

**Investing a Studio with Meaning:
The Construction of Fictional Space in British Television Drama
and the Police Series of 1955-82**

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Declaration

This thesis contains all my own work. It has not been submitted for a degree at any other University. None of the work within this thesis has been published, or submitted for a previous degree.

Abstract

British television drama shot in the studio using videotape technology has traditionally been considered to have its own distinctive aesthetic throughout academic studies. The purpose of this study is to test this hypothesis and to explore how representational aesthetics developed for the British television studio from 1955 to 1982. Throughout this era there were a number of different methods of producing television drama in the UK. Practitioners could shoot a drama predominantly in the studio with multiple video cameras, film the majority of their material on location with a single film camera, or use an Outside Broadcast (OB) video system on location. This thesis examines the aesthetic progression of studio-shot drama using video technology and reassesses the notion that it is somehow not authentically televisual on account of its close affinity to theatrical aesthetic practice.

In order to achieve this aim this thesis uses the British police series as a genre case study. The thesis examines landmark police series with a methodology that takes into account how the material spaces of production in television studios conditioned the aesthetic forms of programmes. With this understanding of space in mind the close textual analyses of landmark police texts incorporate a semiotic discourse, as used in Theatre Studies, that pays close attention to proxemics, space and performance. This enables the thesis to chart the aesthetic development of studio fiction, explore the plurality of the studio technique and assess the role space itself has in the visual articulation of character and themes. As part of this case study the thesis discerns to what extent, and in what manner, studio-shot fiction engaged with sociological debates surrounding class and gender occurring within British society.

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Introduction

Studio-based drama was a bastard child of two forms: the theatre (continuous performance) and cinema (various length of lens affording different points of view and sizes of image). Far from constituting an exciting new form, it seemed to me to have all the disadvantages and none of the advantages of its parents (Garnett 2000, p. 16).

The electronic camera, the playwright and the actor in a television studio present one of the most powerful creative triumvirates available to the dramatic artist today. Things can be said within that form, of a subtlety and concentration not available anywhere else in the modern artistic world (Taylor 1990, p. 263).

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse British television studio drama shot with video camera technology and chart how its use developed from 1955 until 1982. This analysis is principally interested in how studio drama developed aesthetically throughout this era. There is much difference in opinion between television academics and dramatists, who worked in television throughout this period, as exemplified by the opinions of producer Tony Garnett and director Don Taylor quoted above. Currently, the advocates of film technology and critics of the studio form have overshadowed any studies that exist on the television studio. Influential essays by Troy Kennedy Martin (1964), Ken Loach (1966), David Hare (1991), and Tony Garnett (2000), in particular, examine the benefits and artistic merits of film technology on location. This thesis, however, considers in greater detail the progression of key aesthetical practices that have rarely been examined in depth in previous studies of television.

Superiority of Filmed Drama and the Development Model

Television is traditionally characterised as a hybrid medium, a medium that attempts to replicate and/or reproduce other art forms. Rather than being considered an original and authentically televisual form, studio drama is considered

to be a mixture of dramatic techniques used in the cinema and the theatre; 'a bastard child of two forms' as previously stated by Garnett. Attempts to use video technology in the television studio, from the late 1970s onwards, often represents a retrogressive move away from the developments made in television drama using film technology during the 1960s and 1970s. Humble (1988) describes the status of studio drama in this period:

The image of film is young and energetic, endlessly flexible, whereas studio video-tape is seen as rather stuffy, stodgy, never quite managing to look like the real life you're always seeing on the news, in documentaries and in television and cinema films. (...) [Studio-based drama on] British television is now used largely for the cheaper popular series (Humble 1988, pp.59-60).

This superior status of filmed drama on location, in relation to the studio, is reinforced by the testimonies of canonical writers, directors and producers of the duopoly period, such as Kennedy Martin (1964), Loach (1966), and Garnett (2000) as mentioned earlier. David Hare (1991) in particular justifies his refusal to work in the studio, claiming:

For years, the needs and interests of those who create the work at the BBC have been subordinate to the determination of the executive to shape the organisation into an industrial machine, and nowhere has this pressure been more disastrous than in the run-down of the film units and the insane over-investment in videotape studios. Years ago the decision was taken to build these stale over-lit shells in a great circle round the ground floor of TV Centre, and industrial logic now demands they are used to the maximum and that all programmes, however dissimilar, be jammed into them. Whence *Sportsnight* is broadcast, there too must *Play for Today* be made (Hare 1991, p.99).

It is not just the testimonies of those who worked in television drama that are responsible for this predominant interest in filmed drama within television studies. Television scholarship itself adheres to a development model. Essays from academics such as Charles Barr (1997) and Martin McCloone (1997), amongst many

others, characterise television in its early years as being an ephemeral medium closest to the theatre in terms of its aesthetics. This form is then seen to gradually develop into a medium closely aligned with cinema through several catalysing technological developments.

Barr (1997) singles out five key developments; the possibility to cut between video camera shots in June 1946; the ability to shoot directly onto film in 1953 (telerecording); the capacity to record onto videotape in April 1958; and the editing of videotape. Barr argues that all of these gradual developments combined to eventually render the transmissions of live fictional material obsolete by the 1960s. These technological breakthroughs, according to Barr, sketch out a steady move away from a live, immediate and theatrical form towards a cinematic mode of drama. The introduction of Film on Four, for Barr, represents a close convergence between television and cinema as films made by and for television became shown in cinemas with *My Beautiful Laundrette* (Stephen Frears 1985) being a prime example. Existing histories on the development of British television drama during the duopoly period including Martin McLoone (1997), Lez Cooke (2003), John Caughie (2000a), and James Chapman (2002) are dominated by this development model narrative. This thesis aims to complicate such a narrative through an examination of the studio's use from 1955 to 1982 and propose an alternative development model that focuses on the studio.

Research Questions

In line with its principal objectives, this thesis aims to address the following research concerns:

- In relation to the various methods of producing television drama, studio-shot television fiction using video cameras is argued to have a distinctive aesthetic. How does this aesthetic evolve throughout the duopoly period?

- How are performances shaped by the spatial possibilities of the studio?
Namely, what are the key visual aesthetics of the studio technique, how do these aesthetics develop and how can this challenge the existing dominance of the development model?
- To what extent does studio-shot drama engage with sociological debates, particularly issues surrounding political notions of class and gender?

Whilst addressing these principal interests, this thesis also aims to consider the following wider concerns:

- How can the theatrical legacy of the British television studio be reassessed without automatically characterising studio drama as a hindrance to the progression of televisual drama?
- How do the material spaces of production (in television studios and on location) condition the aesthetic forms of programmes?
- How are fictional spaces shaped by the series format and single play format?
As the studio technique progresses throughout the duopoly era, how are these two narrative forms, and their spatial practices, merged and boundaries confused?
- What is a set designer's degree of input on a studio production? How does this role develop from 1955 to 1982?

Context¹

The period of study is 1955-82 for both critical and pragmatic reasons. 1955 was the year in which ITV broadcasting began in the UK. Following this the production facilities already established by the BBC were expanded to include new studios. ITV developed television studios and its programme suppliers also put new spaces in place in the form of studios and sound stages located at cinema production sites such as Elstree and Pinewood.

In the 1955-82 period television production technologies gradually changed for drama from production on video in the studio, where spaces were necessarily simulated, to production on film (16 mm and 35 mm) on location. In the 1970s a hybrid of Outside Broadcast (OB) video also became common, where video cameras were used in exterior locations. Production technologies and spaces proliferated: Euston Films was established, landmark all-video serials were made, including *Love for Lydia* (LWT 1977) and *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (BBC 1978). *Sweeney!* (David Wickes 1977) was the first cinema film produced by a UK television company that was adapted from a filmed television series, and *Brideshead Revisited* (Granada 1981) combined the all-location, all-16mm approach with the type of long serial form that, until then, had been made on video or a mixture of film and video. In the early 1980s, neither film technologies nor OB video were dominant and this period of transition calls for investigation.

The popularisation of videotape technology in the early 1960s, following its invention in 1958, had a key role in the flourishing of these various types of production technologies and spaces. Its ability to record material meant that live transmissions of drama soon became outdated. What had previously been a division between the dramatic fiction film and live transmissions, synonymous with the studio, appeared to be less clear cut. This is why this period of evolution is of such interest to studies of television. Video technology in particular resulted in:

¹ This context is taken from the AHRC research proposal for the project, 'Spaces of Television: Production, Site and Style' of which this study is a part. This section is indebted to Jonathan Bignell, James Chapman, Stephen Lacey, Billy Smart and Leah Panos for providing the research parameters to this thesis and project as a whole.

A blurring of what had commonly been seen as a clear structure of oppositions between two media, on the level not only of institutional framework, economics of consumption, and so on, but of 'language' and aesthetics' (Barr 1997, pp. 50-51).

Then by the 1990s all modes of television production were beginning to be displaced by digital shooting and editing. Similarly plans for High Definition (HD) production developed. 1993 was the year of BBC's *Cardiac Arrest*, the first drama series to be made using digital video, thus marking the next stage in television drama production. The last drama series to be shot on video in the television studio was *House of Elliot* in 1993 and in 1994 the BBC made the *Performance* season of single dramas whose studio production was highlighted as exceptional and experimental.

These different uses of space for television production inevitably impacted upon the aesthetics of programmes. In the 1950s and 1960s, performance styles for multi-camera studio shooting had to adapt to the constraints of limited physical space, emphasis on the close-up and restricted opportunities for sets and complex lighting. Shooting on location enabled the embedding of performance in 'real' spaces and settings, and more complex lighting for each separately shot sequence. In the television industry, vigorous debates were conducted about the 'intimacy' of the studio and the primacy of acted performance, versus the 'realism' and political engagement with social space offered by location filming. In addition, programme genre informed these histories in significant ways by often placing period drama and comedy in the studio (where live audiences were important to the latter genre), while contemporary action series used locations. This research will challenge the assumptions made about the television studio and the conventions of genre through its analysis of the police series.

Previous research has been conducted on some aspects of this thesis' research interests, but not on space as a material condition of television production affecting its spatial aesthetics. Television historiography, including work by Cooke (2003), Lacey and MacMurrough-Kavanagh (1999), Chapman (2002), and Bignell

(2010), has investigated aspects of the perceived shift from video to film. Particular genres have been analysed in relation to their production systems (e.g., ITC filmed action series, studio-shot situation comedy, filmed social drama). Similarly, work on British television institutions by Briggs (1961-95) and Sendall (1982-83) have given accounts of the development of production resources such as the building of new studios. These works have not, however, connected the economic and policy considerations within the shifting hierarchies of programme genres where, for example, privileged producers and directors were given access to location filming facilities while low-budget programmes became increasingly confined to the studio. This is a concern this thesis will address whilst examining what made studio-shot fiction distinctive.

Police series

The British police series will be used as a case study to chart the aesthetic development of studio-shot drama. This is a relevant case study as the police series was integral to the development of British television drama having been at the forefront of institutional, technological and ideological changes within the television industry. Regularly attracting viewers since television's inception, the police genre is undoubtedly an ideal case study for charting how desires and expectations of fictional space repeatedly changed. This study of police series begins with *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC 1955-76) as this was the first major police series hit that regularly attracted viewers of 11 million on a weekly basis (Cooke 2003, p. 49). The study then concludes with *Juliet Bravo* (BBC 1980-85) as this was the last police series shot in the studio through video technology before digital cameras and filming on location became the new dominant aesthetic form of television drama. The rise of smaller independent production companies, due to Channel 4's economic model, resulted in the larger resourced studio-shot police drama successes, such as *Juliet Bravo* (BBC 1980-1985) and *The Gentle Touch* (LWT 1980-1984) becoming far less prominent. Although the highly successful *The Bill* (Thames 1983-2010) can be considered an exception to the rule, it did in fact rely heavily on OB video units on

exterior locations before adopting digital cameras in line with the new era of television drama production.

As many British police series were transmitted from 1955 to 1982, it would be impossible to sufficiently analyse them all within a doctoral study. This thesis has, therefore, had to undergo a rigorous selection process. The series chosen for analysis are those in which the everyday work of tangible police squads and detective units are regularly depicted. Action and espionage series including *Gideon's Way* (ITC 1965-66), *Department S* (ITC 1969-70), *The Professionals* (LWT 1977-83), and *The Sandbaggers* (Yorkshire 1978-80) are, as a result, not included in this study. These series are escapist and fantastical in nature and are less interested in legitimate methods used by the criminal justice system to tackle trends in crime. Also, they are not primarily concerned with reflecting social change as experienced by its viewers. As they are hybrid genres shot on filmed locations they would embroil the thesis in questions of genre, causing it to lose sight of its focus on the nature of the studio technique. Although such series may be considered police series in another context, they are not deemed so in this instance.

Similarly, the police series that *have* been chosen for study in this thesis are those which were popular at their time of transmission and directly engaged with an audience, regarding sociological debate, as a result. This thesis is not interested in marginal series but those which were popular and regularly attracted viewers in their millions and so played a significant and influential part in the construction of a cultural and social epoch.

Series that will enable this study to analyse the aesthetical development of studio-shot drama in sufficient depth are *Dixon of Dock Green*, *Z Cars* (BBC 1962-1978), *Special Branch* (Thames 1969- 74), *Hunters Walk* (ATV 1973-76), *The Sweeney* (Thames 1975- 1978), *The Gentle Touch* and *Juliet Bravo*. This selection of programmes, which include series that either rely on using videotape technology in the studio or are predominantly filmed on location, will allow this thesis to examine how each method of production explores socio-economic debates differently. This is possible because all of the texts are interested in the everyday experiences of

police officers, detectives, citizens and the inner workings of the UK's criminal justice system.

However, these series are also interested in the commonly perceived split between the 'public and the personal, work and leisure, reason and emotion, action and contemplation' (Geraghty 1991: 40). Endemic to our culture these oppositions tend to be perceived as exuding from notions of the masculine and the feminine. The police series is a television genre that is particularly interested in these oppositions, more so than it has been given credit for in past studies. Therefore, the spatial articulation of sociological debate and representation of gender is of central importance to this genre analysis.

Following the hardship of the Second World War there was a collective belief amidst British society of a 'future of full employment, social justice, and a minimum level of welfare for all people' that 'informed the politics of both the Labour and Conservative parties, and served as the ideal to which their respective governments aspired while in office' (Kent 1999, p. 335). The police series 'has been a privileged site for the staging of the trauma of the break-up of the post-war settlement' (Brunsdon 2000a, p. 196) particularly where class and gender equality are concerned. An analysis of how police series, either shot in the studio or filmed on location, engage with these political debates surrounding class and gender spatially, will enable this study to discern what makes studio-shot drama using video technology distinctive as well as chart its development.

Methodology

As the research behind this thesis is interested in how production spaces conditioned the aesthetic forms of programmes from 1955-1982, the material spaces of production need to be examined. The material spaces of production are understood, throughout this thesis, as a component of the economic, institutional and political histories of British television. The availability of production space, its architectural design, and the cultural meanings of these conditions of production,

need to be considered with regards to how they changed over time and were negotiated among professional personnel in the television industry. This material space will be studied in relation to the impact it had on modes of performance, styles of camera work, and the significance of visual design. The fictional space produced will then be understood as a component of the *mise en scène* that will be studied in a subsequent police series case study. In order to provide a revisionist history this PhD will overlap these two separate notions of spatial analysis. This revisionist history will offer an original methodological and theoretical approach to television space historiographically, aesthetically and culturally in examining the notion that studio-shot television fiction using video technology had a unique aesthetic.

A Methodology for Detailed Research into the Use of Space: The Black Box

In order to conjoin these separate forms of spatial analysis a methodological model must be established that takes into account the institutional and historical significance behind analysing television texts. Therefore, this thesis adopts the 'black box' model proposed by Simon Frith (2000), created to ensure that television programmes are understood in relation to the broadcasting environment of their time. Frith is aware that television is primarily studied through four disciplines: Film Studies, Cultural Studies, Media Studies and Communication Studies. In each mode of study television is presented as 'a different kind of object' (Frith 2000, p. 34). Frith argues, however, that making television the object of a single disciplinary approach would not fully realise its social significance. What must be examined is 'how these issues relate to each other' (Frith 2000, p. 34). According to Frith, 'technological, political, economic, managerial, professional and aesthetic issues are intermingled' (Frith 2000, p. 35) which is what makes television so unique in relation to other artistic mediums. It is the intermingling of these issues that leads to Frith's reasoning behind the following diagram:

The institutional framework of production: REGULATION: market forces and public service

V

THE BLACK BOX

V

The institutional framework of reception: THE AUDIENCE: the market and the public (Frith 2000, p. 37)

What this methodological model demonstrates is that studying television, according to Frith, occurs across three strands of television research that need to be woven together; production studies, textual analysis, and ethnographic research. It is this dialogue between these three strands of research that will help this study to understand what happens within the 'black box' from a predominately spatial perspective. Therefore, this thesis will examine how material space is utilised from a production viewpoint and then apply this examination to the fictional text itself whilst considering the affects this may have had on audiences where relevant.

Production Studies

When engaging in production studies it is worth considering the four challenges that arise when constructing a historiographical study of television, as identified by John Corner (2003). Firstly, according to Corner, there is the 'problem of periodization' (Corner 2003, p. 277). Corner dismisses the use of decades as a way of classifying historical change, through 'institutional or personnel-led factors', as being 'problematic' (Corner 2003, p. 277). Cooke, however, believes that periodisation in this manner does 'enable researchers to identify certain broad tendencies in the historical development of British television drama' (Cooke 2003, p. 5). The overall timeframe of this PhD is 1955-1982, due to carefully considered cultural, technological and institutional reasons previously outlined in the 'context' section of this introduction. This timeframe enables the thesis to analyse how the spatial aesthetics of studio-shot drama using videotape progress and develop.

The second problem for Corner is the balance between longitudinal and latitudinal connections. Such frameworks can be a challenge because an account of broadcasting history needs to contain monumental ambition yet at the same time include more specific analyses of particular production practices. In order to avoid such difficulties this investigation has a clear focus on its frameworks of analysis that are clearly outlined in the literature review. Namely, the aesthetics of space are the main focus of study. Material production space is analysed to deduce how the studio-shot series differed from the studio-shot single play between the years 1955-62. The subsequent police series case study then considers how these initial distinctions and approaches to space are merged and complicated throughout 1962-82 through close textual analyses.

The third obstacle to overcome when constructing a television historiography, for Corner, is the character of a 'historical narrative'. Corner states that organising a historical reading into a historical telling involves 'a tension between plotting the pattern of changes and plotting the density of particular moments' (Corner 2003, p. 278). Providing a context at the start of a study can develop a 'sustained lateral analysis' at the same time as progressing 'a single, chronological narrative' (Corner 2003, p. 278). This is why the first chapter of this thesis examines the development of the material spaces of production as a contextual framework. This framework is then examined in relation to the affect it has on the *mise en scène* produced in later police dramas. Corner also advocates the use of case studies for solving this problem as they are an effective method for finding a balance between patterning general changes whilst also analysing the density of particular moments. The first chapter of this thesis uses case studies to help identify the differences that existed between the spatial policies of the studio-shot single play and studio-shot series from 1955-1962. ABC's *Armchair Theatre* (1956-74) productions are used as a case study in relation to *Dixon of Dock Green*. Both case studies examine how a single play's material space of production was approached differently to that of the series. Then the thesis uses *Z Cars*, *Special Branch*, *Hunters Walk*, *The Sweeney*, *The Gentle Touch*, and *Juliet Bravo* as case

studies over the remaining chapters to chart how these differences become complicated.

The last problem Corner draws attention to is that of 'normative schemes', namely; to what level 'should the values of the present consciously inform historical analysis and writing?' (Corner 2003, p. 278). Corner is wary of the dangers concerning an 'over-distanced approach' to the past, or approaching it with 'undue proximity' (Corner 2003, p. 278). This problem will be overcome by adopting the methods used by Jason Jacobs (2000). A very effective way Jacobs maintains a firm understanding of past values is by utilising instructional documents from that time. By presenting D.C. Birkenshaw's and D.R. Campbell's 'Studio Technique in Television' from the *Journal of Institute of Electrical Engineers* from 1945, Jacobs provides a key example of standard technological practice of that time. It is then comparatively analysed against television plays from the same era to discern the degree of their ambitiousness. Through such archival documentation Jacobs is able to accurately determine the extent to which the plays he analyses pushes the aesthetic boundaries of past television drama. This thesis therefore conducts accurate archival research through this technique.

Archival Research

In order to construct a revisionist, studio-centred, historical narrative it is imperative to engage with archived materials from production companies. However, partaking in archival research presents specific obstacles and difficulties identified by a number of researchers. Lynn Spigel suggests that because an archive is 'preceded by discursive' information that 'selects, acquires, and arranges words and things', researchers are in fact unable to find the 'truth about the past', and in the end can only discover a 'rationale (or lack thereof) of the filing system itself' (Spigel 2005, p. 67-8). Another problem, identified by Julia Noordegraaf, is that broadcasting archives are 'not primarily geared towards historical research' as they exist principally to 'serve the broadcaster' (Noordegraaf 2010, p. 6). John Corner has also observed that much of what is available in archives has already been pre-

selected according to 'criteria not available to the researcher using the material as a resource' (Corner 2003, p. 277).

This is a particular problem that affects the research objectives of this study. In order to uncover specific production practices this research utilises a vast array of resources including archival records of production, designs for production facilities, histories of production technologies, testimony of professionals involved in television production, and institutional policies. In particular records of the physical spaces of production such as studio floor-plans held in the files of specific programmes are studied. The thesis examines institutional records of policy discussions regarding the creation, modification and resourcing of production facilities. Such files are held at the IBA/ITA archives (Bournemouth University), BBC Written Archive (Reading), and ABC/Thames archive (BFI National Library).

However, documents within these particular archives are not classified this simply. Files are not held on studios specifically as they are framed under the production files of key programmes. The methodological difficulty has lain in extracting the appropriate studio information from such files and then drawing together a studio-centred narrative from what is available. Therefore, the archive research carried out within this thesis has used and developed a range of methodologies in television historiography. This has included the aesthetic analysis of space and place and the iconography of represented space, archival research into production histories, institutional analysis of policy and investment, cultural analysis of the significance of place and space as representations, and critical commentary by professionals. Subsequently, the utilisation of such resources should produce a legitimate studio-centred revisionist history of British television drama.

Textual Analysis

With the methodological model that will be used to construct a historical studio narrative established, it is imperative that a model of textual analysis is devised to

engage with these findings. It is also important that a specific vocabulary is used to enable this thesis to construct new readings of the *mise en scène* produced. The typical view is that because broadcasting spends the first thirty years of its existence with speech and no vision, 'orthodoxy in early television...assumes a hierarchy in which the image fulfils a service role in relation to script rather than functioning as a fully articulated discourse' (Caughie 2000a, p. 100). This view is starkly different to that of cinema. Because cinema spends the first thirty years of its existence with vision and no speech it is seen to develop a 'highly elaborated visual rhetoric which survives the arrival of sound' that determines the hierarchies of speech and image, carrying with it 'a respect for visual style, *mise en scène* and the director' (Caughie 2000a, p. 100). This presumption that television is not a visual medium will be challenged throughout the course of this study. Understanding the studio in terms of its representation of place, and its dramatic significance, can only be achieved through a methodology that concentrates on a close analysis of programmes themselves whilst relating them back to the production context in which they were made.

The methodological approach adopted to deconstruct *mise en scène*, with a specific focus on space and performance, draws on Helen Wheatley's (2005) examination of *Upstairs Downstairs* (LWT 1971-75). Wheatley refuses to disregard the studio as theatrical space transferred to another medium. Her analysis demonstrates that certain television dramas can harness a visual rhetoric as part of a fully articulated discourse without having to fulfil a service role in relation to a script. Wheatley argues that reading Lady Marjorie (Rachel Gurney) spatially, in the context of the studio setting, provides a different view of Marjorie's character in contrast to her immediate actions and dialogue that depict her as an anti-feminist.

In the opening shots of the episode 'Magic Casements' (ITV, 23/1/1972), Lady Marjorie, as Wheatley describes, is 'encased behind her desk' (Wheatley 2005, p. 154). Marjorie's costuming emphasises this 'sense of enclosure', a high collar and heavy corsetry 'all suggesting a sense of containment' (Wheatley 2005, p. 154). Then, later in the episode, Marjorie's date at the opera involves costuming and props that are now employed to visually articulate her repressed desire. The

kimono dress and silk screen painted with the Himalayan mountains are 'both coded as "foreign", representing the exotic outside to which she has no access' (Wheatley 2005, p. 154). In front of the screen Marjorie is now able to stretch, 'resting her arms behind her head as if basking in the sun; the screen therefore operates as a "magic casement" in this scene, and eloquently expresses this character's interior state' (Wheatley 2005, p. 154). Such a mode of textual analysis that pays careful attention to the importance of a set design, space and costuming, to read character within a studio context, is vital to the success of this PhD.

The textual analyses conducted throughout this thesis will be read in relation to socio-cultural trends linked to gender issues in Britain at their time of broadcast. Heavily relying on textual analysis without conducting detailed interviews with the programme's creators, to understand their intentions, may seem restrictive, especially when drawing connections between television fiction and society. However, much like Wheatley's deconstruction of *Upstairs Downstairs* the textual analyses conducted are carried out in such a manner because they are interested in 'television's role in the process of "working through" events and issues' (Wheatley 2005: 149) rather than definitive conclusions and the ideological purpose of its writers. As Newcomb and Hirsch state:

In television specifically, the raising of questions is as important as the answering of them...[We] argue that television does not present firm ideological conclusions – despite its formal conclusions – so much as it comments on ideological problems...for the most part the rhetoric of television drama is a rhetoric of discussion' (Newcomb and Hirsch 2000: 565-566).

Therefore, utilising textual analysis enables this thesis to engage more fully with, and do justice to, the open ended and complex sociological discussions that are embedded in studio drama's rich visual discourse. This method has proven to work particularly well in Wheatley's analysis of *Upstairs Downstairs*. Here Wheatley draws attention to a set of key questions about women in 1970s British society

raised by the studio's visual aesthetic. Such a mode of textual analysis can thus bring to light nuanced and detailed readings never considered before.

Semiotics

Textual analyses used in this thesis share Wheatley's view that a studio is able to employ a visual rhetoric as part of a fully articulated discourse. By focusing on the spatial aspects of a performance, the textual analyses undertaken in this thesis also take Wheatley's model a step further by engaging closely with a semiotic discourse used to deconstruct theatre texts. As Caughie has stated, 'given the centrality of acting to the classic serial, to quality television and to television drama in general...the absence of theoretically informed critical writing about acting is surprising' (Caughie 2000b, p. 162). As noted in the introduction, television's relationship with theatre is often considered to be of detriment to the aesthetic ambition of television drama. This is probably why it is not common practice to use such a discourse in relation to television texts. However, given that television has traditionally provided a drama in which 'a woman standing up with her hand resting on a table and looking at you in a certain way is an incident... in other words, a drama in which acting as details plays a very particular part' (Caughie 2000b, p. 166) it seems only natural to provide a theoretically informed mode of analysis that concentrates on acting.

The semiotic discourse used to deconstruct the *mise en scène* of television dramas in this thesis borrows elements from both Keir Elam (1980) and Patrice Pavis (2003). Unlike the semiotic tradition utilised in studies of film, such as Adrian Page's (2000) study of contemporary television drama that locates 'subversive uncoded signs in dialogue' (Page 2000, p. 12), Elam and Pavis belong to the theatrical tradition of semiotics that pay careful attention to proxemics, space and performance. As there has traditionally been a rejection of the theatrical form of semiotic discourse, given Television Studies' preoccupation with film technology, borrowing such a vocabulary offers a distinctive way of analysing television texts.

As a 'science dedicated to the study of production of meaning in society whereby meanings are both generated and exchanged' (Elam 1980, p. 1), Elam believes a semiotic analysis has to break a text's macro sign down into smaller units belonging to different cooperative systems. Every aspect of performance, according to Elam, is governed by a denotation-connotation dialectic, a 'constantly shifting network of primary and secondary meanings' (Elam 1980, p. 11). Usually there is more than one secondary meaning due to the polysemic character of the theatrical sign vehicle. For example, a costume can connote 'socioeconomic, psychological and moral' characteristics (Elam 1980, p. 11). As established previously, studio-shot drama using video technology is a mode of drama where an actor's interactions with props are able to exist beyond their immediate narrative function. Therefore, this thesis is interested in how signs operate; namely how a signifier (a material object or quality) is signified (what it is taken to mean in context) i.e. how particular components of the *mise en scène* can function beyond their literal and iconic significance.

Elam feels that an actor's body within a theatrical text is a 'communicative medium' that operates according to the science of kinesics in its use of gesture (Elam 1980, p. 71). Elam reads a gesture as a movement that 'indicates the intentionality of an actor's given utterance' (Elam 1980, p. 75). Like Elam this thesis is interested in how gesture is used to interact with space and how it is used to reflect what a character is thinking. Be it through illocutionary markers, which correspond to the illocutionary force of language, or attitudinal markers, that are indicative not of the act intended but of the attitude adopted towards the world. Focusing on the use of gesture and how it indicates the intentionality of a given utterance suits television's heightened intimacy. Television has always had the ability to focus on the slightest of movements, and their potential incongruity with what is being said, in great detail.

Pavis, in his understanding of semiology, believes there is no use in trying to locate and isolate elements from the continuum of a performance into 'minimal units, categories or signs' (Pavis 2003, p. 15). Treating theatre as a system of codes in this nature, he believes, 'unnecessarily dissects the perceptual impression that a

theatrical performance has on a spectator' (Pavis 2003, p. 17). Instead Pavis aligns himself with 1980s critiques of classical semiological analyses where a performance is conceived as a synthesis of frameworks. He is more interested in an analysis of the *mise en scène* and how it determines and synthesises the acting options and dramaturgical choices, rather than dismantling an audience's perception into component parts. Pavis believes that a text is a network of signs, 'web like threads in holding a production together and preventing it from total fragmentation' (Pavis 2003, p. 18). Pavis disregards a semiological description that Elam might use. This is because Pavis believes fragmenting the actor's performance, into what he deems as 'overly narrow specialist units', loses sight of the 'overall nature of its signification' (Pavis 2003, p. 64).

Instead, Pavis' method of deconstructing performance uses a process of segmentation that tries to preserve a coherence and wholeness. An analysis of an acting sequence can only occur, according to Pavis, if one takes into consideration the totality of a performance resituated in the narrative structure. As a way of avoiding 'arbitrarily segmenting the signifier so as to translate it into possible signifieds' (Pavis 2003, p. 17), Pavis is interested in how signs are held together throughout a scene by invisible web like threads, known as 'vectors'. Pavis analyses scenes with regards to how the lines of force of an overall performance are changed when a disruption or displacement occurs to one of these vectors. In line with this system, the textual analyses undertaken in this thesis will use this model in relation to how props are used and how they are instrumental in changing the overall meaning of a scene.

According to Pavis there are four stages to an object's use and how it alters the 'vectorial trajectory' of a scene (Pavis 2003, p. 190). The first stage is known as accumulation; here a prop has more than one identity or significations. The second stage is the connection where an object's new use displaces its 'former use to a reserve meaning' (Pavis 2003, p. 191). Third is displacement, this is when the displacement produces 'a strong sense of surprise' that causes a 'rupture in the metaphoric or metonymic chain' of a scene (Pavis 2003, p. 191). The 'new identity of the object breaks the thread of what has occurred beforehand, and necessitates

a start from new bases' (Pavis 2003, p. 191). The fourth stage is when this accumulation and displacement combine to completely *destabilise* an audience's perception of the whole scene. Each textual analysis will use this system to consider how an actor's use of props, in the studio, developed from 1955-82.

Quantitative context

All too often studies of television utilise a form of textual analysis that is purely qualitative and interpretive in its nature. In order to analyse the visual discourse of studio-shot drama, using video technology, this thesis adds a statistical element to its close textual analyses. This is achieved through a sample of six episodes from *Z Cars*, *Hunters Walk*, *The Sweeney*, *The Gentle Touch* and *Juliet Bravo*, all of which are integral case studies.

Chapter three, which examines the police station scenes of each case study, contains a quantitative context to colour all of its textual analyses. The statistical analysis of station spaces firstly calculate, on average, how many minutes in a typical episode, of the series in question, are spent in the station space and what this percentage is in relation to the overall running time of an episode. How many scenes, on average, occur in the station space within a typical episode is also calculated. Through these statistics, it is worked out how long each average station scene lasts. Within that typical station scene it is then calculated how many different camera shots are used, on average, and what the mean length of each shot is in a typical episode. Crucially, what is also worked out is what percentage of shots are close-ups, medium long shots (where the frame of the camera captures an actor's frame from their shin to the top of their head) mid-shots (where the frame of the camera captures the upper half of an actor from their waist upwards to the top of their head), long shots (where the purpose of the shot is to catch the details and nuances of the surrounding space in relation to the actor whose whole frame can be seen from their feet upwards) or contain movement within a typical station

scene.² Having these findings enables this study to identify how studio-shot drama obtains a distinctive form of cinematographic grammar and how this develops in relation to drama filmed on location.

These statistics have been calculated through a sample of the first six episodes, or first six existing episodes, of each respective police series. A six episode sample of each series is substantial enough to make confident claims about the visual style of a television text. To calculate the average time spent in the station space per episode; all the minutes devoted to station scenes across the six episode sample have been added up and then divided by six. This percentage, in relation to the whole running time of an episode, has been worked out by dividing this average time by an episode's length and then multiplying this number by one hundred. Then, to work out how many station scenes feature in an episode on average, the total amount of station scenes, over the six episode sample, were added up and then divided by six. To work out the average number of shots used in a typical station scene, the total number of shots used in every station scene across the six episodes were added up and divided by the total amount of station scenes across the six episode sample. Also, the amount of different shots used in each station scene, so that it could be worked out which series uses a greater variety of shots, was calculated. This average was achieved by dividing the total number of different shots used in all station scenes, across the six episodes, by the total number of station scenes that feature throughout the whole six episode sample. Then, the average shot length in each typical station scene was worked out by sharing the total number of shots used in all the station scenes, across the six episode sample, by the total running time of all the station scenes, which occur over the six episodes, added together.

Each textual analysis in chapter three is also accompanied by the percentage of the amount of shots that are close-ups, medium long shots, mid-shots and long shots of each station scene, on average. This has been achieved by identifying the scale of every shot used in all station scenes across the six episode sample. The

² Terminology taken from: Bignell, J. 2008. *An Introduction to Television Studies*. 2nd ed. London; New York: Routledge, p. 9.

percentage of each shot scale was then calculated by adding up how many times a specific shot scale, such as the close-up, is used within all station scenes across the six episode sample. This number was then divided by the total number of shots used in station scenes across all six episodes and then multiplied by one hundred.

Having all of this precise information will enable this thesis to identify, in more objective and systematic terms, the visual grammar of each series to chart how the visual styles of police series shot in the studio using video cameras develop. With this information it can also chart how the practice identified in the first case study, *Z Cars*, develops up until the last series examined, *Juliet Bravo*.

This study has an ambitious reach that is grounded in archival resources, exploits already available published sources, audio-visual sources and research methodologies. However, it brings these elements together in new conjunctions that will generate new research directions and interactions. There are many aspects to this thesis that make it a significant contribution to knowledge. Firstly the study will consider the material space of production as a key factor in conditioning the aesthetic forms of programmes. This is a relatively new and interesting methodological approach. The thesis will break new ground by researching this material space through archival records to trace how the spatial aesthetics of the studio form progress. To then develop these findings of material space through the mise en scène of the police series in a semiotic discourse combines two different methodological notions of space and will construct a new television drama historiography.

Structure of Thesis

To meet the research questions this thesis will be structured accordingly:

The study will begin with a literature review that examines the critical literature written on the aesthetics of video technology within the studio setting and how these aesthetics can be considered distinctive. It will assess what spatial practices studio-shot television drama inherited from its parent mediums and

evaluate the key writings on the centrality of performance in British television drama. Following a summary of landmark arguments on the ideological construction of British police series the literature review will present an initial understanding of the main critical issues that need to be addressed throughout this doctorate. It will find the gaps in existing research that need to be further examined and produce an initial body of knowledge to compare against the research undertaken.

Chapter one will initiate the study by establishing the spatial differences that existed between the studio-shot single play and studio-shot series from 1955-1962. Once an understanding of how the material spaces of production conditioned the fictional *mise en scène* of these two types of programme differently, the research can then start to examine how their methods merge from 1962-1982. An understanding of the history of these two narrative formats and their spatial practices will also enable this thesis to chart how studio aesthetics developed with a greater historical understanding of studio spatial practices as a whole. The chapter will compare the production methods employed at BBC's Riverside studios, where *Dixon of Dock Green* (1955- 1976) was shot, in comparison to ABC's Didsbury and Teddington studios where *Armchair Theatre* (1956-74) was produced. Once these differences are established they will then be considered in relation to the impact they had upon the fictional *mise en scène* of the *Armchair Theatre* plays and *Dixon of Dock Green* series.

Chapter two is a contextual chapter which maps the socio-economic climate that characterised British society in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Each section of the chapter focuses on a decade to identify key economic trends and government implemented legislation. This is because chapters three to five are interested in the social construction of space within the British police series, particularly with regards to how the dynamics of, and tensions within, family relationships are framed by the studio technique. These dynamics and tensions were often coloured by the economic, social and cultural changes British society was experiencing at the time of production, particularly regarding understandings of class and gender.

It is important to remember that the studio itself was a socio-economic space, as well as a production space, that was never produced in total isolation from its surrounding cultural environment and it is through this understanding that they could 'encourage particular ways of interpreting the world' (Hill 1986, p. 3). By placing this chapter at this point in the thesis it will enable chapters three, four and five to construct a complex and nuanced argument into the political depiction of spaces in the police series genre without having to be frequently interrupted by, albeit necessary, expositional content. Ultimately, structuring the thesis in this way means it can assess the plurality of the studio technique, and the resulting mise en scène each site produced, from a number of different perspectives that are historical, sociological and stylistic in nature.

Following the findings of chapter one and two the rest of the thesis is interested in how the spatial techniques of the studio-shot single play and series, from 1955-62, are merged in the police series from 1962-1982. Therefore, each proceeding chapter will be themed spatially to analyse, in detail, the three types of places depicted in the police series and how their use develops from 1962-82 with a particular focus on representational aesthetics. Each chapter will also be structured chronologically, examining *Z Cars* (BBC 1962-1978), *Hunters Walk* (ATV 1973-76), *The Sweeney* (Thames 1975- 1978), *The Gentle Touch* (LWT 1980-1984) and then *Juliet Bravo* (BBC 1980-1985) to chart the development of the studio technique and consider how the popularisation of film in *The Sweeney* affects later studio-shot series.

Chapter three analyses how the station space is framed by the multi-camera studio by analysing station scenes in *Z Cars* to *Juliet Bravo*. This thesis understands the station space as the series component of a given programme as it is the one space predominantly and consistently revisited in every episode to frame the main recurring police officer characters. This chapter is particularly interested in how camerawork functions differently in the studio compared to filmed locations.

With this camerawork in mind chapter four will then examine the designs of civilian domestic spaces featured in *Z Cars* to *Juliet Bravo*. A semiotic and vectorial

analysis will chart the development of studio aesthetics to deduce how studio-shot drama is able to engage with socio-economic debates surrounding British society. Because the domestic spaces of civilians introduce new characters and situations on an episodic basis, where a narrative is established and resolved within a single episode, these spaces are understood, by this thesis, as the single play component of a police series. Chapter five will then examine how these series spaces (the station) and single play spaces (civilian domestic spaces) are merged in the spatial designs of civilian spaces of police officers to negotiate, and strike a balance, between these two spatial practices, ideologically and stylistically.

Literature Review

Before studying how studio-shot television fiction using video technology has its own distinctive aesthetic, this study must recognise existing research on the television studio, space and performance in British television drama. Therefore, this literature review will be divided into four sections. The first section will examine the critical literature written on the aesthetics of studio-shot television drama and how these aesthetics might be considered different from other production methods. The second section will assess the theories written on the functionality of space in various dramatic forms and how they might be applied to studio-shot television drama. The third section of this literature review will evaluate crucial writings on the centrality of performance in British television drama. The last section will then look into key scholarship written on the British police series. Ultimately this literature review will provide a preliminary understanding of these key issues and locate omissions in existing research. The function of this literature review is to provide a sense of the debates that surround studio-shot television drama. It is a mapping of the conceptual field as opposed to a listing of all the works ever written on studio-shot television drama. This mapping involves looking closely at seminal texts to open up key debates.

Aesthetics

When approaching the aesthetics of television drama, television should be understood as a hybrid medium. Initially the first BBC Head of Drama, Michael Barry, predominantly adapted existing theatre scripts using stage trained actors in a live broadcast format. Continuous performances would take place in an enclosed narrative that exploited the limitations of the studio and replicated the conventions of theatrical staging. I.e. the dramatic action would usually be confined to one or two relatively small interiors. This drama would adopt a cinematic grammar such as the use of the close-up, the one hundred and eighty degree rule and cutting between shots. Having this theatrical staging combined with a cinematic grammar has led academics and practitioners alike, including Caughie (1991), Barr (1997),

McLoone (1997), Jacobs (2000), Garnett (2000), and Barry himself (1992), to regard television drama as a hybrid form. It is also believed that the ephemeral nature of British television drama, in its formative years, is what made television unique in relation to its parent forms. However, when the ability to record onto videotape technology became available in 1958, this complicated what had commonly been considered relatively clear oppositions between all dramatic forms. By the 1960s the availability of video and film technology meant that the aesthetics, grammar and purpose of television drama were now under question. As a result of this uncertainty practitioners became divided into two schools of thought, both passionately arguing as to whether television drama should be filmed on location or videoed in the studio, through their own polemics. A particularly prominent manifesto was written by scriptwriter Troy Kennedy Martin (1964).

The Practitioner's View

Troy Kennedy Martin's polemic (1964) defines the key aesthetics of what he perceives to be 'naturalism'. This is a specific type of realist drama that Kennedy Martin believes studio-shot drama, using video technology, was predominantly being used to create. The first common denominator in all naturalist plays Kennedy Martin argues is that they tell a story 'by means of dialogue' in depicting people's verbal relationships with each other (Kennedy Martin 1964, p. 24). The second common denominator Kennedy Martin cites is that naturalism works within a strict form of natural bound studio-time. The last common factor Kennedy Martin highlights is two basic attitudes that come from this naturalist drama. The first attitude is that a director can only photograph 'faces talking and faces reacting' (Kennedy Martin 1964, p. 25). As a result of this a director, according to Kennedy Martin, is forced to 'retreat into the neutrality of two and three shot where the camera...is emasculated and only allowed to gaze around the room following the conversation like an attentive stranger' (Kennedy Martin 1964, p. 25). The second attitude Kennedy Martin condemns is the 'deep-rooted belief that the close-up of an actor's face somehow acts subjectively on the viewer' (Kennedy Martin 1964, p.

25). Attempting to evoke a subjective emotion in a similar manner to Hollywood cinema of the 1940s, Kennedy-Martin argues, is on a 'direct collision course with the objectivity' of a television camera (Kennedy Martin 1964, p. 25). This view of studio-shot drama and its supposed privileging of the spoken word over an expressive visual grammar has informed all discussions of this particular dramatic form ever since.

Therefore, when researching the aesthetic practices of television drama shot in the studio with video technology, one valuable resource to use are the articles written by television practitioners on their personal experiences. Writings by practitioners in, or reflecting on, the mid-1960s are of particular interest to this thesis because this is when the future aesthetic practice of British television drama begins to be debated extensively. In 'Film Versus Tape in Television Drama' (1966) television directors Quentin Lawrence and John Robins describe the benefits of the studio technique using video technology whilst producer Tony Garnett and director Ken Loach argue as to why filmed locations are a more suitable resource for television drama.

Lawrence points out that 'the number one use of tape in television drama is to record a complete television play which would and could otherwise be transmitted live' thus lacking the editorial 'flexibility' of film (Garnett, Lawrence, Loach and Robins 1966, p. 6). Although the arrival of videotape technology offered writers and directors the opportunity to put a play together in the way 'a story really demanded' videotape, still serves to 'punctuate' and 'stitch together' what has already been finished (Garnett, Lawrence, Loach and Robins 1966, p. 7). Lawrence points out that whilst videotape technology alleviates the play from the 'strait-jacket' of live broadcasts, it still takes two weeks to make, costs the same and allows for eight days of rehearsal (Garnett, Lawrence, Loach and Robins 1966, p. 7). According to Lawrence and Robins, the key purpose of video technology, within the studio, is to preserve the nature of a continuous performance. As a result of this, actors are maintained as the central focus of the drama. Although no longer ephemeral, it is important to these studio directors that the drama maintains a degree of immediacy. Both directors agree that videotape technology in the studio

offers some flexibility, yet the drama produced is still aesthetically closer to the theatre. Using video in the studio is a more efficient way of utilising the techniques of a long established method of producing drama.

Loach, a long-time collaborator with Garnett, argues that a story told in around seventy five minutes is better suited to a film camera on location because in comparison 'tape unnaturally compresses events into a number of falsified dialogue scenes that include information about unseen events' (Garnett, Lawrence, Loach and Robins 1966, p. 11). Whereas tape in the studio ties narrative to natural time Loach prefers using film on location as it offers the opportunity to 'select fragments' of a story and 'freely juxtapose them' in post-production editing (Garnett, Lawrence, Loach and Robins 1966, p. 11). Editing on videotape within the studio is restrictive for Loach because the sound is automatically wedded to the picture thus making it impossible for him to collect material and 'select parts from which to tell the story' (Garnett, Lawrence, Loach and Robins 1966, p. 11). Drama in the studio for Loach represents a 'permanent compromise', whereas film on location he argues is able to 'capture things happen as they happen in life, with the way people actually live' (Garnett, Lawrence, Loach and Robins 1966, p. 12). Both Garnett and Loach feel that drama on television is better suited to being filmed on location as it gives them the ability to fragment and juxtapose elements of a story. This segmentation of shots seemingly solves Kennedy Martin's reservations about studio-shot drama as it gives a director greater control. The director can now draw the audience's attention towards a dynamic use of editing over an actor's continuous performance. This seemingly more visually expressive method of shooting drama produces an aesthetic with a higher degree of verisimilitude in relation to the dialogue driven studio.

'Film Versus Tape in Television Drama' is an effective piece as it succinctly illustrates the divisions that existed between programme makers. These are debates emerging at a pivotal moment in British television history as, up until this point, television drama's natural home was perceived to be in the studio. Here this notion begins to be challenged. The pro -studio views from Lawrence and Robbins are typically technologically focused. Their arguments are more concerned with the

practical implications and so adopt instructional narratives rather than examining the impact video cameras in a studio may have on a narrative. As practitioners often discuss the studio technique in this manner, in relation to the outspoken concerns of Garnett, Loach and Kennedy Martin, it is often the widely accepted view that shooting drama on filmed locations is a more artistically sound technology suited to the concerns of television drama. Writing on the use of videotape technology within the studio usually draws attention to video's cumbersome nature, identifying its problems as a precursor to more exciting discussions about the benefits of film cameras. The debate between the aesthetic styles of both the studio-shot drama and filmed drama at this stage is too focused on how television drama is 'best' recorded, rather than considering what exactly is the studio's distinctive style, which is precisely why this debate needs further examination.

As the television industry operates under much more ruthless timing constraints than the cinema or theatre, practitioners who favour the studio frequently emphasise its time efficiency. Irene Shubik's memoirs (1975) explain how a cast and crew approach drama, depending on whether it is videoed in the studio or filmed on location. Shooting on film means that the drama in question has to be 'built up with a single camera' (Shubik 1975, p. 150) meaning every individual shot has to be relit. The crew are not able to see the drama usually until the film is developed up to a day later. The electronic studio, Shubik points out, is a much faster way of producing drama. A director has six cameras at his disposal 'operating simultaneously' and the scene can be shot in one whole piece, 'ready edited' without the need for constant lighting changes (Shubik 1975, p. 151). In addition to this Shubik is of the opinion that 'unlike film, all people in the gallery can immediately see exactly what pictures are available to choose from' (Shubik 1975, p. 151). Shubik sees the electronic studio, using videotape technology, as a more efficient method of creating drama in relation to the heavy time constraints of the television industry. However, she does not theorise how video cameras in the studio may impact upon its resulting visual aesthetics. Like Lawrence and Robins, Shubik is primarily concerned with maintaining a continuous performance rather

than breaking it up into segments, thus keeping the drama bound to natural time and maintaining a sense of immediacy.

This efficiency and immediacy can however be constricting for certain writers as it can stifle and hinder their creative processes. David Hare (1982) argues that videotaped studio drama is so 'technically complicated' and 'artistically misconceived' that excellence is only achieved rarely or by accident (Hare 1982, p. 47). From his personal experiences Hare's view is that, due to the pressure and cost of over-running, the industry only lauds a director who is able to finish on time. Hare states that 'videotape lies between theatre and film in hopeless hybrid' as he feels that studio drama lacks a 'visual finesse' and has 'no stylistic density or texture' (Hare 1982, p. 48). Hare feels television is not a true form in itself, and can only aspire to imitate another. Hare's view is that television drama should adopt a more cinematic stance, as opposed to being a collaborative medium like the theatre, to grant an individual full artistic control. This idea of a 'hopeless hybrid' needs to be further scrutinised as it only represents the views of a particular group of writers, producers and directors who favour the use of film for its ability to 'capture things happen as they happen in life' (Garnett, Lawrence, Loach and Robins 1966, p. 12).

Dennis Potter (1976) is a practitioner who argues for the benefits of using the studio from a theoretical standpoint. Potter believes that television is equipped to have an 'interior language' over portraying 'external realities' (Quoted in Madden 1976, unpaginated). Potter's drama is primarily concerned with people's fantasies and he believes this is what television should be primarily concerned with as people watch television with 'all their barriers down' (Quoted in Madden 1976, unpaginated). Unlike the practitioners referenced thus far Potter makes a point of drawing attention to the fact that the aesthetics of television drama are determined by its unique viewing conditions, namely watching it in the comfort of one's home. Interior drama he argues is best suited to these 'informal tiny audiences' (Quoted in Madden 1976, unpaginated). Therefore, the studio, to Potter, is 'the home of the metaphor' (Quoted in Madden 1976, unpaginated). The purpose of television drama, for Potter, is not to present life as it is authentically lived but rather a

stylised reality, an 'image' over 'description' (Quoted in Madden 1976, unpaginated). Whereas Loach condemns the studio for being an imitation or abstraction of a real setting, Potter sees this as television's very purpose.

Overall, what these accounts demonstrate is that when television was flung into the throes of great technological change, due to the rise in popularity of videotape technology, television drama could operate according to which production method practitioners wanted to utilise. There were however strong institutional pressures against the use of film and locations. The BBC's significant investment in new studios in the early 1960s, and its resulting discouragement of film technology, is what led to such impassioned polemics from certain practitioners. The critically acclaimed writers, directors and producers who praised the use of film were more outspoken. Combine this with the fact that film has historically retained a higher status in contemporary British culture due to a rise in cinephilia ahead of Television Studies, it is clear why television history has been marginally more interested in this particular viewpoint. Loach's, Garnett's, Kennedy Martin's and Hare's calling for a director's medium has been written on in greater detail. Videotaped drama within a studio setting, its devotion to real time and its abstract sense of location, is often used as a precursor to discussions of film. This often results in a detailed analysis of studio aesthetics being neglected in criticism.

The Academic's Understanding

This preoccupation with the use of film in television, over video technology within the studio, is evident when looking at key academic essays written on the development of television's aesthetics. Charles Barr (1997) argues that the passing of live television drama represents a cultural loss. However, Barr is still primarily concerned with distinguishing television's aesthetics in relation to the cinema rather than providing an in-depth examination into its relationship with theatre. In the same book Martin McLoone (1997) argues that the manner in which both television and cinema has developed 'reflects the strategic and economic needs of each industry rather than the aesthetic potential of either' art form (Hill and

McLoone 1997, p. 3). McLoone even suggests that British television's preoccupation with a live aesthetic more akin to the theatre has been of detriment, 'severely limiting the aesthetic potential that a closer relationship with the cinema brings' (McLoone 1997, p. 86). McLoone, in agreement with Kennedy Martin (1964), believes that British television drama developed a 'specific naturalist aesthetic' that gave the television play a 'theatrical staginess' (McLoone 1997, p. 96). McLoone dismisses the theatrical influences on British television drama without analysing these considerations in any depth. McLoone is primarily interested in how American television drama emulated cinematic aesthetics through a distinctive use of costuming and mise en scène to create expansive locations.

Despite these opposing arguments, both Barr and McLoone appear to agree that television progressed from a medium indebted to the theatre to a medium aesthetically closer to the cinema. In agreement with the development model both academics examine British television's 'natural' progression towards cinema over its theatrical influences. This considerable gap in literature on British television drama's relationship to the theatre needs to be explored further, rather than serving as a precursor to discussions about cinematic aesthetics in television. Similarly the development model that Barr puts forward, analysed in the introduction of this thesis, needs to be scrutinised because, as evidenced in articles from practitioners at the time, television did not develop in this manner as seamlessly as studies have often argued.

Stephen Lacey and Madeleine MacMurrough-Kavanagh (1999) recognise that film usurping theatre as the dominant aesthetic of television drama is a 'schematic' narrative (Lacey and MacMurrough-Kavanagh 1999, p. 59) that conceals a wide range of debates. With this in mind Lacey and MacMurrough-Kavanagh cite the transmission of *Up The Junction* (BBC1, 3/11/1965) as being a key moment in British television history that ensured viewers' expectations were 'radicalised forever' (Lacey and MacMurrough-Kavanagh 1999, p. 60). Lacey and MacMurrough-Kavanagh's view is that the use of telerecording in *Up the Junction* assimilated an audience into a world viewed in a sense of 'psychological, emotional and ideological

solidarity', arising from a refusal to distance spectators from the drama (Lacey and MacMurraugh-Kavanagh 1999, p. 64).

