazz impacts the rhythm of bodies, the movement of bodily rhythm inside and outside of the subway system can perhaps be understood in a similar way. For instance, we can consider bodies that move in and out of train stations and how this impacts the circulation of these messages as well. It is a campaign that as I think of the repetition of these messages and the very fact that these advertisements remain in the subway system, on trains and on the sides of buses, is continuously in circulation and on the move. As these advertisements come in contact with bodies, these bodies thus become the instruments or conduits of this campaign. The campaign in the subway system thus demonstrates the point at which bodies themselves become a mechanism in the transmission of messages set in place to impact notions of security and thus our response to certain events.

Elliot G. Sander, MTA Executive Director and CEO, has stated that "The 'See Something, Say Something' campaign is a phenomenally successful component of the

interested in understanding this information as it relates to perceptions of fear and notions of security. consider my body as a conductor of the movement of the audio and visual messages of this campaign. I am particularly interested in understanding this information as it relates to perceptions of fear and notions of security.

MTA's comprehensive security strategy,” and that “we are proud that our customers play such an active role in keeping the system safe.” (MTA Website 2007) This campaign is thus one way in which a governing institution can potentially impact the meanings and circulations of a bodily rhythm, which is connected to a broader social ordering as well. In this case, individual bodies serve as a metaphor in moving a particular notion of security. Blackman conceptualizes these socially ordered/disciplined bodies as articulated bodies that are regulated by what Foucault referred to as disciplinary power (2008). She suggests that this type of power is not one that constrains or prohibits but one that motivates or perhaps articulates movement. Thus the docile body or disciplined body is one that can be used and altered by power itself; by the way power seizes and disciplines these bodies to the norms of society and to various forms and actualizations of power. She argues that with “Foucault’s study of the prison system we saw how repetition and repeatability are central to the workings of disciplinary power.” (2008) Prisoners, she suggests, are those that are “exposed to practices that work through repetition,” in an attempt to make individuals responsible in monitoring and regulating themselves.

The depictions that Foucault provided us demonstrate how sense perception can be disciplined and thus used in terms of regulating and controlling a population. It was Foucault’s work on a disciplined, docile body that allowed us to imagine the process through which it unfolds:

the conception of the social body assumes that bodily communications are a code that can be learnt, and are usually referred to as a culturally validated and recognized realm of interpersonal skills (2008).

These thoughts on disciplining bodies lead me to questions regarding the circulation or communication of the messages of the campaign. How do bodies act as conduits for the information of this campaign and transmit messages through and to one another? Do these bodies (the ones subjected to the messages of this campaign) reflect Foucault's understanding of a disciplined body? How (a)effective are these messages in disciplining and communicating the messages of this campaign?

In her articulations of a communicating body, Blackman suggests considering emotional contagion theory, "which refers to the ways in which feelings can be passed between people with the result that their moods can shift and be changed." This is precisely the type of theory that advertising agencies know is true. In order for an advertisement campaign to be successful, it must not only impact consumer behavior but this behavior must spread. Theories of "affective transmission" go on to suggest that emotions or affects are always communicated between and among bodies and this can be demonstrated through the understanding of the transmission of hormones and pheromones in a chemical environment¹⁶ (2008). "Although advertising practitioners have long used emotional appeals in their advertisements, only recently have advertising and marketing researches paid serious attention to the role that emotions play in advertising" (Smith et al. 1990).

In thinking specifically in the use of fear in advertising, some research suggests that it has continually relied on fear appeals where, "communications using fear appeals are designed to stimulate anxiety in an audience with the expectation that the audience

¹⁶ See Teresa Brennan's *The Transmission of Affect*

will attempt to reduce this anxiety by adopting, continuing, discontinuing, or avoiding a specified course of thought or action” (Smith et al. 1990). The sense of anxiety and fear thus becomes something useful to tap into or to modulate. This performance of fear is thus connected to a performance of politics, but it is one that speaks as or through a particular body politic. Considering this performance of politics, how do branding techniques tap into this sense of fear?

The Shared Values Initiative was an advertisement campaign developed by the State department to “convince the Arab and Muslim world that America wasn’t waging war on Islam” (Fullerton and Kendrick 2006). The State department hired advertising executive Charlotte Beers to manage the initiative, which includes a magazine sold outside of the United States geared toward Muslim youth, a rewards for justice ad campaign, Shared Value Initiative print ads and a radio program that offers testimonials from American Muslims. In 2003 the SVI Campaign was suspended. It was a campaign housed in controversy because of the techniques it employed but more so because of the direct connection it seemed to have with advertising.

Adding to the controversy were questions that arose concerning measuring the effectiveness of this campaign and/or its inconsistencies. It was an advertising columnist that remarked that spreading “American values” was no job for commercials. Another advertising executive commented that advertising is not the appropriate way to “brand America” and that it could actually demean the, perhaps political, effort the Bush administration was intending (Fullerton and Kendrick 2006). This gets to the heart of the matter in the relationality between governance and economy or here the use of advertising in spreading cultural and political ideas. But isn’t this the heart of public

diplomacy or public relations after all: reaching an intended audience with an intended message? What is it about the deliberate use of named advertising techniques in a campaign like this that made some advertising executives and politicians within the Bush administration itself uneasy? It is not a question I can easily answer.

It is interesting that the measures they seemed to be using to gauge the effectiveness of this campaign were based on what they intuitively ‘felt’. So that when Richard Bourcher, a spokesperson for the State department, was asked by the *Wall Street Journal* about whether or not the campaign failed to reach or register with Muslim audiences, he responded that “we *feel* it is quite successful...that it was directed to talk to people on a different level...not to go through the policy debate”. A reporter in the room at the time furthered his questioning and remarked, “do you have any *sense* whether or not you changed minds? Or just that people (laughter in the background) – no, no, no – or just that people heard the message?” (Fullerton and Kendrick 2003). But the reporter is on to something here. He is, whether he realizes it or not, picking up on the affective approach that these executives are taking in this campaign; not necessarily because they are basing their assessment of this campaign on what they feel, but rather because ‘people hearing the message’ is reported as the intended goal. Normally when we think of selling a product or an idea in terms of public opinion, we think of getting people to agree to the statements and or messages that are being ‘sold’, here they seem to be happy with people merely hearing the message.

They are thus seemingly concerned with the point at which this campaign has affectively circulated among a population and has ‘touched’ it. In this sense the effectiveness of the campaign is hard to measure and it is why they themselves struggled

in measuring it, but inevitably they are sensing and feeling that all they really needed to do was ‘touch’ people on a different level. But in thinking of the circulation and movements of this campaign, how do advertisements like this ‘touch’ a population? And what is this different level that they are speaking of?

One of the questions Fullerton and Kendrick highlight in thinking of the SVI campaign (and it is one that officials and the business sector both grappled with) is a general reflection on the intensity of branding techniques and how they can and should be used. Beers felt that the campaign was effective because it got people talking. Even if people in the “Muslim” world thought it was propaganda, she was satisfied with the fact that they were at least speaking about it and circulating it amongst themselves. Here, affect suggests a methodological tool, which helps to understand the moments at which ‘people begin talking.’ It allows an exploration into the moments at which the ordering of experience in events become sustained or where the possibility for representation and structuration emerge. It allows an exploration into the circulation of branding techniques in advertising campaigns.

Branding Sense: A Matter of Affect

In reading an article in *Newsday* entitled “Turned Out? No Ipod Xing Poll says”, about the growing phenomena of people walking around with music playing loudly through their headphones, Fanelli notes that “technology has allowed New Yorkers to go mobile with their media, but it has also put their legs and minds on auto pilot.” The article focuses interestingly enough on the security concerns this may pose for pedestrians who are crossing the street, but it also suggests a few things in terms of the

way bodies experience and respond to sound. In thinking of New York and the number of sights and sounds that populations are inundated with on a daily basis, my first question might be one concerning which messages get through and which ones do not but an understanding of the circulation of affect and/or a general discussion of sense perception would suggest they all ‘get through.’ It is the question of the ratio of signal to noise in the transmission of these various bits of information which impacts what New Yorkers are tuning out or tuning into. The question I would want to ask in this instance is in what ways do bodies respond to the various streams of information they come in contact with and also perhaps what sticks? What are the possibilities and potentialities for these messages in circulating affects and/or ideas that become productive, repetitive, and in turn impact the experience of the messages themselves?

The examples I give below help to show the process through which the nervous system engages with outside information and potentially circulates this information. They offer up an inquiry into sense perception and the ability of branding techniques in advertising campaigns to brand this perception and effectively alter it.

The physical and physiological conditions of vision are constituted through light striking the retina (Massumi 2002). In experiments that looked at the ‘total field of perception’ during the early to mid 1900s the simplest fullest condition of light – white light (the presentation of a full spectrum of color) – was administered. Subjects who were presented with this purest condition of vision were not able to describe what they saw and after prolonged exposure they had difficulty sensing whether their eyes were opened or closed. In the ‘purest visual experience’ people were no longer able to see (Massumi 2002).

There is a small point I would like to highlight in this and that is that vision is never pure (Massumi 2002). Our sense is always already emerging in a multi-level, mixed environment. It is how vision functions. So the question of what bodies can sense, respond to and then perceive to feel is already affected not only by conditions of the eye itself and its ability to sense, but also in this example by the effects of light. Sense is always in effect impacted by various conditions of noise or at least of a ratio that involves the relationship between signals that are transmitted and noise, which potentially disrupts this transmission. Thus, what can be seen or not seen, what can be heard or not heard is impacted by a number of conditions, factors and elements.

Henri Bergson describes a moment where the optic nerve being stimulated by an electrical current produces a visual sensation. This same current applied to the “acoustic or to the glosso-pharyngeal nerve will cause a sound to be heard or a taste to be perceived.” (Bergson 1994) It is an important moment to consider. Stimulating a nerve in a certain way can produce smells, tastes, and sounds without the aid of objects we normally assume produce these sensations. In this case, these sensations are objectless though ever as ‘real’. It is a Pavlovian type of experiment but here it is not a question of conditioning the nerve itself, but the various types of stimuli that can affect sense perception in ways we do not generally assume. An example of this is the ability to produce tastes or sounds that aren’t, in a sense, actually there.

Bergson provides another example: “A lesion of the nerves...interrupts the passage of the nerve vibration, perception is to that extent diminished” (1994). This means that what my body (preconsciously) would be able to respond to is actually softened or maybe in other cases heightened, as the passage of the nerve vibration

resonates a bit differently due to the lesion on the nerve. In other words, in my experience of an event, how would this lesion impact the bodily perception of what I am feeling, sensing and then responding to? How would this lesion impact the intensity of the impingement of affect on my body and how does my body perceive and respond to this impingement?

In thinking of these examples as a crude attempt to highlight the complexity of bodies and the ways in which various ‘systems’ within the body function physiologically, Bergson goes on to suggest that “the truth is that my nervous system, interposed between objects¹⁷ which affect my body and those which I can influence, is a mere conductor, transmitting sending back or inhibiting movement.” (1994) These three examples thus suggest a complexity in how bodies feel and interrupt and/or interpret incoming information. The impingement and intensity of affect thus circulate along these lines. Again, it is not a question of consciousness perhaps but one of preconsciousness, though consciousness of course is not disregarded. Questions of intensity, techniques of attention and the potential for grabbing attention are thus linked to bodies and their ‘abilities’ to sense and move. But this also suggests that bodies themselves are a conduit of information and a channel through which information passes through.

The Use of Fear Appeals in Advertising

In thinking about emotions like fear as a field of possible conditioned experience, consider behaviorist notions of the fear-potentiated startle reaction as a conditioned response. In an experiment presenting a rat with an auditory startle stimulus in the

¹⁷ Or what Brian Massumi would refer to as events.

presence of a cue (light), the results show fear as a conditioned response. It is operationally defined by elevated amplitude in the presence of the cue, even when it is no longer paired with a shock. This is very close to being a measure of classical conditioning experiments but here the focus is not on the conditioning itself but its effects on emotionality and perceptions of fear.

There are a number of approaches that advertising research takes on the use of fear appeals in branding strategies. However most of these approaches end up favoring behavioral and cognitive understandings of the reaction people have to notions and perceptions of fear. Emotion attribution theory suggests that the arousal generated from ads is general, so that threatening ad messages induce varying levels of arousal depending on the perceived level of fear. The theory thus assumes that this perceived level of fear is impacted by the relationality between the environment and personal factors as well, or at least suggests that there are two points to consider when thinking through notions of perception.

Classic studies of emotion attribution theory focused on things like injecting subjects with certain hormones and watching the affects of anger that would take place¹⁸. Smith et al go on to suggest that the main difference between traditional notions of emotion attribution theory and more recent views is that peripheral arousal, whether through drug injections or a startle response, are unneeded because attribution dependent emotions are actually already influenced by the causal attributions ascribed to the ‘event’ by the individual (1990). Thus, these theories concentrate more on psychological and

¹⁸ For a further discussion of the impact of hormones on the nervous system and on the circulation of affects themselves see Theresa Brennan in “the Transmission of Affect.”

cognitive understandings of emotion but more recent views suggest arousal is connected to what Ahmed refers to as the sociality of these emotions, which are always already affected by this sociality.

The drive explanation model, suggests that perceived fear creates a state of drive that is unpleasant to the receiver and thus the receiver must perform some action in order to reduce the drive. Curvilinear models suggest that as the fear-arousing content increases, the amount of fear also increases and then begins to decrease like an inverted bell curve. But here it is also suggests that fear is not only a response but that it can act as a drive and both a cue as well (Smith et al. 1990). Another model describes the possibility of a person dismissing a message that is seeking to stimulate fear in spite of its arousal capabilities. Here these models focus on a direct link between fear and behavioral changes i.e. action, but they are often assuming that this action is a matter of conscious movement.

This is not an exhaustive discussion of advertising literature on fear appeals but it does offer some of the trends that have developed throughout this literature. The question these models introduce, though they themselves never address, is one of degree. As mentioned in the above examples and in talking to an instructor in marketing, she suggested that there is a general understanding that with the use of fear appeals it is always a matter of how much. If the fear appeal is 'too strong' it will lose its affect and if an appeal is too weak it won't resonate at all. Imagine the potential concern for the Hollywood horror movie industry! The question of degree is thus also the question of

intensity. Fear is something that circulates through populations and then attaches itself one way or another to social and individualized bodies¹⁹.

Advertising research suggests the potential in the use of fear appeals in reaching an audience with a particular message. The modulation, how much or how little, in the use of this appeal is the key. Regardless, as a technique of attention, it allows contact in spaces where there is potential noise to contend with. Fear, like the repetition of a slogan, is something that can keep bodies tuned in and alert. It is a response that is all about alert. In returning to Sarah Ahmed approach to the sociality of emotion, she argues that fear is a relation, and a social and cultural practice (2004). She is not necessarily focusing on the psychological state of fear itself but how it circulates among bodies; how emotions align with bodies to do things, how they circulate, in which ways they circulate among communities and populations, and how this becomes productive. She explores how we experience feelings like fear in terms of sensation: what sticks to bodies and what does not. She asks the question how do emotions become named and identified not only in our own conscious thought: I feel sad or angry or afraid, but rather she explores how emotions are felt and named in bodily experience itself.

