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# ***THE VIOLENCES OF MEN: DAVID PEACE'S 1974***

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This article examines representations of hegemonic masculinity and the resultant “*violences of men*” in the context of literature on representations of men and masculinities and representations of policing in TV and films. Using bricolage as a theoretical hub, an analysis is made of hegemonic masculinity at work in the film *1974* (produced by Channel Four and Screen Yorkshire in 2005) based on the first of the novels from David Peace’s Red Riding quartet. An examination of three of the film’s characters—a “*young turk*” journalist, an old-school Detective Inspector, and a criminal entrepreneur—and the ways in which they are drawn together in a plot which centres on violence and corruption, provides examples of the adaptive nature of hegemonic masculinity and the centrality of power and violence to this concept. The value of examining the past in relation to the present is also addressed.

Keywords: hegemonic masculinity, David Peace, bricolage, *Red Riding Quartet* (1999-2002)

O’Sullivan (2005) has argued that it is difficult to tell what the real life impact of screen portrayals of policing have. Other authors argue on the contrary that media representation of policing help form public perceptions of crime and disorder. The latter reading would be consistent with Dyer’s (1993, p. 1) assertion that “*how social groups are treated in cultural representation is part and parcel of how they are treated in life.*” Hurd (1979) argues that media representation of policing is not only a reflection of practice but also constructs a coherent version of social reality with media images both being produced by and contributing to the production of this reality, conceptualised by Manning (1998) as a media loop. These arguments are reflective of wider debates about the role of the mass media, particularly as a purported mirror or window on wider society (Kellner, 1995).

Reiner (2010) sees the fact that cops on global television are so popular as being a key factor in the debate. Over the past 50 years 25% of the most popular TV programmes across the globe have been crime themed. Reiner (2010) underscores the importance of the symbolic value (Mawby, 2003) of the cop figure, its role in shaping views and framing debate about policing and society, and its impact on public perceptions of crime and disorder. He states: “images of the police are of considerable importance in underlining the political significance and role of policing” (Reiner, 2010, p. 177). In *Theories of Surplus Value*, Marx (2012, p. 57) argued that “the criminal produces not only crime but also the criminal law; he produces the professor who delivers lectures on this criminal law and even the inevitable text book.” To

this list of services produced by “*the criminal*” we can add those who produce TV and film representation of crime.

Machado and Santos (2009), in an examination of the case of Madeline McCann, a U.K. child who disappeared on a family holiday to Portugal, leading to a global police hunt and immense media interest, advance the idea of televised crime as “infotainment.” They examine the idea of trial by media in non-fictional crime TV and the “distorted and negative public perceptions of the criminal justice system” (Machado & Santos, 2009, p. 148) created by such spectacles. Reiner (2010) produces a useful categorisation of TV cop shows but, for the purpose of this article, his observations on the representation of the police in a context where rule bending was regrettable but necessary, a feature of 1970s’ representation of policing, beginning, we would argue, with Clint Eastwood’s *Dirty Harry* (1971), what Reiner (2010) refers to as *The Fort Apache* model, will be the main focus.

The blurring of the lines between the criminal fraternity and those employed to bring them to justice is a key feature of David Peace’s *1974* (Channel Four, 2009) and the role of hegemonic masculinity within this relationship will be explored. The “exploitative glorification of the criminal the denigration of the police” (Reiner, 2010, p. 178) is a feature of 1970s’ representations of policing. Two U.K. examples, produced over 30 years apart, provide a good illustration of this. On 1970s’ TV, one cop show was largely responsible for constructing the police image; *The Sweeney* (shown on ITV from 1975-78). This removed the cosy image of the police apparent in the earlier George Dixon model of policing; the friendly bobby on the beat (Reiner, 2010) established in the BBC Series *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC, 1955-1976). In *The Sweeney* (Euston Films 1975-78), John Thaw and Dennis Waterman play Regan and Carter, two members of a specialist unit investigating armed robbery and other violent crime in London. The series was a ratings success and made even bigger stars of Thaw and Waterman, who were well-established TV performers.

Regan and Carter were hard-drinking, despite the homoerotic undertones, womanising and willing to “bend the rules”, that is, to assault suspects or plant evidence to get the “right” results. They operated on the basic premise that they knew who the villains were but bureaucracy, defence solicitors, do-gooders and liberals were conspiring to prevent them

from putting these men behind bars, a scenario established in Clint Eastwood's *Dirty Harry* (1971). Regan and Carter's catchphrase "you're nicked" seemed to sum up their frustration with the petty rules that were getting in their way. The villains in *The Sweeney* (Euston Films, 1975-78) were often romanticised old school London gangsters. They were decent armed robbers—it seems that threatening ordinary working class people with a sawn-off shot gun whilst wearing a mask was seen as a sign of your fundamentally sound moral views—not "other" like drug dealers and child molesters, who lacked a sound sense of community. They, too, recognised the rules of the game.

