Re-negotiating Concepts of Masculinity in Contemporary British Film

By Marc Schreiber, Chemnitz University of Technology

Abstract:
Brassed Off (1996), *The Full Monty* (1997) and *Billy Elliot* (2000) reflect and problematise the consequences of economic change and political misfortune in post-industrial Britain. Moreover, they critically, albeit entertainingly comment on the changing social structures and the changing gender relations that were brought about by this economic decline. All three films problematise this loss of traditional masculinity but, at the same time, they also suggest potential solutions. Despite the fact that all three films make only tentative steps towards re-evaluating "stereotypical" concepts of masculinity, I would like to read them as examples of a successful deconstruction of gender stereotypes and as triggers for a cultural healing process of the trauma of social and cultural destabilisation caused by economic decline and a gradual realisation of what one might call "post-industrial masculinity."

1 A rapid decline of traditional industries in Britain during the latter half of the twentieth century, together with the harsh political climate of Thatcherism, partly continued under Major and Blair, helped to reduce the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution to a mere post-industrial scrap heap. The British north was especially hard hit, mainly because of its narrow industrial base and consequential inflexibility for economic change. *Brassed Off* (dir. Mark Herman, 1996), *The Full Monty* (dir. Peter Cattaneo, 1997) and *Billy Elliot* (dir. Stephen Daldry, 2000) all pay tribute to the people and communities of Britain's former industrial heartland. They reflect and problematise the consequences of economic change and political misfortune. Moreover, they critically, albeit entertainingly comment on the changing social structures and the changing gender relations that were brought about by this economic decline. Men, once proud workers in heavy industries like coalmining or steel, suddenly found themselves without a job[1], without hope and without a 'proper' role in society. The three films I am going to analyse in this paper[2] all problematise this loss of traditional masculinity but, at the same time, they also suggest potential solutions.[3]

[1] Since the 1984/85 Miners Strike, there have been over 140 pit closures in Britain with over 250,000 jobs being lost. Another cornerstone of the northern English economy, the steel industry, has also been suffering enormous losses. Sheffield has always been, and still is today, strongly associated with its industrial base — the metal industries, notably steelmaking and cutlery. Today, Sheffield produces more steel than ever before. The numbers of people employed in the steel industry, however, have declined from 45,100 (or 16% of the total workforce) in 1971 to 4,700 (or 2.2% of the total workforce) in 1993. Between 1981 and 1987 alone, roughly 19,000 steel jobs were lost. Between 1979 and 1986 a total of nearly 71,000 people were made redundant in Sheffield, with almost 70% of the redundancies occurring in metal manufacture, metal goods and engineering (Pollard and Taylor/Evans/Fraser).

[2] The order of analysis is not coincidental. I argue that, from Brassed Off via The Full Monty to Billy Elliot, one can discern a number of consecutive steps in the re-negotiation of concepts of masculinity in post-industrial Britain.

[3] Of course, the three films have already received quite substantial academic attention. In their contributions to British Cinema: Past and Present, Claire Monk, Julia Hallam and John Hill, for example, discuss *Brassed Off* and *The Full Monty* in the wider context of contemporary British cinema, their relation to the social realism of

2 Despite the fact that all three films make only tentative steps towards re-evaluating "stereotypical" concepts of masculinity, I would like to read them as examples of a successful deconstruction of gender stereotypes and as triggers for a cultural healing process of the trauma of social and cultural destabilisation caused by economic decline and a gradual realisation of what one might call "post-industrial masculinity."[4] The films confront their male protagonists with a radically changed environment (both with regard to their altered position in the labour market as well as with a variety of conflicts resulting from the loss of their role as breadwinners for their families) and thus set in motion a process of questioning their established identity as hard-working men.[5] What these films accomplish, then, is to create an awareness of the problematic nature of what it might mean to be a man in a society moving away from an economy of heavy industries and manual labour.

3 I will focus my analysis on two issues that are equally strongly discernible in all three examples, namely the problematic positioning of female characters in three predominantly male casts and second on the representation of the relationships between fathers and sons. It will become apparent in the ensuing discussion that in all three films, 1) it is precisely the women who, in various ways, provoke the male protagonists to move on from being passive and helpless bystanders of their situation; 2) the intense conflicts between the three fathers and their sons, all of whom equally challenge their father's values and self-understanding, eventually cause the fathers to rethink and re-evaluate their views and core beliefs. Hence, both the women and the younger generation of males help their husbands and fathers to accept the necessity to redefine and reposition themselves in their changed environment, as husbands, fathers and, consequently, as men.

