

Law's Resonance and Undercover Performances in Gangster Films

Anita Lam*

1. Introduction

For law to be effective, it is often assumed that law must be visually asserted in the world. Law must be visually seen because its force 'depends partly on the inscription on the soul of a regime of images' (Douzinas & Nead 1999, 9). Its stunning visual display is in turn tied to majestic spectacles that coincide with what Patricia Ewick and Susan Silbey (1998) call 'before the law'. When we are placed 'before the law', law appears with awesome grandeur, transcending history through its abstract reasoning and timeless objectivity. Envisioned and enacted as if it were a separate sphere from the realm of ordinary life, this form of law, or legality, is described as a formally ordered, rational and hierarchical system of known procedures and inert rules. Defining itself as impartial through the image of blindfolded Justice (Ewick & Silbey 1998, 228), law—perhaps, more precisely described as law with a capital 'L'—privileges ocularcentric ways of engaging and making contact with all those who come before it. In the formal setting of the courtroom, not only is visualization central for establishing facts (see Braverman 2010; Jasonoff 1998; Sherwin 2000), but visual metaphors also come to inform the ways in which judges ought to reason. Implicitly operating through the visual metaphor of reflection (for more on the mirror metaphor, see Rorty 1979), judges reason, deliberate and ponder points of law with cool detachment and at a distance. In the hallowed halls of justice, impartial judges reflect upon the world 'just as a mirror reflects light waves without its own substance being affected' (Erlmann 2010, 9).

However, when we return law to the mean streets, it becomes enmeshed within the sensory experiences and technologies that make up the everyday social world. Here, law cannot be characterized as an independent, external force bearing down upon the social realm from without; rather, law is already embedded in society as a constitutive force, one that is routinely performed as a game. Described as 'with

* Associate Professor (Criminology), Department of Social Science, York University, Toronto, Canada.

the law' by Ewick and Silbey (1998), the game of law consists of competitive tactical maneuvering between players with different resources, statuses and strategies. When law is played as a game, players pursue specific courses of action on the basis of their own self-interest. Under this form of law, the power of particular players becomes crucial for understanding how they might successfully deploy and engage with law. They may not always play by the rules set down by law; instead, they may play with the rules themselves, breaking existing rules and creating new ones. In the game of law, the tension between rule-making and rule-breaking is highlighted by the work of undercover enforcement agents who are often hidden in plain sight. Although the everyday life of undercover law enforcement is a far less bombastic affair, it is no less powerful because of its general invisibility and hushed operation. Indeed, undercover law enforcement, I argue, can be well conceived through the aural metaphor of resonance. Because this sonic metaphor can be tied to the possibility of hearing otherwise, I use a multivalent conception of resonance to open up new ways of thinking about law and its representations.

While resonance has been used as a central concept in sociological theories about how culture shapes action through the framing processes of social movements (e.g., Snow et al. 1986; Gamson 1992; Binder 1993; Berbrier 1998; Kubal 1998; Benford & Snow 2000; Bail 2012), news stories (e.g., Gamson & Modigliani 1989; Schudson 1989; Ettema 2005), and judicial rhetoric (e.g., Cole 1992-1993), it often appears as an intuitive concept without an explicit or operational definition (Ferree 2003; McDonnell 2014). In general, these theories use resonance to describe the relationship between a cultural object and its context or audience. Conditions for resonance, such as alignment, salience, or relevance, appear to define resonance itself. Unlike these theories, I use the concept of resonance, not to discuss the success of a cultural text or its alignment to a social context, but as a metaphor for thinking about undercover enforcement, including its performance and representation. To think through the metaphoric implications of the term, this paper deploys multiple and overlapping definitions of resonance—that is, resonance as synchronicity, oscillation, vibration, and as an effect of making contact. Further, the concept of resonance also informs the ensuing method of film analysis, where the films' meanings, like resonance itself, are generated in oscillation.¹ Because oscillation entails movement to and fro between two points without ever being statically grounded by a single, fixed position of equilibrium, the focus of the subsequent film analysis alternates between two selected films. This is in contrast to comparative film analyses that place together certain films as stable points of reference for the purpose of pointing out their similarities and differences. By contrast, the subsequent film analysis, like the pendulum swing that constitutes mechanical resonance, moves back and forth between multiple representations of resonance as well as between two films that

¹ This is a different approach to David Black's consideration of law and film. In *Law in Film: Resonance and Representation* (1999), Black analyzes the ways in which film indefatigably represents law through its narrative regime without ever explaining in explicit terms—despite the book's title—how resonance relates to filmic narratives and representations of law.

share the same overall plot and themes. Here, meaning is not found in the differences or intertextual associations between these two films, but rather through an analysis that shifts and sways between the films to bring forth their sonic and sensuous representations of undercover law.

Specifically, I examine two of the most culturally resonant gangster films produced and released in the twenty-first century: the Academy Award-winning Hollywood film *The Departed* (2006) and its Hong Kong predecessor *Infernal Affairs* (2001).² The critical and commercial success of both of these contemporary gangster films can arguably be attributed to their complex representations of undercover work. Indeed, *Infernal Affairs*, as a film, has gone undercover according to Karen Fang (2017): in spite of its local plot of covert operations, the film covertly masks its Hong Kong film style with a Hollywood gloss, allowing it to become ‘a Hollywood-ready version of exportable surveillance fare’ (Fang 2017, 135). By cinematically going undercover, *Infernal Affairs* has been able to reach a global audience, which has subsequently grown in size because of the Hollywood adaptation (*The Departed*) directed by Martin Scorsese. By cinematically representing undercover motifs, both films are intricately plotted stories about the porous boundaries between performances of law and those of organized crime. In these movies, an undercover cop (Billy Costigan/Chen Wing Yan) is sent to infiltrate a criminal gang led by a notorious gangster (Frank Costello/Hon Sam), while the gang sends its own mole (Colin Sullivan/Lau Kin Ming) to spy on the police department.