In retrospect, *The Sweeney* (Euston Films, 1975-78) seems to have provided a reasonably accurate portrayal of the blurring between the lives of police and thieves. In *The Lost World of the 70s* (BBC, 2012), a section on Sir Robert Mark's attempts to stamp out corruption in the Metropolitan police force, features footage and interviews with members of the Flying Squad, explaining how they need to visit Soho, gambling dens and "*villains' pubs*" to do their job properly, and how Mark seems to be "more concerned with catching bent detectives than criminals". Their visual appearance is similar to that of Regan and Carter. The programme outlined the links between senior police officers, the porn industry, and protection rackets, and documents the arrest and imprisonment of key figures such as Flying Squad Chief Ken Drury and Commander Wally Virgo, as well as the fact that 600 senior officers left prematurely during the period of Mark's investigations.

In *Life on Mars* (shown on the BBC in the U.K. in 2006 and 2007), John Simm plays a modern detective who is in coma and finds himself back in the 1970s' Manchester of his youth. There is a comic tension between the Simm character and DCI Gene Hunt played by Philip Glennister. Hunt is essentially a combination of Regan and Carter from *The Sweeney* (Euston Films, 1975-78). The programme was a huge success, tapping into the insatiable appetite for nostalgia in popular culture providing what Garland and Bilby (2001, p. 115) have described as "*a paean to 1970s policing*". There are several audiences here—including those who lived through that time and admire the period detail. Gene Hunt rapidly became a cult hero, particularly for those on the political right, as he came to represent how the police force had lost its way, crushed by political correctness and bureaucracy. This was part of a much wider discourse that suggested that despite nearly thirty years of neo-liberal government and a

doubling of the prison population between 1992 and 2010, the *Criminal Justice System* had gone soft. For commentators like Peter Hitchens (2004, 2008, 2010a), a rise in crime rate was the result of these developments. Hunt represented a return to a better time. Hitchens states: *Our first line of defence used to be people more or less like Gene Hunt in 'Life on Mars' and 'Ashes to Ashes'. Yes, they did rough up criminals (or 'suspects' if you must). They got away with it because they almost always roughed up the right ones. And the Confait case was shocking because it was untypical, not because it was typical.* (2010b, p. 4)

It is worth noting here the facts of the Confait case. Maxwell Confait was found murdered in his bed-sit in London in 1972. He had been strangled and the bed-sit set on fire. In November 1972, the three youths Colin Lattimore (18), Ronnie Leighton (15) and Amhet Salih (14) were all convicted of arson with intent to endanger life. Colin Lattimore was also found guilty of manslaughter; Ronnie Leighton was convicted of murder. The basis of the prosecution case against all three was confession evidence (Fisher, 1977). They appealed against convictions in July 1973. These appeals were unsuccessful. In June 1975, the cases were referred to the Court of Appeal. In October that year, the convictions were quashed.

The character of Hunt, like Johnny Speight's Alf Garnett featured in the 1960s' U.K. sitcom *'Til Death us Do Part* (BBC, 1965-75), was meant to satirise reactionary views, but became popular on the basis of espousing them. As with Garnett, the more objectionable and louder the expression, the more popular he became. There is no space here to explore in depth debates about political correctness. However, one of the great claims is that political correctness prevents individuals saying what they really feel or that the debate is restricted. In this context, men have become feminised or in Hunt's terms "*soft sissy girly Nancy French bender Man United supporting poofs*". Hunt represents a form of hegemonic masculinity that had allegedly disappeared. Cooper (2007) argues that Hunt was popular with women as he represents strong males sure of themselves and their roles. Hunt was clearly written as a comic character but the reactions to him highlight continuing debates and anxieties about the nature of masculinity (Bauman, 2004; Cooper, 2007). These texts reflect and reconstruct policing in an era of revelation about scandal and corruption, beginning with the 1969 Scotland Yard Corruption Scandal documented in the 2012 BBC documentary on Robert Mark, *The Lost World of The Seventies*.

The notion of crime drama as a dystopian world (Dyer, 1973; Bolton, 2005; Turnbull, 2010) in which police and detectives are seen as cynical, manipulative and weary, as well as the sense of aesthetics predominating in the production of these shows, has been examined in the context of the contemporary police dramas including *The Wire* (HBO, 2002-2004) and *Wallander* (BBC, 2005-2010). Below it will be argued that the power struggles, corruption, rule bending, blurring of boundaries between police and criminals and overall, a context of hegemonic masculinity, is a key feature of *The Sweeney* (Euston Films 1975-78), *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006-07), and the *Red Riding Trilogy* (Channel 4, 2009).

### *MEN AND MASCULINITIES*

As Hearn (2004, p. 49) has stated “*studying men is, in itself, neither new nor necessarily radical*”. Hearn (2004) and Kimmel, Hearn and Connell (2004) provide a comprehensive guide to the development of gendered work on men, what Collinson and Hearn (1994, p. 2) refer to a “naming men as men”. This idea, originally advanced by Hanmer (1990), refers to the way in which an excavation of how masculinity operates within wider society might take place.

The multi-disciplinary nature of such an excavation often traverses across traditional academic venues (King & Watson, 2001), and the study of men in the arts has developed as an emergent area of study in its own right (Hearn, 2003). Much of this work has focused on the ways in which men in popular culture, particularly through their representation in the mass media, have either colluded with or provided a challenge to dominant versions of masculinity at work in Western society in particular. Connell (1983) and Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) were the first to introduce the concept of hegemonic masculinity, drawing on the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971), arguing that dominant conceptualisations of masculinity were reproduced through key institutions such as the state, education, workplace, family, and mass media.