As an example of Ahmed's exploration of the circulation and situation of affective economies that stick to bodies and perhaps move through others, she describes the moment a child sees a bear in the woods and runs away. She describes the sense of fear and the bodily response to fear, such as nervousness in the stomach, sweat, and an

¹⁹ See Brian Massumi *Parables for the Virtual* for a discussion of the intensity (and impingement) of affects on and through bodies themselves. See Patricia Clough (2009), as she suggests that "Sociality as affective background displaces sociality grasped in terms of structure and individual; affective modulation and individuation displaces subject formation and ideological interpellation as central to the relation of governance and economy." Here, in considering affective modulation the question is not one of individual response per se but one of the actualization (and reaction) of bodily movement.

elevated pulse rate. We might play with this example a little and think in historical terms of times when a bear in the woods wasn't something to be afraid of. We could also imagine certain occupations or hobbies were people do not approach or sense bears in this way, nor run from them in the woods. Again, it is not necessarily about one event or one little girl's feelings toward an animal but there is a sociality to her sense of fear, which Ahmed is making note of.

This is the key to this campaign as well, a sociality of fear that directs a population to see and say something but they must be tuned into an affective circulation of fear that suggests or names what they are to see and say. The story or the narrative of these advertisements, along with the perception of fear, are wrapped up in a mechanism of control that seeks to discipline a population and tune them back into seeing and saying. It seeks to civilize these bodies or discipline these bodies as civilizing ones that are to act as a mechanism of governmental control.

Advertising research seeks inevitably to understand the most (a)effective way of managing or utilizing this attachment to fear (Massumi 2005). But Massumi reminds me that "the unfolding reality of that fearful feeling has become the feeling of that fear enfolded in perception." It is why the event becomes the focus of my research on this campaign, rather than the object to fear or the fear we felt when we feared it. For it is the on-going movement of the event (like bodies through turnstiles) by which these objects and feelings emerge. This is a preconscious affective moment that arrives into an affective fact and thus perhaps into consciousness. It speaks to the sociality of emotions that Ahmed introduced; yet, it adds a dimension to the understanding of the sense of fear that the previous approaches cannot because it remains entangled with bodily movement

but not directly connected to particular bodies and their cognitive and behavioral reactions. It is the event through which the potential of this sociality exists and this is not ascribed to a particular body – yet – only through a process of these entanglements does this sociality emerge.

In thinking of the ‘terror’ alert system, Massumi asks us to imagine the potential of population(s) having one big nervous system. Imagine this alert system calibrating the anxiety of this circulating connection between bodies. Each body does not respond the same way, perhaps some bodies do not even come in direct contact with this alert system, but they are still connected. Potential is thus something that actually lies within the movements of this possible connectedness. In the next chapter, as I proceed through an exploration of potential in relation to the movements of notions of security and their relationality to the advertisements of this particular campaign, which is an assemblage that is born and bred in the age of the ‘war on terrorism’, the age where security came to take on new meanings and moments, questions surrounding the naming of events, their temporalities and ingredients become important.

The attachment of fear to events, objects, and people become a useful political technique for modulation and control. Consider the moments of possible threat that are painted in the images of the campaign. Massumi reminds us of the words of President Bush who suggested that politics must be concerned with “eventualities that may or may not occur.” or that “I think we agree, the past is over.” “I have made good judgements in the future.” These are quotes that Massumi chose not so much for their meaning but for their affect. More specifically, he has chosen them for their suggestion of affect and the

opening or recognition of possibility; as this is what the statements made by President Bush have also recognized or at least spoken of.

The question for Massumi here is one of time. In the ‘Future Birth of the Affective Fact,’ he suggests that governmentality is agreeing to act on time; that what we will come to perceive in the future, is affectively birthing that fact as we speak. But inevitably as the next chapter will demonstrate this is entangled with notions of movement: The continued movements of the images and messages of this campaign and the various codes of information they circulate and come in contact with, as they touch bodies and resonate beneath the skin. In this movement is the attempt at bodily control and perhaps a mechanism that seeks to civilize these bodies as a mechanism for governance, but here the key question relates to the attempt at modulating these bodies or the balance between docility and alertness. This is the potential of a performance of fear that bodies are thus tapped into. How well it works, how much these bodies can be calibrated to a sense of fear that governance directs them to is a larger question that is explored throughout the remaining chapters.

The Ratio of Signal to Noise

Information is the key to modulation and control; it is the mechanism through which the political investment of bodies occurs. It is what informs bodies so that they can circulate messages affectively. From this perspective, the body is informational. It is an information circuit. Information also raises the question of noise: when it impedes the circulation of messages and perhaps when it doesn't. As I return to thinking of events in the subway system, ones that are directly related to this campaign or perhaps to my

experience of this campaign, I consider the impact that noise has on the experience of these events and the transmission of the messages of this campaign. I think of the sounds of the train on the tracks: Sometimes the wheels of the train are at such a high pitch that people block their ears, others like myself just wince at the sound, and some seem unaffected. Sometimes, when I get on the train it is really noisy and crowded and so I can't hear the messages clearly. Sometimes I can't see the advertisements even if I am looking for them, other times I read them when I am bored. Sometimes, I just tune them out but on days when I am doing research, I tend to be more alert. Considering these observations and as my research continued throughout the years, I realized that this 'alertness' to this campaign became habitual.

It is hard to paint a visual picture of how this alertness can become habitual. It is difficult to try to describe the moments that sense perception can be affected and altered through branding techniques. Because inevitably what is affected in this moment is something that moves rather quickly and isn't something that bodies are consciously aware of but rather something they physiologically respond and move to. I can't paint this picture well theoretically and empirically without an audio or a visual representation of people getting on and off the train, or the rhythm of commuters as they pass by one another and adjust themselves to each other on a train ride, but this is the space where the advertisements that are placed in the subway system merge with bodily circulations of affect. This is the space and the times when branding techniques of an advertising campaign can impinge and affect bodily perception.

Colors that seek to draw attention, the repetition of a simple message set as a reminder to call attention to a potential threat or object of concern, these aren't

mechanisms that are seeking to lull docile patriots into a systematic discipline where “technology has put New Yorkers legs and minds on auto pilot” as the article on IPODS suggests (Puar and Rai 2002):

In 2007, I am riding the train and I am very sleepy. I have had a long train ride home and it is one of those days that my body, once seated on the train, craved sleep. I sink into that quiet state of half asleep and half awake as the train proceeded on. I am suddenly very annoyed by the messages that are playing over the intercom. I don't want to be interrupted by the voice over the loudspeaker.

What becomes clear through an understanding of an affective approach to the circulation of this campaign, is the point at which having a populations' body on autopilot becomes counter-productive in establishing contact. It seems the modulation between docility and alertness is crucial in understanding issues of governmentality and mechanisms of control, particularly as it relates to questions of both national and personal security. How can a population become a part of a policing assemblage if, after all, it is settled in sleep?

Vignettes in the Actualization of Affect

Table 1: The Potential of Noise

I was at a dinner part at a friend's house, talking to a woman about my research and she made a comment about the noise on the train. She said that she listens to music to block out the noise.

~

I was sitting on the train and an MTA employee read one of the campaign messages through the intercom. I could only hear half of the message. Something in the quality of the transmission and the way in which he was reading the announcement made me laugh.

It sounded as if he was reading it with no sincerity or the inflection in his voice seemed to lack seriousness. He rushed through the announcement and didn't articulate the pauses the same way the automated messages do.

All I heard between the static of the speakers and whatever it was I noticed in the inflection of his voice was....suspicious package....ummm...say something...And even then I was straining to hear it.

~

I was telling a friend that I stopped listening to my discman on the train and he commented that I had been blocking out the noise. The funny thing about this is that I didn't make this shift as a 'research' decision, but had I kept listening to it, I would not have been able to record the affects I had previously been tuning out.

I think about the vignettes that reference the attempt at blocking out noise in the subway system or as commuters ride the trains. As I think of these two vignettes, I can see the potential in this concern. Thinking of the complexity of information that circulates in a subway system and the attempt at blocking out noise poses a problem for a security or policing assemblage that is attempting to incorporate a populations' eyes and ears into this assemblage. But in some ways it also speaks to the need for populations to join this assemblage as well. Perhaps another reason why bodies are being asked to bring their awareness to these concerns of security is because of a fear of the lack in connection that exists between these populations and various mechanisms of social control.

It could very well be that in the monotonous repetition of messages where 'too much' causes people to tune-out, a little interruption brings them back in. If you repeat something long enough it normally does get someone's attention (think about a child who insistently asks the same question trying to get a parent's attention) but there is also a potential for the repeat to essentially drown itself out. This brings up a very interesting question regarding the transmission of information and what impedes or facilitates the successful transmission of a signal through a channel to a receiver. In a sense just as Massumi reminded us that vision is never pure, it seems the transmission of a signal is never pure either. I think of the two vignettes that suggest, to some degree, people attempt to block out the inundation of a "deafening white noise of information" (Terranova 2007) that is produced in the subway system. I also consider the article on IPODS and the many people who walk around New York City, blocking out sound or at least replacing it with sounds of music, which are often interestingly enough played at

very high volumes. Finally, I think about governance' concerns over this blocking out of sound and what it does to their attempts at social control.

In her argument regarding mass communication, Terranova suggests that the social engineering of communication favors repetition and the short slogan because it is an effective way of opening up a channel so that a message can be transmitted. Here she is focusing on the power of its ability to impinge and affect bodily perception; rather, than teasing out the implications of the meaning of information in its representational forms. She suggests that the dynamics of information itself takes “precedence over signification.” (2007). By making this argument, she is demonstrating what Foucault often referred to as the unintentional forms or dynamics of power. If information is after all, a force, it suggests that a “social elite is not so much manufacturing a mass audience but that they are also being mutually implicated” in what she refers to as a multidimensional, asymmetric yet dynamic process of communication and social control.

Considering the implications of communication beyond meaning where bodily contact becomes the key in touching a population and instrumentally orienting this population to mechanisms of control, I would add another dimension by considering the potential of noise in providing yet another mechanism of perhaps not opening up a channel so that a message can get through, as noise is seen to impinge the transmission of messages (Terranova 2004). Rather, I would argue that noise can potentially act as a mechanism of grabbing the attention of bodies that are being inundated with information, particularly in thinking of the advertisements and messages of this campaign.

It becomes such an interesting modulation to explore (docility versus alertness) in thinking of the issues of control and the attempt at reaching a population with an intended

message, as it is transmitted through various channels. However, it is important to consider that “when a signal travels through a channel, it often produces a characteristic background static that is not solved by amplification” (Terranova 2007). Although vision may never be pure, it seems as though the transmission of a signal is never pure either. I think of the interruption that took place in the vignette above as the MTA employee read the message into the intercom. I think about the static through the speakers, but I am also thinking about the way in which he read the message. What is interesting is that it is because of the interruption of the static and the ‘strange’ inflection of his voice as words cut in and out through the speaker that I noticed this particular message. It was because of this noise that it was able to get my attention.

Information theory suggests these sounds are the noise, which prevent or impede the successful transmission of a message. But in thinking of vision that is never pure or rather if pure conditions of vision exists people are no longer able to see, I wonder about the potential in noise for helping a message to impact sense perception. Terranova speaks of the corruption of a message in transit but what if this noise is what allows a message to be heard? I wonder about the pause that is created or the potential in contact that exists as we consider the glitches of a speaker or perhaps those that appear on LCD monitors, as video campaign messages are projected onto a screen.

Due to the repetition of the audio messages in the subway system, my body had already become attuned to the inflection of the voice of the automated messages and the words this voice transmitted. Again, I can even replay the inflection of the voice of these messages in my ear as I type. It has become embodied in my memory in such a way that the repeat is no longer necessary and these are the moments my body affectively tuned

them out. Repetition in this sense has reached the threshold marketing researches are aware of in terms of just how much or how little the repeat moves a message along; or rather the point at which a message is tuned in or tuned out. It is because of the glitches in the screen and the static in the speaker that my eyes and ears were able to perk up again and ‘hear’ the bits of information as they moved, but only because this message had already been habitually branded into my skin.

One More Bit of Noise...

In thinking about the modulation between docility and alertness, these branding techniques are not merely disciplinary mechanisms which are seeking to remind customers of proper subway normative behavior; rather, they are attempting to impact sense perception and brand notions of what commuters are seeing and saying. This habituated affective modulation is an example of a (perhaps) unintentional control mechanism, but in its attempt to control or seize bodies into a technical assemblage of security (and of seeing and saying), alerting these bodies to this response becomes necessary and thus quite intentional.

In an age of the inundation of information and the repetition of this information, I think of the glitches that allow a message to be heard. Again. As I think of the potential in the messages of this campaign in producing information that resonates with a population in terms of fear or in terms of security, I think of the potential for other bits of information in moving these messages along. Noise does cause an interruption though, and some of this noise can be quite deafening. It can impede the sending of a signal, like messages that are drowned out by the screeching of train wheels, or perhaps by heavily populated trains where bodies block the view of the advertisements on the sides of the

train car. But in thinking of the transmission of notions of security(threat) as they entangle with an affective circulation of fear, I wonder about other 'noises' that are circulated through the train car. I wonder about their potential in allowing or in preventing or at least distorting a message as it attempts to get through.

One of the latest trends I have noticed in the subway system is a number of pseudo barbershop quartet-like singers that have started entertaining people on trains. This of course is for a small fee, if people care to donate one, but nevertheless they appear on the trains during afternoon or evening commutes. This latest trend in music in the subway system adds to the number of musicians carrying and performing African drum rhythms on the trains or even the Mariachi musicians that accompany them as well. What I noticed in my focus of questions of security(threat), fear and the types of information this campaign seeks to tap into and circulate, is the change in mood that sometimes takes place when musicians come to play their instruments on the trains.

Granted, there is the occasional performance early in the morning, which disrupts the lull of the train filled with commuters who are just waking up, or perhaps it is too late at night, or an afternoon when people do not want to be disrupted by any other bits of noise. People may choose to give them money, commuters may look up at one another, or strike up a conversation with each other or the musicians, some laugh, and some do not look up at all. On some occasions people may even clap after a performance. Such strange behavior for a train ride or at least for what normally takes place on a train ride, but this new wave of musical sound and the information it carries does something to the rhythmical pattern of movement on the train. After the musicians leave and the doors

close once again; a return to the normal ‘normative’ behavior as people wait for their next destination takes place.

