Introduction

Film-making fragments: *Nobody Ordered Love* and *Long Shot*

A long-forgotten film, *Nobody Ordered Love* (Robert Hartford-Davis, 1971), tells the story of the trials and tribulations of individuals attempting to put together a British film during the early 1970s. The narrative follows a hustling opportunist, Peter Triman (Tony Selby), and a director, Peter Medbury (John Ronane), through their struggles to make an epic First World War film entitled *The Somme*. The production process is fraught with problems. Initially, the shoot is disrupted by the behaviour of the star, the former sex symbol Alice Allison (Ingrid Pitt).[1] Medbury decides that he wants the part to be recast, but his financial backer, Leo Richardstone (Peter Arne), insists on a star name for the film. While Alice continues to cause grief on set, Medbury auditions an up-and-coming starlet, Caroline Johnson (Judy Huxtable). Meanwhile, Triman exploits Alice's alcoholism, getting her drunk on whisky and trying to seduce her. But she is found dead the next morning, from a self-inflicted stab wound. After a disagreement regarding the ways in which Alice was treated, Medbury tells Triman his behaviour has infringed a morality clause in his contract, and that he will not countenance working with Triman on his next production. In revenge, Triman arranges for the negative of *The Somme* to be destroyed in an 'accident'.[2]

Nobody Ordered Love thus finds dramatic potential in the myriad difficulties faced by film-makers during the early 1970s, and operates within (and, indeed, reflects upon) a British film industry

evidently in the doldrums. In his important book on British cinema in the 1970s and early 1980s, *National Heroes* (1985), the film critic Alexander Walker begins his first chapter, 'State of Change', by arguing that 'The first few years of the 1970s brought home to British cinema and society what bad times lay ahead. Nothing seemed to be moving.'[3] Walker further points out that British cinema in the early 1970s 'looked like the country itself: it had a residual energy, but in the main was feeling dull, drained, debilitated, infected by a run-down feeling characteristic of British life'.[4] This view was shared by other writers and critics. In another book published in 1985, *The Once & Future Film*, John Walker suggested that in the 1970s there was 'no money to make films, no cinemas to show them in, no audiences to pay to see them'.[5]

Things had not always been this way. During the 1960s – after the successes of the so-called 'British New Wave' films, the Beatles films, and 'swinging London' films – American production companies set up offices in London, hoping to back the next big British film. The key studios operating production programmes in Britain were United Artists, Paramount, Warner Bros, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Twentieth Century-Fox, Columbia, Universal, and Disney. In addition to the fashionable status of aspects of 1960s Britishness and the concomitant bankability of British stars, the increased levels of American finance that flooded into film-making in Britain during the 1960s can be explained at least in part by the quality and availability of British studios, and the relatively cheap labour during this period. American money imported into Britain to finance film-making through subsidiaries reached a peak of £31.3 million in 1968.[6] However, the British film industry suffered immensely from the withdrawal of much of this finance in the early 1970s. Indeed, by 1974, the sum imported by US companies had fallen to £2.9 million.[7] Meanwhile, funds available from the British-government-backed National Film Finance Corporation (NFFC) also dropped – between 1973 and 1981 it contributed only £4 million towards 31 feature films and six shorts.[8] Overall, as Linda Wood has pointed out, the total number of British films registered fell from 98 in 1971 to 36 in 1981.[9] So the 1970s was undeniably a difficult period for the British film industry. After the box office successes of the 1960s, then, this was a period of

relative struggle for film-makers and producers. But by the 1980s a revival of sorts had occurred, exemplified by the Oscar triumph of *Chariots of Fire* (Hugh Hudson, 1981),[10] and further facilitated by the broadening of the American market as a consequence of the development of cable television, as well as the setting up of Channel 4 in 1982 – a television channel which developed an interest in financing low-budget British films.[11]

During the 1970s, the profound social and cultural changes that had occurred in the 1960s created a situation in which British film-makers had other hurdles to clear. For one, they could no longer rely on what they had once conceived of as a 'mass' audience when marketing their films.[12] As the post-war consensus began to fragment, so too did the family audience. As Sue Harper puts it, 'The mass audience, which had hitherto provided reliable profits, was no longer monolithic in its structure. It was replaced by a range of niche audiences, who had more specialist requirements and whose responses were less predictable.'[13] At the same time, it appeared that British culture was becoming more permissive. The British Board of Film Censors (BBFC) moved towards a more liberal position under the leadership of John Trevelyan and (from 1971) Stephen Murphy.[14] In July 1970, a new classification system brought in the AA category for those aged fourteen and over, and developed the X category for films suitable for those over eighteen as opposed to sixteen (which it had been previously).[15] With this, British cinemas suddenly found themselves entertaining smaller audiences, including those eager to see adult X-certificate productions (this begins to account for the boom in production of horror films and sexploitation films during the early 1970s). Old-style cinemas were converted into three-screen complexes, which further encouraged what Andrew Higson has termed diversification 'at the point of exhibition'.[16] Audiences for British films fragmented in other ways, too. Film gradually shifted from the cinema to the home, as the impact of the wider availability of colour television (and later video) was increasingly felt. So, in the 1970s, as Higson points out, 'Cinema itself was not in decline, but was going through a complex process of diversification and renewal.'[17] Indeed, this might now be regarded as a transitional period for British cinema; as a kind of 'interregnum'.

British films of the 1970s

There is evidence to be found in a film released later in the decade that film-making in Britain was still by no means a straightforward process. *Long Shot* (Maurice Hatton, 1978) features two individuals, Charlie and Neville (Charles Gormley and Neville Smith), trying to put together a film about Aberdeen oilmen, to be called *Gulf and Western*. Searching for a director, they head to the 1977 Edinburgh Film Festival, where they seek out the seasoned American film-maker, Sam Fuller. Failing to find him, they finally secure the services of the German director, Wim Wenders. Wenders – who was at that time making a name for himself in the New German Cinema as the director of films such as *Alice in the Cities* (1974), *Kings of the Road* (1976), and *The American Friend* (1977) – is one of a number of individuals from the film industry who make appearances in the film, playing themselves. Searching for a star for the production, Charlie tracks down Susannah York at a theatre where she is engaged in rehearsals for *Peter Pan*, though he clearly is not aware of who she is, because he tells her how much he admired her performances in *The Go-Between* (Joseph Losey, 1970) and *Georgy Girl* (Silvio Narizzano, 1966), thus confusing her with two British stars who came to prominence in the 1960s: Julie Christie and Lynn Redgrave. But York happily co-operates, as do a number of other industry professionals, including director John Boorman and theatrical agent Dennis Selinger. *Long Shot* works, then, as a kind of farcical, self-reflexive, fictional documentary that highlights the problems independent producers faced when trying to get films made in Britain during the late 1970s.