Carrigan et al. (1985) characterise hegemonic masculinity: “*not as ‘the male role’ but a variety of masculinity to which others—among them young and effeminate as well as homosexual men—are subordinated*” (p. 586). A key feature of hegemonic masculinity is that it is explicitly heterosexual (Butler, 1990). Carrigan et al., (1985) see hegemonic masculinity as

the way in which men reproduce their dominance, through particular groupings of powerful men. The importance of this theoretical development cannot be overestimated. It is their introduction of Gramsci's (1971) cultural-Marxist perspective which examines notions of class and power along with gender that is particularly important. Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony, as summarised by Bocoock,

*... when the intellectual, moral and philosophical leadership provided by the class or alliance of class factions which is ruling successfully achieves its objective of providing the fundamental outlook of the whole society.* (1986, p. 63)

Hearn (2004, p. 57) has argued that, as definitions of hegemonic masculinity have developed, they have come to incorporate a relationship between "the cultural ideal and the institutional power as in state, business and corporate power." Earlier critiques, such as those by Donaldson (1993), who saw the concept as obscuring economic and class issues, and by Whitehead (1999, p. 58), who considered it unable to explain "the complex patterns of inculcation and resistance which constitute everyday social interaction" or the different meanings attached to "*masculinity*", have been absorbed into an ever changing conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity. Brittan's (1989) concept of masculinism provides a complementary approach, one which explicitly accepts that "both masculinity and femininity are continuously subject to a process of reinterpretation" (Brittan, 2001, p. 51). His ideas allow for the emergence of plural masculinities or different versions of masculinity which challenge the masculinist ideology.

### *COP CULTURE AND REPRESENTATIONS OF MASCULINITY*

Criminological and policing research has, despite recent developments, been based on a series of assumptions about crime and gender: crime is a "*male*" issue: it is mostly committed by—particularly violent crime—and investigated by men. Policing has been seen as an archetypal expression of masculinity (Fielding, 1994). Hearn (2003), however, acknowledges a change in writing on men and masculinities with an increasing emphasis on the role of representation of masculinities. In *Men in the Public Eye* (1992), he argues that the growth of late monopoly capitalism in the late 19th and early 20th century and the establishing of a male dominated mass media led to "public patriarities" (Hearn, 1992, p. 185) in which public images of men reproduced discourses of hegemonic masculinity for wider consumption. If so, film is

particularly important in analysing the ways in which hegemonic masculinity plays out in wider society.

Sackmann (1991) defines culture as the collective construction of social reality. A great deal of the analysis of policing focuses on cop culture. There are a number of difficulties with using the latter term instrumentally. As Chan (1996) has argued, occupational culture is not monolithic. Cop culture for Chan (1996) is poorly defined and of little analytical value. In fact, as Manning (1993) argues, there are clear differences between street cop culture and management culture. The term “*cop culture*” can be read as a label for a form of hegemonic masculinity found in police settings. The major themes here would be two-fold: an emphasis on action as a solution to problems; and a strong sense of group identity and hyper-masculinity manifesting itself in a series of misogynistic and racist attitudes. In this schema, policemen are hard-bitten, cynical, and need to be aggressive to deal with the dangers that they face on a day to day basis. Holdaway (1977) argues that it is closely aligned with hegemonic masculinity in its hedonistic, action-centred machismo and drama and sense of mission. Young (1991) supports this conceptualisation while Heidensohn and Brown (2008) have examined the ways in which the macho culture of policing impacts on women in the force, exploring sexist attitudes and the ways in which women are expected to adopt and integrate, or are consigned to the more “*feminine*”, police roles. This is well illustrated in *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006- 07) where the character of WPC Annie Cartwright provides an opportunity for the representation of sexist police activities prevalent in the 1970s. Annie is shut out of conversations seen to be “*man talk*” or “*grown-up*” talk, and is subject to sexual harassment and jibes about her appearance (Garland & Bilby, 2011). This extract from Series 2, Episode 2 provides a good illustration:

*You see, this is why birds and CID don't mix. You give a bloke a gun and it's a dream come true. You give a girl a gun and she moans it doesn't go with her dress. Now start behaving like a detective and show some balls.* (Garland & Bilby, 2012, p. 126)

A study by Prokos and Padovic (2002) illustrates that, rather than being consigned to humorous representations of 1970s' policing, these attitudes are still alive and kicking in the reality of modern-day police training. Their study was described as “*participant observation in a law enforcement academy to demonstrate how a hidden curriculum encouraged aspects*

*of hegemonic masculinity among recruits*" (p. 439). Prokos and Padovic investigate what they identify as a cultural practice in a law enforcement academy in the U.S., which they describe as "the creation of masculinity in police academy training" (p. 139). Building on work by Balles and Gintes (1976) and Martin (1998), they identify a hidden curriculum in law enforcement training in which women are treated as outsiders through the creation of social, physical, and linguistic barriers; the exaggeration of gender differences; the denigration and objectification of women; and resistance to powerful women. Prokos and Padovic (2002) concluded that men's resistance to women in policing (as in the military) is reflective of "a particular type of masculinity defined by men's control of violence" (pp. 454-455) and draw on the literature on men's organised violence (Connell, 1987; 1995; Messerschmidt, 1993) to strengthen their case.

