

**Beyond the Frame: A Critical Production Case
Study of the Advance Party Initiative**

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Abstract

This study utilises a variety of research methods in order to investigate aspects often overlooked within Scottish film criticism, and indeed film studies more generally, namely: pre-production, production experiences, marketing and distribution, and reception. To date, Scottish film criticism has exhibited a preoccupation with questions of nation, national identity and national cinema, and overwhelmingly scholars have privileged almost exclusive analysis of the film text. Spurred by Jonathan Murray's (2007, 2011, 2012) questioning of the continued relevance of the national framework, this thesis goes beyond the frame of the film text in order to consider new ways in which a national framework might be of relevance when analysing Scotland's cinematic output. Concurrently, the chosen case study is also used as a means of critiquing existing literature on collective identity and national cinema.

As the title of this thesis suggests, analysis centres on the Dogma-inspired Advance Party initiative and its resulting films, *Red Road* (Arnold, 2006) and *Donkeys* (McKinnon, 2010). Devised by Glasgow-based Sigma Films and Denmark's Zentropa, the cross border collaborative dimension of the Advance Party framework initially appears to challenge the appropriateness of the national framework. As this thesis demonstrates however, such a simplistic conclusion is reductive and overlooks the complexities of the film industry. Throughout this thesis, questions as to the intended and eventual function of the Advance Party framework arise, and these are revisited by means of the thesis Conclusion.

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Introduction

At the end of the twentieth century the notion of “devolution” applied to Scottish cinema implied a process of distantiation from specific models of national identity and national cinema: unitary British ones.... Yet perhaps over the early years of the 2000s the concept of “devolution” has come to mean something different. It might now be more accurate to say that, both in terms of international working and co-production arrangements and the representational content of much contemporary local feature work, what Scottish cinema is devolving itself away from is the notion that it must automatically be framed and best understood within any framework of national specificity at all. (Murray, 2007, p. 90)

Since the publication of Colin McArthur’s edited collection *Scotch Reels* in 1982, questions of nation, national identity and national cinema have been at the heart of Scottish film criticism. However, as the above quotation from Jonathan Murray indicates, the status of this framework as the overriding parameter within which Scottish film criticism is positioned is now beginning to be challenged. Does it make sense to conceive of Scottish cinema in national terms when most Scottish-based productions are realised through funding structures comprising of an array of sources emanating from different countries? Do the themes and genres of Scottish-set films speak to national interests and concerns? Equally, are these matters at the fore of the criteria used by Scotland’s former screen agency Scottish Screen, or its successor Creative Scotland, when allocating funding? Are ideas of national identity and national cinema relevant when thinking about marketing and distribution? Similarly, are these notions pertinent in film reception?

The overriding aim of this research is to explore the relevance of the national framework within contemporary Scottish cinema, through analysis of a case study: the Advance Party initiative and its resulting films, *Red Road* (Arnold, 2006) and *Donkeys* (McKinnon, 2010). As is outlined in greater detail at a later point in this introduction, Glasgow-based Sigma Films and Denmark’s Zentropa devised the Advance Party framework. This cross-border collaboration leads Mette Hjort (2010a) to term

Advance Party an instance of “affinitive and milieu-building transnationalism” (pp. 49-51), and would initially appear to challenge the relevance of the national framework.¹ Yet, outright dismissal of this framework is perhaps premature. This thesis considers possible ways in which questions of nation, national identity and national cinema are still useful when thinking about the Advance Party initiative, while also investigating, where appropriate, other avenues for study from a local perspective. Concurrently, the case of Advance Party is also used as a means of critiquing existing literature on collective identity and national cinema.

Stephen Crofts (1998) remarks that prior to the 1980s, “ideas of national cinema tended to focus only on film texts produced within the territory concerned” (p. 365). However, theorists have since acknowledged the plurality of ways in which the concept of national cinema can be conceived (e.g. Higson, 1989, particularly pp. 44-46; Crofts, 1993, 1998). Crofts (1998), for instance, provides the following categories through which national cinema might be studied: production, distribution and exhibition, audience, discourse, textuality, national-cultural specificity, cultural specificity of genres and nation-state cinema movements, the role of the state, and the global range of nation-state cinemas (pp. 386-388). Nevertheless, existing research on national cinema tends to focus only on select aspects identified by Crofts and Higson, most notably those relating to film production and questions of a national aesthetic. The aim underpinning this research project is to ascertain how national cinema might be viewed from divergent perspectives. To this end, the research presented is based substantially on original research into production experiences, funding criteria, marketing materials, distribution patterns and critical reception.

¹ A comprehensive overview of the rationale underpinning the selection of Advance Party is provided on pages 5-7.

Advance Party: An Overview

In the course of this thesis, the intended and eventual functions of the Advance Party framework are examined. This section provides an overview of the development of Dogma 95 and the Advance Party initiative, while a critique of the rule doctrine is given in Chapter Four.

Spearheaded by Sigma Films and Zentropa, the Advance Party initiative was inspired by the successes of the rule-governed Dogma 95 movement. As Hjort and Scott MacKenzie (2003b) detail, Dogma 95 was ostentatiously launched on March 20, 1995 at an event celebrating 100 years of cinema. In a deviation from the scheduled programme, Lars von Trier, who had been invited to speak at the event, took to the stage and began to read aloud the Dogma manifesto, before proceeding to throw copies, printed on red paper, into the audience and departing the theatre. A stunt with sincere intentions, the Dogma 95 pamphlet proclaims itself to be a “rescue action” (as cited in Hjort & MacKenzie, 2003a, p. 199) for cinema (see Appendix A). Citing digital technology as a democratising force, the manifesto presents a set of ten rules, known collectively as the Vow of Chastity, that aim to counter the frivolous plots and unnecessary flashy visuals the Dogma brethren view as ubiquitous within cinema. Included in the Vow of Chastity are the stipulations that participating directors must shoot their film on location and use hand-held cameras, available lighting and Academy 35 mm film format. Amongst the remaining rules are the conditions that the films must not contain “superficial action” (e.g. murders, weapons, etc.), belong to a genre, or credit the director (for the full manifesto see Appendix A).

The first three Dogma films, *Festen/The Celebration* (Vinterberg, 1998), *Idioterne/The Idiots* (von Trier, 1999) and *Mifunes sidste sang/Mifune* (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1999), successfully secured international distribution and effectively illustrated to the filmmaking community that low budget, innovative films had the potential to sell

worldwide. While the first Dogma films are those directed by the Danish Dogma founders, Thomas Vinterberg, Lars von Trier, Søren Kragh-Jacobsen and Kristian Levring (*The King is Alive*, 2000), filmmakers in other countries quickly took up the Dogma challenge. Countries from which Dogma films emerged include: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, France, Germany, Hungary, Macedonia, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US). Concurrently, the framework continued to prove popular amongst filmmakers and audiences in Denmark. In particular, Lone Scherfig's *Italiensk for begyndere/Italian for Beginners* (2000) and Susanne Bier's *Elsker dig for evigt/Open Hearts* (2002) achieved critical and commercial success.

The initial idea for a partnership between Zentropa (co-founded by Dogma mastermind von Trier in 1992) and Sigma Films was first suggested by Sigma Films co-founder Gillian Berrie at a meeting with John Archer, then Chief Executive of Scottish Screen, Lenny Crooks, then director of Glasgow Film Office (GFO), and a representative from Trust Film Sales, after a showing of von Trier's *Dancer in the Dark* (2000) at the Edinburgh International Film Festival (EIFF) in 2000 (Hjort, 2010a). This collaboration eventually resulted in the Advance Party initiative. In a notable deviation from the open-ended scope of Dogma 95, a cap on the number of directors participating in Advance Party was set at three. At the time, the directors chosen by Sigma Films and Zentropa, Andrea Arnold, Morag McKinnon and Mikkel Nørgaard, each had successful shorts to their name, but had not yet transitioned into features. Moreover, unlike the Dogma movement, which is not contained within the parameters of any one nation, incorporated in the Advance Party rules is the condition that the directors must set and film their project in Scotland (Hjort, 2010a). As is discussed in Chapter Four, this move was intended to transfer some of the benefits of Dogma 95 to

a specifically Scottish milieu. Further Advance Party rules stipulated that the three films must be shot on location over a period of five weeks using digital technology and adhere to a budgetary ceiling of £1.2 million. In a further key divergence from *Dogma 95*, the three Advance Party films were designed to be united through a means rendered explicitly visible onscreen, as they were each to feature the same group of characters, played by the same actors – a rule that *Donkeys* would eventually defy. Zentropa's Lone Scherfig and Anders Thomas Jensen created character sketches for seven characters (Appendix B) and together the three participating directors were allowed to create two more (Hjort, 2010a). To date two of the three films have been completed and released: Arnold's *Red Road* and McKinnon's *Donkeys*. Nørgaard's project, *The Old Firm*, never materialised.

Why Advance Party?

It is useful at this juncture to outline the reasoning behind the selection of Advance Party as the case study on which this thesis is based. Why choose Advance Party and its films over the numerous others that have emerged from Scotland, or in collaboration with Scottish individuals and organisations?

It is first important to highlight that no research project can encompass the entirety of Scotland's cinematic output. Borders must be drawn at some point. As Chapter Two explains, similar to much research falling under the umbrellas of "new film history" (e.g. Chapman, Glancy & Harper, 2007b) and "new cinema history" (e.g. Maltby, Biltreyst & Meers, 2011), the detail strived for in this project necessitates a research design that centres on a limited number of films, and as such, the inclusion of one film inevitably means the exclusion of many more. Given the prominence of research within Scottish film criticism that takes the form of a survey of the field (e.g. Blain, 2009; Hutcheson, 2012; McArthur, 1982b; Murray, 2007; Neely, 2008a; Petrie,

2000b), it is hoped that some of the limitations inherent in the survey format, which are outlined in Chapter Two, are overcome through use of a case study approach.

As noted, Advance Party presents a clear challenge to the national framework. In relation to *Red Road*, both Hjort (2010a) and Murray (2007, 2012) emphasise the collaborative nature of the scheme, and Murray explicitly positions *Red Road* as a challenge to thinking about Scottish cinema in national terms. However, as becomes apparent as this thesis progresses, their analysis is based on select aspects of Advance Party and/or *Red Road*, and the conclusions they draw are reflective of this. In order to approach a film from a multitude of perspectives, access to a certain level of information and documentation is required. A decisive factor in the selection of Advance Party is the availability of the necessary information and documentation surrounding the initiative and its films. Several key documents are obtainable through websites of agencies involved in the scheme, while others were accessed after a successful Freedom of Information request to Creative Scotland. This availability allowed a sufficient pool of data to be gathered and in turn, facilitated the desired depth of investigation.

A final key appeal of the Advance Party scheme is the varying fortunes of its three films. These different fates act as a point of reference to numerous other films (see in particular Chapter Five and Chapter Six), while also shedding light as to the intended, and eventual, purpose of the framework – an aspect that, with few exceptions (i.e. Hjort, 2010a), has gone essentially without examination. *Red Road* is critically acclaimed and was acquired for release by independent distributors in over twenty-five territories. In contrast, after an arduous and lengthy development, production and post-production, the theatrical distribution of *Donkeys* was primarily limited to Scotland. Finally, as noted, the third film did not enter into production.

As with any research project, there are limitations to the approach adopted in this thesis. These limitations are discussed in Chapter Two in relation to the specific methods employed. At present, it is sufficient to note the foremost limitation of this study: the findings are predominantly based on analysis of a case study and are therefore not generalizable to the totality of Scotland's cinematic output. That being said, the specificity offered by this research does provide a useful reminder of the dangers involved when making generalised claims about national cinemas. In this sense, the chosen case study provides an entry point to critique existing assumptions about national cinema. These assumptions are outlined in Chapter One. A final point to note is that to date, little research has been conducted on Advance Party, and this in itself provides good justification for its centrality to this research project.

Thesis Outline

The review of literature presented in Chapter One synthesises scholarly work relevant to this study. It charts the development of Scottish film criticism, noting gaps in the field and the dominance of certain problematic tendencies and assumptions. Little-acknowledged overlaps between writings on Scottish cinema and those on British cinema are outlined, and situated in relation to theories of national cinema. More recent scholarly thinking on cinematic transnationalism is then consulted and integrated, rather than juxtaposed, with theories of national cinema. With the aim of developing a more holistic approach to national and transnational cinema, scholarly writings on the supply chain and supply chain management (SCM) are consulted and integrated with the aforementioned work.

Following this, Chapter Two details the diverse methods utilised in the course of this research. In order to effectively study multiple stages relating to different areas of the supply chain, a range of documents are consulted (including funding

applications, interview transcripts, newspaper articles and advertising materials) and a mixed method approach adopted. The underlying reasons behind the implemented approach, along with the benefits and limitations of the methods selected, are laid out in this chapter.

The first research chapter, Chapter Three, makes use of close textual analysis as a means of scrutinising the use of space and place within the Advance Party films and, in the case of *Donkeys*, integrates this with information gathered from conducting first hand interviews with writer Colin McLaren. Given the emphasis placed thus far on the need to research the totality of the film industry, it perhaps seems contrary to begin with discussion of the finished film texts. However, it is hoped that doing so will provide the reader with a narrative overview of the two films and in turn, a useful context for the remaining chapters of this thesis. As noted, the films of the Advance Party initiative were intended to be united by the (re-)appearance of the same group of characters with recognisable character traits. Chapter Three closes through examination of the creative challenge underpinning Advance Party.

Chapter Four provides an overview of the relationships that formed in the course of completing *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. It examines the long-term relationship between Zentropa and Sigma Films, as well as the latter's relationship with other Glasgow-based companies involved in the completion of the two films. Following this, the origins of Advance Party are studied, and a critique of the rule doctrine provided. In the course of analysis, key differences between Advance Party and Dogma 95 are scrutinised.

The multiple funding applications submitted to Scottish Screen or Creative Scotland by Sigma Films for the Advance Party initiative are at the centre of Chapter Five. The funding application is an interesting and highly informative document when studying how a project was marketed to a potential financier. When analysing a

funding application, it is also important to remember that the responses given by the applicant are shaped by the questions they are asked, and these questions reflect the criteria used by the agency in the allocation of finance. Consequently, both questions and answers are examined using close textual analysis. The close of this chapter extends analysis of Scottish Screen's gatekeeper role by considering films that were never made, despite receiving funding from Scotland's former screen agency.

Whereas Chapter Five examines the marketing of *Advance Party* and its films to Scottish Screen/Creative Scotland, the marketing campaigns created to accompany the release of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* are explored in Chapter Six. This chapter draws on John Ellis' (1982) work on the "narrative image" (30), that is the idea, or image, of a film that is constructed and circulated prior to its theatrical release. The advertising materials commissioned by London-based distributor Verve Pictures provide the starting point for analysis of the narrative image of *Red Road*, as these were later made available to distributors elsewhere through sales agent Trust Film Sales. However, as Chapter Six illustrates, not all distributors chose to use these materials, preferring instead to commission designs specific to their territory. While *Red Road's* prints and advertising (P&A) budget could accurately be described as minimal, *Donkeys'* budget was substantially less. The film's marketing campaign is shown to reflect this, as it centres on the use of promotions related to specific screenings. Following this, the distribution of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* is positioned within a broader context through analysis of patterns that emerge in the study of the distribution of Scottish Screen-funded films.

The final research chapter furthers analysis of the narrative image through contemplation of the UK newspaper reception of *Advance Party* and its films. Results from a quantitative content analysis are first outlined and then a sample of articles are scrutinised using close textual analysis. Key questions the data from the content

analysis addresses, include: when did coverage of the Advance Party films take place and, what prompted coverage? The textual analysis portion then considers how the films are discussed in different papers, along with the national or regional context in which this coverage takes place. This in part involves examination of the ways in which different newspapers address their readers.

Throughout this research, points of interest regarding the intended and eventual function of the Advance Party framework arise. The Conclusion returns to these ideas and examines other projects, in particular Lucas Belvaux's *Trilogie/Trilogy*, which employ a comparable central challenge. Analysis then turns to *Advance Party II*, a second scheme involving eight directors and a new set of rules. As of yet, this initiative has failed to produce a single film. The reasons behind this, and the impact of the rule-governed approach to filmmaking for Scottish cinema more generally, are addressed at the close of this thesis.

It is hoped that the research presented here goes some way towards furthering Scottish film criticism, particularly by addressing prominent gaps and problematic tendencies within the field. These gaps and inclinations are outlined in the chapter that follows.

Chapter One: Review of Literature: Scotland and Cinema

Speaking in front of the Hollywood sign in Los Angeles, California, Alex Salmond, the First Minister of Scotland, said of the Disney-Pixar film *Brave* (Andrews, Chapman & Purcell, 2012): “what it does is project Scotland. A wonderful, romantic imagery of Scotland, but none the less projects Scotland” (Salmond, McKidd, Cantlay, Macdonald & Ferguson, 2012). During a four-day trip to California, the First Minister, in addition to being interviewed on the custom green-carpet rolled out for the premier of *Brave*, also met with politicians and business heads to discuss tourism and inward investment in Scotland. In an unusual move, Disney-Pixar teamed up with Scotland’s national tourism organisation, VisitScotland, to create a promotional campaign to accompany the film’s theatrical release. For VisitScotland, the Scottish setting of Disney-Pixar’s film offered the potential to boost tourism, to an extent that had not been experienced (in connection with the film industry) since the release of Mel Gibson’s *Braveheart* in 1995.² There was therefore obvious incentive for Salmond’s enthusiasm for the film, and in particular his claims of representational authenticity. Yet, also suggested in his rhetoric is a qualification as to the extent to which the film projects Scotland. After asserting that *Brave* “projects Scotland”, he revises this and states that it is a certain image of Scotland, one that is “wonderful” and “romantic”.

Scotch Reels and its Critique

Romantic, Highland-set portrayals of Scotland are heavily condemned in *Scotch Reels*, the first substantial academic engagement with representations of Scotland and Scots onscreen. Edited by Colin McArthur, *Scotch Reels* was published in 1982 to coincide with an event of the same name at EIFF. Although there had been events prior to this,

² *Braveheart* is estimated to have generated between £7 million and £15 million in tourism revenue in Scotland (Hydra Report, 1997, as cited in Martin-Jones, 2009a, p. 14).

most notably *Film Bang* in 1976 and *Cinema in a Small Country* in 1977, *Scotch Reels* created a remarkably bigger stir. As John Caughie (1990) details, the overriding negativity with which representations of Scotland in film and television are viewed in the project, angered many working in the screen industries. Moreover, its timing was also resented as it took place at a moment when production activity in Scotland was finally beginning to gather momentum, and the negative publicity it generated was considered to undermine this progress.

In *Scotch Reels*, the contributors draw on Tom Nairn's (1981) *The Break-Up of Britain*, in which Nairn argues Scottish national culture is "cramped, stagnant, backward-looking, parochial" (p. 131) and plagued with the regressive cultural discourses of tartantry and kailyard. Building on Nairn's analysis, *Scotch Reels* identifies the historical presence of these discourses within portrayals of Scotland onscreen, most notably in productions emanating from Hollywood or London-based British cinema. It argues that the prevalence of the tropes of tartantry and kailyard within representations of Scotland is such that these images have been internalised and are also present in the work of Scottish filmmakers. Although *Scotch Reels* comprises of contributions from seven individuals, it is the work of two, Cairns Craig and McArthur, which is most frequently cited. Positioned as the first chapter in the book, Craig's piece provides an overview of the discourses of tartantry and kailyard, and describes their operations in 19th century Scottish literature. McArthur's chapter then explores these discourses within moving image representations of Scotland. McArthur also alludes to a third discourse, later termed Clydesideism (Caughie, 1990), of which he is less condemning.