Nobody Ordered Love and *Long Shot* provide an intriguing place to start when considering British film-making in the 1970s because, while they have not been remembered or fêted as examples of British cinema at its best (or, indeed, remembered at all), they do speak of the complexities of the industry; of its essentially fissured and fragmented nature. They also both clearly demonstrate that British film-makers had an awareness of the difficulties of the period; specifically, funding issues and declining audiences. This is further borne out by the fact that both films do not sit easily within acknowledged British film genres. As Sue Harper points out about a range of 1970s British productions, 'Instead of having clear-cut boundaries, films seem to have permeable membranes, and to

segue between horror/sex films/history or comedy/realism/sex, for example. This tentativeness about genre, and the range of cross-generic type, suggests that film-makers were uncertain about public taste.'[18] Indeed, by creating generic hybrids, many film-makers appeared to be hedging their bets by appealing to as wide an audience as possible. In this book, I explore a number of films which do not sit easily within genres. These films offer evidence that ways of classifying, categorising, and making distinctions between films began to rupture in Britain in the 1970s. But as well as being a period in which boundaries between different types of films fell apart, the 1970s also saw large number of directors and performers working across genres, in cinema, television and theatre, and often transnationally. This fragmentary film-making climate is evidenced not only in the shifting generic qualities of *Nobody Ordered Love* and *Long Shot*, but also by the careers of some of the figures who appear in these films.

Nobody Ordered Love (a hybrid tragi-comedy-horror) stars the actress Ingrid Pitt as Alice Allison. Pitt remains much better known for her exotic roles (which often feature nudity) in films such as the Hammer horrors, *The Vampire Killers* (Roy Ward Baker, 1970) and *Countess Dracula* (Peter Sasdy, 1971), and the Amicus Productions horror, *The House That Dripped Blood* (Peter Duffell, 1971).[19] She went on to appear in the horror film *The Wicker Man* (Robin Hardy, 1973). But Pitt's career did not develop purely within the horror genre. She also features in *Where Eagles Dare* (Brian G. Hutton, 1968) (much of which was filmed at Borehamwood Studios in Hertfordshire, UK), and later in *Who Dares Wins* (Ian Sharp, 1982), and the James Bond film *Octopussy* (John Glen, 1983).[20] The production of *Nobody Ordered Love* also featured other professionals who had complex, chequered careers during the 1970s. Robert Hartford-Davis, the director, for example, was a seasoned exploitation film-maker who had worked across genres. He directed the British horror films *Incense for the Damned* (aka *Bloodsuckers*) (1970), starring Patrick Macnee, Peter Cushing, and Patrick Mower, and *The Fiend* (1971), starring Patrick Magee. But he also worked in the USA, directing the blaxploitation film *Black Gunn* (1972). During the previous decade he had directed *Saturday Night Out* (1964) for producer Tony Tenser, who remains best known (alongside

Michael Klinger) as the man behind the production of Roman Polanski's British-shot art house films *Repulsion* (1965) and *Cul-de-sac* (1966), the development of the production company Tigon, the production of Michael Reeves' notorious *Witchfinder General* (1968), and the sex comedy *Eskimo Nell* (Martin Campbell, 1974) – discussed in detail in the first chapter of this book.[21]

The Scottish film director, Charles Gormley, who also appears in *Long Shot*, co-founded the company Tree Films in 1972 with Nick Lewis and another budding Scottish film-maker, Bill Forsyth, who would later direct the British films *That Sinking Feeling* (1979), *Gregory's Girl* (1981), and *Local Hero* (1983). Tree Films was essentially set up to make Scottish feature films, but eventually produced a number of documentaries, including *A Place in the Country* (1972), *Polar Power* (1974), and *Keep Your Eye on Paisley* (1975). During the 1970s, Gormley (like a number of film-making professionals at that time) worked across national boundaries, commuting from Glasgow to Amsterdam to get work as a scriptwriter for Dutch film-makers. In this capacity he co-wrote the erotic Dutch film *Blue Movie* (Wim Verstappen, 1971), but also acted alongside Anthony Perkins and Bibi Andersson in *Twee vrouwen* (aka *Twice a Woman*) (George Sluizer, 1979). Moreover, Gormley took advantage of industrial developments in Britain during the early 1980s (such the creation of funding streams via Channel 4 and the Scottish Film Fund) to direct the Glasgow-set *Living Apart Together* (1982), featuring pop star B. A. Robertson, and produced by Gavrik Losey, who was busy during the 1970s working as an independent producer but also as a production manager on films made by Goodtimes, EMI, and Apple Films.[22] After securing a role in *Nobody Ordered Love*, Judy Huxtable's subsequent film appearance was to be in *Derek and Clive Get the Horn* (Russell Mulcahy, 1979), which features her second husband, Peter Cook, recording an album of foul-mouthed comedy improvisations with Dudley Moore at Richard Branson's Virgin Studios in London.

Susannah York, who features in *Long Shot*, also worked throughout the 1970s. She was cast in *The Same Skin* (aka *Country Dance* and *Brotherly Love*) (J. Lee Thompson, 1970), a British film (also starring Peter O'Toole) about an incestuous relationship that develops within an aristocratic Scottish family. York appears in the

American film *Happy Birthday, Wanda June* (Mark Robson, 1971), and in the Columbia-backed British film *Zee & Co* (aka *X, Y and Zee*) (Brian G. Hutton, 1972), which stars Michael Caine and Elizabeth Taylor as a bickering middle-aged couple. She stars in Robert Altman's US psychological thriller *Images* (1972), and in the British thriller *Gold* (Peter R. Hunt, 1974), alongside Roger Moore. She appears in a film adaption of the French dramatist Jean Genet's play, *The Maids* (Christopher Miles, 1974) alongside Glenda Jackson and Vivien Merchant (the play was filmed for the American Film Theatre). York also features prominently in the Polish director Jerzy Skolimowski's British psychological horror film *The Shout* (1978), discussed in detail in Chapter 7 of this book. She features in *Conduct Unbecoming* (Michael Anderson, 1975), a drama about army officers in India, starring Michael York, Richard Attenborough, and Trevor Howard. And she features in *That Lucky Touch* (Christopher Miles, 1975), a British/German film, also starring Roger Moore and Shelley Winters, about an international arms dealer. Moreover, Susannah York obtained work outside Britain and the USA during the decade, playing the title role in the Australian film, *Eliza Fraser* (Tim Burstall, 1976). And she appears in Richard Donner's British-made, American-financed *Superman* (1978) as Lara, Superman's biological mother on Krypton. So it is clear that York worked throughout the 1970s across a range of genres and across a range of national cinemas as well as in Hollywood. Her career alone demonstrates that a very wide range of films were made during this period; films which do not always sit within acknowledged genres or, for that matter, widely-understood concepts of national cinema.