## METHODS

As Carrigan et al. (1985) and Connell (1995) have noted, hegemonic masculinity is juxtaposed in relation to other forms of masculinity as well as femininity and this is well illustrated through the representation of hegemonic masculinity in Peace's 1974 (Channel Four, 2009). The filmed version of David Peace's 1974 (Channel Four, 2009) was viewed and analysed using the approach of bricolage as a research method. Wibberley (2012, p. 6) state that "*bricolage brings together in some form, different sources of data*" and that "*the consideration of the process by which bricolage is built—however emergent—is an important aspect of the overall work*". Kincheloe (2005) argues that bricolage is grounded in cultural hermeneutics and this locates a research study within a cultural, social, political and his social framework. He states: "Focusing on webs of relationships instead of simply things-in-themselves, the bricoleur constructs the object of study in a more complex framework" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 323). Thus, the method, argues Kincheloe (2005), draws the researcher to go beyond the boundaries of particular disciplines in addressing the complexity of the real world, a mingling of material reality and human perception. This active construction of a method which interacts with the object of inquiry may, for example, include the focus (as in the case of this particular study) as a central text (i.e., a particular film text) but may also include what McKee (2003) refers to as intertexts about the texts (e.g., the author's own thoughts on his work) plus newspaper reports of the events used in the text and written versions of the text itself or the events described therein. Works by Levi-Strauss (1972) and Freeman (2007) talk

of making sense of knowing, using a number of sources and this is similar to McKee's (2003) idea of using intertexts about texts as a part of their analysis. Mol (2002) sees a blurring of disciplinary boundaries as an essential part of the bricolage approach.

The "*faction*" (fiction of the facts) at work in *Red Riding* can itself be seen as a form of bricolage in its drawing on real events and characters, woven together through fictional dialogue and mirroring the past in the present. Lincoln (2001, p. 693) sees bricolage as "*the assembly of mythic elements, motifs, allusions, characterizations and other stock materials to form stories*". In this sense then, Peace's work also represents the approach of the bricoleur. Kincheloe's (2005) notion of the object of study as culturally inscribed and historically situated is reflected in Peace's *Red Riding Trilogy* (Channel Four, 2009). This approach is supported by Levi Strauss' (1977) ideas on the complexity and unpredictability of the cultural domain and Lincoln's (2002) notion of the bricoleur as anthropologist. The use, then, of bricolage to analyse texts, what Bentley (2005) has conceptualised as a post-structuralist approach in his study of 1990s' British fiction, was seen by the authors as highly relevant and appropriate. The reflexive commentary (Wibberley, 2012) offered on 1974, then, draws on a number of texts and sources. The authors drew on contemporaneous news accounts of events in 1974, as Peace himself did when writing the novels (Channel Four, 2003), the accompanying films in the *Red Riding Trilogy* (Channel 4, 2009) [1980; 1983] were also viewed and the written text 1974 (2008) was read. Interviews with David Peace, in which he discusses his works (Peace, 2003, 2009) were also accessed. A textual analysis approach using a search for specific language, phrases and signs and signifiers was devised, based on a framework suggested by Fairclough (1995), McKee (2003), and Van Dijk (1993). The idea of using core texts separated in time also forms part of an approach to bricolage (Wibberley, 2012) and resonates with Peace's argument that time and distance is necessary to contemplate events fully, and that writing about "now" is not always the best way to explore the present (Channel Four, 2003).

*1974: REVIEW OF THE YEAR*

*Christmas bombs and Lucky on the run, Leeds Utd and the Bay City Rollers, The Exorcist and It Ain't Half Hot Mum.*

*Yorkshire, Christmas 1974.*

*I keep it close.*

*I wrote truth as lies and lies as truth believing it all*

*(David Peace: 1974, p. 127)*

Contrasting the obsession with the ephemera of popular culture associated with the 1970s, a more considered analysis of the politics of the U.K. in the 1970s can be found in Francis Wheen's *Strange Days* (2010). Wheen's is a key text in the exploration of the political crisis that form the backdrop to the novels *1974* and *1977*. A brief review of the key events of the year, will give a flavour of the feeling of crisis that dominated the time. It can be seen as the interregnum between the end of the Fordist-Keynesian era in the West and the arrival, in the shape of Thatcher and Reagan, of neoliberalism that would come to dominate the economic, political, social, and cultural landscape of the next forty years. The 1973 oil crisis, a key factor in the collapse of the Keynesian economic management of the world economy, ended in March that year, when OPEC lifted its five-month embargo of oil exports to the U.S., Europe, and Japan. President Nixon resigned in August in the aftermath of Watergate. In February of 1974, the kidnapped heiress Patty Hearst was photographed taking part in a bank raid along with members of the radical group the Symbionese Liberation Army, who had taken her hostage. *Helter Skelter* (1974)—the account of the Manson murders was published in this year along with Thomas Pynchon's *Gravity's Rainbow* (1974), which was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize.