Lacey and MacMurraugh-Kavanagh then propose some key distinctions between the aesthetics of studio drama and filmed drama by comparing David Mercer's *In Two Minds* (BBC1, 1/8/1967), shot on film, with *Let's Murder Vivaldi* (BBC1, 10/4/1968), shot in the studio with video technology. Their view is that filmed locations created 'real life as it is lived' (Lacey and MacMurraugh-Kavanagh 1999, p. 65). The aesthetics of studio-shot videotaped drama however created a stylised reality as 'a site of structured dialogue, inner exploration, psychological encounter, and close knit social situation' (Lacey and MacMurraugh-Kavanagh 1999, p. 71). Combined with pronounced performances these factors expel the viewer from the dramatic situation and emotionally alienate them. These key aesthetics of studio-shot fiction using videotape technology need to be explored further.

So far this literature review has established, through practitioner accounts, that television drama shot in the studio using video technology was a way of improving the conditions of live television drama. It was a method of freeing up time in a mode of production that preserved the continuous performance, authority of the actor, immediacy and theatrical conventions of real time. When these conditions are examined theoretically, it becomes apparent how fictional, studio-shot, space foregrounds performance over other elements within metaphorical settings that function to emotionally distance a spectator from the drama. These notions need to be interrogated further rather than serving as a precursor for a debate surrounding the benefits of film technology in its ability to empathetically engage a viewer and create a particular mode of verisimilitude that captures 'real life as it is lived' (Lacey and MacMurraugh-Kavanagh 1999, p. 65). The studio technique is more diverse than has often been considered.

Gender

When examining the aesthetic practices of studio-shot drama using video technology in British television drama it must be kept in mind, as the practitioner accounts have demonstrated, that the television industry has always been a male dominated environment. MacMurrough-Kavanagh (2000) argues that a cultural elitism was imposed by the androcentric BBC upon 'gendered viewing formations' (MacMurrough-Kavanagh 2000, p. 150). MacMurrough-Kavanagh, in her study of the *Wednesday Play* (BBC 1964-1970), identifies that filmed drama *Cathy Come Home* (BBC1, 16/11/1966) generated an audience of nearly four million males but over six million females and *The Big Flame* (BBC1, 19/2/1969) had an audience of just under three million males and four million females.

With these statistics in mind MacMurrough-Kavanagh believes that 'male domination manifested at every level of production' (MacMurrough-Kavanagh 2000, p. 152). As a result of male dominated production MacMurrough-Kavanagh draws attention to the fact that an increasing distance opened up between 'elite filmed drama with high budgets and cinematic values', and the 'domestic studio drama with tight budgets, rushed schedules and emphasis on interpersonal relationships' (MacMurrough-Kavanagh 2000, p. 155). Here MacMurrough-Kavanagh strongly suggests that filmed drama on location represented a 'privileged male world' of sociocultural debate, whereas the studio-shot 'female world of emotional encounter and private response' was seen as film's poor relation (Macmurrough-Kavanagh 2000, p. 155). Male writers concerned with 'industrial unrest' or 'social injustice' were 'awarded prestigious film treatment' whereas female writers whose work seemed to refer to the 'private world', with the exception of Nell Dunn's *Up the Junction*, were excluded from using film and their material was deemed 'inferior' (MacMurrough-Kavanagh 2000, p. 155).

MacMurrough-Kavanagh's hypothesis is that the private world of studio interiors was considered to be a space for women, despite the fact that most *Wednesday Plays* were shot by men in the studio. The prestigious dramas filmed on location, in comparison, were an exclusive space for the male elite. This is an

emerging debate that needs to be considered outside of the *Wednesday Play* anthology series as the priorities of this dramatic strand were not endemic to British television drama as a whole.

Space

With these principal understandings of videotaped studio drama in mind this literature review must now look at what has been written on the function of space itself. As little has been written on the function of studio space in television drama, this section of the literature review will analyse the use of space in television's parent forms. Writings on the use of space in dramatic fiction for the cinema and then the theatre will be analysed before assessing the small amount that has been written on the functionality of television space. By looking in sufficient detail at the use of space in cinema, theatre and then television, this literature review seeks to find appropriate theories in each media that can be adapted to television drama's hybridity.

Cinematic Space

Stephen Heath's (1981) examination of cinema space argues that its purpose is to serve the narrative in a movement of 'rhyme, balance and sustained coherence' (Heath 1981, p. 19). Heath's belief is that a thorough investigation of cinematic space requires both the examination of space in the frame and an analysis of the off-screen space. Firstly, looking at frame space, Heath explains it is 'narrative significance' that sets the space of the frame to be read and also determines the development of the filmic cues (Heath 1981, p. 36). Space, he argues, is either 'negative', functioning so not as to distract attention from the dominant action, or 'positive', where space is used up by the presentation of narratively important settings, character traits or other casual agents (Heath 1981, p. 39).

Heath also considers 'off-screen space' to be an integral component of cinema's spatial grammar because a film's visual narrative is structured by

'discontinuities' and 'absences' (Heath 1981, p. 45). For example, when a person leaves the field of the camera, an audience recognises that the character is out of their field of vision, but they know that the character is continuing to exist identically in another part of the scene, even if they are hidden from view. This off-screen space has a 'fluctuating existence regularised in constant movement of re-appropriation' (Heath 1981, p. 45). What gives moving space coherence is the narrative, which stitches together these 'overlying metonymies' (Heath 1981, p. 45). Essentially Heath believes that film disrespects space in order to construct a unity that will bind spectator and the film in its fiction. Despite modernist filmmakers such as Ozu, whose use of space challenges the supremacy of narrative causality by moving through spaces independently of narrative demands, Heath is of the opinion that all filmmakers are unable to transgress the narrative.

Since Heath, this simple notion of negative and positive space has been further complicated by V.F. Perkins (2005). Perkins believes that, within the Film Studies discipline, 'the on-screen/off-screen relationship should be opened up to explorations that embrace issues far beyond those of spatial continuity' (Perkins 2005, p. 22) and a mechanistic view of narrative as put forward by Heath. Perkins analyses a scene from *You Only Live Once* (Fritz Lang 1937) to demonstrate this point. Perkins explains that 'the combination of sound and image creates in our minds the event of Joan [Sylvia Sydney] and Eddie's [Henry Fonda] driving off yet we have not seen it' (Perkins 2005, p. 23). To Perkins 'the off-screen world is here constructed not only as space but also as action' (Perkins 2005, p. 23). The car disappearing has not simply been 'background action' (Perkins 2005, p. 23) but an event of greater narrative significance than the mid-shot of Whitney (Barton MacLane) and Dolan (William Gargan) talking.

Perkins challenges Heath's view in that there is a more complex relationship that exists between the on and off-screen spaces. Off-screen space does not simply function to compliment the on-screen space but is a separate entity in its own right. What happens in this scene is a reversal of Heath's formula. It is the on-screen space that is now 'negative', functioning so not as to distract attention from the dominant action, and the off-screen space is in fact 'positive', in presenting a

narratively important sequence (Heath 1981, p. 39). Although this relatively recent development in Film Studies has complicated the simplistic relationship thought to exist between on-screen and off-screen space, all elements are seemingly still preoccupied with 'narrative significance' (Heath 1981, p. 36). Heath and Perkins demonstrate that cinematic space, within Film Studies, is traditionally understood as being constructed to serve the chief narrative progression.

Neill Potts (2005) furthers this view through a detailed analysis of a scene in *Vertigo* (Alfred Hitchcock 1958). Through an analysis of the use of space Potts analyses how Hitchcock creates 'a complex moving camera shot which, although not from any character's point of view, is highly evocative of Scottie's [James Stewart] sense of the situation' (Potts 2005, p. 88). Surveying Ernie's opulent restaurant interior with its assembled diners, as Scottie disappears from view, the passage of camera movement is 'tentative'; its 'slight pans left and right' and its 'resting at some distance from Madeleine all express the nervously attentive, surreptitious vigil maintained by Scottie' (Potts 2005, p. 89). The construction of cinematic space, as understood by Film Studies academics in their examination of classic Hollywood cinema, is principally governed by the developing story *and* the feelings of the main protagonist to provoke empathy in its audience.

Theatrical Space

In relation to this cinematic space, theatrical space is characterised as a more complex concept that is less constrained to narrative demands and character despite the fact it is tied to real time. Keir Elam (1980) argues that a theatrical text is 'perceived above all in spatial terms' (Elam 1980, p. 56). It is common, as Elam demonstrates, to align the use of space in the theatre with Edward T. Hall's proxemics; the science founded on the hypothesis that a person's use of space in his architectural, domestic, urban and aesthetic activities is not merely functional but represents a 'semiotically loaded choice subject to powerful rules which generate (connotative) cultural units' (Elam 1980, p. 62).

This premise that space has a dynamism that provides information of many kinds, the idea that people operate in this space through visible and invisible territorial markers and the theory that levels of interaction can be measured in relation to the penetration of these territorial markers is traditionally aligned with a theatrical discourse. This is because, according to Elam, a theatre director is mainly concerned with reflecting the prevailing patterns of social intercourse and adopting similar discussions of stage space in order to 'portray unspoken factors in the dramatic relationships depicted' (Elam 1980, p. 60). Theatre directors are primarily concerned with 'blocking' performance i.e. with predetermining configurations of bodies on stage both to 'create visual patterns' and to 'emblemise relationships' (Elam 1980, p. 60). As opposed to the use of space in the cinema, which is frequently segmented in order to create a process of identification as part of a narrative spectacle within a frame, theatre is more concerned with the nuanced spatial relationships characters forge with each other.

Although in the theatre the use of space is valued over temporality, it is important to remember, as Patrice Pavis (2003) discerns, that space and time in the theatre are both concrete, 'theatre space and time of performance', and at the same time abstract, 'fictional place and imaginary temporality' (Pavis 2003, p. 149). This creates a more complex dialectic of space in relation to film. These two opposing notions of space means a space can be described as either an objective, external space waiting to be filled or what Pavis defines as a 'gestural space' whereby a space is created by the presence, stage position and movements of the performers. Gestural space is a space 'projected and outlined by actors, an evolving space that can be expanded or reduced' (Pavis 2003, p. 152). Pavis believes that as actors cover ground with movements, 'a trail is left in space in their wake', that marks their taking position or territory (Pavis 2003, p. 152). Again this analysis of the theatre examines the nuanced movements of a seemingly autonomous actor in a fixed space over a director's segmentation of space tied to narrative progression as experienced in film criticism.

It is important to identify these key distinctions between theatrical space and cinematic space because they question the bias within Television Studies

scholarship that considers a cinematic approach to shooting drama as being inherently superior. If both dramatic forms are framed by a spatial analysis it soon becomes apparent that emulating a theatrical aesthetic is not necessarily any less visually expressive than a cinematic aesthetic. Theatrical drama, which can be considered naturalistic in Kennedy Martin's understanding, is visually expressive under different terms.

This is furthered by Gay McAuley (1991) who examines this blurring between notions of a concrete space and an abstract space in the theatre. Her 'performance space' carries a dual presence of physical reality and the fictional world created. The space that the spectator watches is always both the stage and yet a fictional world and this is what separates cinema from the theatre. Whilst the stage fictionalises whatever is presented on it, it still 'retains its own physical characteristics' and its basic architectural features 'provide physical grounding' for performances (McAuley 2000, p. 91). The mere physical presence of actors transforms the bare stage into what McAuley calls a 'presentational space'. The 'physical presence, comings, goings, movements, proxemics groupings, bodily behaviour within the space' are crucial elements of this presentational space, all of which are largely irrelevant to the frame space that operates in cinema (McAuley 2000, p. 92).

Offstage space may be similar to off-screen space in that the space not seen plays a part in the narrative but the distinctions between on and offstage are more fixed and do not fluctuate as they function to create the stage space as a section of a whole fictive world. Unlike cinema, where space is frequently segmented and the off-screen is a constantly fluctuating component, theatrical space is a fixed space where gestures and movements operate a complex system of proxemics to create meaning. Ultimately theatre is seen as a more collaborative medium giving greater power to the actor unlike cinema where a director has control over the segmentation of the space. A film director must break up space and time but hold it together through narrative causation. Theatre on the other hand stays wedded to real time and a fixed space thus providing more emphasis on character movements.

Again a theatrical approach to drama is not necessarily visually inferior to a cinematic approach as it is often considered in Television Studies scholarship.

Televisual Space

Val Taylor (1998) is one of few authors who negotiates these notions of space, from each dramatic form, and applies them to television's hybridity. Taylor is interested in how the space in *Top Girls* (BBC2, 2/11/1991) is adapted from Caryl Churchill's original stage play for the anthology series entitled *Performance* (BBC 1991-97). Taylor is in agreement with Elam and Pavis that a theatrical text is perceived in spatial terms. The onstage/offstage dialectic she argues is the key to theatre plays as it invites the spectator to accept or reject 'the continuation of the diegetic world beyond the visible confines of the stage' (Taylor 1998, p. 130). However, Taylor believes this dialectic is not applicable to television drama because the spectator is no longer present in the same architectural space as the performance which is now governed by the frame of a camera. This onstage/offstage dialectic, according to Taylor, does not translate to an on-screen/off-screen dialectic because it is now a 'complex unstable convention' that depends upon 'the establishment of an overarching spatial logic' relying on the master shot that 'clarifies composition of space and spatial relationships' (Taylor 1998, p. 131). Unlike the theatre's continuous interplay between the reality of the architecture and the shifting nature of the diegetic world, the screen offers no 'comparable perceptual constant' (Taylor 1998, p. 131).

Taylor believes that television adopts classic Hollywood narrative realism, whereby a point of view system denies the spectator's occupation of actual space. This spatial logic is concerned with drawing the spectator into the narrative and its fictive space thereby 'missing a core structural element of its grammar' (Taylor 1998, p. 131). As a result of this logic, Taylor believes that television works to deny a spectator's sense of autonomy as the camera frame is preoccupied with drawing a spectator into the fictive space to promote an identification with the characters depicted. This is the antithesis of theatre whereby Taylor believes the spectator's

awareness of their occupation of actual space and ability to maintain a critical distance allows for the possibility of viewing characters both subjectively and objectively.

What Taylor believes Churchill achieved dramaturgically in *Top Girls*, through the use of a theatrical discourse of space, was the presentation of an alternating series of 'displacements' and 'perspectival shifts' that allowed the spectator 'some opportunity to perceive where they were being subjectively positioned' (Taylor 1998, p. 138). On the television version however, Taylor demonstrates that the protagonists now become isolated from their 'webs of contextual references', as the purpose is to draw the spectator into 'empathic identification' reinforced by the camera's 'penetration' and 'fragmentation' of fictive space (Taylor 1998, p. 138). Without this opportunity to dissociate from the individual circumstances of the women Taylor claims that 'we lose the sense of their own agency within the total process' (Taylor 1998, p. 139). Similarly an audience cannot choose to look elsewhere and are not invited to consider themselves as having any autonomy within the ideological process.

Taylor aligns television with the aesthetics of cinema, but she does offer a different perspective from the other essays on television in that she favours the complexity of a theatrical space and the autonomy this gives a spectator. Taylor does not think that this theatrical notion of space applies to television drama because she bases her theories on this one adaptation that attempts to forge an empathetic identification between the main characters and its spectator. It is also a script with a politically feminist ideology which may not be atypical, not least as it is based on representation and exclusion.

Taylor does not differentiate between the various modes of television production in the UK. As this review of literature has seen, videotaped studio drama does not fragment drama in the same way as the cinema because it tries to prolong performances in a seemingly continuous narrative. Traditionally, the studio setup does not build up drama through a single camera as the multiple cameras operating simultaneously function to observe the action rather than draw an audience into it.

The actor's authority provided by studio-shot drama using video technology, and the metaphorical space this creates, seemingly results in a more complex system of proxemics as the characters' interactions with space are now an audience's primary focus. Essentially video cameras in the studio function to observe the action as the setup of studio drama allows for mixing between a variety of views of the scene but makes it difficult to cut into the middle of the narrative thus providing 'frontal compositions' of scenes (Caughie 2000a, p. 122). This contrasts with the use of a film camera that is utilised to segment space, time and narrative to create a closer empathetic identification with the characters depicted.

An opposing viewpoint to Taylor, which has been looked at in great detail in the methodology, is provided by Helen Wheatley (2005). Wheatley's analysis of space in *Upstairs Downstairs* (LWT 1971-75) refuses to disregard the studio as theatrical space transferred to another medium or as a primitive precursor to location filming. A room in *Upstairs Downstairs*, she states, 'asks to be read and understood as a meaningful space' rather than merely functioning as a 'neutral backdrop' (Wheatley 2005, p. 146). Wheatley's belief is that a studio can be expressive; 'a dramatic space where objects frequently extend beyond their initial narrative function' (Wheatley 2005, p. 147). Providing a reading of the character Lady Marjorie through actions and dialogue, as looked at in the methodology, Wheatley points out that a viewer can only understand Marjorie's character as an anti-feminist. However if her performance is read 'spatially', Wheatley argues that the character is capable of expressing a 'desirous longing and frustration of her position in society' (Wheatley 2005, p. 155).

Wheatley's complex and nuanced view of studio space, as considered in the methodology, offers a contrasting view to Taylor by inferring that meanings are created spatially like that of the theatre. Wheatley proves that because a viewer does not inhabit the same spatial continuum as the fiction does not necessarily mean they are automatically drawn into an empathetic identification. Even though a cinematic grammar is adopted Wheatley proves that meaning can still be created spatially rather than temporally through a close proxemic analysis of performances

and their nuanced interactions with the *mise en scène*. This is why an analysis that uses theatrical discourse of space is required.

In contrast to the previous dismissal of studio drama and video technology, there is now a body of writing emerging that favours the complexity of space that the theatre offers and the observational distancing videotape cameras within a studio can provide a spectator. A purely aesthetic discussion from practitioners leads to an animated debate over the impracticalities of shooting such complex drama. Academics, however, are beginning to reassess the benefits of the television studio, and its affinity with the theatre. These have traditionally been neglected in discussions of film technology in relation to the cinema. Both Taylor and Wheatley demonstrate that television fiction adopting a more naturalist aesthetic, aesthetically closer to theatrical fiction, is not necessarily regressive to television drama's progression as an art form.

Lastly, it is worth considering Caughie's (2000a) analysis of British television drama in relation to Mikhail Bakhtin's chronotope theory. Here Caughie argues that out of Bakhtin's spatio-temporal regimes, used to classify genres of Greek literature, 'biographical time' is best applicable to television drama. Caughie sees classical cinema as more derivative of Bakhtin's 'adventure narrative' because time and space are substantial insofar as they serve 'narrative transformations' (Caughie 2000a, p. 134). Caughie believes television drama is applicable to biographical time because this particular spatio-temporal routine places characters at its centre. The centrality of character in biographical time demands organisation of time and space that will allow the 'materiality' and 'complexity' of characters to 'emerge in all their idiosyncrasy' (Caughie 2000a, p. 135). Caughie understands that the theatricality of space and time were crucially confined to the technological restrictions of earlier live studio productions, but this, he believes, has developed as a continuing characteristic of British television drama. Space in this context is not simply the space of narrative action but provides a narrative with 'social significance' (Caughie 2000a, p. 135). Even though television drama employs certain continuity systems from Hollywood films, space and time are still largely conceived in a similar manner to the theatre as characterisation is primarily focused on over narrative causation.

Characters have a sense of authority as they 'inhabit a space rather than being constricted within a frame' (Caughie 2000a, p. 77).

Caughie extends this view (2000b) by stating that actors create a reality that is 'watched rather than inhabited', a performed reality rather than the absorption into a narrative space driven by 'a logic of cause and effect or fantasy of identification' (Caughie 2000b, p. 170). Watching television he believes offers the possibility of a 'relaxed detachment', the space of engagement in television drama is therefore that of a critical one (Caughie 2000b, p. 170). Videotape technology within the studio setup offers this relaxed detachment due to its observational nature. An analysis of performance and how it interacts with this space is required because, as Caughie has claimed, it is the actors in British television drama who 'invest a studio with meaning', through their interactions with other actors and props (Caughie 2000a, p. 77).

Television Performance

Caughie (2000b), as previously mentioned, believes that British television drama offers its viewers a performance over a narrative. This is because, he argues, British drama evolved as a drama of 'incident and character' rather than as a drama of the 'goal orientated narrative' associated with classic Hollywood cinema (Caughie 2000b, p. 166). Caughie claims that the very pleasure of watching television lies in observing the 'details of gesture' with a 'critical judgement' rather than losing oneself in the 'fantasy of identification with ideal egos' like that of the cinema (Caughie 2000b, p. 170). Ultimately, Caughie's argument is that television drama belongs to the 'tradition of the detail' rather than 'the tradition of the sublime' because the acting in British television drama sustains an aesthetic of hesitations and glances serving the feeling of the character that exceed the 'economic requirements' of narrative (Caughie 2000a, p. 169). This is the antithesis of Hollywood cinema as Heath and Perkins previously argued that the economic requirements of narrative are of prime importance.

Having established the function of performance in British television drama, Caughie then appeals for a discourse that can be used to deconstruct such a mode of acting. Caughie draws attention to two schools of criticism. The first school he refers to is one that uses a 'humanist' and 'moralistic vocabulary of honest, truth and courage' to 'describe' acting (Caughie 2000b, p. 163). The other is the more rigorously academic school of semiotics which he believes tries to explain and analyse acting with a vocabulary that 'ultimately squeezes the life out of it' as the actor becomes part of a 'system of signs and signifiers' (Caughie 2000b, p. 163). Given the complexity of space within the theatre, which studio-shot British television drama inherits, Caughie's dismissal of a semiotic analysis simply because it 'squeezes the life' out of performance is not a substantial enough reason to dismiss this method of deconstruction. That is the key word here, 'analysis', rather than the dramaturgical account of performance that Caughie explains as being a school of description.

Studio-shot British television drama requires a semiotic analysis because its primary interest is in detail over narrative. Caughie is less keen on such an analysis because he is more concerned with the fact that it is an actor's emotional identification with a role that animates their techniques and devices, thus 'allowing meaning to emerge' (Caughie 2000b, p. 164). Although it is important to keep this dramaturgical process in mind, the method this thesis will employ to deconstruct studio-shot television drama will be a theatrical discourse of semiology. This is because the relaxed detachment and observation that both video technology and a television studio provide a viewer is an aesthetic closer to that of the theatre than the cinema.

John Adams (1998) argues that television fictions employ the aesthetics of a screen performance. Adams' belief is that the conventions that underpin a performance in television drama ultimately come from DW Griffiths. Griffiths was the first film director, according to Adams, who used close-ups at key moments to allow spectators to 'access thoughts and feelings' of a character with an 'intimacy previously unknown in the theatrical convention' (Adams 1998, p. 144). Adams states that British television studio-based drama 'shrank the dimensions of the

theatrical stage' that ultimately produced a new environment for the actor that 'bore little relation to the film studio and less still to the theatre stage' (Adams 1998, p. 145). Acting for television, according to Adams, therefore required an intimate style as theatrical projection 'produced an air of melodramatic and artificial intensity that was quite inappropriate' for small-screen intimacy (Adams 1998, p. 145). With this in mind it is important to remember that a television performance, perhaps more indebted to the theatre when utilised through video technology and the production system that surrounded it, still lies somewhere in between cinema and the theatre. Intimacy is a crucial component of a television performance that is not considered in a theatrical performance. Therefore, when using a theatrical discourse to deconstruct a performance, a study must bear in mind the nature of television's intimacy.

Adams does agree with Caughie that characters in British television drama transcend narrative. The reason for this, Adams explains, is due to the fact that from the early days of television drama a character's conflict and emotion were made the centre of attention due to financial limitations of the then small cottage industry. From this character centred approach to writing and performance developed a drama in which 'characterisation transcended narrative' meaning that 'characterisation and narrative are not locked in an integral relationship that typifies feature film' (Adams 1998, p. 150). Adams recognises the importance of theatrical characterisation but he is more interested in finding an aesthetic of performance that is specific to television and applicable to no other medium. Adams concludes that television's extended narrative form is the key to understanding television performance. An extended narrative, Adams argues, allows for a 'greater familiarity' with a character rather than an 'increased complexity' of character (Adams 1998, p. 150). This is not however the case with all British television drama. Studio-shot television drama is capable, as Wheatley's reading of *Upstairs Downstairs* has demonstrated, of communicating a character's complexity through the actor's interaction with their surrounding space, rather than drawing an audience into an empathetic identification like that of the cinema.

When academics attempt to deconstruct a television performance they often express a difficulty that comes with the lack of a widely accepted discourse that can be applied to the medium's hybridity. As this literature review has established, however, a television performance is one of detail that draws upon nuanced gestures that are capable of transcending the narrative, in a more intimate manner than either of its parent forms. Therefore, a relatively detailed semiotic analysis needs to be adopted. This is particularly appropriate to studio-shot television drama using videotape technology as the observational nature that comes with the multi-camera system, which operates in a fixed space, allows for the viewer to watch the drama with a relaxed detachment like that of the theatre. Ultimately, an approach is needed that draws on different traditions of analysis and scholarship.

The British Police Series

Academic writing on the British television police series has thus far predominantly identified key aesthetic and ideological developments of the genre as part of a canon of landmark texts. Certain essays, as part of this canon, have played a central role in contributing towards understandings of British television drama's development within Television Studies. Alan Clarke (1992) is the first author to establish a canon of British police dramas beginning with *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC 1955-1976) and concluding with *The Bill* (Thames 1984 -2010). The development model this essay constructs has informed subsequent analyses of the genre. Clarke unpacks 'the ideological construction and reconstruction' of the genre as a whole (Clarke 1992, p. 233) including analyses of *Z Cars* (BBC 1962-1978), *The Sweeney* (Thames 1975- 1978) and *Juliet Bravo* (BBC 1980-1985).

Within this canonical study Clarke compares the character George Dixon (Jack Warner) to Jack Regan (John Thaw) of *The Sweeney*. In so doing Clarke claims that on an aesthetic level *The Sweeney's* harnessing of the full potential of film technology meant 'police procedurals had been shaken out of the "drama documentary" format of slow moving narrative and static camerawork' seen on

studio bound dramas such as *Z Cars* (Clarke 1992, p. 237). Such an aesthetic decision impacted upon the ideology of the genre. As a result of *The Sweeney*, focusing on serious crimes involving large amounts of money and violence, the genre loses its 'sense of a social conscience' (Clarke 1992, p. 236). Studio bound dramas such as *Dixon* and *Z Cars* treat a crime 'in complex ways' and consider 'the underlying causes of the action' (Clarke 1992, p. 236). Nevertheless, Clarke contends that this comparison between Dixon and Regan does not provide a 'complete transformation' of the main character. Like Dixon, Regan is still honest and incorruptible in 'working to protect the public from villains who prey on society' (Clarke 1992, p. 243).

Thus far Clarke's essay is in line with Charles Barr's development model in that he claims there was a desire to use film technology on real locations in the 1970s. Although this produces a faster paced programme, Clarke emphasises that the characterisation is seemingly less complex. A significant change in aesthetic practice may provide the series with a 'harder edge' but does not completely revolutionise its ideological components. What this demonstrates is that a move to filmed locations can enhance a drama in terms of the verisimilitude it wants to evoke, but this can result in simpler characterisation. Again, this perceived superiority of film technology seems less certain.

Following this comparison Clarke believes that a cluster of four ideological elements define the parameters of the British police series; the threat of crime that is depicted; the type of family life the protagonist leads; whether the protagonist engages in rule breaking; to what extent their characteristics are individualistic. Following this hypothesis Clarke compares *The Sweeney* to *Juliet Bravo*, both coincidentally created by Ian Kennedy Martin. Clarke claims that the studio-shot *Juliet Bravo*, using video technology, represents a more 'orderly, gentler world of crime' (Clarke 1992, p. 248). The 'feminine viewpoint' Clarke states, represents the 'return of the social conscience into the series' not seen since *Z Cars*, and legitimises 'a caring dimension to work of police officer' (Clarke 1992, p. 248). Compared to *The Sweeney*, in connection to his hypothesis, Clarke demonstrates how *Juliet Bravo* 'provides a transformation in the genre through the reordering of ideological

elements' (Clarke 1992, p. 248). The threat of crime is reduced in scale. Protagonist Jean Darblay's (Stephanie Turner) family life is given more script time. There is also no rule breaking and the emphasis on individual traits, domestic situations and career progression of the main character, presents a different picture of individualism from *The Sweeney*. This argument confirms MacMurrough-Kavanagh's view that the private world of interiors shot in the studio was considered a space for women, whereas the prestigious dramas shot on film were an exclusive space for the male elite.

Clarke's canon, at this point, challenges the development model. Clarke draws attention to a desire to return to the television studio as late as the 1980s. In addition to this Clarke, crucially, sees such texts as worthy of a sustained study. What needs to be examined then, in relation to the concerns of this thesis, is how the police series alters spatially, in an ideological and aesthetical sense, when women protagonists are introduced. How do series such as *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* (LWT 1980-1984) differ aesthetically and ideologically from previous studio bound series such as *Z Cars* and filmed series such as *The Sweeney*. Such an examination, through this genre, will enable this study to challenge the development model and propose an alternative one.

Clarke claims that his brief analyses of certain programmes demonstrate how 'the transformation of the genre is a product of social forces of production shaping these ideological parameters' (Clarke 1992, p. 252). He maintains that it is important 'not to isolate moment of fictional representation from the rest of the lived world' (Clarke 1992, p. 252). In his ten page essay Clarke relates some of these changes in the genre back to developments experienced in the police force at the time. Certain factors include Edward Heath's building of specialist crime squads and the appointment of Robert Mark as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. However, Clarke does not open out the series to a wider debate involving the more general societal developments concerning perceptions of gender in British society as a whole.

Similarly, there were more popular police programmes transmitted than those canonised in Clarke's essay, particularly those that used the studio and videotape technology in a more traditionally intimate form of the genre. There were more intimate localised forms being made throughout the time frame of this thesis including the first two series of *Special Branch* (Thames 1969-74) and *Hunters Walk* (ATV 1973-76). This thesis seeks to complicate Clarke's canon of landmark police texts in its examination of the studio technique.

This complication has already been achieved, to an extent, by Susan Sydney-Smith (2002) who provides a more nuanced model of development. Sydney-Smith's study begins with Robert Barr's series of *Telecrimes* (BBC 1946) and finishes with *Softly Softly* (BBC 1966-76). Sydney-Smith charts the development of key ideological themes and aesthetics of these series within a framework that situates the police series within its 'social, cultural and institutional condition of production' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 14). In doing so she considers the 'development of early video recording technology' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 4).

After tracing the origins of the genre back to Robert Barr's story documentaries, Sydney-Smith adds more landmark texts to the British police series canon and charts a more nuanced sense of aesthetic and ideological development leading up to the *Z Cars* series. Sydney-Smith identifies the six part *Pilgrim Street* (BBC 1952) as a drama that contains all the 'germinal ideas' of *Dixon of Dock Green* and *Z Cars* through a focus on 'ordinary everyday crime' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 79). Sydney-Smith also identifies other significant aesthetics of *Z Cars* that are derivative of a trilogy of story-docs written by Colin Morris and directed by Gilchrist Calder. *Tearaway* (BBC, 11/10/1956), *Who Me?* (BBC, 15/10/1959), and the four part *Jacks and Knives* (BBC 1961), are all set in the vicinity of Liverpool thus adding a sense of 'social geography' to the police series and a distinct element of humour (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 86). It was through the influence of these previous series that *Z Cars* obtained a 'documentary approach' to researching characters and their environments (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 174). This thesis will again, like Sydney-Smith's study, further complicate Clarke's canon of police series by providing a more nuanced development model that introduces overlooked series. Essentially, it

will pick up from where Sydney-Smith leaves her study by examining police series between the years 1962 to 1982.

The depiction of gender is a central component of the British police series as it repeatedly informs the aesthetic and ideological practices of the genre. Clarke believes the use of women in key roles in the 1980s allows 'the return of the social conscience into the series' and defuses 'the presentation of violence by overlapping and legitimising a caring dimension' (Clarke 1992, p. 248). Feminist scholars, however, tend to disagree with this view. Gillian Skirrow (1987) compares *Juliet Bravo* with Lynda La Plante's crime drama *Widows* (Thames 1983). Focusing on series four to six of *Juliet Bravo* Skirrow examines central protagonist Kate Longton (Anna Carteret) who took over from Stephanie Turner's Jean Darblay in the title role. In this analysis Skirrow believes that an audience is denied any access to knowledge of Longton 'as a woman' in her private life and so can only 'conjecture about her personal struggle' (Skirrow 1987, p.175).

According to Skirrow, Longton's isolation from other women underlines the series' intention of 'looking at her as an unusual specimen under a microscope' (Skirrow 1987, p.175). Skirrow claims that the camera increases this impression by 'looking at her environment in a descriptive rather than expressive way' (Skirrow 1987, p.175). Skirrow believes the series questions Longton's authority with a 'sadistic curiosity' and whenever Longton is shown to be wrong, it is because she lets 'her womanly emotions interfere with her judgement' (Skirrow 1987, p. 174). Skirrow blames this sexist depiction upon the nature of the production that was dominated by male producers, writers and directors (Skirrow 1987, p. 167).

Lorraine Gamman (1988) also agrees with Skirrow. Gamman claims that both Maggie Forbes (Jill Gascoine) of *The Gentle Touch* and Kate Longton of *Juliet Bravo* are usually presented as 'efficient in their own right' and 'more than equal to their male counterparts in dealing with crime' (Gamman 1988, p. 11). For Gamman, the play on sexual difference is ultimately 'co-opted by the ideology of sexism' (Gamman 1988, p. 11). This is because Longton and Forbes are 'special cases' and there is 'no suggestion that, given the opportunity, women generally are as capable

as men' (Gamman 1988, p. 11). Gamman mentions these two texts as a precursor to a detailed analysis of the American police series *Cagney and Lacey* (CBS 1981-88). Gamman believes *Cagney and Lacey* to be superior to its British counterparts in that it shows a 'shared female experience in the workplace' (Gamman 1988, p. 11). Because *Cagney and Lacey* apparently 'stems from the point of view of central female characters' (Gamman 1988, p. 11) both dismantle a 'masculinised notion of power' (Gamman 1988, p. 14). Gamman attributes this quality of the text to the feminist creators of the series Barbara Avedon and Barbara Corday and the fact many women were 'involved in the production process' (Gamman 1988, p. 25).

In both Skirrow's and Gamman's influential essays *Juliet Bravo* is briefly analysed as an example of poor quality in relation to programmes with more overt and apparent feminist agendas. Neither author examines Stephanie Turner's portrayal of Jean Darblay in the first three series of *Juliet Bravo* that invests more time in the private life of the lead character. In line with the aims of this thesis it will be interesting to reframe the debate concerning *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* into one about studio aesthetics and perceptions of gender in British society. Such popular series warrant closer analysis, beyond these brief dismissals in relation to other programmes, because they will allow television scholarship to obtain a deeper understanding of the distinct nature of the studio technique.

In conclusion, a line of thought that can be teased out from this literature review is that studio-shot drama using video technology creates metaphorical settings that emotionally distance a spectator from the drama in question. When studies focus on the use of space with this technology in mind the studio's use of observational cameras affords a spectator a greater degree of autonomy thus allowing them to derive meaning spatially, rather than temporally, due to the nuanced interactions an actor has with their surrounding *mise en scène*. As a television performance is one of detail that draws upon gestures that are capable of transcending economic narrative requirements, in a more intimate manner than either of its parent forms, a detailed semiotic analysis therefore needs to be adopted. This semiotic analysis will be applied to a number of landmark, and lesser remembered, British police series that will in turn reassess the current academic

understanding of the genre, particularly regarding depictions of gender. Such an analysis will also enable this study to gain a firmer understanding of the distinctiveness of studio-shot television fiction using video technology.

Chapter One: The British Television Studio 1955-1962

In order to debate that studio-shot television drama using video technology had a distinctive aesthetic, and chart how this aesthetic developed, it is imperative that a differentiation is made between the ways in which studio space was used. This differentiation will provide this study with a thorough and well-rounded understanding of how studio space was utilised in relation to other production practices. The scholarship examined thus far does not distinguish between the various ways studio space, shot through videotape, could be constructed differently. There is an intrinsic assumption made by many of the authors that studio space was used in the same manner to videotape a single play, serial or series. Efforts are made to distinguish between how videotape operates differently from film, and what makes television a medium unique to the cinema, but there is no mention of the different spatial methods used within the television studio itself. Therefore, this chapter needs to consider how studio space functions differently in single plays classified by Glen Creeber as a 'one-off' drama...that begins and ends within a single episode' (Creeber 2004, p. 8), and series defined as 'continuous stories (usually involving the same characters and settings) which consist of self-contained episodes possessing their own individual conclusion' (Creeber 2004, p. 8).

There was a relatively clear-cut difference between how the single play and series were approached in the studio between 1955- 1962. Within this period ITV drama put a considerable amount of resources into further developing the spatial aesthetic of the single play. At the same time the BBC experimented with the relatively new series format. These precise spatial differences then started to become blurred and harder to distinguish from 1962 onwards. This was partly because *Armchair Theatre* producer Sydney Newman moved from ITV to the BBC in 1963, ensuring that studio-shot series were better resourced to adopt the more elaborate spatial aesthetics of the single play. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to establish the spatial differences that existed between the single play and series from 1955-1962. Once this understanding is obtained this thesis can then start to examine how their methods merge from 1962-1982.

This chapter picks up from Jason Jacobs' revisionist account of the British television studio drama (2000). His study argues that certain dramas produced in the UK from 1936-1955 demonstrated an 'aesthetic appetite for innovation and experimentation' (Jacobs 2000, p. 25). In his examination Jacobs distinguishes between two types of studio drama; firstly, the 'interior drama' shot at the BBC's Alexandra Palace studios that contained few characters, usually three sets, and was primarily concerned with 'emotional drama rather than spectacle' (Jacobs 2000, p. 129). Then, expansive drama shot at the BBC's Lime Grove studios instigated by BBC producer/director Rudolph Cartier introduced a 'spatial mobility' into his plays through the use of many filmed inserts and up to twenty eight different sets (Jacobs 2000, p.152). It is important to remember, however, that these two different types of spatial aesthetic are identified by Jacobs as part of the single play narrative model. This is because the series format did not become a major form in British television until 1955, after the end of his study.

This chapter, then, continues on from Jacobs' study by arguing that this distinction between the intimate and expansive is generally maintained from 1955 to 1962. What is different about studio drama in this period, though, is that a distinction exists between high end single plays, which use elaborate set designs and a large number of mobile cameras, and series, operating on what Jeremy G Butler defines as 'below the line costs' (Butler 2009, p. 37). Butler claims that the primary elements of the *mise en scène*, that is, sets, costumes and lighting, were 'minimised' to keep the format financially sustainable. This was because the majority of the modest budget had to be spent on actors, writers and directors. Therefore the *mise en scène* of a soap opera 'has had to adopt certain craft practices that have had a major impact on the genre's signifying practices' (Butler 2009, p. 37). Although Butler's study is of the American soap opera, these practices were just as relevant to studio series shot at the BBC from 1955-1962. Dramas such as *The Grove Family* (BBC 1954-57) and *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC 1955-76) were transmitted on a continuous weekly basis. These series sat in stark contrast to high end single plays transmitted by ITV where a considerably higher budget was spent on cameras, set designs and props.

This chapter uses two case studies to analyse how studio space was utilised differently in single plays compared to the series form between the years 1955-1962. The first case study is ABC's *Armchair Theatre* that boasted lavish set designs populated by a wealth of props, and was renowned for liberating actors and viewers through the 'mobility' of cameras (Cooke 2003, p. 47). The aesthetic progress made by this strand of single plays, overseen by producer Sydney Newman, overshadowed the BBC's drama output and enabled ITV to 'surpass the BBC's audience share' by 1960 (Cooke 2003, p. 30). The second case study used to differentiate between the spatial aesthetic of the single play and the series is the BBC's *Dixon of Dock Green*. This is noted as one of the BBC's few drama successes from 1955-1962 as it attracted audiences of '10 million by the middle of 1957' (Cooke 2003, p. 49). In relation to the spaces of *Armchair Theatre* there was a clear decision within the production of *Dixon* to 'focus on the everyday' in the modestly and minimally designed *mise en scène* (Cooke 2003, p. 50).

To compare these two case studies this chapter will not exclusively examine the *mise en scène* of each respective drama. Rather, it will consider how the production spaces, where each drama was shot, impacted upon the fictional *mise en scène* that was produced. Combining these two understandings of space should open up a dialogue between the often separated strands of production studies and textual analysis as called for in Simon Frith's methodological model, the black box.

Therefore, this chapter will examine comparatively how studio space was approached differently by practitioners producing single plays and practitioners producing series between the years 1955-62. It will then analyse how these distinctive spatial practices subsequently impacted upon the aesthetics of the drama produced. This chapter will compare the production methods employed at the BBC's Riverside studios, where *Dixon* was shot, in comparison to ABC's Didsbury and Teddington studios where *Armchair Theatre* was produced. Archival records of production, designs for production facilities, and studio floor-plans will be studied initially, in isolation, to unearth the key differences between the BBC series and ITV single plays. Once these differences are established they will then be considered in relation to the resulting fictional *mise en scène* of the *Armchair Theatre* plays and

Dixon of Dock Green series. Understanding how single plays and series were approached differently from a production perspective, and how this impacted upon the fictional spaces produced, will provide a well-rounded understanding of how drama was shot through videotape technology in the studio.

To commence this comparison, it is imperative to discern what exactly made a production space a television studio as opposed to a film studio. Some production spaces, such as ATV's Elstree Studios or the BBC's Riverside Studios, were previously used to make films. There is often some confusion as to whether to define these spaces as film studios or television studios as a result of this shared production. Essentially, there were three unique aspects to a television studio's design that did not exist in feature film studios. It was the addition of these three installations that defined a television studio as such. When Riverside and Teddington were converted from film studios into spaces fit for television production, in 1954 and 1958 respectively, the flooring was the first thing that had to be changed. The floors of the film studios were not sufficiently smooth or durable to accommodate the use of television cameras that had to move 'smoothly, freely and continuously from one set to another' (Nickels and Grubb 1957, p. 6). The technicians at Riverside studios in particular trialled various methods of flooring and decided that asphalt lino flooring was the most effective design. The laying of lino on one inch of asphalt, that was brought to the appropriate tolerance with terrazzo finishing machines, meant that camera dollies could be wheeled across the floor 'without any vibration that would be noticeable on the picture' (Pawley 1972, p. 361). Essentially smoother linoleum flooring both at Riverside and Teddington offered the possibility of mobilised television cameras.

Secondly, a new style of light rigging had to be installed. Because a television performance within a studio was not built up one shot at a time with a single camera, like that of filmed television drama, a television studio could have up to six video cameras shooting simultaneously. This meant that a television space needed to have a lighting system that could accommodate the desired lighting effect of up to six different camera angles at any one time. Thirdly, the most imperative difference between a film studio and television studio was the production control

room. A production control room was a separate space placed above the studio to house key production personnel that ensured the live recorded performance went according to plan. Other than the identical asphalt flooring there were seemingly relatively minor differences between the ways in which Teddington and the BBC designed their production control rooms and lighting systems. What at first appear to be minor alterations are in fact key differences that provide great insight into how the material space was approached differently by each respective institution. These differences substantially affected the *mise en scène* of the single plays and series that were produced.

Material Spaces of Production: BBC Series

Initially at the BBC, the production control room was referred to as a producer's turret. When these turrets were installed at the BBC's Lime Grove studios, shortly after the studios were bought from the Rank organisation in 1949, they were designed as 'an all glass control room overlooking the studio in which the producer sits during transmission, wearing headphones and directing his cameramen' (Lukins 1996, p. 93). This control room design was then experimented with, changed and developed by the BBC from 1955-62. The BBC bought a 13.5 acre site at White City in 1949 to be made into their first purpose built Television Centre by 1962. Therefore the Alliance Film Company's Riverside film studios were acquired by the BBC in 1954 as a means of testing and developing the most effective way of videotaping continuous live performances that governed the studio technique at that time. Riverside technicians tried to devise a way in which production personnel could survey the studio space, akin to the all glass producer's turrets of Lime Grove, *as well as* being able to focus on the monitors that showed the view of each camera. The design used to create a simultaneous view of the studio floor *and* the monitors, in Riverside's R1 studio, placed the observation window directly in front of the production desk. Also, monitors were hung over the top of this window at the eyelevel of the production team. The logic behind this design was that the eye

could pass easily between an 'excellent' view of the studio floor and the monitors as pictured in figure 1 (Nickels and Grubb 1957, p. 11).



Figure 1: R1 production control room.

R2 however, regularly used for shooting drama, developed the more conventional 'side viewing arrangement' (Nickels and Grubb 1957, p. 11). Here the control room picture monitors were mounted on double-tier stands that were placed directly in front of the production desk. The observation window was now placed to the side of the desk and the view into the studio was not as direct as R1. A clear view was still imperative to the BBC's method of shooting drama, though, as the producer and technical operations manager, placed at the edge of the desk, regularly glanced 'into the studio to assess the relative positions of cameras and other studio equipment, particularly during rehearsals' (Nickels and Grubb 1957, p. 11).

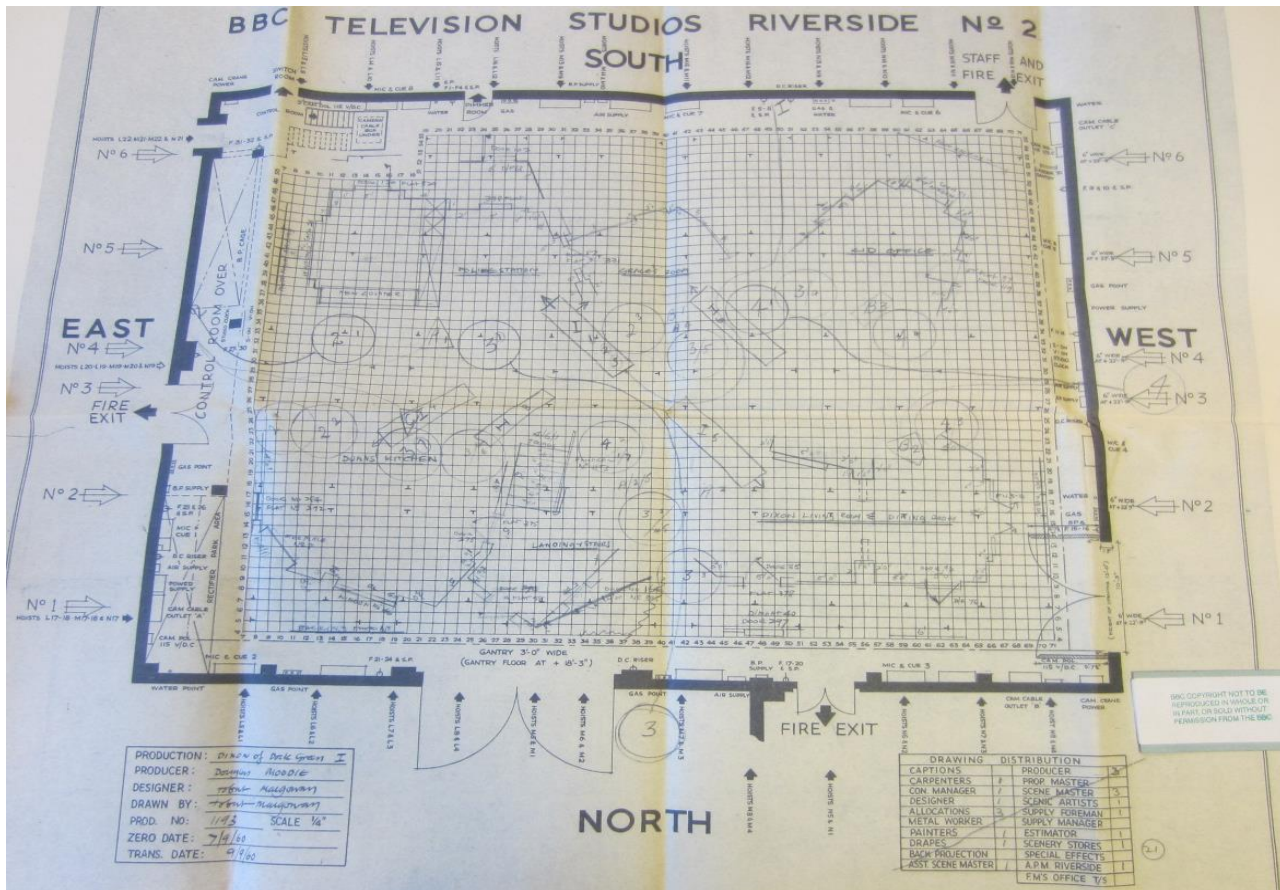


Figure 2: Dixon of Dock Green floor plan. Series seven episode one, planned for transmission on 9/9/1960, BBC WAC T12/780/1.

Examining the floor plans of *Dixon of Dock Green*, regularly shot in R2, the location of the control room impacts upon the way the sets and cameras are positioned. The floor plan of episode one of series seven shot in 1960 (figure 2) denotes eight different sets and four cameras. The cameras are represented by the numbers one, two, three and four, written inside circles. The control room is on the east side of the studio and the sets are pushed back against the north and south walls of the studio. This leaves a big central space directly in line with the control room so that the appropriate production personnel can obtain a clear view of the camera positions. Interestingly, sets are angled towards the control room. The CID office in particular, in the north-west corner of the floor plan, is a relatively small set that could be positioned further back into the corner of the studio floor to make further use of the spare space that is available. However, the CID set is angled towards the production control room to allow for minimum camera movement in relation to the positioning of the other sets.

What this suggests is that the producer/director and technical operations manager regularly desired to see where the cameras were positioned on the studio floor *in addition* to the view provided by the monitors placed directly in front of their production desk. Even though the observation window was placed to the side of the production desk, and was not the main point of focus within the production control room, having a view of the camera positions was still integral.

The lino asphalt flooring is utilised in this production of *Dixon* (figure 2) as all four of the cameras have had their movements planned in advance. These movements are stipulated by arrows on the floor plan. However, these cameras are only ever repositioned to either move from one set to another or out of the studio altogether. In each case the cameras are not filming whilst being moved. Camera movement is not a part of the visual grammar of the studio-shot series at this time. There is such a rigid division between each set that a camera cannot film whilst moving along the floor otherwise the illusion of the settings would be exposed to a viewer. Similarly, no more than two cameras are used to capture one set at a time. Both cameras observe the set from a relative distance rather than moving around or inside it whilst filming. The floor plan from episode fifteen of the same series (figure 3) does not even denote the camera positioning. This practice is more typical of the *Dixon* floor plans available at the BBC Written Archives. This strongly suggests that the camera movements were so familiar and formulaic to the production personnel that they did not need to plan such movements in particular detail.

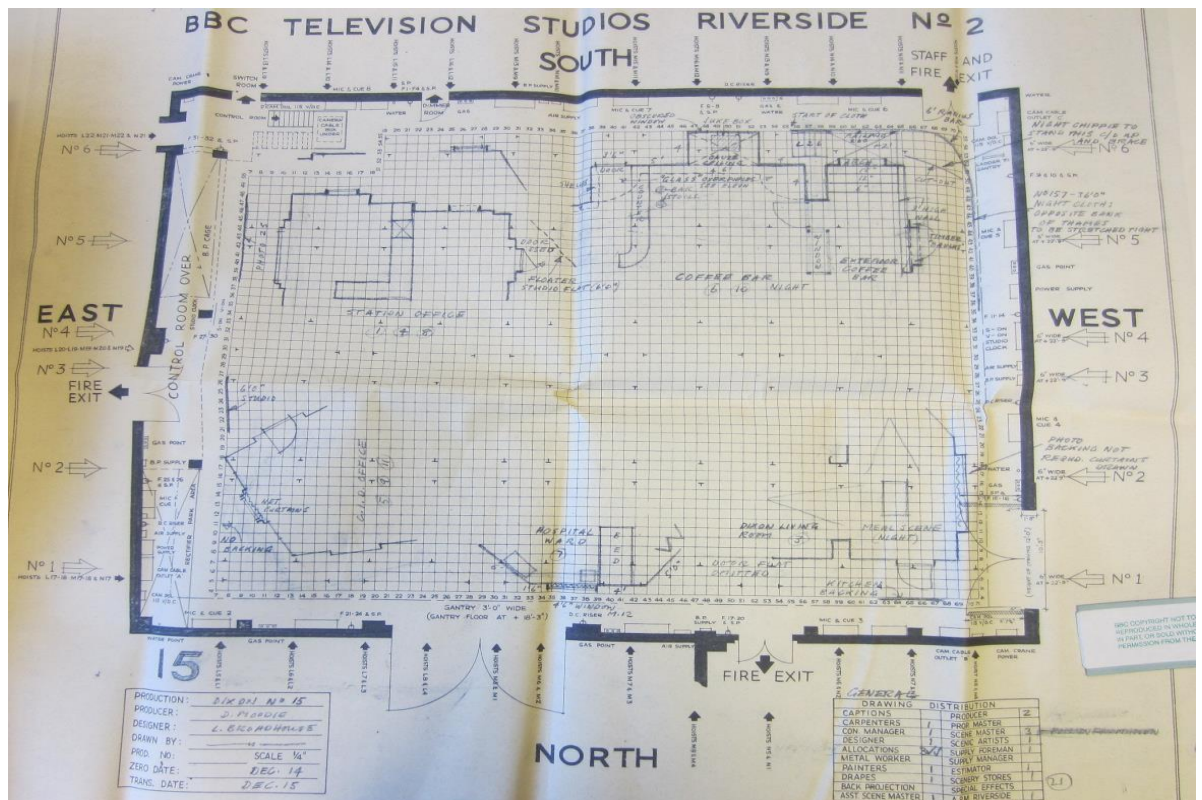


Figure 3: Dixon of Dock Green floor plan. Series seven episode fifteen, planned for transmission on 15/12/1960, BBC WAC T12/780/1.