The British film director Stephen Frears also appears in *Long Shot*. He is admired for his 1980s work on films such as *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), *Prick Up Your Ears* (1987), and *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* (1987), and he has, of course, worked on critically acclaimed films in subsequent decades. But he came to prominence in the industry during the 1970s. Frears directed *Gumshoe* (1971), starring Albert Finney as a Liverpool bingo caller who dreams of being a private eye, and *Bloody Kids* (1979), a television film, written by Stephen Poliakoff, about alienated youths living in an Essex seaside town. Frears also made a number of television plays during the 1970s for the BBC's *Play for Today* and *Play of the Week*, working with

Alan Bennett on *A Day Out* (1972), *Me! I'm Afraid of Virginia Woolf* (1978), and *Doris and Doreen* (1978). As such, Frears' 1970s career echoes those of the stalwart British directors Ken Loach and Mike Leigh, who also made critically-acclaimed films for television as well as the cinema during this period. These, then, were complex careers in complex times for the industry.

The British 1970s

> Two years ago I awoke from the troubled sleep of apathy. There was born in me the dreadful feeling that something was wrong with the state of the nation. Everywhere I looked I saw decadence, apathy, cynicism and decay. Try as I might, I could not rid myself of the spectre that haunted me: the spectre of a dying culture.
>
> Malcolm Scrawdyke, *Little Malcolm and His Struggle Against the Eunuchs*
> (Stuart Cooper, 1974)

Writing about the 1970s, Leon Hunt recognises that 'In popular accounts of the period, it's the "decade that style/taste forgot", an object of pleasurable, kitsch embarrassment.'[23] Many of us have our own view of what characterises the British 1970s, often drawn from personal memories, our knowledge of the idiosyncrasies of fashions or styles, familiar historical narratives, or, indeed, the visual iconography of films and television programmes. But Sue Harper astutely reminds us that 'We know that history does not naturally organize itself in neat decades. To a certain extent, the 1970s "is a sort of fiction".'[24] If the British 1970s is a sort of 'fiction', it is a fiction ostensibly concerned with crisis, but also with transformation and opportunity. This much is evident in a number of British films of the period. For example, the 1971 film, *Sunday Bloody Sunday*, was made on the back of the British director John Schlesinger's considerable success in America for United Artists with the US-shot *Midnight Cowboy* (1969). Alexander Walker saw *Sunday Bloody Sunday* as a 'transitional film embodying a terminal feeling'.[25] What he appeared to mean by this was that the film manages to dwell upon principle characters drawn from 'the newly

beleaguered middle class';[26] figures whose confidence in the kind of decent life that Britain once promised them has now seemingly dissipated. *Sunday Bloody Sunday* is set (and was shot) in London, and, as Walker notes, the film's characters 'resemble the capital city they inhabit: apprehensive people undergoing a state of change, uncertain of the next move'.[27] The film (starring Glenda Jackson, Peter Finch, and Murray Head) certainly captures a profound sense of unease and insecurity at the heart of bourgeois London life.

Sunday Bloody Sunday begins with the middle-aged, Jewish physician, Alex (Peter Finch), looking into the camera, and asking a patient (Britain?) 'Now tell me if you feel anything at all?' The theme of a loss of feeling and a discernible spiritual numbness permeates the narrative. Walker notes that one of the central motifs of the film is the telephone answering service, 'which sustains the illusion that people are in contact with each other'.[28] Schlesinger's film certainly constructs relationships between characters in which communication becomes increasingly difficult. It is apparently harder and harder in this world for individuals to know what they want and how to get it. Naked self-interest is effectively seen to get them nowhere. Indeed, the film appears to suggest that an existence in a society in which attitudes to sex and relationships are rapidly changing (allowing individuals the freedom to do what they choose, when they choose) might in fact be characterised by loneliness and anxiety at best, and alienation and despair at worst. In other words, freedoms fought for and won during the 1960s might now, in the early 1970s, be coming at a profound cost. This film suggests that figures who display heightened levels of self-importance, selfishness, conceit, and vanity are now in danger of becoming narcissistic. Murray Head's character, Bob, for example, is a kinetic sculptor whose neon-lit pieces appear curiously shallow, self-indulgent, and pointless. Like the character himself, these objects are all bright surfaces and no depth. Other figures visibly move towards self-destruction. Indeed, the film offers a representation of the London drug scene which sees it as a grim problem rather than as hip and cool, exemplified by a sequence shot in an all-night pharmacy, depicting individuals waiting for their prescription fixes.

But while life in London is shown to be dark and dreary, there remains an element of human warmth in this film, as it draws out its

'theme of dawning middle-age and quiet desperation', as the critic Jan Dawson put it.[29] Tom Milne pointed out that, in *Sunday Bloody Sunday*, 'love, though it may not spring phoenix-like to life again, at least glows as a faint, treasured ember beneath the ashes piled up by life'.[30] Having said this, the economic frailty of the nation provides a fragmentary backdrop to the quotidian events in the film, even in their warmest moments. Penelope Gilliat wrote the screenplay, and chose to emphasise the fact that unemployment was increasingly becoming an issue in Britain in the early 1970s. Walker argues that this is realistic, 'as unemployment became *the* endemic social disease of the Seventies, even the professional classes were ravaged beyond moral repair'.[31] Not long after the beginning of the film, Alex Greville (Glenda Jackson) is seen driving through the streets of London in her Triumph Herald. We hear a news bulletin unfolding on her car radio in which the announcer clearly sets up the nature of the economic and socio-cultural climate: 'With Britain in the throes of its most serious economic crisis since the War, the Cabinet will be in almost continuous session over the weekend. So will trade union leaders faced with the threat of mass unemployment and militant unofficial strike action.' But the socio-cultural and economic crisis facing Britain during the early 1970s was not confined to cerebral films such as *Sunday Bloody Sunday*. The 'Carry On' film, *Carry On at Your Convenience* (Gerald Thomas, 1971), for example, manages to reflect on and mediate aspects of this period of economic instability. This film is a farce, ostensibly focused on the troubles enveloping a lavatory factory owned and run by W. C. Boggs (Kenneth Williams), where a shop steward with a Zapata moustache, Vic Spanner (Kenneth Cope), constantly clashes with Lewis Boggs (Richard O'Callaghan), and calls the workers out on strike. Of course, the lavatory factory might represent a microcosm of modern Britain here – struggling to get by in difficult times; troubled by internal conflict; and in all probability going down the tubes. This film is now regarded as one of the key texts of the 'Carry On' cycle,[32] even if its middle-class attack on the unions feels inappropriate in a film that was designed primarily for a working-class audience.[33]