4 I will focus on issues of gender for a number of reasons. First of all, these films are all touching on the relationships between the workplace and personal identity, especially with the workplace as a traditional marker of identification for men as men. This issue becomes especially vital in an economic environment that for hundreds of years has provided employment in heavy industries like coal-mining or steel where in traditional family

---

1960s and 70s British filmmaking and their role in somewhat nostalgically re-imagining communities in the framework of Tony Blair's "New Britain" or "Cool Britannia."

[4] This term is developed on the basis of R. W. Connell's (1995) procedural concept of masculinity. Connell does not aim at defining what is or might be considered masculine but rather focuses on the specific processes and relationships through which men (and women) conduct gendered lives. For Connell, masculinity is best viewed as "simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (71). Thus, post-industrial masculinity highlights the experience of male existence in the changing economic, social and cultural structure of traditional industrial nations at the end of the 20th century.

[5] Here, it is important to keep in mind the various connotations of the phrase "hard-working" and its lexical elements "hard/being tough/manly" and "working/being useful."

configurations, it was mostly always the man that took the role of main breadwinner. Moreover, as Storry and Childs have argued:

> The work ethic is very strong in the UK and for a majority of the British population their identity is shaped by the notion that they *work*. However, one of the main features of the working classes in 1980s and 1990s Britain is that the greater proportion of them than of either the middle or the upper classes is *not* working. Loss of work to a class which defines itself as *working* is traumatic [...]. (101)

Losing one's occupation has, and especially so for men, often also meant a loss or at least a threat to one's established identity.

5 What struck me as vital when watching these films for the first time, was the under-representation or even the complete lack of major female characters. All three films feature predominantly male casts. The female characters that appear are most often represented as "intruding" on the various groups of male characters and as posing a dangerous threat to the supposed stability of these groups. I am not suggesting that what we are dealing with here is a "war of the sexes" in an economically unfriendly environment where men are on the losing end, hopelessly clinging to a past long gone, and where women are the solely progressive force.[6] Nevertheless, the projection of the economic and political threat to a traditional and stereotypical identity of man as hardworking manual labourer onto the women forms the point of departure of the narrative in all three films.

6 In *Brassed Off*, Gloria Mullins (Tara Fitzgerald), the young professional who, as it later turns out, works for the management of the coal pit and hopes, contrary to the beliefs of the miners, that her evaluation of the pit will help to secure the men's jobs, first appears intruding on the rehearsal of the coal pit's brass band. She is only accepted into the band because her father used to play in it himself and band leader Danny Ormondroid (Pete Postlethwaite) remembers him fondly. The other band members make fun of her (calling her "Gloria Stits," a clear indication of their sexual interest in her), and it is only when she plays her flugel horn that she earns their appreciation. However, as they find out what her real reason for coming back to Grimley is, namely to work for the management, they quickly dismiss her, although one of the characters, referring to Andy's (Ewan McGregor) relationship with Gloria, makes his point: "There's nothing wrong with shagging management. They've been shagging us long enough."

7 In *The Full Monty*, there is virtually no lead female character. If they play a role at all, women are mainly perceived as obstacles and/or dangerous and powerful threats, as they take over those spheres of social life that the men consider their own. The best illustration of this is

[6] Heartfield has convincingly argued that especially the British case, rather than diagnosing a crisis of masculinity, should be more adequately viewed as a crisis of the working class.

certainly the scene when Gaz (Robert Carlyle) and his friends, peeping on some of the women in the men's toilets during a performance of the Chippendale strip group at their local working men's club, see how one of them urinates standing up (see: illustration 1) Later, in the local job office, they discuss the consequences of these developments:

> Gaz: When women start pissing like us, that's it, we're finished! Extincto! […] In a few years men won't exist, except in zoos! […] Obsolete, dinosaurs, yesterday's news!

8 This scene is particularly telling since the "working men's club" in Britain traditionally constituted a place for recreation and after-work socialising for the "working men" where women were not allowed.[7] In *The Full Monty*, our male protagonists are not only faced with the 'invasion' of one of their most sacred of places by a group of male strippers, a profession that in the beginning Gaz and his friends associate not with "real men" but with "poofs." What is more, in the working *men's* club, the group performs to a cheering crowd of women, and as if all this was not enough already, the women also appropriate what the film's male protagonists view as a 'traditionally male way of urinating' — that is, standing-up.