I think about the type of code(s) of information these musicians circulate as they play for people on the train. What strikes me most of all is the ability to make people smile or laugh. I remember a number of times a smile crossed my face, as they brought an interruption to the monotony of the train ride or perhaps to a long and tiring day. It makes me think about the possibility in the number of codes of information that circulate throughout a train and the ways in which these codes inform one another and impact bodies as they come in contact with this information. It makes me think about the goals of the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign and the techniques this campaign uses to touch a population. I think how different these techniques are from the ones that attempt to bring ease or at least some other form of sound.

This brings me to one last example in the use of classical music in the London subway system, as a preventive crime technique. Consider the move in 2005 by the London subway to play classical composers at subway stations in the capital as a crime prevention technique and to address what it sees as “anti- social behavior” on the network used by 3 million people a day (Bloomberg 2005, Kuhn 2005). The assumption is that by piping classical music through sound systems in the subway bodies may be calmed by the rhythms that are played, which will then in turn impact and decrease the prevalence of crime. This is still, of course, used as a control mechanism or as one article suggests it consists of the “weaponizing of classical music” but what interests me in this example is the overall approach to crime prevention. Here, the technique is one of calming or bringing a sense of ease to a population rather than the focus on notions of

security(threat) and the use of perceptions of fear that circulate within the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign.

I wonder about these two very different approaches to the ‘art of governmentality’ and the mechanisms of control they use, particularly in thinking of two codes of security that seem to be moving along in different ways; one focusing on a calming affect and the other on notions of threat and the perception of objects and behaviors to fear. Notions of ‘threat’ is how the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign attempts to touch a population. Notions of threat is what attempts to secure this population as part of a security assemblage sought to bring about safety, or a code of safety this assemblage is entangled with. Here I am thinking about the fear of terrorism that circulates within the cultural politics of a greater “war on terrorism” but also the fear that circulates within this art of local governance as well.

It all becomes a matter of potential for control and modulation but even before that it becomes a matter of circulation, and the ways in which events themselves and the entanglement of waves of information come into contact with the bodies that will potentially move these waves. In the cultural politics of mechanisms of control or the ways in which mechanisms of control can entangle with these moments, I think of the effect that notions of repetition, modulation, and threshold have on the movement of this complex network of information, the ways in which it entangles with other information and the ways in which it does not.

Messages repeated in such a way can reach a threshold where they no longer can impede and affect, or at least in this repetition, they reach their own plateau. Yet, other

bits of information can come to modulate this plateau furthering these circulations or perhaps through their disruption, change its course and alter its movement. In thinking of mechanisms of control and the branding techniques used to touch bodies, we come back to the population through which it moves and the modulation of touching too much or touching too little. Again, it becomes a question of the modulation between docility and alertness and how these bodies then respond.

Whether it is played merely to make people smile (and to make some money) or to calm a population from future criminal behavior, the example of music shows that there are a number of codes of information of a large variety that circulate throughout the train and in the subway system. They may touch and affect bodies differently but the main point here is that these circulations are ongoing and affective, as they move through bodies. And thus there is a great deal of potential that exists in these circulations, as we think of questions of governance, mechanisms of control, and the potential affects that move these circulations.

Chapter Four:
Branding Techniques and Bodily Contact

*Advertising that works is advertising that makes somebody feel something.
...all advertising has some emotion. Some advertising is all emotion.*
-Hal Riney, Advertising Executive
and founder of Publicis & Hal Riney²⁰.

Vibration already produces resonance
-Gilles Deleuze

On my way home from the city, I board the N train at 34th street in Manhattan anticipating my hour-long commute after a tiring day. This train is one of the newest trains that the MTA has introduced into the subway system, and it is equipped not only with a more aesthetically pleasing interior and exterior, but these trains are also technologically much more sound. These are the types of trains that when you are riding them you do not hear the screech of the wheels along the tracks. They also arguably offer a much smoother ride. “Stand clear of the closing doors please” are the types of announcements that are heard on these trains, which are not announced over the intercom by an MTA employee; rather, they are a part of an automated assemblage of messages recorded for commuters. They include periodic announcements about upcoming train station stops, delays in service, and other bits of information on security and the responsibilities of riding on the train: “please do not block the doors while the train is in the station.” I can hear the messages now re-playing in my ear as I type them. They’ve

²⁰ Excerpt from *Emotion in Advertising* edited by Agres, Edell, and Dubitsky

become embedded in my memory in such a way that I can even recall the inflection of the automated voice as I type.

As I am sitting on the train there are a number of sights and sounds that I come in contact with. The bright fluorescent lights make it so that if riding underground, one cannot tell whether it is day or night. There are either a number of other commuters on the train or on a night like this it is relatively empty, as I am heading home rather late. If I look up toward the ceiling of the train, I can see a host of advertisements but on newer trains like the N train I happened to be on, there is an automated electronic board with a strip map indicating the various stops the train will be making. To the right of this map is a very small LCD television screen, which is running various announcements and advertisements.

I notice the television screen because it is playing one of the ads of the campaign that I have been studying for the past few years. In bright blue letters “If You See Something, Say Something” plays on the screen, followed by two different background images, one of a train in motion and the other of a subway platform standing still. The text that it is being run over these images is a common announcement made on the trains themselves, which reminds commuters that if they see a suspicious package they are to report it to the authorities. Two things caught my eye on this evening. The first is that I had never noticed that the hotline that is listed along that advertisement, which anyone can use to report ‘suspicious packages or behavior’ is listed as a ‘terrorism’ hotline, but the various advertisements on the trains themselves never refer to ‘terrorism’. Watching the video I also noticed the ‘noise’ that was appearing on the screen. Various glitches in the transmission of the video were interrupting the feed that I was experiencing. It wasn’t

disruptive enough so that I couldn't watch the screen but it was an interruption, nevertheless, and it disturbed the smooth playing of the advertisement or at least allowed for a pause.

If You See Something, Say Something

What follows in this chapter is an 'affective' content analysis of the advertisements in this campaign. It includes seven ads of the campaign. I have grouped them according to when they were introduced as there have been waves of ads, the first appearing in 2003 and 2004. The first group of ads, which I will describe more thoroughly in a moment, focus on 'suspicious packages' by presenting images that suggest or brand (if I am using advertising language) notions of what these packages may be. The second group of ads, appearing roughly between 2004-2006, draw attention to the 'senses' particularly our eyes and what they should be doing affectively. The third group of ads, or ad, is the last group of ads in this particular series. It was introduced into the subway system as of July 2007 and remained there throughout 2008. It consists of thanking New Yorkers for their vigilance and asking for their continued 'discipline' in this matter.

In writing about content analysis as a methodology, Shulamit Reinharz' suggests that a qualitative or interpretive mode of analysis of cultural artifacts are used to understand a group of people or a population, she cites sociological sources that have approached methodology in this way (Reinharz 1992). She further suggests that some texts are seen to 'reflect' conditions, while others may attempt to see meaning as mediated and therefore "examine both the text and the processes of its production."

What follows is an attempt at experimental methodology as discussed in Chapter Two, where the focus is not so much a reflection on conditions or the attempt to understand meaning. Rather, in thinking of studies of affect and other performative methodologies, this mode of analysis will consider the ways in which these advertisements, through branding techniques, produce affects or tap into already affected affects, and explore the mechanisms through which they may unfold. Therefore, I draw upon my own experiences and the observations of my fieldwork throughout the New York City subway system as I introduce my body as an instrument, which circulates and comes in contact with the affective branding techniques of this campaign itself.

In thinking of the various stages of this campaign, I can actually see the process through which bodies are trained or tuned into phenomena, or perhaps into moments and events like the one I mentioned above. I can actually see the process through which an attempt at contact or branding sense perception is made. I am reminded of Massumi's statement that "the unfolding reality of that fearful feeling has become the feeling of that fear enfolded in perception." In thinking of the circulation of affects and their impact on feelings and moods such as fear, the vignettes in the tables below allow me to explore the potential of the unfolding of this fearful feeling as it moves. These vignettes do not explore all the possibilities or even suggest that the circulation of affect is generalizable nor am I using these vignettes to describe or understand any particular meaning; rather the point here is to explore the potential that can unfold through the very introduction of the images and messages of this campaign. Thus these vignettes suggest moments when this potential exists.

Remain Alert and Have a Safe Day

Though the focus of this chapter is on the print advertisements of this campaign, there are also audio messages circulating on trains and on platforms. As a technological device, these messages interrupt or become a part of the experience of the train ride itself. They are messages sprinkled throughout a number of announcements that are repeated daily as commuters ride the trains. Like the one I mentioned earlier, they are repeated in such a way that they join in the rhythm of the train ride. I become attune to the feed and used to the inflection of the voices and the overall rhythm of the messages as they move; so much so that for the most part, unless focusing on my research, I can actually consciously tune them out even if I do not have access to an IPOD.

Depending on which train-line I am riding on, some are heard more clearly than others. For instance, on the newer trains designed for the MTA, audio messages are much clearer and contain less noise. They thus produce a much more crisp and clean sound. It is easier for the messages to circulate on the train for they do not have to fight with the interruptions of screeching wheels and faulty speakers or even perhaps the loud conversation of transit riders. However, they might have to contend with handheld multimedia devices like cell-phones, IPODS and video games. Still, the messages that are sent over this sound system are at least potentially clearer.

There are two main announcements that are made in regards to this campaign, though some of the messages (particularly the ones found on the newer trains) are pre-recorded:

Message 1

*Ladies and Gentlemen: this is a message from the New York City Police Department.
Keep your belongings in sight at all times. Protect yourself.
If you see a suspicious package or activity on the platform
Do not keep it to yourself. Tell a police officer or an MTA employee.
Remain alert. And have a safe day.*

Message 2

*Ladies and Gentlemen: This is a reminder that backpacks
and other larger containers are subject to random search by the police.
Thank you and have a nice day.*

In thinking of some observations of these messages, they call attention to belongings and keeping them in sight at all times; the notion that it is a populations' personal responsibility to keep track of these items. Secondly, they call attention to the 'rights' of governance to search this property. Thirdly, they place the onerous of reporting to the authorities whatever 'suspicious' behavior is seen or heard by these populations as well. Fourthly, they remind commuters that they are to 'protect themselves.' Finally, and I will return to this later, they remind commuters to 'remain alert.' These five observations are in no particularly order but they speak to the movement of bodies on the trains themselves and what the MTA is calling on these bodies to do, experience, watch out for, respond to, protect, remain alert to, again, I would want to repeat - remain alert to. This is a disciplining of sorts, as it is the circulation of messages that seek to remind customers of proper subway normative behavior and what the responsibility of riding on the train entails.

Case Vignette:

I remember riding on the train one evening. There was a man who sat across from me eating a sandwich. He was wearing a uniform so I assumed that he was either coming from work or going to work. A woman sitting directly beside me looked up at him and told him that ‘eating on the train is not allowed.’ She went on to tell him that if they catch him, he would receive a fine. He simply thanked her for the instruction and continued eating. A few minutes later, she reminded him of this again. He again, thanked her.

On Disciplining & Civilizing Bodies

Thinking of my research, something of this exchange struck me in the type of disciplining or attempt at disciplining that is taking place on trains; one that has been continuously taking place on trains. I am reminded of the many advertisements that inform riders of ‘correct’ subway etiquette and behavior. I think of this campaign and wonder of its affective circulation and how it adds or affects this particular notion of disciplining. I wonder how it may impact this woman’s response in reminding a man who is eating a sandwich on the train that it is not allowed.

I am in effect freezing a small moment on a train ride in thinking about the playback of these messages, the various reminders given by the MTA and the potential for discipline and habitualizing discipline. I am focusing on the content of these messages not so much for their meaning but rather for the point or points at which they come in contact with bodies and the potential that emerges from this contact. I am interested in the field(s) these messages emerge from and the point(s) at which they

become repeated so much so that this repetition goes unnoticed. I am interested in how repetition affects the movement or circulation of the above named discipline. I am thinking of its relationality to mechanisms of control and the branding of sensation, as I think of the particular goals and movements of this campaign.

In one memo concerning the campaign, the MTA thanks and reminds customers to:

- Be alert to unattended packages.
- Be wary of suspicious behavior.
- Take notice of people in bulky or inappropriate clothing.
- Report exposed wiring or other irregularities.
- Report anyone tampering with surveillance cameras or entering unauthorized areas.

In considering this memo as a form of communication intended to impact commuters, how much do these reminders work? For instance, how much does this particular memo impact a woman reminding a man on train that he is not allowed to eat a sandwich. It is not something that I can easily measure. It is also a bit of a stretch to imply that this one memo has that effect. But here, in considering the potential of branding techniques and how a population may be affectively branded, I wish to consider the overall environment the messages of this campaign circulate and the potential that exists in their contact with bodies and with other bits of information.

Thus the analysis of the advertisements below focus on two aspects of habituating sense perception through the use of branding techniques: one is the focus on the disciplining impact these advertisements have on bodies as discussed in Chapter Three and the other is the ways in which this action is one of civilizing bodies back to governance, which in some ways can be considered an extension of a disciplining mechanism but also perhaps different from this mechanism as well.

Table 2: How Objects Become Suspicious Packages

I was discussing my research with a musician at a concert. The first thing she mentioned, after I told her I was focusing on this campaign, was a story of when she was at the airport and the type of bag search they did. She described how invasive and offensive she found the search. I wondered why she mentioned this when I only mentioned that my research was on the campaign in the subway system. I had made no mention of airport security or bag searches in particular.

~

In the Fall of 2005, I was sitting on the train with my friend discussing my project and she told me of the time she saw a person get off the train and leave their backpack behind. She took the bag home with her, found identification and contacted the owner. She then returned the bag. She mentioned that she thought twice about it though. She isn't sure she'd do that again.

~

Sometime in 2006, in the early morning, I was riding on the 6 train on my way to work and a seemingly homeless person got on the train, which was relatively empty at the time. He had a huge cart with bags on it. It was the stereotypical picture of disheveled bags loaded onto a cart. He walked through the train to the next car and left the bags. Seconds later as people got on the train they began to look at each other. And then back at the bags. As I got off the train a few stops later, a woman exited the train as well. She approached the conductor of the car looking a bit uncomfortable. She explained to the conductor that "she had seen a bag and.." I quickly walked over and explained what the 'bag situation' had entailed and then moved on.

1. Suspicious Packages (See Appendix A)

One of the first ads that appeared in this campaign has a yellow background. It is a color that calls attention. In the middle of the advertisement is the campaign slogan “*If You See Something, Say Something.*” It captures my attention because it takes up about ¼ of the advertisement itself and is in **bold** black letters. The letters of this text appear in a larger font size than the rest of the text. Directly above these words, toward the top of the advertisement, is the image of a lone corner in a subway car – empty – of people. I cannot tell whether it is rush hour or whether or not it is early in the morning or late at night (though an empty train car may suggest this). However, the bright fluorescent lights of the train allow me to fixate on the one object that is out of place, or at least is the only addition to what seems to be a photo depicting the basic appearance of the inside of a train. Underneath the seat lies a medium sized black bag. It has no owner or at least the owner(s) are not present. It sits alone.