Tom Nairn, writing in an influential book, *The Break-Up of Britain* (1977), saw a nation exemplified by 'rapidly accelerating backwardness, economic stagnation, social decay and cultural despair'.[34] At

the level of the economy, key facts offer indisputable evidence of the myriad problems faced by the troubled nation. For example, throughout the 1970s, Britain struggled with high levels of inflation (especially after the 1973 OPEC oil crisis). Prices trebled between 1970 and 1980. British government debt reached a level of £9 billion by 1976, having been zero in 1970. In the league table of gross domestic product (GDP) growth for nations, Britain fell from a position of ninth in 1961 to thirteenth in 1966, to fifteenth in 1971, and down to eighteenth in 1976.[35] So, the nation was slipping behind its economic rivals. As Dominic Sandbrook puts it, 'By almost every measure, from investment and productivity to the rate of GDP growth per head and the growth of average real earnings, the Common Market countries were ahead.'[36] Unemployment grew from 3 per cent in 1971 to 5 per cent in 1979. The young were particularly hard hit.

Industrial conflict was also rife, and strikes loomed large in the public consciousness throughout the decade.[37] Indeed, the number of working days lost to strikes in 1970 was 11 million – the highest since the General Strike of 1926. But by 1972 the figure stood at 24 million.[38] Prime Minister Edward Heath spent much of 1971 trying to deal with the unions, and the Industrial Relations Act 1971 was passed in an attempt to bring them under control. But major miners' strikes followed in 1972 and 1973–74. During the 1972 strike, Heath declared a state of emergency, and floodlights on national monuments were turned off.[39] Power cuts were declared across the nation. During the 1973–74 miners' strike, the Conservative government put industry on a three-day working week to try to avoid further power cuts. Historian Alwyn Turner notes that the events of the winter of 1973–74 were so traumatic 'that they had shaken the confidence in the future of Britain, and there was a fear that disaster still lurked around the corner, a suspicion of crisis postponed'.[40] These events were satirised in the *Till Death Us Do Part* (BBC, 1965–75) television series episodes 'Strikes and Blackouts' and 'Three Day Week', written by Johnny Speight and broadcast in January 1974. When the Labour Government was returned to power in 1974 with Harold Wilson as Prime Minister, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dennis Healey, set about attempting to redistribute wealth across

the nation by raising the top rate of income tax to 83 per cent.[41] The new government also increased public spending. But, despite a large increase in the number of public sector workers, perceived standards in public services did not improve.[42] Industry continued to struggle throughout the period. Major industrial failures included Leyland and the prestigious car and engine maker, Rolls-Royce.[43] Furthermore, as the decade neared its close, 1978–79 saw the so-called 'winter of discontent' – widespread industrial action which helped to bring about the demise of Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan's government and subsequently see Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party come to power in 1979.

If Britain faced economic crisis after economic crisis during the decade, many British people suffered anxieties concerning fundamental changes that were occurring to the composition of the nation.[44] In November 1973, Auberon Waugh told *Time* magazine that Britain was suffering from a 'mild attack of schizophrenia'.[45] From about 1968, the nation started to feel a lot less like a world power. The gradual fragmentation of the empire was impacting upon Britain's long-held status as a global force. Immigration from the former colonial territories was leading to the emergence of increased racial tensions, especially in inner-city areas. But the nation was also seemingly opening up to Europe. Prime Minister Edward Heath signed the Treaty of Accession in Brussels in January 1972, and Britain formally joined the European Economic Community on New Year's Day, 1973.[46] The British press was generally supportive of these developments, but, while the British were increasingly enjoying things European – Italian food, French wine, German cars – anxieties also developed concerning how far a closer union with the continent might affect traditional notions of Britishness. As Alwyn Turner puts it, 'Membership of the EEC was linked in the popular consciousness with what seemed like an assault on traditional images of Britain.'[47] The economic miracle that membership of the EEC promised never materialised.[48]

At the same time, the political crisis in Ulster was making itself increasingly visible on mainland Britain (details of how the conflict features in films of the period are explored in Chapter 8). Rising nationalism in Wales and Scotland was also evident. In 1974, the

Scottish National Party drew 30 per cent of the vote north of the border, and the issue of devolution dominated the last months of Callaghan's Labour administration.[49] The Scotland and Wales Act 1978 was passed, allowing for the creation of assemblies in Edinburgh and Cardiff. This movement towards separatism facilitated feelings of polarisation and fragmentation in 1970s Britain. But the British also had to deal with anxieties concerning criminal activity. Civil order was a real concern.[50] By the middle of the decade, all categories of crime were showing a significant annual increase.[51] All these developments fuelled the sense of a fragmenting socio-cultural landscape.[52] But on a more quotidian level, Britain was a nation going through a wide range of rapid, smaller shifts, seeing the development of new town centres, supermarkets, and tower blocks, but also new road signs, telephone numbers, county names, and postcodes. British people also had to deal with a new decimalised currency.[53] Britain was changing, irrevocably.

Out of this atmosphere came a culture (or a series of subcultures) that demonstrated a 'depth of both protest and exuberance'.[54] One need only think of the impact of black, feminist, gay and lesbian politics on the British cultural scene, the rise of the punk movement in the mid-1970s, and new outlets for underground cultural activities, including, of course, film-making (discussed at the end of Chapter 2).[55] The 1970s saw tangible shifts in gender politics, exemplified by the rise of the Women's Movement (discussed in Chapter 1). Britain in the 1970s was also characterised by increasingly visible sexual permissiveness (also discussed in Chapter 1). Indeed, according to Sandbrook, 'permissiveness had become a "political metaphor", and from this point on, protecting the embattled family was at the heart of conservative rhetoric'.[56] Marriage problems were coming more obviously out into the open – a key theme of a number of British films of the period (also discussed in Chapter 1). At the same time, countering this permissiveness was an enduring sexual conservatism. And Britain was further marked by inter-generational strife. These tensions can be witnessed being worked through in a number of British films of the decade. Meanwhile, the cultural life of the nation also displayed an increased level of nostalgia for earlier, simpler times. This is also a recurring theme of 1970s British films (discussed in Chapter 3).