Further, *Infernal Affairs* and *The Departed* stress the theme of resonance in two ways. One, both are contemporary extensions and adaptations of the gangster genre. As a genre, gangster films have long explored the game of law, in which different players, including both criminals and legal agents, jockey for a better position on the field of power. As such, this is a specific film genre that has a rich history and tradition of representing a particular form of legality, which Ewick and Silbey (1998) have called ‘with the law’. Not only are screen gangsters obsessed with rules, despite being organized around the breaking of rules (Leitch 2002, 103-105), they are made to consider the question of which rules to follow because of their relentless juxtaposition with lawful counterparts. When imagining law as a game contingent upon changing rules, both Hollywood and Hong Kong gangster films have done so by following the intertwined trajectories and experiences of ‘cops and robbers’, emphasizing properties that have been associated with resonance—specifically, adjacency, sympathy, and a collapse of the boundaries between perceiver and perceived (Erlmann 2010, 10). For example, *The Public Enemy* (1931) traces the rise and fall of gangster Tom Powers against the life of his law-abiding brother; and John Woo’s *A Better Tomorrow* (1986), a film often credited with establishing, revitalizing and popularizing the gangster genre in Hong Kong cinema, follows the attempt of an aging triad member to reconcile with his brother who happens to be a police detective. Thus, gangster films acknowledge the idea that law and crime are mutually

² For a comparative analysis of *Infernal Affairs* and *The Departed*, see Choy (2007), Fang (2017), and Marchetti (2010) among others.

constitutive performances that can easily become muddled; and in this specific case study, the line between law enforcement and criminal activity becomes especially blurred as characters lead double lives as both criminals and law enforcers. As a result, their lawful and criminal identities are constantly in vacillation, and can be expressed in terms of mechanical resonance as swings in identity and allegiance.

Secondly, both *The Departed* and *Infernal Affairs* innovatively present the cellular phone³ as an important addition to the arsenal of technologies used by gangsters and law enforcers alike for covert surveillance and the aural revelation of undercover identities. The cell phone in both films becomes a source of resonance: whether ringing or vibrating, it becomes a weapon for 'blowing covers' and 'making' moles. When represented on film, the cell phone is a sonic technology that allows for the synesthetic joining of image to sound, and sound to touch. Consequently, this synesthetic representation suggests that law is experienced as a string of sensations by the whole body, and not by the eyes alone. To analyze such synesthetic representations, law-and-film scholarship will need to move beyond its predominantly visual-centric, image-bound analyses in order to fully consider how representations of law are produced through the mingling of senses.

2. Synchronizing the sounds and images of law

Before turning to an analysis of these two films, it is useful to briefly trace the role resonance has played in the historical establishment of American gangster films as a distinctive genre. Here, resonance refers to a 'corresponding or sympathetic response' (*OED*) that stems from the pairing of image and sound. Because this definition emphasizes a synesthetic experience—one that joins together multiple sensual perceptions (Cytowic 1989)—it does not reproduce what Jonathan Sterne (2003, 14-15) has termed an 'audiovisual litany' of the differences between hearing and seeing. As the litany often goes, vision offers directional perspective from a distance while hearing immerses its subject in sound; hearing is about affect whereas vision is about intellect; vision is a primarily spatial sense in contrast to hearing, which is a primarily temporal sense. Yoked to 'great divide' theories that posit vision and aurality as polar opposites (see McLuhan 1962; Ong 1967), the audiovisual litany renders 'the history of the senses as a zero-sum game, where the dominance of one sense by necessity [and in the absence of scientific or empirical basis] leads to the decline of another sense' (Sterne 2003, 16). In contrast to approaches that presume

³ The use of the term 'cellular phone', and not 'mobile phone', is important for two reasons. First, the term 'cellular' refers to a 'mobile radio-telephone system in which the area served is subdivided into "cells"' (*Oxford English Dictionary*), and as such, connects cell phones to the coming of sound in the American film industry. As Douglas Gomery (1985) has argued, sound in film owes a debt to the sound recording and sound reproduction technologies produced by the American Telephone & Telegraph Corporation (AT&T) and the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). By economically merging and colluding with these sound engineering companies, Warner Bros. and Fox adapted radio and telephone research as well as equipment for practical use in the film industry. Secondly, the idea of 'cellular' also highlights the individualism that characterizes gangsters within the gangster film genre.

that cultural history and representation happen *between* the senses, an emphasis on resonance-as-synesthetic-experience aims to disrupt and trouble the conventional division of sight and sound. Moreover, a sustained analytic focus on synesthetic pairings of image and sound offers an important counter-point to the dominance of visual-centric, image-bound analyses that have grounded the study of law and film. Primarily conceiving of cinema as a visual medium, law-and-film scholars have focused on the visual dimensions and limits of moving images (e.g., Moran et al. 2004; Sarat et al. 2011). They have sought to examine the ways in which ‘law lives in [mass-mediated] images’ by charting ‘the movement from law on the books to law in action to law in the image’ (Sarat, Douglas & Umphrey 2005, 1, 2). By emphasizing the movie camera as the film apparatus of note, they seek to reveal how film’s visual logic (Sherwin 2000) and its modes of visualization, including the process of image-assemblage (Mussawir 2005, 132), are ‘constantly transforming the way we see the law’ (Chase 2002, 31).

In doing so, law-and-film scholars have mirrored the analytical moves made by early critics of sound film, by implicitly endorsing two fallacies that have worked to marginalize the study of sound in film theory (Altman 1985, 51). First, an ontological fallacy privileges film as a predominantly visual medium, presuming that a film’s images must be the primary carriers of its meaning and structure. Moreover, this ontological fallacy is tied to a historical fallacy, one that assumes that sound can be an analytical afterthought because it historically and chronologically followed the formation of the moving image. Since sound was added to the image, it was considered a supplement or superfluous accompaniment to filmic imagery. As Rick Altman (1985) has argued, the power and durability of these fallacies ought to be problematized, precisely because these misleading presumptions have served to repress and foil attempts to properly develop a theory of sound cinema. A theory of sound cinema, he argues, would begin with the observation that sound films are composed of two parallel and simultaneous phenomena—image and sound—that co-exist. Such a premise would not hierarchize and isolate one of these phenomena for sustained study while ignoring the other.

Remarkably, the audio-visual relationship, or what Michel Chion (1994) calls ‘audio-vision’, has been crucial for the establishment and flourishing of classic Hollywood gangster films in the 1930s. Thus, gangster films are an excellent case study for examining how synchronized sound came to sonically reinforce the genre’s iconography. Indeed, film theorists, such as Thomas Leitch (2002, 110) and Jonathan Munby (1999, 34), have pointed to synchronized sound as a major factor in the success of these early gangster films as well as a key characteristic that distinguished these films from their earlier prototypes. Synchronized sound has been a significant film technology for deepening the cultural resonance of gangster films in the following two ways. First, it offered early gangster heroes the opportunity to speak, allowing them to define themselves by their ruthless mottos—from Tom Powers’ declaration that he ‘ain’t so tough’ after all (*The Public Enemy*) to Tony Camonte’s insistence that you ‘[d]o it first, do it yourself, and keep on doing it’ (*Scarface* 1932)—and by their

'ethnic' speech inflections. Featured in some of the first 'talking pictures,' gangster heroes spoke in accented, vernacular voices that framed their desire for success within a larger history of struggle over national identity in the United States. As Munby (1999, 64-65) elaborates, the introduction of sound to the gangster film was an important element for 'lending sanction to the perspective of the ethnic cultural "other" on the American screen,' a perspective that aligned with the fantasies and ordinary lives of the urban lower classes. By facilitating audiences' identification with ethnic, criminal heroes, gangster films popularized a critical disposition towards the law, and have since been categorized by some scholars, such as Nicole Rafter (2000), as examples of critical crime films. Part of an alternative tradition of telling crime stories, gangster films subverted the false optimism and social happiness offered by other Hollywood film genres (Warshow 1964), by presenting audiences with tragic gangster heroes who made too much noise.