Below the image, below the words “*If You See Something, Say Something*” in bold **red** letters are the words “be suspicious of anything unattended.” Underneath these words in even smaller black text directs people to “tell a cop, an MTA Employee or call 1-888-NYC-SAFE”, with the logos of MTA (New York Metropolitan Transit Authority), NYPD, New York State Police Department, Federal Transit Association, and the logo for TransitWatch directly underneath it. Finally, a website for Subtalk www.mta.info is listed as well.

Suspicious Package2 has the same format of the previous advertisement except the image is different. This time the picture is of an empty subway platform. In the

middle of the picture on the platform is a bench, directly behind the bench is a subway car, and to the left of this bench is a column where you can barely make out the image of a phone. It is also yellow, like the background. There are no people in this picture and I cannot tell the time of day, but the bright fluorescent lights allow me to see what (like the previous picture) appears to be a very simple image of a section of a subway platform, a train and a bench. However, there is one exception, the only other item depicted is a bright **blue** garbage bag. It is the only other splash of color in the ad.

The third ad in this series is a bit different from the previous two. In the middle of the advertisement in bold **black** letters as large as the “If You See Something, Say Something” text in the other ads, reminds people to “PLEASE TAKE YOUR THINGS. OR WE WILL.” The message here - is a little different. It reminds customers not of suspicious bags but of the responsibility of keeping close track of their own things. The image above the ad is some sort of machine on wheels (robotic-like), which is removing a briefcase. It sits at the base of a stairwell blocked off with yellow police tape and appears to be in a subway station, though I cannot tell which one. In smaller text at the bottom of the advertisement in black letters is a reminder for people to “tell a cop, an MTA employee, or call (in red letters) 1-888-NYC-SAFE”. Beneath this text in **Red** is the message “If You See Something, Say Something,” and the above-mentioned logos.

The Cultural Politics of “Civilizing” Responsibility

This is a lot of information to digest. My detailed description of the advertisements, which are better seen in the Appendix, merely highlight what eyes in a moment are able to detect. But there is something in the detail that I would like to explore. Despite what can be recalled at a later point in time, what I have described and perhaps what I have left out as well, is information that is sensed and recorded throughout the body instantaneously. As a way of introducing a measuring device (my own body), I am merely freezing it in a mode of analysis so that I can notice or explore its (a)effects. In real time these things do not move this slowly but in real time these are things that are absorbed by bodies so quickly they can appear this slow.

The campaign began with the introduction and inundation of a catch-phrase placed onto metrocards, on posters, station kiosks, and on the trains introducing the concept of ‘seeing and saying’ in this new way. In thinking of slogans and branding culture in general “If You See Something, Say Something” is a brilliant way of introducing this. The visual representation of bags shown on trains and subway platforms introduce a specific object or set of objects that bodies are to be tuned into when ‘seeing and saying.’ I say ‘are to be’ tuned into very carefully because it is the opening and closing of potential that is key in branding bodily response to what is seen in a subway station or on a train. Bodies are not being called upon to look at a child’s doll or a pair of shoes. Necessarily. When commuters are getting on and off trains or in and out of the subway station, and they see a pair of shoes, would they think twice about them?

It is these branding techniques that are employed here that habitually train the attention of eyes to these objects. It names the objects and offers up a response, though

in some ways it opens up the possibility of this response as well. It isn't as if the message reads if you see a bag say something, but branding techniques have to begin somewhere. It is thus the opening and closing of potential that becomes a negotiated actualization as bodies move throughout the subway system. The introduction of these advertisements in the subway system, the introduction of a potential object to focus on, reflects the moment or moments when a potential circulation of information regarding these objects can begin.

One particular observation that stands out to me is the specific reminder to watch or keep track of 'personal' belongings. It is a reminder that these belongings are very much the responsibility of commuters and not the responsibility of the 'state.' Or in the very least, it suggests a moment where governmentality considers or reminds bodies of their responsibility to the state. It adds to the complexity of thinking of this campaign as it is entangled with personal, local, and national notions of security. It adds to the complexity of thinking of the overall security apparatus that bodies are being asked to participate in.

The ads are suggesting a vigilance toward security; the calling to attention of national and personal security (such as keeping track of personal items) that is embedded in the movements of the 'war on terror'. The goal of these ads as stated in memos and described in earlier chapters is to re-brand notions of what we are 'seeing' and 'saying,' in the name of security there is the attempt to affect sense perception, most notably fear, to pick up on what is perceived as a threat. The goal is to call attention to this responsibility. It is a (re)conditioning of sorts but as affective theory suggests it is below personal or at least it envelops the personal in possibility. The ads also place the onerous

on the personal to act or to report on these perceived threats, as it very much names who is responsible for alerting the authorities. This is the disciplining or habitualizing aspect of these ads; we as citizens or perhaps as bodies are required to police and to become a part of the assemblage of policing.

Table 3: Objects of Sense

During my research I spent a lot of time staring at advertisement I refer to as 'the eyes.' The ones watching me, the ones I assume are asking me to watch others. When I talked to people about my research, if they referenced the ads at all, this was the one they most often spoke of. It is an affective ad: twelve pairs of eyes staring out at you.

~

I was at a conference giving a talk on the campaign and its relationship to the affective manipulation of fear, as the roomful of participants stared up at the picture of 'the eyes'. A few people commented that one set of eyes appeared to be children's eyes. There was something of the age of these eyes that disturbed or, in the very least, intrigued some of the participants in the room.

~

I showed the pair of eyes at another conference and became aware of the mood in the room. In the question and answer period I mentioned how affective it is to actually show 'the eyes' in this way. By freezing them like this and projecting them on to the screen, everyone in the room is forced to focus on these eyes and what they are or aren't doing. In the subway system, they are merely one advertisement amongst a number of waves and patterns of information that is circulating among populations. But in the talk I gave on this day they are brought into focus, taken out of context, and placed on center stage. This is in itself an affective modulation. I have, in this sense, unintentionally added or furthered the circulation of this particular advertisement.

2. “The Eyes of New York” (See Appendix B)

I suggest that the second set of advertisements produced in this campaign be grouped around notions of sense perception, not necessarily what individuals should or should not be on the lookout for, but what is or isn't doing the looking. One of the more popular advertisements in this series (and the one found more frequently on trains during my research) consisted of the same yellow background as found in the other ads, but here the text in bold black letters read “**there are 16 million eyes in New York City and we are counting on all of them.**” Above this, the image of 12 pairs of multicultural eyes peering out at commuters. Below this message, the words in red “**If You See Something, Say Something**” and “Tell a Cop, an MTA Employee or call 1-888-NYC-SAFE”, in smaller font displayed on the poster. This time, the logos consist of the MTA, the New York City Police Department and MTA security.

The two other advertisements that are launched during this time consist of an image of a dog in front of a subway station. These ads are similar to each other except that one of the dogs is female and the other one is male. The caption reads in bold black letters “You use your eyes. She'll (he'll) use her (his) nose.” Below this in much smaller letters “We're counting on everyone”, and as with the other ads both “if you see something, say something” and the number for the hotline are listed.

Here the importance of establishing contact and modulating an affective circulation and the potential in branding sense in regards to notions of responsibility, are expanded upon. “The dogs” and “the eyes” are a reminder of what our eyes are to be doing but also that someone is ‘counting’ on this sense as well. “Well yeah, I mean, you

would feel guilty if something happened and you hadn't said anything," I remember one person mentioning this as we discussed an advertisement on the side of a bus.

The eyes suggest a calling to the technologies of government that Nikolas Rose speaks of, the ones that illustrate notions of affectivity more clearly because, here, they are not attached to bodies. They are calling to the eyes of people and their sense of sight to pay attention, in this sense, the rest of the body and/or what this body represents is irrelevant. But if you look closely at the picture of this twelve multi-cultural set of eyes what you may notice is the careful consideration of race these advertisements seem to display. This image does not reflect notions of nationality (like a flag) or even the full body of a citizen, so the understanding that this advertisement is speaking directly to the "American" people is assumed, but it is also wanting to incorporate a wide enough image of the groups of people that can be as a "melting pot" or the "us" in the "us versus "them" dichotomy that, as discussed in previous chapters, Puar and Rai thoroughly explore and analyze (2002). It illustrates the importance of notions of a nationalized, racialized identity that is entangled within these advertisements and within a campaign that is seeking to reach a specific population. And here, they are careful to make sure that no one is left out.

This becomes a crucial point to consider and explore: the moment these advertisements become bound to a 'politics of naming' that consists of naming, or at least displaying, the groups of people it leaves in and the ones it leaves out. The heart of understanding notions of "terrorism" exist within this depiction of twelve pair of multicultural eyes that are peering out you.

Table 4: The Power in Repetition

In one day, I saw the campaign 5 times. I got on a train and saw an advertisement. Later when I was walking on the street I saw it on the side of a bus. Back on the train I heard the announcement and saw the video playing on the LCD screen, hopped onto another train and I saw one more advertisement. On another day, I caught a glimpse of it while I was talking to a friend on the subway platform. At some point in time, I stopped keeping track of how often I saw the campaign on a daily basis. I wasn't entirely sure what I should do with all this information and as my research progressed it seemed unnecessary.

~

I was standing on the platform while a musician is playing the drums, and my body begins to move to the rhythm of the drumbeat. He began a sort of spoken word piece, most of which I don't remember nor did I record it, but at one point he says "and remember, if you see something, say something." My head jerked as he said this.

~

I was sitting in a coffee shop, overhearing the training of new employees. Towards the end, the trainer referenced the responsibility workers have to and with one another, she finished with "if you see something, say something." It was at this point, that I realized how mobile the campaign, and particularly the slogan, really is. A catch phrase leaves the subway system and the advertisement campaign that began circulating it.

3. What Was Seen and Said (See Appendix C)

The last series of advertisements that I researched which was, incidentally, also found alongside and on television commercials as well, consists of one advertisement with a white background and blue letters. These letters take up $\frac{3}{4}$ of the advertisement. There are no other images in this particular advertisement. It asserts that **“Last Year 1,944 New Yorkers Saw Something and Said Something.”** In a much smaller font size underneath this text reads “Thank you for keeping your eyes and ears open. And not keeping your suspicious to yourself.” It is not an elaborate ad; but here, in thinking of its power to transmit information to an audience its message is very simple, very direct. Though a few colleagues I have talked to question the motive in telling us that merely 2,000 New Yorkers in a city of millions have seen something and said something: 2,000 in a city of millions, why is this a significant number? But here, as affective theory may suggest, it is not the number that is important but the very fact that it is circulating and being discussed.

I think about the repetition in the messages. I think about the way in which my body becomes attuned to these messages so that it registers and remembers the inflection of voices and the images of the campaign. If it is repeated continuously as it is on the train, my body can tune it out. But if I hear this message in other contexts (in a coffee shop or on a platform) my body snaps back to attention. It is these modulations that allow me to think through the ability of these messages to impinge and affect bodily rhythms, how they tune into them and how they perhaps make them move. Finally, it also allows me to consider the moments when one commuter turns to another and informs

them that eating is not allowed on the train. It allows me to consider the intersection between disciplining mechanisms and mechanisms of control.

Negotiating Signal to Noise: The Possibilities of Color

I freeze one moment. I am interesting in the fact that each of the advertisements, except for the last one in circulation, has a yellow background. To me, the ads themselves are quite simple. There is not a lot of information in these advertisements, maybe a bag placed here or a picture of a dog there. There is always an empty train. There is always an empty platform. At the same time, for some reason, staring at these advertisements long enough has made it so that I notice the color yellow. And so I came to ask the question, why yellow?

In their article “On Using Classical Conditioning Methods for Researching the Impact of Ad-Evoked Feelings,” Allen and Schimp review literature that suggests that “emotional advertisements contain invariable nonverbal elements, including colors, sound effects, music and visual imagery”, which serve a role because of their potential impact in evoking feelings that will become associated with a particular brand (Agres et al. 1990). In *Emotional Branding*, Marc Gobe devotes a whole section on “sensorial experiences – the uncharted territory of branding.” Here he reflects on the “sounds that transport, the colors that mesmerize/symbols that captivate, the tastes that tantalize, the shapes that touch, and the scents that seduce.”

In thinking of the colors that are used in this campaign, the prominence of yellow in the background and the variations of blue and red letters, Gobe reminds us of the ways in which color triggers certain responses in the central nervous system. Colors can be used to trigger memory, activate thoughts and other modes of sense perception. “Colors

with long wave-lengths are arousing...red, he goes on to say is the most stimulating color that will attract the eye faster than any other.” Stop signs are red. “Yellow is in objects that demand attention.” He cites the use of this color in security and police scene markers. “This creates associations of caution around yellow that train us to pay even more attention to its presence.”

It is the idea that the color yellow calls attention that interests me. Again, such a small moment to freeze but there is something in this moment. In an article entitled “Fear (The Spectrum Said),” Massumi describes the Bush administration’s color-coded ‘terror’ alert system. He comments that the since its inception, “the nation has danced between orange and yellow” (2005). He goes on to suggest that “‘safe’ doesn’t have a hue; that safe it seems has fallen off the spectrum of perception. Insecurity, the spectrum says, is the new normal.” What happens when the level is raised to red? What happens when the level is lowered to blue?

Gobe suggests that color helps to set the mood because it is what stimulates and calls attention. However, Massumi reminds us that color is not separated from illumination; that how we see and experience color is based on light or the degree of brightness. How blue is blue in a darkened room? He travels along the experience of the color blue with an example of an experiment that asks people to match a particular shade of blue. But they cannot be matched. Shades of colors are perceived differently when seen by a different pair of eyes (2002). Yet, memory also plays a role in this perception, or as Bergson suggests, it is “toward action that memory and perception are turned” (1994). Memory is thus a function of the brain and here Massumi goes on to suggest that it is a matter of intensity, which determines the degrees between perception and

recollection. And in this sense, memory is thought to co-function with affect or as Patricia Clough suggests this is the affective background through which memories and our perception of memories emerge (2009).

In the *Perception of Color*, Ralph Evans describes this notion of color as a frame of reference. I would add one other dimension to this suggestion. In thinking of the ads of this campaign and the use of fluorescent light in the pictures of subway platforms and in train cars, I think of my inability to tell whether it is day or night once I am underground. And I wonder its affect on my nervous system, as I am moving throughout the subway system. I think of an article in the *New York Times*, which stated that the city is experimenting with a new way to help people orient themselves as they emerge from subway stairwells (Barron 2007). The article reflects the disorientation that can take place once subway riders have been traveling underground and suggests that it takes them a few minutes to re-orient themselves once they are aboveground. The article did not discuss the impact that traveling underground has on particular bodies or nervous systems but here the city is exploring ways of addressing this effect, just the same. Evans considers color a frame of reference but thinking of the impact that light has on the perception of color suggests that this frame is influenced by a number of other factors as well like the impact that memory has on the perception of color.