Fig. 1.

9 Although in *Billy Elliot* there is indeed a major female character in the person of Mrs. Wilkinson (Julie Walters), the ballet teacher, Billy's father (Gary Lewis) and his elder brother Tony (Jamie Draven) meet her with great suspicion when she tries to convince them that Billy's (Jamie Bell) talent for dancing should not be wasted but nurtured. Afraid of losing control over his son to Mrs. Wilkinson, Billy's father perceives her as a potentially disruptive

[7] For a comprehensive discussion of the role of working men's clubs in Britain, see Beaven.

force in the virtually all-male Elliot household.[8] When Billy finds fulfilment in dancing and starts skipping his boxing lessons, Billy's father soon blames her for luring his son into something that he clearly views as unnatural. Billy's father and his son are both fighting on the picket lines for the rights of the miners, and if Billy can have a future at all, so they believe, he should be boxing his way through the harshness of life, not dancing ballet:

> Grandma: I used to go to ballet.
> Billy: See?
> Dad: All right for your Nana, for girls. No, not for lads, Billy. Lads do football...or boxing...or wrestling. Not friggin' ballet!

10 Thus, in all three films the female characters take a somewhat ambivalent position. On the one hand, they are being perceived as potential threats to the stability of the male groups (the miners and members of the brass band in *Brassed Off*, the group of unemployed steelworkers in *The Full Monty*, or the all-male Elliot household and the miners in their united fight for their pit in *Billy Elliot*). On the other hand, however, it is to a considerable extent due to women's efforts that the men in all three films are finally able to succeed in their various attempts to deal with the changed situation in their work lives.

11 When, in *Brassed Off* the band returns successful from the last qualifying concert for the national finals at the Royal Albert Hall in London, they find their pit closed. The home of Danny's son Phil is falling apart (his wife and kids are leaving and creditors are on the doorstep to collect the last of his belongings), Danny himself collapses and is hospitalised with miner's lung, and the members of the band are ready to give up as they cannot afford the 3,000 pounds it would cost to participate in the finals.

Fig. 2.

[8] Billy's grandmother who, suffering from Alzheimer's disease, can hardly replace Billy's real dead mother.

12 They are only persuaded and helped by Gloria's offer to sponsor their trip from the "dirty money" she received as payment in the mine's management to compile an obviously useless viability study for the pit: "It's dirty money. I prefer it to be brass! [...] I'm just doing what I was always doing, meddling. Difference is, this time we haven't lost before we start!" The band goes to London, wins the finals and the film ends in a heart-breaking speech by Danny who had escaped from hospital to see his boys win in London:

> This band behind me'll tell you that that trophy means more to me than owt else in the whole world. But they'd be wrong! Truth is, I THOUGHT it mattered. I thought that MUSIC mattered. But does it bollocks? Not compared to how people matter. Us winning this trophy won't mean bugger-all to most people. But us refusing it — like what we're going to do now — well, then it becomes news, doesn't it? [*flurry of press camera shutters*]You see what I mean. That way, I'll not just be talking to myself, will I? Because over the last ten years, this bloody government has systematically destroyed an entire industry. OUR industry. And not just our industry — our communities, our homes, our lives. All in the name of "progress." And for a few lousy bob. I'll tell you something else you might not know, as well. A fortnight ago, this band's pit were closed — another thousand men lost their jobs. And that's not all they lost. Most of them lost the will to win a while ago. A few of them even lost the will to fight. But when it comes to losing the will to live, to breathe, the point is — if this lot were seals or whales, you'd all be up in bloody arms. But their not, are they, no, no they're not. They're just ordinary common-or-garden honest, decent human beings. And not one of them with an ounce of bloody hope left. Oh aye, they can knock out a bloody good tune. But what the fuck does that matter? [*gasps emotionally, close to tears*] And now I'm going to take my boys out onto the town. Thank you.

By refusing the prize, the band is able to make a clear statement against the government's economic policy and its effects on communities like their own in Grimley. Additionally, and most importantly in the context of this paper, the women's cheering at the end of the speech makes clear that they have realised that they can still be proud of their husbands' achievements, even if they are no longer the "hard-working" men in the coal industry but musicians in a band.