As Michel Serres (1995, 13) reminds us, *noise* originates from and shares etymological roots with the Latin word for *nausea*, and as such, is associated with disorientation and energetic motion. Connecting sea to sound through the motion of disruptive waves, some of that motion can also be associated with crowds, 'the multitude [that] rushes around [covering] space like a flood' (Serres 1995, 54). In the US, the 'disorderly or riotous' crowds (*OED*) themselves became synonymous with the mob, and the mob in turn came to represent both the moving masses of common people (in this sense, as a shortened form of the word *mobile*), and organized criminal associations (i.e., the Mob was used to describe the Mafia in the US). All of these themes—motion, mobility, and mob—reverberated on screen in gangster films through sound. Screen mobsters, fuelled by a furious desire for success, did not speak the 'prim and proper language of precise communication, a fair and measured pair of scales for jurists and diplomats, exact, draftsmanlike, unshaky, slightly frozen' (Serres 1995, 12); rather, they burst on screen with their brash inarticulateness and immigrant inflections amidst the cacophony of big-city streets. As a result, part of the nauseous disorientation evoked by gangster films (see Nochimson 2007) can also be connected to the destabilizing and boisterous force of urban living. From the first American gangster feature film *The Musketeers of Pig Alley* (1912) to *The Lights of New York* (1928)—notably, the first talking gangster film as well as the first all-talking feature film ever made—gangster films mediated fears about a nation's modernization and urbanization by juxtaposing the sounds of the city with the peaceful quiet of small-town rural America (Munby 1999, 21). Thus, synchronized sound helped to dramatize urban stories in a new way, by injecting the background noises of the city—the sounds of trams, buses, cars, sirens, factory machines, and the crowds themselves—into the gangster melodrama.

Allowing film viewers to be surrounded by the sounds of urban living, synchronized sound placed a premium on the gangster genre's expressive sound effects, many of which provided both auditory continuity and served as substitutes for music (Leitch 2002). Thus, synchronized sound was crucial for reinforcing the importance of the gangster's noisy technological toolbox. Sounds of revving

automobile engines and the clattering bang of gunshots became typical of the gangster film's acoustic world, as these sounds also became woven into the background of the modern world. As a genre devoted to providing stories about modernity (Ruth 1996; Mason 2002; Nochimson 2007) and the urban technological present (McArthur 1972, 18), gangster films use synchronized sound to emphasize the deployment of contemporary technologies that make mobility possible. For example, during Prohibition and Depression-era America, automobiles were used by filmic gangsters as a technology that allowed them the freedom of physical mobility. The gun offered these 'urban gunslingers' (McCarty 2004) the possibility of socioeconomic mobility even if it meant taking and remaking the city by violent force. Within the gangster genre, mobile technologies have not only been tied to the performance of gangster identities, but also to the coercive force underlying their claims to power.

3. Tuning in: the ear as an organ for doubling and listening

By discussing how synchronized sound is crucial for deepening the resonance of filmic images of law in gangster films, we can attune ourselves to the sensory life of law on film. This in turn allows us to properly acknowledge the importance of aurality in performing and representing undercover work in films like *The Departed* and *Infernal Affairs*. Like spies, undercover agents are metonymically described as 'the eyes and ears' of an organization. While such a description focuses on the agents' sensory organs of detection, effective undercover work seems to rely less on visual forms of overt surveillance, and more on covert forms of surveillance work that are increasingly mediated by sonic technologies.⁴ Not only does this redirect our attention to the sense of hearing, it emphasizes the ear as an organ for the process of doubling. As a crucial theme in both *The Departed* and *Infernal Affairs*, the process of doubling is explored through the different yet ironically similar lives of two Doppelgängers, one who works as a police officer doubling as an undercover gangster while the other works as an undercover cop doubling as a gangster. Because doubling entails pairing a subject with the Other (Warner 2002), these gangster films suggest that the gangster is the law enforcer's double, the shadow of violence that trails after and appears in the face of law. As importantly, this form of shadowing is enacted through acoustic representation. After all, it is the ear of the Other, according to Jacques Derrida (1985, 81), that 'constitutes the autos of my autobiography'. The Self—the

4 With the use of sonic technologies, law enforcers rely on the ear, 'lending an ear' through secret wiretapping programs. At the municipal level, North American police forces are currently using StingRay devices, or International Mobile Subscriber Identity (IMSI) catchers, to mimic cell phone towers in order to trick cell phones into connecting with them. Deployed to intercept communications data and provide detailed location information about cell phone users, IMSI catchers are used for the purpose of covert surveillance by law enforcement and intelligence agencies. At the federal level, the US National Security Agency, according to Edward Snowden's revelations, had been engaging in massive cell-phone surveillance and dataveillance of foreign intelligence targets as well as much of the American population. Based on the explosive allegations recently made by WikiLeaks, the CIA has also developed malware that could turn infected iPhones, Android devices and smart TVs into covert listening devices, capable of recording and sending conversations over the Internet to the intelligence agency.

law-enforcing Self in these films—is constituted in and through the Other by the listening ear, ‘an organ for perceiving difference’ (Derrida 1985, 51). It is the keen ear that not only hears difference, but can also understand and ultimately authorize the constitution of a Self’s personal and political existence. Active hearing, then, is tied to a process of constituting doubles, and double agents in particular. For instance, *The Departed* represents double agents, such as Billy Costigan, as the grown-up versions of ‘double kids’. Since his childhood, Costigan has been living a double life as evidenced by his different accents: he was ‘[o]ne kid with [his] old man. One kid with [his] mother. Upper middle class in the week, and then dropping [his] “r’s” and hanging in the Southie projects with daddy the donkey on weekends’ (Monahan 2006, 16). Able to mimic the lower-class, immigrant accents of classic film gangsters, Costigan’s ear for accents allows him to bypass the sound barriers associated with class in Boston, granting him the ability to culturally pass as both crook and cop.