In thinking of the relationship between color illumination and memory, these are some reflections on the ways in which various techniques can be used to attract attention as they play with this affective background. I think more specifically about the use of the (background) color yellow but in thinking of the presence of bright fluorescent lights, I am also reminded of the ability of waves of light to affect the perception of this shade of

color as well. Imagine the possibility that exists in these variations of colors and lights in the perception and movements of the nervous system. Imagine the possibility that memory has on the impact of these colors and lights as well. I think of the modulation of branding techniques and the ability of design tools (used by graphic designers) to affect this modulation.

The Branding of Sense Perception

The last chapter suggested that there are many elements to consider in understanding how the messages of an advertising campaign can impact sense perception. Through various techniques such as the use of repetition or the use of a particular color bodies are alerted to certain messages (perhaps more than others) in an attempt to have these bodies act as a policing mechanism that reports ‘suspicious activity’ to the authorities. At the same time, the messages of this campaign are seeking to discipline and habituate what this response of seeing and saying should be. This disciplining or habituating sense perception is the key to branding how a population approaches a bag in the subway system and/or what it will define as “suspicious” behavior.

This Chapter reviewed the advertisements of this particular campaign to understand how branding techniques can affectively touch a population. The understanding here is that these branding techniques can impact the way in which a population perceives the messages of the campaign itself. Regardless of how effective this attempt at impacting sense perception is, these are some of techniques that are employed to arouse a certain response, which is one of alert and response.

Considering the transmission of the information in the last advertisement, the simplicity in the ad itself is another important moment to explore. Unlike the average weekday or weeknight in the New York City subway system, the first set of images depict train cars and subway platforms that are relatively empty except for the depiction of various bags for eyes to focus in on or an image of a robotic-like instrument picking up and removing a briefcase. The second wave of advertisements, also depict images devoid of complexity such as 12 pairs of eyes or the image of a dog in front of a subway station. In this simplicity, I focus on small details that most commuters might not even consciously (or even unconsciously) notice as they get on and off the train, but it is a detail that bodies repeatedly come in contact with and register. As they look at messages that are intended to impact their sensorial experience and perception of ‘seeing’ and ‘saying,’ the use of colors that ‘demand attention,’ the repetition of messages and the simplicity of an ad are employed as techniques.

All of these techniques are examples of ones that are used to incorporate commuting bodies as a mechanism of governance that can report to authorities any and all threats to the subway system. It is a moment that Foucault considered a necessity for the functioning of a capitalistic system (1980). He argues that since the 1960s, what was once a belief that “the investment of the body by power had to be heavy, ponderous, meticulous and constant,” turned to an understanding that industrial societies could “content themselves with a much loser form of power over the body.” Here, the idea is that control over bodies changes over time; and with that perhaps the advertising techniques used to impact these bodies as well.

In thinking of the advertisement that shows the 12 pair of eyes staring out at commuters, the question becomes one surrounding the functioning or the utility of populations to act as a mechanism of their own governance. The point at which, these bodies not only become bodies that are governed but ones that do their own governing in the interests of governance itself. The question posed by Puar and Rai is one considering the role of docile patriots in this sense of governing but as the analysis of these advertisements have shown, a notion of docility is called into question when bodies themselves are told to “remain alert” to suspicious activity. There could be a point in time where docile patriots have perhaps become too docile. At the end of the day, Foucault would remind us that regardless of the modulation between docility and alertness, it is the question of bodies as a site of investment, which becomes crucial to explore.

Chapter Five: The Potential in Bodily Movement

Eviatar Zerubavel considers social pattern analysis as a method or mechanism to understand the growing complexity of social situations and social contexts (2007). Participant observation thus becomes a mechanism that can be used to document and demonstrate various social patterns, like the ones concerning security that I became aware of through my research of this particular campaign in the subway system. Here, Zerubavel suggests a social geometry, or a mapping of these various situations and contexts. In this mapping, I consider what type of map this campaign provides the subway system with. It is not a map that designates train lines or perhaps even subway stops, but it is one that maps a number of relationships or experiences concerning security or perhaps the lack thereof.

In this chapter, I would like to consider two things. First, I will consider how bodies are the mechanism through which this campaign moves. As affects and bodies entangle with and through one another on a train ride or on a subway platform, an advertisement campaign furthers its own circulation. As a form of information transmitted through mass communication technologies, The “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign comes into contact with the circulations of bodily affects. Yet, some of the vignettes I have explored in previous chapters touched upon the capacity of this campaign to move beyond the subway platform and thus expand notions of what is ‘local’ to this campaign. The slogan becomes a phrase used by a musician on the platform of a train station, but also by an employee at a coffee shop. The ‘eyes’ are in

circulation on the MTA website, but as I present a paper at a conference in another city, they also appear on a projected screen to a roomful of participants.

Secondly, I will attempt to understand how this campaign maps social patterns concerning notions of security. This campaign circulates a particular message about what New Yorkers' should be seeing and saying, and to whom they should be saying this to. Inevitably, it is attempting to define or frame these references, experiences, and/or actions according to notions of threat and here more specifically to "terrorism" or "terrorist" behavior, which can be considered an extension of deviant behavior. My research ultimately seeks to not only understand how these messages get communicated and what might impede or facilitate these forms of communication, but it also seeks to understand what social patterns concerning security develop through these communications. Governing institutions like the MTA function by "keeping the system safe" but in a Foucaultian sense²¹, I have sought to understand the latent functions of these governing mechanisms as mechanisms of social control.

In this chapter, I focus on the ability of this advertising campaign to move beyond the subway system not only in the form of advertisements that have moved onto buses, into televisions and in newspaper advertisements, but also through the bodies that come in contact with these advertisements and thus become the conduit of the information of this campaign. Thus, the remaining examples explore the ability of one particular advertising campaign (which is a mechanism of local governance) to move beyond the physical boundaries of the subway system, but it also calls these boundaries into question

²¹ Foucault conceptualized that in order to govern a population issues of security must be addressed by governing institutions. In this sense, we can think of security as a legitimacy to govern a population and/or to maintain its control over a particular territory.

as well. In the first section, I compare the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign with two other advertising campaigns within the subway system; the next section focuses on my own movement in and out of this system and its relationship to another governing institution; and finally, I explore the relationship this particular campaign has with other forms of mass media. These examples explore the ability of a population to become the conduit of the messages of an advertising campaign not only because they consume these messages but also, more importantly, because they circulate them as they move.

The examples within this chapter demonstrate a governmental concern with providing a certain sense of security. In thinking about the relationship of the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign with other forms of mass media, I am attempting to understand how information is mass-produced. In each of the following examples, I compare the messages of this particular campaign to the messages of other forms of mass media to see the similarities and perhaps the differences between them. But the examples I use here are exploratory, meaning that I am attempting to see how patterns of security develop and how or where they circulate. But I am not attempting to explain these patterns nor can I offer any conclusions regarding their effects. What this research does offer is an introduction into understanding the potential of mass communicated messages and information and how this potential can spread.

The Question of Security

Sara Ahmed notes that affects, moods and identities stick to bodies; a cultural politics is thus on the move as it slides in, out and through these bodies, as affects circulate among them and, at times, stick. These affects suggest a virtual movement that once in

their stickiness, becomes a modulated potential and once sensed in conscious emotion, becomes a felt experience (Massumi 2002). This is how a campaign is able to move. A campaign seeks to touch bodies in such a way so that if a population sees something, they say something. But here it becomes crucial to brand notions of what they may potentially see. Various techniques like the use of colors, which draw attention, or the repetition of a slogan are deployed to touch bodies in spaces where a vast amount of potential information circulates. These techniques are the ones used to ensure or potentially ensure that a transmitted message will get through.

As I explore the movements of this campaign and the ways in which it is a code of information; informing, changing, adding to, taking away from, entangling with other codes and bits of information like notions of security and perceptions of fear, I began to think of the complex set of networks that exist among and between these bits of circulating information. This research asks the question, when a message (or a signal) is transmitted, what impacts the transmission of this message? Or in thinking in terms of the ratio of signal to noise, how does noise impact the transmission of these messages? Examples throughout this dissertation suggest that bodies are, to some degree, continuously and/or constantly negotiating a large amount of information that circulates throughout a city like New York.

Communication technologies are concerned with mapping networks of information and securing the accurate reproduction of these patterns of information, or here more specifically, in securing that an encoded signal will be successfully transmitted along various channels. But networked information is quite complex and we can think of this in terms of computer technology or any informational technology for that matter, but

we can also think of this in terms of the information that bodies come in contact with on the streets of New York City. Consider an architectural diagram of New York City streets, and the bodies that move along these streets, or perhaps as I focus more specifically on the subway system, bodies that move in and out of various stations, trains, and platforms.

I think about my body's rhythms as it moves down the steps of the subway station, through a station turnstile and onto a platform, as it waits for the coming train. If a train is not there, I am already potentially frustrated at how long I must wait for the next one. I keep looking along the tracks to see when one is approaching. Finally, after a long pause that normally only lasts a few minutes (unless it is late at night) a train approaches, and I board this train. It moves along and brings me to my next destination. I hurriedly leave this train, out through the turnstile, up the station stairs and back on to city streets. It is, after all, the city that never sleeps, one where the trains never stop running, where populations of bodies continue to move along to this rhythm. The only regulated interruption to this rhythm, in this instance, is the variation in the train schedule which changes according to the time of day, whether or not it is a holiday or weekend schedule, or in the case of some sort of break in service on the train or within the station as well. There is a vast amount of sights and sounds that are circulating in this configuration of space, and in New York City it moves along quite quickly.

This configuration of space offers up a moment of consideration in the mapping of this network of information. Considering the placement of the advertisements of the "If You See Something, Say Something" campaign, I think about their relationality and entanglement with other forms of information. I cannot produce a map of these

relationships because they are continuously on the move, but I can freeze certain moments that allow me to see the possibility that exists within these entanglements. As I think of the advertisements of this campaign, and as I explore my own body's experiences and the information that it comes in contact with, I can offer up these various moments of potential.

The beauty of complexity is that if you start to play with it a little, you can begin to see the ways in which information is not only networked or entangled but how this moment becomes the one through which potential mechanisms of control circulate and begin to take hold. This is the moment that bodies become invested in, manipulated and disciplined. It is one where branding sensation into the folds of possibility becomes real, as bodies become subjected to these techniques. This investment is, as Massumi and others suggest, not about containment but about the open (or semi-open) movement of potential (2002). It is about the moment(s) when this potential becomes modulated and performed and thus becomes a mechanism of social control.

In thinking of bodies as a site of investment, I consider their movement in and out of this system. I consider the types of information these bodies come in contact with and their relationship to issues of governance. One way to approach this complex network of information is to consider, for a moment, the digital technologies that impact the movement and circulation of various bits of information. Here, I would consider the computer technologies that manage the movements of the train or as I think more specifically about my own research, I consider the technologies that produce the audio messages of the advertisement campaign. Yet, this network of information is also much more complex if we consider the fact that, for instance, ConEdison supplies these

technologies with energy so that this information can be transmitted. Considering the connection between these digital technologies, the circulation of campaign messages and the use of ConEdison to supply them with energy, suggests that the entanglement of networked systems are more complex and more open than we may initially think.

The information contained as bits of potential, which circulate through print ads and through audio and visual messages played throughout speakers and displayed on LCD screens are all components of this campaign, which are connected to the networked circulation of information (digital or otherwise) that exists as the ‘subway system.’ Alexander Galloway suggests that at the core of networked computing systems is the concept of the protocol, which is a “set of recommendations and rules that outline specific technological standards.” (2004) These protocols refer to “standards governing the implementation of specific technologies.” I think of this as I consider the protocols, which govern the circulation of the messages and the advertisements of this campaign. In discussing the various types of networks that exist, Galloway explores the use of centralized networks (like the ones that exist within the MTA as a public agency) and the use of decentralized networks, which function through multiple central hosts, each perhaps having their own set of protocols but ones that are still connected to one another. Communication for both centralized and de-centralized networks are unidirectional and considered a top-down form of communication. But he also considers another form of network, a distributed network, which he calls an altogether different matter, one that is very much influenced by Deleuze’s notion of a Control Society. Here, each node of information establishes its own direct communication with other nodes, without the use of a hierarchal intermediary.

In thinking of the advertisements of this campaign as a media form which is communicated through various channels, I find this approach promising in trying to tease out the ways in which a cultural politics of notions of security and perceptions of fear can circulate throughout this campaign or by way of this campaign. Though the movements of this campaign may be executed in a top-down format, as it is administered through the MTA and maintained through a set of protocols that guide this movement (how often messages are to be repeated, where campaign ads are to be placed etc.), once it begins its circulation, it effectively leaves the hands of the MTA. As these messages are sent to a receiver they must be consumed and circulated, or the goal of the campaign in incorporating bodies into a technical assemblage of security becomes impossible. Bodies thus become the nodes through which these messages can be communicated, circulated through and actualized.

As we consider the necessity of populations in the circulation of information, it is a circulation that thrives when the spaces through which it can move remain open. In thinking of questions regarding notions of locality and the movements and moments of the expansion of this particular campaign, as it moves beyond subway trains and subway platforms, suggests the possibility for the expansion of mechanisms of control as well. But it also opens up the negotiation of the surveillance of this population. The modulation of movement, how much or how little, and the surveillance techniques used to keep this movement in check become crucial elements for governing institutions to consider. It is not to say this movement will or will not be controlled, but that it exists as a potential for control. This potential is thus one that can be ordered, organized or kept

under surveillance by various governing bodies and institutions, as the research throughout this dissertation has suggested.

This campaign reflects this sense of security inherent in all governing institutions but it also reflects a moment when these institutions are revisiting these notions of security. But the implication of this research suggests that within these narratives and these expressions of security and/or surveillance, is an implicit notion of insecurity that focuses very little on the feeling of being secure. These narratives, orchestrated as ones surrounding issues of governing populations and asking these populations to “see and say,” actually thrive off feelings of insecurity and/or fear. In considering the politics of this campaign as a form of mass communication that is connected to this overall sense of insecurity, what stands out is how much this campaign is inherently connected to a politics of social control.

Does this inevitably mean that the politics of fear and insecurity relies on disciplining populations? Not necessarily. Foucault had originally suggested that within a normalizing society, both mechanisms of disciplining and regulating a population would work together to maintain social control. These mechanisms are an attempt to grab the attention of a population that has, perhaps, lost its attention span. It may be that populations are already “too docile” or perhaps desensitized to certain disciplining mechanisms and thus this research suggests that in the negotiation of regulating this population, the branding techniques of this particular campaign allow governance to expand its control. As bodies move in and out of train stations, and onto city streets, this campaign becomes a mechanism through which a population continually acts as a surveillance mechanism, thus questions of a more flexible or fluid surveillance become

apparent here. As this movement suggests a surveillance that is always bodily, it is one that bodies themselves assume and circulate as they move.