What the centripetal design of these floor plans demonstrates is that the pre-war method of utilising studio space for small-scale interior drama was still ingrained within the BBC. Before WW2 the BBC would produce their drama in Alexandra Palace by dividing one studio into three sets. These sets would be positioned in a row up against one of the studio walls. The biggest set would depict the principal action whilst the two smaller accompanying sets would depict secondary scenes to compliment this focal drama. This was documented by D.C. Birkenshaw and D.R. Campbell (1945) and features in Jason Jacobs' (2000) study of television drama up until 1955. Looking at the floor plans of *Dixon*, the Riverside studios by 1960 have increased the number of sets but have kept to the same formula. Instead of three sets being placed across a wall, and being shot by four cameras, four sets are now positioned along two walls that differ in size according to their significance in the episode. The spatial practice of drama has expanded to accommodate a greater number of sets but these sets are rigidly separated and allow for one or two cameras to observe a set at a time. This was the BBC's

standard practice for approaching videotaped studio series from 1955-1962. Continuing the method of shooting 'interior drama', as used at Alexandra Palace, the series drama adopted a deliberately small scale production practice interested in emotional drama over spectacle.

Material Spaces of Production: ABC Single Plays

With these practices firmly in place at the BBC, ABC's Teddington studios underwent a refurbishment in 1963 due to the emergence of videotape recording that, according to Chief Engineer of ABC Television F. Howard Steele, 'revolutionised ABC's programming policy' (Steele 1963, p. 5). Although this occurred just after the 1955-62 era, the decisions made as part of this refurbishment represented the methods used to approach single play dramas that ABC had been developing since 1955.

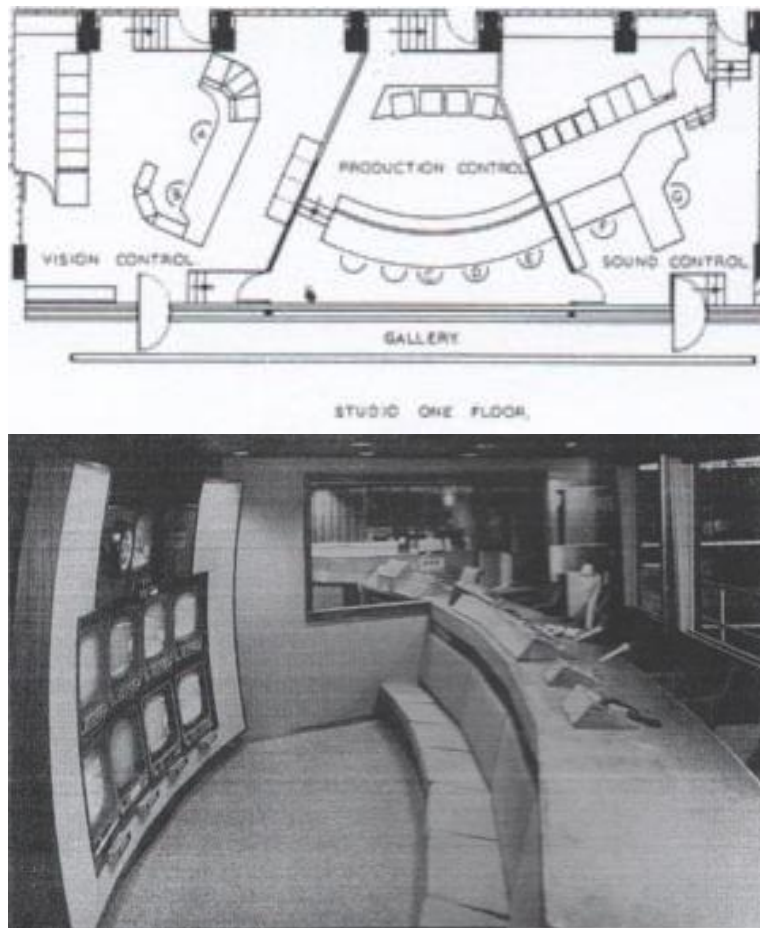


Figure 4: ABC production control room design Teddington Studios, Studio One.

In figure 4 the conventional viewing arrangement of the BBC has been reversed. Instead of the observation window being at the side of the production desk it has been placed directly behind it. The reasoning behind this, according to ABC Vision Control engineer Alan Fowler, was so that the producer and his team could obtain a 'favourable view of the monitors, unimpaired by direct glare of the studio lamps' (Fowler 1963, p. 34). Swivel chairs were also provided so that an 'unrestricted' view of the studio floor could be obtained 'if needed' (Fowler 1963, p. 34). However, surveying the studio floor was not regularly practiced by the production personnel. In order for one to look into the studio floor the production staff would have to neglect their duties at the production desk and put the process to a momentary standstill. Looking into the studio in this manner was a last resort method of resolving a problem. Fowler was predominantly concerned with the practitioners maintaining their full concentration on the monitors. This was evidenced by the black matt black venetian blinds that were placed on the inside of

the double glazed observation window to 'avoid problems of spill light from the studio' (Fowler 1963, p. 34). Similarly only dark colours were used to colour the control room such as grey tygan fabric. These dark colours prevented the production team from being distracted to ensure that they were immersed in the views provided by the monitors. Similarly, the bottom row of monitors was tilted upwards by ten degrees, and the top row was tilted downwards by five degrees. This tilting kept the monitor faces approximately perpendicular to the visual axis of those watching.

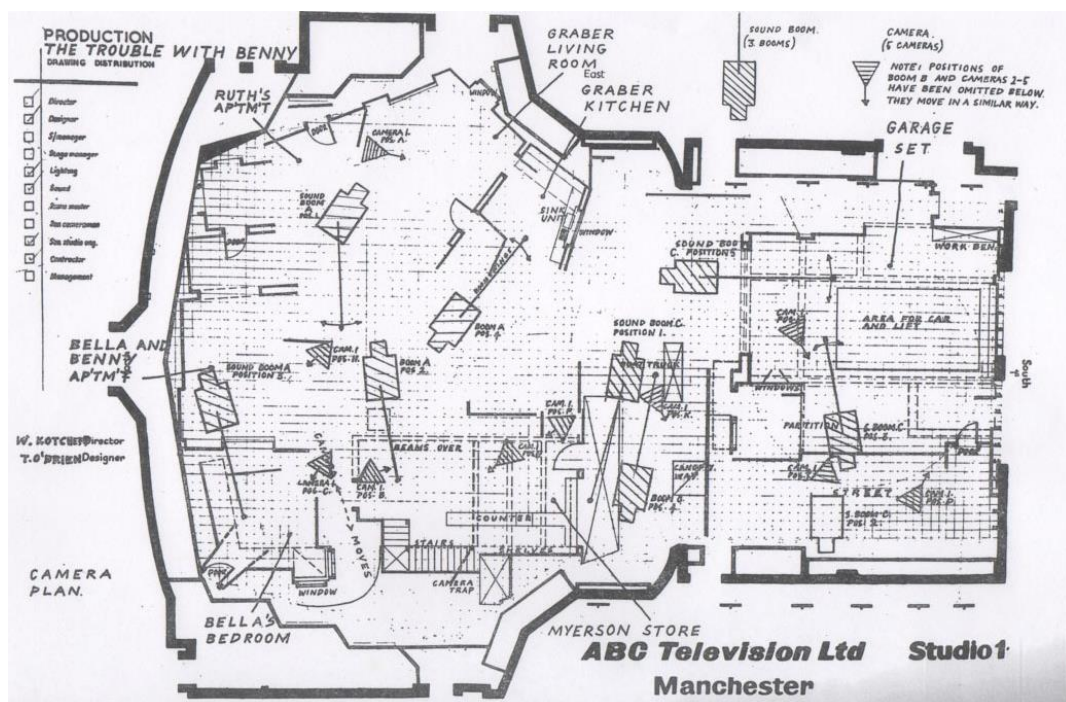


Figure 5: *The Trouble with Benny* (ITV, 12/4/1959) Didsbury Studios, Studio One.

Ensuring that full concentration of all the production staff was placed exclusively on the monitors further enhanced and developed a different way of approaching the material space of the television studio. From the start of ABC's *Armchair Theatre* anthology series studio space was approached differently from the BBC. This was firstly due to the fact that directors and producers were pushed for space at ABC's Didsbury studio complex in Manchester. This studio had been converted from a cinema building. There was not simply the space to push sets against the walls of the studio, like the BBC's production of *Dixon*. In figure 5, sets

are constructed in whatever space is available and are therefore dotted around the studio as a result. As the centre of the studio could not be designated exclusively for cameras, like that of the BBC's centripetal design, cameras are placed within the sets and camera movements have to be planned meticulously in advance. With this detailed planning up to five cameras can be used at any one time, often moving in and around these sets whilst filming.

This design of the Didsbury studio, partially influenced by a lack of space, complimented the style of shooting used by Canadian television producers/directors brought to ABC under Sydney Newman. It was these Canadian directors who used the pedestal camera as 'a hand-held, entirely mobile unit' (White 2003, p. 30). A director on, and later producer of, *Armchair Theatre* Leonard White claimed that the camera 'rarely stood still for long' and directors would no longer 'stand-off and photograph' the drama, as seen at the BBC, but 'get in close and move with the action' (White 2003, p. 30). This somewhat cramped composite studio space combined with these mobile cameras made 'camera movement an integral part of the performance' (Cooke 2003, p. 45).

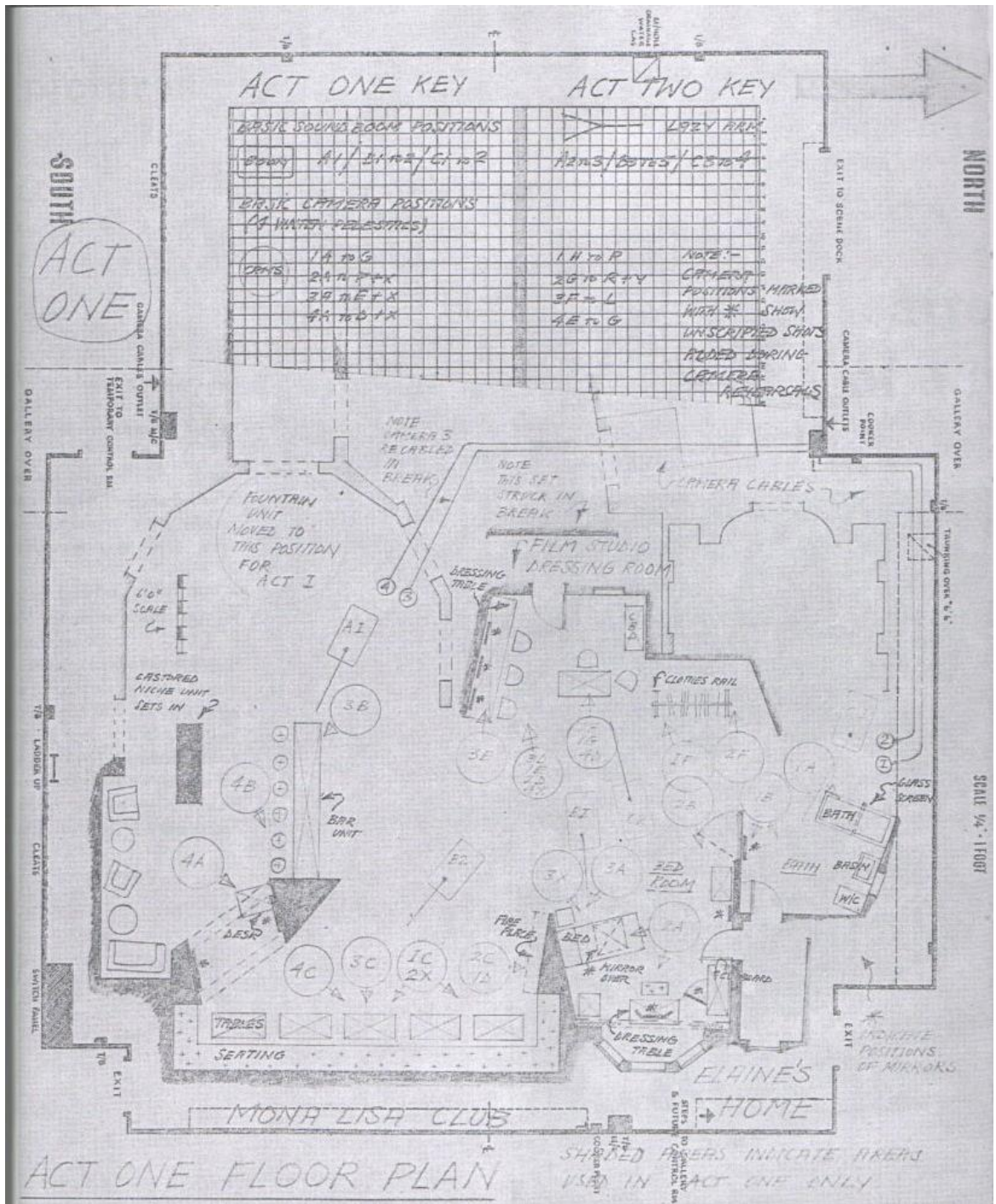


Figure 6: Act one of ABC's *Afternoon of a Nymph*.

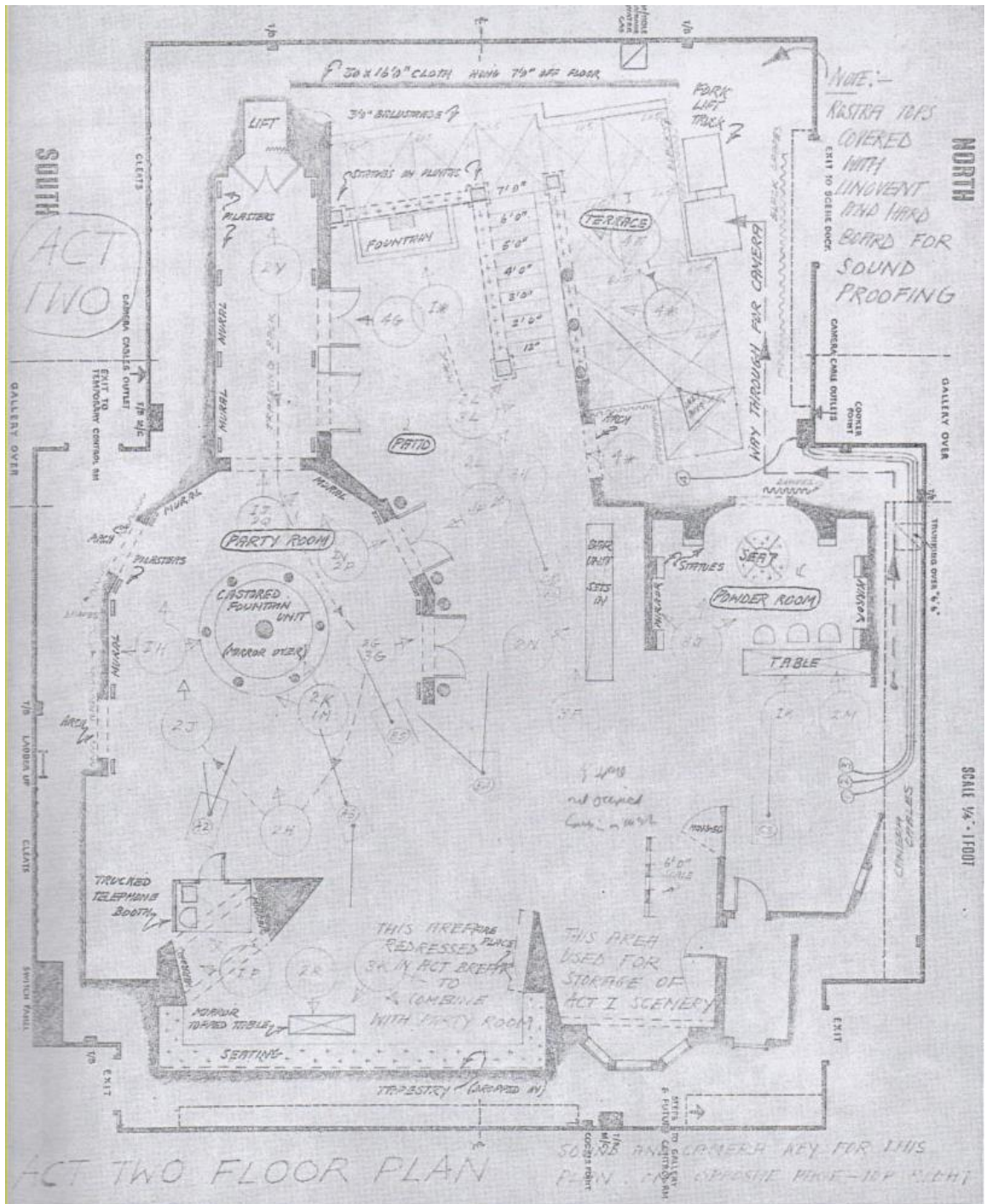


Figure 7: Act two of ABC's *Afternoon of a Nymph*.

Looking at the floor plans of Act one and Act two of ABC's television play *Afternoon of a Nymph* (ITV, 30/9/1962) (figures 6 and 7) there is no solitary position for any of the four cameras. Shot at Teddington studios, the cameras are always being moved. Although cameras are moved in between the sets of *Dixon*, movement only occurs at Riverside studios to change the fixed point of a camera from observing one set to another. Here there are so many different camera

positions that they have to be denoted with a letter. Each camera has up to twenty four different positions and can have a maximum of five 'basic' positions as well as up to twenty one temporary positions throughout the programme. This is a stark contrast to *Dixon* where the four cameras have three different positions on average.

There is no discernible centre to this space unlike the BBC's method of shooting series that devotes a large central space to camera movement and positioning. Here scenery is moved and set designs are constructed in between acts. This means that the space is in a constant state of flux and transformation to accommodate the movement of the cameras. Again this is a stark contrast to the production of BBC series, where sets are fixed and positioned to accommodate largely static cameras that can be viewed from the production control room. In figures 6 and 7 fixtures of the set designs such as tables, chairs, beds and an elaborately designed fountain are clearly denoted so that the object in question can be placed in relation to where the cameras are positioned. The *Dixon* plans however do not stipulate such features.

As a result of these separate production practices the series format from 1955-62 produced fictional spaces that served as backdrops to characters. By comparison the set designs of single plays were more interactive and had a 'three-dimensional quality' (Purser 1962, p. 39). In the single play the camera could follow characters through spaces, rather than exclusively using movement to change scene, as was being used in the series form.

These differences between the way in which single plays and series were produced was also furthered by the lighting equipment installed by the BBC and ABC. The leading engineers of Teddington had to make a decision between two methods of rigging lights in order to support the television studio lamps. The first method was to install a moveable barrel system, 'as used in the theatre' (Campbell 1963, p. 49). The second choice was telescopes suspended by a fixed grid. For ABC's former lighting supervisor, and then Head of Production Facilities, Gavin Campbell the barrel system was not as 'sufficiently flexible' (Campbell 1963, p. 49) as the telescope system. In comparison the lamps on telescopic hangers could be dropped

to six feet above the studio floor. These lamps were raised and lowered by a self-sustaining winch driven by a hand tool. This system also had an inherent memory that meant combinations of various desired lighting patterns could be turned on at the touch of a button. Also, every individual telescopic hanger did not have to be altered manually for each camera shot. For Phil Berkeley, the Head of Engineering Projects Group, 'the lighting grid arrangements have worked out extremely well and we would not desire to make any great changes here unless it proved essential to fly scenery in traditional theatrical style' (Berkeley 1963, p. 64).

The BBC, however, 'drew on this practice of the theatre' (Pawley 1972, p. 468) and installed grids of short rigging barrels in their studios. The BBC preferred using the barrel system rather than 'individual telescopic suspension' because it better complemented their 'electric hoists' for 'scenery suspension' (Pawley 1972, p. 468). As ABC technicians were able to look at the design of BBC studios in the early stages of their own 1963 refurbishment it seems that a conscious decision was made to enhance their own unique method of shooting drama. Therefore, ABC single plays had a more precise and nuanced telescopic lighting system to accommodate their large number of mobile cameras. BBC series in comparison had a largely immovable barrel lighting system to fit with their comparatively observant cameras and hoisted scenery.

Interestingly, there was little difference between the overall size of the R2 studio and Teddington's T-shaped Studio Two. R2 measured at one hundred by fifty metric feet whilst Studio two was seventy five by sixty two metric feet at its widest. Therefore, it was not a lack of space that forced ABC's single play productions to utilise as much of the floor space as possible without a discernible centre. Nor was it a great wealth of space that afforded the BBC series to use a central area exclusively for camera use. Rather, it was due to other departmental politics that influenced these approaches to space. The BBC produced other popular programmes formats in its R2 studio, most notably the sitcom *Hancock's Half Hour* (BBC 1956-60). Therefore, the *Dixon* sets had to be dismantled in a timely fashion on a weekly basis to accommodate these other programmes. The set designs had to be relatively simple to assemble frequently otherwise they would be too time consuming and

expensive to be erected and dismantled so regularly. Principal producer/director of *Dixon*, Douglas Moodie, noted that after so much reuse 'the stock sets are beginning to look decidedly shabby after nine episodes' and so requested 'some extra man hours for the refurbishing of these sets after the thirteenth episode' (Moodie 1957, BBC WAC T12/75/4).

In comparison to this frequent reuse of series set designs at R2, ABC's single play set designs were only ever used once. There was more of a creative license when dealing with ephemeral single plays to create more lavish set designs that would never have to be erected again. In addition to this the producers had more time to design and construct the sets, plan camera movements and then rehearse in these spaces. This was because ABC was part of a larger network of production companies that made up the ITV television channel. Production companies that were successfully awarded with a regional franchise specialised in a unique brand of drama with a distinguishable house-style. ABC was known for commissioning new television plays in relation to ATV's filmed action adventure series and Granada's docudrama anthologies. Therefore ABC could exclusively concentrate on, and develop, the single play format.

In comparison, *Dixon* was produced by the BBC's Light Entertainment department that shared the same production personnel and production space across several different programme formats including the sitcom and children's programming. Principal designer of *Dixon* Lawrence Broadhouse, for example, also designed sets for *Hancock's Half Hour* and *The Railway Children* (BBC 1957). Studio-shot drama series produced by the BBC at this time were treated as an extension of light entertainment. The studio-shot series grew out of the already established sitcom format that adopted a formulaic production practice. The sitcom has traditionally been a form where the camera focuses on the spoken word and the delivery of punch lines in an unobtrusive manner. As Bignell and Lacey have argued, the sitcom is a conservative form where 'the obsessive circularity of the dominant narrative model, in which the situation that gives each series its peculiar identity must be returned to unaltered' (Bignell and Lacey 2005, p. 13). No matter what the challenges are of a specific episode the status quo must be re-established by the

final credits meaning that 'only a limited degree of narrative progression, of linear plot development that might carry on beyond the frame of the episode, can be tolerated without destroying the form' (Bignell and Lacey 2005, p. 13).

This study has reasonable suspicion to suggest that hoisting scenery and barrel light rigging systems were used at the BBC to cater for a number of popular light entertainment formats. This is essentially the key difference between how the series and the single play were produced differently within the studio from 1955-1962. The series was a cost-effective form of light entertainment sharing a similar aesthetic with the sitcom where scenery functioned as a backdrop to the spoken word. The single play however used elaborate camera movements and complex set designs to articulate themes in a visual discourse in relation to, and sometimes in conflict with, spoken dialogue.

Fictional Mise en scène Produced

With these key differences between the production methods of the studio-shot series and single play in mind, the ways in which these methods can be seen to influence the resulting fictional mise en scène need to be considered. The production documents written by technicians examined so far have explained how the BBC and ABC built and approached studio space from a technological standpoint. Further connections need to be drawn between the dramatic practitioners who designed the fictional mise en scène in relation to the technicians and engineers who built and designed the material spaces of production. According to technical controller of ABC Bernard R. Greenhead an engineer's 'main objective must be to provide the directors and artists with all the facilities they require with the minimum of inconvenience and distraction from the task in hand' (Greenhead 1963, p. 4), what he calls an 'unobtrusiveness' (sic) (Greenhead 1963, p. 4). Looking at documents that were written by producers, set designers, scriptwriters and actors should open up a dialogue between these two separate understandings of space. Technicians provided a studio with its dimensions, its production control

room layout, types of cameras and lighting systems but it was up to the producers, set designers and directors as to how these elements were used.

Influential Drama producer Sydney Newman had a very clear sense of the drama he wanted to make and how it would be shot, upon his appointment at the BBC he wrote

I love good talk in plays, but it is never really a substitute for the demonstration of attitude. Put it another way: people have to do things. The important thing is that attitudes of individuals should be communicated to the audience by what they are doing and how they are reacting. Story, character delineation, all these things: you demonstrate them (Newman 1962, p.4)

Newman treated television drama as a form of action and narrative, yet it was within understanding that he provided 'the visual' with a new emphasis. This understanding of drama played its part in influencing how single plays were produced by ABC.

the rose affair

ACT 1

FADE UP VTR INSERT A

FADE UP TELECINE SOF

ABC Armchair Theatre
opening film (20 secs.)

FADE OUT T/C

1. FADE UP 1 INT. BETUMAIN'S HOUSE. NIGHT

Set up Exterior shot. Grams
Zoom in slowly Owls
to light in Wind
tower window Music

2. SLOW MIX 2

Corridor shot.
See JOHNSTON
run down

3. 4

Second corridor. Grams
See JOHNSTON Running
running up and feet
Pan him R to lift.
T/I Fast to grill-work
to see JOHNSTON
shaking gates.
Pan him L to stairs

4. 3

(On rostrum)
See JOHNSTON
running up stairs;
Pan him R and
see him go to top

5. MIX 4

Photo caption A

6. MIX 1

Photo caption B

7. MIX 2

Photo caption C

8. MIX 4

Photo caption D

9. MIX 3 Grams

Feet of double. Wind
Pan R up stairs Owls

10. 1

Looking along rostrum.
See JOHNSTON.
Pan him L through tower.
Let him exit shot L

11. 2

Trellis RFG.
See JOHNSTON
coming LBG.
Pan him L to
look over his L
shoulder as door
opens. See
BETUMAIN LBG

(END OF VTR INSERT A)

1. 4 (A) INT. BETUMAIN'S STUDY. NIGHT

Rose in glass RFG, Boom A-1
elbow LFG, Grams
JOHNSTON CBG Loud
(As JOHNSTON clock
enters, door closes tick
behind him)

2. 2 (A)

MS BETUMAIN

3. 4 (A)

BETUMAIN: Well?
Repeat shot.
As JOHNSTON
comes to desk,
Pull Back to
bring back of
BETUMAIN'S
head and
shoulders into
LFG BETUMAIN: Even him . . . even
Shane!

(2 TO POS.B, SHANE'S OFFICE)

JOHNSTON: Well, it's like that,
isn't it dear . . . sir.

Figure 8: *The Rose Affair* shooting script, page one.

Looking at the shooting script of ABC's *The Rose Affair* (ITV, 8/10/1961), written by Alun Owen as a modern retelling of *Beauty and the Beast*, the fictional space is an integral component of its construction. Throughout the script there are seven different shot scales with five different types of close-up; bcu (big close-up), cu (close-up), cs (close shot), mcu (medium close-up) and mcs (medium close shot). There are also two types of establishing shots, the ms (medium shot) and ws (wide shot). Throughout the script there are nine different instructions regarding the movement of the camera, these being; zoom, pan, pull back, crab, tighten, doll, whip pan, judder and swing. In addition to this, further instructions are also given to

stipulate how exactly these movements should be undertaken. Shot one of the first insert, for example, instructs the camera to zoom in *slowly*.

Also, as can be seen from figure 8, the script has precise instructions regarding the positioning of the actors. Actors are either placed in the background (B) or foreground (F) and then either right (R) central (C) or left (L) of the set, leaving a total of six possible positions. Looking at the first shot of the play following the end of VTR insert A, camera four is instructed to capture a 'rose in glass RFG', an 'elbow LFG' and 'Johnston CBG'. What figure 8 demonstrates is that the director of an ABC play in 1961 was interested in where exactly objects and actors, or parts of actors, were positioned in the space. Props and positioning were an integral element of a performance. The camera itself did not observe the space with occasional panning but was a part of the space and helped to create an impression of it. For example, as evidenced in the first page of the script, the camera has to reposition itself every time Betumain (Anthony Quinn) enters the space, always pulling back to reflect his formidable persona.

Framing drama through a camera lens is considered by some, particularly Val Taylor, as a way of automatically forging an empathetic identification between an audience and the characters depicted, rather than providing viewers with a sense of autonomy. This particular way of positioning characters and objects as part of this studio production technique, however, allows the viewers to spatially observe the drama in question as they would in the theatre. For example, Betumain commands space throughout the shooting script and dictates the movements of others, often by circling them. Later in the play when Bella (Natasha Parry) challenges this dominance, by circling him and entrapping him, Betumain falls ill. Betumain's doctor states, 'if only you'd make a note, as it were, of your conflicts and tensions'. These conflicts and tensions have in fact been articulated spatially for the viewer through subtle movements rather than being overtly articulated through speech. Therefore this direction has worked in accordance with Newman's aims of people having to 'do things'. This clear sense of positioning characters and objects in relation to the frame, in a manner similar to theatre stage instructions, provides

the viewer with a certain degree of autonomy to observe how characters move and interact with each other to articulate their feelings.

ABC engineers and producers had together developed a single play format that included up to five different cameras capturing up to twenty four different shots each. These shots could then each make use of up eight different types of movements and seven different shot scales. *Dixon of Dock Green* producer/director Douglas Moodie, in comparison, had to submit a 'special request' to the BBC management to use a fourth camera. In 1959 Moodie was given permission to use four cameras on a regular basis. However, even then only one camera was motorised (mobile) whilst the other three were pedestal mounted. Also, the use of a fourth camera was only agreed by the BBC's Light Entertainment Department management under the condition that it was there 'in the event of a breakdown of one camera' as *Dixon* would continue to be shot by 'three cameras' (BBC WAC T12/75/3). ABC had a clear manifesto as to how single plays should be produced under Sydney Newman. Engineers and creative staff worked collaboratively and complimented the techniques of each other in order for this vision to be realised. The BBC on the other hand was still experimenting with its drama series format. There were disagreements between the management of the Light Entertainment Department and its creative staff. The Light Entertainment Department evidently had little interest in pushing the artistic potential of studio-shot drama series using video technology. Camera expressivity and set designs were kept to a 'below the line' cost as a result.

The Role of the Set Designer

Newman's interest in a 'demonstration of attitude', combined with the resources put into the single play at ABC, meant that he paid 'a great deal of attention to design... because of its expressive nature' (Quoted in Taylor 1962, p. 5).

Interestingly, set designers at ABC had a great deal of freedom and actively participated in how themes could be communicated spatially. Designer of *The Rose Affair* Voytek likened himself to an architect because he too 'designs a frame for

organised living' and also tries to create 'a dramatic frame which by its influence on the actors and the audience will project the inner life of the play' (Quoted in Taylor 1962, p. 27). It was Voytek's decision to base Betumain's mansion on the designs by Spanish architect Gaudi to correspond with the 'vulgarity' in Owen's writing (Quoted in Taylor 1962, p. 27). For Voytek this would also provide the correct mixture between 'strange and real' as well as 'extravagant and tasteless' (Quoted in Taylor 1962, p. 27). Therefore set designers, in certain circumstances, could actively contribute to the themes of the piece and how they could be articulated through the mise en scène. There was a process of co-authoring occurring here in relation to a set designer's visualisation of the script.

The set of *The Rose Affair* is not simply a backdrop but an extension of the lead character's inner psyche that he is unable to articulate through words and actions. Anthony Quinn stated that in the theatre a leading actor would usually have a 'considerable say in the set designs, especially if the first sketches were totally at odds with his conception of his role' (Quoted in Taylor 1962, p. 33). However in television, when 'the actors arrive on the scene the sets are completed, and that is that' (Quoted in Taylor 1962, p. 33). Interestingly, Quinn could not quite understand how Voytek's sets for Betumain's house related to his character:

If this is a real beast-millionaire, why isn't he living in the sort of surroundings millionaires do live in: an ultra-modern penthouse would be much more believable than a mouldering Victorian-gothic extravaganza (Quoted in Taylor 1962, p.33).

Essentially, this demonstrates that the set designers could design the mise en scène in accordance with their envisioning of the drama irrespective of the actor's view.

Therefore, *The Rose Affair* is one example of a wider development in which the set designer achieved a degree of power in the production process at the expense of the actor from 1955-62. This is a significant development from Jacobs' 'lost not cosy' era of 1951-1955 where he demonstrates that the actor of a single play could retain the highest degree of authority on a production team as the production had to be 'sensitive to the rhythm and tempo of the performance' as it

was shot live (Jacobs 2000, p. 121). Now, with larger sets, mobile camerawork, video technology, and Newman's envisioning of how drama should be produced, the actor's authority has been significantly lessened in relation to the responsibility and authority that the set designer could now assert.

The set designer could now dictate the rhythm and tempo of a performance, albeit with the director's final say, as they would design the space that framed a character. The set designer also selected the objects to fill the space and the props the actor used. The set designer spent more time with the space than the actor. The actor was brought in and instructed what to do by a very detailed script that left him little room to add his own creative input. As Richard Levin states, when talking about his work on studio plays; 'the selection of properties is a phase of the first importance in drama presentation' (Levin 1961, p. 30). It was the responsibility of the set designer when selecting each prop to assess, 'whether they are clean or dirty, time-worn or fresh and new' (Levin 1961, p. 30) as every single detail could leave a lasting impression on the viewer and affect their reading of the play.

Levin goes on to say that:

When it comes to the point of selecting a particular one [prop] he [the set designer] may be confronted with several decisions in various stages of newness of antiquity, they will differ physically in size, style and appearance and they can be broken, repaired or complete in every way. Every single factor has a significance of some kind, varying from a faint or transitory one in some members of the audience to strong and poignant in others. On the set, the designer may visualise it in relation to other objects, all of which will transfer a shade of their own meaning to it; he may place it in a position corresponding to a clear, internal logic in the set, or knock it over, or let it stand somewhere where other suggestions of human intervention will instantly come to mind. He may dirty it, or decide to break it, half-hide it or let it be discovered at a certain point in the action-all these things will add other dimensions to the meaning of the object (Levin 1961, p. 31).

What Levin explains here is that it was largely the set designer's responsibility to provide a network of signs in any given scene. When selecting props the designer took into account what all of its features may have connoted to an audience, how they would frame an actor and how its positioning contributed to the overall meaning of the scene. Therefore 1955-62 is an era in which the set designer becomes an integral practitioner with an authority not experienced before in the history of the studio-shot single play. A set designer was brought into 'contact with probably more people than any other' (Quoted in Cameron and Downing 1975, unpaginated) including the floor manager, stage manager, lighting supervisor, sound supervisor, construction, scene master, senior cameraman, technical supervisor, contractor, scenic artists, props master and production services. Bearing this in mind the set designer's authorial contribution to the single play has been overlooked in the field of Television Studies and warrants further examination.

This intricate spatial design, an actor's interaction with their surrounding mise en scène and camera movement were all integral to the process of articulating themes in the studio-shot single play between the years 1955-62. Assheton Gorton's designed ABC studio play *Dr Kabil* (ITV, 6/9/1959), in particular, demonstrates this. Here Dr Kabil (Peter Illing) is an Algerian doctor who runs a surgery in Paris as a French citizen. This does not sit well with his wife who is a radical Algerian journalist and who writes articles campaigning for Algerian independence from French occupation. Kabil is forced to choose between his assumed French identity and his Algerian roots when a dying French businessman Corrazzo (Martin Sterndale), who has made his fortune from drilling oil in Algeria, is brought to his surgery. It later transpires that Corrazzo was shot by Kabil's daughter Jacqueline (Yolanda) who is an Algerian terrorist.

The spatial design is an integral component of Kabil's character, particularly the design of his doctor's surgery. The room has the appearance of a study. The wall that separates Kabil from the outside world is lined from floor to ceiling with books. As the books appear to continue on beyond the top of the frame, and an audience cannot see the ceiling, Kabil's knowledge is evidently extensive. Essentially Kabil encases himself with his medical knowledge and education as all the walls are lined

with these books. Kabil is respected for being a French doctor through this French education and medical knowledge as opposed to his Algerian identity. Camera movement adds to this reading as there is a framed photo of Kabil's family on his desk. This framed photograph is not central nor is it directly in line with his seat. It is in fact placed on the right corner of his L shaped desk. The camera has to independently track along the table top, free from character, to capture it. Directly in front of Kabil, placed centrally on his desk, is his stethoscope. This placement of props and accompanied camera movement functions to demonstrate that Kabil's work focused lifestyle, and longing to be French, has come at the expense of a close relationship with his Algerian family and Algerian roots.



Figure 9: The camera tracks along the desk to find Kabil's family picture, initially hidden from view.



Figure 10: The wall separating Kabil from the outside world is filled with books.

Actors' interaction with their surrounding space is also an important part of this visual discourse. When Kabil's daughter informs her father that she has shot Corrazzo she hides in Kabil's lab behind his study. Whilst she is hiding in the lab the

house surgeon (Pamela Alan) asks Kabil if he thinks it is professional of him to operate on Corrazzo. The surgeon then asks Kabil whether he is a Doctor or an Algerian. Kabil's triumphant reply is that 'I am both and more – a doctor, a Frenchman, an Arab and an Algerian'. Whilst stating this, Kabil walks to the corner of his office and punches a book. There is some hesitation in his arm before he dabs the book with his fist. Kabil then proceeds to theatrically raise his arm once he has punched the book. This gesture functions to expose his seemingly triumphant voice. It is through these books that Kabil has attempted to forge a French identity. At first the punch appears to be an assault against the French education system that has made him neglect his Algerian identity.

However, the viewer later learns that Kabil made the statement in the corner of his office so that his daughter could hear it in the adjacent room. This statement fools Kabil's daughter into surrendering. Although this gesture is for show, its hesitancy still reveals a hidden frustration within Kabil. The gesture is not a statement against his French education but rather a frustration about Kabil's inability to appear French no matter how much status and respect he gains through his work. The hesitation in Kabil's gesturing is used to undermine and question his dialogue. Ultimately the single play uses an expressive *mise en scène* that functions as an extension of character. This *mise en scène* combined with mobile cameras and performances that interact with the surrounding space provides a visual discourse that can express a character's inner feelings beyond what can be stated verbally.





Figure 11: Kabil dabs his books with his fist in an exaggerated manner.

In comparison to the spatial designs, camera movements and acting of the single play, spaces of the studio-shot series predominantly function as a backdrop. George Dixon (Jack Warner) and the other characters who occupy his front room do not interact or interfere with the immaculately placed objects that populate Dixon's space. Placed behind the actors a clock is central to Dixon's living room representing Dixon's ordered lifestyle. The photographs of non-descript seaside locations reflect an unassuming and idyllic view of life. Being a widower there is nothing in this space to connote the trauma Dixon has endured. Characters are ensconced in these spaces but at the same time distanced from them in that characters always converse with their backs or sides to the space. Whenever a prop is used it is usually already on a character's person. The prop is used in the foreground of the space in-between the camera and the actor so that it cannot disturb the surrounding *mise en scène*. All actors occupy the foreground and can only walk from one side of the frame to another. They cannot for example, like Kabil, make use of the space's depth or disturb the placement of objects to provide a more complex characterisation. Camera movement is kept to a minimum, relies on the medium shot and is not an inherent part of the performance.

The space was sparsely designed in comparison to the single play partly so that the set could be reassembled quickly the following week. As Butler has said, the *mise en scène* here 'has had to adapt to certain craft practices that have had a

major impact on the genre's signifying practices' (Butler 2009, p. 37). There is no visual discourse here to undermine or complicate the dialogue and characterisation. This is not necessarily due to producer/director Douglas Moodie's style of direction but perhaps due to his compromises with the BBC's Light Entertainment management that would only provide four cameras, only three of which could be used, and a studio that used hoisted scenery and a barrel lighting system.



Figure 12: George Dixon's living room serves as a backdrop.

It is reasonable to suggest that Dixon is a fixed character type as a result of this approach to space. There is only one way of reading his character as all signs within a scene combine to create one meaning as part of a 'patriarchal ideology' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 110). In the episode entitled 'Father in Law' (BBC, 1/9/1956) Dixon stands in his front room talking to many different characters on the day before his daughter's wedding. Here Dixon talks his daughter Mary (Jeanette Hutchinson) and son in law Andy (Peter Byrne) who thanks Dixon for looking after him when 'he was a young copper'. There are also other fellow officers who stand around Dixon as he talks. Here Dixon is a 'father in several senses' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 110) to all the characters around him. The space and design of Dixon's front room remains fixed and undisturbed throughout. The centre of an audience's attention is on the spoken word. As characters are positioned in 'frontal' (Cooke 2005, p.84) compositions and do not interact with their space a viewer's sense of characterisation is not complicated.

This stands in stark contrast to Kabil who has many facets to his character as a father, doctor, Algerian and Frenchman that are in conflict with one another. A viewer's sense of where his allegiances lie are further complicated through actor Peter Illing's interactions with his surrounding space that place his attitudinal markers (gestures) out of step with his illocutionary markers (dialogue). This is perhaps afforded by the three-dimensional space given to actors at ABC's *Armchair Theatre*. The depth of space provided can be seen to result in a character with greater depth. Sign vehicles become polysemic within such a space and an audience's focus is not exclusively drawn to the spoken word. Actors are able 'inhabit' a space rather than being 'constricted within a frame' (Caughie 2000a, p. 77).

This difference in approach towards *mise en scène* can be considered as one of many reasons as to why the single play was treated as an example of television drama's high end output in relation to the continuous series, perceived as a cost effective mode of entertainment. This is evidenced by the sources that have been used in this chapter to explain the role of a set designer. Richard Levin (1961) and John Russell Taylor (1962) both provide examinations of the set designer's contribution to the single play. From 1955-62 the set designer on a series was considered to have more of an 'administrative' responsibility than an artistic and interpretive role experienced on single plays (Levin 1961, p. 26). Within this spatially less expressive series format, more creativity and subsequent recognition within this production practice was afforded to the writers and directors. As *Juliet Bravo* set designer David Crozier explains, up until 1982, 'an established series is more a director and producer medium'.³

This attitude towards the set designs of series drama in its formative 1955-62 period has been a prominent factor in creating a lasting hierarchy between high end single plays in relation to series. As Brunsdon (2000b) has observed, up until the mid-1970s the annual handbooks of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), the 'publication in which independent television and radio is presented to audience

³ Interview with the author.

and advertisers', grouped series drama 'inconspicuously into the larger "drama section" which highlighted more prestigious productions' (Brunsdon 2000b, p. 1).

Similarly, Thames Television put together an exhibition of television designers entitled 'Back to the Drawing Board'. This exhibition was open to the public at the Victoria Albert Museum from February to March 1975. Here, the creative process of designing a set for a television production was demonstrated through passages written by set designers who predominantly worked on single plays and serials. The artistic background of each set designer is drawn attention to. The exhibition explains that Allan Cameron graduated from the 'Royal College of Art' and Eileen Diss graduated from the 'Central School of Art in London' (Cameron and Downing 1975, unpaginated). The aim of the exhibition is to validate the set designer's efforts as artists and generate a greater understanding of their role. As Lord Ayleston, Chairman of the Independent Broadcasting Authority states, 'it sets out to demonstrate and illustrate the immense contribution of the designer to British television programme making' (Quoted in Cameron and Downing 1975, unpaginated). This is achieved through an examination of the critically acclaimed seven part serial *Jennie: Lady Randolph Churchill* (Thames 1974), and other single plays, as opposed to the continuous series. Taken together all of these sources demonstrate that perceptions of the artistic integrity of the studio-shot series and single play, from within the industry, have endured throughout the history of British television drama.

In Conclusion, there is a reciprocal dialogue between narrative form and production practice. The spatial design and resourcing of both Riverside and Teddington studios did not wholly determine the visual stylistics of *Dixon* and *Armchair Theatre*. Nor were the set designs of both *Dixon* and *Armchair Theatre* wholly a result of a pre-existing ideology of key personnel at each production centre. The design of Riverside's R2 production control room and its barrel lighting system accompanied by the BBC's managerial infrastructure all contributed towards producing a series that provided frontal compositions of characters and a *mise en scène* that functioned primarily as a backdrop. Also, the initial lack of space available at Didsbury's Studio 1, accompanied by resourcing the studio with

Canadian directors who used Marconi cameras as handheld units, and then the later installation of telescopic lighting hangers at Teddington, allowed set designers to assert a certain degree of authority over a production.

All of these determinants influence one another. There is a continuous interplay between the ideology of certain practitioners and the style of shooting that the studio designs and facilities encourage. Although the decisions made by a production company can determine how a space is used, and the design and resourcing of a production space can impact upon how practitioners decide to use it, this thesis has enough evidence to reasonably suggest that the design and resourcing of a television studio played a significant and influential part in this interaction. Therefore, the design and resourcing of the production space is worth considering as a substantial determinant within this interplay, particularly with regard to different narrative models.

This opposition between the spatial expressivity of the single play and comparatively minimalist nature of the series then began to blur from 1962 onwards. Newman's appointment at the BBC as Head of Drama in 1963 can be seen to have had an influence on the way material space was approached in the studio produced series format. *Dr Finlay's Casebook* (1962-71), *Compact* (1962-5) and *Z Cars* (1962-78) gradually drew back viewers from ITV as the 'audience share swung back to the BBC' (Cooke 2003, p. 56). This commercial strategy to beat ITV 'at their own game' by producing 'popular programmes of sufficient quality' through 'forms of continuing drama which could be build up a regular and committed following' (Laing 1991, p. 126) worked. Dividing 'what had become an unwieldy department into separate sections for production of series, serials, plays' (Cooke 2003, p. 60) enabled the series to become better resourced. Up until 1963 the production processes of the single play at ABC created an expressive space to deal with the interiority of characters. This was made possible through material production space that had a more flexible lighting system, mobilised cameras and a creative team that had a clearer focus on the positioning of actors in relation to props. Dixon's space by comparison was smaller and was designed for as little as two camera viewpoints that panned from side to side. Therefore, the single play was a format to

which set designers had more of an authorial voice, prominent role and creative license in the visual articulation of themes.

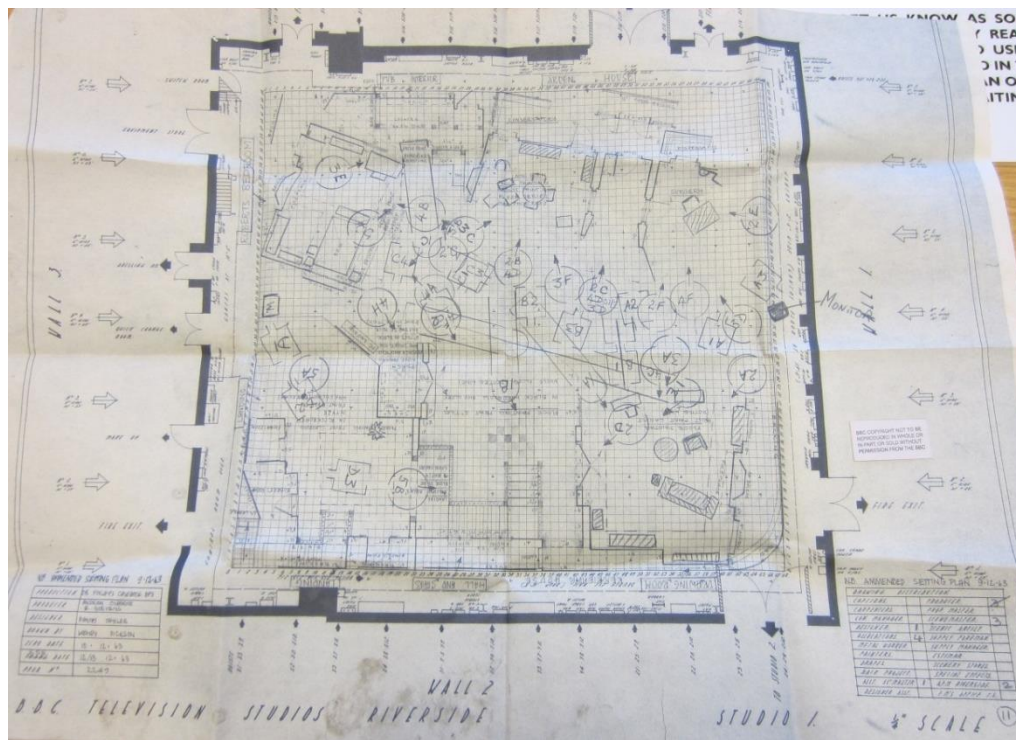


Figure 13: *Dr Finlay's Casebook* floor plan, planned for recording 12/9/63 and 13/9/63 R1 studio BBC WAC T5/637/1.

Newman's move to the BBC represented a blurring of the clear boundaries set in place between the single play and series formats from 1955-62. In figure 13, for example, a studio floor plan from the third series of *Dr Finlay's Casebook*, shows that five cameras are now used to capture a set. The cameras often reposition themselves to provide different angled views as opposed to *Dixon* where two cameras would pan from side to side. The most striking aspect of this floor plan is that hardly any space is left untouched. Cameras utilise the lino floor as they move and reposition themselves more frequently than on the set of *Dixon*. Camera four, for example, has eight different positions in relation to the cameras on *Dixon* having three different positions on average. It is the view of this thesis that these initial attitudes towards the series impacted upon perceptions of both formats as late as the 1970s. What the proceeding chapters of this thesis will now consider is what becomes of the studio-shot series spatially until 1982. It will also examine how the studio-shot series combines the spatial practices and acting styles of the single play

within its own established production practice, through a study of the British police series.

Chapter Two: Socio-Economic Context

The purpose of this study is to examine what made studio-shot television drama using video technology distinctive and to chart its aesthetical progression. The police series, which has been chosen as a genre case study on account of its longevity, is a type of drama that has always intervened in debates surrounding social change. In particular, class and gender are two interlocked themes that are spatially foregrounded in the construction of these debates.

Chapter three is interested in the social construction of the police station space whilst chapters four and five examine the representation of domestic space in each series chosen for analysis. The chapters will analyse how the dynamics of these professional and familial relationships are framed by the studio space. These tensions are usually coloured by the economic, social and cultural changes British society was experiencing during their production. Therefore, this chapter will map the socio-economic climate that characterised British society in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Each section of this chapter will focus on a specific decade to identify key economic trends, government implemented legislation, methods of dealing with crime, and significant public debates regarding attitudes towards sex and the family. Each segment will consider how all of these factors impacted upon the UK's traditional class structure and a sexual division of labour. This study understands a sexual division of labour to be the process in which men and women 'routinely perform different activities or occupy different social roles' to 'receive different material rewards and have access to contrasting amounts of power and status because of their sex' (MacInnes 1998, p. 1).

Having this socio-economic understanding will enable this research to discern to what extent, and in what manner, a studio space was able to intervene in the various debates that were changing British society. Having an in depth knowledge of these social debates will enable this thesis to analyse the construction of public and domestic spaces in police series that were indirectly addressing, and were unintentionally being affected by, such social changes. This knowledge will also enable the thesis to analyse the construction of professional and private spaces

in series that were reflecting, and directly intervening in, social debate. Either way, the following chapters aim to suggest how studio-shot programmes appeared to interpret the changes unfolding from within British society.

Previous Feminist Studies of Television

Before this chapter examines the construction of class and gender in British society it is imperative that the landmark work of feminist television scholars is acknowledged. Their deconstruction of domestic space, depicted on British television drama, is particularly useful because it demonstrates how representations of gender within personal and domestic spaces can be related to a broader political context. From 1976 to the mid-1980s a body of feminist television scholarship brought a feminist discourse into the academy. Influential writings by Carole Lopate (1977), Tania Modleski (1979), Richard Dyer et al. (1980), Ellen Seiter (1982), and Patricia Mellencamp (1986), all took issue with the 'existing critical work on television that disregarded femininity, gender, and sexuality in discussions of the "political"' (Brunsdon et al. 1997, p. 5). As in other disciplines, the agenda of these feminist critics was to broaden the meaning of the term 'political' to 'include a general interest in everyday life, especially the female-associated spheres of domesticity and consumerism' (Brunsdon et al. 1997, p. 5). It is these existing developments that need to be built upon.

Some of these feminist scholars were drawn to investigate realism on the television screen through specific genres that held a wide appeal for women viewers but which were often derided, in part, for the same reason. As Richard Dyer argues, *Coronation Street* (Granada 1960-) acknowledges 'the role of domestic labour and inequalities between the sexes' (Dyer 1980, p. 5). Such examinations of the soap opera and the sitcom all share an interest in the unique aesthetic of the continuous serial form and how its design can involve women viewers in their patterns of domestic viewing. For example, Carole Loparte is the first to claim that 'the heartbreak, confusion, restrained passion, and romance of families in the soaps provides the anaesthesia to fill out the hollows of long afternoons when children

are napping and there is ironing or nothing at all to be done' (Loparte 1977, pp. 34-5).