A general feeling of paranoia, impending violence, and darkness at the heart of American society was reflected in cinema which was dominated by the works of the new wave of directors such as Coppola, Bogdanovich, and Scorsese, with releases such as *The Godfather Part II* (1974), *The Conversation* (1974), *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), and *A Woman under the Influence* (1974). More mainstream films such as *The Taking of Pelham One, Two, Three* (1974), *Thunderbolt and Lightfoot* (1974), and *Death Wish* (1974) indicate the emerging change in attitudes to the Criminal Justice System and offenders. In addition, in the popularity of the film *American Graffiti* (1973) and the TV series *Happy Days* (1974-84) one can see nostalgia for an alleged golden period in American history.

In the U.K., 1974 was a year of political crisis, there were two General Elections in March and October both won by Harold Wilson's Labour Party. The miners' strike that had led to the downfall of Heath's Conservative Government had led to the introduction of a three-day week (Wheen, 2009). 1974 was one of the most violent years of "*The Troubles*" in Northern Ireland. Eventually, a state of emergency was declared and direct rule established. The IRA mainland campaign saw the M62, Guildford and Birmingham Pub bombings which resulted in the introduction of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The original convictions in these cases—Judith Ward, The Guildford Four, and the Birmingham Six—would all be quashed. As Wheen (2010) notes, rumours and conspiracy theories abounded including the possibility of a military coup. This febrile atmosphere was increased with the disappearance of Cabinet Minister John Stonehouse, who faked his suicide and was eventually found in Australia. This period of uncertainty was exploited by the Right Wing National Front which gained over ten percent of the vote in the London local elections. The notion of a country in decline was strengthened by England's failure to qualify for the World Cup and the sacking in May of World Cup winning manager Sir Alfred Ramsay. Scotland did qualify for the first time since 1958. The air of decline is reflected in Le Carre's (1974) *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*.

#### *IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1974*

David Peace's four Red Riding novels (1974; 1977; 1980; 1983) were published from 1999-2002, initially in the U.K. and Japan, and filmed in 2009 as *The Red Riding Trilogy* (*Red Riding: In the Year of Our Lord, 1974; 1980; and 1983*, respectively) for Channel Four and Screen Yorkshire in the U.K. There are no heroes in these novels, only the morally corrupted. Characters such as detectives Molloy and Holland in Peace's work reflect wider problems in terms of the construction of masculinity. They are forced to confront extreme misogyny and violence. They are overwhelmed by the brutality, misery, and degradation in the places that surround them. However, they share many of the attitudes rooted in local places that are at the root of the hideous crimes they must investigate, the attitudes being embedded in the institutions in which they operate (King & Cummins, 2013).

*1974* is based on the Stefan Kisko case in which a troubled, isolated man of Ukranian origin, suffering from hypogonadism, was convicted of murdering and sexually assaulting a schoolgirl, Lesley Molseed, a verdict overturned 33 years later. In *1974*, a young man with

learning difficulties, Michael Myskin, is arrested after the disappearance and murder of a schoolgirl. A confession is beaten out of him. The novel then traces the efforts of a local journalist to uncover the truth about the links between several schoolgirl disappearances, leading to the uncovering of violence and corruption in the West Yorkshire Police Force. Peace's 1970s' Yorkshire is a bleak unforgiving place and the racism, corruption and misogyny are re-current themes throughout the films (King & Cummins, 2013).

### *RED RIDING AND HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY*

Kaufmann (1987) highlights a well-established tradition of men's violence to women, among themselves, and to themselves. Hearn (1998) sees violence as the prime source of power, both material ("*the use of the body and the affecting of the body of others*": Hearn, 1992, p. 17) and discursive, often associated with notions of naturalness attributed to male aggression (Ardrey, 1966; Dabbs et al., 1987). The "*violences of men*" (Hearn, 1998) are explained by social constructionist theorists, "as part of the inherent badness of people" (Hearn, 1998, p. 20), a set of acts which both maintain and disrupt social structures and as cultural violence, as explained by social learning theorists (Bandura, 1973). The inherent "*badness*" of police officers and criminals alike plays out in an environment of violence (Hearn, 1998) based on learning, socialisation, modelling and imitation, what Dawkins (1976) has referred to as mimetic behaviour. Owen (2012) suggests that furthermore, violence may be used to maintain power by privileged groups and that violence is central to gender politics and a way of asserting "*masculinity*".

Violence as an acceptable part of police procedure can be seen as central to 1970s' cop culture (Reiner, 2000) and is well illustrated in Peace's *1974* (Channel Four, 2009). Jamie Nuttgens, co-producer of Channel Four's *Red Riding Trilogy* (2009) sees the films as a set of "*guilty men stories*" (Nuttgens, 2011) in which men use violence for gain, where the violences of men are part of a criminal/police culture, where men do terrible things to women, themselves and each other before paying the ultimate price à la film noir (Bolton, 2005). Peace's work has been described as Yorkshire Noir (King & Cummins, 2013) and the darkness at work within the behaviour of the character and the role of place as central to the creation of a dark and violent environment (King & Cummins, 2013) forms an essential part of the bricolage of *Red Riding* (Channel Four, 2009). Nuttgens (2011) sees *1974* as Peace's love/hate relationship

with masculinity in which men seem, on the one hand, to have total freedom (at a number of points in the trilogy groups of police officers/corrupt business partners are seen toasting “*the North, where we do what we want*”) but in the end are punished for their crimes/sins. Peace, Nuttgens (2011) argues, incorporates the rise of 1970s’ radical feminism and the conceptualisation of men as the “*the enemy*” (the rapist; the warmonger) into his work to produce what he describes as “*a fucked up version of ourselves*”.