In addition to facilitating acoustic transformations of the Self, the ear also allows for playful wordplay, so that doubling in these instances can take the form of homophones, or doubled sound-words, giving rise to new meanings and interpretative possibilities. Here, I turn to an analysis of how a double agent exploits law’s spectacle in a cheekily instructive scene from *Infernal Affairs* entitled ‘Acting counsel’. In this scene, viewers watch as Ming engages in an increasingly complicated performance of law. Ming is an undercover gangster mole working in an official capacity as a police inspector in the Hong Kong Organised Crime and Triad Bureau. When he enters the scene, he notices that an accused gangster has been impatiently waiting in a police interrogation room for his legal representative to arrive. While other police officers have been passively watching the accused gangster through their CCTV surveillance cameras, Ming decides to spring into action by seizing the opportunity to ‘act’ as the accused’s legal counsel. Acting in this case is more than simple legal representation. Instead, it is elevated to the art of deceptive performance and playacting. Ming knows that he will be performing in front of an audience composed of his police colleagues, as well as in front of the accused gangster. To briskly prepare for his role as defence counsel, Ming dons a blazer and tie, and more importantly, a pair of spectacles. Playing on the double meaning of spectacle—not only as a public display performed for an audience, but also as eyeglasses—the scene, at first glance, appears to parallel sociolegal scholars’ focus on law’s spectacles. Tied to an emphasis on the visual dimensions of judicial authority, law’s spectacles have been described by sociolegal scholars as elaborate manifestations of state power that rest on appearances (e.g., Hay 1975). Such appearances include particular props and text-related objects, such as eyeglasses, that ‘represent judicial authority as something intimately associated with the word of law’ (Moran, Skeggs & Herz 2010, 202). Despite the absence of legal texts or any adherence to black letter law in this scene, Ming appears to be increasing the power of his vision when he puts on his spectacles. Unlike unseeing Justitia whose blindfold has been variously interpreted as emblematic of impartiality and freedom from venal corruption (see Jay 1999; Goodrich 2015), Ming’s spectacles imply that he can easily be bribed, and that his assisted vision has little to do with

evermore clear-sighted applications of the law. Indeed, the spectacles in this scene are a red herring when it comes to understanding the performance of undercover work by double agents.

Following Ming's insistence that attorney-client privileges be upheld, the video surveillance cameras are eventually turned off, allowing Ming to act in the absence of any oversight by his police colleagues. Consequently, revelations in this scene do not depend on visual technologies, but rather on sonic ones. Placing his cell phone underneath the interrogation table, Ming compels the accused gangster to make a phone call to their (shared) criminal boss, in order to warn him of an upcoming police raid. The under-the-table placement of the cell phone dramatically represents the underhanded tactics used by double agents, tactics that are neither 'above board' nor easily visible from above—that is, as James Scott (1998) has persuasively argued, from the state's preferred vantage point. Because the double agent in this case is also a gangster, it is worth noting that mobsters in the gangster genre have tended to forcefully operate from the underworld as far away as possible from the state's gaze. Unsurprisingly then, undercover gangsters, as in this scene from *Infernal Affairs*, prefer to act from below through 'the deep country of hearing' (Derrida 1982, xvi). In so doing, these deep cover agents act as human doubles of the mole. Notably, the term *mole* refers to both human spies and burrowing rodents, highlighting the extraordinary ability of both to adapt to widely different environments. Because of this shared adaptability, the rodent⁵ has long been represented in Western culture as a shadow or twin of the human (Burt 2006). Yet as mammals, moles have 'very small, hardly apparent' eyes (Serres 2008, 293), and rely on their ears for navigating their subterranean kingdom. Like their animal counterparts, human moles, such as Billy Costigan in *The Departed*, have notably been tasked by their superiors to play to this sensory strength, by 'keep[ing] [their] ears open' for actionable chatter. Unlike eyes that can shut, ears cannot be easily closed or 'turned off'. As a result, one cannot stop hearing, and listening can always become a form of eavesdropping (Toop 2010, xv).

By focusing on acts of listening and eavesdropping, we can also discuss resonance's relationship to synchronicity in a different sense. Here, sonic situations can synchronize individuals with their surroundings through a process of tuning, much like the way we turn the dials of radio receivers to 'tune in' to specific radio stations (Ernst 2016, 37). In the case of moles, they are 'tuned into' their environment when they are able to inconspicuously blend into their social surroundings, so that, as Detective Sergeant Dignam elaborates in *The Departed*, 'they're out there. [But you're] not gonna see them. You're not gonna hear them.' Further, undercover agents can also strategically focus their listening by 'tuning in' to particular conversations. This process of 'tuning in' plays out wonderfully in a scene from *Infernal Affairs*. During this scene, members of the Organised Crime and Triad Bureau are ready to bust a substantial drug transaction once the undercover cop confirms the location of

⁵ *The Departed* also makes prominent use of rodent imagery—in particular, the image of the rat. Not only is the rat a social climbing animal, and hence an apt representation of the gangster's dream of upward mobility, it also alludes to the 'ratting out' done by snitches and criminal informants, such as mobster Frank Costello.

the drug exchange. The undercover gangster informs his triad boss of the analog radio channel used for communication by the police sting operation. This allows the triad boss to tune into the channel and eavesdrop on police activity. Yet as the undercover gangster discovers, more than one radio channel is broadcasting information to the police. The head of the police raid, Inspector Wong, is also receiving up-to-date information from Yan, his undercover cop, through an undisclosed and private radio channel.

Wearing an additional earpiece, Inspector Wong enacts what Sterne has called 'audile technique'—that is, 'a set of practices of listening that encouraged the coding and rationalization of what was heard' (Sterne 2003, 23). With his eyes closed, Wong can focus on the specific characteristics of sound communicated through his earpiece, isolating these sounds from the collective, communal world of everyday noise. Through the earpiece, a more compact listening technology than the headphone, hearing itself can be separated from the other senses. With his use of an audile technique, the police inspector exemplifies a new practical orientation towards acoustic space: his directed and directional listening practice privatizes acoustic space, transforming audio messages heard within that individuated space into a form of private intelligence. Further, Wong understands the private messages by rationalizing and making sense of sound as Morse code.⁶ While Samuel Morse had initially understood telegraphy as an essentially visual medium, allowing for the commingling of image, sound and writing, telegraph operators soon developed an audile technique that allowed them to transform telegraphy into a primarily sonic medium. These operators learned to listen solely to their machines, decoding the messages as they heard them and ensuring that the written script would become a vanishing mediator (Sterne 2003, 144-147). Much like the telegraph operators before him, Inspector Wong never transforms the rhythmic sounds of Morse code into written dots and dashes. Instead, he trusts his ears to efficiently capture all that is communicated through 'wiretapping'. Strikingly in this scene, the undercover cop communicates with Inspector Wong through a dramatized and literal illustration of wiretapping: he taps his finger on the glass of a window pane that has been wired with a concealed device for transmitting sound. Here, knowledge gathered through undercover work is communicated through tapping fingers and decoding ears. It is never transformed into a written text that can be potentially intercepted by prying eyes. Thus, the work of undercover agents, in this instance, revolves around the act of making physical and sonic contact with other objects and people, bringing to the fore a synesthetic joining of sound and touch.⁷

6 There seems to be a distinctly Hong Kong film tradition of representing intelligence gathered by undercover cops as sonic code. For example, in John Woo's *Hardboiled* (1992), the undercover cop sends his updates to his police superior in musical code. In *Silent War* (2012), a film made by the same director-screenwriter team behind *Infernal Affairs*, a blind piano tuner is recruited by an intelligence agency to intercept Morse code messages that are being communicated through hidden radio frequencies.