So, as in the USA (but also across a range of Western nations), the 1970s in Britain was an era characterised by highly complex, conflicting ideological and aesthetic currents.[57] Indeed, in some ways, the profound socio-cultural shifts that encapsulate the ways in which a number of historians have framed socio-cultural and political life in 1970s Britain also pertain to other Western countries. Christopher Booker came up with the title 'The Death of Progress' for the first chapter of his book *The Seventies* (1980), within which he argues that 'the Seventies were in fact the most important decade of the twentieth century.'[58] He outlines his reasons for this position: 'The truth is that, in the past ten years, the old sources of optimism which have sustained the human race throughout the twentieth century (and which began to emerge a very long time before that) have begun to collapse on an unprecedented scale', and that the human race could no longer presume that an 'unimaginable future of light, knowledge and material abundance' lay around the corner.[59] Instead, it seems that a fundamental shift was seen to be occurring during the 1970s concerning the ways in which Western humanity saw itself and its future in the world. While the decade, for Booker, was a kind of prolonged 'morning after' to the 'euphoria and excesses of the Sixties', there was also something more profound going on.[60] A loss of confidence in the project of modernity could be detected.

The post-Enlightenment idea that humanity could create (through technological and scientific progress and innovation) a better future for itself had clearly come unstuck. Booker sees three aspects to what he terms the 'twentieth-century dream' which were challenged during the 1970s: the belief that science and technology could unlock the 'secrets of the universe' and thus create 'a materially secure and comfortable life for the majority of mankind'; the utopian belief that society could be improved through social and political reorganisation and greater state planning; and the belief that through dismantling the old repressive 'taboos' of the past, individuals could enjoy a 'much greater degree of freedom and self-realization'.[61] Others have seen this historical cultural shift as a move away from the certainties of old metanarratives and towards postmodernity.[62] This drift away from the 'twentieth-century dream' manifested itself in a number of areas; not least in

architecture, which had seen the vast modernising urban projects of the 1960s start to fail on a spectacular scale (with the partial collapse of the Ronan Point tower block in east London in 1968 being one British example). Booker points out that 'nowhere did this loss of confidence in the Modern Movement go further than in the country which, in some ways, had embraced its ideas for comprehensive redevelopment more wholeheartedly than any, Britain'.[63] Perhaps representations of the failure of modernity (and of modern architecture in particular) are most strikingly evident in one of the most infamous films of the decade, *A Clockwork Orange* (Stanley Kubrick, 1971), in which key, brutal sequences were shot in the Thamesmead development in south east London – a vast, futuristic residential council estate.[64]

But other commentators have been keen to develop a more balanced, less dystopian narrative of the political and socio-cultural climate of Britain in the 1970s. After all, despite images of social breakdown, power cuts, the three-day week, and rampant bureaucracy and corruption, an analysis of national performance by the New Economics Foundation in 2004 found that Britain was a happier country in 1976 than at any time since.[65] By the early 1970s, more than half the British population owned their own homes. These properties were often 'markers of affluence, status, identity and independence, decorated in styles – garish patterned wallpaper, thick carpets, Formica surfaces, synthetic tiles – that were supposed to denote luxury and elegance'.[66] Many of these homes enjoyed the benefits of central heating, indoor lavatories, shiny new kitchens and bathrooms, telephones, and electronic appliances such as washing machines, fridges, and freezers.[67] The 1970s saw a continuation of the growth in the cultural and leisure market.[68] This was arguably the 'golden age' of British television. Indeed, by 1973, almost every family in Britain had a television set. Even working-class families were able to enjoy this revolution.[69]Alwyn Turner points out that Christmas 1973 in particular was, for many, 'actually a very happy time'; children excited by candlelit evenings waiting for Father Christmas, and the pop charts filled with cheery glitter pop. Slade's perennial 'Merry Xmas Everybody', perhaps the best-loved song of the era, was an 'antidote to the gathering doom'.[70] There were even successes for British football clubs on

the European stage. And an increasing number of British people were enjoying the freedom to travel beyond the nation's shores. By 1973, 9 million Britons regularly holidayed outside the UK.[71] This trend (discussed in Chapter 2) was mocked by the comedy films *Carry On Abroad* (Gerald Thomas, 1972) and *Are You Being Served?* (Bob Kellett, 1977), and in the television series *Don't Drink the Water* (LWT, 1974–75), in which Blakey (Stephen Lewis) from *On the Buses* (LWT, 1969–73) retires to Spain. So, this was a period of profound change; change which was mediated across a wide variety of British films.

The aims of this book

The historical and biographical fragments pertaining to *Nobody Ordered Love* and *Long Shot* demonstrate that the 1970s careers of professionals involved in two minor films about the trials and tribulations of the British film industry are illustrative of a profoundly fragmented film-making culture. We can see that British actors did not only work within what we might think of as British national cinema. Many of these individuals were cast in films made in the USA, mainland Europe and Australia. We can also see that a number of film-makers, writers, actors, and producers were working increasingly across national boundaries during the 1970s, but also across cinema, television, and other forms of media such as advertising.[72] Dramatists, directors and actors more obviously associated with the highly-regarded world of British theatre also worked in cinema. Famous British pop and rock stars were cast in a number of films (not just musicals). So, British cinema of the 1970s was a variegated affair. It was certainly a period of struggle and difficulty; perhaps even of misery. But it was also an era of transition and change; and, in some areas, of revolution. The 1970s, then, felt for many like a period of opportunity. Within the cracks that appeared in a fragmenting industry, new spaces opened up for ground-breaking and original work; work that often gave expression to previously marginalised voices.[73] The primary purpose of this book is to examine a range of films that were made (often against great odds), and to explore the ways in which these films

offer evidence that it was not only the British film industry that was going through a profound set of changes during the 1970s, but also the nation itself. British cinema of the 1970s is characterised by vicissitudes.

In his influential 1986 article, 'The Lost Continent', Julian Petley argued that large areas of British film history remained unexplored.[74] Thankfully, since the mid-1980s, a plethora of published material has allowed us to venture into the hinterlands of British film history, and historians are to be saluted for breaking this fertile new ground. Continued exploration has recently seen forays into the 1970s, which remained a relative wilderness until the publication of Robert Shail's edited collection *Seventies British Cinema* in 2008, my own edited collection *Don't Look Now* in 2010, and Sue Harper and Justin Smith's *British Film Culture in the 1970s: The Boundaries of Pleasure* (2012). I hope this current book will shed new light on this territory.