Three examples of male characters featured in 1974 provide an illustration of the ways in which discourses of hegemonic masculinity are present in the text and provide an illustration of the representation of masculinities in a particular historical period.

#### *Eddie Dunford—Journalist*

Eddie Dunford (played by upcoming young actor Andrew Garfield) is central to the narrative of 1974, as a journalist investigating the disappearance of a number of young girls. Dunford uncovers corrupt links between the West Yorkshire police force, business developers and eventually, as fully revealed in the film 1983 (Channel Four, 2009), a local paedophile ring involving members of the force and the local business community. 1974 begins with Dunford’s return to the North from a job on a Southern newspaper, just in time for his father’s funeral. There are a number of intertextual links to other “*Northern*” texts; the journey North is redolent of the 1970s’ thriller *Get Carter* (1971), while Garfield’s chosen Northern accent is based on Tom Courtenay in *Billy Liar* (1963). While his physical appearance in the opening scenes is reflective of changes in 1960s’ fashion for men, a more feminised look (King, 2013), consisting of leather jacket, large collared shirt and flared trousers (later he is seen in a Lord John Carnaby Street suit), the settings in which he is seen—the press room of the Yorkshire Post and a downstairs drinking club with strippers, darts and pool table, smoking and drinking pints, places him firmly in the 70s North of Eddie Waring and Tetley Bittermen (BBC, 2011) rather than the artistic, kitchen-sink drama, Beatle-related North of the 1960s (BBC, 2011 ; King, 2013). The Northern pub provides the setting of many of Dunford’s meetings; with colleagues, police officers and the mother of a missing child, with whom he has an affair. These signs and signifiers (Hall, 1997) of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) are also linked to his relationship with women/girls which form the basis of his investigations. The girl from his office, who he sees on a casual basis, becomes pregnant and has an abortion. His

relationship with Paula Garland, mother of a missing child, is characterised by an intensity bound up with violence. Anal sex as a form of sexual dominance is a theme which features in the written *Red Riding* quartet but, as Nuttgens (2011) notes, this was much more difficult to get past censors in the filmed versions. This is a theme which is referred to as part of the discourse of hegemonic masculinity in other 1970s' texts, a good example being the big-screen version of the *Sweeney, Sweeney!* (1977) in which call girls are procured for wealthy Arab businessmen in a plot which, like *1974* (Channel Four, 2009) centres on corrupt power relations including politicians, the police force, and big business. On being told of her evening assignment, one of the call girls is told that he "*likes it rough*" and is "*another backgammon player*"; a less than subtle reference to anal sex. The only reference in *1974* is when one of the secretary's at the Post is asked if she likes it "up the trapdoor from Jack." The missing girl at the centre of Dunford's investigations, Clare Kempley, is discovered dead, sexually abused with the words "4luv" carved into her stomach and swan's wings stitched to her back. Peace himself has questioned the level of detail and portrayal of violence towards women in the written version of *1974* (Peace, 2009); the detail of the rose inserted into the vagina does not make the filmed version either.

Dunford provides an interesting example of changing representations of feminised masculinities (King, 2013) in the 1960s/70s. His "*young Turk*" appearance and swagger are juxtaposed with more traditional hegemonic representations; the other crime correspondence on the Post, Jack Whitehead, is an old school drink-sodden "*hack*" who taunts Dunford's upwardly-mobile persona: "*what happened to all those novels you were going to write?*" he asks him as they confront each other in a pub toilet. His "*otherness*" is also highlighted when two police officers beat him up to warn him off his investigations, calling him a "*little puff*" while rough-handling his genitals. His investigations lead him into "caring" male, a feminized position (Kimmel et al., 2004; King, 2013), a fact emphasised in his dealings with Paula Garland, and it is this relationship which provides the platform from which to examine Dunford as representation of 1970s' man; different yet the same, in many senses, in relation to the notion of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Dunford is a good example of Brittan's (1989) argument that masculinism is adaptive and that plural versions, incorporating subtle change, can challenge the masculine ideology without power relations being altered. Dunford references David Bowie's androgynous self-presentation in this period,

and the character of BJ, a rent boy with a Bowie-like appearance, caught up in the vice and corruption central to 1974, provides a good example of this.

In the end Dunford is subjected to the violences of men (Hearn, 1998) in the form of police officers who strip him, burn him, torture and beat him, as well as showing him the body of Paula Garland who they have also murdered. In a series of scenes which are difficult to watch his more feminized (King, 2013) version of masculinity is defeated by the forces of traditional hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995), his attempts to uncover their power network and links to sexual violence and corruption is met by the cultural violence (Bandura, 1973) of 1970's policing, portrayed without any of the charm of the Sweeney (Euston Films, 1975-78) or the comedic value of *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006-07).