7 In other criminal justice contexts, sound has been used to substitute for touch in order to impose coercive force on others. For example, 'no-touch' torture used by American military personnel against detainees in Iraqi detention camps has focused on the blaring of extremely loud music at all times of day to 'soften'

4. Making contact: vibrations and aural revelations

By contrast, such contact would have been made in classic Hollywood gangster films in the presence of a machine gun. For example, in *The Public Enemy* (1931), Tom Powers becomes a gangster when he is first gifted a gun by Putty Nose in his youth, and it is no mere accident that Tommy Powers comes to power with a 'Tommy gun' in his hand. The Thompson submachine gun came to prominence and gained notoriety during Prohibition- and Depression-era America as it was used not only in the exploits of real-life gangsters but also those of Hollywood gangsters. Because screen gangsters, such as Tony Camonte in *Scarface* (1932), use their trusty machine gun to 'spit' bullets over the city, critics (e.g., Nochimson 2007, 40) have since argued that the machine gun has become one of the central props in the performance of gangsterism. Consequently, *Infernal Affairs* and *The Departed* are noteworthy for insisting that the cell phone, and not the gun, is what allows gangsters to forcefully make contact. In these films, the cell phone is actually what makes the gangster. As notorious mobster Frank Costello notes in *The Departed*, gangsters do not carry 'automatic weapons because here, in this country, it don't add inches to your dick. You get a life sentence for it'. Following this logic, Costello brings new members into his gang by gifting them with a cell phone and the following rules:

Here [takes out a red cell phone and hands it to new member, Billy Costigan].
From now on call the bar and ask for Mikey. Just Mikey. You ask for Mikey because there's no Mikey. We wait. We'll call.

In his instructions to new gang members, Costello commands his members to promptly answer the phone when called. That is, when he calls, his gang members must answer; his minions must never call him. Or as his trusted henchman Mister French reiterates, 'You never call us. We call you' (Monahan 2006, 52). As a result, the criminal gang's hierarchical structure and power dynamics become mediated through the cell phone.⁸ Answering Costello's call, then, is tied to a gangster's upward mobility within the criminal organization. In this way, the cell phone is in sync with the representation of technology in classic gangster films: it, too, is represented as a means for mobility. As a mobile technology, the cell phone enables communication across large geographical distances by gangsters on the move. When there are new additions to the phone's list of contacts, viewers are alerted to the fact that the gangster is achieving upward socioeconomic mobility, a feat that was once made possible through the gangster's use of guns.

While screen gangsters have traditionally used the gun to violently 'blow away' competitors and rivals, the cell phone becomes a weapon for 'blowing covers' of double agents, since it combines the repeated 'blows' of tapping fingers with the

detainees for interrogation (see Hirsch 2012).

⁸ Interestingly enough, this filmic representation is consistent with findings from empirical research (e.g., Varese 2013) conducted on the structure of wiretapped phone conversations between members of a criminal gang. These conversations have been used by law enforcement and researchers to document the hierarchical connections between members of organized crime groups.

force of aural revelation. Because the cell phone is used by both gangsters and law enforcers alike, it becomes in these films the only technological means by which otherwise invisible moles can be 'made'. Every attempt to capture the mole through video surveillance footage is foiled, either because the CCTV cameras are knowingly positioned in ways to create blind spots or deliberately shut down in advance. Even when caught on camera, the double agent's face remains unrecognizable because the cheapness of the video footage ensures that it provides, as *The Departed's* shooting script notes, '[n]o more use as ID than the Shroud of Turin' (Monahan 2006, 101). In contrast to visual identification technologies, the cell phone is represented as an effective means for 'blowing away' the 'shroud' disguising the double agent. In these films, knowledge worth collecting is knowledge that is heard rather than seen. Remarkably, this premise does not privilege sight as the primary sensory mode for collecting knowledge. Instead, it links the cell phone to aural revelations in the following two ways.

First, the ringing cell phone aurally reveals the identity of the mole, and in doing so, embodies the concept of resonance as vibration. In *Entretien entre d'Alembert et Diderot* (1769), Denis Diderot imagines resonance through the metaphor of the vibrating string, where

the sensitive vibrating string oscillates and resonates a long time after one has plucked it. It's this oscillation, this sort of inevitable resonance, that holds the present object [...]. But vibrating strings have yet another property—to make other strings quiver. (translated by and quoted in Erlmann 2010, 9.)

These vibrating strings can also be anthropomorphized and take human form, as in the trope of the human harpsichord (*l'homme-clavecin*). In this comparison of human bodies to a string instrument, humans can 'tremble harmoniously' (de la Vilate 1970, 280) as their nerve fibres are analogous to the strings of the harpsichord (Montesquieu 1977, 421-422). In these philosophical writings, the harpsichord is granted the existential equivalence of a human being. Yet we can also consider how the figure of the sentient harpsichord highlights symmetrical relations between humans and nonhuman, technological artefacts. In accordance with the object-oriented ontology underlying Science and Technology Studies, such as actor-network theory (Latour 2005), there is no *a priori* separation between humans and nonhumans, implying that nonhumans can be methodologically and theoretically analyzed using the same conceptual toolbox that had been developed for studying humans. In a symmetrical analysis (Callon 1986), nonhuman objects are granted agency and a capacity for action:

as soon as they are freed from the spell [that paralyzed and muted them—much like the damning curse placed on inhabitants of enchanted castles in fairytales—objects] start shuddering, stretching and muttering. They begin to swarm in all directions, shaking the other human actors. (Latour 2005, 73.)

By awakening to the agential possibility of noisy objects, with their 'shuddering'

and ‘muttering’, and bearing witness to the ways that we put objects into contact with one another and ourselves, we can imagine vibrating resonance as an action that encompasses both technological artefacts and humans. When we turn to our filmic case studies, the cell phone is thus a noisy nonhuman on par with the noisy gangsters that carry them. It is also a vibrating object that can make humans quiver in its wake. As such, the cell phone becomes the ‘talking and listening machine’ that propels both criminal and law enforcing bodies into motion.