This movement of surveillance (this internal camera) is one that is not only mediated by this campaign but also through other messages of “seeing and saying,” that imply a similar sentiment of insecurity and fear. This is how a discourse of security that is inherently connected to a discourse of terrorism and a politics of fear can circulate. These discursive practices, which are linked together demonstrate the influence that notions of insecurity have on forms of social control. As it these notions of insecurity that drive these forms of social control, they are thus inherently chained to this configuration of control as well. The next two examples offer up a further exploration into the branding techniques used by advertising campaigns. Two campaigns: one initiated by the Department of Health and Mental Hygiene and the other by the Office of Emergency Management demonstrate the potential mechanisms of control that are used to brand sense perception and notions of security but here they focus more specifically on understanding 1-how these techniques are used to call bodies to attention 2- how the goals of these campaigns are inherently tied to a logic of preparedness as discussed by Lakoff and finally 3- how in calling bodies to attention these campaigns are also calling upon “customer” or civil responsibility.

Ready New York?!?

Throughout my research, I took notes of various advertisements that reminded customers of proper or improper normative behavior on the subway system. There are a number of advertisements in the subway and many of these ads focus on product

advertising like that of NIKE or Coke. However, one particular campaign caught my eye because of a similarity in the technique it seemed to be using to grab a population's attention. It is a health bulletin from the New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene. The bulletin reads: **Influenza Can Kill. Flu Shots Save lives.** I immediately took note of this campaign and began to think of its relationality to the one that I am researching. I began to think more specifically about the disciplining mechanisms that were circulating throughout these advertisements. However, as I came in contact with this particular advertisement, which isn't connected to the disciplining mechanisms attempting to affect normative behavior within the subway system nor is it addressing the 'security' concerns of the system itself; yet, something of this campaign still resembled aspects of the security campaign that I was researching.

The relationality between this advertisement and the "If You See Something, Say Something" campaign depends on the diagram that I impose on the discussion. Clearly they are related if I am discussing the subway system as a particular space filled with various advertisements. But as I wanted to explore the way information of a particular campaign circulates a code of security throughout bodies, this advertisement caught my attention because it also seemed to be moving a similar notion of security. It moved the idea of seeing security in terms of threat. In thinking of its goal of getting people to seek out and administer a flu shot, this health campaign is incorporating a notion of security that seeks to connect with bodies through perceptions of threat and fear. Fear can be used as a way to get attention as advertising literature has suggested and **Influenza Can Kill.** In the number of possible ways to encourage or offer services and information regarding influenza, and here there is no way I can be exhaustive, it is interesting to me that what is

deployed here is this notion of security(threat). In considering the cultural politics of information, a similar code of security(threat) appear in both campaigns. Coincidentally, it also incorporates the logic of preparedness Lakoff refers to. It is reminding customers to be prepared for this particular threat and giving them instructions on how to be prepared for this potential threat.

Another advertising campaign in the subway system caught my attention because of the similarities it had to the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign. This is a campaign initiated by the New York City Office of Emergency Management. It is a campaign that is geared towards preparing New Yorkers for a number of possible emergencies. This alone makes me pause. Some of the listed possible hazards of New York City include: winter weather, severe weather, coastal storms and hurricanes, extreme heat, utilities disruptions, building collapses and explosions, earthquakes, fire, carbon monoxide, hazardous materials, chemical spills and radiation exposure, disease outbreaks (including pandemic flu) and biological events and finally, terrorism.

It is the linking of these various possibilities that is interesting to me, particularly as I consider Lakoff’s suggestion that these seemingly unrelated events are linked together; that they become entangled and related to one another in a logic of preparedness. Considering this logic, how would one prepare for a “terrorist” attack versus severe weather? How are these preparations related or unrelated? I would like to take these observations one-step further, as I highlight three examples of the *Ready New York* advertising campaign. Noticing how each advertisement is employing a similar sense of security(threat), I am interested in the potential collective power these advertisements have in impinging and affecting notions and norms of security.

Three Advertisements:

1. Ready? New York?

It is a simple advertisement. The background again is the same yellow found in the advertisements of the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign. The background is actually the depiction of a hazardous sign or a warning sign type of bulletin. In bold black letters large enough to fill the entire advertisement reads: **ARE YOU READY NEW YORK?** In a much smaller font in the top right hand corner of the ad reads: To Learn More About Preparing For Emergencies call 311 or visit the given website.

It is an open-ended question posed to New Yorkers regarding a potential event that may or may not occur. It calls upon New Yorkers to be ready for these events in case they happen.

2. What’s In Your Go Bag?

The second advertisement asks New Yorkers: what is in your go bag? It is also a simple advertisement; black background with yellow objects and letters. Here various images of objects are placed within the advertisement to offer suggestions as to what can be placed in this go bag.

My immediate question is where are New Yorker’s going? And in furthering this line of thinking, I also wonder wouldn’t various ‘emergency’ events call for different items? I do not pose these questions to tease out the implications of the images or all the possibilities that exist here, but thinking of these possibilities allows an exploration of the affective modulation that occurs in branding techniques and the impact they have on

sense perception, and thus on conscious perception as well. This advertisement also demonstrates the logic of preparedness referred to throughout this chapter.

3. All A Matter of Time

One final advertisement. The message reads in varying between yellow and black background and text:

Hours spent watching TV: 5

Hours spent planning for an emergency: 0

Everyone Should Have A Plan

I think of the nervousness or potential nervousness in the advertisements themselves. Much of the literature talks about the use of fear as a branding technique and the various ways that senses can be called to attention, but what is lacking in these discussions is where all this fear is coming from. Or in inviting everyone to have a plan, why or at what point has this become such a necessary task? And what exactly is this task? As I think of the message of the ads that I am analyzing in this chapter, the ones that are asking for some sort of participation in preventing diseases or preparing go-bags, I think of the responsibility of this notion of security(threat) in asking commuters to comply and how this is inherently entangled with a cultural politics of fear.

Samuel Nunn suggests that information that is produced through television and film promote an anticipation in the interests of prevention (2007). Much like television and film, these advertisements also promote anticipation in asking transit riders to see and say or to ready themselves for emergencies. These circulations of informational codes are all based on notions of prevention:

Being prepared for an emergency is as simple as planning ahead. Make sure everyone in your home works together to make a plan, gather emergency

supplies, and understand the hazards they may face. Learn how your household can take control in an emergency (OEM Pamphlet 2006).

I wonder how many types of emergencies New Yorkers are required to consider? In focusing on events that haven't yet happened but might potentially take place, what does this configuration of "anticipate. react. prevent." produce? What emergencies are we to prepare for? And which ones can we leave out? How can a household take control of an emergency, exactly?

I am freezing moments. This is true. All of the vignettes I have used have frozen moments. But I am interested in teasing out the implications of possibility in the circulation of information. As I begin to tease out these examples what becomes most apparent is the rhythm and repetition of a code of security(threat) and the pervasive circulation of fear employed as a technique of attention and circulation. Both of these campaigns suggest a play on 'civil' responsibility regarding how a population is supposed to respond to the spread of infectious diseases and to potential emergencies as well. They are a calling on bodies to act against these potential 'threats,' which have been designated by city officials, but these aren't epidemics or emergencies that are actually taking place; rather, they are potential events that may or may not happen. .

My questions related to the circulation of the information of this campaign and its ability to impinge and affect various populations assumes that as bodies move in and out of the subway system, they are the dynamic through which this information moves. In thinking of the circulation of affect through bodies, the dynamism of bodies themselves and the ways in which information is communicated to these bodies, my research focuses on understanding one particular advertisement campaign; yet, in considering that a populations' experience of this campaign is impacted by their movement in and out of the

subway system, this campaign is also impacted by a number of other factors: sights, sounds, and experiences that exist inside and outside of this system.

Security Alert

As my research continued, I became more aware of the security measures in the university that I attend. I began to see a number of similarities in the code(s) of security that circulate within this institution as well. Thinking of the university allows me to consider this coded notion of security in a social space other than the subway system, but one that is still potentially connected to this system as well. As my body moves to and from the subway station into the halls of a university, how does a potential code of security(threat), one that utilizes or entangles with notions of fear, move along with me? The branding mechanisms of this campaign provide the key to understanding the actualization of potential mechanisms of control: the moments where bodies act as channel of communication and thus become the conduits of the information of this campaign.

Table 5: Stay Alert & Sign Up Today

Security Alert

Working in the library at the University, I proceed to leave the station that I am working from to retrieve copies from the printer. When I return there is a small slip of paper near my things. It is from the Office of Security & Public Safety. It is a Security Alert. It reminds me that “in the past, there have been thefts of cash and wallets taken from unattended bags left in the library. By practicing the precautions below, you can greatly reduce the odds of becoming a victim of this type of crime.”

** Do Not Leave purses, **briefcases**, **backpacks** or books unattended*

** Make a list of your major credit cards, their account numbers and the phone numbers to call if they are lost or stolen*

** Be **aware** of your surroundings and **report** any **suspicious activity***

Alert

Within 3 months, I receive 3 emails about a new emergency alert system in the University. Two emails are alerting me to this new service, the third is a reminder for me to participate:

With this set of emails, I think more specifically about the disciplining mechanisms of the advertisements in the subway system, and the ways in which they are connected to the mechanisms that are circulating throughout the University. I think about this as I am reminded of the slip of paper instructing me to watch my things.

The third email tells me that if I sign up for this alert system by a certain date I can win a prize. This is an encouragement for my participation. A similar set of advertising techniques are used to get my attention and secure my participation in this campaign.

Although I have bolded some of the words above, I find these words particularly interesting as I consider the campaign in the subway system in its attempt at rebranding notions of what bodies may potentially see as threatening. I think of the bags placed under train seats and under platforms, as I think of the reminder to watch my things. I think of the abovementioned messages and the similarities they have to the messages of the campaign as well. Beyond the more obvious similarity of being aware of “suspicious activity” and reporting this activity, I am interested in the focus on 1) library patrons watching their own things and the objects they are being called to watch and 2) the ways in which they are asked to participate in reporting suspicious behavior.

The coded notions of security(threat) found in the two advertisement campaigns discussed earlier in this chapter and in the reminders of the University are similar to the ones found in the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign. They circulate through bodies or rather bodies become the mechanism through which their circulation is possible. The circulations of the information of this campaign demonstrate the potential ability of the policing agencies that are connected to the subway system to further the space through which they can move control. The potential for these agencies to acquire more governing ‘space’ in the subway system (as a space of surveillance) is apparent if

you look at the relationship that exists between agencies such as NYPD and Homeland Security, which emerge (or re-emerge) through this campaign. Here, I am thinking of the policing agencies that are required to enforce this ‘seeing and saying’ but also the Federal, State, and City agencies that provide funding to these agencies and perhaps oversee elements of them as well.

Bodies that move into a train station, down the steps, through a turnstile and eventually onto subway platforms and into train cars allow us to imagine the subway system as an open system. This configuration of space is one that is consistently and continuously open to new waves of information (like the many different bodies that enter and leave the station throughout a given day), but often in approaches to studying various systems we assume the closed dimensions of the system itself. I think of the moment when train doors close and a train proceeds along the tracks towards its next destination. Unless there is some sort of emergency, bodies are not allowed to leave the train. In this respect, it is closed to the movement of bodies that aren’t already on the train. In this respect, it is closed to outside bodily information. But, even in this example, if I consider the digital technologies that produce audio and visual messages as an intermediary form of communication between these bodies in a closed train car and the ‘outside’ world, my perception of this configuration of space as closed is actually re-opened:

Perhaps one day after leaving the university and its messages of security(threat), or reminders of staying alert, I return to the subway system. But on the way to the subway, I come in contact with newspaper stands and the busyness of sidewalks and streets. I may run into a friend and start a conversation about weekend plans or I may stop into a convenience store and pick up some items. On the way, I glance at the headlines of the newspaper stands and hurriedly walk down into the subway system. I purchase a new metrocard and

manage not to consciously notice the blue “If You See Something, Say Something” letters on the LCD screen. I then proceed through the turnstile and work my way down to the subway platform as I commute to my next destination.

These are a few of my possible experiences but there are many more I have left out. I am framing these words and the choices of examples based my own research but also using examples that are very much in circulation. In the ongoing movements of my body as an affective register no different than other bodies, this is an experiment in the types of messages that I come in contact with. Potentially. How much these messages register is another question. But in thinking of how a code of security inherent to an advertisement campaign feeds activities in the subway system and also perhaps how activities feed it, these are all moments of possibility.

This narrative is an example of potential in movement and the ability of an advertising campaign to begin and continue its circulation throughout bodies. This is one example of the way in which the ‘subway system’ reveals its openness as events and objects that are attached to this system unfold. In this sense, its space of existence is not closed but much more open and fluid, particularly in its ability to move information in and out of this space.

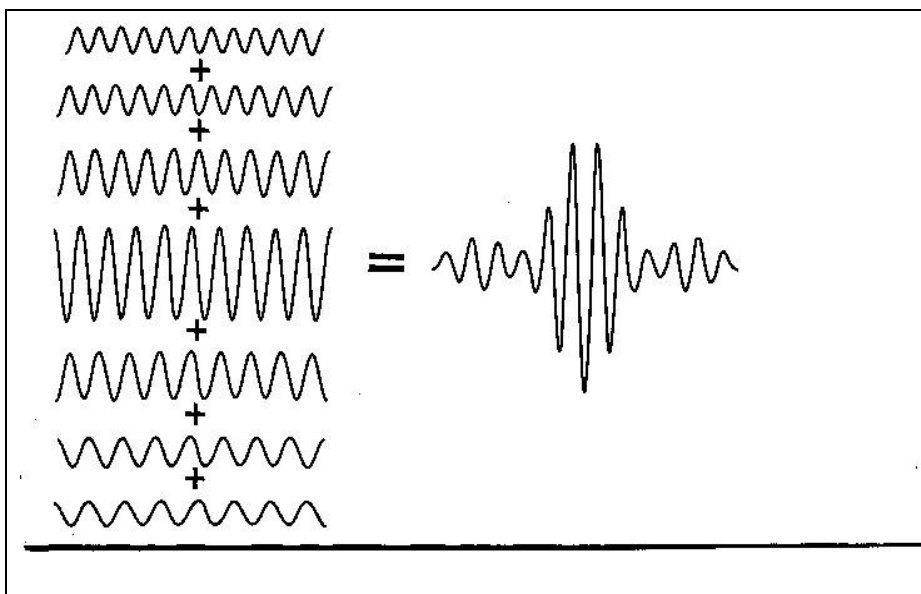


Table 6: The Superpositioning of Waves (reprinted with author's permission)

Remembering Barad's articulation of matter in its wave-like properties, she produces this illustration in attempting to demonstrate the superpositioning of waves on one another and the 'entangled state' that exists as these component waves collide. The result is another waveform: one with its own 'composite' set of amplitudes, frequencies and tempos. The circulation of a cultural politics of information also moves along to these rhythms in their own waveforms, messages that are produced through an advertising campaign come in contact with a number of other messages some exhibiting similar wave-like patterns and others being all together different. In these circulations there are a number of possibilities; however, this is the moment of potential for a code of security(threat) of one campaign to become attached or entangled with a similar code of another campaign in the subway system or perhaps with those that exist in a University as well. These are the moments that notions of locality and what is considered 'local' to

this campaign and to the subway system as a potential event-space expand and move along as well.