13 In *The Full Monty*, once again, it is only through the hundreds of women who show up at the night of the strip group's performance that they finally succeed, so that Gaz can afford to pay the money to see his son more often. Furthermore, and more symbolically, the men have reclaimed their working men's club, albeit in a slightly modified function. The reservations of the group about "working" as strippers that dominate throughout the film are swept away by the apparent appreciation of their endeavour by the local women. Furthermore, even when they strip, the group deliberately distances itself from the Chippendale group of the beginning of the film by "doing the full monty," i.e. stripping all the way. This of course also hints to the idea that the group does not want to be viewed as just another strip act (a

profession that for the men carries the still uneasy notion of homosexuality[9]). By going all the way and calling themselves "Hot Metal," both a reference to the local industry of steel-making they previously worked in and a means to indicate that they are still "hot" (active, productive, and worth seeing), the group wants to reclaim some of their self-esteem and self-worth as men.

14 Still, neither in *The Full Monty* nor in *Brassed Off* fundamental changes have occurred. The jobs will not come back, the mines will remain closed, and thus the high note on which both films end is slightly dampened. Yet, I would like to suggest that at the end, both films, *The Full Monty* more convincingly than *Brassed Off*, at least offer the possibility that their male and female protagonists have arrived at an altered understanding of their position in a post-industrial society.

15 In the final scenes of *Brassed Off*, we see the men and women united as they take a bus ride through the town. Formerly, the bus and the band were a strictly male only affair (similar to the working men's club in *The Full Monty*). Moreover, all the women, even Phil's wife Sandra, have come down to London to support their men.

Fig. 3.

[9] In the course of the film, we see Lomper, one of the members of the strip group, finally realising his homosexuality. During a police raid at a rehearsal, he and Guy, another member of the group, manage to escape before being arrested. Climbing into the window of Guy's apartment, we see the two as they are about to embrace each other. Later, after the funeral of Lomper's mother, they are holding hands and Dave comments: "Now aren't they as queer as folk?". The fact that Dave shyly laughs at this scene clearly shows that a certain uneasiness about the topic remains. However, it seems more likely that the friendship between Lomper and the rest of the group will not be hindered by his coming-out, and this again suggests that a process of "growing up" among the other men has taken place.

16 What is notable, however, is that to an even greater extent than the men's wives and female friends, it is the sons who allow their fathers to develop a new understanding of themselves. When Danny sees his son's family disintegrate, his hopes and dreams crumble to pieces, and when he finally meets his son at the hospital after his suicide attempt, this triggers a change in his perspective. He realises that much more than music it is "people that matter." Moreover, it is only through Phil's own son, who, after leaving the house with his mother and siblings, that his mother decides to at least go and see Phil perform with the band in London: "I don't like seein' Dad sad, Mum, but I'd sooner see him sad than not see him at all."

17 Nathan, in *The Full Monty*, too, is the driving force for his father's gradual acceptance of the changed situation in his work-life and his realisation of the need for action. First, he lends his father money from his own savings to allow the strip-show to take place. Furthermore, it is through him and his attachment to his father, regardless of the critical nature of his projects, that Gaz' wife finally realises his intentions and comes to cheer him at the working men's club. And after all, it is Nathan who has to forcefully persuade his father to overcome his fears and step out to "do his stuff." 20. In *Billy Elliot*, this development culminates, which also leads me to the second part of my analysis. Focussing on the three pairs of fathers and sons which, I suggest, are central to the micro-narrative of the films — Danny and Phil in *Brassed Off*, Gaz and Nathan in *The Full Monty* and Jackie and Billy in *Billy Elliot* — I argue that the developments of the relationships between father and son from *Brassed Off* via *The Full Monty* to *Billy Elliot* exemplify a gradual process of re-orientation and a new understanding of themselves as men for the respective fathers in their new and unaccustomed roles.

18 Since Danny's retirement from his job as miner, his life centres on his colliery brass band. With a tradition of more than 100 years, the band is finally in a position to make it all the way to the national finals in London. For Danny it is first and foremost "music that matters." Although he is aware of the critical situation of the pit, he insists that the band keep on playing. He is ignorant of the fact that many of his fellow band members have their doubts about the future of the band. What good is a colliery band without a colliery? Furthermore, it becomes harder and harder for many of them to afford the money for new instruments, trips to concerts, and so on. His son Phil is especially hard hit, as he is already heavily in debt and only manages barely by taking on a second job as a clown to entertain children at local kindergartens and orphanages. Phil tries hard to hide his problems from his father, as he is afraid of disappointing him.