Tartantry – what Nairn (1981) terms the "Tartan Monster" (p. 165) – takes its starting point in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-1746, and views the defeat of the Highlanders at the Battle of Culloden as a tragic and noble loss (Craig, 1982; Nairn,

1981). The discourse ignores the Lowland cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and instead puts forth a romantic notion of a Scotland encapsulated in a pre-modern age. In particular, this view of Scotland is identified in the work of Sir Walter Scott, both his writings and his contribution to the celebrations arranged for King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, the first time a reigning monarch visited Scotland since 1650 (Craig, 1982; Martin-Jones, 2009a). More recently, David McCrone (2001) asserts, tartanry has "come to stand in for tourist knick-knackery, sporting kit for football and rugby supporters, and the Edinburgh Tattoo" (p. 132).

The kailyard tradition has its origins in 19th century literature, in the works of authors including J.M. Barrie, Ian McLaren and S.R. Crockett (Craig, 1982; Petrie, 2000b). Kailyard, the Scots word for cabbage patch, is the view of a Scotland that is composed of dispersed, tight knit communities inhabited by cunning townsfolk determined to reject the forces of modernity (Craig, 1982; Nairn, 1981). Often, McArthur (1982b) argues, what is present in moving image representations about Scotland is a hybrid of these two dominant discourses: representations with "tartan exteriors and Kailyard mores" (p. 41). Instances of tartanry and kailyard, he contends, can be seen throughout cinematic history: from the silent period and films such as *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* (Crisp, 1921) and *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (Calvert, 1923), to Ealing Studios' postwar comedies *Whisky Galore!* (Mackendrick, 1949) and *The Maggie* (Mackendrick, 1954), to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's colourful *Brigadoon* (Minnelli, 1954) and Walt Disney's *Kidnapped* (Stevenson, 1959), to native Bill Forsyth's *Local Hero* (1983) and Hollywood epic *Braveheart* (McArthur, 1982b, 2003a).³

The final discourse, Clydesideism, is named such "in recognition of its emblematic association with the heavily populated, industrialised and proletarian

³ Although *Local Hero* had not been released by the time *Scotch Reels* was published, McArthur (1982b) criticises the film's content on the basis of information provided in newspaper coverage (p. 66).

West of Scotland” (Petrie, 2004, p. 17). With a contemporary setting and focus on the struggles of the working class, Clydesideism in many ways stands in opposition to the kitsch of tartanry and kailyard. However, as Caughie (1990) underlines, it too is misleading in its apparent relevance to life in contemporary Scotland. As is discussed in a later section (pp. 16-22), Clydesideism is part of the social realist traditions. For Caughie (1990), central to the Clydeside discourse is an exploration of the role of masculinity in an environment where industrial labour in Glasgow’s shipyards is diminishing in favour of more “feminised” jobs in the growing service industries. Such narratives rarely engage with a female perspective, preferring instead to centre on the experiences of working class male characters. Caughie (1990) writes:

As “real” productive industrial labour (the culturally inscribed “masculine domain”) disappears into consumption (the “feminine domain”), the myth becomes more desperate; and when masculinity can no longer define itself in “hard work” it increasingly identifies itself with the “hard man” for whom anguish, cynicism and violence are the only ways to recover the lost dignity of labour. (p. 16)

Thus, similar to tartanry and kailyard, Clydesideism is also said to embody a transformation that is ultimately labelled a loss: Scotland’s union with England in the case of tartanry, the growth of industrialisation and movement away from self-regulated communities in kailyard, and the decline of physical labour in favour of service industries in Clydesideism (Caughie, 1990; Martin-Jones, 2009a).

The impact of *Scotch Reels* on subsequent Scottish film criticism has been wide reaching, to the extent that major works published since, engage with the work of McArthur and his colleagues at their outset (i.e. Martin-Jones, 2009a, pp. 4-7; Petrie, 2000b, pp. 5-8). The underlying principles guiding the book however, have since been challenged, not least by two of its contributors, Caughie (1990) and Craig (1996).

While revisiting the ideas put forth in *Scotch Reels*, Caughie (1990) acknowledges the study “bore the mark of some of the developments in film theory in the seventies, a period of considerable energy and excitement, but also of some fairly

reductive dogma” (p. 19).⁴ Notable in this regard is *Scotch Reels*' failure to take into account any deviations within the discourses examined. Discussions of the kailyard tradition, for example, overlook the anti-kailyard attributes of the works of authors such as MacDougall Hay and Douglas Brown. Additionally, and perhaps more crucially, in an effort to maximise the critical sway of their argument, the *Scotch Reels* contributors neglect to include in their analysis films that challenge their central stance. Glaring omissions from the study include Bill Douglas' Trilogy (*My Childhood*, 1972; *My Ain Folk*, 1973; and, *My Way Home*, 1978) and the work of filmmaker and poet Margaret Tait (Neely, 2008a). The films of both directors did not fit within the confines of the aforementioned discourses and so they were simply ignored. This gestures towards the overarching problem with the collection: its use of narrow, analytical categories (Blain, 2009; Neely, 2008a). Neil Blain (2009) asserts: “It was always very unlikely that even a small country's screen culture could productively, for critical purposes, be squeezed into two or three discursive categories” (p. 772). As becomes apparent later in this chapter, Duncan Petrie's (2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2004, 2009) more recent analysis of Scottish cinema of the late 1990s and early 2000s exhibits a similar problematic use of discursive categorisation.

Craig (1996) has also challenged the reasoning at the core of *Scotch Reels*. He argues that central to *Scotch Reels* is distrust and aversion to what the contributors perceived at the time as inaccurate representations of Scotland found in popular culture (see also, Pam Cook, 1996). In light of the adamantly negative view of tartanry and kailyard that *Scotch Reels* adopts, in *Out of History*, Craig (1996) puts forth an interpretation of their function that is decisively more positive. He contends that these myths can be said to stand in for a Scottish history that had otherwise been withheld from the official, English account of British history. Using this rationale, the

⁴ Prominent reductive parallels are evident in early research into representations of gender, race and sexuality.

discourses of tartanry and kailyard, rather than being a retreat into the past, are instead a means of countering Scotland's exclusion from history. He writes: "In that residual Scottishness which cannot be integrated with the ideology of progressive English history, Scottish consciousness finds a means, however terrible and self-mutilating, of imagining forces that history will not subdue" (1996, pp. 43-44). As has been demonstrated however, it is not only the function of the *Scotch Reels* analysis that is problematic, but also its underlying rationale.

Overlapping Traditions

The parochialism *Scotch Reels* identifies in the tropes of tartanry and kailyard is paradoxically mirrored in the publication's failure to link these discourses to the wider phenomenon of kitsch (Blain, 2009). Gaudy, fanciful imaginings of people, place and culture are not, after all, exclusively confined to Scotland. The discourse of Clydesideism can likewise be positioned within the wider traditions of social realism.

Central to both Clydesideism and social realism is a notion of authenticity, one that is integral to conceptions of realism more broadly. Samantha Lay (2002) notes: "There is no universal, all-encompassing definition of realism, nor is there any agreement amongst academics and film-makers as to its purpose and use" (p. 6), however, "what we can say is that there are many 'realisms' and these realisms all share an interest in presenting some aspect of life as it is lived" (p. 6). Andre Bazin's (1958/1967) writings on Italian neo-realism provide a useful starting point when considering cinematic realism. For Bazin, cinema, more so than other art forms, provides its audience with an objective standpoint from which they can construct their own reality. As David Martin-Jones (2009a) observes, many of the traits Bazin identifies in relation to Italian neo-realism – "naturalistic acting (often by non-professionals), location shooting, a focus on the working or underclasses, minimal use

of mise-en-scène, unobtrusive cinematography, the long take favoured over editing” (p. 176) – are still prominent in discussions of realism. However, the “objective” role of the camera has since been widely challenged.

It is the social realist tradition more than any other that is readily discussed in relation to British cinema (Lay, 2002). In *Realism and Popular Cinema*, Julia Hallam and Margaret Marshment (2000) write:

Often referred to in popular criticism as “gritty” or “raw” dramas...social realism is associated with a lack of stylistic artifice and a transparent naturalism. The words “gritty” and “raw” tend to embrace both the thematic elements of the films – which often confront the troublesome relationship between deprived environmental conditions and human psychology – and the “no frills” style in which they are made. (p. 192)

This overview recalls aspects that frequently arise in discussions of Clydesideism, in particular the aforementioned desire for authenticity. More specifically, the “gritty hardness of urban life” Caughie (1990, p. 16) identifies in the themes of Clydesideism is mirrored in the “gritty’ and ‘raw” thematic elements of social realism Hallam and Marshment describe. Such themes, combined with Hallam and Marshment’s reference to “deprived environmental conditions”, suggest a focus on working class characters within social realist works. The centrality of working class characters within British social realist films has likewise been foregrounded by other scholars, such as Lay (2002) and John Hill (2000).⁵

As the section that follows discusses, more recent scholarly work on “new Scottish cinema” (Petrie, 2000a, 2000b, 2001) and “contemporary British realism” (Forrest, 2009a, 2009b, 2010), share similar, little-acknowledged overlaps, and these

⁵ Although working class characters and experiences often feature in social realist texts, the readiness with which social realism is associated with the working class is perhaps problematic. Prominent social realist works have also featured characters from other classes. Consider, for instance, the public school setting of Lindsay Anderson’s *If...* (1968), or more recently, the character of Tamsin (Emily Blunt) in *My Summer of Love* (Pawlikowski, 2004).

intersections can be extended to studies of Scottish cinema and British cinema more generally (Neely, 2005).

New Scottish Cinema and Contemporary British Realism

Following *Scotch Reels*, three publications on Scottish cinema were released during the 1990s: *From Limelight to Satellite* (Dick, ed., 1990), *Scotland in Film* (Hardy, 1990) and *Scotland: The Movie* (Bruce, 1996). *From Limelight to Satellite* is a collection of essays edited by Eddie Dick and marks the second anthology on Scottish cinema. It, to some extent, deals with the institutional aspects of filmmaking that are marginalised in *Scotch Reels*. In contrast, *Scotland in Film* and *Scotland the Movie*, written by Forsyth Hardy and David Bruce respectively, use a more personal tone derived from their experiences of working in close proximity to filmmaking in Scotland. The former is preoccupied with questions of representations and consists predominantly of anecdotal accounts, while the latter, structured in an alphabetical order, is akin to an encyclopaedia of filmmaking activity in and about Scotland. The most extensive critical account of Scottish cinema since *Scotch Reels* however, is found in the work of Petrie (1996, 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2004, 2009), particularly his book length study *Screening Scotland* (2000b). In this, Petrie offers a somewhat alternative conception of Scottish cinema to that found in *Scotch Reels*.

Published in the summer of 2000, *Screening Scotland* is comprehensive and ambitious in scope. Inspired by the increase in filmmaking activity that occurred during the 1990s, it considers the infrastructural and economic aspects of production, and frames analysis in terms of its resulting impact onscreen. Petrie's charting of the institutional aspects of production marks his invaluable contribution to the field, for his detailed account of the development of film infrastructure in Scotland has yet to be matched. As is discussed further in the section that follows, Petrie links these

developments to the emergence of what he terms “new Scottish cinema”, which he outlines in *Screening Scotland* and elsewhere (2000a, 2001). Petrie uses this phrase to characterise a group of films released in the run up to and in the wake of the devolution referendum of 1997. New Scottish cinema, he asserts, is “one that could gradually claim to be an increasingly independent or indigenous entity” (2000b, p. 9). Made possible by the expansion of Scottish film infrastructure during the 1990s, Petrie positions this movement as an offshoot of a cultural renaissance that emerged in the wake of the failed referendum of 1979 and the subsequent reign of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Key films Petrie cites as constituting new Scottish cinema are: *Shallow Grave* (Boyle, 1994), *Trainspotting* (Boyle, 1996), *My Name is Joe* (Loach, 1998), *Small Faces* (MacKinnon, 1996), *Mrs Brown* (Madden, 1997), *Orphans* (Mullan, 1998) and *Ratcatcher* (Ramsay, 1999). These films, he asserts, “challenged the notion that British cinema could somehow still be considered a culturally homogenous or unified identity” (2001, p. 56). For Petrie, this distancing is achieved by drawing on the traditions of an auteur-based European art cinema.

David Forrest (2009a, 2009b, 2010), in his analysis of contemporary British realism, similarly identifies an adoption of expressive art cinema techniques in the films in his corpus. For Forrest (2010), the social realist tradition is one that, since the late 1990s, has “undergone radical alterations in its aesthetic and formal constitution” (p. 31). Forrest (2010) observes that:

A more thematically diverse, expressive, ambiguous and author-driven address has emerged in a wide variety of films that have challenged the dominance of Ken Loach and Mike Leigh as standard bearers of this typically British mode. (pp. 31-32)

Prominent in his analysis are the films of directors including: Lynne Ramsay, *Ratcatcher* and *Morvern Callar* (2002); Pawel Pawlikowski, *Last Resort* (2000) and *My Summer of Love* (2004); Shane Meadows, *Twenty Four Seven* (1997) and *A Room for Romeo Brass* (1999); Andrea Arnold, *Wasp* (2003), *Red Road* and *Fish Tank* (2009);

Duane Hopkins, *Better Things* (2008); and, Samantha Morton, *The Unloved* (2009). Forrest notes that whereas socio-political concerns were once the instigator for social realist works, in the films of the above directors, they instead provide the backdrop. Moreover these films, he continues, are “united by a poetic and aesthetically bold approach to their subject matter, which merges traditional thematic concerns with expressive art cinema templates” (2010, p. 32) in a way that foregrounds the distinct style of their director. Of the films cited above, the three Scottish-set productions, *Ratcatcher*, *Morvern Callar* and *Red Road*, have been utilised in discussions of new Scottish cinema (e.g. Petrie, 2000b, 2009). This points to potential overlaps between Petrie’s work on new Scottish cinema and Forrest’s analysis of contemporary British realism. However, it should be noted that *Screening Scotland* essentially extends as far as 1999, only two years after the period Forrest’s analysis begins (though Petrie has since revisited his analysis of new Scottish cinema in 2009). In a key deviation from Petrie, Forrest suggests that the emphasis placed on art house aesthetics within the films of contemporary British realism calls into question the very notion of national cinema. As is noted later in this chapter, and as is analysed further in Chapter Three, this recalls Jonathan Murray’s (2007, 2012) analysis of contemporary Scottish cinema, which draws on Petrie’s work.

Central to Petrie’s analysis is juxtaposition between the cinema of Scotland and that of Britain. Arguing that British cinema is rife with “broad-based commercialism” (2001, p. 56) he suggests, “current Scottish cinema offers something radically different” (2001, p. 56). For Petrie (2001), this commercialism is exemplified by the “Heritage Film, the ‘Mockney Gangster,’ quirky romantic comedies such as *Four Weddings and a Funeral* [(Newell, 1994)] and *Notting Hill* [(Michell, 1999)], and the proletarian ‘triumph over adversity’ feel good films epitomized by *The Full Monty* [(Cattaneo, 1997)] and *Billy Elliot* [(Daldry, 2000)]” (p. 56). This however, is too

simplistic a dichotomy. Sarah Neely (2005) challenges the extent to which new Scottish cinema departs from British cinema, in this instance, through examination of the heritage film. In reference to *Mrs Brown*, Neely (2005) argues that the “concerns of the ‘Scottish’ heritage film may not be all that far apart from those more traditionally associated with the category in British or English formations” (p. 244). Ultimately however, she concludes:

A consideration of Scottish cinema in relation to heritage is blocked from two different directions. In the studies of British cinema, considerations of Scottish heritage are overshadowed by the considerable body of texts mediating an English past. In the studies of Scottish cinema...there has often been a tendency to promote Scottish films as distinct from English ones – either by aligning the Scottish output with European art cinema, or with Hollywood cinema. (pp. 244-245)

This observation can be extended to attempts to position films of the Clydeside tradition in relation to social realism. Studies on British cinema typically overlook the importance of the Scottish, often Glaswegian, setting of films such as *Ratcatcher* or *Red Road* (e.g. Burke, 2007; Dave, 2011; Forrest, 2009b, 2010; and, Lay 2002, 2007), while studies of Scottish cinema, similarly tend to reject a wider British context in favour of aligning films with the traditions of European art cinema (e.g. Murray, 2007, 2012; Petrie, 1996, 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2004, 2009).

In a chapter on social realist melodrama in his monograph *Scotland: Global Cinema: Genres, Modes and Identities*, Martin-Jones (2009a) briefly mentions Scotland’s contribution to social realism. For Martin-Jones, Scotland’s tangible contribution to the tradition is found in the figure of Scottish documentary filmmaker John Grierson, in particular through his influence on the British New Wave directors of the 1950s and 1960s. Significantly, he also acknowledges in passing that Scottish-set films, including *Floodtide* (Wilson, 1949), *The Gorbals Story* (MacKane, 1950) and *The Brave Don’t Cry* (Leacock, 1952), “could be considered a part of the social realist, or documentary realist, tradition” (2009a, p. 178). This observation could equally be

applied to films released after this period, most prominently collaborations between writer Peter McDougall and director John Mackenzie such as *Just Another Saturday* (1975) and *A Sense of Freedom* (1981), and, as Chapter Three suggests, Scottish-based films of the 2000s, including *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. Despite making this observation, Martin-Jones does not explore the relationship between social realism and Clydesideism in greater depth and proceeds to propagate the divide between Scottish and British (English) cinema observed by Neely.

Filmmaking in Scotland During the 1990s: Funding and Infrastructural Growth

As noted, perhaps Petrie's most substantial contribution to the field of Scottish film criticism is through his analysis of developments in Scottish film infrastructure. In *Screening Scotland* he charts in considerable detail the ways in which key funding and infrastructural developments in the 1990s led to unprecedented levels of filming activity in Scotland (particularly pp. 172-190). Prior to this period, funding for Scottish-based projects typically emanated from British broadcasters based in London (pp. 178-179). These organisations however, were not bound to support Scotland-based projects and as such, there was no guarantee that in any given year funding would be allocated to projects north of the border. The emergence of Scotland-based sources of financing was thus a welcome occurrence.

The Scottish Film Production Fund (SFPF) was established in 1982 with an operating budget of just £80,000 (Petrie, 2000b, p. 174). By 1989 this had more than doubled to £214,000, and over the next seven years grew to a height of £735,000 in 1996 (Petrie, 2000a, p. 158). This growth was largely a result of contributions from several broadcasters: Channel 4, BBC Scotland, STV and the Gaelic Television Committee, Comataidh Telebhisein Gaidhlig (Petrie, 2000a, p. 158). In 1997 the SFPF merged along with other Scottish film agencies (Scottish Film Council, Scottish

Screen Locations, the Scottish Film Training Trust and Scottish Film and Television Archives) into Scottish Screen. As is discussed in Chapter Five, in 2010 Scottish Screen amalgamated with the Scottish Arts Council to form Creative Scotland. These developments meant that, for the first time, a steady number of projects could be developed in Scotland, and these in turn, stood a better chance of securing production finance when competing with projects from elsewhere in the UK.