Following the initial groundwork made by feminist television scholars, studies from the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, successfully built upon this existing body of work by providing an extension of earlier feminist analyses in new circumstances. Lorraine Gamman and Margaret Marshment (1988) in particular provide a 'different strategy' (Gamman and Marshment 1988, p.2). Instead of positioning themselves outside of 'the popular' they demonstrate 'how feminists can intervene in the mainstream' (Gamman and Marshment 1988, p. 2). Recognising that women's magazines, mass-produced fiction and pop music are where 'women (and men) are offered the culture's dominant definitions of themselves' (Gamman and Marshment 1988, p.2) both authors study whether, within this new framework, that a mainstream feminist presence 'is co-opted by being harnessed to other discourses which neutralise its radical potential' (Gamman and Marshment 1988, p.3). Similarly Julie D'Acci (1994) in investigating 'the cultural constructions of gender' and interrogating the meanings of 'woman, women and femininity' (D'Acci 1994, p. 2) in *Cagney and Lacey* (CBS 1981-88) broadens her analysis to include the 'role of television networks, production companies, production teams, and publicity firms in generating and circulating these meanings' (D'Acci 1994, p. 2). D'Acci also includes the ways in which 'television viewers, the press, and numerous interest groups produce meanings and counter meanings of their own and how all of these meanings clash and compete for social semiotic space and power' (D'Acci 1994, p.2)

Television's traditional alignment with a sexual division of labour, its frequently reproduced ideology of separate spheres, which 'sees the home as a space of femininity and leisure and the public world as a place of masculinity and work' (Brunsdon et al. 1997, p. 19), has always been a prominent concern for feminist television critics. Christine Geraghty in particular considers to what extent soaps challenge this public/private dichotomy. Geraghty's examination (1991) of *Coronation Street*, *Crossroads* (ATV 1964-88), *Brookside* (Mersey Television 1982-2003), and *EastEnders* (BBC 1985-) draws attention to how these texts overturn a

'deeply entrenched value structure based on oppositions of masculinity and femininity' (Geraghty 1991, p. 41). According to Geraghty this value is overturned thematically as 'external power relations' in British soaps are 'either ignored altogether or translated into personal relationships' (Geraghty 1991, p. 56). Namely, soaps make little attempt to 'express the abstractions of modern capitalism and the alienation of workers from their labour' (Geraghty 1991, p. 56), they instead 'bring personal relationships into the work arena' (Geraghty 1991, p. 54) and 'provide characters with emotional reasons for business decisions' (Geraghty 1991, p. 55). The reasoning behind this strategy according to Geraghty is so that incomprehensible concepts about the economy and business can be explained in understandable terms, 'through what is known and understood by their audience' (Geraghty 1991, p. 56).

Because 'the representation of the family in British soaps does not challenge or particularly examine patriarchal authority' (Geraghty 1991, p. 83) Geraghty contends that the 'family becomes less of a battleground and more of a place of safety where there is some protection from the harshness of the world outside' (Geraghty 1991, p. 83). Cinematographically, shots in soap operas tend to 'concentrate on characters and only very seldom are inanimate objects viewed alone' (Paterson 1980, p. 65). Close-ups of faces are regularly 'used to emphasise the high drama' (Paterson 1980, p. 65). Whereas soaps avoid or translate public debates regarding the economy and gender into emotional terms, the police series by comparison tackles the issue of patriarchal authority head on, using the domestic space as a metonymical site of public debate, as will be argued later.

In more recent years feminist scholarship has built upon these later developments and no longer exclusively examines programmes with a particularly wide appeal for women. Studies now often consider how feminist pressures have impacted upon depictions of women in traditionally 'male' genres such as Deborah Jermyn's (2008) and Julia Hallam's (2000 and 2005) works on Lynda La Plante and Lynn Thomas' (1995) examination of *Inspector Morse* (Central 1987-2000). There is, however, no sustained analysis of gender, particularly regarding depictions of women, in British police series that predate *Prime Suspect* (Granada 1991-2006).

Dramas before this series are presumed to be 'co-opted by the ideology of sexism' (Gamman 1988, p.11). It is important to remember, though, that depictions of women did in fact exist in the police genre before *Prime Suspect* and are worthy of study. With the developments made by Geraghty, and others in mind, this study will analyse how a dichotomy between the public and private spheres is portrayed, reinforced and challenged by the police series genre. By focusing upon how challenges to a sexual division of labour are depicted, within these programmes, the thesis will deduce to what extent police series played an integral part in this on-going debate.

1960s

Employment

One of the distinctive socio-economic trends of the 1960s was the high demand for youth labour. As the 1960s continued to boast 'full employment' few young people experienced problems of finding work. As Bill Osgerby states, 'with a buoyant job market youngsters were free to move quickly from job to job in search of the highest immediate rewards' (Osgerby 1998, p. 23). Younger unskilled workers were in great demand because they were cheaper to employ and were happy to accept the relatively high and instantaneous rewards. This demand for labour and full employment led to a steady growth in consumer spending and a subsequent rise in the popularity of teenage subcultures, i.e. the mods and rockers. 1964, in particular, was 'the year of the Beatles' rise to cultural pre-eminence; of massive record sales and the "beat" boom; of "mod" styles, the flourishing artisan capitalism of the Kings Road boutiques, and the whole phenomenon of "swinging London"' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 237). Employees who had spent their entire lives specialising in a particular artisan trade, were fearful that 'Britain would soon face a serious shortage of skilled workers' (Osgerby 1998, p. 23). The stable tradition of family dynasties where fathers would pass down their 'skill and craft' to their sons was in decline (Abbott 2003, p. 125).

Table 3.2 Proportion of young people within the British workforce, 1950–1968

	Numbers of persons aged 15–17 years entering employment (in thousands)			Persons aged 18–20 years as % of UK employees		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1950	273.2	263.5	536.7	3.0	3.9	6.9
1952	266.9	256.1	523.0	2.4	3.7	6.1
1954	258.4	246.6	505.0	2.4	3.8	6.2
1956	246.9	235.5	482.4	2.7	3.7	6.4
1958	269.8	253.8	523.6	3.1	3.6	6.7
1960	286.3	261.5	547.8	3.6	3.5	7.1
1962	336.0	321.3	657.3	4.2	3.5	7.7
1964	314.8	293.5	608.3	4.3	3.8	8.1
1966	270.2	251.7	521.9	4.8	4.2	9.0
1968	255.8	232.4	488.2	4.6	4.0	8.6

Source: Department of Employment, 1971, *British Labour Statistics Historical Abstract 1886–1968*, London: HMSO, Table 151, p. 297; Table 158, p. 304.

Figure 14: In these tables there is a notable rise in young men and women entering employment aged 15–17 until 1964 and aged 18–20 until 1966 (MacInnes 1998, p. 22).

This tension between an emerging, relatively affluent, working class youth at the expense of skilled and ageing tradesmen is repeatedly depicted in *Z Cars* (BBC 1962–1978). Middle aged tradesmen are demonstrably resentful at the fact they are unable to enjoy the materialistic benefits promised to them by a post-war consumerist boom in relation to their children. In ‘Tuesday Afternoon’ (BBC, 4/12/1963) redundant sheet metal worker Pawson (Eric Barker) steals a toy car from a department store for his Grandson’s birthday. Pawson feels inadequate that his grown up daughter is in a financial position to buy a new house. Pawson tells his wife ‘I wish it was us’.

Towards the end of the 1960s this ‘full employment’ and consumer boom began to wane as the UK’s economy was dependent on foreign loans and short term credit. This ‘affluence’ depended on a level of growth that the British economic infrastructure could not uphold. Although the vast material improvements the working classes enjoyed, signified through affordable cars, television sets and washing machines, perhaps represented ‘the most profound phases of transition in British working-class life and culture’ (Osgerby 1998, p. 31), the late 1960s also marked the beginning of a breakdown in the commonly accepted post-war consensus. Yet with unemployment starting its dramatic climb, and cracks in the myth of affluence beginning to appear, by the ‘mid-sixties the

confident post-war rhetoric of growth and prosperity' was beginning to 'falter' (Osgerby 1998, p. 64).

Ageing working class men in *Z Cars*, such as Pawson, have to resort to crime to enjoy the material benefits of a recently formed consumerist society. However, younger characters of a higher class, who live a more affluent lifestyle, resort to crime to relieve themselves of boredom. In 'Tuesday Afternoon' upper class Benson (David Crane) drives dangerously to catch the police's attention. Being arrested to him is a rite of passage as he refers to the arrest as one of many 'duelling scars' that 'proves you are a man'. Similarly in 'Further Enquiries' (BBC, 1/5/1962) Barry Hulme (Keith Barron) and two friends decide to drive to their friend Sandy Spencer's (Shirley Lawrence) house and steal her parents' possessions simply because it is 'too late for a film'. Divisions are drawn in *Z Cars* between different generations and different classes. Such divisions are shown to be polarising society and questioning the legitimacy and validity of the apparent post war consensus.

Sex and Marriage

What was particularly significant about the 1960s, with regards to the research interests of this project, was the 1964 Labour government's spate of legislation that was passed in response to the public's changing social attitudes towards sexual relationships. The Sexual Offenders Act of 1967 decriminalised homosexuality. The 1967 Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act legalised abortion. Even though abortion was only granted if two doctors agreed that there was a substantial risk to the mother's or child's health, the passing of this act still reflected a significant shift in the public's social attitudes. The 1967 Family Planning Act enabled local authorities to provide advisory services on birth control. The Divorce Reform Act of 1969 meant that there would now only be one ground for divorce; the irretrievable breakdown of a marriage. Similarly, the Matrimonial Property Act of 1969 could secure a divorced wife an equal share in family assets. There was also the Abolition of Censorship in Theatres Act of 1968 that brought an end to the censorship of plays.

As a result of this legislation a permissive sensibility percolated throughout British society. Women were now able to talk openly about what had previously been taboo subjects, as demonstrated in Nell Dunn's 1967 interviews entitled *Talking to Women*. Women were beginning to express what they sought from sex and, therefore, were becoming sexually confident. Mary Quant claimed that in 1969 she was able to 'stand there defiantly with her legs apart' saying 'I'm very sexy, I feel provocative, but you're going to have to get me' (Quoted in Segal 1994, pp. 9-10). As a result of this change Sheila Rowbotham points out that 'young men had...not been prepared by their 1950s upbringings for the new Quant-style woman' (Rowbotham 1999, p. 364). A relatively affluent and independent youth combined with an awakened sexual confidence meant that many felt freer than previous generations to live their lives in 'their own way and style' (Hill 1985, p. 305).

There were new pressures placed on married men and women. A man faced newly articulated demands to please his wife sexually and to please her financially in buying her household amenities. This was partly because women were central to this post-war financial boom as consumers in 'the massive growth of advertising aimed at the housewife' (Osgerby 1998, pp. 50-51). Similarly, women were expected to work and still maintain the house and to be sexually confident too. *Z Cars*, however, is more interested in the pressures that men faced within the domestic sphere. It focuses on the stress and anxiety experienced by men as a result of the financial and sexual pressures perceived to be placed on them by women. 'Hi Jack!' (BBC, 22/5/1962), for example, depicts Les Fielding (Glyn Houston) suffering from panic attacks and is pressured into stealing in order to satisfy his wife Lorna Fielding's (Lois Daine) need for material possessions.

This general feeling of freedom and liberation also impacted upon people's perceptions of marriage. Martin P.M. Richards' and B. Jane Elliot's longitudinal study of Mary Grant's *Woman's Own* problem page (1991) identifies that advice given to married women, throughout this era, predominantly instructed married couples to discuss their problems openly. A strong theme throughout these problem pages, and many advice books of the period, was that sex should be

treated as 'a part of marriage where openness, sharing (including the mutual orgasm) and closeness have particular value' (Richards and Elliot 1991, p. 37). There was an 'increasing importance attached to sexual intercourse as a method of communication between husband and wife' (Richards and Elliot 1991, p. 38). Grant's problem page was repeatedly filled with instructions on how to achieve arousal in primarily physiological terms. Therefore, marriage in the 1960s was being promoted, in a number of publications, as a partnership that should be experienced by husband and wife on equal terms. In *Z Cars* PC Steele's (Jeremy Kemp) marriage to Janey Steele (Dorothy White) is relatively appreciative, open and sharing through affectionate terms as promoted in Grant's problem page. In 'Four of a Kind' (BBC, 2/1/1962) Steele achieves reconciliation to a dispute he has with his wife by apologising, embracing her and kissing her. This apology and open display of affection is what sets Steele apart from other dysfunctional civilian marriages, such as the Fieldings, where the men suffer under their matriarchal wife's control and resort to crime in an attempt to retain power.

A nationwide women's liberation movement, in its relatively formative stages, was instrumental in changing these nationwide understandings of gender and sexual relationships. In the 1960s, following women's experience of jobs in WW2, women had more potential 'choice and freedom than ever before' as 'assembly-line jobs in new manufacturing industries, cleaning and catering jobs in fast-growing service industries, professional and para-professional jobs in Britain's developing welfare state, and a constantly expanding supply of office jobs' were now available (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 4).

Out of this conflict between 'these new opportunities and the powerful propaganda of post-war "femininity"' arose a women's liberation movement (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 4). Following the publication of Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, which first drew attention to the oppression suffered by post-war American suburban housewives, the second wave feminist movement in Britain became widespread, coloured by socialist thought. Juliet Mitchell's essay 'The Longest Revolution' was published in *New Left Review* in 1966 and significantly brought the 'woman question' back into the consciousness of the radical left.

Following this Sheila Rowbotham's pamphlet *Women's Liberation and the New Politics* (1969) linked housework to 'unequal rights at work', and placed both in the context of 'cultural traditions which objectify and silence women' (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 9). Influenced by these writings, in publications such as *Spare Rib*, small groups of women across Britain, including the BFI's Women's Television Group, were beginning to discuss 'their day to day experiences' in a way they had not done before (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 5). As a result of these writings and these women's groups, the 'comforting, secure idyll of the 1950s family no longer appeared to fit' (Rowbotham 1999, p. 420) as the private and the domestic were being reformulated as being about *a politics* in relation to the public world of work.

These changes to British society are reflected in *Z Cars* but its episodes are focused on how men are affected. The suffering Pawson and Fielding experience in competing for power of the domestic space, against their wives, is the main focus of an audience's attention.

Crime

Initially as part of the post-war consensus crime was perceived to be 'a passing problem which would disappear, or at least turn to acceptable levels as society returned to an orderly routine following the disruption of the war' (Clarke 1992, p. 238). However, youth cultures in Britain soon became more of a concern as the staged mods-rockers confrontations on holiday beaches attracted 'massive public attention presided over by wild press over-reporting and a campaign of intense social reaction from the moral entrepreneurs, the police and the courts' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 237). This drama was 'thematized (sic) in terms of the continuing moral struggle between the guardians of society and the affluence, boredom, indiscipline, hedonism, vandalism and "mindless violence" of "youth"' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 237). By the mid- 1960s 'the calculated innocence of "swinging London"' was now described as "'pornographic Britain" by the populist guardians of public morality' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 239). A moral backlash against youth culture commenced towards the end of the decade as the tide began to turn against such

permissiveness. Regional Drug Squads were formed in July 1967 and Mick Jagger was charged with possession in June of that year; 'no figure was more designed to fit the stereotype and trigger moral alarm' as he was considered 'overtly if androgynously sexual, flamboyant, and hedonistic' and therefore 'guilty' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 240).

This fear towards youth influenced developments in police organisation. The growth of this affluence and a consumerist society meant that there was an enormous increase in private motor vehicles, and so a 'major extension of road traffic duties for the police' had to be undertaken (Emsley 1996, p. 171). Along with the rise of this permissiveness came 'a general inclination to question authority which, together with the spread of education, appeared to characterise much of the cultural development of the decade' (Emsley 1996, p. 171). Although drug abuse is never depicted in *Z Cars*, young affluent youths questioning authority is a regular occurrence. With characters such as Barry Hulme and Benson committing crimes to attract police attention for fun, a fear of youth permeates throughout the series.

1970s

Employment

As C.P. Hill states, the 1970s saw the 'gloomier trends of the 1960s continued and accelerated' (Hill 1985, p. 293). The decade was dominated by economic strife as unemployment reached one million in 1975 and then peaked at one million and six hundred thousand people in 1977 (Hill 1985, p. 293). Inflation continued to rise at an unprecedented rate, wages fell by 8% between 1975-1977 (Rowbotham 1999, p. 416), and there were significant cuts in public expenditure. There was also repeated industrial unrest as the decade culminated in the winter of discontent where low-paid public service workers let rubbish pile in the streets, and the dead go unburied. 1974 lost more workdays to strike action experienced since the first national miner's strike of 1919 (Hall et al. 1978, p. 293). Despite Edward Heath's attempts to restrict worker's rights through the 1971 Industrial Relations Act, or Harold Wilson's

and James Callaghan's appeasement of the unions, the post-war consensus soon became a distant memory as class 'inequality had begun to re-establish itself' (Osgerby 1998, p. 65). This bleaker view of society is captured broadly by the desolate London locations used to film *The Sweeney*. The 'breakers yards, railway arches and cul de sacs' (Alvarado and Stewart 1985, p. 96), 'betting shops, dingy pubs, tenement bedsitters' (Buscombe 1976, p. 68) contain 'a certain amount of grit in their depiction' (Buscombe 1976, p. 68). Therefore, Ted Childs' stylistic decision to use these locations in an attempt to replicate a specific verisimilitude captured in *Dirty Harry* (Don Siegel 1971) and *The French Connection* (William Friedkin 1971) helped to encapsulate, perhaps inadvertently, this national feeling of economic decline and unrest.

Accompanying this accelerating deindustrialisation between the years 1970-79, where manufacturing jobs declined overall by 17%, was the rising number of women in work (Rowbotham 1999, p. 416). With the numbers of women in paid work increasing steadily by one hundred and twenty thousand each year in the early 1970s, as men's manual labour was in decline, it looked as if there would be an 'end of separate labour markets' (Rowbotham 1999, p. 413). This sexual division of labour based upon men who asserted their dominance in the household through a single wage, obtained through industrial labour and physical hardship, was becoming less prominent. Smokestack, Fordist and production industries, usually associated with muscle power, were being replaced by service industries traditionally regarded as feminine thus resulting in a deep sense of 'uncertainty' and 'instability' amongst men in the UK (Beynon 2002, p. 89). John Thaw's imagining of Jack Regan in *The Sweeney* encompasses the general frustration felt by working class men. His contempt for middle class office workers is shown to be justified as characters such as Bradshaw (Peter Miles) from A10 restrict his more hands on and instinctive approach to policing. This bureaucratic middle class culture is represented as a pointless form of procedure that is taking over Scotland Yard and repeatedly stifling Regan's brasher yet effective methods of detection.

Table 3.1 UK employees in employment, seasonally adjusted, in thousands

	<i>All males and females</i>	<i>Males</i>			<i>Females</i>		
		<i>All</i>	<i>Full time</i>	<i>Part time</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Full time</i>	<i>Part time</i>
June 1971	22,131	13,735	13,133	602	8,396	5,603	2,793
Proportion of all employees (per cent)	100.0	62.1	59.3	2.7	37.9	25.3	12.6
June 1996	22,205	11,227	9,908	1,319	10,978	5,950	5,028
Proportion of all employees (per cent)	100.0	50.6	44.6	5.9	49.4	26.8	22.6
Absolute change 1971–96	74	-2,508	-3,225	717	2,582	347	2,235
Relative change 1971–96 (per cent)	0.3	-18.3	-24.6	119.1	30.8	6.2	80.0

Source: Employment Gazette and Labour Market Trends (various issues).

Figure 15: (MacInnes 1996, p. 51).

Accompanying this rise of women in the workplace was a string of legislation implemented by the 1974 Labour government that implemented some anti-discrimination laws and addressed women's lack of equal rights. The Sex Discrimination Act passed in 1975 made it illegal to treat anyone on the grounds of their sex less favourably than a person of the opposite sex would be treated in the same circumstances. Within the same year the 1975 Social Security Pensions Act ensured that women out of employment, because of home responsibilities, would retain full pension rights. The Employment Protection Act of 1975 made paid maternity leave a statutory right as employers were required to give mothers their jobs back within twenty nine weeks of childbirth. The 1976 Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act made it easier for women to have violent partners restrained and arrested. However, the most important legislation that initiated this string of developments was the 1970 Equal Pay Act that was eventually implemented on 1 January 1976. This particular piece of legislation had an impact in real terms as women's pay did gradually increase from 64.5% of men's earnings in 1970 to 75.7% in 1977 (Rowbotham 1999, p. 413). *Hunters Walk* (ATV 1973-76) captures this changing public attitude towards women's rights by predominantly examining middle class families in the fictional town of Broadstone exclusively through a collection of women's perspectives. There is a desire in the series to actively reformulate private domestic settings as sites of political struggle.

The women's liberation movement was mostly responsible for lobbying the government into these changes. This was largely possible due to the coming

together of the middle class academic strand of second wave feminism, grounded in the writings of Mitchell and Rowbotham, with a grass roots working class industrial movement. Following a strike in 1968 where one hundred and eighty seven women sewing machinists at the Ford motor factory in Dagenham, Essex, lobbied the government and Employment Secretary Barbra Castle into introducing the 1970 Equal Pay Act, a group of trade unionists formed the National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights (NJACWER). Then in February 1970 the first National Women's Liberation Conference, held at Ruskin College Oxford, had six hundred attendees from a number feminist liberation groups across the country including NJACWER. Here, both strands of the feminist movement came to together to plan proposals to lobby for the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. Out of this conference a National Women's Coordinating Committee was formed and campaigns to achieve equal rights at work in this autonomous political movement 'increasingly brought the women's liberation movement into contact with the trade unions' (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 33). By 16 February 1974, the feminist women's Rights Unit of the National Council for Civil Liberties held a women's rights conference at the headquarters of the Trades Union Congress, to which delegates were invited from the unions and from women's groups. This was 'the first time that feminists and trade unionists had met together in any substantial numbers, and the first occasion on which representatives of the two movements explicitly recognised each other's strategic importance' (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 33). No longer was industrial action within the public domain perceived to be a male endeavour fought exclusively amongst men. Barbara Castle was a significant figure in this respect.

Hunters Walk may not foreground or explicitly address the on-going struggle regarding women's economic rights in the public sphere, or acknowledge the industrial strikes that had occurred in Leeds and Dagenham, but it does question the public bias held towards men. Women characters are no longer side-lined to keep an audience's attention drawn towards men. In the first ever episode broadcast 'Disturbance' (ITV, 4/6/1973) an audience witnesses the pressures placed on Janet Kenwright (Helen Fraser) who wants to divorce her husband Dennis Kenwright (Doug Fisher). During their various disputes Janet rarely remains still,

constantly cleaning the front room. Trapped by these chores the domestic space is presented as a space of work for her but a space of recreation for her irrational husband and new partner.

Sex and Marriage

Whilst 1960s legislation attempted to make women equal citizens on sexual grounds, the legislation that coloured the 1970s was primarily concerned with economic rights. These public debates concerning women's equal economic rights, as opposed to their sexual freedoms, impacted upon the problem pages of *Woman's Own* also. Where the 1960s offered 'purely anatomical facts about sexual intercourse', the 1970s featured articles that 'began to put far more emphasis on the emotional/spiritual aspects of sexuality as opposed to the purely physical side' (Richards and Elliot 1991, p. 39). Grant became less interested in physiological responses and drew more attention to 'warm feelings' (Richards and Elliot 1991, p. 39). Rather than predominantly providing advice on sexual intercourse she advised that both parties within a marriage should treat one another on equally empathetic and responsive terms, i.e. a companionate marriage. Greater importance was placed on feelings given the legislation passed in parliament that signified a shift from a permissive interest in physical sensations to a deeper concern with people's emotions.

Hunters Walk addresses this change by presenting the Smiths' home as a space of discussion that accommodates a healthy difference of opinion between each marital partner. This mutual sense of companionship and discussion is seen as a credible alternative to the way other dysfunctional married couples live in Broadstone. This companionship is not wholly based on affectionate reconciliation like that of the Steeles in *Z Cars*. Rather, Betty Smith (Ruth Madoc) is considered an equal in the household. Here she is given room to provide alternative views to her husband Det. Sgt. Smith (Ewan Hooper). Betty Smith questions her husband's methods and reminds him of issues he does not consider in his work, particularly the fact that the families of criminals and victims of crime require more support.

Crime

Whilst women were making relative progress with regards to their equal rights, both at work and within the home, the private sphere was still considered to be inferior in relation to the public debates surrounding crime. Following the stabbing to death of an elderly Mr Arthur Hills on 15 August 1972, the word 'mugging' entered the crime reporter's vocabulary. From August 1972 until the end of August 1973, 'mugging' received coverage in the press in the form of 'crime reports, features, editorials, statements by representatives of the police, judges, the Home Secretary, politicians and various prominent public spokesmen' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 7). The common belief amongst the public, press and judiciary was that 'the rate of violent crime was on the increase' encouraged by a 'soft on the criminal' policy in the courts and 'permissive attitudes' from 'the country at large' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 9). The feeling was that the only way to deal with this growing trend in violent crime was to revert to the traditional "get-tough" policies which were guaranteed to have the required deterring effect on those attracted to violent crime' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 9).

It was on the back of this fear that Heath's Conservative government were able to win the 1970 general election with their 'law and order' campaign that vowed to achieve stability through tougher laws and more stringent penalties for offenders. More resources were put into specialist squads such as the Flying Squad, Serious Crimes Squad, and the Robbery Squad at the expense of traditional community policing. It was perceived at the time that 'the scale and professionalism of robbery, the spread of criminal "empires" and gang warfare, the technological sophistication of crime, and, above all, the greater use of guns and violence and prevalence of a "stop-at-nothing" mentality' was the government and police's biggest priority in terms of crime prevention (Hall et al. 1978, p. 48). This strategy twinned with the press hysteria that was sweeping the nation managed to unite people in their 'social and moral perspective on crime' at a time when the country was 'polarised economically and politically along class lines' (Hall et al. 1978, p.139). *The Sweeney* has a particular interest in this view of crime as its depiction of civilian

spaces primarily focuses on violent robberies being planned and committed by groups of men.

As previously mentioned, the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act of 1976 managed to empower magistrate courts to 'make an order excluding the aggressor from the home' (Edwards 1989, p. 5). Similarly the 1978 Domestic Proceedings and Magistrates' Courts Act, in response to criticisms of the 1976 act, gave 'magistrates in the lower courts the power to make an order for the protection of a party to a marriage' (Edwards 1989, p. 56) and the ability to 'evict the violent spouse under an exclusion order' (Edwards 1989, p. 56). However, it is worth pointing out that 'violence committed against wives, cohabitees, girlfriends or lovers in the privacy of the home, unlike violence against strangers or acquaintances committed in private or public' was 'rarely dealt with in criminal courts' (Edwards 1989, p. 73). Therefore, the 'public/private dichotomy in law was firmly set' as only dealing with such offences in civil law courts reaffirmed 'the belief that martial violence was indeed different from other violent crime' (Edwards 1989, p. 54).

There was a clear problem as Women's Aid, the refuge movement for women and their children who left home to escape physical, sexual, or mental abuse, 'grew from two refugees in 1971 to almost two hundred in the UK by 1977' (Hanmer 1989, p. 90). Essentially:

The home office took no interest in this newly rediscovered social problem and neither Women's Aid nor the parliamentary select committee saw the police and criminal justice system generally as part of the state able to offer a helping service to women (Edwards 1989, p. 91).

What the Women's Aid refuge movement demonstrated was that women could offer support in a context where they felt the authorities were not doing so adequately. Again the studio-shot *Hunters Walk* addresses and discusses this issue that is all but ignored in *The Sweeney*. Betty Smith addresses the public/private dichotomy in the law by challenging Smith's lack of consideration for a rapist's family. In 'Local knowledge' (ITV, 11/6/1973) she undercuts her husband's view of

events claiming; 'it's not him though is it really. His wife, the woman, their families. Once something like this happens. How many men did you interview, five? What about their families?'

This public/private dichotomy was particularly prominent with regards to how rape became thought of as a crime against women through feminist lobbying in the 1970s and 1980s. A combination of 'Reclaim the Night' marches, rape crisis centres and consciousness raising groups, which emerged in Britain in the 1970s, had an unprecedented impact on public perceptions of rape. Before this feminist intervention, rape was considered a personal problem where 'women nearly always blamed themselves for being raped, and consequently remained silent out of shame and guilt' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 61). Dispelling commonly accepted myths surrounding rape provided the 'conceptual framework for the development of a new belief system' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 58) that eventually 'caught the interest both of a broad public and of the mass media' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 57). The assertion that rape was a crime of violence provided feminists with a whole new framework to 'remove blame from victims' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 58). Feminists redefined rape as 'any form of unwanted sexual contact' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 58). Similarly, the common misconception that rape was a rare occurrence committed by 'sexual psychopaths whose desire to rape emanates from a psychiatric disorder that drives them to commit sadistic acts' was dispelled (Bevacqua 2000, p. 62). Feminists instead advanced the notion that 'any man can commit the crime, regardless of his status in the community' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 63).

This tension regarding the public/private dichotomy in the law was particularly pertinent with regards to women's safety on the streets. Following the Yorkshire Ripper's twenty three attacks on women from 1969 to 1980, the West Yorkshire Police advised women to stay indoors at night time. As a result of this advice activist women's groups organised 'Reclaim the Night' marches in Leeds throughout the 1970s. The police's persistent failure to capture the ripper led the public to question their ability and where their priorities lied, given the resources put into building various squads to pursue armed criminals. This significant shift in the public's understanding of rape was a particular concern for studio-shot police

dramas. Again 'Local knowledge' is an important episode in this regard as it devotes the majority of its running time to the suffering experienced by rape victim Christine Lewis (Frances White) over the process of pursuing the rapist. Lewis suffers from her husband's (Ian Thompson) lack of support and understanding. He is of the view that she is to blame for leaving their house alone in the early hours of the morning. Their private domestic space is presented as a political space as it is here she faces judgement from those closest to her. The consequences of treating rape as a personal problem, where the woman is incorrectly blamed, are revealed.

1980s

Employment

Following on from the industrial difficulties experienced in the 1970s, the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 marked a radical shift in the UK's economic infrastructure. Thatcher's conservative government stopped funding a number of state owned industries. This meant that total industrial output fell by 15% between the years 1979-81 and continued to fall throughout the 1980s as entire manufacturing industries such as shipbuilding, steelworks and coalmining vanished (Hill 1985, p. 293). This catastrophic decline resulted in levels of unemployment rising from one million and four hundred thousand people in 1979 to three million by the end of 1982 (Hill 1985, p. 81). Thatcher's radical changes to the male labour market meant that for the first time since the 1930s depression there was now a deep 'uncertainty about the availability and stability of work' (Goodwin 1998, p. 48). As service industries grew and manufacturing declined, 60% of men in Britain were in full-time work which, when put in context, was 9% less than in 1931 during the UK's last depression (Goodwin 1999, p. 51).

Another threat to this stable workforce was also the rise in a culture of part time work. The proportion of those doing full-time jobs declined from 34% to 33% between 1979 and 1985 as the numbers of those partaking in part time work in a more flexible job market continued to grow. The concept of continuous full time

work 'at an employer's premises for an indefinite period' was no longer necessarily 'seen as the standard employment form closely linked with men' and was fast becoming an outdated concept (Goodwin 1999, p. 51). This also impacted on trade union membership and the kind of collective, class identities that they provided. The conservative government embraced the commercial sector by slashing top rates of income tax and expanding the banking sector to instigate a truncated consumer boom. New industries such as advertising, media, promotion and public relations meant that 'the traditional male career' and jobs 'that depended upon physical strength vanished in their millions, and in their place came, at best, short term contracts and part time work' (Beynon 2002, p. 107).

All Full-Time Employees by Gender 1951-1995 (in thousands)

Spring	Men	Women
1951	15,262	784
1971	15,574	1,892
1984	13,308	5,340
1985	13,113	5,418
1986	13,048	5,480

Source: Labour Force Survey Historical Supplement (1993), Government Statistical Office, Page 5. 1951 and 1971 data from Hakim, C. 1996. *Female Heterogeneity and the Polarisation of Women's Employment*. Athlone. (Goodwin 1999, p. 54).

Labour Force by Gender of All Aged 16 and Over (Great Britain percentages) – 1971 to 2006

Year	Males	Females	All 16+ (000s)
1971	80.5	43.9	34,900
1976	78.9	46.8	25,700
1981	76.5	47.6	26,200
1984	75.9	49.2	27,172
1986	75.2	50.0	27,566

Source: Adapted from Social Trends 1996, Central Statistical Office, HMSO, p. 84, and Social Trends 1989, p. 70. (Goodwin 1999, p. 52).

Male Part-Time Work for Selected OECD Countries as a Proportion of Employment – 1973 to 1995

	1973	1979	1983	1993	1994	1995	Change
UK Men	2.3	1.9	3.3	6.6	7.1	7.7	+5.4
UK Women	39.1	39.0	42.4	43.9	44.4	44.3	+5.2

Source: Adapted from OECD (1996) Employment Outlook, p. 192. (Goodwin 1999, p. 50).

This collection of three tables shows a sharp decline of men in full-time work, particularly as part of the labour force, in the early to mid-1980s. This is accompanied by a sharp increase in the number of people in part time work and the steady rise of women in work overall.

Confronted by the loss of traditional gender certainties, many men were being forced to question their social roles. Much of this discussion centred on the figure of the ‘new man’. Men were portrayed in the mainstream media as being ‘if not nurturing and caring, then certainly narcissistic and self-conscious’ (Edwards 1997, p. 6). In an attempt to assert new understandings of masculinity the ‘new man’ was either portrayed as a caring father in Mothercare adverts or as a

hedonistic male in magazines such as *The Face* and *GQ*. This 'young upwardly mobile City worker' was also known as the Yuppie (Abbott 2003, p. 151). The early 1980s appeared to value a 'ruthless cut-throat determination to be seen to be successful' thus representing of the end of the industrial man who symbolised 'mass conformity and old patriarchal structures' (Beynon 2002, p. 105). The yuppies were acutely conscious of their appearance and spent 'a lot of money in achieving it' in a 'restless quest for things' (Rowbotham 1999, p. 504). Interestingly, a hierarchy of masculinity based on appearance was brought to the fore by the 'new man' that in turn abolished 'more traditional masculine divisions based upon work roles' (Beynon 2002, p. 108). A plethora of advertisements for hair gels, toiletry products, clothing, footwear and a whole variety of commodities were marketed at young men according to a 'personalised regime of representations' (Mort 1996, p. 112).

As David Bradbury's empirical survey entitled 'Social Class' in *Planning Consumer Markets* by the Henley Centre for Forecasting has argued, the British people 'no longer viewed class as a source of pride' as it was now considered to be one of the 'least important social priorities' in relation to health, physical appearance and lifestyle (Mort 1996, p. 104). The methods of attaining status in a post-Fordist society were no longer class-based. What was most revolutionary about this renewed advertising culture was that where masculine identity had been traditionally defined through work, or production, was now negotiated through the processes of consumption, which had traditionally been seen as a 'more feminine preserve, as in the stereotype of the happy housewife going shopping' (Edwards 1997, p. 46).

Juliet Bravo (BBC 1980-1985) in particular, depicts a series of conflicts that ensue between yuppie characters who adopt a 'ruthless cut-throat determination' and industrial men who symbolise 'mass conformity and old patriarchal structures' (Beynon 2002, p. 105). *Juliet Bravo* is interested in the plight of working class characters of the Northern working class town, Hartley, in relation to these ruthless businessmen. The working class inhabitants struggle to readjust to living in Hartley following the town's mill closure. They also endure the onslaught of businessmen who hail from London and are trying to turn Hartley into a service-based economy.

Marriage and Gender Relations

Thatcher's transformation of the UK's economic infrastructure was accompanied by a contrived political effort to reassert a traditional nuclear family structure.

Thatcher's policies intervened in perceptions of the family unit through significant adjustments to the tax-benefit system. Similarly values associated with family life were highlighted as matters of public concern within the media. For Thatcher and her supporters, 'the Victorian model of the two-parent family in which the husband and father went out to work in order to support the wife and mother at home served as the ideal to which all should aspire' (Kent 1999, p. 350). This was particularly ironic given her own position. Thatcher herself said 'marriage and the family are two of the most important institutions on which society is based' asserting that 'particularly at this time of rapid social change and accompanying stresses marriage has never been more important in preserving a stable and responsible society' (Quoted in Evans 1993, p. 240) . Thatcher's moral agenda was to recreate an ideology of separate spheres, in which 'bourgeois men displayed their talents in the freewheeling arena of industry and commerce, and bourgeois women presided over the home as guardians of the nation's morality' (Kent 1999, p. 349).

There was a marked effort here to return to a sexual division of labour and gender complementarity. However, this was particularly difficult for many families as there was a distinct lack of traditionally industrial male jobs that could solely support a family unit. This was worsened by Thatcher's immediate cuts to welfare and the consumer culture that meant many families had to increase the salaries coming in to pay the many new mortgages which were given by banks and building societies in the 1980s. The 1980 Social Security Act tied benefit increases to prices over wages and the abolition of the maternity benefit in 1982 meant that within the first two years of Thatcher's administration the total value of state support for an unemployed couple with two children fell by 48% (Abbott and Wallace 1992, p. 122). Therefore by 1985, four million families were at, or below, the poverty line, a two fold increase since 1979 (Abbott and Wallace 1992, p. 85). There was an inherent hypocrisy at work within this radically conservative British ideology. Men

were encouraged to be breadwinners and maintain a traditional sexual division of labour in an economic climate that could not accommodate this familial unit and actively punished those who could not find work, when there was not enough to go round.

Both *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* (LWT 1980-1984) frequently focus on women characters who have been encouraged to remain in the domestic sphere. Both programmes frame domesticity as a political struggle. In 'Rage' (BBC1, 25/10/1980), for example, lower middle class Kim Buckley (Judy Liebert) experiences a breakdown as a result of being trapped at home as a housewife, having previously enjoyed a teaching career. *The Gentle Touch*, however, predominantly focuses on middle and upper class women characters. By focusing on such characters the series exposes the inherent loneliness behind an individualistic society as wives and daughters are depicted as suffering from neglect at the hands of their successful fathers and husbands. Often the wives of successful upper class businessmen are depicted as closet alcoholics.

Despite a marked effort to return to Victorian values, divorce rates in the 1980s were higher than ever before. By 1988 more than a third of marriages involved a previously divorced partner and stepfamilies were now commonplace in British society. As a result of this climate Janet Finch's and David Morgan's study of sociological writings at the time (1991) points out that domestic life in the 1980s was characterised by a distinctive realism. Public discussions of family life were not as predominantly concerned with openness, choice or permissiveness as they had been in the 1960s and 1970s. Finch's and Morgan's study identifies that throughout the 1980s people continued to 'hold in high regard the concept of a successful marriage and were prepared to put considerable efforts into trying to achieve one' (Finch and Morgan 1991, p. 57). Finch and Morgan draw particular attention to Janet Askham's detailed study of twenty couples in her 1984 book *Identity and Stability in Marriage*. Here marriage was portrayed as a 'balancing act' in which 'both partners strive to retain their own identity and individuality yet, because this potentially pulls them apart, at the same time try to consolidate stability in their relationship' (Finch and Morgan 1991, p. 57). A successful marriage was perceived

to be one in which couples had 'managed to achieve a workable compromise between these two forces at work' where both parties put 'considerable emotional and practical effort into trying to achieve and sustain such compromises' (Finch and Morgan 1991, p. 57).

Whereas an optimistic view of companionate marriage was sought after in the 1960s and 1970s, prominent sociological writings of the 1980s were inclined to 'draw a sharp distinction between the aspiration and the lived reality' (Finch and Morgan 1991, p. 63). As a result of these attitudes towards marriage it was becoming increasingly common for men to take a share in domestic work and childcare as authors of manuals on childcare put an 'unprecedented emphasis on the father's role in bringing up babies' (Abbott 2003, p. 157). It is important however to assert that there was no evidence of wholesale equality in domestic labour. Things were changing but they were also enduring and being presented in new forms. In a similar reversal of roles, for married women, 'paid work had become the norm' even if many young women still saw paid employment as a 'prelude to a spell as a full time wife and mother' (Abbott 2003, p. 153).

With traditional gender roles being broken down, Jean Darblay's (Stephanie Turner) domestic space in *Juliet Bravo* is subject to regular conflict causing her husband Tom Darblay (David Hargreaves) to eventually move out in the third series. Initially both characters attempt to maintain a relatively companionate marriage where Tom Darblay has an equal share of the domestic work. However, as a social worker on less pay than his wife, he starts to feel threatened by his wife's success. In each episode both characters put considerable emotional effort into achieving a balance between their own individuality and stability as a married couple, but never quite achieve it.

Crime

The election of Margret Thatcher put public order back on the political agenda as a means of controlling working class dissent, a dissent that came to fruition following her cabinet's widespread deindustrialisation of UK industry. The maintenance and

regulation of public order were of 'quintessential importance' whilst by comparison, 'private or domestic "crime"' was of 'lowest priority' (Edwards 1989, p. 4). Both Lord Scarman's high profile inquiry into the Brixton riots (1981) and Lord Gifford's Broadwater Farm Inquiry (1985) 'reflected this preoccupation with public order' (Edwards 1989, p. 23). Following these inquiries the government introduced legislation to further extend the powers of the state. The Criminal Attempts Act of 1981 'endorsed the criminalisation of "attempting" to commit a crime where evidence had to be "more than merely preparatory"' (Edwards 1989, p. 89). Therefore the question of violence within the home, 'against wives and female partners, with its low visibility' became 'further marginalised and subordinated to the overriding concern with public as opposed to private order' (Edwards 1989, p. 23). With domestic crime being a low priority for the state, the studio-shot police series continues to wrestle with this dichotomy through its depiction of women characters whose voices are shown to be neglected.

Given how public perceptions of rape were changed in the 1970s by feminist lobbying, partly in response to the crimes committed by the Yorkshire Ripper, a dichotomy between private and public order was still a serious issue for many women in the UK. An episode of *Juliet Bravo* entitled *Misunderstandings* (BBC1, 27/11/1982) overtly highlights the failures of the male dominated police force that still continued exist in spite of Peter Sutcliffe's arrest in January 1981. Darblay, in choosing to support rape victim Lin Mitchell (Amanda Murray) build a case, soon finds herself battling the prejudices of her close colleague and ally DCI Logan (Tony Caunter). Her male associate is convinced of Mitchell's guilt purely because Mitchell let her assailant into the house 'of her own free will', is a 'divorcee', a 'good looker', and has a 'reputation for being mean with money'. In particular Logan finds it absurd that Mitchell 'even tries to maintain her own car', a job traditionally synonymous with men. Mitchell's decision to live on her own independently from men, and not conforming to the gendered role expected of her in 'the Victorian model of the two-parent family' (Kent 1999, p. 350), convinces Logan of her guilt. Logan tells Darblay 'she [Mitchell] said it was all her own fault. You can't say fairer

than that can you'. Likewise, Logan considers the accused to be a 'nice enough lad' who 'lives with his mother' and has 'no previous record'.

Scriptwriter Valerie Georgeson deliberately draws attention here to the depiction of a police force that still believes in the myths surrounding rape that were supposedly eradicated in the 1970s. Namely the misconception that rape was a rare occurrence committed by 'sexual psychopaths' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 62) has not yet been completely dispelled.

Masculinity and femininity are societal constructs that have traditionally been based, amongst other factors, upon a stable sexual division of labour. When these clear cut divisions between breadwinner and housewife started to blur throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, older generations accustomed to a more rigid and class based patriarchal structure faced economic, legal and cultural changes to their position from younger generations of men and women. As British society made its transition from a resource-based economy to a service-based economy throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s gender eventually became a concept articulated and negotiated through the media and a consumption based culture, rather than through fixed class identities and the workplace.

The rest of this study will examine how the studio space frames, articulates and depicts these transformations and tensions, experienced in British society, between a more established order and increasingly uncertain future. The analyses of police series will consider what was challenging a sexual division of labour, at the time of production, to help the study determine what made studio productions unique. It is important to remember throughout the following chapters that the state privileged public order issues and consistently avoided the achievements made by feminist movements. Public discussions surrounding crime maintained a dichotomy between the public and the private, and failed to see the domestic as being about *a politics*. Therefore, it will be most interesting to see how changing gender roles are depicted within the police series and how each series negotiates between these public order issues and civil laws. As will be argued, film reflects

these socio-economic circumstances with broad strokes but the studio provides a more nuanced examination of such issues.

Chapter Three: The Station Space

Camerawork and set designs, identified in chapter one, were two integral components of the studio technique. This chapter will progress the debate that studio-shot television drama using video technology has a distinctive aesthetic by focusing on how camerawork operates and develops within the studio in relation to filmed drama. This will be achieved through an examination of how fictional police station interiors are framed and shot differently within key British police series from 1962 to 1982. The chapter will also pay particular attention to how divisions between the studio-shot single play and studio-shot series are merged.

The station space represents the series component of a police programme as it is revisited in most episodes to frame the main recurring police officer characters. Usually the mise en scène of these station spaces had minimal designs for economic and stylistic reasons. Firstly, particularly with regards to earlier series, such spaces operated on below the line costs in order to keep the programme economically sustainable. However, as the police series developed, the station spaces remained minimally designed due to stylistic considerations. As *Juliet Bravo* (BBC 1980-85) set designer David Crozier states, 'the overriding consideration at all times is what is appropriate for the character and their environment. Police stations, in those days, were bleak, functional environments...Whether or not a set may reappear was irrelevant; it still had to be accurate and appropriate'.⁴ Whatever the reasoning, there is always a contrast between the minimal set design of the station space and the elaborate set designs of the domestic spaces in British police series. As police station spaces have minimal designs it is often the camerawork that maintains the expressivity and stylistic consistency of a series within these scenes. Therefore, the camerawork of each series, its range of shot scales and its positioning in relation to actors is the focus of this chapter.

This chapter measures how the studio-shot camerawork develops by calculating, for each series, how many minutes of an episode are used to film station scenes on average. It calculates what the average duration of each station

⁴ Interview with the author.

scene is. Crucially, it identifies, on average, how many different shot scales are used, how long each shot lasts for, and, in each scene, what the average percentage of the shots are a close-up, medium long shot, mid-shot, long shot, and use movement. By analysing how the mobile cameras frame station spaces this chapter will chart how actors interact with, and position themselves in relation to, the camera and surrounding space differently in each programme. This research allows this chapter to compare studio-shot police series with filmed police series by pinpointing exactly how the camera's approach to space makes for a different aesthetic practice. In line with aims of this thesis this examination considers what factors involved in the different production processes impacted upon these different aesthetic practices.

This statistical analysis, accompanied by closer interpretive readings of specific station scenes, argues that the multi-camera studio setup provides an observational style of camerawork that allows actors to undercut their dialogue with gesturing. The filmed series in comparison, with its larger proportion of close-ups and frequent use of point of view (POV) shots, encourages an empathetic gaze that does not allow audiences to observe the actors in the space in the same way. Filmed series on location obtain a sequence of looks that order narrative space, and are able to place the spectator right in the middle of the action to provide a strong and literal process of identification. Videoed studio-shot series, however, stand outside the drama, observing the social space and the characters operating within it from a relative distance.

As a result of these two opposite ways of looking, the studio-shot series provides a viewer with open ended discussions, regarding the police's social policy, that takes into account the complexity and nuances of such debates. Filmed series, however, present these debates through the subjective viewpoint of a main character. Therefore, there is a lessened dialectic between what Elam (1980) defines as illocutionary markers (dialogue) and attitudinal markers (gesturing) within filmed series. Similarly gesturing is less prominent in providing the 'intentionality of a given utterance' (Elam 1980, p. 75). This is important to Television Studies criticism as it is unusual to see studio-shot television series using

video technology being analysed so closely under these visual terms in relation to other production practices. With the cinematographic practice of each series established, in this chapter, the thesis can then examine how such cinematography is combined with the more elaborately designed domestic spaces in later chapters through semiotic analyses.

Early Studio-Shot Police Series

Chapter one established that studio-shot series drama, produced between the years 1955 to 1962, had a sparsely designed mise en scène with minimal camera movement. Space primarily functioned as a backdrop to keep audiences focused on characters' immediate dialogue and emotions. This stood in stark contrast to the studio-shot single plays that created a three-dimensional space through mobile cameras to articulate a character's inner mind-set. The use of mobile cameras, elaborately designed sets, and a focus on gesturing and positioning of actors, meant that the videoed studio-shot single play had a visual discourse that operated *in relation to* the spoken word. Series however, tended to focus *on* the spoken word.

Z Cars marked the merging of these two techniques because there was a desire amongst its producers to create a series more realistic than the existing melodramatic series or 'glossies' of the time (Lewis 1962, p. 311) such as *Dixon*, *Emergency Ward 10* (ATV 1957-67) and *Compact* (BBC 1962-65). Six cameras were used in up to fifteen different sets in each *Z Cars* episode. This ensured that the series format adopted the expansive method of shooting studio drama. Adopting this production practice, traditionally synonymous with the single play, ensured that the organisation of space was no longer 'frontal' (Cooke 2005, p. 84). In a typical *Z Cars* episode each camera shot is twelve seconds long meaning that there are five changes of shot per minute (Laing 1991, p. 128). It was this 'brisk pace of the narrative', influenced by the American series *Highway Patrol* (ZIV 1955-59), that made *Z Cars* 'a stylistic departure from previous British television drama' (Cooke 2007, p. 104). This faster pace of editing and greater number of cameras created a more mobile form of camerawork and a wider variety of shot scales than seen in

previous studio-shot British television drama series. Spaces within the series format could now be framed differently and the camera itself became an integral part of an actor's performance. *Z Cars* provided a stylistic template that would influence all future British television police series to some degree. This was strengthened by the programme's popularity as it pulled in audiences of fourteen million per episode by its eighth week of transmission (Laing 1991, p. 129).

Z Cars was able to blur the divisions that existed between the studio-shot single play and studio-shot series formats partly because it was conceived under unique circumstances. In between Michael Barry's departure as Head of Drama at the BBC in 1961 and Sydney Newman's taking up of the role in January 1963, the BBC's documentary department was given a 'window of opportunity' to produce new drama (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 159). Produced and overseen by documentarian Robert Barr and dramatist Troy Kennedy Martin, *Z Cars* was a 'cross-generic product of dramatists and documentarists (sic)' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 170) that became the classic and 'remarkably familiar' (Clarke 1992, p. 251) formula of the modern police series.

During the production of *Z Cars* there was also a national transformation of the police force. Technology 'fundamentally altered the role of the policeman' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 46). The introduction of a Unit Beat Policing system that utilised patrol cars and personal radios meant that a policeman was no longer seen as 'the friendly helpful bobby, keeping the peace and thereby preventing crime' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 46) He was no longer 'knowledgeable about his community and sharing some of its values' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 46). Instead 'contact with the people he polices became minimal' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 46). Being produced by the documentary department with a commitment to a particular form of social realism meant that *Z Cars* became the first police series to depict this breakdown in public and police relations. Studio-shot British police series broadcast ever since maintain this commitment to social realism by depicting a disparity between the police and the public. Each series cites different reasons for this breakdown due to the ideology of the series in question and the nature of the public debate regarding the role of police work at the time in which the series was produced.

On average *Z Cars* devotes ten minutes of each episode to scenes that occur within either Newtown or Seaport station. In its initial forty five minute format this makes for 22.2% of the overall running time. On average, these ten minutes are divided across seven different station scenes. The mean duration of a typical station scene is one and a half minutes long. Each scene comprises of five different shots with each one lasting approximately twelve seconds. In a typical *Z Cars* station scene 50% of shots are close-ups, 23% are medium long shots whilst 24% are mid-shots and 3% are long shots. 10% of all shots contain some sort of movement.⁵ This movement is usually a slight pan or track to reframe characters. This reframing either includes or excludes characters from a new plot development. As director John McGrath claimed, the series had one rigid stylistic rule; there would be no cut 'until the next piece of story was to be revealed. But stories unfolded very quickly so there were lots of cuts' (Quoted in Laing 1991, p. 128).

Usually these relatively short station scenes have two functions in addition to following the principal investigation narrative. The station scenes either depict disputes occurring between the uniformed division and CID (Criminal Investigation Department) or observe the uniformed division dealing with the general public. The fast pace of the station scenes, and their predominant function of following the main investigation means that these disputes between the uniform division and CID and/or public are reduced to brief exchanges. These short exchanges of dialogue, however, do provide an audience with an insight into station politics when close attention is paid to how the camera frames and observes the space. The way that shots are composed draw attention to how characters are positioned in relation to one other and their surrounding space. Also, the frequent editing and repositioning of the six cameras makes the repeated exclusion and inclusion of characters within the frame an important part of the visual discourse.

As a result of being broadcast at 8pm on Tuesday nights, in comparison to *Dixon's* family friendly slot of 6.30pm on Saturdays, Newtown station is a less paternal and cooperative environment in relation to Dock Green station. Rather, Newtown station is pervaded by disputes, bickering and rivalry. Housed together in

⁵ These statistics have been calculated by analysing the first six episodes of the series.

a relatively small space the CID repeatedly control and discipline their uniformed officers to keep their workforce focused on what they believe to be the most pressing cases. The precise dynamics of this relationship is partly influenced by the dimensions of the small station itself. The CID office is placed in very close proximity to the police desk where all the uniformed officers are stationed to work. In terms of proxemics the police desk is within close, social - consultative distance (between four and seven feet) of the CID office.⁶ The 'CID' sign is displayed prominently on the front of the office door. The sign is regularly featured in shots that observe conversations occurring between uniformed officers, working at the police desk, as a way of overshadowing their work. The front of the police desk directly faces the CID office door which is on the other side of a narrow corridor. This means that the public have to stand in between the desk and the CID office. Therefore, the public occupy the dividing line between each division and highlight their difference in priorities. The uniformed police often want to help the public but are restricted by the CID. This is highlighted by the fact that the office door sign overlooks any character that enters this space. The detectives frequently interrupt police dealings with the public, forcing the officers to abandon what is considered to be insignificant trivial matters in relation to more serious crimes like armed robbery.