As a vivid example of the ways in which the cell phone’s vibrations are integral to the sonic hunt for double agents, we can analyze the chase scene between the two moles in *Infernal Affairs*. In a scene titled ‘Digging for moles’, undercover law enforcer Yan secretly sits in a movie theatre to spy on Ming, the triad’s mole. When Ming leaves the theatre, Yan follows on the chance that he could visually identify the other mole. Against a soundtrack with heavy percussive beats, Ming taps an envelope against his thigh, echoing Yan’s tapping fingers in an earlier scene. All of a sudden, Yan’s cell phone rings and Ming realizes that he is being followed; the hunter soon becomes the hunted. What this scene emphasizes is the idea of repercussion or more precisely, *re-percussion*—that is, the repeated act of hammering on a surface to create and transmit sonic vibrations in the ear. In this particular scene, re-percussion takes the form of the moles’ recurrent percussing movements, and the echoing responses they entail. So when the two moles finally make contact in a scene aptly titled ‘Making contact’, they communicate using a cell phone with ‘hammering’ fingers, highlighting Hong Kongers’ local and colloquial conception of cell phones as ‘hand machines’. Regularly held in hand and made to work with nimble fingers, cell phones in Hong Kong are as much about oral communication as they are about handiwork. Linking handiwork to the process of making contact, Ming gets in touch with Yan by redialing or re-percussing the last phone number that Inspector Wong had called prior to his death. Upon seeing a call from a dead man, Yan allows his cell phone to ring twice without picking up. Piqued by curiosity, Yan finally answers his phone but remains silent, listening to the message Ming taps out in Morse code. It is this coded message that ultimately convinces Yan to meet Ming, even as the repercussions associated with both moles’ actions begin to catch up with each of them.

In this latter sense, repercussions take the form of unintended consequences—more specifically, the unanticipated emotional agitation and psychological strain of living and performing as a double agent. The psychological and emotional toll is so high that the undercover cop in both of these films is ordered to seek psychiatric help. Notably, representations of emotionally tortured undercover cops, such as in *Infernal Affairs*, echo and repeat a Hong Kong film tradition of imagining double agents as tragically bewildered figures, ‘drifting between the order of justice represented by the police and the evil, [morally corrupt] underworld controlled by the criminals’ and gangsters (Law 2008, 529). Torn between choosing personal loyalty and official duty, undercover agents—whether working for the police or for a criminal gang—ultimately become the victims of a legal and security apparatus that fails them, particularly since that apparatus exploits and undermines the bonds of

interpersonal trust in society (Law 2008, 530). For viewers, the emotional and moral trajectories of double agents are mapped through aurality in *Infernal Affairs* and *The Departed*, as aurality can take into account temporal flow. To demonstrate the mole's shifting sense of identity, the cell phone is featured in both films as an aural instrument of self-revelation. Unlike visual surveillance technologies that aim to fix in time and space a single, stable identity, the cell phone—because of its reliance on sonic characteristics (see Hibbitts 1995)—promotes the instability, fluidity and multiplicity of identity. As a result, the double agent's moral trajectory is played out through the concept of resonance as oscillation and in this case, as vacillation in identity.

In both films, identity becomes shakable through the tremblings marked by the cell phone's vibrations. Tremblings produced by sound, as David Hartley (1967) had once theorized, can agitate bodies with corresponding vibrations. Through these tremblings, bodies are capable of forming lasting impressions, precisely because the ear is the organ through which auditory sensations can penetrate into us. Consequently, self-reflection in these instances can take on a percussive nature (see also Erlmann 2010, 341-342), whereby acts of hearing do not simply affect visible performances of different personas,⁹ but also the inner core of a person's sense of moral identity. Whether ringing loudly or quietly vibrating, the cell phone becomes a constant reminder of an agent's moral obligations and professional duties. As Bruno Latour and Couze Venn (2002) have argued, morality is inscribed in the technological things that oblige us to oblige them. In this case, the cell phone is a technology that can engender possible worlds, by dislocating an individual's relations from certain people and organizations in such a way as to direct them towards a new series of connections and contacts. By mediating changes in a double agent's contacts, the cell phone comes to not only convey changes in social pressure, but also serves to represent the double agent's shifting allegiances. For instance, when the gangster mole takes over the cell phone of his dead police superior, he is also unofficially assuming a new powerful position within the police department. He inherits his superior's contacts, and with them, his network of allies and enemies. Only after commandeering this cell phone does the gangster mole choose a new future for himself, as evidenced in the following scene.

The scene takes place in an underground parking garage—perhaps as a reminder of the mole's favoured subterranean habitat as well as proof of the nefarious doings and betrayals that make up the underworld. As a site for transportation, the garage also evokes the theme of (potential) mobility that runs through the gangster genre. In this scene, the car carrying the film's most notorious gangster—Hon Sam in *Infernal Affairs* and Costello in *The Departed*—is under attack by the police. Sam/Costello manages to momentarily escape from the car, running through the garage while dialing his mole, Ming/Colin, as quickly as possible. 'To his surprise, the phone rings quite nearby. And keeps ringing' (Monahan 2006, 136). The ringing sound of the

9 For the visible performances of personas in *The Departed*, see Marling (2008).

cell phone echoes in the cavernous garage, serving as an aural *punctum* that ‘rises from the scene, shoot[ing] out of it like an arrow, and pierc[ing]’ viewers (Barthes 2010, 26) and characters alike. Emerging from the shadows, Ming/Colin confronts his former criminal boss with a cell phone in one hand, and a gun in the other; the piercing sound of the cell phone’s ring foreshadows the looming threat of the gun’s wounding shot. In *Infernal Affairs*, the sound of the ringing cell phone is followed by a brief silence that gives way to a melody formed by the bowing of violins, cellos and basses. Played by string instruments, this instrumental melody is repeatedly heard whenever the mole makes a life-altering decision, harkening back to the figure of the human harpsichord. In this scene, the melody intensifies as it becomes integrated into a series of flashbacks: we see Sam recruit young Ming, promising him that he can choose his own future. In the garage, adult Ming shoots Sam once with his gun, and tells himself, ‘I’ve chosen’. Here again, the cell phone’s ring sets off vibrations that are conducted by and penetrate into the flesh of the double agent. As a human harpsichord, the gangster mole is a subject made and remade by the vibrating strings of sensations and memories. In this scene, he ceases to be an instrument used by a criminal boss, and becomes his own musician; the played transforms into a player in the game of law. As a result of this transformation, the gangster mole kills his criminal boss, eliminating all connections to his criminal past and giving himself a chance to legitimately succeed in the field of law enforcement. In *The Departed*, Colin also takes Costello’s cell phone after killing him, thereby taking with him evidence of his past criminal contacts. In both films, then, the external vibrations of the cell phone exert an emotionally-charged pull on the undercover agent’s sense of identity, leading to internal oscillations between his law-enforcing and criminal identities, as well as pendulum-like swings between his professional and personal selves.