Petrie (2000a, 2000b) outlines two other key developments that took place during the 1990s: the establishment of the Glasgow Film Fund (GFF) and the advent of National Lottery funding for feature film production. These sources of finance allowed, and continue to allow in the case of lottery finance, projects not only to be developed in Scotland, but also secure part of their budget from sources within the country (2000b, pp. 158-160). Although, as Chapter Five considers, such sources alone are not sufficient to ensure a film enters into production, as many projects remain unmade, despite receiving funding from Scottish Screen. Set up in 1993 by the Glasgow Development Agency, Glasgow City Council, Strathclyde District Council and the European Regional Development Fund, the GFF, administered by the SFPPF, invested in projects produced in the Glasgow area that had a budget of over £500,000 and were intended for theatrical release (2000a, p. 159). The average allocation per project was in the region of £150,000 (this ceiling was later lifted to £250,000). Thus, the GFF was able to supply top-up funds to projects that otherwise might not have been realised (2000b, pp. 175-176). The second, and most important, development in the 1990s was the advent of National Lottery funding for film production. This source, as is discussed at numerous points in this thesis, though particularly Chapter Four and Chapter Five, considerably contributed to the financing of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. Rather than being awarded by a London-centred entity, the Government assigned administering powers to the individual arts councils of England, Northern Ireland,

Scotland and Wales. Established in 1995, the Scottish Arts Council invested £12 million in its first two years of existence, a significantly higher sum than had been available prior to this date (2000b, p. 177). Responsibility for the allocation of this funding was passed to Scottish Screen in 1997, and is now carried out by Creative Scotland. For Petrie (2000b), the infrastructural and funding changes outlined above led to an “unprecedented level of production in Scotland” (p. 172) and facilitated the emergence of a new Scottish cinema, one “spearheaded by a number of *indigenous* [emphasis added] low-budget features” (172).

One problem with Petrie’s work is his use of loaded terminology such as “indigenous” (2000b, p. 172), without an accompanying explanation of usage. In part, such terminology functions as a means of embellishing the stature of new Scottish cinema. Brief consideration of one of the films in question, *Shallow Grave*, cited by Petrie (2000b) as the harbinger of new Scottish cinema, casts doubt as to the suitability of the indigenous label. A low budget production, *Shallow Grave* took £5 million at the UK box office, before going on to make \$30 million worldwide (Petrie, 2000b, p. 193). Development finance was supplied by the SFPF, and production finance by the GFF and Channel 4: the former contributed £150,000 and the latter the remainder of the film’s budget (2000b, p. 227). Significantly for David Aukin, then Head of Film at Channel 4, *Shallow Grave* “was able to recoup its costs within the UK without its success here being powered by an initial success in the USA” (as cited in Petrie, 2000b, p. 193). Petrie’s categorising of the film as indigenous is based on two key attributes: it was developed by the SFPF and received financing from the GFF. This status is reinforced by the fact that both writer John Hodge and producer Andrew MacDonald are Scottish, despite being London-based, and by the Scottish setting of the film. Yet, this indigenous label is challenged when the nationality of director Danny Boyle is considered, or the fact that without financing from Channel 4

the film would likely not have been realised. The UK DVD casing of *Shallow Grave* also reiterates the film's association with Channel 4, as its home entertainment release was handled by the distribution arm of the organisation and features their distinctive red casing and packaging. Furthermore, as Petrie (2000a) himself notes, "the team responsible for *Shallow Grave* and *Trainspotting* have since moved on to more international concerns with a *Life Less Ordinary* (1997) and *The Beach* (2000), made in America and Thailand respectively" (p. 166). The term "indigenous", which in this context has strong associations of authenticity, can therefore be seen to enhance the Scottish properties of *Shallow Grave* and through this, maximise the critical clout of the concept of new Scottish cinema.

In addition to linking the emergence of new Scottish cinema to growth in funding and film infrastructure, Petrie (2000a) also connects it explicitly with political devolution. He writes:

On 6 May 1999 the most fundamental reorganisation of the administrative apparatus of the British state took place with the election of the first separate Scottish Parliament in almost 300 years....The outcome of the 1997 referendum can be related to developments in the 1980s. During this decade many Scots came to feel a profound sense of alienation from the British political process, with Margaret Thatcher's Conservative administration pursuing policies that seemed to represent the interests, and more crucially the political culture, of the south of England. Ironically this political dislocation was accompanied by a bold new affirmation of Scottish cultural creativity and self-expression, particularly in the fields of literature and painting....The other sphere in which excitement began to be generated was film-making, providing the first glimmer of the possibility of an identifiably "Scottish cinema". (2000a, p. 153)

Petrie's writing places in the same sphere political devolution and Scotland's cinematic output, and creates a causal relationship between the two. Through this, a political dimension is added to the films and themes of new Scottish cinema. In this respect, Petrie aligns his work with its most notable predecessor, *Scotch Reels*, as both are politically charged and champion the need for a culturally focused Scottish national cinema.

Further important parallels between Petrie's work on new Scottish cinema and *Scotch Reels* can be drawn. First, both, like much subsequent research within Scottish film criticism are surveys of the field. As such, they strive for detail in terms of breadth, rather than depth. This approach, although often necessary to sketch the general terrain of the area in question and flag recurring ideas, can lead to reductive or generalised analysis, as this chapter thus far has illustrated. Second, as Neely (2008) notes, both *Scotch Reels* and Petrie's work on new Scottish cinema frame their research in relation to analytical categories: the discourses of tartanry and kailyard in the case of *Scotch Reels*, and new Scottish cinema in the case of Petrie. Neely cautions: "Although it is appealing to attempt to define a 'New Scottish Cinema', what the project of *Scotch Reels* showed us is the limitations and dangers of this type of analysis" (p. 162). In Petrie's work, the term "new Scottish cinema" in part functions as a means of embellishing the profile of Scottish cinema. It elevates it to an almost reactive movement akin to Italian neorealism, the French New Wave, or German Expressionism. It is thus surprising that in his introduction to *Screening Scotland* Petrie (2000b) writes, "history needs to be re-examined with a sensitivity towards questions of inclusiveness, popularity, pleasure and the complex negotiation of cultural meaning" (p. 8), as his writing ultimately reflects a desire for a certain type of cinema, one that is culturally, rather than economically driven.

Scottish Cinema, British Cinema and Concepts of National Cinema

Petrie's view of Scottish cinema is largely in keeping with Hill's conception of national cinema (in particular, see 1986, 1992, 1996, 1997, 1999). However, the key difference between their work is that whereas Hill views the existence of a prominent Scottish cinema as proof of British cinema's growing diversity, as remarked above, Petrie

situates this as evidence of a growing divide between the cinema of Scotland and that of Britain.

Hill's (1992) analysis of national cinema focuses on the type of cinema we should want, rather than what is actually present. Consequently, as Higson (2000) notes, his work tends to favour films that support his ideological stance. Hill (1992) premises two routes that examination of national cinema in Britain can take: economic or cultural. Championing the latter, Hill advocates for a British cinema that does not attempt to compete directly with Hollywood, one that is economically modest, but with ambitious cultural aspirations. Dismissing Higson's (1989) claim that the function of a national cinema is to "pull together diverse and contradictory discourses, to articulate a contradictory unity, to play a part in the hegemonic process of achieving consensus, and containing difference and contradiction" (p. 44), Hill (1992) argues that it is "quite possible to conceive of a national cinema which is *nationally specific* without being either nationalist or attached to homogenising myths of national identity" (p. 16, emphasis in original).

For Hill (1997), one of the ways in which British cinema defies the process of homogenisation as put forth by Higson (1989), is through the presence of distinctive Scottish and Welsh cinemas alongside the cinema of England. He writes:

Since the 1980s, it can be argued that not only has British cinema articulated a much more inclusive sense of Englishness than previously but that it has also accorded a much greater recognition to the differing nationalities and identities within Britain....In this respect, British national cinema now clearly implies Scottish and Welsh cinema as well as just English cinema. (1997, p. 251)

As Higson (2000) asserts, one of the problems with Hill's (1992) conception of national cinema is the emphasis he places on the notion of "*national specificity*" (1992, p. 6, emphasis in original). In particular, he assumes the existence of national borders capable of prohibiting financial and creative movement (Higson, 2000). Such boundaries have never been in place, and the moving image has, since its inception,

been characterised by mobility, both on and off the screen.⁶ This suggests a need to think about hybridity, or cinematic transnationalism, an idea to which this chapter returns. Hill's notion of British national cinema also problematically assumes a coherent, uncontested notion of Britishness. As Higson (2000) argues:

To persist, as Hill does, in referring to a “nationally specific” cinema that deals with “national preoccupations” (Hill 1992: 11) within “an identifiably and specifically British context” (Hill 1992: 16) seems once more to take national identity and specifically Britishness for granted. It seems to gloss over too many other questions of community, culture, belonging and identity that are often either defiantly local or loosely transnational. (p. 72)

Indeed, a straightforward conception of Britishness and British cinema is challenged by Petrie's work on new Scottish cinema, which positions Scotland and Scottish cinema as distancing itself from Britain and British cinema.

Developing A Multifaceted Approach to National Cinema

In his seminal article, “The Concepts of National Cinema”, published in *Screen* in 1989, Higson calls for greater diversity in the ways in which national cinema is approached. For Higson (1989), too often the concept is used “prescriptively rather than descriptively, citing what ought to be the national cinema, rather than describing the actual cinematic experience of popular audiences” (p. 37). As has been remarked, Higson (2000) later reiterated this criticism in relation to Hill's work. In the conclusion of his article, Higson (1989) outlines possible avenues that the study of national cinema might take, all of which are considered in some capacity and to varying degrees within this thesis. First is through analysis of the diversity of films in circulation within a nation. Second involves researching “the experience of cinema(s) in a...general cultural sense” (p. 44). One way in which this might be achieved, Higson notes, is through study of the role of marketing in the viewer experience. Third is

⁶ From the beginning of cinema, images captured in one part of the world, have been shown to audiences and filmmakers in another, and directors from one country have emigrated to another.

through an exploration of the relationship between different discourses circulating around a film. In particular Higson differentiates between art cinema and populist discourses. As this brief overview suggests, Higson is primarily concerned with issues of distribution and exhibition. While these are undoubtedly important, as this thesis illustrates, so too are other stages of the supply chain, including development, pre-production and principal photography.

In “Concepts of National Cinema”, which takes its name from Higson’s aforementioned article, Crofts (1998) offers a more pluralistic overview of the various facets that might be considered within discussions of national cinema. As outlined in the Introduction, the categories he provides are as follows: production, distribution and exhibition, audience, discourse, textuality, national-cultural specificity, cultural specificity of genres and nation-state cinema movements, the role of the state, and the global range of nation-state cinemas (pp. 386-388). In addition to contributing to a theoretical understanding of the concept(s) of national cinema, the work of both authors also offers methodological approaches with which to tackle the question of the national.

Cinematic Transnationalism

Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden (2006a) write that, “In its simplest guise, the transnational can be understood as the global forces that link people or institutions across nations” (p. 1). Cinematic transnationalism occurs in the cracks amid the local and the global (Ezra & Rowden, 2006a, p. 4). As outlined above, and as is evident from research including Higson’s (2010) study on European collaboration in the 1920s, cinematic transnationalism is not a new phenomenon. However, factors including changes to traditional distribution patterns and exhibition windows, which have resulted from developments in digital technology, along with a steady rise in the

number of co-productions have brought issues surrounding cinematic transnationalism increasingly to the fore (see Ezra & Rowden, 2006a, pp. 1-12).

Higson (2000) examines the limitations of the national and suggests that “the concept of the ‘transnational’ may be a subtler means of describing cultural and economic formations that are rarely contained by national boundaries” (p. 64). Nonetheless, Higson (2000) does not advocate for the dismissal of the national. He concludes: “It would be impossible – and certainly unwise – to ignore the concept altogether” (p. 73). In particular, he identifies the continued importance of the nation as a legal mechanism, and in the development of media policy. This thesis also investigates other ways in which the national might continue to be relevant in the study of film. As the work of scholars including Bergfelder (2005), Ezra & Rowden (2006a) and Higson (2000) attests however, it would be foolish to overlook the transnational dimensions of film.

In “National, Transnational or Supranational Cinema? Rethinking European Film Studies”, Tim Bergfelder (2005) draws on the work of sociologist Ulf Hannerz (1996) in order to explore the ways in which the transnational might be useful in the re-conceptualisation of European cinema. He suggests that the history of European cinema might be examined by “exploring the interrelationship between cultural and geographical centres and margins, and by tracing the migratory movements between these poles” (p. 320), as opposed to focusing almost exclusively on the development of separate national cinemas. Writing on the appropriateness of the term “transnational”, rather than “international” or “globalisation”, Hannerz (1996) states:

I am somewhat uncomfortable with the rather prodigious use of the term globalization to describe just about any process or relationship that somehow crosses state boundaries. In themselves, many such processes and relationships obviously do not at all extend across the world. The term “transnational” is in a way more humble, and often a more adequate label for phenomena which can be of quite variable scale and distribution, even when they do share the characteristic of not being contained within a state. It also makes the point that many of the linages in question are not “international”, in the strict sense of

involving nations – actually, states – as corporate actors. In the transnational arena, the actors may now be individuals, groups, movements, business enterprises, and in no small part it is this diversity of organization that we need to consider. (p. 6).

As Bergfelder (2005) observes, Hannerz's definition highlights the need for nuanced analysis when engaging with cinematic transnationalism. In turn, this might limit the potential for a unified and all-encompassing approach to its study (Bergfelder, 2005; see also in relation to the national, Higson, 2000). This is an idea to which this section returns. The quotation from Hannerz also points to the need to think about the variety of agents and agencies that operate in the "transnational arena". Chapter Four investigates the individuals and organisations involved in the realisation and release of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. In particular, it analyses the relationship between Sigma Films and Zentropa, which, as is discussed below, Hjort (2010a, 2010c) examines in her work on cinematic transnationalism.

In her analysis of the transnational component of recent Scottish cinema, Sarah Street (2009) also draws on Hannerz's (1996) *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. She writes:

Trans-national cinema is marked by diversity in terms of its production base; funding sources; origin of production personnel and actors; variety of locations and patterns of cross-cultural reception....we are not talking about globalisation or internationalism, but something more localised, maintaining specific features and themes but at the same time reaching out to many different audiences. (p. 142)

As Simon Brown (2011) notes, Street's work is particularly useful as it provides a means of thinking about how a film might be simultaneously local and global. Although, as the quotation above indicates, Street points to a number of lenses through which the transnational might be scrutinised, her analysis predominantly centres on the use of locations in the film texts she considers. In the context of her argument Street observes: "landscapes that might be recognisable to some are simply

generic to others” (p. 151). This idea is taken up in Chapter Three in order to better understand the use of locations in *Red Road*.

Whilst, as the work cited above indicates, there are notable studies that provide detailed and considered engagements with the transnational in both theoretical and conceptual terms, Hjort (2010c) outlines that there has also been a tendency for film scholars to use the phrase “as a largely self-evident qualifier requiring only minimal conceptual clarification” (p. 13). She continues: “Oftentimes the term functions as shorthand for a series of assumptions about the networked and globalized realities that are those of a contemporary situation, and it is these assumptions, rather than explicit definitions, that lend semantic content to ‘transnational’” (p. 13).⁷ With the intention of grounding cinematic transnationalism within a theoretical context, Hjort (2010c) proposes that the transnational be viewed as a “scalar concept allowing for the recognition of strong or weak forms of transnationality” (p. 13). She puts forth seven “types” of transnationalism: affinitive, milieu-building, cosmopolitan, epiphanic, experimental, globalising and opportunistic

⁷ These concerns were once again raised at a workshop entitled “Researching Transnational Cinemas” held at the Society for Cinema and Media Studies conference in 2013. Participants in the workshop include Mark Betz, Rayna Denison and Steven Rawle, and Austin Fisher chaired the session.

(2010a, pp. 49-50).⁸ There is a danger however, that by identifying different instances of transnationalism and presenting these as “strong” or “weak”, Hjort encourages analysis of certain “types” over others. It could also problematically lead, as Higson (2000) cautions in relation to Hill’s work on national cinema, to a prescriptive, rather than descriptive use of the concept.

Hjort does not position her seven categories as mutually exclusive. As noted in the Introduction, and as is discussed in Chapter Four, Hjort (2010a) situates the Advance Party initiative as an instance of “affinitive and milieu-building transnationalism” (pp. 49-51). In many ways, Hjort’s analysis of affinitive and milieu-building transnationalism can be positioned within a wider body of work that “privileges an analysis of the transnational as a regional phenomenon by examining film cultures/national cinemas which invest in a shared cultural heritage and/or geopolitical boundary” (Higbee & Lim, 2010, p. 9). Indeed, Murray’s (2012) analysis of Scottish-Scandinavian (particularly Danish) collaborations of the 2000s and 2010s would appear to reinforce the positioning of such projects within this context. However, Murray and Hjort focus on very specific aspects of the films in their corpus

⁸ Hjort (2010a) defines the “types” of transnationalism as follows:

Affinitive transnationalism: collaboration across national borders with “people like us”, the perception of similarity being based in many cases on ethnicity, culture, and language, although commonality may also center on core attitudes, interests, concerns, and problems.

Milieu-building transnationalism: transnational collaboration, usually of a substantial nature, that is designed to develop capacity.

Cosmopolitan transnationalism: collaboration across borders prompted and made possible by personal transnational networks.

Epiphanic transnationalism: transnational collaboration fostered by supranational entities with an interest in funding projects that aim to make manifest supranational or regional cultural identities resting on partially intersecting national cultures.

Experimental transnationalism: collaboration across national borders resulting from the logic of attention-grabbing artistic experiments.

Globalizing transnationalism: ultra-high-budget transnational productions informed in part by Hollywood’s globalizing strategies and aimed at securing at least transnational, regional audiences and ideally global audiences.

Opportunistic transnationalism: collaboration motivated by a strategic relation to financial opportunities. (pp. 49-50, emphasis in original)

and the conclusions they draw are reflective of this specificity. A considerable part of Murray's (2012) analysis of Scottish-Scandinavian films centres on film titles, while, as Chapter Four makes clear, Hjort's work concentrates on the relationship between Zentropa and Sigma Films. When introducing her typology Hjort (2010c) acknowledges that it was designed with production foremost in mind, but points to the areas of distribution and reception for future research.

It is useful at this point to return to Bergfelder's (2005) work to question the usefulness of such a typology. While Hjort (2010a, 2010c) provides a valuable overview of possible ways in which the transnational might be analysed in terms of production, her typology is in danger of overlooking the seemingly subtle differences between different instances of cinematic transnationalism. Drawing on Hannerz's (1996) work, Bergfelder (2005) writes that this encourages consideration of "nuanced, and frequently more localised, manifestations and encounters" (p. 322). This is important as it highlights the homogenising potential of Hjort's typology.⁹ It is thus perhaps more appropriate to consider the interactions between the local and global on an individual basis, while keeping in mind the wider landscape in which these interactions take place.