The uniformed police officers literally and figuratively face pressures from both the public and their CID superiors. Often the uniformed officers struggle to find an appropriate balance between the two. From this spatial perspective *Z Cars* can be seen to provide a negative portrayal of CID as they are depicted as hampering the uniformed police from doing their job and prevent PCs from maintaining a respectful relationship with the public. Contrary to the dominant reading of *Z Cars* that characterises the 'professionalism of the police' being 'wearied by the nastiness of human nature' in a 'dry-eyed lament for life as it is messily lived in Britain in affluent 1962' (Lewis 1962, p. 310) there is still a strong sense of community and mutual understanding between the officers and the public. It is the placement of the CID office that is an overbearing threat to the uniformed police's professionalism.

⁶Terminology taken from: Hall, E. 1966. *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Doubleday.



Figure 16: Any conversation that occurs at the police desk is overshadowed by the door of the CID office.

This reading is best exemplified in the episode entitled 'Found abandoned' (BBC, 2/4/1962). Here an elderly woman, Annie (Elizabeth Begley), finds an abandoned baby in the street. Although uniformed officers PC Weir (Joseph Brady) and PC Smith (Brian Blessed) are determined to find and arrest the parents responsible Det. Insp. Dunn (Dudley Foster) orders them to work on a case involving stolen goods instead.

These priorities are articulated spatially when Smith and Weir enter Newtown station having failed to apprehend a gang of thieves at the railway goods yard. As Smith begins to walk away from the front of the desk, to log the stolen items they have retained, Annie taps Smith on his back to enquire about the baby's health. Before Smith can answer Dunn interrupts. Dunn walks behind the police desk brushing past Smith and Annie as he goes. Both Smith and Annie are sharing mutual ground by standing in the narrow corridor in between the police desk and CID office. Whilst walking behind the police desk Dunn tells Smith dismissively not to 'sit about gossiping'. The camera pans with Dunn as he walks behind the police desk and proceeds to discipline Smith for not managing to make a single arrest. This indexical camera movement changes our point of focus to a new exchange of dialogue as the camera pushes Smith and Annie off-screen. When the camera cuts

to a reaction shot of Smith he is now revealed to be stood on his own and Annie has disappeared from view. In this over the shoulder shot Smith is framed by the back of Dunn's head in the foreground and the CID office in the background intensifying the narrowness of the corridor and boxing Smith in. As the dialogue intensifies and Dunn tells Smith to wipe the smile from his face, a quick succession of close-ups between Smith and Dunn focuses on Smith's sullen expression of defeat next to the CID sign on the office door. When this dialogue exchange finishes the establishing shot of the station then reveals that Annie has disappeared from the whole station altogether without a trace.

Despite this indexical camera movement, which draws the viewer's attention to the conflict between Smith and Dunn, the key action here is Annie's disappearance. Usually the camerawork of station scenes in this series responds to authority and follows the officer of senior rank. This time it is at the expense of Annie's query. Annie's caring nature in wanting to check on the baby's health is unnoticed and deemed insignificant. As the camera realigns itself in reaction to Dunn's entrance he excludes a woman from his station space and ignores her compassion at the expense of disciplining his staff. The CID exploit the station's small size to frequently impose their rank whilst often excluding 'the feminine' that 'disappears from what subsequently becomes a primarily masculinist discourse' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 168). This repositioning of the camera adds depth to what would otherwise be a minor dispute. Such a repositioning, previously synonymous with camerawork of the studio-shot single play, is a key aspect of the cinematographic grammar of this series.



Figure 17: Smith begins to share a conversation with Annie but Dunn guides the camera to the other side of the police desk to exclude her from view. After Smith has been disciplined in a close-up, the reveal shot following the dispute reveals Annie has disappeared from the station.

This scene lasts two minutes and contains nine different shots. The six different cameras manage to capture six different characters and three different strands of dialogue in this time. This includes Sgt. Twentyman (Leonard Williams) and PC Sweet (Terence Edmond) operating the police desk, the exchange between Annie and Smith and the exchange between Smith and Dunn. As Scriptwriter Allan Prior claimed, ‘a *Z Cars* Episode, often using three stories in one programme, needs most careful planning’ (Hopkins and Prior 1963, p. 11). What the cameras choose to include and exclude in the frame due to their frequent repositioning and fast paced editing is vital to understanding the visual discourse of the series.

Troy Kennedy Martin claimed that in his programme, like that of the police force itself, ‘there exists a gap between the uniformed constable and the plain clothes detective. One is dedicated to keeping the peace, the other to fighting

crime' (BBC WAC T5/ 2,506/1). In line with Kennedy Martin's research into the Lancashire Constabulary, *Z Cars* frequently depicts a rift between the uniformed branch and CID. The spatial design of the programme draws attention to the fact that 'CID was formed as a totally autonomous force with a structure and hierarchy bearing little resemblance to the uniform branch' (Hobbs 1988, p. 41). Robert Mark himself, hired as commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Force in 1972 to tackle its corruption problem, was also alarmed at what he also saw as 'the widening of a rift between the detectives and the uniformed branch' that resulted in the force having 'no sense of corporate identity' (quoted in Rawlings 2002, p. 211).

The camera movements used in station scenes reflect this dynamic that existed between the uniformed officers and CID. Repeatedly, CID intervenes in cases that inevitably fracture the police force's relationship with the public further. In 'Hi Jack!' (BBC, 22/5/1962) PC Steele (Jeremy Kemp) is pressured by Dunn and Det. Chief Insp. Barlow (Stratford Johns) to deceive his old friend Les Fielding (Glyn Houston). Steele is forced to visit Fielding under the guise of friendship to inspect the flat for stolen goods and retrieve a confession. Fielding served alongside Steele in the army but CID ignores Steele's personal reservations. Similarly in 'The Whizzers' (BBC, 26/6/1963) Weir finds that one of his shifts has been altered so that he is obligated to play rugby for his police team rather than his hometown side. CID does not care for community, loyalty and long lasting friendships where the law and its self-interest are concerned.

In relation to these camera positions, an actor's positioning is another vital component of the visual grammar of a studio-shot drama. Elam's theatrical understanding of semiotic theory states that 'blocking' performances and the configurations of bodies on stage are predetermined both to 'create visual patterns' and to 'emblemise relationships' (Elam 1980, p. 60). This is also an equally important method of utilising actors within the television studio, particularly with regards to how the uniformed policemen position themselves in relation to members of the public. The public frequently reach out to the uniformed police for help who are usually outwardly altruist to such crises. In 'Four of a Kind' (BBC, 2/1/1962) a middle-aged woman, Mrs Jones (Anna Wing), manoeuvres behind the

police desk without being instructed and without hesitation. There is not much of a divide between the space behind the police desk, where the uniformed officers work, and the public space in front of the desk. Mrs Jones is able to lean into Steele and grip his hand as she explains her predicament. There is a reliance placed on the uniformed police and their humanitarian understanding of such matters, particularly with regards to women and the elderly who frequently enter the station for help on a regular basis throughout the series.

A lot of physical contact is shared between the public and the police in Newtown station. As well as Mrs Jones clutching Steele's hand and Annie's tapping on Smith's back in 'Found Abandoned', 'Contraband' (BBC, 26/6/1962) features Mr Stansfield (Frederick Peisley) leaving Smith and Weir gifts to thank them for their conduct in a particular case. Whilst dispensing his gifts Stansfield puts his hand on PC Sweet's arm as he leans over the police desk and slides a cigar in Sweet's pocket. Gesturing plays a key part in demonstrating the extent of the close relationship between the public and the uniformed police. However, Stansfield is made to feel like a criminal by CID as Barlow ensures all the gifts are returned thus fracturing the mutual bond the public share with the police.



Figure 18



Figure 19

The general public are not intimidated by the police and are regularly forthcoming with physical contact.

Relations between the public and the police at the time of *Z Cars* were, as the programme suggests, on the whole 'harmonious with the majority of the population (including most of the working class)' (Ascoli 1979, p. 79). This was despite the technological advancements from within the force that had limited a policeman's amount of regular contact with the public. Crime was perceived at the time of *Z Cars* to be 'threatening the very existence' of any given community rather than 'a problem for the community' (Clarke 1992, p. 238). Nevertheless *Z Cars* does not depict crime itself as a threat to the existence of a community oriented society but rather it is CID that are rarely empathetic towards the poverty stricken and often misguided working class citizens. Although scriptwriter John McGrath claimed that the police characters were 'incidental' to the series in its objective of using the policemen as a means of 'finding out about people's lives' (Laing 1991, p. 127) it is impossible to read the series independently of such political matters that were affecting police work at the time. When analysing the camerawork, positioning and gesturing of actors, collectively, a reading of the station emerges that can be taken as a possible critique of the CID, particularly the pressures they put on the uniformed policemen who are trying gain respect and maintain order in this northern working class town. Uniformed officers do not dictate the station space as a viewer necessarily would expect but, rather, the space frames them as being under the CID's control. Whilst the general public are regularly forthcoming with

friendly gesturing and physical contact the camerawork and positioning of CID officers within Newtown Station counteracts this.

Hunters Walk and Mise en scène Interaction

Because the *Z Cars* station scenes are relatively brief there is little time for actors to interact with props and their surrounding mise en scène. Just under half of the shots used in these scenes are mid-shots or medium long shots that invite audiences to read the narrative in terms of where the actors' bodies are positioned in the space, usually in relation to other characters. With the other half of shots being close-ups this does, however, only allow 13% of the shot scales used in an a typical scene, to be long shots that capture the surrounding station space in considerable detail. This grammar alters in *Hunters Walk* (ATV 1973-76) invented by *Dixon* creator Ted Willis. Shot on video cameras at ATV's Birmingham Studios the series follows Detective Sergeant Smith (Ewan Hooper) and uniformed associate of equal rank Sergeant Ken Ridgeway (Davyd Harries) policing the fictional midlands town of Broadstone. Broadcast from 9pm on Monday nights *Hunters Walk* enabled Willis to present a bleaker view of British society than offered in *Dixon*. Each of the three series broadcast contained thirteen episodes lasting fifty minutes each. In 1973 and 1974 every episode of series one and two made the top twenty most viewed programmes of the week in which they were broadcast. Often reaching number two, and usually being beaten to the top spot by *Coronation Street* (Granada 1960-), the series tended to attract around seven million viewers on average.⁷ Given this popularity it is surprising that the show has not received more attention in television scholarship.⁸

Following *Z Cars*, *Hunters Walk* provides an increased amount of time in the station per episode. On average, seventeen minutes are devoted to station scenes.

⁷ Statistics taken from: Gambaccini, P. and Taylor, R. 1993. *Television's Greatest Hits: Every Hit Television Programme Since 1960*. London: Network Books.

⁸ *Hunters Walk* is an overlooked text that at the best receives a brief mention in books such as Jeremy Potter's (1990) *Independent Television in Britain Volume 3: Politics and Control, 1968-80* but it is never discussed at length in television scholarship.

This is double the amount of time devoted to station scenes in *Z Cars*. Over a third of the programme's duration, 34%, is now spent in Broadstone station. These seventeen minutes are, on average, divided across nine scenes. The mean time of each scene is two minutes and has eight varieties of shot. Close-ups account for 47% of shots, however, there are less medium long shots (19%) and mid-shots (21%) used. This is because the percentage of long shots has risen to 13%. Similarly, instead of relying predominantly on editing to reframe scenes, there is a lot more camera movement as over a third of shots (36%) contain either tracking, zooming or panning.⁹ There is a desire here to frame the characters in relation to the design of their surrounding space. It is also worth noting that whilst close-ups are predominantly used in *Z Cars* to capture faces, close-ups in *Hunters Walk* are used to focus on objects and particular parts of actors such as their hands. What is different here, from *Z Cars*, is that now the design of the station is slightly more complex. The station spans across eight large rooms including an upstairs area. As opposed to having actors principally gathered within one area, the series now has much more intricately designed spaces with more props that characters repeatedly interact with. *Z Cars* was less interested in the specific design of the space as it focused on the spatial relations and positioning between characters. Where *Z Cars* made the camera's editing and positioning a part of an actor's performance, the acting in *Hunters Walk* gains a new dimension as the set design becomes another prominent aspect of a performance.

It is often through this desire to capture characters' interactions with props and their surrounding space that *Hunters Walk* depicts a fractured relationship between the police force and the public. *Z Cars* depicted several working class members of the public demonstrating affection towards the uniformed policemen despite CID's best efforts to ensure officers focused on more impersonal major crimes. Gesturing and positioning between the public and uniformed police signified a mutual respect that was undercut by the cameras' repositioning in response to CID's orders. *Hunters Walk*, in comparison, shows the uniformed officers and CID working collaboratively with a mutual and cynical distrust of all

⁹ These statistics have been calculated by analysing the first six episodes of the series.

members of the public. The first time the station is seen is in the debut episode 'Disturbance' (ITV, 4/6/1973). In this scene the camera is placed behind the police desk showing a large area of space where the uniformed officers work. The public are separated from the police by a large wall and can only look through a small cubbyhole when being dealt with. PC Coombes (Charles Rea) sits with his back to the cubbyhole unlike Sgt. Twentyman of *Z Cars* who attentively works by the desk waiting for public enquiries.

At the start of this scene Dennis Kenwright (Doug Fisher) is standing behind the cubbyhole at a great distance away from the camera, in the background of the shot. Significantly, Kenwright is not shown entering the space, giving the impression he has been waiting for a while. Coombes does not acknowledge Kenwright's presence and slowly finishes his business before turning round and leisurely walking to the desk. There is no sense of urgency or shared concern, as seen in *Z Cars*, to help the public with their individual problems. When Kenwright tells Coombes 'I want to speak to someone' Coombes turns his head around to meet the other officer's look, knowingly rolling his eyes back and sniffing. Coombes is instantly dismissive as if he has heard this query before. The small cubbyhole placed at the back of the set shows how interaction with the public is kept to an absolute minimum. The angle of the camera showing Kenwright in the distance (demonstrated in figure 18) gives the effect that the police are in fact distancing themselves from the public. At the start of the scene Coombes sits down bagging an item for forensic evidence with a fellow officer and is surrounded by files, forms and paperwork inferring that there is always much more important things to be done. Speaking to the public is not always a priority.



Figure 20: There is a stricter divide between police work and the public in this first interior shot of Broadstone Police station.

When Coombes walks out from behind the desk space to locate Sgt. Ridgeway, our first view of the public area of the station reveals a swinging barrier placed in the station hallway. The barrier protrudes from underneath the police desk in a narrow corridor to prevent Kenwright from entering the rest of the station. The entranceway to the station is uninviting as people who enter are confined to this small space with little room to manoeuvre. Unlike *Z Cars*, where the public freely share the desk space with the police, Kenwright is too constrained to comfortably share a camera shot with the police officers. Instead, Kenwright nervously lights a cigarette. A close-up shot focuses on Kenwright's anxiously shaking hands. When Ridgeway appears he directs Kenwright through the barrier by motioning his hand with a swift slashing gesture whilst saying 'you wanted to have a word. Better come through then'. This gesturing towards Kenwright is at odds with Ridgeway's good mannered dialogue. The hand gesture treats Kenwright as if he is some cattle being motioned through a barrier. Similarly when Ridgeway learns of Kenwright's predicament, Kenwright needs to collect his possessions from his wife who now lives in their home alone, Ridgeway proudly announces that it is not their job to work as an 'escort' for a domestic dispute. Ridgeway then sends Kenwright

home. Standing by the barrier Ridgeway motions his head to the side as a command for Kenwright to leave.

Whereas intimate gesturing from the public in *Z Cars* articulated a strong and mutual bond between them and their police force, the use of gesturing in relation to objects and the set design of *Hunters Walk* now emphasises a strong divide between the public and its police. The police are no longer as subservient to members of the public and ensure that the public act on their terms. It is worth noting that each gesture Ridgeway uses to allow Kenwright to enter and leave Broadstone station is accompanied by Ridgeway holding on to the barrier with his right hand. This positioning and gesturing strongly suggests that Ridgeway believes in, and relies on, a strong division between the police force and the public. True to the statistical findings, this scene lasts three minutes and twenty eight seconds with fifteen different camera positions. Over that time characters are seen talking to each other across four different rooms in the station. Character traits and the police's attitude towards the public are revealed through more intricate set designs and actors' interactions with these designs. Following on from *Dixon and Z Cars* Willis uses these actors' interactions with specific aspects of the set design to draw attention the 'abrasive quality' (Ascoli 1979, p. 76) of the relationship shared between the public and police that was becoming increasingly common.



Figure 21: Ridgeway commands Kenwright in and out of the confined space designated for the public within the station. Each time Ridgeway rests on the barrier itself.

With regards to the relationship between CID and the uniformed police there is much more of a relaxed family dynamic between Ridgeway and Smith. Both

branches are not in conflict with one another and each character treats the station as a homely space of relaxation. Ridgeway will regularly state that he is too busy to deal with public enquiries. However, despite such claims Ridgeway is often introduced at the start of a station scene sitting back recreationally reading or listening to the radio. In 'Disturbance' Ridgeway is sat back with his feet on his desk holding a Cooks Golden Wing Holidays brochure up against his face before he is interrupted by a phone call informing him that Kenwright is on the loose with a shotgun. In another instance, in the episode 'Outcast' (ITV, 18/6/1973), Ridgeway tells a superior over the phone at the start of a scene that the station is too understaffed to help out with a picket line in Northampton. Yet, at the end of the scene, Ridgeway lifts up a tabloid newspaper and reads it. On the back of the paper is a topless woman in a shower accompanied by the headline 'dancing bride who slammed the door on loving'. Ridgeway's relaxed demeanour within the station, in relation to his claims of being overworked, can perhaps be seen as a way of exposing the police as relatively lazy compared to past depictions of such characters.



Figure 22: Ridgeway begins and ends scenes by reading magazines and tabloid newspapers, usually with his feet up in a relaxed manner.

Although the immediate narrative shows the police to be successful in apprehending criminals, there is an underlying cynicism provided by the space, and the way in which the actors interact with it, that is out of sync with the narrative. Smith and Ridgeway are substantially undermined by this automatic distrust and disregard towards the public. They are culpable for this loss of community. Characters' interaction with their surroundings demonstrates that the police force's attitudes towards the general public can sometimes be contrary to what characters say. In *Z Cars* this is achieved through the positioning of actors and camera movement. This is further enhanced in *Hunters Walk* with more complex spatial designs and a focus on characters' interactions with props. What *Z Cars* and *Hunters Walk* do share is that by watching these characters from a relative distance neither series is afraid to criticise aspects of policing through visual signifiers that operate independently from the dialogue. The video camera within the studio setting observes the station space and characters within it. As a result the viewer has a relative degree of autonomy to pass judgement on the police's conduct.

With a higher proportion of time now spent in the station, where the uniformed division share a closer relationship with the CID, an audience now witnesses lengthy discussions between Smith and Ridgeway on how to deal with the public effectively. Often a crime has not technically been committed and both sergeants have to discuss how best to keep their community at peace. For example in 'Outcast' both characters need to deal with Stanley Haines (Brian Pettifer) whose return to Broadstone, after serving his prison sentence, has created a feeling of unease in the town. Similarly In 'Behaviour' (ITV, 25/6/1973) Raymond Flack (Terence Rigby) returns to Broadstone to send a gravestone to his brother and a rat to his sister. This erratic behaviour needs to be dealt with and suppressed appropriately.

The nature of these discussions that occur in the station are best exemplified in 'Reasonable Suspicion' (ITV, 9/7/1973). Here a debate ensues between Ridgeway and Neil Yeldon (Brendan Price) with regards to the Criminal Law Act of 1967. Having been arrested without a warrant Yeldon feels that the police's use of this law has undermined his civil liberty. In comparison Ridgeway understands their actions as necessary in upholding the law. During this discussion both characters are given an equal number of close-ups and time to argue their side of the argument. Without the series necessarily favouring one argument over the other, the conclusion remains open ended leaving the viewer to make up their own mind. The camera does not favour either character with its observant gaze. One reason for this might be because the camera setup of a studio drama allows for a 'mixing between a variety of views of the scene but makes it difficult to cut into the middle of it and identify the look of the spectator with the look of the character' (Caughie 2000a, p. 122).



Figure 23: Both Yeldon and Ridgeway are given equal time and space to voice their opinions.

The Introduction of Film Technology

This observant gaze, which the multi-camera studio setting provides, needs to be compared with police series that use film cameras on location. Thames Television's first two series of *Special Branch* (Thames, 1969-70) were shot at ABC's Teddington studios just after ABC merged with Associated Rediffusion in 1968 to create the newly formed Thames. The third and fourth series of *Special Branch* (Thames, 1973-74) were shot by Thames' production company Euston Films on location with an entirely new cast. *Special Branch* provides an effective comparison between how the agenda of a series is altered, when its production base is moved from a multi-camera studio to real locations with a single film camera. Examining how each production context introduces its principal characters differently, within the police station setting, will enable this analysis to identify how the observant nature of the video camera in the studio can provide a viewer with a certain degree of autonomy denied by the subjective nature of the film camera.

This series dramatises the work of Special Branch that primarily gathered intelligence on subversive political movements to assist MI5 and the Home Office with 'maintaining internal order' (Bunyan 1976, p. 131). Broadcast on Wednesday nights from 9pm, the first two series attracted audiences of 7.7 million. Even though the time of transmission varied across each ITV region, an episode entitled 'Reported Missing' (ITV, 28/10/1970) still managed to attract the highest viewing figure of any other programme broadcast that week. The third and fourth filmed

series also shared a similar level of success attracting up to 8.4 million viewers. The third series was broadcast on Wednesdays from 9pm and its fourth series on Thursdays from 8.30pm. Twice, the programme attracted more viewers than any other in the week they were broadcast. Given its popularity it is another surprising omission from television scholarship.¹⁰



Figure 24: Key characters' characteristics are articulated visually and spatially through this sustained establishing shot.

At the beginning of the pilot episode of the studio-shot series, entitled 'Troika' (ITV, 17/9/1969), Det. Con. Morrissey (Keith Washington) is running late for a briefing between key Special Branch Personnel at Scotland Yard. Once he arrives, the camera sits behind Morrissey's head at the foot of the table in a darkly lit meeting room. As the Deputy Commander (David Garth) speaks at the head of the meeting room table, the camera sustains the establishing shot of the characters sat around the table longer than it necessarily needs to. Although the Deputy Commander is speaking he is actually placed in the background of the shot, off centre and relatively out of focus. Our point of focus here is not the dialogue being spoken but the characters placed in the foreground of the shot. Here the actors

¹⁰ Statistics taken from: *Gambaccini, P. and Taylor, R. 1993. Television's Greatest Hits: Every Hit Television Programme Since 1960. London: Network Books.*

articulate to the viewer their key characteristics through interactions with their surrounding space.

Det. Supt. Eden (Wensley Pithey) stands on his own with his back to the meeting room table pointing at maps placed on the wall. This positioning signifies Eden's obsessive nature and his preference for working alone. Both of these characteristics effectively result in Eden's firing later in the series when he relentlessly pursues a lead despite being ordered not to.

Due to the angle of the establishing shot Charles Moxon (Morris Perry), from DI5, sits nearest to the Commander on the left side of the table. Yet, due to the angling of the shot, Moxon is in fact positioned in the centre of the frame demonstrating, as is often proved narratively throughout the series, how he is really in charge of this department. Moxon is one of two characters who looks ahead to ignore the gaze of the Commander. Det Insp. Jordan (Derren Nesbitt) is the other character who instead stares at Morrissey contemptuously for being late thus meeting the camera's observant gaze. Looking at the camera, through a prolonged stare, it seems clear that Jordan will be the principal protagonist of the series.

Jordan repeatedly drinks his water and casually leans against the meeting room table. Jordan is also wearing an expensive watch and suit. His costuming stands in stark contrast to the other characters who do not wear such expensive clothes and jewellery. Combined with his styled hair, a trait frequently deplored by his superiors, Jordan is demonstrating his penchant for the permissive society, defined as a 'playboy ethos' of 'self-indulgence, sexual pleasure and personal gratification' (Chapman 2002, p. 29). Repeatedly throughout the series this is confirmed as Jordan indulges in sexual relations with a number of different women on an episodic basis. Jordan's informal swagger is at odds with the two female officers, sat to the side of him, and the extras, on the opposite side of the table. All of these other characters sit upright at the table and attentively grip their pencils and notepads. Jordan's iconoclastic methods are frequently questioned by his superiors throughout the series. Det. Sgt. Helen Webb (Jennifer Wilson) is blocked out of the shot by Morrissey's head, pushed to the very corner of the table she does

not figure in this table of rank. Her positioning on the table reflects her relative insignificance in the division as she is later written out of the series altogether.

This blocking and positioning of actors works in a similar manner to a stage play in that five seconds of screen time enables a viewer to observe several characters at once. According to Val Taylor television cannot be perceived spatially like the theatre because performances are governed by the frame of a camera. According to Taylor this frame draws viewers into the narrative. Without an opportunity to dissociate from the individual circumstances of the main characters, Taylor believes that an audience cannot choose to look elsewhere at the fictive space independently of the frame's focus. Therefore, audiences are not invited to consider themselves as having any autonomy within the ideological process. The camera's 'penetration' and 'fragmentation' of fictive space creates an 'empathic identification' (Taylor 1998, p. 138).

As demonstrated here, however, this is not applicable to *Special Branch*. Instead the camera allows an audience to observe the ensemble cast. Each actor conveys different information independently of the immediate narrative. The viewer is provided with a sense of autonomy in that they are given the choice to look anywhere in the space and focus on any character they choose. Whereas Taylor believes that the reliance on a master shot works against an audience's autonomy, it is this master shot that provides audiences with autonomy and the ability to read spaces as they would in the theatre.

It is when *Special Branch* is relocated to Euston Films that a viewer's sense of autonomy is lessened. The camera becomes primarily interested in identifying with new lead character Det. Chief Insp. John Craven (George Sewell). Our introduction to Craven in the episode entitled 'A Copper Called Craven' (ITV, 4/4/1973) sees Craven investigated for being implicated in the smuggling of stolen goods into the UK. Instead of the camera observing Craven's gestures to reveal the nature of his character, Craven's backstory is explained through a series of interrogations conducted by Det. Chief Sup. Pettiford (Peter Jeffrey).

The cinematography is more derivative of Hollywood cinema and the type of identification Val Taylor refers to. This is most apparent when a POV shot is used to align an audience empathetically with Craven. In an interrogation scene Pettiford's assistant Det. Sgt. Workman (Barry Jackson) talks to Craven. Here Craven paces across the room six times as Workman picks holes in Craven's story. Initially the camera observes Craven. The camera frames Craven in a medium long shot and pans to the right to watch him walk from the middle of the room to the right side of the room. However, before Craven reaches the right side of the room, the camera cuts to a mid-shot of Workman. Workman is sitting on a table placed in the middle of the room watching Craven. What is significant about this cut is that the new mid-shot of Workman it produces moves in sync *with* Craven. As Craven continues to walk to the right hand corner of the room this opposite angle of the space now tracks to the left. Therefore, a viewer is occupying Craven's exact point of view, moving with him and looking back at Workman. When Craven reaches the right-hand wall the camera cuts back to the same medium long shot from earlier to reveal Craven's new position. The camera then, using this angle, begins to watch Craven walk back to the middle of the room and on to the opposite left hand wall, panning from right to left. Again, however, whilst Craven walks to the opposite side of the room, the camera cuts back to the same POV shot of Workman, the camera now tracks from left to right moving with Craven's line of vision.

Craven proceeds to pace back and forth from one wall to the other, two more times. Each time Craven walks the camera cuts to assume his point of view before he reaches each wall. During the last POV shot, the camera comes to a halt at the exact same time Craven stops moving and the sound of his footsteps cease. This preoccupation with creating an empathetic closeness with Craven denies an audience a sense of autonomy that is provided within the videotaped studio-shot episodes of the same series. Whereas studio bound video cameras observe a range of characters interacting with a space, the film camera, within interior rooms, predominantly focuses on faces and often uses POV shots. Whereas POV shots in studio-shot dramas are usually positioned behind an actor's head in an over the shoulder shot, this filmed series makes an audience share Craven's line of sight,

occupying his exact, unobstructed, view of events. Also, the editorial flexibility of film enables the camera to be placed in the middle of a scene and look directly into the faces of actors. This is opposed to the studio-shot series where close-ups tend to view an actor's face from an angle. The previous images of Smith in *Z Cars* (figure 15) and Ridgeway with Yeldon in *Hunters Walk* (figure 21) demonstrate this.



Figure 25: The camera pans from left to right following Craven.



Figure 26: Whilst walking to the wall, the camera cuts to Craven's POV of Workman. The camera moves to the left, in sync with Craven's movements.

Compared to *Hunters Walk*, also transmitted for the first time in 1973, *Special Branch* is edited so that camera shots can frequently look directly into the faces of actors and regularly assume Craven's POV. This editorial practice occurred because Euston Films were deliberately trying to develop their own distinctive method of shooting drama. One way of creating this distinctive feel for their drama was to employ editors who had worked on feature films. Supervising Editor Chris Burt and Dubbing Editor Ian Toynton, had both been 'feature film assistant editors' (Alvarado and Stewart 1985, p. 47). Their methods of editing scenes undoubtedly

helped to create an empathetic identification, as part of a cinematic grammar, within the series. This is one of many possible reasons as to why a viewer sees the action unfold through Craven's exact line of sight and subsequent point of view. The employment of Burt and Toynton is not the sole reason for an editing style and composition of images that encourages an empathetic identification, but rather, it is one of many significant factors worth consideration.

Perfecting the Film Technique

Following Euston Films' first television production, *Special Branch*, came *The Sweeney*. *The Sweeney* was Euston's first major hit. Broadcast on Monday nights at 9pm, the show was simultaneously broadcast at the same time across all of the ITV regions. As a result of this broadcasting strategy *The Sweeney's* audience figures peaked at 19.1 million viewers.¹¹ The series depicts the work of the Flying Squad division that specialised in pursuing hardened criminals implicated in serious crimes such as armed robbery. Having used *Special Branch* as a trial run Euston Films staff became more accustomed to the new production methods developed for shooting filmed drama. Instead of providing audiences with a sense of autonomy by observing characters from a relative distance, now the single camera follows Regan, like that of Craven, through the Scotland Yard offices.

In each episode, on average, thirteen and a half minutes are devoted to events that occur in Scotland Yard across twelve different scenes. This means that, on average, each station scene lasts around one minute and eight seconds. It is important to note that this is the briefest average duration, of a typical station scene, of any police series examined in this thesis. Each shot lasts eight seconds on average thus maintaining the relatively brisk pace seen in the other police series so far. However, what is significantly different is that only four different types of shot are used in each scene. This is one shot less than *Z Cars* and half as many as *Hunters Walk*. Similarly, only 13% of shots contain some sort of movement. Again, this is half

¹¹ Statistics taken from: Gambaccini, P. and Taylor, R. 1993. *Television's Greatest Hits: Every Hit Television Programme Since 1960*. London: Network Books.

the amount of shots that contained movement in *Hunters Walk*. Whilst the amount of mid-shots (15%) and medium long shots (19%) are roughly around the same ratio as previous videoed studio-shot series, the proportion of close-ups are the highest yet at 64%.¹² It has been argued that using film technology and staging action scenes shook the police series 'out of the 'drama-documentary' format' that used a 'slow moving narrative and static camerawork' (Clarke 1992, p. 233). This is, however, not necessarily true of the Scotland Yard scenes within *The Sweeney*. The duration of the camera shots are on a par with the programme's studio-shot counterparts. There is also, crucially, less variety of shots used in each station scene and far less camera movement compared to studio-shot series.

What is most interesting, however, is that the remaining 2% of shots used are POV shots. In these POV shots a viewer shares Regan's line of vision like that of Craven. *The Sweeney* takes this use a step further in that some shots can only be classified as POV shots. For example in 'Jackpot' (ITV, 9/1/1975) Regan watches footage of himself fighting criminals on a projector. This view of events, shot by another officer at the scene of arrest, can be classified as a number of different shots. It is a close-up of the cinema screen, yet the images on the screen are hand held medium long shots of Regan fighting. Nevertheless, the primary function of this shot is to be Regan's POV. The audience is sharing Regan's gaze in looking for clues as to where the stolen money disappeared during the arrest. Instead of viewing Regan's positioning and interaction with the space in an observant manner, like that of studio-based series, station scenes are often framed by Regan's gaze.

¹² These statistics have been calculated by analysing the first six episodes of the series.



Figure 27: Regan watches himself on screen as his gaze is shared with the viewer.

In 'Contact Breaker' (ITV, 20/3/1975), for example, a retirement ceremony unfolds in the station's common room. After watching it for five seconds the camera tracks back to allow Regan to walk into the frame and dismissively roll his eyes for the camera as he leaves the room. The track back reveals that the audience has been watching the scene unfold through Regan's POV and encourages them to share his contemptuous opinion of the situation. The viewer is not invited to consider another opinion about the retiring officer other than Regan's who refers to the party as 'the crap being spoken in there'.



Figure 28: The camera tracks backwards from a retirement party to reveal that the viewer has been sharing Regan's view of the event and must share his contemptuous attitude as a result.

Although POV shots account for no more than 2% of a station scene they occur at prominent moments. Similarly, they outweigh long shots and therefore the series does not observe actors in their social space from a distance like studio-shot fiction. By sharing Regan's gaze a viewer also assumes his opinion of situations.

Depictions of police work are less balanced and do not provide room for a debate as Regan is always depicted as being correct.

In *The Sweeney* the Flying Squad is answerable to several government departments. In the episode 'Golden Boy' (ITV, 27/2/1975) an organisational methods team from A10, a department set up by Commissioner Robert Mark to tackle corruption, monitor Regan to observe whether paperwork is being filled out correctly. In a fifty second scene, four different types of shot are used. The most striking shot views Regan from behind whilst sitting at his desk. This shot is positioned at a low angle as the two men from A10 stand over Regan. One stands at each side of the desk entrapping Regan and preventing him from moving. Regan is stifled by this seemingly pointless procedure.



Figure 29: Regan is trapped to his desk by Bradshaw and the A10 staff.

What could be a complex debate is simplified into these personal terms. At the time of filming, Robert Mark, Commissioner of the Met, had already introduced a host of strategies to tackle corruption within CID and to bridge the divisions that existed between them and the uniformed Metropolitan Police. Mark set up the A10 department to end endemic corruption within the police force and also introduced a regular policy of CID-uniform interchange. His view was that if necessary he would 'put the whole of the CID back into uniform and make a fresh start' (Quoted in Hobbs 1988, p. 73). As a result of these measures four hundred and eighty seven CID officers resigned under his command and Mark's era was 'marked by his attempts to make the CID firmly under the control of the uniform branch' (Hobbs

1988, p. 75). Instead of presenting both sides of this debate, *The Sweeney* gives a viewer little choice but to share Regan's view that these measures are nothing more than unnecessary bureaucratic procedures that hinder his investigations. As Drummond argues; the 'internal bureaucratic/administrative pyramid of the squad is internalised, dramatized within the series in the "vertical" inter-personal tension between Haskins, Regan and Carter' (Drummond 1976, p. 19).

In a studio setup, however, a number of video cameras, simultaneously filming, put a viewer at an observational distance from the drama and can provide them with more than one ideological view. Unlike the debates that occur in *Hunters Walk* an audience's view of events is now framed by Regan's gaze. Initially, under creator Ian Kennedy Martin, the purpose of *The Sweeney* was to examine the impact of Robert Mark as police Commissioner. However, the series under producer Ted Childs, upon Kennedy Martin's departure, ensured that the 'ideological state apparatus within which the flying squad is situated is displaced by the drama of the hero pitting his ingenuity, intuition and emotion against the dead hand of book learning, and creeping bureaucracy' (Drummond 1976, p. 18).

There are a number of reasons involved in Euston Films' production practice that all influenced, and impacted upon, this process of forging an empathetic identification with Regan. Firstly, producer Ted Childs had a desire to emulate the aesthetic of popular American crime films such as *The French Connection* (William Friedkin 1971) and *Dirty Harry* (Don Segal 1971) (Donald 1985, p. 120). True to this vision the representation of police activity and 'general scope of fictions centred on one individual hero' rather than a large ensemble cast (Drummond 1976, p. 17).

Secondly, the production setup of a filmed television drama on location lent itself to a dramatic gaze. As Childs explains, a studio's 'extensive rehearsal facilities' and 'several cameras for any given scene enable fairly complicated sequences involving several actors to be staged quite easily' (Donald 1985, p. 118). Shooting on film however, with every individual shot having to be relit, meant that complicated dialogue scenes were comparatively difficult to produce. This restrictive production practice had an effect on the writers who were told to write 'uncomplicated story

lines that dealt straightforwardly with crime' and to create dialogue scenes that were 'short and sharp rather than intriguing' (Alvarado and Stewart 1985, p. 61). This constraint therefore restricted 'dialogue in favour of action' (Drummond 1976, p. 18). As a result, there was a stark contrast between writers' experiences of working on *The Sweeney* compared to studio-shot productions. Whereas *Sweeney* writer Trevor Preston claimed 'I just used to feel like I was writing with my legs crossed most of the time' (Donald 1985, p. 118), Allan Prior had an entirely different experience on *Z Cars*. Prior claimed that having 'written lots of original plays for television' he had 'never had the same feeling of freedom, in language and in subject' (Hopkins and Prior 1963, p. 13).

It is often argued that 'the film camera allows much more of a given society to be *shown*, rather than simply indicated metonymically through the four walls of the stage or studio set' (Lacey 2005, p. 200). However, this advantage is lost in the station scenes of *The Sweeney* as the series is preoccupied with following Regan's experience of events. Many factors contributed to this style of shooting. As a combined result of Childs' stylistic envisioning of the series, the timely practice of using a single film camera, and the strict constraints placed on the writers, Scotland Yard scenes do not offer viewers sufficient room to consider more than one side to a debate. There was a nuanced interplay between all of these production factors that resulted in the Scotland Yard scenes being unable to tackle the political complexity behind the transformations occurring to the Metropolitan Police under Robert Mark. Only being able to witness events through Regan's point of view prevents an audience from being able to observe these happenings from a relatively autonomous distance.

Back to the Studio

By the fourth series of *The Sweeney* the novelty of using 16mm cameras began to wear thin as Regan and George Carter (Dennis Waterman) soon became 'stereotypes and the action scenes were becoming clichéd' (Cooke 2003, p. 117). The transmission of *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* (LWT 1980-1984) in 1980

thus marked a 'return to a more orderly, gentler world of crime' (Clarke 1992, p. 248). A "'feminine" viewpoint' provided a 'new angle of interest' (Clarke 1992, p. 248) for the British police genre and brought about 'the return of the social conscience into the series' (Clarke 1992, p. 248).

Existing scholarship on *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch*, however, tends to briefly examine each programme as a precursor to discussions of crime dramas written by Lynda La Plante and/or American police series *Cagney and Lacey* (CBS 1981-88). Authors Dyer and Baehr (1987), Skirrow (1987), Gamman (1988), D'Acci (1994), Hallam (2000, 2005), and Jermyn (2008) are all interested in how *Prime Suspect* (Granada 1991-95) or *Cagney and Lacey* displace a male gaze. *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* are dismissed by Jermyn for having a 'cosy familiarity' unlike the 'characteristic grittiness' of *Prime Suspect* (Jermyn 2008, p. 59). Having established this view Jermyn discusses the 'gendered matrix of looking and seeing in operation' (Jermyn 2008, p. 65) between DCI Jane Tennison (Helen Mirren) and her male colleagues. Jermyn is primarily interested in how Tennison overcomes the men who refuse to meet her gaze as way of 'disempowering her' (Jermyn 2008, p. 65). Similarly, Skirrow's principal criticism of *Juliet Bravo*, in relation to Lynda La Plante's *Widows* (Thames 1983), is that the lead actress is treated as 'an unusual specimen under a microscope' due to the camera 'looking at her environment in a descriptive rather than expressive way' (Skirrow 1987, p. 175).

What these academic arguments share is an inherent belief that *The Gentle Touch* and *Juliet Bravo* are inferior to *Prime Suspect* as they do not attempt to subvert a male gaze or overtly challenge patriarchal authority. However, these can be misleading comparisons to make as the setup of a television studio, by its very nature, is observant. As has been established, the studio has cameras standing outside of the drama, observing the characters. None of the authors acknowledge that Lynda La Plante's filmed series subscribe to a different visual grammar that is primarily concerned with a series of dramatic looks.

Juliet Bravo and *The Gentle Touch* both share a similar visual grammar in that on average each programme uses six scenes to depict goings on within a

station. In *Juliet Bravo* each of these six station scenes are, on average, two minutes and forty eight seconds long with nine variations of shot. Similarly these six station scenes in *The Gentle Touch* last, on average, two minutes and eighteen seconds with eight different shots. Both series, like that of *Hunter's Walk*, use twice as many different shots from *The Sweeney*. Both *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* make use of the variety of angles available to a multi-camera studio setup. However, one aspect of *The Gentle Touch* that is crucially different from *Juliet Bravo* is that 72% of all shots in the station are close-ups, the highest proportion of any series. *Juliet Bravo* has fewer close-ups (57%) and instead our attention is more frequently drawn towards seeing actors interacting with the *mise en scène*.¹³ This is because 11% of shots used in the station scenes of *Juliet Bravo* are long shots. *The Gentle Touch* in comparison is more interested in characters' immediate dialogue as only 7% of shots are of a medium long scale and virtually no long shots are ever used in these station scenes.

An audience is encouraged to identify with DI Maggie Forbes' (Jill Gascoine) in *The Gentle Touch*, like that of filmed series, as her emotions are frequently placed in the foreground. Therefore, spats and disagreements between Forbes and her superior Det. Ch. Insp. Russell (William Marlowe) are filmed in mid-shots and close-ups within Russell's small office. This leaves little room for characters to interact with their surrounding space and denies a viewer an autonomous interpretation of their actions. *Juliet Bravo* however, in line with previous studio-shot series, more regularly and consistently observes gestures and characters' movements in relation to the spoken word.

¹³ These statistics have been calculated by analysing the first six episodes of both series.



Figure 30: Scenes between Forbes and her superior, Russell, mainly occur in close-up.

Through this frequent use of the long shot, *Juliet Bravo* uses the set design of the comparatively larger station space to highlight certain sociological issues. Its early evening slot of Saturday evenings at 7.35pm on BBC1, attracting 10 million viewers¹⁴, did mean that the series possessed ‘rigid moral boundaries’ in relation to past British police series such as *The Sweeney* (Skirrow 1987, p. 174). Because Inspector Jean Darblay (Stephanie Turner) shares a mutually respectful relationship with the CID unit, our attention is drawn towards the divide that exists between her and her uniformed male colleagues Sgt. Joseph Beck (David Ellison) and Sgt. George Parrish (Noel Collins). This divide is accentuated by a long corridor that is central to the Hartley Station set design. At one end of the spacious corridor is a small desk space where the uniformed officers work. At the other end of the corridor is Darblay’s office door that overlooks the desk space.

This corridor signifies many differences that exist between Darblay and her male colleagues. As well as accentuating the gender divide between Darblay and her officers, it also represents a class divide. Parrish and Beck are both working class officers who earn a modest wage. In comparison to her colleagues’ strong northern dialect, Darblay’s well-spoken accent is amplified when she issues orders from her office across the echoing corridor to her sergeants. Darblay is representative of the changes the police force experienced under Thatcher’s Conservative government. The increasing pay rises the police received transformed police work from a noble working class occupation into a middle class career. From 1979 to 1989 the British

¹⁴ Statistics taken from: Gambaccini, P. and Taylor, R. 1993. *Television’s Greatest Hits: Every Hit Television Programme Since 1960*. London: Network Books.

police force received a 41% pay rise that was considerably higher than the average public sector wage (Emsley 1996, p. 182). The station corridor is used to highlight the difference between Darblay, who signifies the future of the force, and the older uniformed sergeants, who represent its past. The corridor, a specific aspect of the set design, is instrumental in such a reading.



Figure 31: The divide that exists between Darblay and her male colleagues is accentuated by the large corridor placed between them.

Until *Juliet Bravo* the British police force had been depicted, in all the series discussed so far, as an occupation occupied by working class men. Now this specific type of male officer is put in his place by a middle class woman. The cramped police desk area, where the male sergeants work, controls and confines this form of masculinity. The male PCs are usually huddled together behind the cramped police desk often attempting to conceal food and magazines from Darblay. In 'A Private Place' (BBC1, 3/10/1981) Beck confidently stands behind the desk eating a bread roll as he reads through a book. When Beck hears Darblay enter the station he swiftly slouches over the desk and bows his head as if he is a child avoiding a parent's gaze whilst hiding the food. Walking towards her office Darblay asks Beck, 'didn't your mother ever tell you about elbows on the table Joseph?' This dialogue is significant as it compares Darblay to a mother figure. Also, by repeatedly calling Beck 'Joseph', as opposed to the men who call him 'Joe', Darblay makes Beck appear vulnerable and infantile.

Similarly in 'Cages' (BBC1, 18/10/1980) Darblay discovers PC Roland Bentley (Mark Drewry) reading a holiday magazine with a woman dressed in a bikini on the cover. Bentley appears bashful as Darblay unveils the magazine. This is a stark contrast from *Hunters Walk* where officers happily read such publications in front of each other whilst using the station as a relaxing homely space. The male officers here, however, employ bashful childish mannerisms once they are found to be displaying such behaviour. Highly embarrassed, the officers act as if they are children who have been caught by a parent. Behind Darblay's back the men have a confidence and arrogant assurance about themselves. However, in this small particular part of the station, their behaviour is repeatedly exposed as childish by Darblay's disapproving gaze.

Skirrow criticises the series for treating Darblay as 'an unusual specimen under a microscope', that looks at 'her environment in a descriptive rather than expressive way' (Skirrow 1987, p. 175). As seen here, however, the men themselves are examined under the same degree of scrutiny. The men's confident methods of policing, unchallenged throughout *Z Cars* and *Hunters Walk*, is exposed by Darblay as being less effective, childish and undisciplined. The spatial dimensions of the station design are instrumental in such a reading as they reflect, and are in line with, Darblay's view of what constitutes effective police work and what is the appropriate etiquette and decorum.



Figure 32: The male officers are crammed into the small police desk space, never far from the controlling presence of Darblay.

The difference that exists between Darblay and her male colleagues demonstrates the importance of a more community oriented police force. Much like the spatial template of Newtown station in *Z Cars*, members of the public who enter Hartley station stand in an area placed in between the police desk, occupied by PCs, and the office of the personnel in charge of the station. Darblay and Beck, much like Dunn and Smith of *Z Cars* analysed previously in this chapter, disagree on how the public should be handled. *Juliet Bravo* is, however, the only studio-based British police series to feature a figure of significant authority actively demonstrating an interest in the public to the annoyance of their PCs. Like *Z Cars* there is clash between a superior and their staff's views regarding how to deal with the public. *Juliet Bravo* provides a reversal of roles as it is Darblay who comes to the defence of eccentric characters who enter her station. The large floor space that exists between the police desk and Darblay's office door provides various members of the public a lot of space to act out and perform their various conflicts, problems and predicaments. A lot more freedom of movement is allowed here compared to the small hallways of *Z Cars* and *Hunters Walk*. Whenever Beck is dismissive of the public and their trivial enquiries Darblay is happy to take over. The long corridor thus represents the extent of the difference in opinion Darblay and her co-workers hold towards the public.



Figure 33: The design of the station space allows members of the public to act out and perform their various conflicts, problems and predicaments, thus meeting Darblay's view of police work.

At the time of *Juliet Bravo*, public enquires such Lord Scarman's report on the Brixton Riots claimed that the 'police were out of touch with the community'

(Rawlings 2002, p. 217). Senior Officers recognised that during the 1980s, the priorities of the police and public had diverged. The police 'stressed enforcement, while the public seemed to prefer more of a community orientation' (Emsley 1996, p. 189). This resulted in the implementation of the Metropolitan Police's Plus programme in 1990 that tried to remould the duty of police work in the vision of George Dixon. The Plus Programme stated, 'we must be compassionate, courteous and patient...We must strive to reduce the fears of the public, and so far as we can, to reflect their priorities in the action we take' (Quoted in Emsley 1996, p. 189). Essentially, the corridor of Hartley station draws attention to the differences between the old police force and the modern police force. Its design predetermines the nationwide changes that were to take place in 1990 with the Plus Programme instructing officers to be more 'compassionate, courteous and patient' (Quoted in Emsley 1996, p. 189). *Juliet Bravo* recognised the rift that existed in the 1980s between the public and police and so provided a format that was spatially more accommodating of the public than previously seen.

The large corridor accommodates and welcomes members of the public, thus predetermining a climate that saw the police attempt to become more public spirited. What is significant about the spatial dynamics of Hartley Station, given the technique of empathetically following one character as popularised by filmed series such as *The Sweeney*, is that its design now corresponds to Darblay's vision of police work. As actress Stephanie Turner explained to the *Radio Times*, 'that's the kind of authority I have as Jean Darblay. You're senior and everyone does what you say' (Quoted in Beauman 1982, p. 9).

Because the precise spatial characteristics of the station feature more prominently in *Juliet Bravo* does not necessarily mean that *The Gentle Touch*, with its greater proportion of close-ups, is completely isolated from sociological issues. At the time of filming, paperwork was becoming a more extensive and imperative part of police work. Following the increased number of deaths in police custody, from eight in 1970 to forty eight in 1978, a Royal Commission on criminal procedure in 1979 was undertaken. Its findings and conclusions then later formed the backbone of the subsequent Police and Criminal Evidence Act of 1984 (PACE). The

aim of this act was to strike an effective balance between 'ensuring the civil rights of the citizen and enabling the police to prevent and detect crime' (Irving 1986, p. 148) and reduce 'the likelihood of false confessions' by eliminating 'coercive and oppressive tactics' of police officers (Irving and McKenzie 1989, p. 11). The introduction of mandatory note taking, and subsequent recording systems, reduced the ability for police officers 'to amplify or indeed construct images which set those suspected of criminal activity apart from "conforming society"' (Bryan 1997, p. 280). As a result of this legislation, police stations and CID units struggled to adapt to this practice as late as 1986. Natural interludes and patterns of speech were often 'replaced by a bizarre ritual of verbal exchanges organised so that every word could be written down' (Irving and McKenzie 1989, p. 103). Although the PACE act and its implementation occurred after the transmission of both series, the Royal Commission that led to this act was being undertaken during the production of *The Gentle Touch* and *Juliet Bravo*. Therefore, the nature of police work was being discussed in the public domain whilst both series were being transmitted. This discussion of how best to implement the law but protect citizens' civil rights is a debate that both *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* intervene in.

The Gentle Touch occupies a sceptical stance towards the introduction of more paperwork and stringent following of procedure. In 'Rogue' (ITV, 16/5/1980) Forbes begins her interrogation of a prostitute and pimp Sally (Shirley Cheriton) by sitting at the interview room table surrounded by some law papers and a notepad with pen. Noting down what Sally says Forbes sits with a confident air. Forbes sanguinely reads out the 1956 Sexual Offences Act expecting Sally to feel intimidated into confessing. Although, instead of admitting to running a brothel Sally simply laughs at Forbes. Under this act Sally would only have to pay a £250 fine that she can easily afford through her felonious dealings. Following this laughter the scene cuts to Forbes in her office slamming her pen on her office desk and furiously rearranging the papers, she has been using in the interrogation, in a rushed and heavy handed manner. Forbes is frustrated by how following this procedure of interviewing inhibits rather than enhances her persecution of criminals. This

ideological stance is visually signified by Forbes' actions as she vents her frustration against the props that connote this new officialdom of police work.

Earlier in the same episode however, by avoiding such paperwork, Forbes is able to extract vital information. Forbes has been called in to find out who has been supplying drug addict Peter's (Michael McVey) house with heroin. Peter suffers from violent stomach cramps as a result of his withdrawal symptoms. Forbes initially sits down and takes a notepad and pen from her handbag. It is only when she leaves her side of the table, turning her back to this procedure of noting down the interview, that she is able to retrieve the information she is after. Forbes walks to Peter's side of the table and crouches by his chair stating that 'the doctor's waiting outside all ready as soon as you say the word'. Invading Peter's personal space and denying him access to a doctor, until he has given her information, enables Forbes to retrieve the information she needs. Similarly, in the episode 'Affray' (ITV, 1/1/1982) several students are interrogated following the stabbing of a uniformed policewoman during a demonstration. Here again Forbes is able to extract the information she needs by kneeling down to Mary Venn's (Sarah James) level to maintain eye contact. Although Forbes holds Venn's hand reassuringly to relax her, compared to her treatment of Peter, she obtains a confession. When Forbes leaves her paperwork at the end of her desk and gets closer to her suspects, she is able to make a breakthrough.

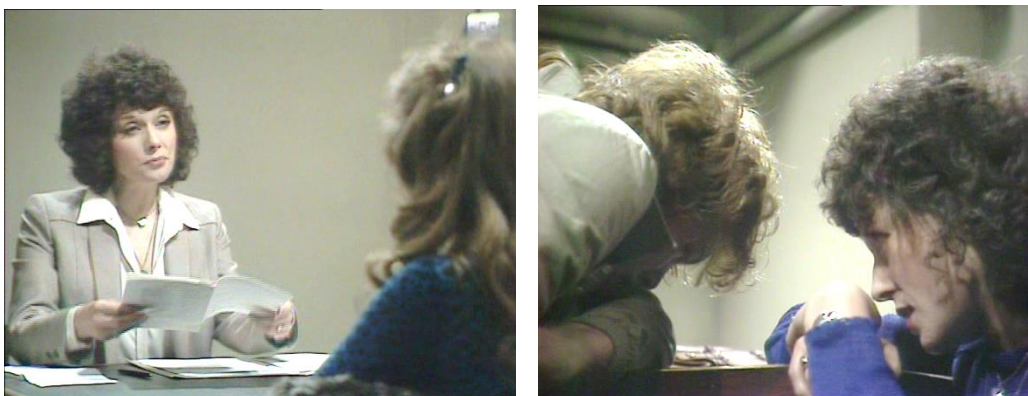


Figure 34: Forbes proves to be more effective when she gets closer to suspects and disregards her paperwork.