But the movement of bodies as they leave the subway system and effectively enter city streets is no longer under the jurisdiction of the MTA or the policing apparatuses to which it is connected, rather there is a distributed network of bodies as potential channels of affects and codes that may or may not further the circulations of this particular campaign. This is how a campaign comes to move notions of locality. Because the circulation of its messages does not lie with the centralized or decentralized mechanisms or networks that produce them; rather, its circulation rests with the techniques of population that allow them to move. So, in a sense, although centralized and decentralized networks of communication exist within the subway system as potential forms of movement, this information is already entangled with the movements of various populations in and out of the system itself.

Mediated Codes of Fear

I receive an email entitled “the magic is spreading” from someone in Portland who sends me a picture of a similar campaign running in the subway system there. Sitting on the train he looked up for whatever reason, saw the advertisement, and thought of my research. As a code of information and a potential to be transmitted, this campaign spreads to various cities (Elliot 2007). The potential in circulating information to connect and re-brand notions of security and the responsibility of transit riders expands, as it is no longer a campaign merely impacting commuters who enter or leave the New York City Subway System. It becomes linked to other campaigns like the one in Portland, Oregon.

This is one small example of potential in the entanglements of an advertisement campaign or the ability of it to spread its messages of “seeing and saying”. How notions of designated space and what is or isn’t connected to this space become pushed, expanded upon and explored through the understanding that what is ‘local’ to this campaign (even as a campaign in a particular subway system) is ever on the move.

Brian Massumi suggests that media transmission is the becoming ‘of the event’ (2002). He asks us to consider this transmission as the process through which events become named and actualized, ordered or reordered. Beyond the circulation of the advertisements and announcements of this campaign throughout bodies in the subway station, and considering the information of this campaign as it comes in contact with other advertising campaigns, lies a potential in the ways in which mass media reports events. Thinking of this potential, I would like to explore a few case vignettes related to mass media, but here I am specifically thinking about Massumi’s suggestion that “when the event-dimension migrates to a new space, its elements modulate.” In reporting events, mass media impacts the experience of these events, particularly as they are ones that people do not experience first hand. Therefore, Massumi is suggesting that once this event migrates or moves into a new format or into some form of media, the perception and experience of this event also moves as well.

How does mass media affect the circulation of norms of security that are connected to the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign? In thinking of the relationship of threat to notions of security that are designated by this campaign, I consider Massumi’s suggestion that “every time an event migrates, it is reconditioned.” Every time an experience of an event is mediated, repeated, transformed or placed in

another context, the potential for a reconditioning of this event takes place as well. The vignettes I discuss below incorporate the experimental methodology that I described in Chapter Two. They are an attempt at understanding the moments when sense perception is branded by advertising techniques. I offer up snapshots of these particular events not to understand the meaning behind them, but to understand the affective modulation that can take place as bodies come into contact with various bits of information. They are best read as snapshots, which are exploring an affective dimension of the power of mediated codes to impinge and affect bodily perception, but this is something that circulates and so must be considered a moving phenomenon.

1. Two Narratives

Getting ready to go to sleep one evening, I turn on the television to help me unwind from the day. As I proceed to flip through the channels I come across or watch three different segments on 'terror'; two were related to an event that took place in London but another one was vaguely discussing the possibility of threat in airport. It referred to an incident at JFK airport where a 'suspicious package' led to the closing of part of the facilities. This package turned out to be nothing significant, but in interviewing one woman about this incident, she responded that it is scary because you just don't know when something is going to happen.

Going home for the holidays, there is a story in the newspaper about a Christmas tree catching on fire. During this time period, my mother reminds the family to check the tree before leaving the house. Something in the coincidence in the story and the reminder made me pause.

These two examples are the types of examples that both Barry Glassner and Frank Furedi discuss in their works on the ‘culture of fear.’ These, and others like it, offer an analysis of the many ways that mass media can feed perceptions of fear or in these cases the perception of objects including Christmas trees. It is the potential of events, the ones that haven’t yet happened, which allow for an opening to an affective modulation that circulates through bodies. Like the transmission of the three segments on ‘terror’ that I experienced before going to sleep, or the perception of the sense of fear in a woman despite an incident that didn’t occur, or the impact a media report may have on one’s perception of fear in general, these possibilities circulate because of the openness in an affective potential (Massumi 2005, Nunn 2006). But all of these events are not events that I experience myself; rather, they are events that are mediated or ones that are impacted or narrated by some form of media.

2. Two Newspaper Articles

Two news articles appear in the New York Times in 2007. One concerns a steam pipe explosion and the other discusses a strong odor that permeates throughout the city:

A. Steam Pipe Explosion

A steam pipe explosion beneath a street near Grand Central Terminal yesterday propelled a giant scalding jet of brownish steam toward the sky, sending commuters who had been heading home stampeding to safety. Officials said that one person died and more than 30 were hurt, two of them critically. The city said that three firefighters and one police officer were among the injured. The blast, near 41st Street and Lexington Avenue, raised fears of terrorism, but officials were quick to dismiss that possibility. “There is no reason to believe this is anything other than a failure of our infrastructure,” Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg said. (Chan 2007)

Though I was living in New York during this time period, I wasn't near the explosion. I had no contact with the event, but at some point when I was watching the news, I heard someone being interviewed about the incident. They mentioned that they had thought of the possibility of 'terrorism.' I think about this as I notice that the second paragraph of the article also mentions 'fears of terrorism,' and I wonder why or perhaps how, of all things, a steam pipe explosion leads to thoughts of 'terrorism?'

B. Strong Odor

A strong gas-like odor permeates parts of the city. I do not come in contact with the odor. I do not even learn of the incident until someone brings it up and suggests that I should interview people. I search the New York Times for articles related to this event. I come across one article. At the end of the article it states that, "In a city scared of terrorism, pungent odors, sweet or sour, can raise vague worries about some kind of chemical attack." (Hauser and Chan 2007) And again, I wonder how an odor leads to fears of a chemical attack, and I wonder of those that came in contact with this odor (or those that heard about it later) how likely is it that they thought or worried of some sort of attack? More precisely, in terms of my own research, I wonder how these two events: one actual – a strong odor and one possible – a chemical attack, become entangled or linked with one another.

David Altheide reviews various approaches to studies on media effects (2006). He refers to the pervasiveness of a 'media logic,' which has seeped into all aspects of sociality, particularly as he designates all social institutions as media institutions. He suggests that this media logic offers or represents a way of seeing and interpreting social affairs. In this argument regarding media logic, he suggests that mass media often presents information in a 'problem frame.' (Altheide 2006, Glassner 2001) I use the examples above to explore the moments when various bits of information become linked together and thus entangled with one another. It suggests the moment when a steam pipe explosion and a gas smell can be considered a similar event or "emergency," but here I am thinking more specifically of the naming of "terrorism" as a possibility in either of

these events. Thus these examples are used to explore the implications of framing this information but I am interested in their meanings per se but in the implications of the connection that is made between them.

In considering codes or notions of security, I am particularly interested in the fact that both articles reference threats of ‘terrorism’. Neither article makes this threat a focus but in thinking of how a cultural politics of fear becomes embodied within a population, I think of the ways in which events get named and potentially linked to notions of threat and here specifically threats of ‘terrorism.’ Massumi asks us to consider that “we live in times when what has not happened qualifies as front-page news.” (2008) A strange odor and a pipe explosion are events that are linked to notions of the possibility of terrorism through the reports that mass media provides on these events. This is the entanglement through which perceptions of fear regarding suspicious packages and/or suspicious activity can emerge: perceptions of fear that Massumi would suggest aren’t connected to actual objects or even actual events but to the possibility of ones that may or may not occur. But the question remains how do the perception of suspicious packages become linked to the news articles reported in the *New York Times*? And how, as another form of mass media, is the “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign linked to them as well?

My body becomes the mechanism through which these codes move as it acts as a conduit of this information. I have thus considered the moments my body digests information and the moments it further circulates this information as well. There is more than one way a body can respond and move, I have essentially provided my own frame in exploring the various events and vignettes I mention above. However, this is frame that

is embedded within the circulation of this information as well. I am merely highlighting particular aspects of this circulation, the ones that have impacted me. The entanglements of seeing and saying that emerge through this particular advertisement campaign are consistently modulated, coded and re-coded through their entanglements with other waves of information, events, media forms and with other codes as well. The articles mentioned above reflect the movements of these forms of information.

Conclusion

There are two images, then, of discipline. At one extreme, the discipline-blockade, the enclosed institution, established on the edges of society, turned inwards toward negative functions: arresting evil, breaking communications, suspending time. At the other extreme, with panopticism, is the discipline-mechanisms: a functional mechanism that must improve the exercise of power by making it lighter, more rapid, more effective, a design of subtle coercion for a society to come.

- Foucault²²

Foucault spoke of a generalized surveillance as a mechanism of discipline, as a way of reaching into bodies and assuring their participation in their own docility, in their own compliance with a technique of power that attempted to manage and modulate the movements of a population. But in thinking of the design of a subtle coercion for a society to come, what this society comes into here, are mechanisms of control. These mechanisms are not necessarily of a disciplinary nature, but ones that seek to modulate bodies between the docility he spoke of here and an alertness through which a cultural politics of information can circulate, motivate and at times move. In needing bodies to become a part of a security assemblage and participate in ‘seeing and saying’, these are the types of modulations governance inevitably comes in contact with and the ones they circulate as well.

In the last three chapters I have considered the mass communication techniques used by a particular advertising campaign and its relationality to issues of governance. Here, I focused on an exploration of the branding techniques of this particular campaign but in analyzing the way this impacts bodily perception and experience, I considered a

²² From *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*

performative methodology that allowed my own body to be the example through which this exploration emerged. Therefore as I sought to analyze the potential power this campaign (as a technique of security connected to governance) has in executing mechanisms of control over populations, I needed to consider the rhythms of these populations and the ways in which they perceive and sense this information. Even though I focused on one campaign and its advertisements, I could begin to see how this campaign is never a mutually exclusive event but a number of many on-going events that are experienced by bodies and consumed by bodies as bits of information that circulate among a much bigger networked open system of circulating information, particularly if I focus my analysis on the subway system.

The potential to seize bodies and snap them to attention through the circulation of fear is only actualized through a form of governance that is not confined to a closed space. Here, potential exists because this space of governance (and here I am thinking specifically of the subway system) remains open. Bodies move in and out of train stations and they, themselves, become the potential through which this ‘politics’ of fear can circulate. They become the link between techniques which seek to impinge and affectively brand sense perception and the mechanisms that ensure a cultural politics of security as named and designated by governance in the “war on terrorism” will continue to move. But this is not a totalizing moment; rather, I am freezing circulations of certain moments to explore the potential affect these mechanisms can have. The point here is to explore these moments of potential in circulating codes of security defined by and through notions of threat that are very much connected and produced through

mechanisms of governance, and the forms of social control that emerge through the actualization of this potential.

What is interesting about the modulation between docility and alertness is that these mechanisms of control used by institutions and apparatuses of governance are themselves entangled with circulations of uncertainty and insecurity. In studying this campaign and teasing out some of the implications of its movements, what seems most apparent is the way in which the codes of security(threat) and circulations of fear that I have explored through the analysis of these advertisements, and through various narratives, seem to derive from governance itself or at least through the movements of its own security techniques.

In the circulation of informational codes (the moments when bags=suspicious) it is the ‘war on terrorism’ as a political project, and this campaign as a particular security technique through which these informational codes have been named and actualized. An advertisement campaign is born during this cultural political ‘moment’: it emerges through the circulations of this political project as an object (and a subject), but also as it moves through its own circulations, it perpetuates the codes of security(threat) and perceptions of fear that we see embedded in this project as well. It is the moment when local issues of governance entangle with national concerns for governance. It is the correlation of a population that is subjected to these mechanisms of control and the ones that this population circulates as well. Thus, it is the correlation between techniques of security and population, as both subjects and objects of these mechanisms of security that Foucault spoke of. This campaign would not exist if it wasn’t for a so-called “war on terrorism” but in many ways the “war on terrorism” would not exist without these

campaigns. This is the cultural politics of information that moves at a time when as Samuel Nunn suggests, “terrorism is (perhaps) the boogeyman of the 21st century.” But here my research has sought to understand the way discursive and non-discursive movements of a “war on terrorism” circulate mechanisms of control, and I have focused on the discursive articulations of a local campaign, which comes to define and move these notions of “terrorism.”

The American Century

It was Henry Luce of *Time, Life & Fortune* Magazine who, in 1941, christened “The American Century²³” as one which would construct the world based on American values and a Manifest Destiny duty to become the most powerful nation in spreading democracy and freedom (Fousek 2000). Although this “American Century” can be seen as a response to the spread of authoritarian regimes throughout the early 20th century, Fousek argues that the continuation of this 19th Century ideological justification is more prominently tied to landed (and capitalist) imperialist expansion.

As a general phenomenon, nationalism can be considered a way of thinking or “style of thought” through which individuals identify themselves as members of a nation. Fousek argues that the reason why a cold war ideology became so successful was because it tapped into this idea of national identity. In considering the relationship of nationalism to questions of imperialism, Fousek suggests that over the years various administrations have approached questions of imperialism differently. He argues that up until the attack on Pearl Harbor, the general consensus was one of American isolationism, but with this

²³ This is the predecessor to the newly christened ‘New American Century’ we see designated by the *Project for the New American Century*.

event various administrations could no longer assume an isolationist perspective. Particularly as a Cold War ideology developed, this Isolationist approach was no longer tolerable or culturally debatable among power elites.

Michael Webber suggests that if we go back even further, to the time period before the Civil War that as a whole “Americans had lacked a unitary sense of patriotism, since local and regional affiliations generally predominated” (2003). He suggests that for many historians it was the Civil War itself that brought about a distinctly “American” national identity, where the building of a national consciousness was forged. In this sense, he argues that notions of patriotism are linked directly to notions of state led nationalism and that this consensus building was directly tied to the state’s increasing role in debates over national security, morality and social justice and their control over these areas of social life as well.