Film Marketing and the Film Industry Supply Chain

As has been noted, and as the title of this thesis suggests, an aim of this research is to develop a comprehensive approach to the study of film; one that takes into consideration aspects of development, pre-production, production, marketing and

⁹ Similar claims could be made in relation to William Brown's (2009) work in which he suggests there are two overarching "types" of transnationalism. The first, "born of *necessity* (film-makers who must work within the transnational context in order to be able to make films)", and the second, "a transnationality enjoyed as a *privilege* (typically, Western backers investing in film-makers in developing nations, with all of the issues that this raises of exorcising otherness and cultural imperialism)" (p. 16, emphasis in original).

distribution, and reception. As such, it is useful to consult scholarly work on supply chains and supply chain management (SCM).

In *Film Marketing* Finola Kerrigan (2009) consults academic literature relating to the supply chain and SCM and integrates it to the study of film marketing. Drawing on John Durie, Annika Pham and Neil Watson's (2000) definition of film marketing as "any activity that assists a film in reaching its target audience at any time throughout its life" (p. 5), Kerrigan asserts that film marketing "begins right from a film's conception and continues through to the act of consumption" (p. 6). Moreover, Kerrigan and Cagri Yalkin (2009) find that after viewing a film, audience members will often lengthen their engagement with it by posting reviews, or going on to watch other related films. This leads Kerrigan (2009) to assert:

At key stages in the product life cycle, various actors are involved in numerous marketing activities, from marketing an idea or a script to a production company to the final marketing of the film in cinemas, on DVD and through other exhibition outlets such as VOD (video on demand), cable television and terrestrial television. (p. 10)

Akin to this study, Kerrigan's (2009) desire to engage with the many aspects of film marketing leads her to consult academic criticism on supply chain and SCM. Her assertion that throughout a film's lifespan various individuals and agencies are involved in adding value to a film, what might also be thought of as its construction, is useful to consider in relation to concepts of national and transnational cinema. The Venn diagram shown in Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between theories of national and transnational cinema, film marketing, and supply chain posited by this thesis. Rather than viewing national and transnational cinema as a series of isolated categories, this rationale encourages a holistic approach to the concepts. This approach is concerned with the interaction between multiple aspects of a film's development, production, distribution and exhibition, as well as with analysis of individual stages. Such a stance considers, for instance, the possibility that how a film

is financed can influence its aesthetics, which in turn can play a decisive role in determining how it is distributed.

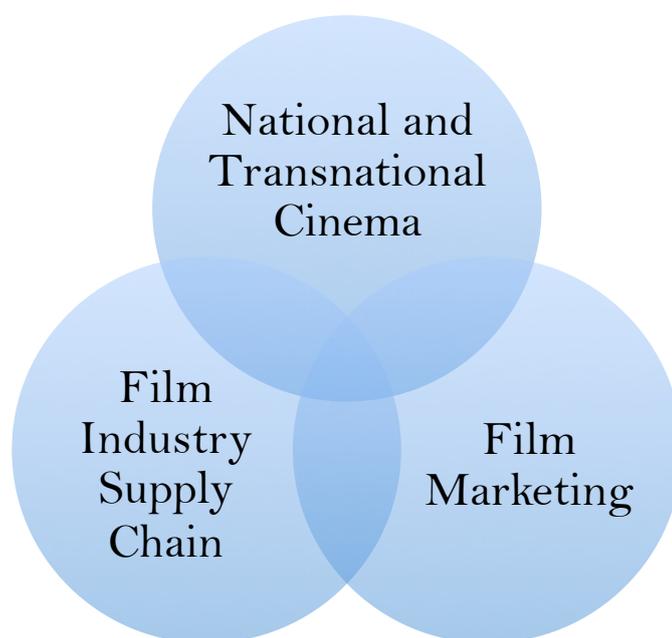


Figure 1. Relationship Between Areas of Study. This figure illustrates the relationship between the areas of national and transnational cinema, film marketing, and the film industry supply chain that this thesis puts forth.

In “Defining Supply Chain Management” John T. Mentzer et al. (2001) write that a supply chain is “a set of three or more entities (organizations or individuals) directly involved in the upstream and downstream flows of products, services, and/or information from a source to a customer” (p. 4). In relation to the film industry, Kerrigan (2009) observes that in order for a film to be seen by an audience, it first requires a production company, distributor and exhibitor, and at times multiples of each will be involved. Her breakdown of the various stages in the film industry supply chain, along with key activities that take place at these stages, is shown in Table 1. It should be noted that these are not necessarily seen as linear and at times will overlap.

Table 1. The Film Industry Supply Chain.

Development	Pre-Production	Production	Post-Production	Distribution and Advertising	Exhibition
Rights acquisition, script development, financing	Cast and crew selection, green-lighting, financing	Above the line, below the line	Editing, soundtrack	Sales, distribution, trailers, publicity	Theatrical, DVD/VCR/Blu-ray, TV (free and pay-per-view), VOD

Note. Taken from *Film Marketing*, by F. Kerrigan, 2009, p. 9.

As Mentzer et al. (2001) advocate however, the presence of a supply chain does not automatically mean that those involved recognise it, or that they are working to ensure coordination throughout its various levels. In other words, the existence of a supply chain does not mean that SCM is taking place. As a result, the authors distinguish “between supply chains as phenomena that exist in business and the management of those supply chains” (2001, p. 4). In addition to making this distinction, the writers emphasise the lack of a single, coherent definition of SCM, both in practice and scholarly work. As a means of resolving this, they consult prior definitions of SCM (Cooper, Ellram, Gardner & Hanks, 1997; Houlihan, 1988; Jones & Riley, 1985; La Londe & Masters, 1994; Monczka, Trent & Handfield, 1998; Stevens, 1989), and synthesise their key aspects into a singular and manageable definition. They conclude that SCM is,

the systemic, strategic coordination of the traditional business functions and the tactics across these business functions within a particular company and across businesses within the supply chain, for the purposes of improving the long-term performance of the individual companies and the supply chain as a whole. (2001, p. 18)

As Kerrigan (2009) outlines, this definition is useful when considering the film industry supply chain as it stresses the importance of coordination across functions as well as organisations. If different individuals or functions are involved in aspects of a film’s realisation and release, it is useful if they are in dialogue with each other. For

example, that the director of a film knows how it is being pitched to financiers and how distributors aim to position it in the minds of potential viewers.

The definition provided by Mentzer et al. (2001) also emphasises the long-term benefits that can result from the maintenance of relationships throughout the supply chain (Kerrigan, 2009). Mentzer, Min and Zachariah (2000) differentiate between two forms of partnerships: strategic and operational. The former “is an on-going, long-term interfirm relationship for achieving strategic goals, which delivers value to customers and profitability to partners” (p. 550), while the latter “is an as-needed, shorter-term relationship for obtaining parity with competitors” (p. 550). For Kerrigan (2009), Hollywood studios’ dominance at the global box office can be explained by their maintenance of an integrated supply chain. She argues that individual films produced within this structure are more likely to succeed than those produced outwith, because of their access to distribution. Kerrigan then positions Hollywood in opposition to filmmaking in Europe and argues that the latter does not exhibit the same degree of integration and as such, European filmmakers too often enter into operational partnerships. Although this is perhaps too simplistic a contrast, and other factors also play a decisive role in ensuring Hollywood films retain their popularity in many territories throughout the world, it does point to some useful generalisations about the filmmaking landscape in Europe that are revisited in Chapter Four.¹⁰

By drawing on the idea of supply chain and SCM, along with theories of transnational cinema, it is hoped that a more multifaceted and flexible notion of national cinema is developed in this thesis and applied to the case study on which the research presented is based.

¹⁰ Amongst other factors that account for the continued success of Hollywood films, both domestically and internationally, is the ability of Hollywood studios to produce a sizable number of films each year. This increases the likelihood that a small number will return a profit sufficient to cover losses made by others.

Questions of Nation in Recent Scottish Film Criticism

As mentioned in the Introduction, in numerous publications released since 2000, Murray (2001, 2007, 2011, 2012) questions the relevance of the national framework as a means of analysing Scotland's contemporary cinematic output. As is deliberated in greater detail at the close of this chapter, Murray employs methodologies that focus only on select aspects of the films he examines. While Murray's contribution to Scottish film criticism has been the most prolific since Petrie's previously examined work, other scholars have made notable contributions to the field. See, for instance, the work of Neil Blain (2009), Ian Goode (2007a, 2007b, 2011), Lynne Hibberd (2007, 2008, 2009), David Martin-Jones (2004, 2005, 2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2010), Sarah Neely (2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2009), Jane Sillars (2009) and, Jane Sillars and Myra Macdonald (2008). Research from these scholars is engaged with in the remainder of this chapter and/or on occasions throughout this thesis.

Succeeding Petrie, two book length studies devoted to exploring filmmaking in and about Scotland have been released: *Scottish Cinema Now*, edited by Jonathan Murray, Fidelma Farley and Rod Stoneman (2009), and David Martin-Jones' (2009a) *Scotland: Global Cinema*. Additionally, numerous books on specific films and filmmakers have been published in the last ten years.¹¹ While there have been recent attempts to further thinking on Scotland and film beyond the parameters outlined in particular by McArthur and Petrie, as is shown below, much work continues to engage with their ideas, and in some instances, this involves reinforcing the views presented by these authors.

Taking its title from Nairn's (1981) study, Steve Blandford's (2007) *Film, Drama and The Break-Up of Britain* examines the ways in which film and theatre in

¹¹ See, for instance: Brown (2000), Cook (2002), Kuhn (2008), McArthur (2003a, 2003b), Murray (2011), Murray, Stevenson, Harper and Franks (2005, 2006) and Smith (2002).

Britain “have begun to reflect and contribute to a Britain that is changing so rapidly in its sense of itself that...it amounts to a break-up of the very idea of there being a meaningful British identity at all” (p. 7). Perhaps unsurprisingly then, in a chapter on Scotland and cinema, Blandford draws heavily on Petrie’s work on new Scottish cinema and comes to essentially the same conclusion. He begins by recounting Petrie’s analysis before making a similar causal link between: (a) devolution; (b) the increase in availability of development and production finance; (c) the rise in number of Scottish-based productions; and (d) the emergence of a Scottish cinema distinct from that of London-based British cinema. Blandford’s slight point of departure from Petrie is in his identification of two strands of post-devolutionary Scottish cinema: on the one hand, the much-discussed European art cinema, and on the other, the social realist, Glasgow-set films of Ken Loach. This distinction is (indirectly) challenged by Forrest’s (2009a, 2009b, 2010) aforementioned research that positions (in a British context) social realism within the art cinema traditions. Moreover, Blandford’s analysis of Loach’s work, and the social realist tradition within Scottish cinema more generally, fails to address the complex relationship between social realism and Scotland’s cinematic output that was detailed earlier in this chapter.

At the outset of *Scotland: Global Cinema*, Martin-Jones frames his study as one about filmmaking in Scotland, rather than Scottish cinema, and he includes in his study films that typically have not received significant academic attention. This in many ways builds on his previous work, most notably that on the use of Scotland as a filming location in Bollywood films (2006) and on Scottish-Gaelic films (2010). While this goes a long way towards significantly expanding the field of study, at times Martin-Jones unnecessarily incorporates in his analysis previous strands of critical thinking on Scotland and cinema. These are strands that this chapter has shown to be problematic. For instance, in a chapter on horror films, two interpretations of Neil

Marshall's 2002 film *Dog Soldiers* are offered: the first, a "Scotch Reels reading of the film as Tartanry" (p. 115) and the second, "an *Out of History* [Craig, 1996] inflected reading" (p. 115). Though Martin-Jones' consideration of more popular genres and modes of filmmaking significantly expands the field of study, this is inhibited by his use of the *Scotch Reels* line of analysis, as its capacity to yield new insights does now seem exhausted.

As remarked, Murray (2001, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2012; Murray, Farley & Stoneman, 2009; Murray, Stevenson, Harper & Franks, 2005, 2006) is the most prolific contributor to Scottish film criticism since Petrie. His work will be examined throughout this thesis. In publications spanning a decade Murray (2001, 2007, 2011, 2012) questions the relevance of nation, national identity and national cinema as the overriding framework for Scottish film criticism. In an article published in 2001, Murray asserts: "We should be aware of the extent to which the recurrent engagement with discourses of nation in Scottish cinema has often hidden other lines of social plurality from view: sexuality, locality, race and, most particularly, gender" (p. 85). Similarly, several years later in a chapter on Scotland published in *The Cinema of Small Nations*, Murray (2007) contends Scottish cinema need not "automatically be framed and best understood within any framework of national specificity at all" (p. 90). He advocates:

Perhaps it is time that Scottish film criticism caught up with where Scottish filmmaking seems already to have gone, crossing the border once and for all, leaving behind the traditional compulsion to ponder obsessively and near-exclusively the state, whether psychological or territorial, of "Scotland". (p. 90)

This assertion is made following analysis of *Red Road*, which, as is discussed further in Chapter Three, situates the film within the traditions of European art house cinema. As is also considered in Chapter Three, parallels can be drawn between Murray's work and Forrest's research on contemporary British realism.

More recently, in “Blurring Borders: Scottish Cinema in the Twenty-First Century” Murray (2012) reiterates: “With each passing year, the idea of a deliberate, dominant and didactic focus on the question of nation seems less and less applicable to more and more of the cinema which contemporary Scotland produces” (p. 400). In this article, he explores two avenues that “complicate traditional conceptions of Scottish cinema as a collective creative endeavour that is geared primarily or exclusively towards an examination of the meaning and identity of ‘Home’” (p. 401). The first, which is of particular importance to this thesis and is revisited in Chapter Three, is concerned with the numerous collaborations between Scottish and Scandinavian (particularly Danish) personnel, and the second with what he identifies as a growing interest in ideas of ethnic and racial diversity amongst the work of local filmmakers. One of the key difficulties with this article however, is that it centres on select, and very specific, aspects of the films in his corpus. For example, a substantial portion of his analysis of Scottish/Scandinavian films *Skagerrak* (Kragh-Jacobsen, 2003), *Red Road*, *The Last Great Wilderness* (Mackenzie, 2002) and *Aberdeen* (Moland, 2000) focuses on discussion of their titles.

In *Discomfort and Joy: The Cinema of Bill Forsyth*, Murray (2011) moves beyond examination of the relevance of the national framework and explores other considerations pertinent to Bill Forsyth’s work; both his Scottish-set features and his often overlooked American-set films. For instance, in the case of *Local Hero*, he scrutinises the film’s environmental agenda, in addition to revisiting the question of national specificity. Thus, Murray (2011) does not advocate for the dismissal of questions of nation entirely, as his 2007 chapter suggests, but positions this as *one* possible avenue for exploration. In many ways this approach is also adopted in this thesis, for while it aims to explore the relevance of nation, national identity and national cinema in relation to the case study on which the research presented in this

thesis is based, it also wishes to pursue, where relevant, other areas of study, such as gender.

As has been suggested, the key point of departure between this thesis and Murray's work, and indeed the majority of research on Scotland and cinema, is in the methods it employs. While Murray (2012) considers in passing materials such as press reviews, his study predominantly utilises textual analysis as a means of exploring the films in question. In contrast, this thesis explores aspects that receive little or no attention from film scholars, both within Scottish film criticism and film studies more generally. As the chapter that follows details, the research on which this thesis is based makes use of a mix of methods.

Chapter Two: Methodology

In “Film History Terminable and Interminable”, published in *Screen* in 1997, Barbara Klinger puts forth a proposal for “cinematic *histoire totale*” (p. 108, emphasis in original). She writes: “In a total history, the analyst studies complex interactive environments or levels of society involved in the production of a particular event, effecting a historical synthesis, an integrated picture of synchronic as well as diachronic change” (pp. 108-109). The notion of combining synchronic and diachronic research is particularly relevant when studying the film industry supply chain, although perhaps not quite in the way Klinger’s work suggests. Klinger’s article centres on film reception and frames synchronic and diachronic change in terms of moments of a film’s reception. Equally however, as this thesis demonstrates, such analysis is useful when scrutinising the film industry supply chain. This is true when thinking about how particular themes and ideas that arise during development are then presented in funding applications, executed during principal photography, appropriated in advertising materials and discussed in newspaper articles. While Klinger acknowledges that the exhaustive analysis of total history is “a scholarly aim rather than an absolutely achievable reality” (p. 109), she persuasively argues that this approach “promises to press historians’ enquiries beyond established frontiers, broadening the scope of their enterprise, and continually refining their historical methods and perspectives” (p. 109). In order to aim for the level of detail encouraged by the utopian total history, a case study approach is required. This ensures sufficient room is available to develop the desired depth of analysis.

The New Film and Cinema Histories

Within recent years two key scholarly books have been released that emphasise the newness of their content and methodology: *The New Film History: Sources, Methods,*

Approaches, edited by James Chapman, Mark Glancy and Sue Harper (2007b), and *Explorations in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies*, edited by Richard Maltby, Daniel Biltereyst and Philippe Meers (2011). As the subtitle of each book suggests, methodology is central to both edited collections and, akin to this study and Klinger's notion of total history, the research presented in both is "a close-up rather than long shot" (Chapman, Glancy & Harper, 2007a, p. 1).

The "new", particularly of the former title, is perhaps misleading. In relation to the term "new film history" Chapman et al. observe:

The first recorded use of the term that we have been able to locate is a review article by Thomas Elsasser, in 1985, in which he noted the tendency of recent scholarly works to move beyond film history as just the history of films and to consider how film style and aesthetics were influenced, even determined, by economic, industrial and technological factors. (p. 5)

In the introduction to *The New Film History*, Chapman et al. chart a shift from "old film history" to "new film history", which occurred in the mid-1980s. Old film history, the authors note, has two main strands: "One focused on the history of film as an art form, the other on the idea of film as a reflection or mirror of society" (p. 2). Examples of the former the authors provide include Terry Ramsaye's (1926) *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture Through 1925*, Paul Rotha's (1949) *The Film Till Now: A Survey of World Cinema* and more recently, David Cook's (1990) *A History of Narrative Film*, while the latter, they assert, is indebted to Siegfried Kracauer's (1947) *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological Study of the German Film*.

While detailing the development of old film history during the 1970s, the authors also observe an "intellectual division that emerged in the discipline" (p. 4) between, on the one hand, film studies and, on the other, film history. They write:

Film Studies grew principally out of English literature...and its agenda was dominated by similar issues (authorship, genre, narrative) and analytical methods (especially linguistic theories of semiotics and structuralism)...In contrast, film history, which grew principally out of the disciplines of social and political history, developed along two lines. The first analysed the use and abuse of history in feature films, assessing the accuracy and errors of historical

films. The second was concerned with contextual analysis: exploring the conditions under which films were made and how far they succeeded in reflecting the intentions of those who made them. (p. 4)

During the last two decades, there has been a narrowing of this divide and this convergence, “provided the intellectual context for the emergence of the New Film History” (Chapman et al., 2007a, p. 5).

New film history is characterised by three features, which need not appear with equal emphasis (Chapman et al., 2007a). First is an advanced level of methodological complexity that assumes a multifaceted relationship between a film and its social contexts. Chapman et al. write: “The buzzwords here are process and agency: films are shaped and determined by a combination of historical processes...and individual agency” (p. 6). Second is a use of primary sources, both filmic and non-filmic, such as “memoirs, personal papers, production files, scripts, censors’ reports, publicity materials, reviews, fan magazines and Internet discussion groups” (p. 7). Many of these documents are engaged with in the course of this thesis and, as will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, necessitate particular methodological considerations (Street, 2000). Third is an “understanding that films are cultural artefacts with their own formal properties and aesthetics, including visual style and aural qualities” (p. 8).