Darblay, however, embraces such changes to police work. Darblay's interaction with the furniture in her office demonstrates a resolute belief in procedure. In the episode 'Cages' a grizzly bear has been found in a garage. Darblay discusses the situation with Beck in her office to find the most effective course of action. At the start of this office scene Darblay reads through her law books. Darblay dictates the Dangerous Wild Animals Act of 1976 to Beck whilst slowly brushing her fingers across the words on the page. Once Darblay has consulted these law books she then carefully shuts the last book and rests both of her hands on it, clasping her hands together. Leaning on this book, and the paperwork underneath, Darblay discusses with Beck how to best proceed and deal with the bear. After the discussion Darblay picks the books up and holds them against her torso. With both arms wrapped around the books, Darblay is effectively hugging them before she stores them away in her cupboard. Darblay rests on her law books for support as it is through them she finds the appropriate course of action.



Figure 35: Darblay rests on and grips her law books whilst deciding how to best deal with the illegally kept grizzly bear that has been found.

Similarly, when arsonist Janet Worsley (Elizabeth Proud) is arrested in 'Heat' (BBC1, 11/9/1982) DCI Logan's (Tony Caunter) aggressive shouts cause Worsley to have a panic attack. Darblay's plan to move the interrogation into her 'informal' office to 'thaw her out' proves effective. When moved to Darblay's office, Darblay sits upright writing and arranging the paperwork on her desk. Darblay is ensconced sitting behind her files and neatly piled paperwork trays. When Worsley begins to talk Darblay clasps her hands together and rests them on her paperwork. Darblay

leans her head to one side asking what Worsley likes about fires and why she creates them. Darblay expresses an interest in Worsley and abides by the law as a sufficient way of apprehending criminals. Darblay's desk filled with paperwork supports her, gives her confidence, and adds to her authority. Using law books and paperwork ensures that Darblay is successful in each episode as she driven by a faith in the changes that police procedure is undergoing. There is far less overt 'rule breaking' than previous British police series and a greater emphasis on 'due process and proper procedure' (Clarke 1992, p. 250).



Figure 36: Darblay rests on paper work and remains seated behind her desk to extract vital information.

Academics have traditionally avoided opening up a debate between *The Gentle Touch* and *Juliet Bravo* as both are often dismissed as being inferior to filmed series that overtly tackle misogyny such as *Prime Suspect*. Nevertheless both *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* engage with the changes and subsequent pressures that the police force faced in the early 1980s. Each series observes both Darblay and Forbes interact with props. It is through these key interactions with props that an audience can deduce whether each series accepts or rejects the changes the police force was undergoing at the time of transmission. The ideology of each series is essentially revealed through these interactions. Movement and interaction in the space is still a vital aspect of the studio discourse. However, following the popularity of the use film in series such as *The Sweeney*, the studio technique now attempts to forge an empathetic identification between a principal lead character and a viewer. As *Juliet Bravo* creator Ian Kennedy Martin claimed, 'the primary focus of the series

is to observe this woman operating in the all male world of our fictional police section' (Quoted in Skirrow 1987, p. 174).

Studio-shot series have, at this point, been influenced by the identification filmed productions could forge between audiences and characters. Therefore, these series centre on one lead character. Without the ability to provide POV shots or cut into the middle of the action, a greater level of identification can be achieved through a greater proportion of close-ups that regularly isolate characters from the space. Another method of achieving a strong sense of identification is achieved by aligning the design of the space to one character's particular viewpoint and mind-set. Although viewers are not encouraged to observe a particularly balanced view of debates, as seen in previous studio series, gesturing and set design are still nevertheless important in enabling both series to actively intervene in sociological debate. This is what makes studio drama distinctive.

Ultimately, station scenes shot in television studios through multiple video cameras have an expressive cinematographic grammar. The larger variety of shots afforded to the multi-camera studio setup lends itself to more open ended conclusions and balanced debates regarding police and social policy. Up to six simultaneously shooting cameras can capture a host of characters' views and standpoints within one space. However, this quality is lost in filmed series as a single film camera presents these debates through the subjective viewpoint of a main character. The studio in comparison can observe multiple actors as its cameras stand outside the drama. This means that gesturing and interaction with the space is an audience's main point of focus. Gesturing can undercut or reaffirm an actor's immediate dialogue. Film, however, and its preoccupation with close-ups and POV shots, empathetically aligns an audience with a single character and so events cannot be viewed from a similar distance.

In *Z Cars* no actor takes lead of the space and all are vying for the camera's attention to air their views. *Hunters Walk* then develops this visual grammar by making props and the station's mise en scène an important aspect of an actor's performance. Police's attitude towards the public are now revealed through a more

intricate design combined with actors' repeated interaction with spaces. Both series observe characters to criticise aspects of policing using visual signifiers that operate independently from an episode's principal narrative.

The film camera, however, is less observant of narrative and so our main point of focus becomes characters' matching eye-lines as part of a series of dramatic looks. The use of a POV in series three and four of *Special Branch* and all series of *The Sweeney* provides an audience with an empathetic closeness to a principal character thus denying a viewer's sense of autonomy in narrative proceedings. Although a film camera's ability to capture real locations can provide a drama with a greater degree of verisimilitude, this particular quality is lost in station scenes as they are preoccupied with following either Craven or Regan's experience of events. This simplifies sociological debate into personal terms.

The Gentle Touch and *Juliet Bravo*, possibly as a result of the popularisation of filmic drama, are less interested in ensemble casts than previous studio-shot series and become more preoccupied with forging an empathetic identification with a lead character. As a result of this a larger proportion of close-ups are now used in *The Gentle Touch* that frequently isolate characters from their surrounding space. Similarly the station design of *Juliet Bravo* is in line with Darblay's view of police work rather than being a space open to debate and interpretation from a number of different characters. Although both series provide an audience with a lessened sense of autonomy, they still encourage a viewer to observe the gesturing and positioning of actors, as well as actors' interactions with set designs, to enable the series to engage in sociological debate. Here Forbes abandons paperwork in favour of a more effective CID whereas Darblay uses such apparatus to become a better policewoman. As late as 1980, despite the rise of film technology's popularity, the video camera's observant gaze within the studio capturing a disparity between the spoken word and gesturing, remained an imperative aspect of its cinematographic grammar.

In conclusion, within these relatively minimalist and recurring station set designs, there are three elements of a performance that are of prime importance to

a viewer. Firstly there is the positioning of actors. Secondly are the actors' interactions with elements of a given *mise en scène*. Thirdly what the multiple cameras choose to include and exclude from the screen, as they endlessly reposition themselves, is integral to the studio's visual grammar. Together these three factors are what make studio-shot station scenes distinctive. The observational nature of these cameras in relation to the actors enable viewers to identify inconsistencies between an actor's spoken word and their gesturing, to make for a more layered characterisation. In addition to this, earlier series are more ideologically complex as viewers are not made to identify with one viewpoint. This alters in later series as the narrative becomes more interested in a lead character. Nevertheless, how a number of actors, as part of an ensemble cast, use this space differently can reveal the complex layering of a police series' ideological makeup.

The construction of the fictional police station spaces were influenced by a complex mixture of factors. These included the specific technological limitations that came with each production practice, the ideological intentions of the writers, the stylistic objectives of the directors, the actor's envisioning of their character, sociological issues that influenced production, and audience's perceptions of what was deemed to be 'realistic'. What this chapter has argued is that within this complex interrelationship of factors, reading a text in spatial terms deserves greater scrutiny.

These minimally designed station spaces represent the series component of the police series. However, this thesis must examine how this cinematographic practice is combined with the more elaborate set designs of civilian spaces. These singular narratives, which appear on an episodic basis, are more aligned with the way single play set designs were approached by production staff from 1955-62. An analysis of how actors interact with these more intricate set designs, through a semiotic discourse, will enable this study to deduce further the distinctive nature of the studio technique and subsequently chart its aesthetical development in a nuanced manner.

Chapter Four: Civilian Space

So far this thesis has established that multiple video cameras within a television studio setting observe actors from a relative distance. This means a viewer can observe a dialectic between an actor's illocutionary markers (dialogue) and their attitudinal markers (gestures). Therefore, in a studio, up to six video cameras are able to consider the opinions of a number of different characters, as part of a sociological debate. Often the film camera, in comparison, either follows a main character through the station space or views the space through their POV. This is a particularly prominent reason as to why sociological debate, regarding the police force, is simplified to a conflict between 'us', the lead character an audience identifies with, and 'them', bureaucrats who threaten to inhibit the hero's unorthodox methods of policing.

Now that this study has established this cinematographic practice, through an examination of camerawork in station spaces, it must now consider how set designs themselves contribute to this distinctive studio aesthetic. Station spaces were traditionally decorated minimally which would foreground an actor's positioning and gesturing over a complex, or regular, interaction with their surrounding *mise en scène*. Such positioning, gesturing and camera movement allows an audience to view the depictions of rivalries between factions of the police force, and their relationship with the public, primarily in visual terms. Although vital to the iconography of the genre and the unfolding of the narrative, station scenes only account for 24% of an episode's running time on average. This leaves civilian spaces to occupy, on average, 76% of an episode's running time.¹⁵ More time is devoted to civilians in their domestic spaces because the various predicaments of criminals and victims of crime have to be established and resolved within one episode.

With more time dedicated to civilian spaces within each episode, and with these spaces being more elaborately designed, a viewer witnesses more regular

¹⁵ These percentages have been achieved by calculating how much of an episode's overall running time is devoted to each type of space across the first six episodes of every police series examined in this thesis as a case study.

interactions between actors and props than seen in the station. Therefore, now is an appropriate time to examine such scenes through Pavis' (2006) semiotic theory of vectorisation. As stated in the methodology, Pavis dismisses the traditional school of theatrical semiotics that dismantles performances into systems of signs and signifiers. Instead, Pavis is interested in how signs are held together throughout a scene by a system of vectors. Pavis analyses how the lines of force of an overall performance are changed when a disruption or displacement occurs to one of these vectors. In line with Pavis' system of vectors the textual analyses in this chapter will use this model in relation to how props are used and how they are instrumental in changing the overall meaning of a scene.

According to Pavis there are four stages to an object's use and how it can alter a scene's trajectory. Firstly there is the process accumulation; this is when a prop provides an audience with more than one identity or significations. Secondly a connection is where an object's new use replaces its previous use. Thirdly a displacement produces 'a strong sense of surprise' thus rupturing the metonymic chain of a scene (Pavis 2003, p. 191). This new identity 'breaks the thread of what has occurred beforehand, and necessitates a start from new bases' (Pavis 2003, p. 191). Lastly is the process whereby an audience's perception of a whole scene is completely destabilised. Each textual analysis of this chapter will use this system to consider how an actor's use of props developed in studio productions. It will also be used to consider how each series creatively intervened in debates regarding the perceptions of gender and class outlined in chapter two from 1962-1982.

Z Cars: The 1960s and Working Class Men

With ten minutes of each *Z Cars* episode being used to film station scenes, this leaves an episode with thirty five minutes on average to depict the civilians of the fictional Northern towns, Newtown and Seaport. As writer John McGrath claimed, the original objective of *Z Cars* was to use the policemen as a means of 'finding out about people's lives' (Laing 1991, p. 127). As a result of this objective working class men are often depicted as losing their social status due to a change in their working

identity throughout wider British society, and/or experiencing difficulties with their familial relationships due to changes in the UK's cultural climate. These men are similar to the angry young men of British theatre, literature and new wave cinema. Repeatedly characters, as identified by John Hill (1986), are attacking signifiers of an 'affluent society' or a more generalised 'cultural anxiety around the question of male identity' (Hill 1986, p. 25).

The use of props plays a key part in the exploration of this cultural anxiety. 'Stab in the Dark' (BBC, 23/1/1962), for example, sees Sadie Arnot (Jeanne Hepple) stabbed on her doorstep by anonymous attacker Tom O'Connor (Tony Calvin) with a large fish knife. After Det. Chief Superintendent Robins (John Phillips) detains O'Connor, Robins rationalises the situation by claiming that O'Connor was so resentful of Arnot's 'quiet comfortable home' in relation to O'Connor's alcoholic father, and inability to hold a job, that O'Connor decided 'to take it out' on Arnot. Similarly in 'Four of a Kind' (BBC, 2/1/1962) Rodney Jones (Peter Anderson) holds his mother's baby hostage with an axe as he is 'frightened of being at home with the kids'. Jones has become mentally unstable after falling off a crane at a building site and so suffers from headaches. Jones tells PC Steele (Jeremy Kemp) that all he wanted to do was 'chop some wood'. Jones feels confined by these domestic spaces and wants to be able to provide for his family.

Initially these characters appear similar in their attacks on domesticity and affluence to that of Jimmy Porter (Richard Burton) of *Look Back in Anger* (Tony Richardson 1959), Arthur Seaton (Albert Finney) of *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (Karel Reisz 1960), and Frank Machin (Richard Harris) of *This Sporting Life* (Lindsay Anderson 1963). However, what sets the men of *Z Cars* apart from their angry young contemporaries is that they are significantly marginalised from society. These men of *Z Cars* are either mentally ill or ageing. They lack the charm, charisma, confidence and good looks of their filmic counterparts. The angry young men of the cinema, and of the theatre, childishly rebel against a future of being tied down to a job, wife and subsequent middle class values. The younger men of *Z Cars* however want to settle down and are unable to do so. The angry young men of the cinema attack signifiers of middle class affluence and domesticity as they do not *want* a

settled and comfortable married life. The men of *Z cars* attack these signifiers as they are *unable* to attain a comfortable and materialistic life and so are frustrated, resentful and angry.

The middle aged men of *Z Cars* have made the decision to settle down but have little material rewards to show for it. These older men are resentful that they have not been able to enjoy the materialistic benefits promised to them by a post-war consumerist boom. These concerns are exemplified in an episode entitled 'Tuesday Afternoon' (BBC, 4/12/1963). Here, middle aged Pawson (Eric Barker) steals a toy car from a department store for his Grandson's birthday. Pawson is a sheet metal worker who has recently been made redundant due to a takeover of Hutchinson's factory. Pawson is a skilled 'tradesman' as he proudly tells Det. Sgt. Watt (Frank Windsor) when he is arrested. As a result of this takeover Hutchinson's no longer employs such tradesmen and there are also no sheet metal worker vacancies in Seaport's or Newtown's industrial estates. Pawson is of the belief that it 'stands to reason' a man 'should stick to his trade'. There is however 'a serious shortage of skilled workers' (Osgerby 1998, p. 23) within the world of *Z Cars* as was feared at the time. This shortage of tradesmen is blamed, by the episode's narrative, on the high demand for younger unskilled workers that existed throughout Britain. When Pawson reads the job vacancies in the paper all he can find are salesmen positions or unskilled labouring vacancies designed for younger workers.

The way props are used in Pawson's domestic scenes articulate the anxiety he experiences as a result of his redundancy, and subsequent loss of working identity. Pawson is depressed for not being able to be a sufficient breadwinner for his immediate and extended family. In our first introduction to the Pawson's living room Mrs Pawson (Judy Child) moves to the centre of the small room to pick up the newspaper. Mrs Pawson finds the paper underneath her husband's hat on the dining table. To read the paper she quickly and dismissively moves Pawson's hat to one side with the tips of her fingers. To her this hat is an obstructive and immaterial object preventing her from reading the paper. She holds it in such little regard

because this item of clothing Pawson would wear to work now sits in the centre of the space unused, thus signifying Pawson's inability to provide for his family.

Pawson, however, still takes pride in his hat and when he wears it, the prop assumes a different identity. Once wearing the hat Pawson stands up straight with his shoulders back in the centre of the space and suggests that they could buy a present for their Grandson. Pawson assertively points his arm towards his wife in a thrusting motion to emphasise his eagerness as he says 'we could just manage it'. To Pawson this hat is a totemic instrument that instils him with confidence. The hat makes him taller and straightens his posture because to him it still symbolises his role as man of the house. When Mrs. Pawson tells him that they simply cannot afford the toy on account of his redundancy, Pawson stoops his shoulders and is instantly brought back to reality after the confidence his hat brings him is now diminished.



Figure 37: Mrs Pawson dismissively moves her husband's hat to a less central position in the space. The hat then instils Pawson with a short lived confidence.

The hat is an essential component of this television performance because it brings out different characteristics in each character. It is also used to articulate the precise dynamics of the Pawsons' relationship. The hat is an attitudinal marker for each actor that they use in relation to their dialogue. Pawson's hat engages with Pavis' first stage of vectorisation; accumulation. To Mrs Pawson the hat is an immaterial object obstructing her from her paper, but to Pawson it signifies his ability to still retain his breadwinner position. This hat is a prop that holds different meanings for each character. It does not, however, assume a connection with a

character that displaces its foremost use 'to a reserve meaning' (Pavis 2003, p. 191). The repeated use of the hat does not alter the vectorial trajectory of the scene beyond Pavis' first stage of vectorisation. The hat's primary purpose is to signify Pawson's former position as head of the household. Although each actor obtains a different relationship with the hat, and it signifies a different meaning to each character, the overall meaning of the scene is not changed by the actors' interactions with it.

In *Z Cars* men and women compete for ownership of their domestic space. Regularly, the dynamics of these relationships are communicated through the usage of props. In 'Handle With Care' (BBC, 16/1/1962) Jakey Ramsden's (Arthur Lowe) two adult sons, Little Jakey (Michael Brennan) and Ritchie (Anthony Sagar), have stolen some temperamental gelignite to sell on to a buyer. The Ramsdens' household is introduced through the close-up of a toy car being crushed by a sledgehammer. The camera patiently observes the sledgehammer flatten the roof of the car seven times before the car is then dropped into a bucket. The camera then tracks back to reveal the old man, Ramsden, standing over a kitchen worktop. Having been introduced to the scene through such props and actions the expectation is that the events will be taking place in a more apt setting such as a shed, garage or warehouse. This positioning of Ramsden combined with the camera movement, frames this domestic setting as a site of political struggle. Ramsden is invading a private domestic space with props that connote the public world of work. This use of props within this setting crucially blurs this dichotomy that was thought to exist between the private and the public spheres into one political space.



Figure 38: The video camera tracks back to reveal Ramsden flattening toy cars on the kitchen worktop.

Like Pawson, Ramsden is an out of work tradesman, unable to provide for his family. Smashing these toy cars in a slow and calculated pressing motion, works as a form of cathartic pleasure. Ramsden is letting out his rage against these consumerist products, the toy cars and kitchen top, because they are representative of a materialist society. As previously mentioned, during this period women were central to the post-war economic boom as consumers because advertising was 'aimed at the housewife' (Osgerby 1998, pp. 50-51). By choosing to smash these toy cars in the kitchen Ramsden attacks the materialism synonymous with such a space. Ramsden knows the scrap metal he is producing is practically worthless as the primary objective of his interactions with these props is to articulate a repressed desire for the lawful ownership of the toy cars.

Ramsden's resentment of domesticity is further heightened when his wife, Mam (Edna Petrie), enters. Mam is immediately represented as a more powerful and independent, matriarchal, figure. She handles a prop in a different manner to her husband, much like the Pawsons. When Ramsden lights a cigarette, given to him by his son Ritchie, he puts it in his mouth and bends over to light it against the heated pot where he is melting the crushed toy cars. As he does this there is a cut to his wife who lights her cigarette in the doorway of the adjacent lounge. For a brief two seconds she stands up straight observing the lounge, independently lighting her cigarette. Standing centre frame in the doorway she observes her domain and appears to be in control of the space. Ramsden, in comparison, is

hunched over the kitchen worktop. Whereas lighting a cigarette demonstrates her independence, Ramsden's borrowing a cigarette, followed by his hunching, signifies his reliance on those around him. This prop use articulates the different relationship each character has with their surrounding space. Again a prop possesses accumulative identities, used differently by two characters to visually articulate their relationship with the rest of their family. However, both actors' interaction with this prop does not fundamentally disrupt the vectorial trajectory of the scene, i.e. the lines of force of the overall performance are not changed. Although these civilian spaces are more elaborately decorated and designed than station scenes, featuring more nuanced interactions with props to communicate power dynamics as part of a visual discourse, these interactions do not meet Pavis' second stage of vectorisation.

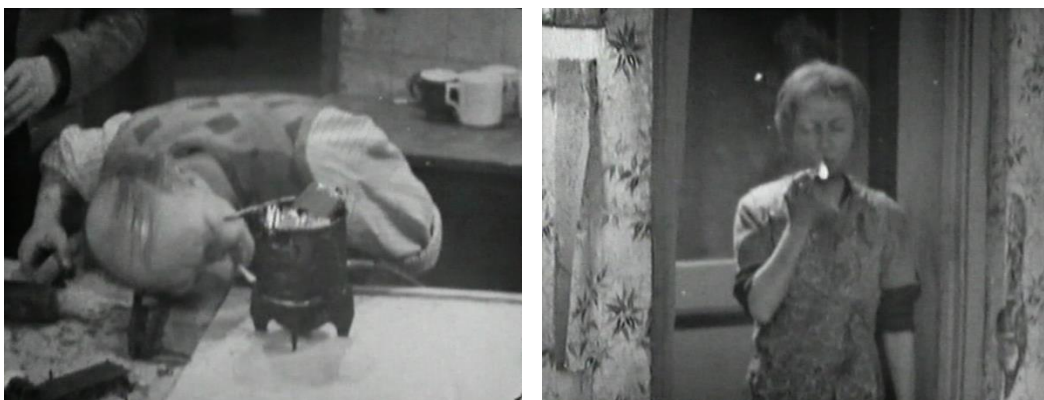


Figure 39: Ramsden's movements within the home space are constricted in relation to his independent wife.

Ramsden possesses less freedom in the household compared to his wife. When Ramsden's sons speak to him they peer over his work causing Ramsden to push them back with his arm to try and create sufficient working space for himself. His wife, however, stands in the centre of the lounge with her arms folded as her sons stand at a relative distance. Mam commands respect within the domestic space, whereas the crushing of these toy cars represents Ramsden's attempt to disrupt this power balance, as the noise created prevents Mam and her sons from having a conversation. As identified in chapter two, skilled working class tradesmen in the 1960s were fearful of their jobs being displaced by armies of unskilled youth. This is metonymically represented by Ramsden's sons constricting Ramsden in his

kitchen. In this composite space that contains signifiers of both the public and private realms Ramsden's sons restrict him from doing his work.



Figure 40: Ramsden's sons are more respectful of their mother's personal space.

Both Pawson and Ramsden are middle aged characters who have stolen toy cars. The felonious acquisition of such objects draws attention to how they are characters marginalised by society. The imagery of these cars connotes a freedom of travel and represents the vast material improvements the working classes enjoyed in Britain. Both Ramsden and Pawson are, however, unable to enjoy the fruits of such a society having both been made redundant. Within their home both men are further pressured financially by their wives. Although the women in these scenes do have legitimate concerns and their characters do not simply exist to victimise their husbands, the camera appears to be focused on the suffering that the men endure. This is often communicated through the use of props that operate in addition to the main narrative. As Wheatley has, already, argued video cameras within a studio can provide 'a dramatic space where objects frequently extend beyond their initial narrative function' (Wheatley 2005, p. 147). Ramsden is a character who thieves not out of necessity but as a way of reclaiming his ownership of his domestic space, and disrupting its power balance. This is never a mind-set that Ramsden expresses verbally but is instead articulated through his interaction with props and his positioning in relation to the characters around him.

As well as being pressured financially, men in the world of *Z Cars* are also pressured sexually by their spouses. The transmission of *Z Cars* predates legislation such as the 1967 Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act and 1967 Family Planning

Act that made methods of birth control easier to access thus helping to enable a sexual liberation of women. However, *Z Cars* does predetermine this liberating environment where women were beginning to express what they sought from sex and therefore were becoming sexually empowered.

A notable example of this occurs in 'Hi Jack!' (BBC, 22/5/1962). Here previously upstanding citizen and friend of PC Steele, Les Fielding (Glyn Houston), is pressured into stealing in order to satisfy his wife Lorna Fielding's (Lois Daine) need for material possessions. Les Fielding is introduced in his working class flat through a close-up of him grimacing as he drinks a glass of whisky. Our introduction to this space is one of pain. Later it is discovered that he is in fact suffering from panic attacks. His wife longs to have friends and always dresses in eveningwear signifying a desire to go out. Her immediate dialogue evokes sympathy when she explains how she has lost touch with her friends, is very lonely, and that owning a cocktail cabinet may seduce them back. However, when analysing her gesturing in relation to the set design a more promiscuous reading of her character becomes apparent.

When Lorna Fielding and Steele are left alone she sits on a chair and puts her arm around Steele. She strokes Steele's shoulder and claims, 'don't worry about him' with regards to her husband. Also, during a speech about having 'good friends', a model panther is placed in the foreground of the shot. The Panther is placed in between her and Steele in a position ready to pounce at Steele, representing her aggressive sexual desires she is willing to unleash whenever her husband's back is turned. This panther is a feature of the space used to reveal her inner mind-set and hidden desires that she never willingly admits through her immediate dialogue. Her pestering for material goods and fawning for Steele is depicted as the reasoning as to why Les Fielding has committed crimes and is suffering from panic attacks. Les Fielding is made to feel like he is not a successful breadwinner in relation to Steele. Lorna Fielding's character brings together these consumerist and sexual pressures many men felt they were experiencing at the time that challenged their perceived role within a household.



Figure 41: Steele feels threatened by Lorna's unrestrained and aggressive sexual availability demonstrated by the model panther in the foreground. This accentuates Lorna's costuming that presents her as sexually available twinned with her promiscuous attitude towards Steele.

A viewer's focus throughout these episodes, usually through the use of props, is directed towards the men and how they suffer under pressure. Although this use of props engages in a process of accumulation, they never quite reach the second stage of Pavis' vectorisation to disrupt the composition of signs within a scene. Nevertheless, the metonymic nature of the naturalist studio technique enables these domestic scenes to reflect the sociological concerns experienced by the British public at the time. Traditionally within British soaps, 'external power relations' are 'either ignored altogether or translated into personal relationships' (Geraghty 1991, p. 56). Where soaps make little attempt to 'express the abstractions of modern capitalism and the alienation of workers from their labour' (Geraghty 1991, p. 56), *Z Cars*, tackles these concepts more overtly through the visual composition of such domestic spaces.

The Women of Hunters Walk

In comparison to *Z Cars*, *Hunters Walk*¹⁶ primarily examines middle class families in the fictional Midlands town, Broadstone. Ten episodes have survived from the original thirty nine episodes that were transmitted by ATV. Of these episodes, five focus on women characters that either commit, or are victims of, crime. Events are focused upon, exclusively, from the perspectives of women. In 'Vanishing Trick' (ITV, 2/7/1973) Sally Lawrence's (Zuleika Robson) father is killed in a car crash and the focus of the narrative is on how Sally copes looking after her younger brothers and reconciling her relationship with her mother. Similarly the episode 'Kids' (ITV, 22/7/1974) sees a primary school child Stephanie Coe (Patricia Smith) steal money from her mother Mrs Coe (Shirley Cain). The focus of the episode is on Mrs Coe's attempts to get her daughter Stephanie to explain her sudden misbehaviour. Compared to *Z Cars* there is a desire in this series to observe women in domestic spaces free from men. A predominant interest of the series is the pressures facing women in the 1970s, thus broadening the term 'political' to include 'the female-associated spheres of domesticity and consumerism' like soap operas at the time (Brunsdon et al. 1997, p. 5).

Actors' interactions with props and their surrounding mise en scène play a central role in this ideological shift. The first episode broadcast, 'Disturbance' (ITV, 4/6/1973), focuses upon the pressures placed on Janet Kenwright (Helen Fraser) who wants to divorce her husband Dennis Kenwright (Doug Fisher). Janet Kenwright invites her husband round to inform him that she has filed for a divorce. Her combined interactions with the domestic mise en scène reach Pavis' third stage of vectorisation, 'displacement' (Pavis 2003, p. 191), which ruptures the vectorial dynamic of micro elements that compose the overall macro meaning of a scene. Thinking she has invited him over to salvage their marriage, Dennis Kenwright has arrived in a suit to woo his wife back. The scene begins after she has disclosed this news off camera. In a close-up, Dennis Kenwright sits on a chair talking about how his hopes have been dashed. Looking ahead, as if in a daydream, he recounts how he dressed and rushed to the house at the prospect of good news. As his speech

¹⁶ A significantly overlooked police series that attracted seven million viewers at its peak.

unfolds Janet Kenwright leans into the frame to dust the coffee table. The camera tracks back to bring her into focus and fill the frame as she continues to furiously dust. She then undercuts his soliloquy asking 'what was the alternative?' Her interaction with the table instigates a camera movement that refocuses a viewer's attention towards her suffering and entrapment.



Figure 42: As the camera zooms out from Kenwright, Janet dominates the frame. The focus of our attention is now drawn to her entrapment.

Once Janet Kenwright undercuts her husband's self-pitying rhetoric, both visually and then verbally, the camera cuts to an over the shoulder POV shot of her viewpoint. Framed by a high angle shot she looks down at her husband as she logically states 'somebody had to do something' to which he dismisses with 'not me, never me'. As Dennis Kenwright says this the camera pans with Janet Kenwright, as she walks behind the sofa, and then stops to zoom in on a cushion. She picks up the cushion and punches it with the flat of her hand once in a pressing motion, a strong, direct and sustained action. Although this action is intended to plump the cushion, it is an action signifying her repressed frustrations against her husband. Punching it once, in the centre, with great force whilst he speaks, these actions reveal her contempt towards him. This 'connection' with the cushion is Pavis' second stage of vectorisation. Janet Kenwright's connection with this cushion means that its new use, a signification of her hatred towards her husband, displaces its former use, a cushion designed to make the experience of sitting down relaxing, to a 'reserve meaning' (Pavis 2003, p. 191). Following this action Janet Kenwright replies to her husband in a more forceful manner claiming; 'Listen to us, we talk round and round in circles. What's the point?' She raises the tone of her voice to a

loud shrill signifying the extent of this stress. She then turns around on the spot and dusts another coffee table, placed behind the sofa.

Throughout this scene Dennis Kenwright sits on the chair looking ahead. He talks about himself whilst his wife rarely remains still, constantly cleaning and priming the space. This living room is a space of work for her, yet throughout the episode it has been a space of recreation for her male partner. She is positioned in between the table and sofa by the end of the scene, thus signifying how she is trapped by such chores. Her furious dusting and punching of the cushion emphasises her desperation. In the previous scene the sofa was a space of relaxation for her new partner Ted Peters (John Ringham), as he and Dennis Kenwright argued for ownership of the household. Now Janet Kenwright's actions towards the furniture, collectively, cause an eventual 'displacement' (Pavis 2003, p. 191) of the overall macro meaning of the scene. This is Pavis' third stage of vectorisation.



Figure 43: Janet's movements are constricted by the surrounding furniture in relation to Kenwright's freedom of movement.

The use of space in this scene now reveals the cracks in Janet Kenwright's relationship with Peters and her role as a housewife. This rupture she causes through her punch and then subsequent constrictive movements signifies her entrapment. The new identity of the sofa breaks the thread of what has occurred beforehand. It is no longer a space of relaxation, nor is the living room used as a space for men to argue over its ownership, it is now a space of imprisonment and

work signified through Janet Kenwright's cleaning and positioning. It is important to stress, however, that the observant and polysemic nature of the multi-camera studio leaves such a scene open to many different readings and interpretations. This reading of Janet Kenwright's living space does not represent the definitive purpose of the *mise en scène*. Rather, it is one particular reading that given the evidence presented so far, deserves to be considered in television scholarship.

Reading the use of props and other elements of the *mise en scène* in this manner draws an audience's attention towards feminist political campaigns. Feminists at the time of filming were reformulating private domestic spaces as a political site of struggle. The Kenwrights' living room framed as a space of work and imprisonment echoes Rowbotham's *Women's Liberation and the New Politics. Hunters Walk*, like Rowbotham, links housework to 'unequal rights at work' (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 9). By its time of filming the 1970 Equal Pay Act had been passed and the first National Women's Liberation Conference had begun lobbying for the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. These public debates regarding women were now concerned with their equal political and economic rights, as opposed to their sexual freedoms.

Z Cars was relatively fearful of rising numbers of women in the workplace, their sexual liberation and their command of the domestic space as a result of these changes. *Hunters Walk*, however, frames domestic spaces as oppressive spaces of housework as discussed in the liberal middle class writings of Betty Freidan and Germaine Greer. The British police series in this era has so far been described as a genre that allows 'the feminine' to be excluded from what is 'a primarily masculinist discourse' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 168). With regards to the civilian spaces of *Hunters Walk*, however, this is not quite the case.

A domestic space's *mise en scène* foregrounding a housewife's entrapment also occurs in the episode entitled 'Local knowledge' (ITV, 11/6/1973). Here an audience's focus is placed on a female victim of crime, rape victim Christine Lewis (Frances White). Significantly, in addition the rapist himself, her husband Phillip Lewis (Ian Thompson) is depicted as a villain for being neglectful and for holding his

reputation within Broadstone in higher regard than his wife's suffering. Their front room is pervaded by a large window that covers most of the wall. Whenever the curtains are opened all that is visible are two semi-detached houses. Although placed across the road, the houses are in very close proximity to the window and add to the feeling of Christine Lewis being caged in. The room feels more like a showroom designed for people to peer in. Christine Lewis is imprisoned as the front room has a typewriter, symbolising the work she undertakes for her husband's company's magazine, at one end, and the judgements of neighbours, represented by the big window, at the other. Not being able to relax in the space is what causes her to go for a walk in the early hours to clear her head that results in her bumping into her attacker.

For Christine Lewis there is seemingly no escape. The room is decorated with exotic travel memorabilia. A woven Cordoba emblem is mounted on the wall, next to a wooden hand crafted drinks cabinet and porcelain horse. Significantly there are no photos of the couple in Cordoba because Phillip Lewis has visited and enjoyed Cordoba alone. These possessions function as a status symbol to his neighbours, signifying his wealth and the fact he is well travelled. This showroom, for all the neighbours to see their patterns of consumption, is where his wife lives on a daily basis whilst her husband fleetingly visits from endless work trips. When they first share the space Christine Lewis sits on the sofa opening out her arms for an embrace but instead he walks to the drinks cabinet and stands by his travel memorabilia causing each character to be framed by two separate shots. Philip Lewis' movement, interaction and positioning within the space, changes the macro meaning of the space from one of initial reconciliation to division. Christine Lewis is treated as a possession. Following the attack she claims people look at her like she is an 'exhibit', unaware that she has always been treated like one.

Both the Kenwrights' and Lewis' front room spaces are entrapping for women. The same studio space is designed differently to express the precise nuanced dynamics of the varying entrapment each character experiences. Studio television sets were now designed with more depth than seen on *Z Cars* eleven years previously. More expansive studio sets, intricately filled with a greater

number of objects, enables a host of actors to establish a series of different connections with props to disrupt the vectorial dynamic of an overall scene. Similarly, more intricate set designs allow for a wealth of readings of characters to be obtained.

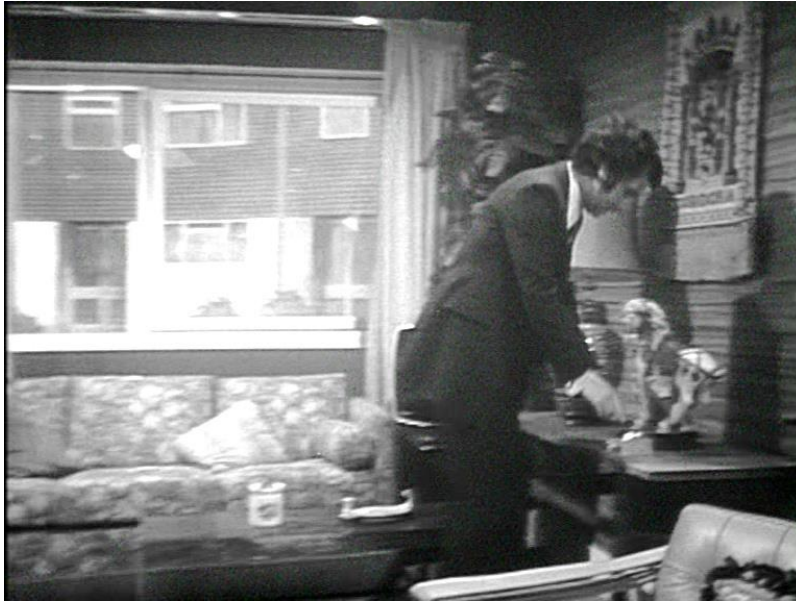


Figure 44: Philip Lewis avoids his wife to stand by his exotic travel memorabilia.

The complex vectorisation of props within *Hunters Walk* was a significant factor in re-appropriating an audience's understanding of what could be deemed 'political'. In this case the mise en scène of the domestic spaces are used to challenge 'the public/private dichotomy' that existed 'in law' (Edwards 1989, p. 54) in 1970s Britain. *Hunters Walk* does not address the on-going struggle regarding women's economic rights that occurred in the public sphere, or acknowledge the industrial strikes that had occurred in Leeds and Dagenham. It does, however, question the public and private bias that existed within British law practice through such domestic spaces. Although the series was transmitted before some acts were implemented, it still draws attention to the fact that criminal law was not operating in women's best interests and domestic problems were not considered to be as important as violent crimes committed in public. A close reading of *Hunters Walks* suggests that the programme recognised that 'the home office took no interest in...[offering] a helping service to women (Edwards 1989, p. 91). The episodes analysed have achieved this by examining, in detail, the oppression experienced by

women characters in their homes. An audience's access to these depictions of oppression experienced by women, in domestic settings, was a political act in itself.

The Sweeney and a Distinct Lack of Vectorisation

Hunters Walk draws attention to 'the public/private dichotomy' within British law (Edwards 1989, p. 54) by focusing on domestic spaces that question and challenge the dynamics of particular relationships. *The Sweeney* (Thames 1975- 1978), however, has a different ideological agenda. It is primarily interested in accessing spaces where violent robberies are planned and conducted by men. The series aligns itself with the common view at the time that 'the rate of violent crime was on the increase' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 9). The belief that there was a 'spread of criminal "empires" and gang warfare' (Hall et al. 1978, p. 48) was essentially perpetuated by the series.

The Sweeney adopts a classical Hollywood narrative and visual style to reflect such a zeitgeist. Therefore, an audience is made to identify with Jack Regan (John Thaw) through the use of POV shots as he is depicted as a 'hero' who fights this crime wave as part of a 'quasi-heroic biographical drama' (Drummond 1976, p. 18). The studio-shot series examined so far depict complex characters and examine their possible reasons for committing crimes in relation to the socio-economic circumstances of the time. *The Sweeney*, however, partly in its desire to emulate a cinematic identification with Regan, means that 'non-regular characters are much more likely to be transgressors...expelled from the fiction' (Drummond 1976, p. 24). Therefore, *The Sweeney* depicts villainy as an 'amorphous' concept that renders villains as 'characterless' stereotypes (Drummond 1976, p. 24). As Childs has admitted 'little interest is shown in the character or motivation of criminals' (Quoted in Donald 1985, p. 131). The debate concerning a sexual division of labour and changing perceptions of gender roles within British society and the family unit is all but ignored. Because all villains are 'characterless' stereotypes (Drummond 1976, p. 24) the programme does not explore any sociological reasons as to why such characters have resorted to crime.

In the episode 'Jackpot' (ITV, 9/1/1975), for example, it transpires that Harry Biggleswade (Ed Devereaux) has committed armed robbery to pay for his son's operation to correct a terminal kidney problem. However, the idea that the law has been broken for honourable and compassionate motives by a villainous character is instantly dismissed by Regan. When George Carter (Dennis Waterman) says 'I can't help taking my hat off to him', seeing possible laudable reasons for committing such a crime, Regan reminds him that 'if he'd had have a gun that day he'd have taken your head off'. Following this statement Regan looks at Biggleswade through a peephole in Biggleswade's cell door and a viewer shares Regan's exact point of view. This is followed by a cut to previous footage of Biggleswade committing the robbery at the start of the episode. The footage is now slowed down and the camera zooms in on Biggleswade's face. As this image fills the frame Regan claims 'funnily enough all the women hate him, they all say the same thing; you couldn't wish a worse father on any child'. Instead of observing a conflicted character, his personality traits are told through Regan's POV and then a subjective close-up presents Regan's opinions as fact rather than leaving an audience to decide whether Biggleswade's intentions were in fact honourable. Crucially, Regan has the last word.



Figure 45: Regan dictates our view of Biggleswade's character.

However, in order for this thesis to avoid a technologically determinist argument, it must consider how civilian spaces are framed in Regan's absence and how props are configured in this mode of production. Because Regan's POV cannot be adopted, in civilian spaces, master shots become an important aspect of the

visual grammar. In *Ringer* (ITV, 2/1/1975) Frank Kemble (Brian Blessed), Dave Brooker (Ian Hendry) and John Merrick (Alan Lake) plot to break a man called Ray Lindsay out of jail.

The purpose of the first scene between these three characters, in Kemble's office, is to articulate the power dynamic of the group. Their literal positioning reflects their figurative relationship with one another. This is achieved through a manner of direction similar to the visual discourse of a studio. Within the establishing shot of the space the camera is placed behind the heads of Brooker and Merrick. The back of their heads are placed either side of the frame, in the foreground. Kemble is sat on a leather chair facing the camera, centre frame, in the background of the shot. At first this shot initially draws attention to the power relations between these characters. However, as the scene develops, it appears that Brooker and Merrick represent two dimensions of Kemble's personality that are in conflict with one another.

At the start of the scene Merrick discusses the plans with Kemble. The first thing seen is Merrick's long manicured nails pushing a golden lighter across a map on the table top in close-up. The camera then pans up to a close-up of Merrick's face. Merrick wears a blue suit with a designer shirt and tie underneath. Merrick's hair is also permed and he has a finely trimmed moustache. All of these signifiers connote a fashionable and relatively wealthy man. As Kemble and Merrick converse about the weapons they plan to use, in breaking Lindsay out of jail, a series of shot reverse shot close-ups, of each character's face, ensue. These close-ups draw attention to the fact Kemble also wears a designer shirt, suit and tie and has styled hair. Their mutual class position is brought to the fore visually through their patterns of consumption.



Figure 46: Kemble and Merrick bond through their common interests.

A cut to a medium long shot then draws attention to the stark difference in costuming between Merrick and Brooker. Both characters vie for Kemble's attention by appealing to different aspects of his character that they both represent. Brooker interrupts Merrick by reminiscing with Kemble about their youth. For interrupting Brooker is now framed by a medium long shot with his body facing the camera, whilst the side of Merrick's head, his body still facing Kemble, is in the foreground. Brooker wears a grey flat cap, dark brown jumper and dark coat. He has big unkempt sideburns down the sides of his face. Brooker represents Kemble's past working class origins.

With Brooker having obtained Kemble's attention they both fondly recount an incident as children when they robbed a sweat shop for fur coats. Upon opening the stolen boxes they found large pairs of trousers that they were both able to fit into one pair of. This story works as a metaphor, a reminder to Kemble of how close he was, and perhaps still is, to Brooker and his working class roots. Merrick tries to take control of the situation by desperately muttering the word 'Frank' with an upward inflection as if to start a new conversation. Merrick's utterance is ignored, however, as Brooker and Kemble continue reminiscing. In Brooker's medium long shot a chessboard is placed behind him signifying how he and Merrick are both playing a game, trying to outmanoeuvre each other and strategise to keep Kemble's attention.

Much like studio-shot programmes, civilian spaces in this series are provided with settings to articulate characters' mind-sets and relationships to each another.

This use of a backdrop also plays an integral role in Kemble's characterisation. In the establishing shot of the space a Roman soldier ornament is placed to the left hand side of Kemble's head and a mirror is hung on the wall on right side of his head. These objects placed behind Kemble represent his obsessions with status and image. He wishes to be a noble warrior as well as a gentleman who is respected yet feared. Therefore, the design and positioning of actors in relation to objects are just as important here as they are to civilian scenes staged within studio productions.



Figure 47: The Roman warrior and mirror placed behind Kemble, and the chessboard behind Merrick and Brooker, contributes towards their characterisation.

However, there are some minor differences between how this scene is shot in relation to the studio-shot scenes examined so far in this chapter. Firstly, the master shot that captures the objects placed around Kemble, and shows where the characters are positioned in relation to one another, is only used twice. The first master shot lasts for one second, the next one six seconds. Blocking, positioning and proxemics have been carefully considered to articulate the power relationships between these characters and their differences in class. However, once these positions are established close-ups are then used leaving little room to capture the surrounding space beyond its initial establishing shots. Props, namely Merrick's lighter and Kemble's cigar, are only used if the camera focuses on them in a close-up, in isolation from the rest of the space and other characters. This leaves little room for them to be handled by different characters and cause a disruption to the vectorial chain of signs and subsequent macro meaning of a scene.

Characters remain static and permanently seated throughout the scene. Without a camera frequently capturing the characters' surrounding space, without props being shared between actors, and without actor movement, signs do not engage in a complex process of vectorisation, where the macro meaning of the overall scene can be changed. Characters are briefly framed in the space but the space itself is not viewed autonomously from a relative distance like that of studio cameras. An audience's main focus here is on the differences between characters' costuming, facial expressions and immediate dialogue. Once the establishing shots have shown where the characters are positioned, it serves little purpose beyond this use. In the studio the master shot allows actors to move around the space and disrupt the composition of signs. The composition of signs remains stable throughout such interior civilian scenes in *The Sweeney* because characters' mind-sets are articulated predominantly through static positioning and close-ups.

Sets in *The Sweeney* assist in articulating characters' inner mind-sets, but they usually function as a backdrop. Studio fiction, by comparison, frames characters' movements, within a recurring master shot, as actors have multiple interactions with props and their surrounding mise en scène. The studio provides a dramatic space that can engage in a sociological debate occurring throughout wider society. Props in this filmed drama, however, operate as part of a system of 'narrative significance' (Heath 1981, p. 36). As has been claimed, the 'objects stressed in the series [*The Sweeney*] have little more than a functional utility' (Paterson 1976, p. 13).

This is also very evident in the episode 'Chalk and Cheese' (ITV, 1/9/1975). Here working class Tommy Garret (Paul Jones) is led astray by upper class Giles Nunn (Shane Briant) and Caroline Selhurst (Lesley-Anne Down) into participating in armed robberies. A particular scene set in Garret's father's house (David Lodge) is where the origins of Garret's character are explained. Here props and elements of the mise en scène obtain symbolic qualities but their meanings are never changed to alter the vectorial trajectory of the scene. Pop Garrett's front room is introduced through an establishing shot of him sitting on a sofa behind a coffee table, building a model of a navy ship, as his son enters through the side door. As Tommy Garrett

enters the space he sits on a chair placed at the other side of the room. On the coffee table next to Tommy Garrett are a black and white boxing picture and a colour photo of himself as child. The positioning of Tommy Garrett in relation to these objects is framed through an over the shoulder shot from behind his father's head. With the camera placed behind Pop Garret, Tommy Garrett is in profile with Pop Garrett's hands and the small parts of the model ship he is building.

This shot is a visual metaphor suggesting that Pop Garret feels responsible for constructing his son's character which is currently tainted by crime. The photos next to his son represent the person he envisioned his son to become whilst moulding his character over the years. This shot creates an interesting juxtaposition between what Pop Garrett wishes his son to be against what he has become. During this exchange between father and son Pop Garrett is downhearted to learn that Tommy Garret's girlfriend still does not want to meet him, his son being 'ashamed' of his working class background.



Figure 48: Once Tommy Garrett sits down both actors remain seated not touching any part of the surrounding space, other than what Pop Garrett is already holding at the start of the scene. This maintains consistency in a production practice that relies on a fragmentation of performances.

Movement, again, is kept to a minimum. Once Tommy Garrett moves to his seat at the start of the scene both actors are rooted to their positions. Similarly there is no interaction with these objects. Because a single camera has filmed the scene several times from different angles, the use of props, and movement, has been kept to minimum to maintain continuity. The main function of objects here is

to frame characters, as part of a backdrop, rather than to be used as props. Within *Hunters Walk* a slight alteration in the positioning of an object within the vastly elaborate front room designs has the potential to disrupt the vectorial composition of signs within the *mise en scène*. In *The Sweeney*, however, a spatial design remains largely untouched by its actors. Key objects are placed prominently and overtly within the immediate foreground to signify key characteristics. Space is still a key component of articulating character. However, in serving a fragmented performance, built up by a single camera and several retakes, set designs are often used as backdrops. The space is a backdrop as opposed to an interactive space of displacement that can reveal a complex interiority beyond the immediate surface of characters in line with sociological happenings of the time. As Childs has said, 'the novelty of using 16mm film for a drama series, and the suspicion with which it was regarded, also led to a rather conservative *mise en scène*' (Quoted in Donald 1985, p. 118).

These scenes examined touch upon class relations of the 1970s and perhaps even the working class alienation young people experienced as deindustrialisation was occurring. Producer Ted Childs claimed that through the use of film cameras on *The Sweeney* 'it is possible to show cameras in a variety of interesting real situations, where movement and action serve to underline the pace and style of cinematic storytelling based on dialogue scenes' (Quoted in Paterson 1976, p. 8). Similarly director David Wickes was convinced that the use of editing and locations in *The Sweeney* 'was felt to give a greater reality' (Quoted in Paterson 1976, p. 9). However when examining interior scenes of this filmed series, it is seemingly less expressive and has less of a social realist objective compared to previous British police series. Issues that challenged a sexual division of labour are avoided. Scenes within civilian spaces touch upon such themes, i.e. Tommy Garrett is unable to partake in a trade like that of his father, but there is not enough of a consistent characterisation throughout the series to sustain such a reading.

Juliet Bravo, Thatcherism, and Returning to the Studio

Ian Kennedy Martin's *Juliet Bravo* (BBC 1980-1985) was commissioned by the BBC as a family friendly police drama in response to accusations that the network was commissioning too much adult crime drama that contained excessive violence. *Juliet Bravo* was a way to 'soften up' the genre and represent the police in a more compassionate light at a time when public cynicism towards them was growing (Dyer 1987, p. 11). *Juliet Bravo's* 'gentler world of crime' (Clarke 1992, p. 248) brought the concerns of the British police genre back to domestic issues. As a result the episodes, analysed here, provide a series of set designs that contain the most complex dynamic of any series studied in this thesis that are able to reach Pavis' final stage of vectorisation. In the episode 'Rage' (BBC1 25/10/1980), for example, Kim Buckley (Judy Liebert) experiences a breakdown. The scene begins with her husband Jeremy Buckley (Christian Rodska) leaving for work. He reads his paper with his back to his wife, begrudgingly moving aside his baby's toys that get in his way. Once the baby starts crying loudly he abruptly leaves slamming the door as he goes.



Figure 49: Jeremy feels constricted by all the surrounding sign vehicles representative of his baby and tries to maintain a divide between him and these signifiers.

Then, with her husband gone Kim Buckley has a mental breakdown. Throughout the scene she destroys their furniture and possessions in repeated erratic swiping movements. She is seemingly driven mad by the baby's wailing that pierces throughout the whole scene. A great number of props, which signify a regimented marital arrangement, are displaced to destabilise an audience's

perception of the whole scene. This is Pavis' fourth and final stage of vectorisation. Significantly, all the objects targeted belong to her husband. It is not Kim Buckley's baby, or some form of postnatal depression, but her partner's lack of support and understanding, signified by these objects, that enrages her. She swipes pans, a tea tray filled with cutlery, and a sugar bowl to the floor. Kim Buckley stands by her husband's bureau and picks up an exercise book from the top of a pile, wringing it with both hands as if to strangle it before tearing it in two and swiping the rest of the books to the floor. Following this action she looks at a black and white photo of herself as a teacher, smiling with her pupils. She contemplates this image briefly before swiping it from the top of the bureau to the floor. She then looks at a colour photo of her wedding day. At first she lovingly picks up the frame slowly caressing it and admiring it before suddenly slamming it against the bureau to smash the glass. These two images represent the old distant life she has sacrificed for her housewife role.

After smashing this framed photograph Kim Buckley stands up and upturns the whole circular dining table where she and her husband were both previously sat. Walking into the lounge, there are two bookcase cabinets at either end of the room. From one cabinet she takes out a pile of books. Holding the books she turns around to throw them, one at a time, against the other cabinet placed at the other side of the room. The first book she throws against the cabinet causes a small hinged door to slowly open and reveal four bottles of whisky that had previously been hidden from view. The rest of the books she throws are all targeted at these bottles of whisky, and tumbler glasses that accompany them, subsequently smashing them. This unearthing of the alcohol destabilises an audience's perception of the whole space by bringing to light a reliance on alcohol that lies behind what was a seemingly stable, albeit tense, family household. Easily opened this thin cabinet compartment door represents the consequences that lie behind maintaining such a regimented household and the affect it has on her and her husband. Kim Buckley, then, sits on the sofa and kicks over the coffee table central to the lounge. Whilst doing this she outstretches her whole body seemingly relaxed now that she has created a space for herself through this release.