5. Conclusion

Through an analysis of two contemporary gangster films, this paper examined the concept of resonance as a means for conceptualizing the undercover performance of law. To think through the metaphorical implications of resonance, I attended to its multiple and overlapping meanings—including its manifestations as synchronicity, oscillation, and vibration—as they played out through the technologically-mediated performances of gangsters, law enforcers, and double agents. In so doing, I aimed to trouble and disrupt the ocularcentric and spectacular character of law, by bringing forth the synesthetic and aurally-inflected dimensions of law-in-action. While the paper discussed how these films feature the cell phone as a crucial sonic technology for covert surveillance and aural revelation, I end by considering how gangster films imagine the law as an impactful blow. While guns may ‘blow away’ criminals and competitors in classic films of the gangster genre, the cell phone ‘blows covers’ in *The Departed* and *Infernal Affairs*. Whether expressed as sonic blasts or sudden tactile attacks, the act of blowing joins together sound and touch in the act of making contact with ‘covers’—not only the covers used by double agents, but also the cover

of law itself.

When conceived as a cover, the law is yet another shroud that makes up the cosmos. According to Michel Serres (2008, 264), the Greek word *cosmos* designates not only law and the rightness of things, but also embellishment and adornment. As an ornamental veil, law itself is a 'delicately knitted lace' (Latour 2010, 264) and one that comes together through resonance. The point of resonance is not to unveil the law through sound, or to demonstrate that visible 'naked' truth inevitably lies underneath the veil. To look beneath the covers or to search for depth beyond the surface does not bring us closer to a clearer or purer picture of the law-in-action (see also Lam, 2017). Rather, resonance—as exemplified by the vibrating or ringing cell phone—works to add further links to the 'lacy chain' of law (Latour 2010, 166), or to sever existing links. Instead of lifting the veil, resonance implies that the veil links us together in ways that ultimately entangle us—law enforcers, criminals and citizens alike—in folds and knots (Serres 2008). As dramatized in both films under study, law—either as an official cover or as an undercover identity—can create knots from which moles cannot escape, giving rise to the emotional strain and psychological agony of being a deep cover agent. Part of law's knotting process entails the mixture and mingling of senses; it creates a complex union between different sensory experiences that is not easily unravelled. As a means by which senses can be mingled, resonance ensures that law can better 'tangle us up, hold us and protect us' (Latour 2010, 266).

In addition to considering how resonance can unite sensory experiences, this paper stressed the dynamic ways in which sonic technologies compel us to 'tune in,' percuss, and make contact with others. With this emphasis, I have focused on processes and contradictions associated with undercover work rather than on formal principles or decisions made by the static rules of a transcendent law. Such an approach is useful for thinking about how the power of law is constructed and maintained through gangster films. As Ewick and Silbey (1998, 17) have argued, 'the multiple and contradictory character of law's meanings, rather than a weakness, is a crucial component of its power'. These contradictory meanings and uses '*echo and resonate* with other common phenomena, [such as games]' (Ewick & Silbey 1998, 17, emphasis added). Thus, in the games played by gangsters and law enforcers, law and its attending power appear as neither stable possessions nor things, but as relations (see Foucault 1978). As a relational force, the power of law operates through oscillation, entangling us in ever-changing relationships and summoning us to continually percuss and discuss (see Erlmann 2010, 342). In its vibrating vacillation, law does not remain in an unchanging, fixed position in the world; instead, it swings noisily across multiple representations, meanings and performances in the world of popular culture and in the world-at-large.

Bibliography

Altman, Rick: 'The Evolution of Sound Technology'. In Elisabeth Weis and John Belton (eds): *Film Sound: Theory and Practice*. Columbia University Press, New York 1985, 44-53.

Bail, Christopher A.: 'The Fringe Effect: Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse about Islam since the September 11th Attacks'. 77 (6) *American Sociological Review* (2012) 855-879.

Barthes, Roland: *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Translated by Richard Howard. Hill and Wang, New York 2010 [1980].

Benford, Robert D. & David A. Snow: 'Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment'. 26 *Annual Review of Sociology* (2000) 611-639.

Berbrier, Mitch: "'Half the Battle": Cultural Resonance, Framing Processes, and Ethnic Affectations in Contemporary White Separatist Rhetoric'. 45 (4) *Social Problems* (1998) 431-450.

Binder, Amy: 'Constructing Racial Rhetoric: Media Depictions of Harm in Heavy Metal and Rap Music'. 58 (6) *American Sociological Review* (1993) 753-767.

Black, David Alan: *Law in Film: Resonance and Representation*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana 1999.

Braverman, Irus: 'Hidden in Plain View: Legal Geography from a Visual Perspective'. 7 (2) *Law, Culture and the Humanities* (2010) 173-186.

Burt, Jonathan: *Rat*. Reaktion Books, London 2006.

Callon, Michel: 'Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay'. 32 (1) *The Sociological Review* (1984) 196-223.

Chase, Anthony: *Movies on Trial: The Legal System on the Silver Screen*. The New Press, New York 2002.

Chion, Michel: *Audio-vision: Sound on Screen*. Translated and edited by Claudia Gorbman. Columbia University Press, New York 1994.

Choy, Howard YF: 'Schizophrenic Hong Kong: Postcolonial Identity Crisis in the *Infernal Affairs* Trilogy'. 3 *Transtext(e)s Transcultures Journal of Global Cultural Studies* (2007) 52-66.

Cytowic, Richard: *Synesthesia: A Union of the Senses*. Springer, New York 1989.

De la Vilate, Cartaud: *Essai Historique et Philosophique sur le Goût*. Slatkine Reprints, Geneva 1970 [1737].

Derrida, Jacques: *Margins of Philosophy*. Translated by Alan Bass. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1982.

Derrida, Jacques: *The Ear of the Other: Otobiography, Transference, Translation*. Translated by Peggy Kamuf. Schocken Books, New York 1985.

Douzinas, Costas & Lynda Nead. 'Introduction'. In Costas Douzinas and Lynda Nead (eds): *Law and the Image*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1999, 1-15.

Durham, W. Cole: 'Rhetorical Resonance and Constitutional Vision'. 14 *Cardoza Law Review* (1992-1993) 893-906.