As the title “The New Film History” suggests, Chapman et al. take as their starting point the film text (Maltby, 2011). In contrast, *Explorations in New Cinema History*, as its title likewise suggests, is part of a body of work concerned with shifting the focus of cinema studies “away from the content of films to consider their circulation and consumption, and to examine the cinema as a site of social and cultural exchange” (Maltby, 2011, p. 3). It is this shift from thinking about film to thinking about cinema that has resulted in what promises to be some of the most exciting developments within – what should perhaps increasingly be thought of as – Scottish

cinema criticism. Examples of such research include Ian Goode's ongoing work on rural cinema in Scotland (Goode, 2011), Karen Lury and Ryan Shand's research on amateur media in Scotland, and the Early Cinema in Scotland project based at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh.¹² This thesis embodies aspects of both new film history and new cinema history. It moves beyond a sole focus on the film to study circulation and consumption in addition to the lesser-scrutinised areas of development and pre-production. This facilitates a focus on areas previously overlooked within Scottish film criticism, for instance, unmade films. To this end, and in order to strive for Klinger's total history, a mixed method approach is required.

Cinema in Documents

The research presented in this thesis makes use of a number of documents for different purposes and in conjunction with different methods. Chapter Five and Chapter Seven centre on two specific documents, the funding application and the newspaper article respectively. As such, more detail is provided later in this chapter on the methods used to analyse these documents. In terms of analysis of documentation more generally, Sarah Street's (2000) *British Cinema in Documents* provides a useful starting point when thinking about the "basic methodological issues" (p. 6) that should be kept "uppermost in the researcher's mind" (p. 6) when consulting documentation. These are shown below, along with key questions Street suggests the analyst keep in mind.

1. Type. "What sort of document is it? What kind of language is it written in?"
(p. 6)
2. Authorship. "Who has written the document? Who was the intended reader?"
(p. 6)

¹² The Early Cinema in Scotland project, headed by John Caughie, focuses on the period 1896-1927 and aims to "produce a comprehensive account of the early development of cinema in Scotland". More information is available on the project's website (<http://earlycinema.gla.ac.uk/>).

3. Agency. “Why was it written? What was its purpose?” (p. 7)
4. Context. “When was it written? What contexts can be identified – public (national or international), institutional or private?” (p. 7)
5. Impact. “What circulation might the document have had? Is there any follow-up evidence which gives an indication as to its impact and significance?” (p. 8)
6. Archival Scheme. “What place does it have in relation to other papers from the collection or other collections of documents?” (p. 8)
7. Interpretive Significance. “What place does the document have in the historian’s argument?” (p. 8)

This study consults a variety of documents – including funding applications, press releases, character sketches, plot synopses, posters, trailers, newspaper articles, trade publication articles, funding databases, production notes, film festival programmes, annual reports and annual accounts – and the issues Street details are relevant in all instances.

Many of the documents outlined above, in combination with information provided on websites of relevant organisations and individuals, are utilised in Chapter Four, which analyses the agents and agencies involved in the realisation of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. A summary of the organisations and individuals involved in each film, along with the nature of their participation and the source of this information, is provided in Appendix C. Several of these documents are also integral to the latter section of Chapter Five, which considers film projects that were never made despite receiving production finance from Scottish Screen. Although use of sources such as articles from newspapers or trade publications is not always ideal, when clearly marked as such, information from these sources can productively contribute to the little-told narrative of unmade Scottish-based productions. Where possible,

information is reinforced and enhanced through use of material gathered through interviews. (This method is discussed towards the close of this chapter.)

As has been noted, Chapter Five and Chapter Seven focus on two specific types of documents, the funding application and the newspaper article respectively. Given the centrality of these documents, a few words on each, and the methods used in their analysis, is required.

Close Textual Analysis

In *Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema*, Janet Staiger (1992) adopts a “historical materialist approach” (pp. 79-98) to the study of film reception. Positioning her research as a departure from work centred on the audience, Staiger urges researchers to “consider the contributions that contextual factors, as opposed to textual devices or viewer subjectivities, make to an understanding of how texts mean” (Klinger, 1994, p. xvi). As Jostein Gripsrud and Erlend Lavik (2008) observe, although not explicitly labelled such, Staiger’s work can be thought of as a kind of discourse analysis. The same is also true of Klinger’s (1994) influential *Melodrama and Meaning: History, Culture and the Films of Douglas Sirk*, which draws on Staiger’s study. However, neither Staiger nor Klinger directly draw on the vast body of literature discourse analysis has generated, and their work might better be thought of as close textual analysis. A similar approach is adopted in this thesis. While discourse analysis offers a potentially beneficial means through which to conduct future research into the reception of Scottish cinema, its use necessitates a comprehensive engagement with the immense body of work on the method. Given the numerous methods employed in this research, for reasons of space, use of discourse analysis is not possible on this occasion.

Funding Applications

Chapter Five centres on the funding applications submitted to Scottish Screen or its successor Creative Scotland by Sigma Films for the Advance Party initiative.¹³ It should be noted that these applications, although immensely valuable, only detail a partial history of how and why *Red Road* and *Donkeys* received funding from Scottish Screen and, following Scottish Screen's amalgamation with the Scottish Arts Council, Creative Scotland. They do not, for instance, reveal the extent to which conversations took place between representatives of Sigma Films and Scottish Screen/Creative Scotland. Indeed, as Chapter Five discusses, given the often haphazard content and presentation of these application forms, one would hope this was not the sole basis on which Scottish Screen/Creative Scotland allocated funding to the projects in question. Nevertheless, these documents are central to what might be termed the "official" record of the funding of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* and as such, their significance cannot be overstated.

The funding application is, as Chapter Five observes in greater detail, an illuminating document both in terms of what it reveals about how an applicant pitched a project to a potential funder, but also in what it says about the funding criteria prioritised by that agency. Consequently, Chapter Five considers not only the answers given by Sigma Films in the funding application, but also the questions to which they responded.

Newspaper Content: Combining Content Analysis and Close Textual Analysis

Chapter Seven, the final research chapter, is concerned with the UK newspaper coverage of the Advance Party initiative and its films. In Chapter Seven, close textual analysis is employed in order to analyse a sample of newspaper articles that appeared

¹³ These funding applications were obtained following a successful Freedom of Information request to Creative Scotland.

in the UK press in connection with the Advance Party films. Prior to this however, data gathered from a quantitative content analysis is first examined. Key questions this data addresses are shown below.

- When did the majority of newspaper coverage of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* take place?
- What prompted coverage?
- Are the films the focus of articles?
- How often do articles reference the Advance Party framework by name?

In Chapter Seven, analysis centres on the Advance Party films and although, as the last of the questions shown above suggests, coverage of the initiative is considered in part, this is not the focus of the content analysis. During the design of this content analysis, trial runs revealed that only a handful of articles made any reference to the Advance Party scheme independent of coverage of *Red Road* or *Donkeys*. This itself is an interesting point and it is taken up during the close textual analysis portion of Chapter Seven. It is probable that had the content analysis been extended to encompass articles from trade publications such as *Variety* or *The Hollywood Reporter*, a greater number of articles would be found on the initiative. Indeed, an informal search would seem to support this statement. However, such publications are not the focus of Chapter Seven. To an extent this is due to reasons of scope; the inevitable need to set boundaries somewhere. Furthermore, this decision was motivated by a desire to analyse the narrative image of the Advance Party films. As specified in the Introduction, the narrative image is the idea, or image, of a film that is constructed and circulated prior to its release (Ellis, 1982). As is discussed in greater detail at a later point in this chapter, journalists, along with distributors, are key players in the creation of the narrative image. Since trade publications are targeted at a specific

reader – industry professionals or those with an especially keen interest in the film industry – they do not play a substantial role in terms of positioning a film within the minds of the general public. As such, they are outwith the scope of the content analysis.

Robert Philip Weber (1990) defines content analysis as “a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text” (p. 9). Similarly Kimberly A. Neuendorf (2002) describes this method as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics” (p. 1). Both authors, directly or indirectly, reference the “objective” nature of content analysis. Yet, as Neuendorf goes on to acknowledge, while “objectivity is desirable” (p. 11), it is also unattainable as “all human inquiry is inherently subjective” (p. 11). It is thus perhaps more productive to think about ensuring data reliability and validity (Krippendorff, 1980). This can be encouraged by two key practices. First, by offering a clear overview of how the material selected for coding is generated, and second, providing a thorough and transparent codebook and set of instructions (Krippendorff, 1980). If followed, these practices allow another researcher to generate the same set of data.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of how *Red Road* and *Donkeys* were presented in the press, articles spanning from the moment of their conception to six weeks after their respective theatrical release were gathered. The rationale behind this date range is made clear on page 54. For now, it is sufficient to remark that this time period spans several years, consequently making a manual newspaper search unfeasible. For the purpose of this study, the LexisNexis web-based service Nexis UK, which contains over 600 newspapers, was consulted.

As David Deacon (2007) outlines, when using an electronic resource such as Nexis UK, a researcher must be mindful of several potential issues. A foremost concern is content omission. This refers to instances in which content published in a

newspaper is missing from an electronic archive. This happens on at least one occasion when the search criteria, which are outlined shortly, are entered into Nexis UK. On November 19, 2010, *The Guardian* published an article by Jane Graham, “Disasters to Donkeys: How a Cursed Film Shoot Came Good”, which is missing from the Nexis UK archive. Although far from ideal, instances such as this are not so common that they undermine the relevance of results. Based on his research, Deacon (2007) estimates that around 5% of newspaper content is missing from Nexis UK. When conducting the content analysis for this thesis, articles found to be missing, such as Graham’s, were not added to the corpus of articles included in the content analysis. To include such articles would be to introduce an element of selection into a process that otherwise is random.

Another prominent issue encountered when conducting research using electronic sources such as Nexis UK, is what might be termed multiple entries. This occurs in two forms. The first, when an article, often a column piece, is published on more than one date. For example, *The Independent’s* once named “Extra” supplement regularly featured a “Five Best Films” column in which films were often listed on more than one date. As such articles appear on different dates, and through this increase a film’s exposure, they were coded separately. The second manifestation of multiple entries occurs as a result of minor changes being made to an article between print runs. In such cases, only the final version was coded.

When using Nexis UK, the researcher is required to identify key words with which to search the database. The combinations used in this study are shown below. These were selected following numerous trial searches that tested the relevance of other combinations.

- Film title *and* director’s name.
- Film title *and* actor’s name *but not* director’s name.

In the case of Arnold's film, "Red Road" is the only title by which the film has been known and as such, only one search was required in each instance. However, as is discussed in Chapter Five, McKinnon's project had several working titles before "Donkeys" was selected, these are: "Worms", "Old Dogs", "Barras" and "Rounding Up Donkeys". Consequently, each combination required multiple searches. The "actor's name" of the second combination refers to principal cast members. In the instance of *Red Road* this is Kate Dickie, Tony Curran, Martin Compston and Natalie Press, and in *Donkeys*, James Cosmo, Brian Pettifer, Kate Dickie, Martin Compston and Natasha Watson. Additionally, in the case of *Donkeys*, as Andrew Armour (also known as Andy Armour) was initially to star as the lead, this is also reflected in the searches performed. The "but not" field of the second combination was used to minimise the number of duplicate results.

Nexis UK allows users to filter search results to include only articles printed on certain dates, or in specific sources. When conducting the research for this thesis, the searches performed were limited to "UK newspapers". Although a comparative analysis involving newspapers printed elsewhere would likely yield valuable results, this is outwith the scope of this project for numerous reasons. Foremost amongst these is the issue of language. Unless limited to newspapers published in English, this would require the involvement of additional researchers suitably familiar with other languages and cultures. Furthermore, access would be needed to resources other than Nexis UK, which, as its name suggests, is geared towards users based in the UK. To overcome both obstacles would require resources beyond those available to this project.

As previously noted, the date range selected for this study is from the time of conception to six weeks after theatrical release. As Chapter Four outlines, the three Advance Party directors, who were also charged with writing a treatment for their

project, were all approached to take part in the scheme between August and December of 2003 (GFO, 2006, p. 1). Thus, the start date reflects the earliest possible date development could have commenced on *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. An obvious end date is however, more difficult to identify. It is possible to argue that the content analysis should include all relevant articles published before the date research commenced as, for viewers who have not yet seen a film, any article, regardless of the date published, contributes to their understanding of that film. However, when the end date is extended too far beyond the time of theatrical release, the articles returned by Nexis UK are, as one might expect, predominantly concerned with subsequent projects of individuals involved with the film in question. An end date of six weeks after theatrical release was selected, as, in the case of both *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, the majority of the film's theatrical screenings had taken place by this time. By December 8, 2006 *Red Road* had taken nearly 90% of its UK box office takings and by November 19, 2010 *Donkeys* had completed its limited theatrical run in Scotland.

A copy of the codebook and instructions devised for this study is shown in Appendix D. This document provides an overview of the variables that Chapter Seven discusses, and details how these were measured. The coding of most variables is straightforward and requires little explanation. Date, newspaper, page number, author, article title and article length were taken from the Nexis UK archive. As the codebook and instructions make clear, instances in which this information was not available were coded 0. The coding of the remaining variables, in most cases, requires further explanation. This can be found in Appendix D and is relevant in the instances of variables 8, 10 and 11, which are shown below.

- V8: Which Advance Party film is the article concerned with?
- V10: Is this film the focus of the article?
- V11: What occasion prompted coverage of the film?

Following an overview of the data generated from the content analysis outlined above, Chapter Seven analyses a sample of articles using close textual analysis. As becomes evident in Chapter Seven, coverage of *Red Road* clustered around clearly identifiable occasions, most prominently Cannes International Film Festival and the time of the film's general release. This is reflected in the articles included in the close textual analysis (Appendix E). The corpus features articles published a day before or after the following dates: (a) April 21, the day the Cannes line-up was announced; (b) May 28, the day the Cannes award ceremony was held; and (c) October 27, the day *Red Road* went on theatrical release in the UK. In order to bolster the comparative dimension of analysis, coverage from four newspapers is studied, each of which published content on the previously outlined dates: *The Herald*, *Evening Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Times*. Two of these newspapers are published in Glasgow, and their readership is predominantly centred in the city and its surrounding area (Dekavalla, 2009). Both *The Guardian* and *The Times* are centred in London. The former is available in the same edition throughout the UK, whereas a Scottish edition and a main, London edition of the latter are published. All articles from *The Times* included in the close textual analysis however, appeared in both editions of the newspaper. *The Guardian* is associated with a centre-left political alignment and *The Times* a centre-right.

As becomes evident in Chapter Seven, significantly fewer articles were printed in connection with *Donkeys*. Consequently, all articles in which the film is the focus or shared focus are included in the close textual analysis.

The Marketing Campaign

As has been observed, Ellis (1982) links analysis of a film's newspaper coverage to that of its marketing campaign through the concept of the narrative image. Ellis writes

that prior to a film's theatrical release, "an idea of the film is widely circulated and promoted, an idea which can be called the 'narrative image' of the film, the cinema industry's anticipatory reply to the question 'What is this film like?'" (p. 30). Unlike newspaper articles, which although often shaped by the content of press notes, are nonetheless outwith the direct control of a distributor, the advertising materials and promotions devised to accompany a film's release, offer a more direct means for a distributor to reach potential viewers. For Ellis, in order to be effective, a marketing campaign must carefully combine similarity and difference. It must capitalise on a viewer's desire for repetition and familiarity through use of genre signifiers, while simultaneously positioning a film as unique in order to entice consumption. A central way in which this is achieved is through the creation of what Ellis terms the narrative "enigma" (p. 31). This involves asking questions about a film that can only be answered through watching that film.

Despite being published over 30 years ago and focusing on the context of American blockbuster cinema, Ellis' work, as Chapter Six and Chapter Seven attest, retains much of its significance when thinking about the marketing and reception of contemporary independent cinema. However, as Chapter Six discusses, analysis of the marketing and distribution of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* highlights, in different ways, the need for a fluid and multifaceted approach to the study of the many *identities* created and circulated in the run up to, and during, a film's release.

Chapter Six considers the marketing campaigns created for *Red Road* and *Donkeys* in light of Ellis' work on the narrative image. Findings are contextualised in relation to the distribution of each film. In the case of *Red Road*, textual analysis is employed in order to analyse the advertising materials commissioned by London-based distributor Verve Pictures for the film's UK theatrical release. As Chapter Six discusses in greater depth, the materials commissioned by Verve Pictures provide the

starting point for analysis, as these were later made available to distributors in other territories through Trust Film Sales. Nonetheless, as Chapter Six also makes clear, not all distributors chose to use these, preferring instead to commission material specific to their territory. Such instances are considered by means of a comparative analysis. Whereas *Red Road* was acquired for release in over 25 territories, *Donkeys*, in contrast, struggled to find distribution. In the UK, after the film failed to secure a theatrical distributor, production company Sigma Films opted to give the film a limited theatrical release. This was predominantly confined to Scotland. The advertising materials designed to accompany this release are analysed in the context of the film's distribution, as too are the numerous promotions Sigma Films arranged to accompany specific screenings.

In addition to the materials and methods outlined thus far, the analysis presented in Chapter Six is also informed by information generated from conducting interviews. Indeed, throughout this thesis, the methods outlined in this chapter are often used in conjunction with information generated from a number of interviews.

Interviews

Ten individuals working in different capacities within the film industry were interviewed between June 2011 and September 2012. A full list of interviewees, along with their job title at the time the interview took place, is given in Appendix F.

A key way in which interviews are used in this project is to enhance information gathered using other methods. As such, interviews are cited throughout this thesis. The interview focus differed depending on the interviewee: for instance, the interview conducted with graphic designer Karl Sinfield necessitated discussion of content different to that covered with writer Colin McLaren. Information selected for citation is indicative of the content of the interview more broadly. Another central

factor that motivated the use of interviews is the desire to research filmmaker experiences. In particular, filmmaker experiences are explored in Chapter Three and Chapter Five.

Although interviews can, as this study illustrates, generate valuable insights and information, one issue that arose in the course of this project is that of access. Many individuals contacted either declined or failed to respond to interview requests. Prominent amongst those that could not be interviewed are *Red Road* director Arnold and individuals working at Sigma Films or Zentropa. Although this outcome was not desired, it did not prove disastrous, as in many cases interviews with the sought-after individuals have been published in newspapers, magazines, and so on. Where relevant, this thesis draws on such secondary interviews.

The interviews conducted in the course of this research were typically semi-structured, and the questions asked predominantly open ended. This allowed respondents the freedom to answer questions as they saw appropriate. As many commentators note, when conducting a semi-structured interview, the interviewer prepares a list of questions to ask and/or topics to cover, but is flexible in terms of wording and ordering (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Denscombe, 1998; Kvale, 1996; Robson, 2011). As Colin Robson (2011) observes, “the wording and order” (p. 280) of questions within semi-structured interviews “are often substantially modified based on the flow of the interview, and additional unplanned questions are asked to follow up on what the interviewee says” (p. 280). The key advantage of semi-structured interviews over structured or unstructured interviews, is that the list of questions and/or topics prepared beforehand maximises the likelihood that all relevant points of interest are covered in the interview, while also allowing the interviewer the opportunity to explore, through follow-up questions, unforeseen areas of interest relevant to their research.