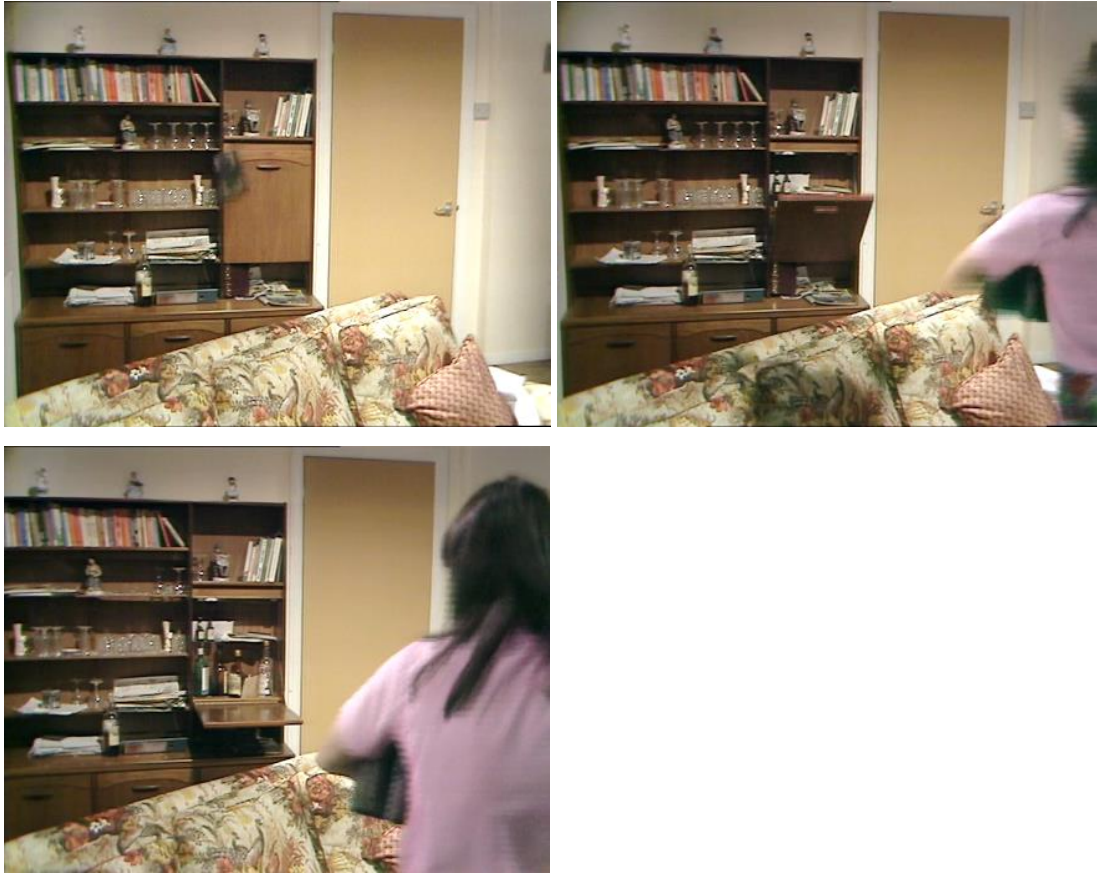


Figure 50: Kim Buckley throws books at the bookcase to reveal hidden alcohol that disrupts the initial macro meaning of the space.



Figure 51: When Kim Buckley is finished destroying the living room space she lies back to rest on the sofa. She is seemingly more relaxed than earlier when she rigidly sat upright on the coffee table itself, conforming to her role as housewife and complying with the divisions of the space set out by her husband.

At the start of the scene there is a clear division between characters. Kim Buckley disrupts these divisions that confine her to repeatedly destabilise an

audience's perception of the whole scene. Significantly, not a single area of the set design is safe from her destruction. An actor within this multi-camera studio setup is able to make a connection with any aspect of their surrounding set and displace its initial use to change the overall meaning of a given scene.

Shooting interior spaces in *The Sweeney*, by comparison, is a rigidly plotted exercise. Although a character's positioning in relation to a backdrop is important, actors often remain static as their performance is captured through a series of close-ups. Props are rarely used and actors avoid interacting with the space for the purposes of continuity. Here however, the whole space is susceptible to change. Kim Buckley's different interactions with these various props repeatedly destabilise an audience's perception of the scene as part of an ever evolving network of signs. Firstly she seems enraged with her role as a housewife by targeting the pots and pans in the kitchen. Then she seems resentful of her husband's work and ability to leave the space by tearing apart his books. Following this she appears happy and content with the past by looking at pictures of her wedding and former job as a teacher. But her initial relationship with these props are instantly destabilised by her smashing of both frames. Also, by throwing books at the cabinet she introduces a host of new props into the scene. The introduction of whisky bottles and drinking glasses adds a new dimension to the scene, underscoring everything that has previously occurred in this space.

Here, the set design of the studio is in a state of constant flux. Kim Buckley regularly alters the macro meaning of the scene through regular interactions with surrounding objects. Therefore, as part of studio production practice, actors can establish and destabilise a whole host of connections with a number of props. Interior spaces on filmed series such as *The Sweeney*, by comparison, are completely stable. Characters keep movement to a minimum and hardly touch any objects unless they are isolated by a close-up.

This rage, Inspector Jean Darblay (Stephanie Turner) later informs Jeremy Buckley, has been 'a way of making herself [Kim Buckley] heard'. Darblay informs him that the both of them must talk and listen to each other in future for the

benefit of their marriage. Darblay's view is in line with sociological writings of the time that stressed a successful marriage one in which couples have 'managed to achieve a workable compromise' between their individuality and relationship as a collective (Finch and Morgan 1991, p. 57). Although these civilian set designs are more complex than any others featured in other series throughout this thesis, an audience's view and understanding of situations are now resolutely tied to a main character. Darblay concludes this episode, in a similar manner to Regan, with her conclusive rationalisation of events. Therefore, perhaps due to the popularity of filmed series such as *The Sweeney*, there was now a concerted effort within studio productions to have audiences identify with a lead character, to inform their view of events. Here, civilian characters that resort to crime are less of an enigma than those in *Hunters Walk* and *Z Cars*. In these previous studio-shot series the actions of such characters are never completely explained and so their motives are more inconclusive and open to a viewer's interpretation.

However, these studio-shot scenes still connect the domestic space back to sociological issues of the time. The domestic space is once again a space that can be read politically through the way it is framed. This scene has demonstrated, through the use of props, that Thatcher's attempts to reassert, 'the Victorian model of the two-parent family' (Kent 1999, p. 350) and the subsequent moral agenda of recreating 'an ideology of separate spheres' (Kent 1999, p. 349) has seriously affected Kim Buckley. She has clearly been an independent woman in the past with her own job. Measures such as the abolition of the maternity benefit in 1982, however, encouraged mothers like Kim back into the home from the public world of work. Therefore, whilst the government at the time was trying to reclaim the domestic as a private post-feminist space, *Juliet Bravo* frames domesticity in a way that can be read as a political struggle. An audience's attention is drawn, in a similar manner to *Hunters Walk*, to the oppression women were suffering under Thatcherism.

There was an inherent hypocrisy in this ideological effort to have families return to a Victorian sexual division of labour. This was because traditional industrial jobs, which sustained such familial units within the Victorian era, were

being abolished on a nationwide scale. Masculinity in the 1980s, therefore, found new ways of expressing itself that were less class-based. Amidst Thatcher's growth of the banking and commercial sector, at the expense of nationalised industry, masculine identity was negotiating itself through the processes of consumption over work and production. The yuppie is a figure repeatedly depicted in *Juliet Bravo*. Frequently conflicts ensue between city workers who adopt a 'ruthless cut-throat determination' and industrial men who symbolise 'mass conformity and old patriarchal structures' (Beynon 2002, p. 105).

In 'A Private Place' (BBC1, 3/10/1981) elderly working class married couple Annie Stamp (Gwen Nelson) and Billy Stamp (Arthur Hewlett) try to stop property developer Charlie Pendle (David Daker), from tearing down their terraced house to make way for his new flats development. Pendle wears expensive jewellery and spends his time perfecting his physique in his own private gym thus spending a lot of money in achieving his appearance. Also in 'Home-Grown or Imported?' (BBC1, 15/11/1980), Greenwood (Allan Surtees) protests against the opening of Peter Palin's (Ivor Danvers) country club as it complicates his access to his own farmland. Palin kills one of Greenwood's sheep with his sports car. This act is representative of Palin's engagement with a consumerist economy to express his personality, over traditional forms of trade. The killing of the sheep then instigates a series of clashes between the two characters. In both episodes the entrepreneurial yuppie is presented as a dubious figure in relation to the principled tradesmen of Hartley. Sgt. Joseph Beck (David Ellison) persuades Pendle to delay the property development to give the Stamps more time to move out. Beck does so by threatening to show an earring, he has found on Pendle's drive, to Pendle's wife. The earring belongs to a woman Pendle has been having an affair with. Similarly Palin has previously been implicated in illegally laundering money through his London-based businesses.

Such narratives focus on the working class characters of the fictional Northern town of Hartley in relation to these ruthless businessmen. The town is undergoing a period of transition following the mill's closure as many London-based businessmen are turning it into an economy dependent on the tertiary sector. As actress Stephanie Turner told the *Radio Times*, 'no one attempts to be cosy.

Baddies and goodies have gone. We have people with difficulties. For example, there's a strong emphasis on unemployment and the way poverty causes crime' (Quoted in Beauman 1982, p. 9).

This ideology is communicated through a complex system of vectorisation that is heightened by elaborately designed settings and a distinctive mode of mobile camerawork. In 'Trouble at T'Mill' (BBC1, 27/9/1980), for example, rich property owner Ted Galway (Alan Lake) comes under scrutiny from elderly working class lollipop man Israel Smethurst (John Barrett) for speeding in his sports car near children. After several clashes between the two characters it does in fact turn out that Galway is breaking the law by harbouring stolen goods for his ex-employer Walter Hancock (Antony Carrick). Galway is repeatedly seen dressing up in a number of different outfits such as his horse-riding clothes and tuxedo within his mansion. This change in costuming signifies how he is a hedonistic 'new man' with an acute consciousness of his appearance that he spends 'a lot of money in achieving' (Rowbotham 1999, p. 504).

The camerawork within Galway's mansion, however, repeatedly undercuts this freedom. When Hancock first arrives at Galway's mansion, Galway and his wife (Christine Hargreaves) host an evening meal for Hancock. Dressed in a white tuxedo Galway sits at the head of the table, centre frame. Suitably relaxed Galway tells Hancock that he can 'stuff' London because 'this is the life'. Hancock then undercuts Galway's position as he claims Galway did in fact do 'very well' out of London as part of an illegal protection racket. As Hancock reminds Galway of this shady past, which has resulted in Galway's fortune, a new camera angle moves Galway off centre. This new angle, from the side of the table, now puts Hancock centre frame as Galway pours him whisky. The change in camera angle displaces Galway as head of the table and destabilises the viewer's perception of the whole scene to reveal who is really in charge.



Figure 52: A significant change in camera angles displaces Galway as head of the table to demonstrate who is actually in charge.

The table is initially a prop signifying Galway's ownership of the mansion and his role as host welcoming Hancock into his home. This change in camera angle, however, means that the table establishes a new connection with Hancock and displaces this table's initial use to a reserve meaning. The prop that initially represented Galway's luxurious and wealthy lifestyle is now displaced by the camera to connote Hancock's hold over both characters and their lifestyles. Later in the episode it does transpire that Hancock forces Galway to harbour stolen goods at one of Hartley's disused factories that Galway has recently bought. This new camera angle makes the space around the table become smaller and restrictive to Galway and his wife's movements. Here the camera has more of an active presence in altering the vectorial dynamic of a scene than seen in *Z Cars* and *Hunters Walk*. It is

the camera's cut to a new angle that realigns the actors' positioning around the table to displace the vectorial trajectory of the scene.

Smethurst, in comparison, is framed by camerawork that depicts him as having more control over his own space. When Darblay visits Smethurst, in his council flat, following an incident where he has been injured by Galway's horse, Smethurst remains contently sat in front of his fireplace. Smethurst is always framed as being central to his living space. As Darblay makes herself a cup of tea in the kitchenette area behind Smethurst he instructs her where to find the teabags and milk without having to turn around. Darblay commends the tidiness and orderliness of the space, claiming it 'is a credit to you'. Significantly, as Darblay prepares the tea, both Darblay and Smethurst are framed in the same long shot. Together they comfortably share the space as they converse. Living on his own Smethurst has nobody else to disrupt the orderliness of his space or displace him off centre. As Darblay sits down to talk to Smethurst she identifies a photo of his, deceased, wife above the fireplace and another photo of labour politician and founder of the NHS Aneurin Bevan. Despite his lack of income the camera contently observes Smethurst ensconced in the space. The camera's contemplativeness reflects the considerable freedom Smethurst enjoys in relation to Galway as he is not in any gangster's debt.

Once Darblay has obtained Smethurst's version of events, his home is then instantly juxtaposed with Galway's mansion. As Darblay asks for Galway's version of events Galway leans against his mantelpiece. Standing in this stance his gold bracelet, ring, and Rolex watch prominently glisten in Darblay's direction. Galway enjoys boasting his wealth as a means of impressing others. Whereas memories of Smethurst's wife and a socialist political philosophy are central to Smethurst's space, above Galway's fireplace is a mirror. In comparison to Smethurst's selfless principles Galway is selfishly interested in his appearance. The purpose of this juxtaposition between Smethurst's and Galway's civilian spaces is to demonstrate that viewing one's class identity as a source of pride was fast becoming an outdated concept at the expense of yuppies who viewed their physical appearance as a more important social priority. New industries such as advertising, media, promotion and

public relations meant that ‘the traditional male career’ and jobs ‘that depended upon physical strength vanished’ (Beynon 2002, p. 107). *Juliet Bravo* scrutinises such a trend, depicting such yuppies as suspicious and often felonious characters who value business deals and a ‘restless quest for things’ (Rowbotham 1999, p. 504) above human life, community and other people’s well-being. This ideology is communicated through a complex system of vectorisation that is heightened by elaborately designed spaces and a distinctive style of mobile camerawork.



Figure 53: Smethurst and Darblay happily share the same space whereas clear divisions are drawn between her and Galway.

The Gentle Touch and Thatcherism

Juliet Bravo frequently juxtaposes principled working class characters against entrepreneurial men or yuppies to reflect the conflicts that existed within the Thatcherite era. The equally popular *Gentle Touch* (LWT 1980-1984) also presents a similar critique of such a socio-economic zeitgeist. However, it does so through a predominant focus on middle and upper class women characters to expose both the heartlessness and inherent loneliness behind the individualistic society. *The Gentle Touch* presents a particular type of woman who, despite their spacious and materialistic surroundings, is inherently lonely and alienated. In ‘Shock’ (ITV, 2/5/1980) a woman is found dead in a hotel room yet no member of her family is particularly anxious when she disappears. Her son Peter Rylands (Christopher Bramwell) thought that she was sulking in Amsterdam as it was common for her to return with a new ‘facelift’ and ‘wardrobe’. Her husband Brian Rylands (Peter

Austin) is a company director having an affair with his secretary and only communicates with his wife over his office phone. All the men are seemingly unaware of their comparative guilt and neglect that has resulted in such unfortunate circumstances. At the end of the episode it transpires that the woman died from spilling champagne over the electrics in a hotel room where she was having relations with her son's friend John (Terrence Halliday). Another similarly alienated character is Adela Baker (Shiela Gish) in 'Victims' (ITV, 26/11/1982) who is arrested for polygamy. Baker claims throughout the episode that she is happy and that all three men provide her with the three qualities she needs. However, Maggie Forbes (Jill Gascoine) points out to Det. Sgt. Jake Barratt (Paul Moriarty) that if Baker is so happy 'Why hasn't one [husband] stayed?'. Meanwhile in the adjacent bedroom Baker cries whilst looking in her mirror. Baker's apparent happiness is pervaded by a sense of loneliness and isolation.

The Gentle Touch's representation of such characters signifies the problems that occurred throughout wider society as a result of a political ideology that attempted to reassert a sexual division of labour. Wives in various episodes become isolated by their husbands who engage in this hedonistic public culture. Similarly the men are unaware of the isolation and alienation the women experience at the hands of their lifestyles.

Props play a key part in these depictions of alienated women. Baker offers Barratt a strong alcoholic drink during his initial mid-morning visit to her apartment. This is a recurring issue amongst the representations of upper class women who populate the world of *The Gentle Touch*. In 'Rogue' (ITV, 16/5/1980) Forbes believes Jessica Sanderson (Moirra Redmond), who purchases the services of male gigolo Harry (James Smilie), may be able help to assist her in a previous case. In Sanderson's high rise apartment, initially framed by a long shot, Sanderson defiantly refuses to assist claiming that she is too busy 'enjoying life'. However, as Sanderson says this she walks towards some champagne brought into frame by a new camera angle thus changing the overall macro meaning of the mise en scène. Sanderson picks up a glass of juice and pours champagne into it claiming 'do you expect me to go into mourning, why should I? I'm a very selfish woman you see. Nobody cares

what happens to me. Why should I care what happens to others?’ When Forbes questions whether Sanderson is truly happy Sanderson retracts her initial statement claiming that she has the best happiness ‘on offer’ as she raises the freshly poured alcoholic drink to her face. This use of the alcohol is somewhat out of place as the scene clearly takes place at midday.



Figure 54: Sanderson brings alcohol into the space. This movement causes the expansive long shot to cut to a much tighter mid-shot.

Similarly in ‘Something Blue’ (ITV, 5/9/1980) Forbes is disciplined by Russell for illegally apprehending a pornographic video from Juanita Shervington’s (Lynda Marchal) son Philip Shervington (Simon Gipps-Kent) who is friends with her son Steve Forbes (Nigel Rathbone). Sent back to the Shervingtons to apologise and return the videotape Forbes is let in by Mrs Shervington. Once inside Shervington walks off-screen to a wall previously hidden from the initial long establishing shot. Here there is a drinks cabinet and Shervington offers Forbes a glass of vodka. When Forbes refuses Shervington pours one for herself straight from the bottle. For Forbes it is a ‘little early in the day’. Initially Shervington stands confidently by the cabinet as if to obtain a source of wealth and power but as she drinks Forbes soon exposes her troubled life. Forbes tells Shervington that:

You talk so glibly about freedom of choice...but God forbid that you should bear any the responsibility for what that degree of freedom brings in human misery oh no that’s the fault of the system.

Now crying Shervington hands the tape back to Forbes claiming that she always found the pornographic tape boring and that she has only used it for her husband's benefit.



Figure 55: Shervington moves to her drinks collection initially hidden from view.

Both the expansive spatial designs of Sanderson and Shervington become smaller as soon as the actors move to reveal the alcohol previously hidden from view. Now both framed in mid-shots their interiors appear considerably smaller. This reframing exposes Sanderson's and Shervington's true relationship with alcohol as being one of dependency to shield their lack of confidence. This new camera angle, instigated by Forbes' intrusion, is used to reframe the seemingly content expansive living room space into a smaller space of loneliness.

In the filmed series examined thus far backdrops remain untouched and props are only utilised if they are framed in a close-up to isolate them from the rest of the space. Therefore, the character of a *mise en scène* rarely develops or changes. Any single aspect of the set design in a studio production, however, can be used to disrupt the initial vectorial dynamic of signs. In *The Gentle Touch* props that are initially hidden from view are brought into existence by an actor to destabilise an audience's understanding of a scene's overall meaning. Like that of *Juliet Bravo*, the camera assists in altering this vectorial dynamic. Forbes' view of these civilian spaces tightens the scale of the camera shots to unearth an underlying loneliness the women experience as they drink throughout the day. The camera is less autonomous here, compared to *Z Cars* and *Hunters Walk*, to encourage audiences to identify with Forbes' view of events.

Watching these 'happy' women askance Forbes reveals a new aspect of their character. The reframing of shots to tighter shot scales, accompanied by a new prop being brought into the scene, changes the scene's macro meaning. Again, these characters critique the pressures women felt in being confined to the domestic realm. The Conservative party's political agenda to re-establish a dichotomy between the domestic spaces occupied by women and public spaces occupied by businessmen has resulted, within this series, in the depiction of a collection of strong willed and intelligent women becoming alcoholics loathing in their own self misery that they try to conceal from visitors.

In conclusion, props in the studio enable a series to creatively intervene in a socio-economic debate regarding a sexual division of labour. Firstly, the use of props in *Z Cars* repeatedly express working class men's repressed desires to be patriarchal. The use of toy cars, cigarettes and hats, associated with the world of work, are both handled by women and men, within the home space to tackle abstractions of modern capitalism and the alienation of workers. Male characters are unable to confidently use these props in a controlled manner in relation to women. Then in *Hunters Walk* domestic scenes exclusively concerned with women in associated spaces of domesticity and consumerism are encouraged to be read politically. Janet expresses her frustrations at being a housewife by striking a pillow. This new connection with the prop displaces an audience's previous reading of Janet Kenwright's content demeanour within the space. Lastly interactions with props repeatedly destabilise a viewer's readings of scenes in *Juliet Bravo* as an ever evolving network of signs. This is also true of *The Gentle Touch*. Even though the camera is more empathetically interested in Forbes, her entrance into civilian spaces enables the camera to scrutinise spaces and expose the individualist women as being alienated in spite of their wealth. Examining the studio technique through Pavis' semiotic system of vectors allows these readings to be made. Because the nature of studio camerawork is inherently observational, the readings of civilian studio spaces undertaken in this chapter are one possible interpretation of many. This chapter has identified consistent character types that existed in each series in relation to their socio-economic climate. Accompanying this with a series of close

semiotic analyses, informed by Pavis' understanding of vectorisation, provides sufficient evidence as to why these readings should be considered in television scholarship.

Ultimately this chapter has further confirmed the findings from chapter three. Compared to the complex network of signs operating in studio bound dramas, the use of props in *The Sweeney* leaves a viewer unable to consider possible reasons for characters committing such crimes in relation to the socio-economic circumstances of the time. In a desire to emulate a cinematic identification twinned with the constrictive time scale of television production, objects are viewed in close-ups for the purposes of continuity thus isolating their use from the surrounding space. This means that props are not able to be handled differently by a number of actors to disrupt the macro meaning of a scene. Objects, then, do not function beyond the immediate fictional narrative.

By charting the vectorial complexity of studio spaces this chapter has uncovered a genre, usually seen to be functioning as part of a 'masculinist discourse' (Sydney-Smith 2002, p. 168), more interested in women and possibly feminism than has been previously considered. It is unusual to see studies of *Hunters Walk*, *Juliet Bravo* or *The Gentle Touch* analysed in this much detail or scrutiny. *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* in particular have been dismissed as sexist in relation to texts such as *Cagney and Lacey* (CBS 1981-88) or *Prime Suspect* (Granada 1991-2006). Similarly, scholarship on the British police series has been primarily interested in police officer characters. Sydney-Smith (2002), Clarke (1992), Skirrow (1987), and Hallam (2000 & 2005) measure a programme's relevance, in terms of its depictions of gender, through an examination of lead police officer characters such as Dixon, Regan and Tennison. However, when civilian characters are examined across the series as a whole, in isolation from the police officer characters, a very different picture of the genre is constructed. Television scholarship, such as Thomas' study (1995) of *Inspector Morse* (Central 1987-2000), is beginning to accept that crime dramas produced by men, can now engage with feminist concerns following the pressures of feminism and the transmission of programmes such as *Prime Suspect*. However, such genres have been interested in

feminist concerns since the 1970s, and the British police series was perhaps not as inherently masculine as traditionally perceived.

The depiction of rape in both *Hunters Walk* and *Juliet Bravo* is particularly pertinent when considering to what extent studio-shot British police series were able to engage with feminist concerns. In Lisa Cuklanz's study of depictions of rape on primetime American television (2011) she states that in police and crime dramas *The Rockford Files* (NBC 1974-1980), *Starsky and Hutch* (ABC 1975-1979), *Quincy M.E.* (NBC 1976–1983), and *Spenser: For Hire* (ABC 1985–1988) rapists are depicted as 'identifiably outside the mainstream through their language, clothing, habits or attitudes' (Cuklanz 2011, p.6). The detective's need for revenge and pursuit of the rapist takes centre stage of the episode's narrative thus side-lining the plight of the victim and their possible experience of counselling. In short, these plots are 'about the male avengers of rape rather than about the problem or crime of rape or the experiences and feelings of the victim' (Cuklanz 2011, p. 6). At this time, American television police drama shot on film was siding with traditional myths surrounding rape. They upheld the belief that rape was a rare occurrence committed by 'sexual psychopaths' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 62). However, programmes such as *Hunters Walk* and *Juliet Bravo*, which were shot in the studio on videotape, were advancing the feminist notion that 'any man can commit the crime, regardless of his status in the community' (Bevacqua 2000, p. 63).

Academics such as Martin McLoone believe that British television studio drama using videotape technology severely limited 'the aesthetic potential that a closer relationship with the cinema brings' (McLoone 1997, p. 86). It is important to remember, however, that this 'specific naturalist aesthetic' which allegedly gave British television a 'theatrical staginess' (McLoone 1997, p. 96) partly enabled British television drama to question the criminal justice system's gendered bias in a way that the filmed American series were unable to. The episode of *Hunters Walk*, 'Local knowledge' (ITV 11/6/1973), is primarily interested in the suffering endured by rape victim Christine Lewis in her day to day life and the scrutiny she suffers from her husband. Significantly the rapist is a local named Shepard (Graham Ashley) who is family man and is in no way an outsider of Broadstone's community. Similarly in

the *Juliet Bravo* episode *Misunderstandings* (BBC1, 27/11/1982) Lin Mitchell (Amanda Murray) is raped by her neighbour David Ashton (Phil Smeaton) after helping her with her kitchen plumbing. Although very little time is spent in Mitchell's home following the attack, Mitchell is informed by Darblay that there is 'not much chance of a conviction'. This is because if Mitchell was 'ill, very old, a child, or a virgin, the court might be more sympathetic...they take more convincing when the aggrieved is an attractive divorcee'. The doctor's report can only prove that Mitchell has experienced trauma and whilst the force is supposed to 'put life and limb before property, the law doesn't always take the same view' as Darblay states. Darblay does not shy away from the fact that what Mitchell has been through up to now, 'will be nothing compared to what you have to go through in court' and even then she stands 'very little chance of winning'. As a result Mitchell claims that she feels 'the system is loaded against' her. Darblay is in firm agreement.

The observational nature of the studio allows the gendered 'public/private dichotomy' (Edwards 1989, p. 54), that existed in law, to be challenged and critiqued at length, compared to filmed American television police programmes of the same era. Just because *Hunters Walk* and *Juliet Bravo* were shot in the studio does not automatically mean that both series could engage with feminist understandings of rape. There are other factors influencing the debate on British television such as the fear experienced by the public as a result of the police's failure to capture the Yorkshire ripper. Similarly, a distinctive social realist sensibility has traditionally pervaded all forms of British television drama to an extent. Rather, the spatial setup of video cameras within the studio is an important factor within this mixture of influences as it allows for the gendered bias of the justice system to be explored in a discussion based format through a particular visual discourse. With this in mind this thesis must return to how lead police officer characters are depicted within their own civilian spaces to see whether the findings of this chapter can be upheld and/or complicated.

Chapter Five: Police Officers' Civilian Spaces

The first chapter of this study established that between the years 1955 to 1962 a clear division existed between the spatial expressivity of the studio-shot single play and the studio-shot series. The single play at ABC achieved this expressivity through a material production space that used a number of mobilised cameras and a creative team with a clear focus on the positioning of actors in relation to props. The studio-shot series format by comparison, which was largely being developed by the BBC, had smaller spaces designed for as little as two cameras to pan from side to side. These cameras observed actors standing within a 'frontal composition' of shots (Caughie 2000a, p. 112). What chapters three and four then demonstrated is how the division between these spatial practices endured within the series format from 1962 until 1982. *Z Cars* (BBC 1962-1978) was the first programme to combine the single play approach to space with the series treatment of space. As six cameras were now used across fifteen different sets, the series format began to adopt the expressive cinematography of the studio-shot single play.

Following the transmission of *Z Cars* each police series examined in this study maintains a division between a minimally decorated station space and more elaborately designed civilian spaces. The station space largely relies on the positioning and gesturing of actors to visually articulate characters' relationships with one another in addition to their immediate dialogue. A typical civilian space, in comparison, uses props more regularly as part of a complex system of vectorisation. The invisible web like threads that hold a series of signs together within a scene, as defined by Pavis, are displaced and destabilised frequently in civilian spaces shot within the multi-camera studio. These civilian spaces are more elaborately designed than their station counterparts because an equilibrium between a number of civilian characters has to be established, disrupted and resolved within each episode. The disruption of this equilibrium occurs throughout the course of the episode through several different characters' interactions with props. It is an examination of these civilian characters' interactions with these objects that can open up a given police series to a wider sociological debate. This is possible because the use of props in each series, within domestic spaces, display patterns of

consumption to articulate notions of class and gender. These designs reflect how a sexual division of labour and traditional gender roles were undergoing significant changes in Britain between the years 1962-1982

What this chapter will discover, in relation to these findings, is what happens when these two different spatial practices come together. This chapter will examine how the private civilian spaces of police officer characters negotiate between these two methods of approaching fictional space. Much like the station set; the domestic space of police officers have relatively minimal designs so that they are identifiable and consistent enough for an audience to feel familiarised with regularly. Then again, the space can often utilise an elaborate use of props to appear as authentic as the other civilian spaces featured within the series. What this chapter will examine, then, is whether props have as much of a central role within police officers' civilian spaces. It will also examine how the police officer characters operate ideologically within their home space. Each design of a police officer's home replicates certain elements from both the station and other civilian designs. On the one hand a police officer will have a private life that maintains a sense of structure and order featured in the police station set designs. However, at the same time the home space will be subject to the same problems operating in the other civilian spaces. This chapter examines how each series appropriates this balance.

As Edward T. Hall states, in his study of proxemics:

Men have two or more distinct personalities, one for business and one for the home. The separation of office and home in these instances helps to keep the two often incompatible personalities from conflicting and may even serve to stabilize an idealised version of each which conforms to the projected image of both architecture and setting (Hall 1966, p. 99).

The analysis of each series will consider how each officer negotiates between their private self and public persona. The analyses will determine how the domestic spaces of police officers either complicate or further reinforce the ideology already established in each series. Again, this chapter will analyse each series through a

chronological structure of their transmission in order to chart the development of the studio technique.

Z Cars and the (Police)man of the House

In *Z Cars*' Newtown station, the CID pose the real threat towards community policing as they actively exclude women from the station space. CID dismisses women's concerns as trivial matters in relation to what they deem to be more serious cases, usually involving theft. From examining these station scenes in isolation, *Z Cars* seems to criticise the CID's cavalier attitude towards humanistic matters in comparison to the uniformed police officers. The officers give members of the public, particularly women, space to be heard against the wishes of their CID superiors. However, this reading is largely undercut by scenes set within civilian spaces because here the camera's gaze is resolutely focused on working class men. The critical view of Newtown's CID is complicated because the principal interest of the series is now similar to that of the impersonal CID characters within these domestic scenes. Women characters are often used as a means of heightening the suffering of working class men who feel marginalised from a consumerist society. This is however, both partially furthered and questioned by the depiction of PC Bob Steele (Jeremy Kemp) and his wife Janey Steele (Dorothy White) within their home.

In all of the *Z Cars* episodes, which survived being wiped by the BBC, the domestic space of police officers do not feature prominently beyond the pilot episode 'Four of a Kind' (BBC, 2/1/1962). This episode has attracted a large amount of scholarly attention because in this episode Bob Steele has given his wife a black eye. As Peter Lewis states, following the Chief Constable of Lancashire's visit to the BBC, 'the credit thanking the Lancashire County Police for their co-operation was quietly dropped' (Lewis 1962, p. 307). This black eye alone represents the ideological shift from the paternal and faultless George Dixon, in *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC 1955- 1976) to a hypocritical police force populated with fallible human beings who do not always abide by the laws they serve to uphold. Whereas Dixon's upright and ensconced demeanour is interchangeable between both Dock Green

station and his front room, Bob Steele displays a dichotomy between his private self and public persona.

The Steeles' domestic space is at first framed by an establishing shot of their front room where PC Lynch (James Ellis) is sitting at the head of their dining table. Once this location is established the camera is initially responsive to Janey Steele's movements. The camera pans with her. As she retrieves a bottle of HP sauce she stands on the right hand side of the frame and explains to Lynch how her husband bruised her in an attempt to prevent her throwing a hotpot. Because she is standing on the right edge of the frame, the cabinet fills the camera shot. A row of neatly aligned cups, saucers and glasses placed on the cabinet's shelving, become an audience's visual focus. This imagery combined with Janey Steele's dialogue creates a paradoxical juxtaposition of a seemingly ordered and organised household undercut with her description of the chaos that regularly unfolds between her and her husband. It also draws an audience's attention to their social standing in that the mass produced cutlery signifies a lower middle class family. The 1960s was a time in which people began to display their relative wealth through patterns of consumption over production, marking a particularly profound transition in British working-class culture.

The image of Janey Steele crouching in front of this carefully decorated cabinet with a black eye also draws attention to the suffering she endures in keeping such a household preserved. There is an interest in Janey Steele's suffering as the camera follows her around the space. However, when her husband enters the space the camera repositions itself to remain fixed on Bob Steele and Lynch as they squabble at the head of the dining table. Janey Steele either now has to walk into the frame to be seen by the camera, or interrupt their conversation to warrant a quick close-up of her face. The camera is no longer drawn to her. With Bob Steele's entrance she is now discussed without being given any space to voice her opinion. Here, the feminine disappears.



Figure 56: As Janey Steele discloses how she received her black eye an audience's attention is drawn to the tidiness and orderliness of the Steeles' cabinet.

With Lynch sitting at the head of the table Bob Steele feels displaced as head of the household. To regain his authority Bob Steele defiantly picks up Lynch's cup of tea and moves it nearer to himself. In a close-up shot of the cup Bob Steele slams it on the table in a pressing movement that prompts Lynch to leave the table. With Bob Steele having re-established his ownership of the space, Lynch walks towards the cabinet Janey Steele was previously standing beside. Lynch stands on the opposite side of the cabinet from where she was standing. On the left side of the cabinet Lynch reveals a hotpot stain on the wall that was not previously visible to the camera. Finding this stain Lynch undercuts Bob Steele's apparent authority within the space. Lynch brings this aspect of the space into existence, points to it and asks 'is this the stain the hot pot made?' In response to this question Bob Steele moves one of the wooden dining chairs. In a close-up shot a loose rung falls from the backrest as Steele claims 'look at t'broken chair where a very frightened husband threw himself to avoid being blinded for life'.

Bob Steele's and Lynch's interaction with the cups, maintains a similar vectorial dynamic as seen in other civilian spaces in the series. Like Ramsden's smashing of toy cars, from the episode 'Handle With Care' (BBC, 16/1/1962) analysed in chapter four, Bob Steele is embroiled in a power play and reasserts his authority over the domestic space through the use of a household object. Compared to the examples analysed in chapter four, however, Bob Steele is a

breadwinner not undermined by his wife but rather his authority is threatened by another man. Lynch has come to visit the Steeles because Bob Steele is wanted at the police station. However, whilst eating Bob Steele's dinner Lynch takes the opportunity to boast that he has been promoted to the new crime car division. Lynch is trying to impose the police hierarchy into the Steeles' private space.

The overall meaning of the scene is not displaced or destabilised by Bob Steele and Lynch's movements of the cup or chair. From the very introduction of the space Janey Steele has a black eye and so an audience knows that it is a dysfunctional space from the outset. The nature of this dysfunction is never altered through these interactions with props. Any further interaction explains the story behind their argument, but does not add a new layer of meaning to the dispute. However, it is worth pointing out that the use of props is slightly less complex than seen in civilian scenes. Close-ups are used to frame the props, particularly Bob Steele's hasty movements of the cup and chair. This is a relatively rare practice in this series as a whole. Therefore the close-ups of the props, which in fact isolate them from the rest of the space, work as a brash visual statement to the viewer. Because a viewer does not see the Steeles in their home space beyond this episode this emphasis on the props, which is out of sync with the cinematographic practice of the rest of the series, functions to leave a lasting impression of Bob Steele's character. This is a metonymic statement to establish the inherent hypocrisy that lies behind the Newtown police force and will inform all further scenes that involve police officer characters. This seemingly worked as:

A number of viewers did not care for the way the members of the Newtown police force were portrayed ('as wife-beaters and gluttons'), and hoped that such details as 'the undignified eating' were not meant to be true to life.

(BBC WAC T5/2,444/1)



Figure 57: Lynch examines the space thus unearthing problems that lie beyond the initial surface of the Steeles' marriage.

The fractured relationship that exists between Bob Steele and Janey Steele has a similar dynamic to the working class marriages featured in the episodes 'Handle with Care' (BBC, 16/1/1962) and 'Hi Jack!' (BBC, 22/5/1962), examined in chapter four. However, unlike these fractured relationships, Bob Steele achieves reconciliation to the dispute by apologising and embracing his wife and kissing her in the kitchen. This apology and open display of affection is what sets him apart from the criminals as they either writhe in turmoil from their matriarchal wife's control or choose to assault the domestic space with objects, to maintain a degree of order. Janey Steele's submission and acceptance is however surprisingly swift as she claims that the bruise will give her some 'respect along this street now'. This black eye means that she will no longer be socially isolated from her community. This physical display of violence is her way of demonstrating that the wife of a police officer has something in common with the other lower middle class wives living on the street who are also being beaten. The mark gives Janey Steele a social status that enables her to cross the threshold of private and public space. The black eye is a signifier that brings gender and class politics together.

In Newtown station PC Smith (Brian Blessed) and PC Steele seemingly display an interest in humanitarian problems and women's concerns in spite of CID's wishes. Here, however, Bob Steele actively holds a similar disregard for such problems within his own home thus actively perpetuating this misogynist culture that leads to such crimes. Although he does make an effort to embrace and apologise to his wife, her sudden complacency and surrendering to his position as

head of the household confirms that there is no interest in her character beyond this initial episode. The civilian spaces of this series continue to focus on working class men who use the home as a space of release from the oppressions they suffer at their work or wider society, as seen here. It also abides by classic patriarchal narratives whereby the use of heterosexual romance, the kiss, resolves a dispute and offers absolution, if not justification, for violence towards women.



Figure 58: Bob Steele reconciles the previous evening's dispute with a kiss.

What is occurring here is a depiction of married life in line with public conceptions of marriage at the time. Mary Grant's problem pages of *Woman's Own*, and other marital advice books published at the time, identified an 'increasing importance attached to sexual intercourse as a method of communication between husband and wife' (Richards and Elliot 1991, p. 38). The fact that the dispute between the Steeles is reconciled by a kiss reasserts the view that sex was 'a part of marriage where openness, sharing...and closeness have particular value' (Richards and Elliot 1991, p. 37).

There is a complex dynamic at play here. This thesis cannot wholly dismiss Bob Steele's agency in the abuse of his wife yet, at the same time, she is the source of the conflict as the assault he has committed was in reaction to her throwing of the hotpot. Bob Steele does apologise to Janey Steele and the marriage can be considered relatively companionate (a marriage where spouses are treated as equal companions) in comparison to the other marriages of Newtown where no affection

is ever openly displayed. Through the Steeles' embrace Bob Steele is shown to be appreciative, open and sharing through these affectionate terms. In comparison to his criminal counterparts, he can now begin to reside over a stable household as a result of this sexual reconciliation. Janey Steele does actively fight and offer resistance to his ownership of the space that is justified to some degree. Yet, Bob Steele's role as head of the household is not threatened by her. The scene is interested in Janey Steele's suffering within the working class domestic space, albeit briefly, even if Bob Steele's rivalry with other men becomes more prominent.

The Steeles, with some reservations, ultimately conform to their roles within this sexual division of labour. Although the use of props is central to reading this space, and the set design is more expressive than the station, the vectorial dynamic of the props is slightly less complex than other civilian spaces. This is because the props are not shared between husband and wife. Ultimately *Z Cars* is ideologically consistent in the sense that it strikes a balance between the problems experienced by both genders within the home space, as called for in the station, even if it is predominantly more interested in the male characters as seen in other civilian spaces of the series.

Hunters Walk and Companionate Marriage

Although *Hunters Walk* (ATV 1973-76) by comparison depicts a police force more inherently distrusting and cynical of its public, within Broadstone station, a viewer is also encouraged to empathise with women characters trapped by their domestic surroundings. Ideologically the station space and the civilian spaces have opposite functions. Broadstone station often promotes the view that the police force needs to be in more control of its public. The civilian spaces however counteract this view as they depict a society whose inhabitants require more freedom, particularly its women. Det. Sgt. Smith's (Ewan Hooper) domestic scenes negotiate between these two views. *Hunters Walk* is the first major police series to spend a large portion of its running time in Smith's domestic space. On average, seventeen minutes of an episode are devoted to station scenes. Out of the remaining thirty three minutes,

that are used to depict civilians, one minute and five seconds depict Smith and his wife Betty Smith (Ruth Madoc) in their home space, on average.¹⁷ Although this may appear to be an inconsequential amount of running time, the regular featuring of this space is a very significant component of the series' ideological makeup. By seeing Smith's private personality free of his public persona his view of the world appears to be validated.

When a rapist, Shepard (Graham Ashley), has been arrested, Smith prolongs leaving his home before he begins the interrogation process at the station. Smith deliberately uses this tactic to unnerve Shepard. Before leaving his home the establishing shot shows that the front room of the Smiths' house is divided into two areas. A kitchenette and a lounge area are separated by a counter top with shelving placed directly above it. Initially both Smith and Betty share the space. The camera is placed in the lounge area so that Smith is positioned in the immediate foreground whilst Betty is standing in the background. Betty is standing in kitchen area behind the shelving. Whilst Betty stirs some ingredients in a bowl Smith finishes fixing the iron in the lounge area. Once the iron is fixed, Smith puts on his coat to leave for the station to interrogate Shepard. Smith puts the fixed iron on the countertop that separates the kitchen from the lounge. He puts it here as if to place it back in his wife's territory. It is an implement she uses as a housewife and something he does not interact with beyond its fixing.

This brief scene alone initially seems to suggest that both characters are happy to conform to the roles expected of them as part of a sexual division of labour. Smith is the breadwinner leaving the house to earn his income whilst his wife stays at home, visibly caged by the shelving and rooted to the kitchen as a housewife. Betty is ostensibly content as she stirs her cooking mixture. This visual imagery also keeps Betty behind a series of bars. She is placed behind something as if protected by her husband who is on the other side. Betty is happily conforming to Smith's earlier advice that she should not leave the house unattended, particularly after dark. Although 'Reclaim the Night' marches would not be staged until later in the decade, in response to the police's advice for women to stay indoors on a night

¹⁷ These averages have been worked out from the first six existing episodes of the series.

time to avoid being attacked, debates surrounding rape were beginning to emerge in the public domain and are an integral aspect of this configuration of gendered space.



Figure 59: Smith and Betty happily conform to traditional gender roles. Betty is protected by the kitchen area.

This initial dynamic does however alter. At the end of the episode Smith sits on a chair in the lounge area, with his back to the kitchenette, looking ahead into the camera. Betty sits on an adjacent chair in another separate close-up shot. Betty asks Smith questions about the case as she looks over the top of her magazine. Upon hearing the suspect is likely to get ten years in prison she asks him, 'it's not him though is it really. His wife, the woman, their families. Once something like this happens. How many men did you interview, five? What about their families?' Immediately after asking these questions Betty walks into the kitchen area directly behind Smith. She moves away from Smith because the conversation has become too tense to bear. Smith, so far, has been speaking through gritted teeth hastily trying to end the conversation with one word answers such as 'right'. Betty appears upset that the police do not seem to consider the wider sociological implications of their actions.

Betty's statement draws attention to the fact that many women did *not* see 'the police and criminal justice system generally as part of the state able to offer a helping service to women' (Edwards 1989, p. 91). However, this question does cause Smith to momentarily reassess his methods claiming in a rather inquisitive

tone 'I'd never even thought about it'. He then swiftly qualifies his point of view with a firmer and authoritative statement claiming 'I've got a job to do. I do it the only way I know how. I'm a copper not a welfare officer'. Once Smith has made this statement the camera cuts to a close-up of Betty's face as she sighs and tilts her head to one side, looking over her husband from the kitchen area. This motion of her head tilting is then matched cut with the action of Philip Lewis (Ian Thompson), husband of rape victim Christine Lewis (Frances White), downing a glass of whisky alone in his front room. As Philip Lewis drinks, the camera cuts to his wife getting into bed upstairs on her own. As this is the last image in the episode Betty is ultimately proven to be right as the Lewis family are isolated from one another and are without the necessary support they need despite the apprehension of the rapist. Smith's self-assured authority, advice and support, as a member of the British Police Force, is questioned and challenged.

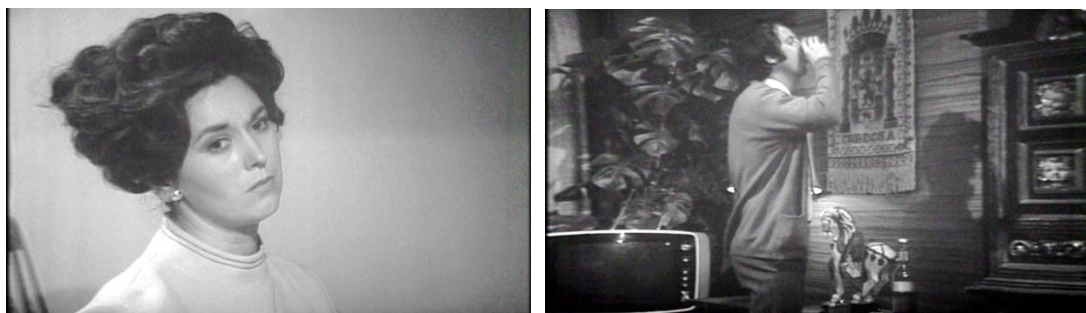


Figure 60: As Betty tilts her head to the left whilst sighing and looking over her husband, the next immediate shot is of Philip Lewis tilting his head backwards in the same direction as he downs a glass of whisky.

Gendered divisions exist within the Smith's household as Betty is usually rooted to the kitchen whilst Smith has more freedom of the lounge. In this scene, however, both characters are framed in their own close-ups. The camera observes Betty giving her the final say through her dismissive body language that undercuts Smith's viewpoint. Unlike *Z Cars* there is less of an unbalanced interest towards depictions of men. Here Betty is never excluded from view or side-lined to focus on Smith. Betty provides a credible and alternative viewpoint, reminding Smith and the viewers at the time that families of criminals and victims of crime required more support. She implies that women and families were being forgotten by the criminal

justice system. This has not been considered before in a British police series and here Betty informs audiences that the story does not end with the guilty suspect being arrested.

Betty is given an equal share of the camerawork that provides her with a space to voice her opinions. She is considered as an equal in the household thus providing an alternative to the way in which women are treated in the other civilian spaces of *Hunters Walk*. This relationship is not communicated through a use of props but it is the positioning, camerawork and general dimensions of the space that undercuts the initial dynamic both characters previously shared in the space. The Smith's home space is not as expansive or as intricately designed as other civilian spaces and there is more of a reliance on positioning and gesturing in relation to the spoken word.

Betty is a vital character of the series. So far, as stated in chapter four, *Hunters Walk* has not addressed the on-going struggle regarding women's economic rights in the public sphere, or acknowledged the industrial action that resulted in the Equal Pay Act of 1970. This is not the case when scenes occur between Betty and Smith. Betty is a member of NUT (National Union of Teachers) and attends meetings independently. Although she never discusses what is said, the very fact she is a member of a union means that the series recognised that union membership, and possible strike action within the public domain, was no longer perceived to be a male endeavour fought exclusively amongst men. Betty herself is a feminist. In this scene she unearths the 'public/private dichotomy in law' (Edwards 1989, p. 54) by challenging Smith and his lack of consideration for the perpetrator's family. As a member of a union who is of a lower middle class social standing her character symbolises the coming together of working class trade unionists and middle class liberalists. It was in the early 1970s that feminists and trade unionists were meeting in substantial numbers and recognising 'each other's strategic importance' (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 33). Whilst being a member of a union Betty is also interested in women's 'day to day experiences' as a form of political struggle (Coote and Campbell 1987, p. 5) as was being discussed in groups of women across Britain.

Hunters Walk was informed by the arguments made by feminist groups that helped reformulate society into understanding rape as a crime against women. 'Local Knowledge' contributes to this debate by dispelling the myth that rape is a rare occurrence committed by psychopaths. It reveals the consequences that resulted from those who insisted on perceiving rape as a personal problem. *Hunters Walk* addresses these complex debates and agrees with keeping women safe at home in their domestic spaces on the evenings. However, at the same time it draws attention to the women and victims the law does not represent, address or help. This series, and its engagement with feminist issues, has been overlooked in feminist television criticism. Such criticism is either concerned with genres specifically aimed at women, in this period, or often asserts that the transmission of *Prime Suspect* (Granada 1991-2006) was the first series to provide genuine empowerment to women characters.

This is not to say that viewers are always ideologically aligned with Betty. In the episode 'Kids' (ITV, 22/7/74) Smith is aware that his daughter Ellen (Carole Shadbolt) is withholding information regarding a child in her class, Stephanie Coe (Patricia Smith), who has disappeared. Smith uses the kitchen table as a space of interrogation. In the same manner he sits at the interview room table at Broadstone station, Smith perches over the dinner table. He shouts at his daughter, dismissing her claims that she knows nothing about the situation, informing her 'you're her friend, of course you know'. Whilst making this point his voice crescendos to a much louder volume as the camera slowly zooms into a close-up of Betty's distressed face. Standing by the kitchen counter Betty lurches towards the dinner table and leans over the table creating a barrier between her husband and daughter as if shielding Ellen from this line of enquiry. Here Betty cries out 'for God's sake leave the child alone'. This interference causes Smith to stop interrogating Ellen as Betty does not want him to bring his work into their house.



Figure 61: Smith uses his kitchen as a space of interrogation and Betty intervenes.

Later in the episode, however, Ellen confesses to Betty that she knows where the bullies in her class have hidden Stephanie Coe. Smith's interrogation of his daughter is proved as being effective as it eventually frightens Ellen into confessing where her friend is hidden. Betty's instinctive defence of her daughter is shown to be too soft a course of action to resolve the situation. The fact that Ellen withholds information from her parents means that the Smith household is susceptible to the same problems that other families in the community experience. As a married couple they are more morally upstanding than others in the community yet there are still issues beyond their control. Therefore, the ideology of this series is particularly hard to pinpoint as it changes on an episodic basis. In 'Local Knowledge' audiences are meant to side with Betty yet in 'Kids' her more humanitarian approach gets in the way of Smith's experienced detection skills.

Ultimately, the Smiths' household is a space of discussion between Smith and Betty. Here, the kitchen table is central to the scene. The table engages in Pavis' first stage of vectorisation known as 'accumulation' (Pavis 2003, p. 191). To Smith it is used as an extension of the police station where he can use his skills from his breadwinning role to successfully obtain information from his daughter. Smith uses this table as an extension of public space whereas Betty uses this table as part of her family space 'of safety where there is some protection from the harshness of the world outside' as traditionally experienced in soaps (Geraghty 1991, p. 83). Betty establishes a connection with the table, Pavis' second stage of vectorisation, which relegates Smith's use of the table 'to a reserve meaning' (Pavis 2003, p. 191). As a result of this connection, Betty's abrupt halting of the interrogation causes Pavis' third stage of vectorisation, a displacement. This displacement ruptures the composition of signs to alter the macro meaning of the scene. This new identity of the object breaks the thread of previous events and starts the scene over with a new basis of meaning.

As a space of discussion the Smith's home is essentially a hybrid setting that sometimes relies on the visual discourse used in Broadstone station and at other times adopts a system of vectorisation. Props can be used as prominently as they are in other civilian spaces within *Hunters Walk* to alter the macro meaning of a scene. Essentially, the Smith's home space has the freedom to either rely on close-ups, the positioning of actors and their gesturing, or use props as part of a system of vectorisation to relate scenes to wider sociological debates.

These discussions between Smith and Betty eventually result in the appropriate balance between the order called for in Broadstone station and the freedom called for in the depiction of oppressive civilian spaces. *Hunters Walk* is in essence a complex series that has two ideologies at work in two different types of spaces. It is in Smith's home space that a sufficient balance is reached to create a stable order. This space is again representative of how the British public viewed marriage at the time of transmission. 1970s mainstream marriage guidance 'began to put far more emphasis on the emotional/spiritual aspects of sexuality as opposed to the purely physical side' (Richards and Elliot 1991, p. 39). Problem pages and

advice books became less interested in physiological responses and drew more attention to 'warm feelings' (Richards and Elliot 1991, p. 39). Rather than predominantly providing advice on sexual intercourse it was advised that both parties within a marriage should be treated on equally empathetic and responsive terms. There was a desire to talk through problems and have a greater understanding of each other. This is reflected in the Smiths' home that allows for a difference of opinion between each character. This mutual sense of companionship and discussion is seen as a credible alternative to the depiction of other married couples, such as the divide between Christine and Philip Lewis analysed in chapter four. It is also a far cry away from *Z Cars* where Bob Steele's opinions and ownership of the space is final.

The Sweeney and Bachelorism

In comparison to Smith of *Hunters Walk* Det. Insp. Jack Regan (John Thaw) of *The Sweeney* is divorced and lives on his own. Regan's obsession with his job has ruined his private life as he has 'sacrificed his personal family life for the greater good of us all' (Clarke 1992, p. 246). As previously identified, *The Sweeney* has a 'conservative mise en scène' (Donald 1985, p. 118) and 'economic shooting style' (Bazalgette 1976, p. 63) particularly within interior settings and dialogue driven scenes. However, it is important to note that Regan's character does have the capacity to change in certain settings, possessing two 'incompatible personalities' as defined by Hall's proxemics (Hall 1966, p. 99). Occasionally Regan spends his time in the private spaces of women of a higher class. This thesis has identified that Regan actively displays a lack of respect for his surrounding office space due to the rise of a middle class bureaucracy that is consuming the Flying Squad. At his desk Regan drinks scotch throughout the day as an essential way of coping with the stresses of his job and marking out his territory. This abuse of drink and lack of respect for a seemingly middle class space, however, is not a characteristic that Regan retains in all manner of spaces that he occupies.