> Phil: I love the band — we all do — but there's other things in life, you know, that's more important.

Danny: Not in mine, there isn't.

19 Torn between the need to support his own family and to live up to the expectations of his father, Phil gradually loses out and as his family disintegrates, the mine eventually closes and his father falls ill, he cannot bear it anymore and tries to commit suicide by hanging himself after one of his appearances as "Mr. Chuckles" the clown. Dangling from a railing of the closed coal mine's crane, however, he suddenly realises that this is not the way out and he is found by two policemen as he is fighting for his life by grabbing onto the rope around his neck. He is taken to the same hospital where his father is being treated for his miner's lung. This is when Danny finally realises that it is not "music that matters" but "people" (as he later states in his speech at the Royal Albert Hall at the end of the film). Phil and Danny sit in the hospital hallway when a nurse comes by and asks Phil: "Is this man bothering you?" and Phil answers: "Course he is, he's me dad!" This statement (Phil smiles when he answers) clearly shows the difficult relationship that both men have with each other. The father spent his life as a hard-working miner and proud leader of the colliery band and he is totally unwilling to accept that the situation and role of his son could be in any way different. He deliberately clings to the band as the future of the mine becomes more and more uncertain. For a long time he argues (and possibly believes it himself) that the band has already survived many economic depressions and things have always gotten back to normal. In this way, Danny is very similar in character to Gerald in *The Full Monty* who tries to hide his unemployment from his wife and keeps pretending to go to work every morning in his suit and tie, usually spending the day on the park bench and in the Job Centre.

20 Phil, too, tries to hide his economic misfortune from his father (not wanting to disturb him in his hope that everything will be good again, as it always had been on previous occasions). The desire to care for his father's emotional well-being by keeping both his difficult financial situation as well as the consequential problems in his own family from him, however, is a hopeless endeavour. Once Danny sees the effect that the entire situation has had on his son (his unfinished attempt at suicide), he finally comes to realise that maybe his views and his hanging on to the past need revision after all. By coming to understand his own son, Danny also develops a clearer view of the entire situation regarding the band, the coal mine and the future of his fellow miners/musicians. This realisation then culminates in his speech at the Royal Albert Hall.

21 In *The Full Monty*, Gaz tries hard to see his young son Nathan, who lives with his divorced mother and her new partner, as much as he can. Having fallen behind with child support payments, Gaz is refused to see him anymore. In his desperation he seeks a plan to

come up with the missing money and sets up a strip group with some of his friends. As Tincknell and Chambers have argued:

> Fathering becomes a site of struggle [...]. *The Full Monty*'s account of the decline of male manual labour in the north of England conflates this economic process with the decline of fatherhood as a social role, since the main motivating force of the narrative is Gaz's desire to recover his role as breadwinner so that he can reclaim his son from his ex-wife. (n. pag.)

22 As they organise auditions and dance practice, Nathan is almost always with them. At first he is truly critical of his father's stripperly potentials but soon he supports him fully. As the night of their performance looms, Gaz has more and more doubts about the project and of himself being part of it. Up until the night of the performance, various members of the group doubt their abilities as strippers.[10]

23 At the end, everyone pulls together and it is Gaz himself who refuses to get on the stage at the night of their show and it takes little Nathan of all people to push his own father onto the stage to strip in front of the local female crowd: "They're cheering out there and you did this! Now get out there and do your stuff!"

24 In *Billy Elliot*, a similar process can be discerned. Billy's father at first reacts highly critical and outright violently when he finds out that his son has given up boxing lessons and takesmore to ballet than to bloody noses. His elder brother, too, cannot understand how Billy can find joy in something both of them believe to be only for "poofs." They suspect Mrs. Wilkinson to be at the root of all this evil and prohibit Billy to have contact with her. Billy secretly continues to practice and it soon becomes clear that he has the talent to go all the way to a prestigious London ballet school. Billy's situation is further complicated when his friend Michael entrusts to him that he takes joy in wearing women's clothes and make-up. Interestingly enough, this lingering subplot never takes on full force. Billy himself seems to have no problems, neither with his ballet dancing being perceived as a potentially homosexual activity nor with his friend's cross-dressing. To himself, Billy's sexuality is never really in question. What Billy yearns for most is appreciation and understanding from his father. In order for that to come to fruition, however, the father would need to change his perspective on Billy's activities. For a long time in the film, this seems to be a hopeless wish. What comes as a real surprise, then, is that when Billy's father catches Billy and his friend Michael in the boxing ring, one of the potentially most homoerotic scenes in the entire film, he sees Billy

[10] Gerald, who despite his unemployment still wants to uphold a standard, even lying to his own wife about his situation, is afraid to lose his reputation; Horse, who fears that the small size of his penis will make him the laughing stock at the performance; or Dave, who cannot believe that anyone would want to see a "fat bastard" like him on stage.

dancing and suddenly realises that this is what Billy wants to do and this is what he can succeed in.