In this book I aim to retain an awareness of the tensions inherent in thinking about British national cinema in the 1970s. For Andrew Higson, national cinema is a fluid concept, 'subject to ceaseless negotiations'.[75] Higson points out that national cinema can be defined in economic terms, by focusing on the nature of the industry (infrastructures of production, distribution, and exhibition) rather than the texts themselves. And national cinema can be defined in terms of exhibition and consumption, and the ways in which producers market films internationally.[76] But, in addition to this, as Higson also notes, national cinema can be defined in terms of representation, and, specifically, the ways in which films construct images of nationhood (and the specificities of the iconography they employ to do this). It is the representational aspect of British national cinema that this book primarily explores, while, at the same time, retaining an interest in the industrial and economic contexts of the films under discussion, and their production, distribution, and exhibition histories.

The book examines a range of British films of the 1970s in eight chapters. But it does not offer a straightforward, chronological history of British film production during the period. While it does try to offer information about a substantial number of films, it does not offer an absolutely exhaustive account of 1970s British film

texts and/or their historical contexts. I have chosen particular films for critical appraisal (or, indeed, for passing comment) primarily because it seems to me that they can be considered as rich texts that facilitate the construction of a series of intertwining narratives which might speak not only of the fragmenting nature of British film production and film culture but also of the flux and mutability of Britain (and Britishness) as witnessed in British film representations of the period. So, I am interested mainly in how far British films (of varying degrees of ambition and levels of artistic achievement) serve to evidence the vicissitudes of 1970s British socio-cultural life – how the films of British national cinema show 1970s Britain to itself and to the world. Because of this, I have taken the decision to limit my research to British films that represent Britain, either in the past or in the present, in all its ideological tensions and complexities.

My approach to choosing texts for discussion has been of necessity selective. It is perhaps the prerogative of cultural historians to move towards material that interests them personally, or even material they are passionate about. And, in my view, some of the films I discuss – *O Lucky Man!* (Lindsay Anderson, 1973), *Akenfield* (Peter Hall, 1974), *Requiem for a Village* (David Gladwell, 1975), *Pressure* (Horace Ové, 1975), *The Shout* (Jerzy Skolimowski, 1978), and *Radio On* (Chris Petit, 1979) – stand as some of the richest and most powerful seen in British national cinema, not only in the 1970s, but at any time. But others – while clearly not artistically impressive or always successful at the box office – also operate as intriguing texts which offer themselves up for close analysis, both at the level of their own textual specificity and semiotic richness, but also at the level of the ways in which they operate as fecund historical documents that might facilitate the exploration of broader contextual concerns regarding the vicissitudes of 1970s British cinema and social and cultural history. Taken together, the corpus of films explored in this book represents a vivid cross-section of the types of productions that managed to secure backing from a range of sources in difficult economic conditions. Some of these films are very well known; others less so. Some have been hailed as near-masterpieces; others dismissed (or indeed celebrated) as low-budget trash. Some have become cult films; others, in my view,

could and should be of great interest but have been neglected critically until now. Some of these films were successful at the box office and launched the careers of admired individuals who would go on to become major figures in the business. Others barely made any money at all. But all of these films, when considered together, allow us to ask questions about the operation of a complex British film industry during the 1970s, and at the same time, the shifting nature of Britain and Britishness of the period.

In the writing of this book I wanted to evoke the essentially fragmented and fissured nature of not only British film production but also shifting notions of Britain as an idea, and a falling apart of concepts of Britishness that occurred during the 1970s. So, while I offer case studies of individual films, these studies often shift – or, indeed, fragment – to incorporate an appreciation of other film texts or contexts which one might not consider to have an obvious link to the initial film in question. Indeed, one of my central aims for this book is that it might uncover rich subterranean connections between films, film practitioners, and other extra-textual concerns. I do not want to set up an over-arching historical narrative in order to define 1970s British film culture and representations of Britishness, because the object of scrutiny so clearly resists this. To respect the sheer variety and diversity of film production, I want instead to remain alive to textual and contextual micro-histories, which, when considered together, might serve to evoke the vicissitudes so characteristic of the decade. As such, my discussions cover the unstable ebb and flow of genres; actors' performances and careers; the critical reception of films; the employment of studios and location shooting; innovations in production design; the employment of sound and concomitant developments in technology; diegetic and extra-diegetic music; and key aspects of camerawork, editing, and *mise-en-scène*. But these discussions often switch between films we might not usually place together within recognised, orthodox, and traditional critical frameworks. I take this approach because this is a cinema which cannot be understood in any useful way though traditional scholarly studies of topics such as genre, stardom, or studio production. This is a variegated period of film-making that lacks cohesion, and to lend it cohesion retrospectively would not be a useful exercise.

Moreover, British films of the 1970s cannot usefully be approached in terms of making distinctions (value judgements) between films of high and low artistic achievement, the 'popular' and the 'serious', or separating the semiotic specificities of highly regarded film texts from their socio-cultural contexts of production. Sue Harper and Justin Smith rightly argue that during this period 'the fragmented nature of the economic base gives rise to an inchoate body of films'.[77] In this book I want to show how far the most challenging and artistic of films and conversely, the most throwaway and, to some, seemingly worthless of films, might speak of Britain and Britishness in uncannily similar – and often curiously enlightening – ways.

While I have engaged in some necessary empirical research, I want to make it clear that my primary critical methodology remains close textual analysis. Above all, I am interested in what texts say about 1970s Britain; how they mediate socio-cultural change. My analysis is always keen to incorporate (or at least remain aware of) contextual material and concerns. This is of great importance to my methodology, because the industrial conditions of production and reception are, of course, key factors in the development of films as texts. Indeed, the economic conditions in which films are developed and released inform the formal qualities of these films, their aesthetics, and their systems of representation. In other words, film studios, production companies, and producers shape film budgets, which in turn shape the decisions directors, art directors, and production designers make concerning the look, tone, feel, and, ultimately, the quality of films. So, while British films of the 1970s offer us a deep repository of memories – and, as such, evidence of representational patterns that inform fragmentary notions of Britain and Britishness – they also often offer rich evidence of creative and industrial ingenuity. It also goes without saying that these films do not exist in a cultural vacuum. As such, while I am interested in the contexts of cinema history when examining individual films, I also try – where appropriate – to suggest useful thematic links to literature, poetry, and, of course, television programmes of the decade.