#### *Bill Molloy—Police Officer*

In direct contrast to Dunford's more feminized and confused masculinity is the character of D.I. Bill Molloy, a representation of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) at large in 1970's Yorkshire. Molloy is played by actor Warren Clarke, well known for his portrayal of another no-nonsense Northern detective in the series Dalziel and Pascoe (1996-2007) and his large-framed bluff Northernness is also redolent of The North of Eddie Waring and Tetley Bittermen (BBC, 2011). Molloy head up the newly established West Yorkshire police force and, as the plot of 1974 unfolds, is seen to be at the heart of the corruption, vice, violence and sleaze that surrounds the property developer John Dawson and his plans to build a U.S. style shopping mall in West Yorkshire. Molloy's nickname—Badger Bill—links him in the third film of the trilogy (1983), to the paedophile ring (all of whose members have animal "nicknames") responsible for abducting young girls.

Molloy's positioning in terms of hegemonic masculinity is established in an early scene where Eddie Dunford visits his office to ask him about the link between the case of missing Clare Kempley and two previous abductions in the area. A picture of the queen behind his desk links nation, royalty, and hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), framing his hegemonic masculinity (King, 2013). In the exchange that follows he is the dominant presence, experienced parent to Dunford's questioning child. "*You're not the first to make that link*", he tells Dunford, before concluding the interview with, "*You do your digging and I'll do mine. Now fuck off!*" He

exemplifies Carrigan et al.'s (1985, p. 586) notion of hegemonic masculinity as a variety to which others are subordinated "*among them young, effeminate and homosexual*". It is obvious that Molloy sees Dunford as being in at least one of these categories, the proof of the dominance of his form of hegemonic masculinity is illustrated late in the film when he oversees Dunford's arrest, and torture, the violences of men carried out by his subordinates which lead to a mock shooting followed by Dunford being thrown from the back of van, which leads to his eventual suicide.

Molloy is also at the centre of the ring of men including local politicians, businessmen, and newspaper editors ("*we enjoy a good relationship with our newly amalgamated police force*") involved in vice, corrupt business dealings, and sexual violence. This is made clear in a late scene in the film when Dunford goes to a party held by businessman John Dawson at which the "*gang*" is present. The links between the past and the present were emphasised recently following allegations of sexual abuse concerning the late DJ Jimmy Savile, as part of a report resulting from Operation Yewtree, highlighting failings of police forces across Britain, the BBC (2013) reported that while the report found no evidence of Savile's protection from arrest because of his relationship with members of the West Yorkshire Police Force, it highlighted "*over-reliance on personal friendships*" (BBC, 2013, p. 1) between Savile and police officers, particularly their attendance at his infamous Friday Morning Club, where he invited friends, including on-duty police officers, for drinks at his flat in Leeds.

### *John Dawson—Entrepreneur*

The character of John Dawson does not appear in the Red Riding novels. For the film versions the property developer, Dawson, is an amalgamation of three characters (including associated plotlines) from the novels. Donald Foster, the builder, Derek Box, a used car salesman, and John Dawson, the architect, are drawn together, three masculine characters from male-dominated worlds of work, into the über-masculine John Dawson of the film 1974. Dawson's character also borrows elements from corrupt architect John Poulson (Nuttgens, 2011) in the news in the 1960s and 1970s, another example of Peace's bricoleur's approach to his fiction of the facts. Dawson first appears in 1974 at the funeral of Barry Gannon, an associate of Eddie Dunford who had been investigating links between the West Yorkshire police force, Dawson and a number of other business interests. Dressed in a white suit and brown kipper tie he is

the epitome of the 1970s' fashionable businessman (Hunt, 1998). The choice of a white 1970s Jensen Interceptor as his car is an inspired signifier of hegemonic masculinity. Hunt (1998, p. 68) draws together a number of signifiers of what he calls "Safari Suit Man", including the Jensen, easy listening music, and the loucheness of actor Leslie Phillips, as a representation of upwardly-mobile, and fiercely masculine, '70s man. The choice of Sean Bean to play Dawson, again, like Warren Clarke, associated with "Northern-bloke" roles, fits with this analysis. "Come for a spin in the Jensen, Mr. Dunford" is his opening line and as the Jensen, symbol of his upward mobility, is juxtaposed with the dark Yorkshire landscape, the local hell that pervades 1974 (King & Cummins, 2013),

Dawson makes a speech which reveals his political views and what he perceives as new and threatening developments in 1970's Britain. "*The Country's at war Mr Dunford,*" he tells the journalist as he drives the Interceptor through a bleak South Yorkshire landscape. "*The Government and the unions, the left and the right, the rich and the poor. Then you've got your enemies within, your paddies, your wogs, your niggers, your fuckin' gippos, the puffs, the perverts, even the bloody women. They're all out for what they can get. I tell you, there'll be nowt left for us lot.*" (Channel Four/Screen Yorkshire, 2009)

In his reference to "*us lot*" Dawson draws attention to the nature of hegemonic masculinity and included Dunford in this "*gang*", but, like Molloy, he also plays parent and representative of traditional hegemonic masculinity to Dunford's naïve child ("*You lot never fought a bloody war*"), attempting to draw him in to his web of corruption by emphasising Dunford's masculinity and the similarities between them. You are like me, he tells him, "*you like to fuck and make a buck and you're not right choosy how*". Later, giving him a photograph of rent boy BJ with a local councillor, an enticement in terms of professional contact, he says: "*I hear you're a bit of a cunt man*", apologising for the content of the photograph, at the same time, emphasising a shared masculinity.