Fig. 4.

25 He rushes off to Mrs. Wilkinson to arrange for the application for auditions in London, tries to cross the picket line to work in the mine to earn the money for the trip, but fails due to his own weakness: he is unable to turn into a strike-breaker. But an alternative solution is quickly found as he pawns his deceased wife's jewellery to afford the trip.[11] Furthermore, the father accompanies Billy to comfort him at the audition. Billy gets accepted and the father rushes off to tell all his mates, only finding out that the strike has been lost and that the miners return to work, defeated.

26 But the film does not end here. In the final scene, we encounter a grown up Billy about to perform in a production of Swan Lake in London. His father and brother are in the audience (coincidentally seated next to a grown up Michael). As Billy leaps onto the stage, we see the father crying. He is crying tears of joy and pride, proud of his son Billy and of himself. And rightly so, as he has come to accept, understand and support Billy's dream to become a dancer. The depth of the father's transformation is further strengthened by the fact that he can accept Michael sitting next to him and his son.

[11] This in itself is an interesting fact since (similarly to Gloria's monetary sacrifice to enable the band to go to London in Brassed Off) it is once again a woman who enables the man to move forward.

27 Hence, in all three films we can clearly identify a gradual development in the characters of the fathers, away from a concept of northern English working class masculinity based on tradition and stereotype towards a more open and flexible perception of themselves and their altered surroundings. The main mechanism by which this development is spurred is the changing relationship between themselves and their sons, who all make it possible for their fathers to undergo a process of change.

28 In the beginning of my paper I spoke of these films as steps of a cultural healing process of the scars and mutilations of masculinity brought about by economic and social change. In the course of my discussion, I hope it has become clear that although these films are by no means a sufficient therapy, they nevertheless — each to a varying degree — suggest potential solutions, especially on a micro-level of interpersonal, familial relationships, to the larger problems at hand.

Works Cited

Films

Billy Elliot. Dir. Stephen Daldry. Columbia TriStar, 2000

Brassed Off. Dir. Mark Herman. Channel Four Films, 1996.

The Full Monty. Dir. Peter Cattaneo. Twentieth Century Fox, 1997.

Literature

Ashby, Justine and Andrew Higson, eds. *British Cinema: Past and Present*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Beaven, Brad. *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945*. Manchester: MUP, 2005.

Connell, R. W. *Masculinities*. U of California P, 1995.

Hallam, Julia. "Film, Class and National Identity. Re-Imagining Communities in the Age of Devolution." *British Cinema: Past and Present*. Ed. Justine Ashby and Andrew Higson. London: Routledge, 2001. 261-273.

Heartfield, James. "There is No Masculinity Crisis." *Genders* 35 (2002). <http://www.genders.org/g35/g35_heartfield.html> 2 May 2007.

Hill, John. "From the New Wave to 'Brit-Grit'. Continuity and Difference in Working-class Realism." British Cinema: Past and Present. Ed. Justine Ashby and Andrew Higson. London: Routledge, 2001. 249-260.

Monk, Claire. "Underbelly UK. The 1990s Underclass Film, Masculinity and the Ideologies of 'New' Britain." British Cinema: Past and Present. Ed. Justine Ashby and Andrew Higson. London: Routledge, 2001. 274-287.

Pollard, Sidney. *A History of Labour in Sheffield*. Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1993.

Storry, Mike and Peter Childs, eds. *British Cultural Identities*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Taylor, Ian, Karen Evans, and Penny Fraser. *A Tale of Two Cities*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Tincknell, Estella and Deborah Chambers. "Performing the Crisis: Fathering, Gender, and Representation in Two 1990s Films. ['The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert' (1994) and '*The Full Monty*' (1997)]." *Journal of Popular Film and Television* (Winter 2002). <http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0412/is_4_29/ai_82779440> 2 May 2007.