Employing a semi-structured approach becomes more difficult when interviews are conducted via email. While it is possible to ask follow-up questions that arise from an interviewee's response, and indeed this was done on several occasions during this project, there is no guarantee that these questions will be answered. Nevertheless, in recent years the email interview has become increasingly popular. There are a number of advantages to doing interviews in this way (Robson, 2011). Similar to telephone interviews – which were also conducted in the course of this study – email interviews are considerably cheaper than those carried out face-to-face. They do not involve travelling and, unlike both telephone and in-person interviews, do not require transcribing. The latter factor also saves the researcher valuable time. For this study, it would not have been feasible to travel to London or Dublin for just one interview, and thus, use of email, or equally telephone, for this purpose extended the range of possible interviewees (Robson, 2011). Another key advantage to the use of email is that it allows the interviewee the opportunity to respond at their convenience. This can encourage individuals with busy schedules to participate. Moreover, it allows respondents time to reflect on their answers, often, although not always, generating a more detailed response. Alternatively however, it is also more difficult to generate a spontaneous response through email and replies may first have been subjected to editing by the interviewee. It is in this respect that face-to-face, and to a lesser extent telephone, interviews are preferable. In-person interviews also tend to be longer, allowing for more ground to be covered and, as has been noted, follow-up questions to be asked (Robson, 2011).

With one exception, the interviews conducted for this research were carried out on a one-to-one basis. As Appendix F details, the first interview conducted with *Donkeys* writer Colin McLaren was in the form of a public question and answer (Q&A) session at the MacRobert cinema on the University of Stirling's campus. This was

followed by two follow-up interviews, both conducted via email. Throughout the three years during which this project was undertaken, similar Q&A events involving other interviewers and interviewees were attended. These are referenced in the text where relevant.

Prior to each interview, an overview of this project was given to each potential interviewee on first contact. In the case of one-to-one interviews conducted in-person or via telephone, permission to record the conversation was requested and, in all instances, granted. Following each interview, the participant was asked to sign a consent form that briefly outlines the nature of this research project and documents potential ways in which the interview might be used in the future. With the exception of the Q&A session conducted with McLaren at the MacRobert cinema, transcripts were produced of all interviews.¹⁴

Towards Total History

The chapter that follows, Chapter Three, employs textual analysis in combination with other methods outlined thus far, particularly interviews, in order to examine the use of space and place in the two Advance Party films. To date, textual analysis of film form and content has characterised much research on Scottish cinema. While, as its use in this thesis attests, textual analysis is undoubtedly a useful research method, in line with scholarly work such as that in the edited collections by Chapman et al. (2007b) and Maltby et al. (2011), this thesis moves beyond textual analysis as the exclusive method with which to study film, and moreover, does not view the film text as the primary focus of analysis. The research presented in the chapters that follow strives towards the unattainable total history.

¹⁴ Due to space restrictions, transcripts have not been included in the appendices.

Chapter Three: Space and Place in the Advance Party Films

To date, academic engagement with *Red Road* has sought to situate the film within different traditions. Paul Dave (2011) and David Forrest (2009b, 2010) position *Red Road* within the evolving social realist traditions. This context is marked as British by both authors. Similarly, in “Concrete Universality: Tower Blocks, Architectural Modernism, and Realism in Contemporary British Cinema”, Andrew Burke (2007) situates Arnold’s debut within the “national [British] cinematic tradition of social realism” (p. 178). Concurrently, Jonathan Murray (2007, 2012) and David Martin-Jones (2009a) view *Red Road* as representative of a key moment in Scottish cinematic history. As Michael Stewart (2012) observes, the authors situate the film as “part of a welcome move away from the idea that any film can or should pursue an imagined national unity” (p. 549). In his analysis of *Red Road* as melodrama, Stewart (2012) likewise insists that the film’s “engagement with questions of the nation is...non-existent” (p. 565). On close inspection of these two loosely grouped areas of research it is apparent that numerous, and until now little acknowledged, overlaps exist. This can be viewed as part of the wider tendency noted in Chapter One for each body of work to fail to sufficiently engage with the other (Neely, 2005).

One aim of this chapter is to begin to offer a more coherent and deliberate dialogue between writings on British cinema and those on Scottish cinema. This chapter does not seek to position these as oppositional categories. Instead, it consults both groups in an effort to better understand *Red Road*’s place within a national framework and, through this, consider what this reveals about the relevance of this framework. A key way in which this is achieved is through examination of the use of location in Arnold’s film, an aspect that has been the focus of much academic debate. In contrast to *Red Road*, the form and content of which has been the subject of much academic scrutiny, *Donkeys* has not been the focus of study. As is discussed in greater

detail later in this chapter, in part this is attributable to the film's later release date, but it is also perhaps a result of its comparatively lower profile amongst film festival programmers and distributors. By drawing on interviews with Colin McLaren, writer of *Donkeys*, the use of location in the second Advance Party film is examined. These interviews make clear that McKinnon's project experienced numerous difficulties in the run up to, and during, its six week location shoot in Glasgow. This chapter charts these difficulties and considers their resulting impact onscreen.

It is also apparent from interviews with McLaren that he and McKinnon struggled to include all the Advance Party characters in their film. The close of this chapter analyses Advance Party as a creative concept and scrutinises the ways in which the central challenge of putting the same group of characters into three films is dealt with in each instance. With few exceptions, the creative challenge underpinning the Advance Party framework has not been considered in depth by journalists or academics.

The Red Road Flats

As its title suggests, Glasgow's Red Road housing estate is a prominent location in Arnold's film. The housing scheme, once comprising of eight tower blocks, was constructed between 1964 and 1969 in response to poor living conditions in parts of Glasgow (Red Road Flats Cultural Project, n.d.).¹⁵ At one time the Red Road flats were the tallest residential buildings in Europe, together housing up to 4,700 tenants. Initially demand for the flats was high; however by the mid-1970s the estate was associated with high levels of violence and criminality. In the early 1980s, use of two of the tower blocks was assigned to student housing and the YMCA respectively. Changes to immigration and asylum policy in 1999 resulted in an influx of asylum

¹⁵ The overview of the history of the Red Road estate is based on information provided by the Red Road Flats Cultural Project (redroadflats.org.uk).

seekers to Glasgow, and the YMCA, one of the organisations responsible for providing accommodation to those seeking asylum, used one of the Red Road tower blocks for this purpose. In 2003, the flats were assigned to the newly created Glasgow Housing Association (GHA). Soon after, GHA concluded that the cost of repairs outweighed income from rent, and talk of demolition began. Demolition of one of the tower blocks took place in June of 2012 and another was demolished in May the following year. At present (August 2013), the remaining flats are scheduled to come down by 2017.

In response to demolition plans, several cultural projects aimed at capturing life on the estate were established. The Red Road Flats Cultural Project (RRFCP), a joint initiative set up by GHA and Glasgow Life in 2008, spearheaded these activities. RRFCP's purpose is to "deliver a range of historical and art programmes for current and former residents of Red Road and the surrounding neighbourhoods to commemorate the end of an era in Glasgow's history" (RRFCP, as cited in Irvine, 2011, p. 2). A central objective of the project is to portray "the full story of Red Road's fifty-year life" in order to "keep Red Road alive for years to come" (RRFCP, as cited in Irvine, 2011, p. 2). This is being achieved through projects including: End of the Red Road, a photographic exhibition containing the work of Iseult Timmermans put on by Street Level Photoworks in partnership with RRFCP; Red Road Underground, a collaboration between photographer Chris Leslie and illustrator Mitch Mitchell; and, *This Road is Red*, a book by Alison Irvine that was commissioned by RRFCP, which tells the stories of Red Road residents.¹⁶ As these cultural projects attest, the Red Road flats occupy an important place in Glasgow's history and prohibit a potential classification of the estate as exclusively a site of poverty and violence.

¹⁶ More information on these projects is available on RRFCP's website (redroadflats.org.uk).

Red Road, the Red Road Estate and the Vexed Question of Local Specificity

The narrative of *Red Road* centres on the character of Jackie (Kate Dickie), a CCTV operator who relentlessly watches over the streets of Glasgow. During one of her shifts, she eyes a potentially dangerous situation unfolding on one of her many monitors: a man pursuing a woman behind a building and into a derelict waste ground. It quickly transpires that the two in fact know each other and, as they hastily have sex, Jackie continues to watch, clearly enthralled by the situation. As her breathing sharpens and she clutches the joystick that operates her cameras, she exudes voyeuristic desire. However, as the man turns his face towards her camera, Jackie's desire turns to shock: she clearly recognizes him. How Jackie knows the man, who later becomes known to the audience as Clyde (Tony Curran), is withheld from the viewer, and Clyde himself, until the climax of the film. During a showdown between the two characters it is revealed that he killed her family while driving under the influence of narcotics. Unable to look at her in court, he failed to recognise her during their subsequent encounters. Jackie's relentless pursuit of Clyde drives the narrative and leads her on a dangerous, emotional and sexual quest into Glasgow's Red Road housing estate.

In conformity with the Advance Party rules, *Red Road* was filmed on location over a period of just six weeks. In an interview published in *Red Road's* production notes, producer Carrie Comerford makes clear that neither she nor Arnold was aware of the Red Road flats prior to their involvement with the film. She observes:

The film is called RED ROAD because it's set in the Red Road flats. I'm not from Glasgow so I wasn't aware of the flats' reputation nor was Andrea. We literally just drove around all the blocks of flats in the city but when you turn into Red Road the buildings are visually very striking. They have this red stripe up them and they just look very imposing; that's what drew Andrea to them. (As cited in Verve Pictures, 2006, pp. 12-13, emphasis in original)

Comerford suggests that Arnold wrote the script for her debut film prior to selecting the Red Road location. Indeed, this is confirmed through analysis of funding

applications submitted to Scottish Screen (Chapter Five). It is also important to note however, that Arnold had specifically a tower block setting in mind when writing *Red Road*.

Tower Block as Visual Signifier

Burke (2007) writes that the tower block “occupies a special place in the symbolic vocabulary of British realist cinema” (p. 177). He continues: “The image of the tower block silhouetted against the sky has become part of the basic vocabulary of British cinema, most often invoked as a visual signifier for the marginalized and menacing” (p. 177). In the post-war period, Glasgow, perhaps more so than other British cities, turned to tower blocks as a solution to poor inner-city housing conditions (Burke, 2007). The Red Road estate is a prime example of such a development. During the 1970s, as this chapter has noted, the flats quickly fell into decline, and in many ways, contributed to the negative associations of the tower block that are outlined by Burke. As is discussed further in relation to locations used in *Donkeys*, similar housing developments in other areas of the city experienced a comparable decline. While poor housing conditions and the deterioration of tower block housing schemes is not historically confined to Glasgow, the city does have a particularly prominent record with such problems. This is reflected in the number of audio-visual engagements with housing conditions, both documentary and fiction, which focus on the city. Examples include: *Cumbernauld, Town for Tomorrow* (Crichton, 1970), *Let Glasgow Flourish* (Dawn Cine Group, 1956), *Glasgow Today and Tomorrow* (Masters, 1949) and, more recently, Ramsay’s *Ratcatcher* (1999). Again however, it is important to note this is not exclusive to Glasgow, and other British cities have likewise been the centre of such coverage. Ken Loach’s *Cathy Come Home* (1969) offers perhaps the most prominent example.

Although Arnold's film rejects a straightforward criticism of the Red Road estate, its reputation is made clear to the audience when the Red Road flats first appear onscreen. While, as Murray (2012) observes, the Red Road flats do not appear onscreen until almost eighteen minutes into the film, the detailed manner in which they are introduced highlights their importance. Revisiting the location of her first sighting of Clyde via her CCTV camera, Jackie takes time to survey its surrounding area. She pans her camera to the right until it hits one of the estate's tower blocks. The vastness of the building dominates her screen (Figure 2). She lets her camera rest on the building and calls a colleague to confirm: "The Red Road flats, am I right in thinking they house a lot of ex-prisoners in those flats?" Given Jackie's profession, and that she lives in the city, this is something she would already know. Consequently, this information is intended for the audience. This scene explicitly articulates the threatening and marginalised attributes the tower block connotes (Burke, 2007), and locates the narrative explicitly within the Red Road housing estate. For those with prior knowledge of the estate, its chequered history augments these associations.

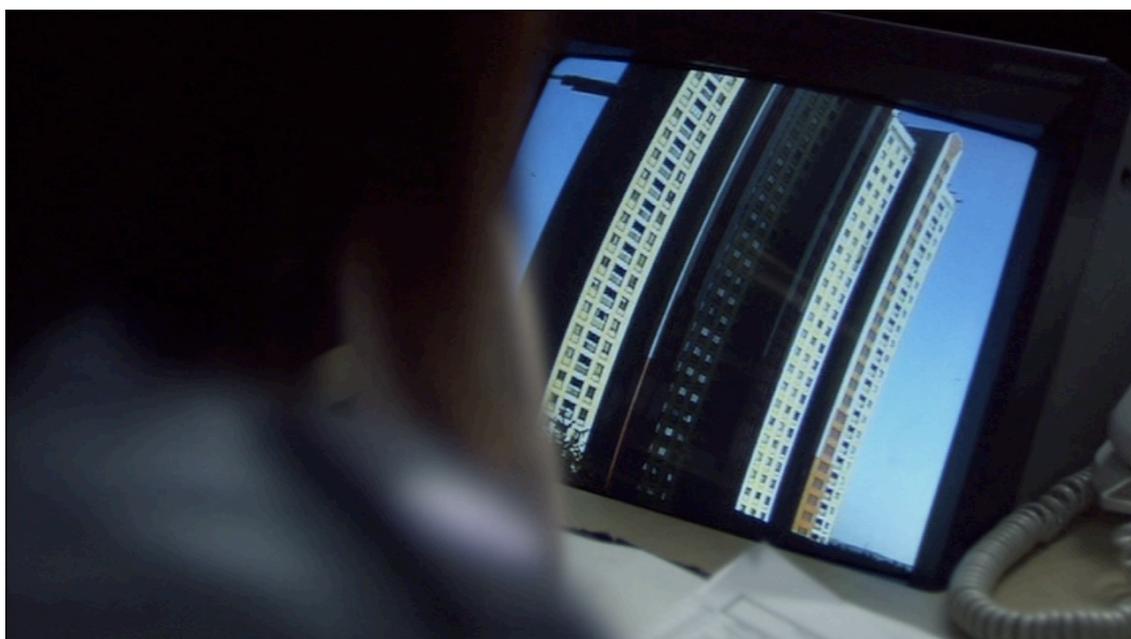


Figure 2. The Red Road Flats Dominate Jackie's Screen.

The introduction of the *Red Road* estate can usefully be compared to the use of location in a subsequent Sigma Films production, *Citadel* (Foy, 2013). *Citadel*, which is filmed in Glasgow and Dublin, is set in the fictional Edenstown council estate. This setting is never directly situated within a broader locale. The derelict estate has recently been condemned and its residents moved elsewhere. At the opening of the film, Tommy (Aneurin Barnard) and his pregnant partner (Amy Shiels) are gathering the last of their things as they prepare to leave the estate. As they do, a gang of hooded part-humans attack the woman. The soon-to-be mother dies in hospital, but her child survives. Suffering from agoraphobia in the wake of the attack, Tommy struggles to leave his home. However, he is forced to flee when the hooded monsters return for his child. The mesh of Scottish, Welsh, English and Irish accents, in combination with the landscape's architecture points to a post-industrial British or Irish setting, but this is not confirmed. While this has not prohibited discussion of the film in terms of its potential to engage with sociocultural and political concerns – namely, gang violence amongst youths – it does remove the film from an identifiable setting and thus, in contrast to *Red Road*, deliberately prevents it from engaging with the history and reputation of a specific location (Foy, personal communication, July 15, 2013).

Red Road's "European-ness"

Despite the marked introduction of the Red Road estate, Murray (2007, 2012) rejects the importance of this location. Describing the title as a “red herring” (2012, p. 406), he writes that “instead of close engagement with local specificity...the film's name refers primarily to the idea of a place, and a personal journey one takes to reach it, conceived in terms psychological, not physical” (2012, p. 406). Elsewhere, Murray

(2007) positions the film's focus on Jackie's psychological journey as part of *Red Road's* "European-ness" (p. 86). He writes:

Red Road's "European-ness"...is multifaceted. A remarkably wordless film, it attempts to find a visual language capable of representing the most extreme aspects of grief, not to mention the (self-)destructive actions the experience of such pain propels individuals towards. Both in its decision to subjugate narrative coherence and variety of incident to a psychological exploration of female interiority and sexuality and in its determination to inhabit rather than explain an especially intolerable individual experience of loss, *Red Road* accords generally with the aims of the European art cinema traditions as conventionally defined. (p. 86)

For Murray, and subsequently Martin-Jones (2009a), the significance of *Red Road's* "European-ness" is that it renders issues of local specificity irrelevant, and as a result, questions of nation, national identity and national cinema also become extraneous. As the quotation above suggests, Murray's analysis of *Red Road* draws on David Bordwell's (1979/2002) conception of art cinema – a term frequently viewed as interchangeable with European cinema. Crucially, it is also this definition that Forrest (2010) draws on in order to similarly argue for the diminishing importance of the national within contemporary British realism. In a manner comparable to Murray, Forrest (2010) concludes: "This renewed focus on a more expansive art cinema-inclined impulse in realist cinema at the expense of an inward-looking thematic emphasis, holds fundamental questions for the notion of national cinema" (p. 41).

That both Murray and Forrest reach essentially the same conclusion perhaps further suggests that the national framework, be that Scottish or British, is now obsolete. However, it is also revealing that both authors continue to use the nation as a contextual marker in their analysis. In part, this is likely for convenience – the need to set and communicate boundaries. It also points to the individual bodies of work on which the authors each build. Yet, it too speaks to the lingering validity of the national framework. That is not to suggest that this framework should be viewed as static or in isolation. Certainly, as this thesis demonstrates, manifestations of ideas of nation,

national identity and national cinema are continuously evolving, and are intertwined with other types of identity. It is also relevant to note that neither author takes into consideration the possibility that different audiences (Glaswegian, Scottish, British, European, North American etc.) might take quite different meanings from the film. Indeed, it is interesting to observe that Murray and Forrest both situate their analysis within the smallest context to which they and the film belong: a Scottish context in the case of Murray and British in that of Forrest. A similar pattern is discussed in Chapter Seven in relation to newspaper coverage of Arnold's film. While audience research is outwith the scope of this project, as is argued later in this chapter, it is possible that a film can engage with local specificities whilst also retaining a universal accessibility.

Red Road's Personal and Subjective Narrative

Unquestionably, *Red Road* is framed in highly personal and subjective terms, which are in keeping with the art house tradition as conventionally defined. While this is established from the film's start, this does not automatically preclude a simultaneous engagement with more local concerns.

From the outset, it is made clear that Jackie is the film's focus. During the first 48 seconds of *Red Road*, company credits are shown, followed by a blurred image of the interior of a room filled with television monitors. The camera appears to almost float through the room, all the while out of focus, before coming to rest on a specific monitor. Its hazy, indistinguishable content fills the screen, before being replaced with a rapid succession of surveillance footage, shown too quickly to be intelligible. These images are at first accompanied with a distant, eerie clanging, which is soon combined with sounds associated with a two-way radio. As CCTV images blur the screen these sounds become increasingly distorted until a cut replaces them with a title screen.