This book does not offer a comprehensive appraisal of every important (or, for that matter, impressive, or even interesting) film

made in Britain during the 1970s or released during that period. From a personal perspective, ideally I would have liked to have covered in more detail the work of a wider range of extraordinary British film-makers who were working throughout the decade – with Nicolas Roeg and Ken Russell springing to mind here. But I am mindful of the fact that their legacies continue to be well documented elsewhere.[78]

While my focus is generally on films made for cinema distribution, I am aware that the 1970s was a rich period of film-making for television. As I am interested in representations of Britain on film during the 1970s, it is with some regret that, while I do refer to a range of films made for television, I have not been able to discuss as many films in detail as I would have liked, such as those made for *BBC Television Shakespeare* (BBC, 1978–85), *Play of the Month* (BBC, 1965–83), and one-off dramas such as the BBC's *Abigail's Party* (Mike Leigh, BBC, 1977), *The Stone Tape* (Peter Sasdy, BBC, 1972), and *Penda's Fen* (Alan Clarke, BBC, 1974). I certainly recognise that, as Dave Rolinson argues persuasively, 'During British cinema's difficulties in the 1970s, television drama became almost an alternative national cinema.'[79] It should not be forgotten that one of the most successful areas of British film production during the 1970s was television spin-offs, such as film versions of situation comedies, but also the *Monty Python* films: *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (Terry Jones and Terry Gilliam, 1974) and *Life of Brian* (Terry Jones, 1979), as well as *And Now for Something Completely Different* (Ian MacNaughton, 1971).[80]

While this book offers an examination of a range of British films of the 1970s which places them within their historical contexts, I remain mindful of the fact that almost all of these films are dealing with representations of England and, as such, with aspects of (or ideas of) Englishness. I have certainly not made a conscious attempt to marginalise films that deal specifically with representations of Wales and Scotland. But it remains an inescapable fact that, in terms of the sheer numbers of films produced during the 1970s, Welsh and Scottish films are very thin on the ground compared to films made in (and about) England. English language films set in Wales during the period tend to focus on national artistic figures, aspects of widely-recognised Welsh culture, or the 'real lives' of

Welsh communities. These films include *Under Milk Wood* (Andrew Sinclair, 1972) – an adaptation of the play for voices by Dylan Thomas, starring Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton and Peter O'Toole. *Dylan* (Richard Lewis, 1978) tells the story of the infamous Welsh poet's final visit to the USA, and his death in New York. *Above Us the Earth* (Karl Francis, 1976) is a docu-drama about Welsh miners, charting the impact of a Rhymney Valley pit closure. And *Grand Slam* (John Hefin, 1978) is a BBC Wales comedy film about the successes of the Welsh rugby union team.[81] In 1970s Scotland, the work of Bill Douglas in his trilogy *My Childhood* (1971), *My Ain Folk* (1973), and *My Way Home* (1978) stands alongside the most poetic and moving films made in Britain (and indeed Europe) during the decade. Other films deal with the day-to-day realities of living in Scotland. For example, *Just Another Sunday* (John Mackenzie, 1975) – a BBC TV *Play for Today* – details sectarian violence that develops during a Protestant Orange Day Parade in the tough streets of Glasgow. *That Sinking Feeling* (Bill Forsyth, 1980) is a Glasgow-set comedy concerning four teenagers.[82] And the Scottish countryside features in films of the period such as *The Ballad of Tam Lin* (aka *The Devil's Widow*) (Roddy McDowell, 1970), which was based on a Scottish folk song and shot in the Scottish Borders, and *The Wicker Man* (Robin Hardy, 1973), which constructs a vision of a remote pagan community on a Scottish island.

We should remember that any history of British cinema is bound up with transnational developments, and we must necessarily be responsive to the shifts in the organisation of the US film industry, especially when one considers that so many British films of the period (particularly during the earlier part of the decade) were funded by US production companies. Indeed, many of the industrial issues confronting British film-makers during the 1970s also pertain to Hollywood. After all, writing about the American film industry in the 1970s, Peter Lev argues that 'in the 1960s and 1970s, the film audience shrank and fragmented, and the verities of the old studio system fell apart. Stars and genres were no longer enough to sell a picture'.[83] The major US studios lost $500 million between 1969 and 1972.[84] By the beginning of the 1970s, Hollywood had moved from investing in traditional, big-budget productions to developing an enthusiasm for new talents

and low-budget films, which often demonstrated the influence of European art cinema.[85] If this was an era of 'nobody knows anything' – a period of uncertainty and disarray in Hollywood – it also provided moments of opportunity. As Lev puts it, 'If nobody knows anything, then everything is permitted.'[86] If it is true that creative moments in film history often take place in periods of social and political conflict – and there is evidence of this in the achievements of New American cinema as well as Italian neo-realism, the French *nouvelle vague* ('new wave'), and the German silent films – then British cinema of the 1970s also offers evidence of this, perhaps in the most unusual and unpredictable of places. Film production in Britain in the 1970s was so fragmented and disparate that it would be difficult (or indeed unhelpful) for us to assign a catch-all term to provide this period with a distinctive identity. But one thing this book does argue is that much British film-making of the 1970s was marked by a distinct hybridity. I want to begin by exploring how shifts in gender politics were represented in a range of British films of the 1970s.

Notes

1   At the time of writing, the prints of *Nobody Ordered Love* have seemingly disappeared. In 2012 the film remains one of the British Film Institute's most sought-after lost films, appearing in their '75 Most Wanted' list. As I have not been able to see the film, I have had to rely on the British Film Institute for information regarding the narrative – specifically, Kevin Lyons' piece, 'Nobody Ordered Love', available online at: www.bfi.org.uk/nationalarchive/news/mostwanted/nobody-ordered-love.html.

   Before her death in 2010, Ingrid Pitt suggested that a print of *Nobody Ordered Love* might still exist, as it has been screened (dubbed) on French television (see Maxford, 'Revelations and Revolutions: Ingrid Pitt', p. 45). Pitt also believed a print might be with Canal Plus, and that another print might be in Canada (see Bradley, 'The Bloody Countess: An Interview with Ingrid Pitt', p. 89).

2   For contemporary reviews of the film, see McGillivray, 'Nobody Ordered Love', and Fox, 'Nobody Ordered Love'.

3   A. Walker, *National Heroes*, p. 15.

4   A. Walker, *National Heroes*, p. 15.

5   J. Walker, *The Once & Future Film*, p. 23.

6   Dickinson and Street, *Cinema and State*, p. 240.

7   Dickinson and Street, *Cinema and State*, p. 240.

8   Dickinson and Street, *Cinema and State*, p. 241; Street, *British National Cinema*, p. 20.

9   Wood, *British Films 1971–1981*, p. 143.

10 Higson, 'A Diversity of Film Practices', p. 217.

11 Park, *Learning to Dream*, p. 61.

12 Higson, 'A Diversity of Film Practices', p. 217.

13 Harper, 'History and Representation: The Case of 1970s British Cinema', p. 29.

14 For more on the work of the BBFC, see Barber, 'British Film Censorship and the BBFC in the 1970s'.

15 See Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, pp. 445–51.

16 Higson, 'A Diversity of Film Practices: Renewing British Cinema in the 1970s', p. 220.

17 Higson, 'A Diversity of Film Practices: Renewing British Cinema in the 1970s', p. 237.

18 Harper, 'Keynote Lecture: Don't Look Now? British Cinema in the 1970s Conference, University of Exeter, July 2007', p. 26.