Sociologists such as John Foran suggest that in thinking of US foreign policy, the roots of the “war on terrorism” as a political project (or in particular the roots of the war on Iraq) began in the early 1990s. “The Bush administration early on determined the militaristic New American Century model was the best way to assert hegemony over the world. The ‘terrorist’ attacks of September 11th – like Saddam’s invasion of Kuwait a decade earlier – provided the administration with an opportunity to implement its new but unstated foreign policy agenda onto the crises” (2003). Foran goes on to suggest that September 11th conveniently dealt with the end of the Cold War, by providing new enemies to drive US political and economic interests. More specifically, he goes on to suggest that this project seeks to perpetuate “imperial hegemony through unilateral

preemptive war abroad and manipulation of public opinion coupled with a climate to demonize dissent at home.”

In its National Security statements the Bush administration declared that “our strategy recognizes that the war on terror is a different kind of war, involving both a battle of arms and a battle of ideas” and that “during the Cold War we created an array of domestic and international institutions as well as enduring partnerships to defeat the threat of communism – today we require similar structures to win the long war on terror”. In an article from CNN, Condoleezza Rice declared that “the values of freedom and democracy - as much if not more than economic power and military might – won the Cold War, and those same values will lead us to victory in the war on terror.” She went on to articulate that this should incorporate a long-range strategy to engage in a struggle of ideas with what the administration designates as radical Islam.

This reflects a discursive trend in the statements of the Bush administration, which is an attempt to compare the ‘fight against communism’ with the ‘fight against terrorism’, not necessarily in content but at least in its form. “McCarthyism was not a new phenomenon in America, but a recurrent manifestation of a basic element of the American condition and character that keeps reappearing during times of national stress and crises.” (Johnson 2005) I do not know if I want to go so far as to say that September 11th caused this definitive moment of stress and crises, but it did signal the recognition of an on-going crisis regarding the United States’ role as a global hegemon. Thus the ideologies, declarations of war and the discursive practices connected to the war on terrorism represent this sense of stress and crisis.

Building a “National” Consensus

In thinking of the goals of imperialist expansion, one of the consequences of these ideological and discursive practices is of the stifling of public dissent, but this is often seen in terms of building consensus for an American Century or a New American Century. There is countless literature on the behavior of various administrations during the McCarthy Era in terms of the political tactics used to stifle dissent. These tactics have a much longer history but as this was the last major political project the United States entered into and/or produced, and is the one the administration names as a reference in its own ‘war on terrorism’, it offers crucial insights to current discursive practices (Cole 2003). What is interesting about more recent discussions of cultural resistance and political repression within the “war on terrorism,” is not only the comparisons to periods like the McCarthy era, but that this literature links the legalistic and patriotic political techniques of censorship within both periods to the politics of fear (Schrecker 2006). In considering these techniques used to censor dissent, fear is also used as a technique in building consensus as well. It is through the politics of what “we” fear that an understanding of a political grouping unfolds or is designated.

Thinking of comparisons of this particular project to the cultural politics of the Cold War, there is a growing literature that chronicles the ways in which various administrations affected cultural production in the United States. In his study of popular perceptions of US foreign policy during the Cold War, Fousek argues that by 1950 the ideology of the Cold War and its ties to imperialism (or what he would term American National Globalism) came to dominate public life. In this discursive analysis he reflected

upon the policies and doctrines of the Truman administration to understand the ways in which the government and mass media perpetuated a cultural ‘cold war consensus.’

Fousek thus concludes that the variations of this traditional idea as an American Dream destiny and mission within various administrations pervade US public culture, as it comes to shape cultural perceptions as well. For example, in a set of advertisements he analyzes the depiction of “American Greatness” during this time period: for example, an advertisement for TWA airline states that for Americans the “world is at your feet.” Fousek uses these examples to demonstrate how notions of an American exceptionalism become embedded within cultural ideas. His argument does not focus on the role of advertising in politics but he is suggesting that advertising campaigns like these influence cultural perceptions, and also influence identity formation as well.

But this notion of identity formation and the building of consensus also circulated around perceptions of fear. During the Cold War, government produced films offered a “crucial way in which the government communicated weapon’s power to soldiers, civilians, and policy makers alike.” “First, it documented the effects of the exploding bomb. Second, it shaped and controlled the meaning of the technology for each of these domestic audiences.” (Masco 2008) This article suggests that these films were able to shape public discourse concerning nuclear weapons. Because we now have public access to these films, we can actually see the ways in which an attempt to craft the country’s first nuclear narratives unfold. This article goes on to suggest that these narratives are still shaping the way a public perceives this era, war and nuclear weapons in general and that this discourse is directly connected to a politics of fear.

In a Master's Thesis at Virginia Tech, Evan Noble analyzes the Marshall Plan's European Recovery Plan (ERP) which included a propaganda campaign that produced "pamphlets, posters, radio broadcasts, traveling puppet shows, and finally 250 films between 1940-1953" that focused on notions of disseminating American ideals overseas (Evans 2006). These examples of nationalist notions of the US as the leader in the "free world" offer a discursive legitimacy for what Fousek calls the linking of freedom to capitalism and capitalist ideals more generally, but here his argument is focusing on the United States' Cold War response to Communism. He is suggesting that these advertisements are a technique used during the Cold War to gain the support of public opinion but here it is dependent on notions of national identity and designating the "free world" from the one that is "unfree;" it thus rests on this caricature of "us" and "them." But the fear of nuclear threat also provided a catalyst for these designations.

At the heart of interdisciplinary discussions and debates regarding the notion of crises and what thus comes to be defined as a state of emergency and/or state of exception, is the role that a declaration of enemies has within these conceptualizations. Here, enemies are declared as that which threatens the concept and actualization of the State, as seen or perceived through its own eyes²⁴ (Armitage 2002). Therefore, the strategies and tactics of states of emergencies are often seen in response to these threats. Whether it is an "anti-terrorist" security campaign in the subway system or a greater "war

²⁴ In *Theory, Culture and Society*, Volume 19 Issue 4 explores what John Armitage refers to as the notion of a "State of Emergency" as it relates to the declaration of a "war on terrorism." Here, in considering this war as a political project and the consequences of its strategies, tactics and policies, I am particularly interested in these articles as they analyze the notion of modern States of Emergencies. This volume of articles provides an in depth review of the vast consequences for the emergence of this state 'of emergency' for conceptions of space and sovereignty, understandings of globalization and economies of risk and the implications for manufacturing emergencies politically and culturally. Yet, as a whole they present this as a clear political project that is disseminated by a particular state and therefore implicated by it a well.

on terrorism” (or arguably the Cold War as well), these campaigns are expressions of domestic governance that circulate around what Mahmood Mamdani refers to as a ‘politics of naming.’ Where naming “terrorists” and designating “us” from “them” become a crucial aspect to the logic or sense of rationality bound to these political projects.

Therefore discursive and non-discursive practices of identity formation, particularly in terms of national identity, also emerge and re-emerge through events named and actualized through these global wars²⁵.” Comparisons to the Cold War thus help us to understand a number of relationships or tactics used by the United States to rally consensus amongst a population. Mario del Pero suggests that the longing expressed by neoconservatives in the ‘war on terrorism’ to re-launch the strategies of the Cold War discourse existed precisely for the clarity that cold war dichotomies provided various administrations, particularly in declaring enemies abroad and thus attempting to reshape a ‘national’ consensus among their own population as well.

In *Branding New York*, Miriam Greenberg suggests that the “I Love NY” campaign was one way a number of elites came together to brand or rebrand the image of their city. This idea of urban branding is not necessarily new, but here Greenberg focused on the implications of the 1970s financial crises on New York City by focusing on the response of this particular campaign. She suggests that branding New York became a social product that was a direct response to this crisis, not only in terms of combating the negative image associated with New York City, but also as it provided an economic stimulus for the financial crisis as well. The “I Love NY” campaign thus

²⁵ For a discussion of the potential consequences of this process, or aspect of identity formation see Mamdani’s *Good Muslim/Bad Muslim*.

reflects the techniques that advertising and marketing use to sell products and to sell images. In this sense, it offered a great response to a fiscal crisis that had been inadvertently tied to the image of a city. Or perhaps it reminded people that, in fact, image is everything.

The techniques used in political campaigns also incorporate branding techniques to impact various populations with a particular message or set of ideas. In this sense, although public diplomacy and propaganda may be differentiated based on the goal of mass communication and/or its effects on public opinion, the techniques used to reach populations are, in fact, the same (Neuman et al. 2007; Westen 2007; Brader 2006). Even though political projects like the “war on terrorism” are grounded in physical wars, in foreign and domestic policies, and in concerns over national security, they are also a way in which an image is sold or communicated to various populations. Therefore, these definitions or discourses surrounding notions of the “nation” and its “security” are tied to these images as well. The “If You See Something, Say Something” campaign reflects the moments when bags and other images are affectively and effectively rebranded and thus it reflects the discursive moment when notions of security and perhaps national identity is rebranded as well.

Implications for Studies on the “War on Terrorism”

Sociologists often focus on terrorism as a form of deviance (See Deflem 2004). However, this study adds to a growing literature that suggests to understand current forms of political violence and the “war on terrorism” more generally, we must look at the actualizations of this political project, and the ways in which a cultural politics of mass communication and information move throughout populations. In focusing on the subway system as a case study and through an affective approach to an understanding of the politics of fear, control, and security, this dissertation sought to broaden an understanding of this political project through the exploration of a local advertising campaign. Considering its goals of maintaining the security of the subway system through incorporating bodies into a technical assemblage of ‘seeing and saying’, I sought to explore the sociological and cultural implications of a ‘culture of terrorism,’ that has been named and designated through an ‘art’ of governmentality that perceives itself through articulations of threat.

These articulations (or actualizations) that define and redefine norms of security and modulate the potential perceptions of security and fear are the articulations that are used to control populations. Therefore, we must consider the ways in which mass communication techniques in a “war on terrorism” are attempting to brand what a population views as “terror,” as with all discursive (and nondiscursive) practices, these cannot be separated from an “art” of governmentality that inevitable is concerned with issues of social control.

In *Society Must Be Defended*, Foucault offered up not a method *per se*, but methodological precautions for us to consider as we approach our objects and subjects of research. He suggests that our object is not to analyze legitimate forms of power, which have a single center but that we should look at power (for instance the “war on terrorism” as a political project) at its extremities (like a campaign in the subway system.) He goes on to suggest that the goal is not to analyze power at the level of intention but rather at the level of its practice; that power is not something that circulates over others but always only through bodies and therefore; finally, he wished to understand how power ascends through these bodies rather than how it descends upon them (2003).

In terms of his own methodology, Foucault worked through theoretical points and questions through examples. In his lectures, he was trying to conceptualize and frame his theoretical perspective, which he noted was an exercise of teaching but that it was also one of learning for himself as well. This is what my research on this campaign has been, an exercise to understand how the “war on terrorism” as a political project is something that can be communicated through bodies, situate itself in these bodies and thus act as a mechanism of control. This particular security campaign in the subway system is a technique of security used by governance to maintain social control. This campaign thus offered up an opportunity for me to theoretically ask the questions Foucault sought to ask, but it gave me an object for me to understand how power mechanisms of the “war on terrorism” move.

Research Limitations

The limitations of this research are too numerous to mention. There are a number of ways to quantitatively and qualitatively study this particular campaign in the subway system. I do not offer a comprehensive, historical or comparative analysis of this campaign, which means that there are limits to what my conclusions of this research can provide. I think of my research as posing some very important questions that need to be considered when analyzing political projects like the “war on terrorism.”

In thinking about the power of contact in the communication process, Tiziana Terranova addresses two common prejudices regarding the content of information (2004). One is that information is the mere content of communication and the other is that information is nothing “other than a mode of representation that has lost all reference to materiality.” Thinking of the power of the advertisements of this campaign to impinge and affect bodily sense perception adds another dimension to this understanding that information is more than a representational mode of communication. It demonstrates information itself as a dynamic process that unfolds, which is at times representational and at other times, well, a number of other things. Focusing on the “If You See Something, Say Something” statement allows us to see the complexity “beyond meaning” and an aspect of control mechanisms, which seek to repeat a statement repetitiously merely to establish contact with a population. It is, after all, contact that is ‘most’ important in the communication process and it is indeed quite material. The question then becomes, why has establishing contact become an issue of concern?

My research has attempted to understand how the branding techniques of this particular campaign establish contact with a population. I have argued that this contact

has directly and indirectly impacted notions of security and more specifically it has impacted the way people approach bags in the subway system. The analysis of this campaign brought an understanding to the sense of insecurity circulating throughout governance but here, adding to Foucault's notions of disciplining "docile patriots," (Puar and Rai 2002) it demonstrated an alternate moment as well. It is a moment when governance is asking bodies to join policing apparatuses in "seeing and saying" and thus asking these bodies to remain alert and to be responsible in this "seeing and saying". It is, in fact, possible that docile patriots can become too docile. Thus, what I came to understand more clearly was how much the mechanisms of control in the subway system (and here I am thinking of this campaign and other surveillance mechanisms as well) were focusing on a populations' bodily sense of awareness or alertness because the assumption was that these bodies were too docile and therefore they needed to be brought back into a policing apparatus or at least brought back to attention.

This research thus suggests that although this campaign is tied to the discursive practices of security that are inherently tied to the "war on terrorism," these practices and notions of security are also connected to questions of national identity. It remains to be seen what the current "American Century" is based on or what goals it has but what seems clear is that it is tied to a notion of national identity that is in the process of changing, where ideas concerning "us" and "them" and notions of consensus building are being re-articulated, redefined and perhaps re-assessed as well.

Appendix

Suspicious Packages



B. The Eyes of New York



YOU USE YOUR EYES. SHE'LL USE HER NOSE.

We're counting on everyone.
Tell a cop, an MTA employee, or call 1-888-NYC-SAFE.
IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, SAY SOMETHING.



YOU USE YOUR EYES. HE'LL USE HIS NOSE.

We're counting on everyone.
Tell a cop, an MTA employee, or call 1-888-NYC-SAFE.
IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, SAY SOMETHING.



**THERE ARE 16 MILLION EYES IN THE CITY.
WE'RE COUNTING ON ALL OF THEM.**

IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, SAY SOMETHING.
Tell a cop, an MTA employee or call 1-888-NYC-SAFE.



C. What Was Seen and Said

**LAST YEAR
1,944
NEW YORKERS
SAW
SOMETHING
AND SAID
SOMETHING.**

Thank you for keeping your eyes and ears open.
And not keeping your suspicions to yourself.

IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, SAY SOMETHING.
Tell a cop or an MTA employee. Or call 1-888-NYC-SAFE.



SubTalk

www.mta.info

New York City Transit Group nyct.com

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