Dawson's plans to involve his business partners, including journalists and senior members of the police force, in plans to build a U.S. style shopping mall (the Swan Centre based on the Wakefield Ridings Centre) in West Yorkshire, draws together the violences of men in a number of ways. The senior police officers (later revealed fully in the film 1983) have made

money by investing in vice and porno- graphic magazines, they are instrumental in clearing the proposed site of “*gypsies*” in a violent manner portrayed in the film, and Dawson’s fascination with swans provides a clue to their links, again revealed in 1983, to Clare Kempley, swan’s wings and a paedophile ring. “*It’s a weakness*”, Dawson tells Dunford, just before Dunford shoots him at the end of the film. “*All this over a fucking shopping centre*”, pleads Dawson, his denial of what it is actually all about—power, corruption and the violences of men—providing an interesting conclusion. Dawson, as a character, provides a filmic representation and illustration of a number of theoretical perspectives on hegemonic masculinity, and he provides a good example of the way in which men reproduce their dominance through particular groupings of powerful men (Carrigan et al., 1985). Hearn (2004, p. 57) illustrates the relationship between “*the cultural ideal and the institutional power as in state, business and corporate power*”. The link to vice and pornography draws in Mulvey’s (1975) work on the male gaze, the idea that in cinema, all looking, through the position- ing of the camera, is from a male perspective, with pornography being the ultimate example. To this, Hearn (1992) adds the idea that women in this position are usu- ally directed and positioned by men, and that this becomes a way of displaying masculinity twice over. This can also be linked to the violences of men on display in 1974, with Dawson and his associates in control of the violence.

In an examination of biographies of contemporary British Gangsters, Smith (2013) interrogates the interplay between discourses of gangster and entrepre- neurship. He characterises “*entrepreneurial criminality as hegemonic masculinity*” (Smith, 2013, p. 2). Drawing on work by McElwee and Frith (2008) and Gottshalk (2010) he argues that criminals present their work as business and traces the businessman-gangster back to Warshow’s (1970) seminal work. Dawson pro- vides a good illustration of Smith’s (2013) criminal entrepreneur, often presenting as a self-made man, and of the way in which hegemonic masculinity is central to his entrepreneurial criminality.

## *CONCLUSION*

This article has provided an exploration of the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and cop culture through the examination of a text set in the 1970s. In doing so it has drawn on the Popular Memory Group’s (1982) ideas about the use- fulness of examining public and

private representations of the past and their role in helping to understand the present. David Peace (2009) has argued that distance is important in allowing scholars to re-examine past events. Some scholars (Hearn, 2004; Owens, 2012) have challenged the usefulness of hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan et al., 1983) as a concept. The examples drawn from 1974 provide a good illustration of Brittan's (1989) notion that hegemonic masculinity can be adaptive and the central role of violence as a means through which particular groups of men maintain power and status.

Whilst journalist Eddie Dunford provides an example of the superficially more feminized man resulting from the social changes of the 1960s (King, 2013; Marwick, 1998) in terms of his visual appearance (long hair, sideburns, flares, Lord John suit), his ambitious social climbing and attitudes to women draw him back towards more traditional notions of the hegemonic male. In the scenes where businessman John Dawson tries to draw him into his web of corruption he draws attention to their similarities rather than differences and, despite their age difference, their visual appearance is similar. Bill Molloy, a representation of old-school "Northern" hegemonic masculinity, provides a stark juxtaposition to Dunford. He is a character struggling with the social changes of the 1960's and 70's and uses violence to maintain his power and the status quo. This is also illustrated in the other films in the trilogy (1980; 1983) which feature the hunt for the Yorkshire Ripper. Molloy is at the centre of the furore around deserving/undeserving victims—prostitute or "*respectable*" girl—at one point giving a speech (based on a similar speech given by the Head of the Ripper investigation) which seems to show empathy towards the Ripper's intentions if not his methods, characterising him as a "*bad angel*".

Dawson, a character drawn together for screen through an amalgamation of other hegemonic males in Peace's novels, is Smith's (2013) criminal entrepreneur, with violence central to his maintenance of power. Dunford, in the end, is a victim of Dawson's need to retain power and silence a dissenting voice. His overtly expressed racist, sexist, and homophobic attitudes combined with his suspect entrepreneurial activity and his centrality to a group of men involved in pornography, paedophilia, and corrupt business dealings provide a good illustration of Hearn's (2004) assertion that the articulation of cultural ideals and institutional power are inextricably linked. Dawson provides a focus for themes linked to the concept of

hegemonic masculinity, themes which have currency in the U.K. at the present time, and so also illustrates the continuing usefulness of the concept as well as the value of examining the present through the past.

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