At end of the first episode 'Ringer' (ITV, 2/1/1975), for example, Regan is able to drink socially, and not to excess, within his girlfriend's (Jill Townsend) front room. Unlike his aggressive body language at the Flying Squad offices, Regan lies back in comfort here. With a relaxed demeanour Regan is ensconced in this space. Regan casually rests his tumbler glass on his knee and takes occasional small sips from it, rather than taking large gulps as he does at work. Regan is also dressed in a fashionable silk shirt with his top two buttons undone, as opposed to his modestly priced fully buttoned up work shirts. Usually Regan and Carter 'never appear in suits, and both have unkempt hair' (Bazalgette 1976, p. 64) as a way of defying this 'unsupportive, entrepreneurial, and bureaucratic' police culture (Dennington and Tulloch 1976, p 39). In this concluding scene Regan explains to Jenny what will happen to the arrested suspects. Jenny sits at Regan's feet stroking his knee as sombre non-diegetic jazz music plays. Overall this scene has a relaxing ambiance to it and Regan presents his private self which is at odds with his public persona, depending on his surrounding environment. Given Jenny's well-spoken voice and affluent surroundings, Regan is genuinely relaxed and respectful of this space. So far Regan has been dismissive of what he deems to be a middle class culture that has grown within Scotland Yard. However, Regan is able to relax in the company of upper middle class women. This is a stark contrast to how Regan shares his ex-wife's, Kate Regan (Janet Key), front room, in the episode 'Abduction' (ITV, 27/3/1975). Once the guilty suspects have been arrested for kidnapping their daughter, the episode concludes with them both facing forwards. Jack Regan sitting upright drinking straight gin, at the end of his seat, is more uncomfortable in this decidedly sparser working class living space.



Figure 62: There is a stark contrast between Regan's body language and how it corresponds to women of differing classes. Regan is essentially displaying his private self through middle class patterns of consumption over production as he engages with the middle class dynamics of the 'new man' that was to emerge.

Critics usually draw attention to Regan's 'identification with working-class people' (Bazalgette 1976, p. 62). Regan, however, is a more layered character than has previously been considered, especially when it is realised how his gesturing and costuming differs within these middle class women's homes.

Although it is worth considering how Regan's character changes within these women's spaces, in relation to previous critical readings of his character, such occurrences are relatively rare within the series as a whole. For the most part *The Sweeney* does in fact use 'women's attitudes towards Regan to define and reinforce the complete demarcation between what is presented as the masculine world, the world of work...and the feminine obsession with the domestic' (Clarke 1992, p. 246) thus reasserting the public/private dichotomy of British law. Regan's occupation of his home and of these private spaces is not as regularly featured as the domestic scenes of officers and detectives in studio-based series and so does not challenge this public/private dichotomy.

On the odd occasion *The Sweeney* depicts Regan operating recreationally within a private space props are framed through close-ups and are not shared between characters. This leaves little room for the props to possess accumulative identities and further disrupt the macro meaning of a given scene as part of Pavis' vectorisation. Like the depiction of civilian scenes throughout *The Sweeney*,

analysed in chapter four, the backdrop of the set design, costuming and positioning of actors does play an important part in an audience's reading of character. However, within these spaces an audience's identification with Regan progresses a stage further as they are now able to access Regan's memories that influence and drive his character. Whereas in the station an audience can literally see and experience action through Regan's point of view they can now access Regan's thoughts. In the station a viewer sees what Regan sees but within civilian spaces they now see what Regan *thinks*.

At the end of 'Cover Story' (ITV, 20/2/1975) Regan enters journalist Sandy Williams' (Prunella Gee) home to start a relationship, only realise that she has left the country. In a POV shot a cassette tape is placed on the mantle-piece above Williams' fireplace. Within this POV shot the cassette tape suddenly morphs into a glass half full of whisky. Previously in the episode when Regan entered the space, to pick Williams up for a date, he saw this glass positioned where the tape is now placed. Upon entering the house for the first time this half drunken glass signified to Regan that Williams was upstairs and enabled him to begin preparing them drinks. This drinking glass is of significance because Williams has deliberately placed the tape in the exact same position as the glass was so that Regan will see it and play it. The tape has not turned into a drinking glass within the immediate narrative, but has done so in Regan's mind. He has made a connection and the audience shares it. Sure enough Regan plays the tape and listens to the message recorded for him by Williams who explains why she has left him. Whilst listening a viewer again, literally, shares Regan's thoughts as Regan experiences a flashback. In a black and white shot Williams is lying on her bed looking towards the camera. This is a memory that an audience experiences alongside Regan.

This is not the first time this memory is shown within the episode. Immediately following a scene where Haskins informs Regan that he is now off the case, for becoming too close to Williams, the camera introduces a pub interior as four pints are served to Regan. When another man in the pub recognises Regan and makes reference to Williams, Regan slumps over the bar calling her a 'vulture' and a 'trendy crime sniffer'. However, the camera then cuts to a black and white close-up

of Williams' smiling face looking at the camera, slowly zooming closer to her for six seconds. These thoughts undercut Regan's immediate dialogue and his spacious calming memory is able to provide him solace from the darkened crowded pub. This use of film editing is able to provide an audience with direct access to Regan's thoughts and what has driven him to this alcohol abuse. This solace Regan finds in Williams does offer him a momentary freedom however, it is also this memory that torments him into finding further comfort in alcohol. Here in line with Laura Mulvey's male gaze theory 'an objectified other' (Mulvey 1989, p. 17) whose 'visual presence works against the development of a story-line' freezes 'the flow of action in moments of erotic contemplation' (Mulvey 1989, p. 19). *The Sweeney* in its attempts to emulate 'cinematic storytelling' (Paterson 1976, p. 8) and distance itself from the naturalist studio technique have little interest in sociological debate. Certain character traits Regan possesses acknowledge the socio-economic culture of the time. For example, his divorce is a nod to the rising divorce rate Britain was experiencing. Such issues, however, are not discussed at any great length to allow the series to creatively intervene in such debates.



Figure 63: Regan reminisces about Williams whilst alone in the pub on leave.

Instead an audience views all events alongside Regan and are provided with no distance to interpret events autonomously. Political power struggles within the station space are 'internalised' (Drummond 1976, p. 19). Scenes occurring between civilians, away from Regan's gaze, ignore sociological debate altogether. The series has been praised for a 'persistent concentration on those issues of public concern over ...the "rising tide of crime and violence"' (Hurd 1976, p. 48). However, as previously argued, villains are simply 'characterless' stereotypes (Drummond 1976,

p. 24). The purpose of civilian scenes, which occur away from Regan, are to show the 'planning and counter-planning in each camp, the military-style conduct of the police and criminals, manoeuvring for tactical and strategic advantage, and the final set-piece battle' (Hurd 1976, p. 49). This is furthered within the private spaces Regan occupies on a recreational basis. Regan's relationships with women unearth a new aspect of his character that has not been previously considered in television scholarship. However, these relationships are presented as nothing more than fleeting love interests to an audience's 'main male protagonist' (Mulvey 1989, p. 21) like that of classic Hollywood cinema. There is no attempt to creatively intervene in sociological debate, in a relatively balanced or complex manner like that of studio-shot drama, as the camera is ultimately 'subjective' (Mulvey 1989, p. 23) in emulating the cinematographic grammar and male gaze of a Hollywood film.

Juliet Bravo and Marriage

Following *The Sweeney's* emulation of a cinematic narrative, structured around 'a main controlling [male] figure with whom the spectator can identify' (Mulvey 1989, p. 20), both *Juliet Bravo* (BBC 1980-1985) and *The Gentle Touch* (LWT 1980-1984) reformulated the ideological construction of British police series through their women protagonists. Not only were they the first British police series to feature a woman in a lead role, but they were also the first British police series, shot in the multi-camera studio, to follow one principal lead character as opposed to an ensemble cast. Seemingly influenced by *The Sweeney*, audiences are encouraged to identify with one character above all others. This is because more screen time is devoted to the 'domestic situations' of these 'leading characters' in comparison to 'previous male series' (Clarke 1992, p. 248). Jean Darblay's (Stephanie Turner) husband Tom Darblay (David Hargreaves), of *Juliet Bravo*, finds his wife's career success threatening. Maggie Forbes' (Jill Gascoine) son, Steve Forbes (Nigel Rathbone), of *The Gentle Touch*, is 'used to dramatise the conflict of priority mothers face with a demanding job' (Clarke 1992, p. 248). This strategy encourages

an audience to feel more closely aligned with both leading women over any other character in each series.

Twice as much time is now devoted to Jean Darblay's domestic scenes in comparison to Det. Sgt. Smith of *Hunters Walk*. Two minutes and seven seconds of an episode, on average, is used to observe Jean Darblay at home with her husband. *The Gentle Touch* devotes even more time with seven minutes and forty five seconds of each episode featuring Maggie Forbes at home with her son.¹⁸ This is just under half of the average time devoted to scenes that take place within the station Maggie Forbes works at. Both series, as those examined so far, strike a balance between their sparse station design and more elaborately designed civilian spaces both stylistically and ideologically.

As previously identified, Hartley police station is designed in accordance with Jean Darblay's view of police work. As opposed to previous studio-shot series, where ensemble casts vie for a viewer's attention within the station space, Hartley's station design firmly aligns the viewer with the discipline Darblay imposes over her uniformed colleagues. Her matriarchal control exposes the traditional all male methods of policing as infantile. Backed by a resolute belief in the law, Darblay instils her own view of a more compassionate, courteous, and patient policing into her colleagues. She is the first figure of significant authority to demonstrate an active interest in public needs and attempts to heal the fractured relationship between the police service and public. As stated in the *Radio Times*, actress Stephanie Turner believed that this 'adherence to the everyday tone of police business is a factor in the series' success' (Quoted in Beauman 1982, p.9).

This ideology is furthered by the depiction of civilian spaces where a vectorisation of props, assisted by camera editing, exposes the instability of entrepreneurial yuppie characters. This complex vectorisation is instrumental in depicting women characters suffering as a result of Thatcher's attempts to reassert a Victorian sexual division of labour within family units. Women characters' various interactions with props, within their surrounding domestic spaces, frequently

¹⁸ These statistics were calculated through the first six episodes of each series.

destabilises the macro meaning of a scene. In essence *Juliet Bravo* is pervaded by an anti-Thatcher sentiment that tries to preserve the values of a community against the sweeping tide of consumerism and its accompanying callous individuality. The series draws attention to the suffering women characters endure as a result of the Conservative government's, then, attempts to create an ideology of separate spheres. This seemingly clear-cut view is complicated, however, as audiences are regularly subjected to scenes that focus upon the difficulties the Darblays experience due to Jean Darblay's role as breadwinner of her household.

The interior of the Darblays' bottom floor has a rather minimalist design. It is an open plan that combines an equally sized lounge and kitchen. There is no strict divide separating the two halves of the space. Therefore, it stands in stark contrast to Hartley station where the male uniformed officers are clearly separated from Jean Darblay by a small desk area. A key feature of the Darblays' living space is a circular table placed inside the lounge. Here both characters can discuss matters and share their meals together. It is on this table that reconciliations, following disputes, take place. In 'The One Who Got Away' (BBC1, 1/11/1980) Tom Darblay rests on the table to write a letter of apology that reads 'sorry I've been so grumpy love Tom'. There is also less of a division of labour in this household, compared to the domestic set designs of the Smiths' home in *Hunters Walk*. Here the Darblays equally share all chores within the household. In 'The Runner' (BBC1, 4/10/1980), for example, they share the kitchen space, standing over the sink as they wash and dry their cutlery together whilst discussing their days at work. The key features and dimensions of this set design seemingly promote a companionate marriage where both partners are treated as equals and the man undertakes an equivalent share of the domestic work.



Figure 64: Jean and Tom Darblay share their household chores. There is no longer a sexual division of labour in this space.

Tom Darblay's character reflected a changing social attitude, experienced throughout wider British society, where men were expected to play a more active role in domestic work. He represents a different strand of the 'new man' figure. In comparison to the hedonistic yuppies, seen in other civilian spaces, Tom Darblay is a representation of the caring husband, as depicted in Mothercare adverts of the time identified in chapter two. Within such scenes, which depict a harmonious sharing of their home space, props do not possess accumulative identities. Although a significant number of props are used, they are not shared between characters. The main focus of an audience's attention is on the positioning of Jean and Tom Darblay and their close proximity to one another. This is a space of mutual agreement and a sharing of jobs. The relatively simple and bare design of the space and the actors' positioning reflects this. This marriage stands in stark contrast to Bob Steele in *Z Cars* who beats his wife and sits at the head of the table whilst she performs household chores. This marriage is also different from Smith in *Hunters Walk*, who resides in the lounge to fix objects such as his son's bicycle tyre or the iron whilst Betty is confined to the kitchen space. Comparatively, there is no such sexual division of labour in the Darblays' household.

As the series develops, however, the Darblays interact with props to undercut the egalitarian design of their home space. Jean Darblay is not able to fully

separate her private self from her public persona. Whereas George Dixon, from *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC 1955-1976) as analysed in chapter one, projects the same character in all manner of spaces, to maintain stability throughout the series, Jean Darblay's difficulty in being unable to leave her public persona at work causes disruption to her family life. The equal sharing of this open living space leads to major conflicts between the Darblays that rock the foundations of their marriage. In the episode 'Coming Back' (BBC1, 11/10/1980) both characters have an explosive argument within the kitchen space.

Annoyed that his wife will not stop ordering him about, Tom Darblay accidentally tips spaghetti from a saucepan into the sink and then burns himself trying to pick up the spaghetti with his hands. Meanwhile in the lounge side of the space, within the same shot where both characters stand in profile, Jean Darblay angrily slams down placemats and cutlery onto the circular dining table. She lashes out against this table and is seemingly against the equality and discussion it signifies. Without a sense of structure, order or division to this spatial structure, like that of the station, Jean Darblay finds it difficult to maintain appropriate boundaries. She often treats her husband as though he is one of her junior officers. Again the props do not engage in a complex system of vectorisation, like that of other civilian spaces, as they serve to underline and emphasise spoken dialogue. However, these props do undercut the initial reading of the space that promotes an end to a sexual division of labour. These interactions with the spaghetti, placemats and cutlery, turns the nature of the space into an abrasive one. Nevertheless, despite this lack of vectorisation, which has an ability to undercut spoken dialogue or frequently alter the macro meaning of a scene, the props are used more prominently and expressively in this space than in the Hartley police station scenes.



Figure 65: Jean Darblay forcefully slams cutlery and placemats on the circular dining table as Tom Darblay proceeds to burn his hands on the spaghetti.

Jean Darblay's inability to separate her private self from her public persona becomes more apparent in the episode 'Expectations' (BBC1, 8/11/1980). At the start of the episode Tom Darblay is in bed waiting for Jean to join him. Signifiers of his wife's job surround and entrap him within the bedroom including her police jacket hung on the bedroom door, and her police radio placed beside the bed.

Tom Darblay feels he has to compete for his wife's attention with signifiers of her work within their bedroom. As the *Radio Times* stated; 'the inspector is the lead and her husband is the domestic background' (Phillips 1980, p.74). Once the police radio has been put away the Darblays kiss. This kiss is then interrupted by a phone call from Hartley station. Tom Darblay passes his wife the phone from his side of the bed and across himself. As she talks on the phone the camera focuses on his disappointed face in a close-up shot for ten seconds as he repeatedly sighs. With Jean Darblay off-screen, the camera is interested in Tom Darblay as she talks about a development in a robbery. At the end of the episode Tom Darblay claims that he has lost confidence and is resentful of her success as her career is always the sole topic of conversation. This figure of the career woman was also emerging in British society alongside that of the new man. The emergence of both of these gendered identities challenged enduring assumptions about what a man and woman should be and do. Soap operas reflected this change as career woman characters proposed

'a model in which women act rather than react; a model in which it is necessary for a woman to be self-assertive rather than continually absorbing the pain and punishment on behalf of other members of the family' (Geraghty 1991, p. 139). As actress Stephanie Turner claimed in a *Radio Times* article:

Women are constantly playing those roles where all you do is pour cups of tea and say, "What happened next?" I see David Hargreaves who plays my husband, doing it and he hates it. I say, "I've done it for fourteen years, being bored and upset" (Quoted in Beauman 1980, p. P74).

The design of the Darblay's home is meant to be a relaxing alternative from Hartley station and a progressive space that has broken down the sexual division of labour seen in *Hunters Walk* and *Z Cars*. However, with traditional gender roles broken down the Darblays' home space is subject to regular conflict causing Tom Darblay to move out in the third series. In this bedroom scene the props operate as part of a more complex network of signs. The lines of the performances are repeatedly displaced by the placement of props and camerawork. Jean Darblay putting away her police radio combined with the camera focusing on the two in bed, through a tighter shot scale, adds a new vectorial trajectory to the scene. Both are now at peace and content with signifiers of her work being excluded from view. Tom Darblay's passing of the phone to his wife, however, means that each character's connection with this object displaces its former use to a reserve meaning. What was once a harmless domestic appliance has now been turned into yet another signifier of her work, literally intruding on Tom Darblay's private space. This displacement causes a strong sense of surprise and rupture to the newly established equilibrium that had been achieved by excluding the police jacket and radio from view.

Jean Darblay taking the phone from her husband causes her to lean forward out of the camera's frame. Both characters are separated once again. The police jacket, hung on the back of the bedroom door, is brought back into view as Jean Darblay sits forward off-screen. This new identity of the phone 'breaks the thread of these precious occurrences and starts the scene afresh. Tom Darblay's privacy is

again impinged upon by his wife's work. Like the Buckley's living space, from the episode 'Rage' (BBC1, 25/10/1980) analysed in chapter four, such interactions with props provide an ever evolving network of signs that can be repeatedly displaced. The use of props within this space has become more prominent than other civilian spaces of police officers in previous series. Despite the minimalist design of the Darblay's home, in relation to other civilian domestic spaces featured in *Juliet Bravo*, the use of props in this bedroom scene are just as expressive and complex. The design of the space is relatively minimal, like that of the station, but the use of props provides a disparity between the dimensions of the space and what they symbolise.



Figure 66: At the start of the episode Tom Darblay is separated from Jean Darblay as she speaks over the phone off-screen. This brings her police jacket back into view. Although, when they embrace at the end of the episode, in the same shot, little has actually been achieved.

The eventual reconciliation between the Darblays in this episode has a disheartening quality to it. Jean Darblay hugs her husband and both seem to have broken a barrier as they are now able to address their problems. However, Tom Darblay asks, 'you haven't told me about your day'. Jean Darblay replies, after a long silence, in a distanced and reserved tone, telling him there is 'nothing to tell'. She has to restrain herself from talking about work and she finds this a struggle. Although both are literally together they are figuratively further apart than they have been as she can no longer confide in him. Her long drawn out response does not make this seem like a legitimate solving of their issues. Despite the design of the space the Darblays are never able to find a balance between their collective identity

as a married couple and their own individuality as advised in sociological writings at the time.

This is different from *Z Cars*, where a dispute between the Steeles is resolved by a kiss, and *Hunters Walk*, where the Smiths work through their marriage despite minor disagreements. Here, problems between the Darblays are more difficult to solve and are repeatedly revisited on an episodic basis. Whereas Jean Darblay tells Jeremy Buckley (Christian Rodska) in 'Rage' that both members of a marriage must 'listen' to one another, this advice is less easily achieved in practice.

Juliet Bravo depicts the ideological inconsistencies that were occurring in British society. Equality between a husband and wife, which Jean Darblay promotes, is not easily achieved. The Darblays' domestic space is a reflection of public perceptions of marriage in the 1980s. As identified in Janet Finch's and David Morgan's (1991) study, entitled 'Marriage in the 1980s', the Darblays' marriage is characterised by a distinctive realism. These scenes function to 'draw a sharp distinction between the aspiration and the lived reality' (Finch and Morgan 1991, p. 63). As there were a rising number of divorces, and stepfamilies were becoming more common, marriage was considered to be something that couples worked hard at to try and achieve. Both parties are putting 'considerable emotional and practical effort into trying to achieve and sustain' compromises (Finch and Morgan 1991, p. 57) that in a rather bleak turn of events do not work out in the end.

The Gentle Touch and Childcare

The divisions that exist in Maggie Forbes' home space in *The Gentle Touch*, broadcast four months earlier than *Juliet Bravo* in 1980, provide a sense of conformity and stability that perhaps the Darblays' marriage is seeking. The orderly nature and design of Forbes' home space offers an alternative solution to the loneliness and disorder that the alcoholic upper middle class women characters, analysed in chapter four, frequently endure within *The Gentle Touch*. The design of the space provides Maggie Forbes and Steve Forbes with a sense of structure and

purpose. On the ground floor of the Forbes' living space is a kitchenette area and lounge area divided from one another by a breakfast bar. At this breakfast bar all meals are eaten. Maggie Forbes is the only character to use the kitchen space frequently. Other characters briefly enter the kitchen space, but she is the only one to use it consistently for long durations. The kitchen is inherently Maggie Forbes' domain.

In this stricter division than seen in the Darblay's living space, the lounge is a space for arguments where Maggie Forbes' son protests, and the breakfast bar is an area of controlled order and instruction. Her use of the breakfast bar in particular mirrors the way in which the interview room table is used for interrogations at her station. Unlike *Hunters Walk*, where Betty seems caged off from the rest of the space, Maggie Forbes uses the kitchen to survey her living space. In the opening episode, 'Killers' (ITV, 11/4/1980), she prepares her husband Ray Forbes (Leslie Schofield) some breakfast. Before he is killed later on in the episode, Maggie Forbes makes his breakfast whilst standing in the kitchen area as he sits on the lounge side of the breakfast bar. Labour is not shared in this household and this sexual division of labour, established here, is upheld throughout the series. Instead of characters eating at a circular dining table, which signifies openness, the Forbes eat at a breakfast bar countertop, thus creating a stricter divide. Whenever meals are eaten following the death of Ray Forbes, Maggie Forbes sits in the kitchen side of the space and her son Steve Forbes sits in the lounge side.

Throughout *The Gentle Touch* the living space is somewhat more formulaic than *Juliet Bravo* in that certain types of disputes are assigned to specific parts of the house. Whereas the whole house is entrapping and claustrophobic for Tom Darblay, Steve Forbes shares a different relationship with his mother and living space. Whenever Steve and Maggie Forbes eat at the breakfast bar, a discussion and evaluation of sociological issues are deliberated, sometimes in an interrogative manner. In 'Help' (ITV, 25/4/1980) Maggie Forbes confronts her son about underage drinking as he eats his breakfast. She asks him, with her arms crossed, 'what were you up to last night?' Knowing that he was at a 'boozier' she informs her

son that there will be no more drinking until 'he is old enough' to which he instantly complies.

Then in the episode 'Something Blue' (ITV, 5/9/1980) Maggie Forbes, having found pornographic materials in Steve Forbes' bedroom, watches over her son eating at the breakfast bar whilst he is listening to the radio. She turns off the radio to make the space quieter to talk. This action mirrors the act of switching on a tape recorder in the interview room, thus signalling the commencement of her line of questioning. The click of switching off the radio causes Steve Forbes to look back at his mother. Upon mentioning the magazines she found in his room Maggie Forbes clasps her hands together, resting her elbows on the table top, and rests her head on top of her hands. This duplicates the body language she uses when interrogating suspects within the station.



Figure 67: Maggie turns off the radio and rests her head on her hands as she questions Steve about the pornographic materials she found in his room.

Later, in 'Something Blue', Steve Forbes' friend Phil Shervington (Simon Gipps-Kent) goads Steve Forbes, over the phone, to visit and watch a pornographic video whilst Mr and Mrs Shervington are out. Maggie Forbes listens in through the telephone in her bedroom. Steve Forbes whispers in the narrow corridor of their house with his head bowed, trying to hide the conversation from his mother. This stance is immediately juxtaposed against Shervington on the other side of the phone standing in his parents' expansive front room space confidently with his head raised high. Shervington loudly announces that Steve Forbes is a 'chicken' for not wanting to watch the video. Shervington is in a large and undisciplined space without any boundaries that Maggie Forbes' home space provides. Maggie Forbes

corrects this when she visits Shervington's mother (Lynda Marchal), as analysed in chapter four, and informs her of the consequences of such lacklustre parenting. Mrs Shervington concedes and hands the videotape back to Maggie Forbes.



Figure 68: There is a stark contrast between Steve's nervous body language, and how he is positioned in his home space, compared to Shervington.

This ideology is furthered in 'Paint it Black' (ITV, 18/12/1981) when Maggie Forbes asks her son why he does not feel tempted by the drug abuse that his school, Barrington Lane, is currently experiencing. He claims that those who resort to such excesses live without 'meaning', 'structure' and 'terms of reference' in their lives. This is what the breakfast bar in essence gives Steve Forbes compared to other undisciplined characters. It provides Steve Forbes structure in life and a mutual understanding and respect between him and his mother. They conform to their traditional gender roles as Maggie Forbes stays in the kitchen side of the space in every conversation. Rather than conversations and disputes going round and round in circles, as symbolised by the Darblay's circular dining table in *Juliet Bravo*, here matters are resolved and arguments never escalate. Maintaining such a sense of ordered division within the Forbes' home space works as a sobering counterpoint to the upper class characters living a life of excess without boundaries, or even morals, to maintain their indulgent lifestyles. Therefore, this series can be seen to be ideologically consistent. In the civilian spaces, analysed in chapter four, the designs are largely critical of distant fathers living hedonistic lifestyles that contribute towards the alienation of their children and wives.

Although the stricter and modest design of Maggie Forbes' home can be seen to promote a sexual division of labour, she is shown to be competent in both the public sphere of work and the private domestic sphere. The skills she has

amassed through her public detective persona enables her to be a successful parent. Whilst the Thatcher administration was attempting to encourage women to become housewives, i.e. the abolition of the maternity benefit in 1982, Maggie Forbes was a character used to prove that a single mother could be both a self-sufficient breadwinner and nurturing parent. She can meet with the challenges and pressures that each of these roles provide. Whereas Jean Darblay's inability to separate her private self from public persona causes a deep and constant rupture between her and her husband, Maggie Forbes' constant combination of both identities within either her work or home setting is what makes her an effective detective and mother.

In relation to this breakfast bar area of mild confrontation and reconciliation, the lounge area of the Forbes' home space is where more exaggerated arguments unfold. In the lounge frustrations are vented and destruction occurs to threaten the ordered space. In the episode 'Maggie's Luck' (ITV, 24/10/1980) Maggie Forbes returns home to find her son tucking in his shirt in the lounge area of her home with a female companion. Jumping to conclusions Maggie Forbes throws her son's girlfriend Barbara (Lorna Charles) out. Later, Steve Forbes rewires the plug on his mother's iron in the centre of the lounge space. He tells his mother that she 'had no right' to throw out his girlfriend. She replies by claiming that he should not have been spending time 'with some tarty little scrubber'. Steve Forbes points out that his mother is 'jumping to conclusions without evidence'. Once he has said this he pushes the iron from the top of the coffee table, breaking it, and sinks into the sofa with his head in hands. Maggie Forbes realises her son is right, apologises and promises to solve matters with his new girlfriend. Steve Forbes momentarily ruins an object within the lounge space to challenge his mother's authority. By the conclusion of the episode, however, a return to peaceful normality is achieved.

This is different from the domestic scenes in *Juliet Bravo* where the equilibrium that the Darblays both reach at the end of an episode is often one of discontent and continued distance. In *The Gentle Touch* the Forbes' lounge is prone to occasional disruption and misunderstandings. The order that Maggie Forbes

brings to the kitchen space, which overlooks the lounge space as an extension of the station, keeps her home life stable. Her ability to keep her household ordered and assign specific arguments to certain sections of the house is similar to the etiquette experienced at her work. Also, like the cinematography of her work scenes, there is a reliance on the close-up. Conversations that occur both at the breakfast bar and the lounge heavily rely on the spoken word and facial reactions. Although predominantly a police series, these scenes have more in common with the British soap opera as these close-ups are regularly used to 'emphasise the high drama' (Paterson 1980, p. 65). Similarly, conflict is not as extensive as all of the other police series examined in this thesis. Like that of the soap the Forbes' household 'becomes less of a battleground and more of a place of safety where there is some protection from the harshness of the world outside' (Geraghty 1991, p. 83). Also, like the station design of *The Gentle Touch*, there is not a complex vectorisation of props to repeatedly alter the compositions of signs within a scene to change its macro meaning. Facial close-ups, the dimensions of the living space, and the positioning of characters, are more prominent than an interaction with props. Interactions with props, such as turning off the radio, function to initiate a prolonged exchange of facial close-ups between mother and son.

Maggie Forbes is indisputably in control and there is little sharing of props. When Steve Forbes breaks the iron, he is making a rash protest against his mother and soon buys her a new one to rebalance this momentary disorder. She finds the new iron placed on the lounge table with an accompanying apologetic note. It is rare for props in these scenes to establish new connections with different characters. Without a new connection to displace a prop's primary meaning, to a former use, the vectorial trajectory of a scene cannot be destabilised. Similarly when props are used they are placed in prominent positions, such as the lounge table, and are not part of a complex, ever evolving, network of signs. This relatively minimalist set design helps to maintain the programme's ideological consistency. This simplistic space of division and order stands in stark contrast to the elaborately designed, problematic spaces of hedonistic characters who become implicated in crime. This is very different from *Juliet Bravo* where domestic scenes between the

Darblays are filled with conflict and function as a representation of the ideological inconsistencies that operated throughout wider society.

In conclusion, examining the civilian space of a police officer and how it negotiates between their private self and public persona can complicate the ideology of a police series. Examining spaces in this manner can unearth aspects of a character that have not been considered in previous television scholarship. For example, critics usually draw attention to Regan's 'identification with working-class people' in *The Sweeney* (Bazalgette 1976, p. 62) yet his character is in fact more layered than has previously been acknowledged. Particularly when his gesturing and costuming within middle class women's spaces is considered. The domestic space of police officers and detectives are the most ideologically complex spaces of a studio-shot police series. All must maintain a balance between the ordered nature of the station space, the series component of the programme, and the more elaborately designed civilian spaces that share a lot in common with the set designs of single plays in their vectorisation of props.

Hunters Walk, for example, sees Smith and Betty happily conform to their roles within a sexual division of labour yet at the same time Betty is given an equal share of the camerawork that provides her with a space to voice her opinions and challenge Smith's authority within this comfortable setting. As the space appears for one minute and five seconds in each episode, on average, the space has creative license to occasionally engage in a system of vectorisation. This is also true of *Juliet Bravo* that makes use of an ever evolving network of signs, like that of civilian spaces in the series, to expose Jean Darblay's advice as being difficult to uphold. *The Gentle Touch*, however, provides Maggie Forbes with an ordered home space that works as an alternative solution to the loneliness and disorder the alcoholic upper middle class women characters frequently experience within the series. The minimalist design of the space enables Maggie Forbes to resolve her domestic disputes with relative ease. Examining the civilian spaces of police officers has allowed this study to relate the police series to sociological discussions of marriage not previously considered to this extent in television scholarship.

Conclusion

This thesis has achieved a revisionist history of British television drama. Its studio focused analysis of the police series, using a semiotic method of analysis synonymous with Theatre Studies, has challenged the development model narrative that dominates television criticism. Both the literature review and introduction of this thesis demonstrated that historical accounts of British television drama have been marginally interested in the use of film technology. Outspoken television practitioners such as Ken Loach, Mike Leigh and Troy Kennedy Martin (all of whom had subsequent careers in the film industry) preferred using tangible locations and the ability to manipulate time through the editorial flexibility of a film camera. Both of these factors created a drama with a specific authenticity and verisimilitude to depict real life as it is lived. It has, however, been acknowledged by academics and other practitioners, including Charles Barr (1997), Shaun Sutton (1982), and Irene Shubik (1975), that multi-video camera studio drama preserves a continuous performance, the authority of the actor, and the theatrical conventions of real time. These factors can combine to produce metaphorical settings that emotionally distance a spectator from the drama.

This thesis has demonstrated that one method of production did not dominate television drama in the UK before the arrival of digital technology in 1993. Therefore, this preoccupation with film technology in television scholarship is unjust. This study has reassessed television drama's roots in theatrical fiction and suggested how studio-shot dramas using video technology can be particularly visually complex when deconstructed through a specific semiotic terminology. Like that of the theatre, studio dramas are perceived in spatial terms which can often reflect the prevailing patterns of social intercourse and communicate across unspoken factors in relationships between characters. In what has been previously classified as a 'performative space for acting' (Caughie 2000a, p. 77) this thesis has examined the specific purpose of the studio. It has challenged wider assumptions about studio drama. By reconsidering the value of studio-shot television fiction this thesis has found new developments in the field of Television Studies and the forthcoming conclusion will illuminate new possibilities for research.

Aesthetics

The first principal research concern of this thesis was to deduce what makes studio-shot television fiction using multi-video cameras aesthetically distinctive. Initially this thesis analysed the material spaces of single play and series production, how they conditioned the aesthetic forms of programmes, and how the resulting fictional spaces negotiated the opportunities and constraints of studio space. Given the naturalistic and metonymic nature of the majority of most studio-shot drama using video technology, the studio was a mode of production that could use up to six video cameras, filming simultaneously, in real time. Therefore, using the police series as a case study, interior scenes can be seen to possess an expressive cinematographic grammar given the larger amount of different shots used in relation to film. This wider variety of shots, as a result of the multi-camera studio setup, allows drama to have more open ended conclusions and balanced debates regarding police and social policy. These six cameras shooting simultaneously can capture a host of characters' views and standpoints within one space.

This quality can be diminished significantly in filmed series as such programmes often present these debates through the subjective viewpoint of a main character. The film camera is less observant of space and so a viewer's main point of focus becomes aligned with a principal protagonist. The regular use of POV shots in series three and four of *Special Branch* (Thames 1969- 74) and *The Sweeney* (Thames 1975- 1978) forges an empathetic closeness with John Craven (George Sewell) and Jack Regan (John Thaw) leaving little room for a viewer to view narrative proceedings autonomously. The use of a single film camera meant that interior scenes had to be reshot in their entirety many different times. This practice was time consuming given the time constraints of television production. Therefore, the camera often aligns itself with a principal character to guide an audience through events rather than putting forward the viewpoints of many different characters in an open ended debate. Although there were other stylistic considerations that led to a significant use of POV shots, such as Ted Childs' desire to emulate the visual style of 1970s American crime films, the practice of using a

single 16mm camera within a strict narrative format was an integral influence in this cinematographic practice.

As a result of these differences in camerawork, studio-shot series were more inclined to observe spaces and how characters would operate within them. Three visual components of a scene become an audience's primary focus. The first component is an actor's positioning, second is their use of props and third is their gesturing in relation to the spoken word.

Studio-shot drama was not usurped by the popularisation of film as television scholarship has suggested. However, this is not to say that film had no impact upon the visual grammar of the studio. Following the transmission of *The Sweeney* studio-shot police series are seemingly determined to have their viewers ideologically aligned with a lead character. Jean Darblay (Stephanie Turner) of *Juliet Bravo* (BBC 1980-1985) and Maggie Forbes (Jill Gascoine) of *The Gentle Touch* (LWT 1980-1984) are an audience's primary focus of attention, reducing all other actors to supporting roles. This is achieved by devoting more screen time to these women characters above all other actors and also by situating them in an all-male institution.

As a result of this renewed desire to forge an empathetic identification with a lead character a larger proportion of close-ups are used in *The Gentle Touch* to frequently isolate characters from their surrounding space. Similarly, the station design of *Juliet Bravo* is in line with Darblay's view of police work rather than being a space open to debate from a number of different perspectives. Although both series provide an audience with a lessened autonomous gaze regarding sociological debate, an actor's gesturing, positioning and use of props are still an integral aspect of a multi-camera studio production and the development of these components will be the focus of the following alternative development model.

An Alternative Development Model

The existing development model depicts studio drama as being gradually replaced by a cinematic aesthetic from the late 1960s onwards. There was, however, no simple displacement from video to film, as many studies have argued. Instead, television studio drama has four key aesthetic practices. Firstly there is its observant camerawork. Secondly is an actor's positioning in relation to other characters and the set design. Third is an actor's gesturing and fourth is an actor's handling of props. The studio cameras' relative distance from narrative proceedings make these aesthetic practices the centre of an audience's attention. This alternative development model, as set out in the introduction's research questions, charts how these four aesthetics develop and evolve from 1955 to 1982. It also reassesses the studio's relationship to the spatial aesthetics of the theatre without automatically dismissing this connection as a burden to the aesthetic progression of such drama.

Initial Distinctions

Following Jason Jacobs' (2000) study of studio-shot drama, that concludes in 1955, there was a relatively clear-cut difference between how the single play and series were approached within the studio between 1955- 1962. In this period, the production processes of the single play at ABC created an expressive space to deal with the interiority of characters. This was aided by a material production space that had a more flexible lighting system, mobilised cameras and a creative team that had a clearer focus on the positioning of actors in relation to props. Fictional spaces of BBC series, by comparison, were smaller and designed for as little as two camera viewpoints that panned from side to side.

Therefore, one of the most interesting findings of thesis is that the single play was a format where set designers were given room to have an authorial voice and creative license in the visual articulation of themes. The *mise en scène* of a single play, combined with mobile camerawork and performances that interact with the surrounding space, provide a visual discourse that express a character's inner

feelings beyond their immediate verbal dialogue. Signs become more polysemic within such a space as an audience's focus is not exclusively drawn to the spoken word, despite Kennedy Martin's claim that all naturalistic studio-shot drama unfolds a story 'by means of dialogue' (Kennedy Martin 1964, p. 24). In comparison with the spatial designs, camera movements and acting of the single play, spaces of the studio-shot series predominantly function as a backdrop. As actors were positioned in frontal compositions they were less inclined to interact with their space and so the resulting characterisation is not as complex or as conflicted.

Blurred Distinctions

This opposition begins to blur from 1962 onwards. Sydney Newman's appointment as the BBC's Head of Drama in 1963, after being headhunted from ABC, can be seen to have an influence on the way material space was approached in the studio produced series format. *Dr Finlay's Casebook* (BBC 1962-71), *Compact* (BBC 1962-5) and *Z Cars* (BBC 1962-78) gradually drew back viewers from ITV and enabled the series to become better resourced.

Just before Newman's arrival however, it was the production of *Z Cars* that marked the first attempts to merge the series format with mobile cameras, elaborately designed sets and a focus on gesturing and positioning of actors as part of a visual discourse that operated *in relation to* the spoken word. Six cameras were used over fifteen different sets in each *Z Cars* episode. This ensured that the series format adopted the expansive method of shooting single play studio dramas and that the organisation of space was no longer frontal. In *Z Cars* each camera shot lasts twelve seconds on average with two hundred and fifty changes of shot in each episode, making it five edits per minute. It was this faster paced narrative that made *Z Cars* a stylistic departure from previous studio drama but also created a stylistic template for future series.

Within this stylistic template *Z Cars* provides a contrast between minimally designed station spaces and elaborately designed domestic spaces. The

composition of camera shots in station interiors produce meanings predominantly through the positioning of characters in relation to one other and their surrounding space. This gesturing and positioning, of actors, is important particularly when articulating the nature of the relationships shared between CID officers, the uniformed division, and public within Newtown station.

Civilian spaces by comparison introduce new characters and situations on an episodic basis that can be taken alone as single play narratives. Within these spaces props frequently engage in a process of accumulation where they obtain multiple identities after being handled by different characters. This regular use of props being shared between characters is instrumental in communicating the gender dynamics of a given household. These depictions of power dynamics can then be taken as metonymical representations of British society as a whole. For example in 'Tuesday Afternoon' (BBC, 4/12/1963) redundant sheet metal worker Pawson (Eric Barker) wears his hat as it signifies his ability to retain his breadwinner position. To Mrs Pawson (Judy Child) however, the hat is an obstructive object obstructing her from reading the newspaper. This scene is also asked to be read metonymically as Pawson is a character representative of aging tradesmen who felt their work was being overtaken by a demand for unskilled youths throughout wider society. Therefore, the acting in these more elaborately designed civilian spaces has greater depth as the more frequent use of props and slightly more elaborately designed spaces are used to articulate characters' inner, and conflicted, mind-sets as traditionally experienced in the single play.

In *Hunters Walk* (ATV 1973-76) actors use props, and interact with their surrounding mise en scène regularly within Broadstone station. Still, however, the station design is comparatively minimal in relation to the intricately designed domestic spaces of civilians. In 'Disturbance' (ITV, 4/6/1973), for example, Janet Kenwright's (Helen Fraser) interactions with her furniture causes what Pavis defines as a displacement. Janet Kenwright's positioning and actions change the overall macro meaning of her living room space. Her constricted movements signify her entrapment and displace the space's former use, as a space of relaxation for men, to a reserve meaning. It is now a space of work signified through her cleaning and

positioning. The visual discourse of the studio has progressed and developed in this series. Actors' interactions with props, both within the station and domestic spaces, occur more frequently. The compositions of signs within domestic scenes in particular are complex and expressive enough to reach Pavis' third stage of vectorisation.

Popularisation of film

The Sweeney, shot on a single 16mm film camera, regresses this sociologically complex use of props. Given the strict time constraints of television production, props are no longer shared between characters. For the purposes of continuity close-ups become more regularly used and POV shots are prominently used at key moments to encourage an audience into identifying with the principal characters thus internalising and personalising public debate into petty squabbles between Regan (John Thaw) and his superiors.

Much like studio-shot programmes, however, civilian spaces are more elaborately designed than station scenes and these designs can at times visually articulate characters' mind-sets and relationships to one another in a manner that is not possible through spoken dialogue. Without Regan's POV the spatial design of Kemble's (Brian Blessed) office and the positioning of actors, in 'Ringer' (ITV, 2/1/1975), articulate the hierarchical structure of his criminal gang. Props, however, are still viewed in close-up leaving little room for them to be handled by different characters and cause a disruption to the vectorial chain of signs. For the purposes of continuity characters rarely move within interior spaces compared to outside locations where chases and action sequences occur. Interior spaces are not autonomously observed by viewers like that of studio-shot fiction. As previously stated, the studio provides a dramatic space where objects can extend beyond their narrative function to engage in a sociological debate occurring outside of the fictional world presented. A filmed drama, however, features props operating as part of a system of narrative significance.

Return to the studio

Popular police series produced in the television studio, following the transmission of *The Sweeney*, were seemingly influenced by the strong identification with lead characters filmed series encouraged. *Juliet Bravo* and *The Gentle Touch* are predominantly interested in Darblay's and Forbes' emotional responses and reactions to situations. As David Crozier, a set designer who worked on *Juliet Bravo*, explains; 'the overriding consideration at all times [when designing a space] is what is appropriate for the character and their environment'.¹⁹ Following the transmission of popular series shot on 16mm film, character becomes the most important determinant behind designing a space. This changes how public spaces, such as the police station space, are framed as they are now designed in correspondence to Darblay's and Forbes' view of police work. This leaves less room for an autonomous view of events from the perspective of the audience.

However, despite this renewed interest in identification, the use of studio space towards the end of the 1922-82 period within domestic civilian settings, reaches its most visually complex stage of development in semiotic terms. In 'Rage' (BBC1, 25/10/1980) (designed by Crozier) Kim Buckley's (Judy Liebert) different interactions with various household objects repeatedly destabilise a viewer's reading of the scene as part of an ever evolving network of signs. The actress establishes and destabilises a whole host of connections with a number of props. Despite a closer identification with a principal lead character, props in civilian spaces are used in a more complex manner than previous series, reaching Pavis' fourth stage of vectorisation.

Ultimately, it is this polysemic use of props that makes studio space distinctive. Whilst some camerawork, particularly on *the Gentle Touch*, and set designs encourage an audience to empathetically identify with a main character, it is still actors' interactions with props that connect scenes to challenging sociological debates, particularly regarding gender. This progressive vectorial development of the studio technique runs counter to the already established development model

¹⁹ Interview with the author.

that implies the introduction of Film on Four represents a close convergence between television and the cinema. In fact, the distinctive studio technique remains unique, reaching its most complex stage of vectorisation in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As the single play form was dwindling in prominence and significance amongst television schedules, the studio-shot series form was at its most popular and resourced stage in history before the onslaught of digital technology, thus allowing certain scenes to push the aesthetic boundaries of the dramatic form to new heights. Following this thesis it is worth considering how this new alternative model can be attributed to other genres that have endured throughout the history of British television drama.

Gender

When commencing the research for this thesis it soon became apparent that gender would become an integral research concern that could not be ignored. Staff working behind the camera, and depictions of characters in front of the camera, throughout the history of British television drama, were seemingly dominated by men at all levels of production'. As a result of such gendered production MacMurrough-Kavanagh (2000), as mentioned in the literature review, argues that an increasing distance opened up between 'elite filmed drama with high budgets and cinematic values', and the 'domestic studio drama with tight budgets, rushed schedules and emphasis on interpersonal relationships' (MacMurrough-Kavanagh 2000, p. 155). MacMurrough-Kavanagh strongly suggests that filmed drama on location was a 'privileged male world' of sociocultural debate, whereas the studio-shot 'female world of emotional encounter and private response' was seen as film's poor relation (MacMurrough-Kavanagh 2000, p. 155).

Following on from this essay this thesis identified a body of feminist scholarship ranging from 1976 to the mid-1980s that brought a feminist discourse into the academy. Influential writings by Carole Lopate (1977), Tania Modleski (1979), Richard Dyer et al. (1980), Ellen Seiter (1982), and Patricia Mellencamp (1986), all broadened the meaning of the term political to include a general interest

in women's everyday lives. These examinations of the soap opera and the sitcom all share an interest in the unique aesthetic of the continuous serial form and how their designs involve women viewers in their patterns of domestic viewing and overturn a value structure based on oppositions of masculinity and femininity.

The acknowledgement of the feminist merits of certain texts is usually recognised by critics if the programme in question belongs to a specific genre, i.e. the soap opera, or challenges misogyny in a certain way, i.e. *Prime Suspect* (Granada 1991-2006). However, as MacMurragh-Kavanagh has observed, even depictions of sociocultural debate have historically attracted more women viewers than men. *Cathy Come Home* (BBC1, 16/11/1966) for example generated an audience of nearly four million men but over six million women and *The Big Flame* (BBC1, 19/2/1969) had an audience of two million and seven hundred and fifty thousand men and four million women (MacMurragh-Kavanagh 2000, p. 155). Therefore on this basis, the British television police series and its potentially large female following is also worthy of consideration. This thesis has provided new insights to enable television scholarship to better appreciate the nuanced nature of gendered representations in dramas previously critiqued or ignored by feminist scholars. By charting the vectorial complexity of studio spaces in relation to filmed spaces this study has found a genre more interested in women and possibly feminism than has been previously considered.

By theming chapters spatially this research has argued that, within studio-shot drama, an actor's handling of props can enable a series to creatively intervene in socio-economic debate regarding a sexual division of labour. Following *Z Cars'* predominant interest in working class men the often overlooked programme *Hunters Walk* frequently depicts domestic scenes exclusively populated by women in domestic spaces that are encouraged to be read politically. Smith's wife Betty is a member of a union who frequently undercuts her husband's conduct to remind him of the women and families who suffer as a result of his actions. Then *Juliet Bravo* also frames domesticity in a way that can be read as a political struggle during a time of post-feminist dominance. An audience's attention is drawn to the oppression women were suffering under Thatcherism at the time. *Juliet Bravo*

scrutinises a Thatcherite economic philosophy by depicting yuppie characters as being suspicious and often felonious in their various business deals. In a similar manner *The Gentle Touch* exposes individualist women as being alienated despite their wealth. Therefore, looking at these programmes spatially allows for nuanced, often feminist, readings to emerge that have previously not been considered in scholarship.

The Role of the Set Designer

In researching the multi-camera studio production technique, this thesis has revealed the distinctive role of the set designer. There was a role that was unique to the collaborative nature of studio productions. So far in scholarship television drama has been characterised as a writer's medium. Although some work is beginning to acknowledge the director's importance in studio-shot television fiction (e.g. Smart 2010), academic studies must also bear in mind the contribution a designer had to complicate such a monolithic understanding of authorship traditionally attributed to the writer.

As previous BBC Head of Television Design Richard Levin (1961) states, to 'be a member of a team' does not mean that a set designer's contribution as 'an individual artist' disappears (Levin 1961, p. 5). Yet, as Thames Television set designer Freddie Jones claims, a set designer's contribution provides a 'theatrical rather than a natural truth' (Quoted in Cameron and Downing 1975, unpagged). Combine this fact with Television Studies' predominant interest in film technology, it soon becomes clear why such contributions are neglected in scholarship. Developments in Film Studies by Elizabeth-Marie Tuson (2005) have acknowledged the authorial position of set designers within a film production context. Tuson claims that Oscar nominated designer Assheton Gorton was able to move from a permanent contract to a freelance market where he was employed on a film to film basis, therefore affording 'the opportunity to negotiate an increased degree of creative autonomy' (Tuson 2005, p. 100). However, as identified in chapter one, set designers within studio productions did have a significant degree of autonomy in

their designs, often at the expense of an actor's creative input. Their contributions need to be reconsidered in future studies as this would be beneficial for the progression of Television Studies as a discipline.

The use of props, which have been identified throughout this thesis as the key difference between acting styles in the television studio and filmed locations 'are very much the designer's responsibility'.²⁰ As Crozier states, 'dressing the set (positioning props both large and small) is up to the designer and actors' hand props are under the designer's umbrella, too'.²¹ Although the positioning of an actor was the responsibility of a director, 'a designer would advise if an actor was handling a prop incorrectly'.²² Therefore a designer's role as late as 1982 directly impacted upon how an actor used props as part of their performance.

The little historical information available, regarding the work of television set designers, predominantly comes from those who worked on short serials and single plays. This is because, as Crozier states, 'an established series is more a director and producer medium'.²³ However, those who clearly worked on such series clearly had some sort of impact, and this impact needs to be reconsidered and measured in future studies. At the time there was a respect, regard and appreciation of a set designer's contribution to a series. As David E Rose wrote in a memo to Richard Levin on 2nd April 1963:

Now that Frederick Knapman [resident set designer of *Z Cars*] has left the *Z Cars* series. I would like to say what a valuable contribution he has made from the very early stages in 1961. Not only has he designed with enthusiasm his own episodes, but has always borne a responsibility for the programme as a whole. In particular he has attended to the "maintenance" of the regular sets, and has always kept an eye on other episodes and assisted where necessary designers joining the programme for the first time (BBC WAC T5/2,506/3).

²⁰ Interview with the author.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

What needs to be considered in further studies of television is what this contribution is, exactly, beyond that of continuity. This thesis' contribution to knowledge has been the acknowledgement that the role of the set designer was central to the aesthetic development and production history of studio drama, but the precise nature of this role needs further examination.

Appendix: AHRC 'Spaces of Television: Production, Site, and Style'

This thesis is an outcome of a larger AHRC research project entitled, 'Spaces of Television: Production, Site and Style'. This joint initiative being conducted across the Universities of Reading, Leicester and South Wales examines how the material spaces of production (in TV studios and on location) conditioned the aesthetic forms of programmes in the UK from 1955-94. It is interested in how fictional spaces represented on screen negotiated the opportunities and constraints of studio and exterior space, film and video technologies, liveness and recording. Specific foci for the research include BBC studios in London and the regions, the sound-stages at Elstree where programmes for ITV were made, and location shooting of drama series and serials in the period.

The project is essentially a history of how television institutions acquired, planned and prioritised different kinds of production sites in the period. It examines how companies developed resources intended to suit particular modes of production such as multi-camera studios using video technology, sound-stages used in cinema production, and OB units all of which draw on various technologies, personnel and production practices. Each of these different types of site enabled the representation of a different range of fictional spaces. The research conducted throughout this project analyses, therefore, the changing significance of these relationships that exist between site and style.

As part of this project there are two postdoctoral researchers based at the University Of Reading disseminating their research through various publications and symposiums. Leah Panos' research focuses on experimental uses of the studio in 1970s, particularly drama series that utilised colour separation overlay (CSO) such as *Rock Follies* (Thames 1976-77). Panos is developing theoretical and methodological frameworks by means of case studies of programmes, technologies, production practices and personnel. The second postdoctoral researcher William Smart is examining notions of authorship with regards to television directors, particularly the work of Douglas Camfield. Smart focuses on the actual and represented space mobilised in drama genres. His case studies include the use of

space in the soap opera, particularly the early 1980s that was marked by the transition from studio shooting to constructed OB sets in *Brookside* (Mersey TV 1982-2003). Smart is in the process of documenting and assessing assumptions about the meaning and use of space by examining the institutional, economic and aesthetic changes in sites of production and sites represented.

Victoria Byard, a PhD researcher based at the University of Leicester, is writing a thesis on children's telefantasy series. Byard has been investigating the production strategies of telefantasy and its distinctive uses and representations of space. She is focusing on the role of set design and costume in representing legendary, historical and futuristic 'alien' environments, with attention to the relationship between studio and location filming. As some of the technologies and practices of representing space were assimilated from cinema, her research includes comparative work on the production practices and aesthetic codes of British cinema and television in the period and the crossover that occurred between both industries.

The research of this thesis compliments the interests of the other researchers, without replicating their material. Its focus is on how studio television fiction using video technology had its own distinctive aesthetic and how the changing uses of the studio impacted on the performance styles of actors. No other researcher is focusing on acting, the police genre, or is examining the unique aesthetics of naturalist drama within the television studio. Still, this research compliments Byard's research on telefantasy as that study is predominantly interested in filmed drama's relationship to the cinema and how this relationship benefits a genre rooted in fantasy. In response this study is analysing the studio's relationship to notions of theatrical naturalism. Therefore both doctorate studies will provide two different perspectives on what makes video and film technologies distinctive and will together provide the field of Television Studies with a greater understanding of how both types of production space influenced the resulting *mise en scène*.

Similarly, where Panos' study of the studio is concerned with experimental uses of space this studio study is interested in the use of naturalism and acting. Smart is researching soaps, which are naturalist in nature, but his research focuses on how videotape technology was used on location through OB units as opposed to studio technology. Although the general area of our research is similar in this respect my focus upon the studio and its relationship to theatre should complement his research without providing any crossover of material. All in all, the work of the researchers on this project collectively provides a far reaching study into how differing types of production sites and technologies influenced the style of a wide range of UK television programmes.

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