This opening acts as a lead into the narrative world, but not in a classical Hollywood sense. From the outset, the audience is transported into a narrative characterised by distortion and a feeling of unease. The film makes a clear point, through editing, sound and camera work, of journeying the viewer into its narrative space, one that is subjective. In contrast to the images discussed thus far, the ones placed immediately after the title are static and sharp in focus. A female CCTV officer, Jackie, is shown sitting in front of an array of monitors. Close-ups of the woman – her hands, her eye – situate the viewer within *her* narrative world. The audience watches as Jackie surveys the world in front of her, taking keen interest in ordinary passers-by: a cleaner on her way to work and a man with an aging, unwell dog.

Throughout *Red Road's* withholding narrative, the viewer is never privileged to know the inner workings of the lead character. In terms of camera positioning and movement, this manifests itself in the continuous placement of the camera behind, or to the side, of Jackie. This unyielding camerawork can be observed during Jackie's first visit to the Red Road estate. Part of Jackie's bus journey is shown onscreen. The camera, positioned to the side of the lead character, takes in the passing area: construction sites and graffiti strewn buildings flash by in a blur. When the housing estate first comes into view, the camera is behind Jackie, allowing the viewer to witness its striking presence (Figure 3). This is followed by a shot of a "Red Road" street sign, which makes clear Jackie's destination (Figure 4). By showing this journey, the film clearly orientates the scene that follows within a specific setting. It also serves as a means of creating a sense of "other worldliness". This is not an environment that Jackie has visited before. It is at the end of the bus line and on the fringes of society. As Jackie gets off the bus and begins to traverse the estate, the viewer is permitted to follow, the camera sticking relentlessly close to the film's lead character. Realist techniques with roots in the documentary movement – handheld cameras, location

shooting and naturalistic lighting – are used, however within a framework of subjectivity rather than objectivity. Cutaway shots are injected into the scene: a plastic bag floating in the wind, a lone golden Labrador roaming the streets. In line with Forrest's (2009a, 2009b, 2010) analysis of contemporary British realism, such shots can be seen as part of Arnold's poetic approach to her subject matter, which she places against a socio-economic backdrop. They can however, also be viewed within the naturalist tradition.

Arguing for a naturalist positioning of Ken Loach's work, Debora Knight (1997) asserts: "Naturalism's goal from Zola to Loach has been to reflect upon – and not just reflect – the circumstances of socially disempowered individuals and groups" (p. 61). For Zola, the writer's purpose is to observe men and women, in much the same way that an experimental scientist works. Such incidental moments in *Red Road*, caught while filming on location (Arnold, 2006, para. 15), can be viewed within traditions of cinematic naturalism. These moments are captured in the process of observation, but reproduced with the purpose of conveying the derelict living conditions of the Red Road housing estate. Knight (1997) emphasises the important and dual function of location shooting in naturalist films: "There is simultaneously a literal, documentary use of location, and a metaphorical use" (p. 66). By filming on location in the Red Road area, Arnold draws the audiences' attention to the living conditions on the estate and its imposing, dystopian quality suggests that its residents are trapped in an unrelenting environment. Yet, this environment is not altogether adverse. Lingering and poignant shots, such as the plastic bag caught in a gust of wind, also have poetic connotations relating to floating and a sense of freedom. Similarly, the residents of the estate are not demonised outright. Jackie's fascination with Clyde, April (Natalie Press) and Stevie (Martin Compston) – discussed further towards the close of this chapter – results in the characters being granted a more

detailed consideration than is typically the case in cinema, particularly secondary characters April and Stevie. In turn, this affords Jackie, and through her the audience, a view of the characters that is more than one-dimensional.

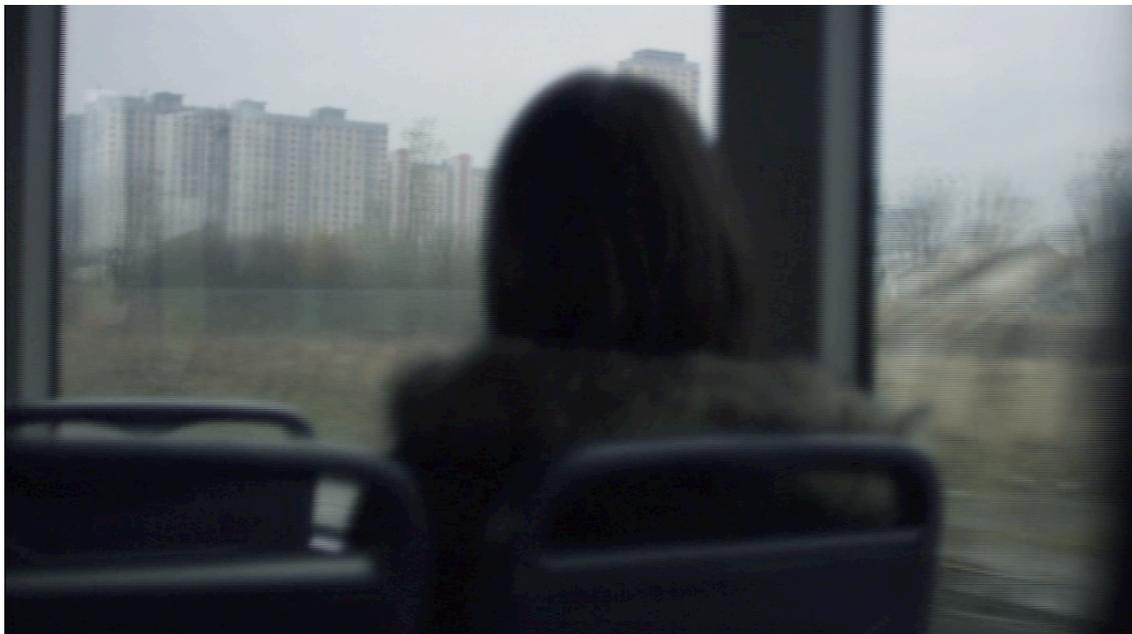


Figure 3. Jackie Visits the Red Road Estate.



Figure 4. Red Road Street Sign.

Avoiding a Local/Universal Binary

Sarah Street's (2009) work on transnational cinema, which was outlined in Chapter One, offers a potentially productive means through which *Red Road* can be understood to engage with a local specificity, while also maintaining a universal accessibility. As noted, on the concept of the transnational, Street (2009) draws on Ulf Hannerz's (1996) work and writes that she is "not talking about globalization or internationalism, but something more localized, maintaining specific features and themes but at the same time reaching out to many different audiences" (p. 142).

Both Murray (2007, 2012) and Forrest (2009b, 2010) discuss *Red Road*'s universality in terms of the film's use of art cinema techniques. This chapter has argued that use of these techniques does not necessarily come at the expense of the local. Following Street (2009), it is possible to consider the ways in which *Red Road* makes use of the specificities of the Red Road location while also coding the landscape in such a way so as to make it accessible to audiences unfamiliar with the setting. It has already been noted that the eight residential buildings are in keeping with the iconography of the social realist traditions (Burke, 2007). In conjunction with the use of art cinema techniques, the tower blocks also function as a means of heightening tension within the film.

In the quotation given near the outset of this chapter (p. 65), Comerford explains that the imposing nature of the Red Road estate is a key factor behind its selection. Analysis thus far has alluded to its striking presence when Jackie first visits the scheme in pursuit of Clyde. In this scene, the estate is depicted in such a way as to create a feeling of unease. Indeed, suspense is integral to *Red Road*'s plot, and in this

respect, the film can be classified as a thriller (Neale, 1980).¹⁷ In addition to its place within the social realist traditions, Burke's (2007) observation that the tower block is a "visual signifier for the marginalized and the menacing" (p. 177), also alludes to its potential function within the thriller genre. The tower blocks in *Red Road* undoubtedly take on a different purpose and stylistic presence to those in mainstream film and television. Rather than providing the backdrop for a stylised chase scene, the sense of unease enhanced by the tower blocks in *Red Road* is generated through the potential threat of "the marginalized and the menacing". Though Arnold does not condemn the environment or its inhabitants outright, the possibility of danger necessitated by the late revelation of the plot dictates that such associations cannot disappear entirely. The audience must be kept in the dark as to the nature of the relationship between Jackie and Clyde. These factors work in conjunction with renegotiations of conventional cinematic gender roles – which importantly are not straightforward reversals – in order to create and maintain suspense.

Within the thriller genre, the victim is typically female and the predator male. However, Arnold does not allow for such straightforward classification and creates "a viewing experience of misdirection and misreading" (Sillars & Macdonald, 2008, p. 196). After first entering the Red Road housing estate, Jackie is clearly in awe of the immense blocks, which, until now, she has only seen onscreen. A medium close-up of Jackie as she stares up at the vast structure (Figure 5), is followed by a low angle shot from behind the protagonist (Figure 6), which highlights their imposing presence. The derelict and untamed quality of the landscape stands in contrast to Jackie's everyday, albeit modest, lifestyle. A long shot of Jackie as she lurks outside the tower blocks

¹⁷ On the thriller genre, Stephen Neale (1980) writes: "Whatever the structure, whatever the specificity of the diegesis in any particular thriller the genre as a whole...is specified in the first instance by its address, by the fact that it always, though in different ways, must have the generation of suspense as its core strategy" (p. 29).

waiting for Clyde further emphasises their vast scope (Figure 7). The contrast between the small figure of Jackie and the imposing concrete creates a sense of impenetrability, thereby heightening the dangerous, reckless nature of Jackie's pursuit. When Clyde exits one of the tower blocks, Jackie looks visibly anxious. He however, walks past without giving her a second glance and sets off up a dirt path littered with broken glass. As Jackie pursues, a handheld camera follows. The images captured are unsteady and disconcerting, augmenting the feeling of suspense. A close-up of Jackie's ripped tights connotes danger and the possibility of rape. Yet it is she that follows him and as she does so, picks up a broken shard of glass – an action the film allows to be read as both threatening and defensive. As Jackie's pursuit continues, the tower blocks remain ever present and act as a visual barrier encasing the community she must penetrate.



Figure 5. Jackie Stares up at the Vast Structure.

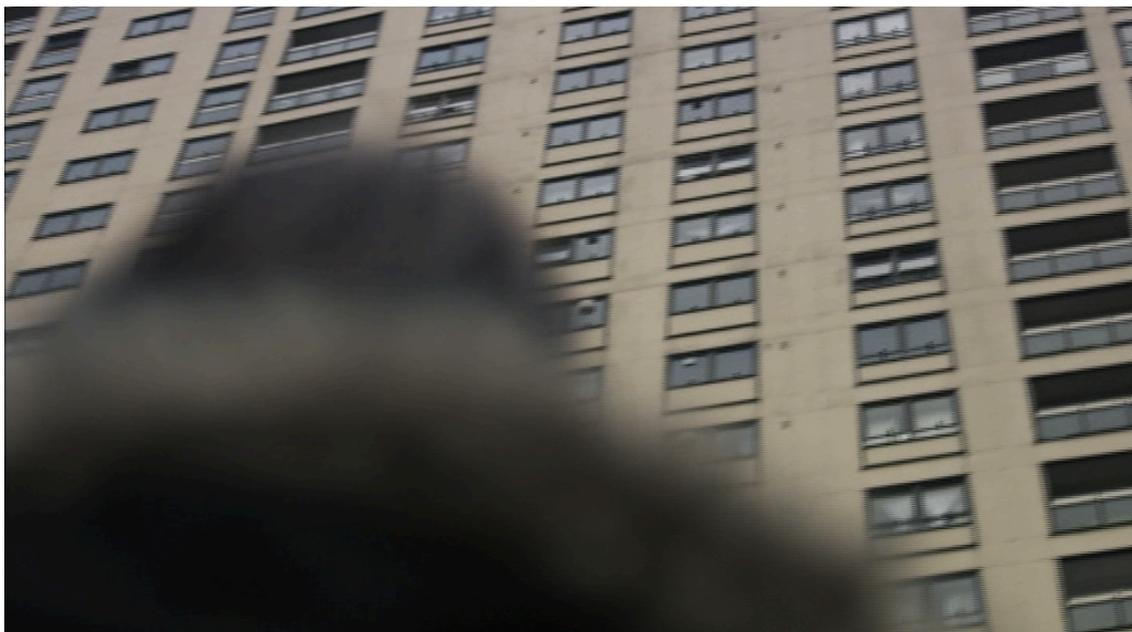


Figure 6. Imposing Tower Block.



Figure 7: Jackie Lurks Outside Waiting for Clyde.

Red Road's use of art cinema techniques – in particular, its emphasis on visuals, rather than words, and its shunning of narrative coherence in favour of subjectivity – within the conventions of the thriller genre, is one of the ways in which the film retains a universal accessibility while also engaging with the complex legacy of the Red Road estate. A similar argument can also be made in relation to Lynne Ramsay's

debut *Ratcatcher*. Set on a Glasgow estate during the refuse collection strike of 1973, *Ratcatcher* places the fictional story of a young boy, James (William Eadie), within a specific historical milieu. Archival footage from BBC News situates the viewer within this context. Yet, as Murray (2005a) notes, the film is also accessible to those without knowledge of the historical complexities of this setting. In reference to James' visits to the new housing scheme on the outskirts of the city, Murray (2005a) argues that *Ratcatcher* self-consciously employs "iconography associated with the Western genre in order to represent its lead character's interaction with the massive state-directed programme of urban relocation that was for many a central component of postwar Scottish experience" (p. 222). This allows local cultural specificity to be "reified into a universally accessible cinematic *mythos*" (p. 223, emphasis in original).

Significantly, to date questions surrounding local specificity and universal accessibility have not been investigated using methods other than textual analysis. Research into the ways in which audiences engage with films, for instance, could prove informative. However, such research does pose methodological challenges. In particular, it would be most relevant to conduct audience research at the time of general release. Though audience research is outwith the scope of this project, it could prove potentially enlightening in the future. Where relevant, the remaining chapters employ a mix of methods to explore these issues in different contexts: funding applications, marketing materials and newspaper coverage. Additionally, analysis of *Donkeys*, which is presented in the section that follows, draws extensively on interviews with writer McLaren, in order to understand the intended, and eventual, use of space and place in the second Advance Party film.

Donkeys: Inescapable Realism

Analysis thus far evidences the considerable scholarly attention *Red Road* has attracted. In contrast, *Donkeys* has not been the focus of any research until now. As observed, this is at least partially attributable to the film's later release date. It is also perhaps influenced by its more modest reception amongst film festival programmers, distributors and journalists. As William Brown (2009) observes, academia has traditionally, and problematically, focused on the study of a certain type of cinema: one that "displays a sufficient level of 'artistic merit'" (p. 19). Although an admirable film in many respects, *Donkeys* lacks the artistic polish and distinct directorial presence that characterises Arnold's debut. This is partially a result of challenges encountered during principal photography. Yet, as Chapter Five details, creative difficulties are also evident in funding applications submitted to Scottish Screen or Creative Scotland prior to the start of production.

For writer McLaren (personal communication, September 11, 2012), the film's arduous shoot resulted in a blander aesthetic than director McKinnon desired. The writer unfavourably situates the end result within the social realist traditions. Dave (2012) observes: "For some, social realism in British cinema is a problematic tradition, one that is politically limited and aesthetically conservative. Boring, pious, out of date.... For others...there remains a sense that significant social realist films are still being produced" (p. 17). It is the former position that is suggested by McLaren when he explains:

In our desire we couldn't have been further from Loach World. But in the execution I accept we probably ended up moving in next door to him. I think that often happens when budgets are tight and you have to go with the available light/free locations. (Personal communication, September 11, 2012)

Suggested in this response is a view of social realism as being aesthetically conservative. It is positioned as a looming presence that is constantly threatening to engulf low budget filmmakers. He also directly associates social realism with the films

of Ken Loach. In relation to the work of Loach, Forrest (2010) argues the director's thematic focus "leaves little room for...aesthetic and narrative complexities" (p. 34).

He continues:

This is not to suggest that Loach's films are textually orthodox, or that they lack artistic depth. Rather – in keeping with Hallam and Marshment's [2000] definition – Loach's constant emphasis on the relationship between society and the individual sees potentially challenging stylistic elements subordinated to the delivery of a centrally disseminated thematic aim. (2010, p. 34)

From McLaren's comments, it can be inferred that the writer's adverse stance towards social realism centres on the perceived relegation of stylistic elements amongst social realist works. This is arguably a narrow view of the social realist traditions, which does not take into consideration its many varying forms. Analysis of McKinnon and McLaren's short film *Home* (1998) reveals that their short is in keeping with Forrest's notion of contemporary British realism. Significantly, as has been noted in Chapter One, Forrest (2009a, 2009b, 2010) foregrounds the stylistic attributes of the films of contemporary realist directors, and contrasts this with the work of Loach.

Home

In the course of the 11 minute film, social worker Bobby (Russell Anderson) visits three homes: the first belongs to blind twins Roy (Eddie Mearns) and Troy (Raymond Mearns); the second contains a woman who has been lying dead for some time, much to the annoyance of her neighbour Mrs Robinson (Dorothy McLaren) who has been looking for her "stair money"; and, the third is home to Young (Malcolm Shields), a man who has been housing an aging donkey in his filthy, porn ridden flat.¹⁸ McLaren devised the first of these scenarios and the remaining two are based on actual cases (McKinnon, *Home* DVD commentary, 2006). Intersected between these segments are cutaway and location setup shots that endow the film with a distinct poetic style.

¹⁸ Stair money is the money paid by each tenant of an apartment building towards the cost of cleaning the communal stairwell.

The film opens in a derelict hospital room, the floor of which is covered in water and an abundance of old Christmas cards. At a later point this scene is revisited, on this occasion with several wild dogs running through. Between house calls a slow motion tracking shot surveys the streets. The images captured offer a celebration of the everyday and the obscure. For instance, an old man appears as though dancing whilst trying to dislodge a plastic bag from his foot. *Firn Di Mekhutonim Aheym*, a song traditionally played at Jewish weddings, accompanies these images, creating an unusual combination of visuals and sound. In keeping with Forrest's analysis of contemporary British realism, socio-political concerns, particularly those relating to poor housing conditions, neglect and disability, recede into the background, enabling McKinnon to tackle her subject matter through an expressive and poetic lens.

The Challenges of Location Shooting

In *Donkeys*, the distinct and poetic directorial style of *Home* is much less apparent. The narrative of *Donkeys* centres on Alfred (James Cosmo) and his sidekick Brian (Brian Pettifer), two sixty-something year old men with little to show for their lives. As Brian explains: "I was unemployed for the best part of 20 years. I could never really...be bothered". A heart scare prompts Alfred to attempt to make amends with his daughter, Jackie (Kate Dickie), who blames him for the death of her husband. A chance encounter leads Alfred to learn that he also fathered a son some twenty years ago, a fact he wishes to withhold from his daughter. That is until granddaughter Bronwyn (Natasha Watson) informs him that Jackie and Stevie (Martin Compston) are out on a date, and he is forced to reveal the truth. After learning that he has a terminal illness and at best a year left to live, Alfred concludes that the only way of making things right with his daughter is to ensure she is the beneficiary of his life

insurance policy. Upon realising that she will be entitled to more money if he dies within a month, he enlists Brian's help to bring about an end to his life.