19 Amicus was a British production company founded and managed by two Americans, Milton Subotsky and Max Rosenberg, at Shepperton Studios. Amicus made fourteen horror films between 1964 and 1974, featuring predominantly British casts (often including Peter Cushing and Christopher Lee) and settings. Amicus produced a number of British films in the 1970s that were not of the horror genre, including *At the Earth's Core* (Kevin Connor, 1974), *Creatures the World Forgot* (Don Chaffey, 1970), *The Land That Time Forgot* (Kevin Connor, 1974), *The People that Time Forgot* (Kevin Connor, 1977) and *Warlords of Atlantis* (Kevin Connor, 1978). See Bryce, *Amicus: The Studio that Dripped Blood*, and Hutchings, 'The Amicus House of Horror'.

20 Egan, 'Exploring the Critical Reception of Ingrid Pitt: Nudity, Feminism, Nostalgia and the 1970s', Culture, Change and Continuity symposium, Aberystwyth University, 15 September 2011.

21 For more on Tony Tenser, see Hamilton, *Beasts in the Cellar*; and for more on Michael Klinger, see Spicer, 'The Precariousness of Production: Michael Klinger and the Role of the Film Producer in the British Film Industry during the 1970s'.

22 For more on Gavrik Losey, see Newland, 'On Location in 1970s London: Gavrik Losey'; and Shaw, 'Picking up the Tab'.

23 Hunt, *British Low Culture: From Safari Suits to Sexploitation*, p. 1.

24 Harper, 'Keynote Lecture: Don't Look Now: British Cinema in the 1970s Conference, University of Exeter, July 2007', p. 23.

25 A. Walker, *National Heroes*, p. 16.

26 A. Walker, *National Heroes*, p. 16.
27 A. Walker, *National Heroes*, p. 17.
28 A. Walker, *National Heroes*, p. 17.
29 Dawson, 'Sunday Bloody Sunday', p. 164.
30 Milne, 'Sunday Bloody Sunday', p. 147.
31 A. Walker, *National Heroes*, p. 19.
32 Gerrard, 'What a Carry On! The Decline and Fall of a Great British Institution', p. 39.
33 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, p. 79.
34 Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, p. 51.
35 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 60.
36 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 60.
37 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 97.
38 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, pp. 10–11.
39 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, p. 12.
40 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, pp. 103–4.
41 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, p. 100.
42 Moore-Gilbert, 'Introduction: Cultural Closure or Post-avantgardism?', p. 3.
43 Moore-Gilbert, 'Introduction: Cultural Closure or Post-avantgardism?', pp. 2–3.
44 Laing, 'The Politics of Culture: Institutional Change in the 1970s', p. 30.
45 *Time*, 26 November 1973. Quoted in Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 7.
46 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 168.
47 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, p. 16.
48 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 172.
49 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, p. 228.
50 Moore-Gilbert, 'Introduction: Cultural Closure or Post-avantgardism?', p. 5.
51 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 286.
52 Moore-Gilbert, 'Introduction: Cultural Closure or Post-avantgardism?', pp. 2–6.
53 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 24.
54 Forster and Harper, 'Introduction', in Laurel Forster and Sue Harper (eds), *British Culture and Society in the 1970s*, p. 3.
55 Hunt, *British Low Culture: From Safari Suits to Sexploitation*, p. 1.
56 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 454.
57 Lev, *American Films of the 70s: Conflicting Visions*, p. 182.
58 Booker, *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade*, p. 5.
59 Booker, *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade*, p. 5.
60 Booker, *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade*, p. 7.

61 Booker, *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade*, pp. 22–3.
62 For a detailed account of postmodernity, see Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*; and Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*.
63 Booker, *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade*, p. 18.
64 Sounes, *Seventies: The Sights, Sounds and Ideas of a Brilliant Decade*, p. 126.
65 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, p. ix.
66 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 19.
67 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 6.
68 Laing, 'The Politics of Culture: Institutional Change in the 1970s', p. 29.
69 Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, p. 5.
70 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, p. 22.
71 Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*, p. 165.
72 For more on film-makers who worked in advertising, see Sargeant, 'Hovis, Ovaltine, Mackeson's and the *Days of Hope* Debate'.
73 Shail, 'Introduction: Cinema in the Era of "Trouble and Strife"', p. xviii.
74 Petley, 'The Lost Continent'.
75 Higson, *Waving the Flag: Constructing a National Cinema in Britain*, p. 4.
76 Higson, *Waving the Flag: Constructing a National Cinema in Britain*, pp. 4–5.
77 Harper and Smith, 'Introduction', p. 6.
78 For more on Ken Russell, see Atkins, *Ken Russell*; Hanke, *Ken Russell's Films*; Wilson, *Ken Russell, A Director in Search of a Hero*; Gomez, *The Adaptor as Creator*; Phillips, *Ken Russell*; Flanagan (ed.), *Ken Russell: Re-viewing England's Last Mannerist*. For more on Nicolas Roeg, see Feineman, *Nicolas Roeg*; Lanza, *Fragile Geometry: The Films, Philosophy and Misadventures of Nicolas Roeg;* Sinyard, *The Films of Nicolas Roeg*; Izod, *The Films of Nicolas Roeg*; Salwolke, *Nicolas Roeg: Film By Film*; Sanderson, *Don't Look Now*; MacCabe, *Performance*.
79 Rolinson, 'The Last Studio System', p. 165.
80 For more on British television in the 1970s, see Forster, '1970s Television: A Self-conscious Decade'.
81 Woodward , 'I Was There? Rugby, National Identity and Devolution in 1970s Wales', Culture, Change and Continuity symposium, Aberystwyth University, 15 September 2011.
82 For more on Scotland on film, see Petrie, *Screening Scotland*.
83 Lev, *American Films of the 70s: Conflicting Visions*, p. xvi.
84 Bordwell and Thompson, *Film History: An Introduction*, p. 697.
85 Lev, *American Films of the 70s: Conflicting Visions*, p. 6.
86 Lev, *American Films of the 70s: Conflicting Visions*, p. xvii.