Erlmann, Veit: *Reason and Resonance: A History of Modern Aurality*. Zone Books, New York 2010.

Ernst, Wolfgang: *Sonic Time Machines: Explicit Sound, Sirenical Voices, and Implicit Sonicity*. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2016.

Ettema, James S.: 'Crafting Cultural Resonance: Imaginative Power in Everyday Journalism'. 6 (2) *Journalism* (2005) 131-152.

Ewick, Patricia & Susan Silbey: *The Common Place of Law. Stories from Everyday Life*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1998.

Fang, Karen: *Arresting Cinema: Surveillance in Hong Kong Film*. Stanford University Press, Stanford 2017.

Ferree, Myra Marx: 'Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debates of the United States and Germany'. 109 (2) *American Journal of Sociology* (2003) 304-344.

Foucault, Michel: *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. Random House, New York 1978.

Gamson, William A.: *Talking Politics*. Cambridge University Press, New York 1992.

Gamson, William A. & Andre Modigliani: 'Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach'. 95 (1) *American Journal of Sociology* (1989) 1-37.

Gomery, Douglas: 'The Coming of Sound: Technological Change in the American Film Industry'. In Elisabeth Weis and John Belton (eds): *Film Sound: Theory and Practice*. Columbia University Press, New York 1985, 5-24.

Hartley, David: *Observations on Man: His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations*. G. Olms, Hildesheim 1967 [1749].

Hay, Douglas: 'Property, Authority and the Criminal Law'. In Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, John G. Rule, E.P. Thompson, and Cal Winslow (eds): *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in 18th Century England*. Allen Lane, London 1975, 17-64.

Hibbitts, Bernard J.: 'Making Sense of Metaphors: Visuality, Aurality, and the Reconfiguration of American Legal Discourse.' 16 *Cardozo Law Review* (1995) 229-354.

Hirsch, Lily E.: *Music in American Crime Prevention and Punishment*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2012.

Jasanoff, Sheila: 'The Eye of Everyman: Witnessing DNA in the Simpson Trial.' 28 (5/6) *Social Studies of Science* (1998) 713-70.

Kubal, Timothy J.: 'The Presentation of Political Self: Cultural Resonance and the Construction of Collective Action Frames.' 39 (4) *The Sociological Quarterly* (1998) 539-554.

Lam, Anita: 'Artistic Flash: Sketching the Courtroom Trial'. In Sarah Marusek (ed): *Synesthetic Legalities: Sensory Dimensions of Law and Jurisprudence*. Routledge, Abingdon 2017, 130-146.

Latour, Bruno & Couze Venn: 'Morality and Technology: The End of the Means.' 19 (5/6) *Theory, Culture & Society* (2002) 247-260.

Latour, Bruno: *Re-Assembling the Social*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005.

Law, Wing-sang: 'Hong Kong Undercover: An Approach to "Collaborative Colonialism".' 9 (4) *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* (2008) 522-542.

Leitch, Thomas: *Crime Films*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2002.

Marchetti, Gina: 'Departing from *The Departed*: The *Infernal Affairs* Trilogy'. In Kam Louie (ed): *Hong Kong Culture: Word and Image*. Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong 2010, 147-169.

Marling, William: 'Mobile Phones as Narrative Tropes.' 36 (1) *Journal of Popular Film and Television* (2008) 38-44.

Mason, Fran: *American Gangster Cinema: From Little Caesar to Pulp Fiction*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2002.

McArthur, Colin: *Underworld USA*. Viking Press, New York 1972.

McCarty, John: *Bullets over Hollywood*. DaCapo Press, Cambridge 2004.

McDonnell, Terence E.: 'Drawing out Culture: Productive Methods to Measure Cognition and Resonance.' 43 (3-4) *Theory and Society* (2014) 247-274.

McLuhan, Marshall: *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1962.

Monahan, William. *The Departed*. Script as Shot Compiled September 2006. Available on <<https://indiegroundfilms.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/departed-the-sept-06.pdf>> (visited 28 November 2016)

Montesquieu: *The Spirit of Laws: A Compendium of the First English Edition*. University of California Press, Berkeley 1977 [1736-1743].

Moran, Leslie J., Emma Sandon, Elena Loizidou & Ian Christie (eds): *Law's Moving Image*. Glass House Press, London 2004.

Munby, Jonathan: *Public Enemies, Public Heroes: Screening the Gangster from Little Caesar to Touch of Evil*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1999.

Mussawir, Edward: 'The Cinematics of Jurisprudence: Scenes of Law's Moving Image' 17 (1) *Law & Literature* (2005) 131-152.

Nochimson, Martha P.: *Dying to Belong: Gangster Movies in Hollywood and Hong Kong*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden 2007.

Ong, Walter: *The Presence of the Word*. Yale University Press, New Haven 1967.

Rafter, Nicole: *Shots in the Mirror: Crime Films and Society*. Oxford University Press, New York 2000.

Rorty, Richard: *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1979.

Ruth, David E.: *Inventing the Public Enemy: The Gangster in American Culture, 1918–1934*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1996.

Schudson, Michael: 'How Culture Works' 18 (2) *Theory and Society* (1989) 153-180.

Sarat, Austin, Lawrence Douglas & Martha Merrill Umphrey: 'On Film and Law: Broadening the Focus'. In Austin Sarat, Lawrence Douglas and Martha Merrill Umphrey (eds): *Law on the Screen*. Stanford University Press, Stanford 2005, 1-24.

Sarat, Austin, Desmond Manderson & Montré D. Carodine (eds): *Imagining Legality: Where Law Meets Popular Culture*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa 2011.

Scott, James: *Seeing like a State*. Yale University Press, New Haven 1998.

Serres, Michel: *Genesis*. Translated by Geneviève James and James Nielson. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1995.

Serres, Michel: *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*. Translated by Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley. Continuum, London 2008 [1985].

Sherwin, Richard: *When Law Goes Pop*. University of Chicago, Chicago 2000.

Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford Jr, Steven K. Worden & Robert D. Benford: 'Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation'. 51 (4) *American Sociological Review* (1986) 464-481.

Sterne, Jonathan: *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Production*. Duke University Press, Durham 2003.

Toop, David: *Sinister Resonance: The Mediumship of the Listener*. Continuum, New York 2010.

Varese, Federico: 'The Structure and the Content of Criminal Connections: The Russian Mafia in Italy'. 29 (5) *European Sociological Review* (2013) 899-909.

Warner, Marina: *Fantastic Metamorphoses, Other Worlds: Ways of Telling the Self*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002.

Warshow, Robert: *The Immediate Experience: Movies, Comics, Theatre and Other Aspects of Popular Culture*. Anchor Books, New York 1964.