As this overview suggests, the friendship between Alfred and Brian is reminiscent of the comedic partnership of Victor (Greg Hemphill) and Jack (Ford Kiernan) from the sitcom *Still Game* (Hemphill & Kiernan, 2002-2007). McLaren (personal communication, July 4, 2012) explains that Scottish Screen were particularly keen to foreground the buddy comedy aspect of *Donkeys*. In contrast, the UKFC wanted the family dynamic to be the film's central concern. This resulted in changes to the storyline between Jackie and Stevie in order to make the audience more sympathetic to the characters (personal communication, July 4, 2012). In response to enquiries as to which party decides what changes are ultimately made, McLaren (personal communication, July 4, 2012) states that it is the organisation with the most money that has the final say.

Like *Red Road*, *Donkeys* was set and filmed in Glasgow. Analysis of funding applications makes clear that this setting was selected for all three Advance Party films early in their development. In addition to economic and logistic reasons for this choice of location, which are a topic of the next chapter, McLaren notes this shared setting was also intended to strengthen the connection between the three films.

McLaren (personal communication, July 24 & September 11, 2012) explains that many of the locations that appear in *Donkeys* are not those initially selected. These changes in location are a result of obstacles that were encountered in the run up to, and during, the film's six-week shoot. These resulted in the use of alternative locations or the cutting of scenes. One location that was initially envisioned as central to *Donkeys* is "The Barras" market (personal communication, July 24, 2012). Indeed, as Chapter Five details, this location is highlighted in the funding application for production finance submitted to Scottish Screen. While, for reasons that become

apparent as analysis progresses, use of this location was significantly reduced prior to filming, problems encountered during filming further decreased its screen time to just a matter of minutes.

Since opening in the 1920s, The Barras, which was once the largest open-air market in Europe, has earned a reputation as a site filled with good bargains, dodgy dealings and interesting characters, though it is now perhaps past its heyday.¹⁹ In relation to this location, McLaren (personal communication, July 24, 2012) notes that it was chosen as, “it offered a visually chaotic world to match [Alfred’s] inner chaos and lies”. In early scripts as much as 50% of the film took place at this location (personal communication, July 24, 2012). Initially it was intended that the surplus characters would be placed as feuding stallholders at the market. However, it was concluded that this lumbered the film with too many plot strands and, after McKinnon was given permission from Lars von Trier to have unwanted characters “go by on a bus” (personal communication, July 24, 2012), many of The Barra’s scenes were cut. Ultimately one character, Avery (Paul Higgins) does not make even a fleeting appearance in the film. This invites interesting questions in relation to the overriding Advance Party concept, which are considered at the close of this chapter. Troubles encountered while filming at this location further diminish its presence onscreen. Namely, a resourceful member of the public set off a drill every time action was called in an attempt to coerce money from the filmmakers (personal communication, July 24, 2012).

The primary point at which this location appears in the finished film is near its outset. Shots of Alfred attempting to flog ceramic statues to passers-by (Figure 8) are intercut with close-ups of various statues against which actor credits are shown

¹⁹ In 2012, Glasgow City Council announced plans for the regeneration of the area, ahead of the city hosting the Commonwealth Games in 2014.

(Figure 9). As Alfred's sales patter begins to slow, it becomes increasingly clear that he is having heart problems, and a cut relocates the film to a hospital.



Figure 8. Alfred's Sales Patter Slows.



Figure 9. Actor Credits, *Donkeys*.

Although appearing onscreen very briefly, the rundown and lively market complements the idiosyncratic charm of the film's lead character. Nevertheless, for the reasons outlined, The Barras appears on just two more occasions. First, during a montage sequence of Alfred's last day prior to committing suicide and second, the final

scene, in which Brian is shown giving Bronwyn a driving lesson in the empty market. With a total screen time of just two minutes, the presence of this location in the final film is brief. While the feuding stallholders obscured the central plot line, the near absence of this location, particularly after its prominent introduction in the opening credits, does seem a missed opportunity to further augment the charismatic appeal of the lead character. McLaren (personal communication, July 24, 2012) reaches a similar conclusion, noting that ultimately “there’s too little of that world on view”.

Other alterations in location further detract from the relationship between character and place that was intended to convey Alfred’s distinctive personality. Another prominent location at which filming did not prove possible is Glasgow Necropolis, or more specifically, the road running between the necropolis and neighbouring Tennent’s brewery (personal communication, September 11, 2012). This is shown in Figure 10 and Figure 11. The vast metallic structure of the brewery, which has immense ducts protruding from its side, was intended for a scene between Alfred and Jackie. However, noise from the brewery proved too loud for filming and an alternative location had to be found. In the end, a less visually striking graveyard, St Kentigern's Cemetery, was selected (Figure 12).



Figure 10. Road to Glasgow Necropolis from Tennent's Brewery.



Figure 11. Tennent's Brewery from Glasgow Necropolis.



Figure 12. St Kentigern's Cemetery, Donkeys.

At St Kentigern's Cemetery, a scene between Alfred and Jackie takes place, during which Alfred attempts to make amends with his daughter. Prior to this, Alfred and Brian are shown waiting outside the supermarket at which Jackie works. After she finishes her shift Jackie exits the building carrying a bunch of flowers, and the pair pursue. It becomes apparent that the flowers are intended for the grave of Jackie's husband and, prompted by encouragement from Brian, Alfred approaches his daughter as she tends to the gravesite. After clumsily remarking that the headstone is of fine quality, a scathing look from Jackie motivates Alfred to announce that he has written a lament for his late son-in-law and, following a further stony look, he begins to awkwardly fabricate a song. Once Alfred has blundered through several verses, Jackie icily asks, "Why don't you just die?"

The graveyard setting of this scene heightens the absurdity of Alfred's actions. Indeed, at times his frivolous words verge on callous when spoken amidst a sea of gravestones. The desaturated colour palette aided by the evidently cold, windy winter shoot, enhances the grim nature of the landscape. Although it is only possible to speculate, had filming been viable at the intended location, this environment might

have better set the tone for this scene. The vast, strange metallic brewery is not a visual trope typically associated with a graveyard and would have provided the scene with a sense of obscurity, mirroring Alfred's actions. Moreover, the juxtaposition between the metal of the brewery and the greenery of the trees offered an opportunity to augment the dislocated father/daughter relationship by injecting the scene with an element of comic peculiarity.

Another key location that exhibited the look McKinnon desired, but which ultimately proved unattainable, is Waddell Street (McLaren, personal communication, September 11, 2012). Here the homes of Jackie and Stevie were to be located. In terms of screen time, this location is the most prominent, as around 25% of the narrative takes place on this street – either inside Jackie or Stevie's house, or outside on the street itself. Located in the Gorbals on the south bank of the River Clyde, McLaren (personal communication, September 11, 2012) explains that Waddell Street was chosen as “everything's out of proportion – the brewery facing; the small boxy flats which seem to be made from cardboard; and the monolithic tower blocks behind”.



Figure 13. Waddell Street from Glasgow Green. Photo courtesy of Colin McLaren.



Figure 14. Waddell Street.

Previously the site of Clyde salvage yard, Waddell Street and neighbouring Ballater Street were recently redeveloped as part of a wider initiative to revive the Gorbals area. The Gorbals, like the Red Road estate, has been plagued by a history of poor housing conditions and industrial decline. In an article published in the *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* in 1957, Tom Brennan writes:

Most people who know anything about Glasgow have heard of Gorbals. This district, immediately south of the city centre on the south bank of the river Clyde, has provided the material, or at any rate the inspiration, for innumerable articles, at least one famous novel, several plays and even a ballet – all with the same theme of squalor and viciousness, gang fights and crime. As the Council for the Glasgow Corporation stated at the Public Enquiry on the proposed Redevelopment Scheme, “the very name Gorbals has come to epitomise all that is worst in living conditions not only in Glasgow or indeed Scotland, but in Britain”. (p. 114)

The redevelopment attempt Brennan references centred on the creation of high-rise tower blocks. These opened in the 1970s, but most were torn down the following decade and the costly redevelopment project was deemed a failure. A second redevelopment effort, the Crown Street Regeneration Project, began in 1990 and finished in 2000, with additional developments on nearby streets scheduled for completion by 2015. Visible in Figure 13 and Figure 14 are the results of the two endeavours. The lone grey tower block, shown in the rear of both pictures, is one of the few that remains from the 1970s and Waddell Street, the focus of Figure 14 and just visible at the rear of Figure 13, a product of the more recent redevelopment.

The “out of proportion” look of the landscape that McLaren identifies in this location exemplifies the distinct, idiosyncratic indent of the filmmakers. It also stands in contrast to previously established notions of the Gorbals, which, as Brennan observes, predominantly centre on, and thereby enhance, the area’s reputation for knife crime and gang activity. Yet reminders of the past remain visible at this location, particularly in the form of the monolithic tower block, and merge in a distinctly mismatched, but complementary style with the newer developments. In addition to

providing continuity with the intended location of the graveyard scene discussed previously, the rusted metal building of the Strathclyde Grain Distillery, located to the north end of Waddell Street and just visible in the images above, adds to this sense of peculiar off-balance, as does the smoke stack to the left of the first frame. However, the week before principal photography was set to commence, Waddell Street was covered in scaffolding for a paint job and so another location had to be found. A residential street in Uddingston was chosen as it features a distinctive water tower to the rear of the houses, providing the landscape with a hint of the individual feel McKinnon desired. Despite the water tower, the unimaginative grey housing scheme lacks the distinctiveness and contrast of the intended location.



Figure 15. Residential Street in Uddingston.

In addition to the location difficulties outlined thus far, McLaren (personal communication, July 24, 2012) also points to another factor that he believes influenced the look of *Donkeys*. Namely, budget limitations meant that the director was denied permission to go back and shoot location setup and cutaway shots that “would have framed her world view” (personal communication, July 24, 2012). Certainly, on the basis of the effective utilisation of such shots in *Home*, this would likely have helped

draw out the director's distinct style. However without these shots, the choice in the edit was limited. McKinnon (2010) explains that efforts to refine the film's tone contributed to a lengthy post-production process, which is discussed further in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. As Chapter Four details, an initial cut was screened to film festival programmers and distributors who suggested that it be re-edited. This prompted Sigma Films to apply to Scottish Screen for additional funding, and the agency awarded £45,000 for this purpose in 2009 (see Chapter Five). Yet the tone of *Donkeys* is still uneven at times.

It is also important to consider the possibility that some of the challenges *Donkeys* encountered speak to the inexperience of those involved in its production. As the chapter that follows explores in greater detail, Advance Party is a scheme for first time filmmakers. Though McKinnon and McLaren developed numerous projects prior to *Donkeys*, some of which are considered in Chapter Five, this was their first to progress into production. Likewise, *Donkeys* is the first film Anna Duffield produced. Given the early stage of each career, the alterations that resulted from obstacles encountered during production, are perhaps not completely unexpected. As the chapter that follows discusses, the budgetary ceiling imposed on the Advance Party filmmakers, in conjunction with other rules aimed at keeping production costs low, thus functions as a means of reducing the financial risk involved in the production of three films by first time filmmakers. In turn, this enabled those involved to gain experience in feature filmmaking, and negotiate the often-difficult transition from short to feature.

Advance Party as Creative Challenge

The chapter that follows examines the intentions underpinning the Advance Party scheme, and the rules constructed as a result. The remainder of this chapter assesses

the purpose of the framework in terms of the creative challenge it posed to those involved – an aspect that until now has been essentially overlooked in scholarly research. Analysis thus far suggests that the central creative challenge of putting the same group of characters into three distinct films led to an uneasy development in the case of *Donkeys*. In fact, this rule was ultimately defied in multiple ways. Most notably, the central character of Alfred was recast, as too was the character of Bronwyn. Additionally, though a scene featuring the character of Avery was filmed, this did not make it into the final cut (Higgins, 2010).

Character Background and Traits

In interviews accompanying the release of *Red Road*, Arnold recounts that she used the characters as a starting point when devising the treatment for her film. On the decision to focus her narrative on Jackie and Clyde, she explains:

I just made a connection between those two. I needed to look for connections with the characters. I needed to get them to interact. Clyde was described as having gotten out of prison and feeling guilty, released early for good behaviour, and liked women, or women liked him, he was hanging out with his ex-prison friends but was trying to go straight. Jackie was described as having had this terrible thing happen to her in the past, and being cool and aloof and shut out from life. And I thought, he's had something to do with this terrible thing that happened to her, and they must meet and sort this out. It was just the first connection I made, and it was the one I could put down. When I received the Advance Party document I put it away and just wrote down more about each character, about where they lived and so on, got to know them a little bit more for myself. (2007, para. 18)

As Arnold's comments suggest, the character sketches given to the three directors provide information regarding the background of each character and it details their various traits, which are often influenced by their backstory. The sketches vary in length, from April at 94 words to Avery at 428 words. In interviews Arnold speaks of the relative freedom that accompanied the rules. She notes that the directors were able to "take or leave any elements of the characters [they] wanted" (Curran, Dickie & Arnold, 2006/2012). McLaren (personal communication, July 24, 2012) similarly

speaks of a lenient approach to rules when he recounts that von Trier told McKinnon she could have unwanted characters “go by on a bus”. Moreover, the decision to allow the filmmakers to collaboratively create two more characters to add to the Advance Party pool, along with the direction that the character “back-stories can be expanded, family relations can be created between them, they can be given habits good or bad, and secondary characters can be added if it is proper for the individual film” (Scherfig & Jensen, 2003, as cited in Verve Pictures, 2006, p. 4), conveys the degree of freedom afforded to the filmmakers. As the next chapter scrutinises, such a lax approach to rules is uncharacteristic of von Trier. This flexibility, in combination with other factors that are outlined in Chapter Four, indicates a diminished emphasis on the use of rules as a means of prompting innovation.

Nevertheless, the Advance Party setup did create a unique development process. In the quotation above, Arnold explains that she developed her narrative through thinking about the interaction between the Advance Party characters. Although she downplays her engagement with the Advance Party brief when she states, “When I received the Advance Party document I put it away and just wrote down more about each character”, the portion of the quotation that precedes this statement exhibits a close familiarity with the specificities of the character sketches (see Appendix B). This can be seen, for instance, through analysis of the character of April. The overview of this character reads as follows:

April, 28.

She is very shy: she is a newcomer or may even be moving to a new place in every film without really knowing anybody at first. Everything she owns fits into two suitcases. She has had to part with something, since she seems to have no past and no family.

She is unusually beautiful, but she has the ability to make herself almost invisible just by sitting quietly and observing what’s going on around her. After a while, people forget that she’s even sitting there. She never initiates conversation.

She smokes.

This sketch significantly resembles the April that appears in Arnold's film. For example, the coy way in which April evades Jackie's questioning during a scene at the Red Road flats suggests that prior circumstances have caused her to leave her previous life. Arnold's dialogue explicitly conveys that April moved to Glasgow from London, while Natalie Press' withholding performance as timid April gestures to the character's difficult past. After awkwardly sidestepping a compliment from Jackie, a medium close-up shows April blowing smoke rings. Such details signal Arnold's awareness of the sketches and her attempt to incorporate the characters into her film in such a way that they reflect the sketches provided by Scherfig and Jensen. Crucially however, while the majority of characters in Arnold's film pay close attention to the Advance Party brief, there is little about Alfred and Avery that speaks to their respective character sketch. As Alfred is the lead of McKinnon's film, the depiction of this character is particularly important to consider in relation to the Advance Party project as a whole. This is a point to which this chapter returns.

Advance Party Ensemble

To date, observations made by Hannah McGill (2006) in her review of *Red Road* for *Sight & Sound* constitute the most comprehensive analysis of the Advance Party framework in terms of its influence on the content and structure of its resulting films. She writes: "there are background characters – April and Stevie, Jackie's father-in-law Alfred, an anonymous dog-walker and an overweight nightshift worker – who occasionally command attention, as in a multi-strand, Altmanesque ensemble piece" (para. 10). She goes on to contend:

Arguably, *Red Road* would be a more forceful experience without the sense of other storylines clamouring in the wings. And its need to provide each character with emotional closure, which feels out of kilter with the disciplined and unsentimental early scenes, may point to compromises inherent in film-making by committee. (para. 12)

However, McGill's remarks overlook the ways in which Arnold frames scenes involving other Advance Party characters specifically in relation to Jackie's character development. Without directly reflecting on the Advance Party framework, Dave (2011) argues that, rather than detracting from the central narrative thrust, these storylines highlight a defining aspect of Jackie's character: her fascination with others. This captivation, particularly with April and Stevie, but also the night worker (TT) and dog-walker (Crispin), facilitates an understanding of her dual fascination with Clyde: as the man that killed her family, but also, as the man "beyond her sense of his past and his once deadly irresponsibility" (Dave, 2011, p. 48). Stewart (2012) similarly suggests that Jackie's keen interest in others is of significance, and links this to her role as a protective mother watching those under her gaze. While neither author considers the Advance Party framework directly, their observations speak to its overarching influence.

In contrast to many of the Dogma films, which reflect the collaborative ethos of the movement through their use of an ensemble cast (*Festen/The Celebration*, Vinterberg, 1998; *Idioterne/The Idiots*, von Trier, 1999; *The King is Alive*, Levring, 2000; and, *Italiensk for begyndere/Italian for Beginners*, Scherfig, 2000), the Advance Party films, contrary to McGill's analysis, employ quite clear character hierarchies. However, in *Red Road*, secondary characters are constructed with a level of detail not typically afforded to such characters in cinema. Framed constantly in terms of the contribution to the development of Jackie, these secondary characters evidence Arnold's astute awareness of the Advance Party brief. This is of significance, as it works to maximise the onscreen connection between the Advance Party projects. Yet, there is ultimately very little that links the two finished Advance Party projects.

Interviews with McLaren cited thus far evidence a deliberate attempt to strengthen the link between *Donkeys* and the first Advance Party film. As noted, this in

part prompted the Glasgow setting of all three films. It is also apparent that early drafts of the script go to considerable lengths to include all the Advance Party characters (personal communication, July 24, 2012). Nevertheless, two of the characters, TT and Crispin, have only momentary appearances in the film, and Avery does not feature at all. Analysis of documents submitted to Scottish Screen in application for development finance reveals that the role of Brian was initially assigned to the character of Avery. However, it is evident from Avery's character sketch (Appendix B) that in terms of age, character traits and character background, it would be difficult to create the buddy dynamic between Avery and Alfred. These factors, along with the recasting of lead character Alfred and supporting character Bronwyn, point to the eventual decision to put the individual project before the scheme as a whole. As Chapter Seven discusses through analysis of press coverage of *Donkeys*, the recasting of Alfred caught the attention of the press. In defence of this decision, Berrie argues that as a result of the second Advance Party film's lengthy development, the character of Alfred had changed considerably by the time *Donkeys* was ready to go into production, and it was therefore necessary to recast the part (as cited in McBeth, 2008).

Very little connects the Alfred in *Red Road* to the Alfred in *Donkeys*. As noted, the Alfred that appears in Arnold's film bears little resemblance to his description in the brief. In contrast, while there are similarities between the Alfred in *Donkeys* and the Advance Party document, there are also notable discrepancies. For instance, the sketch repeatedly emphasises that Alfred is a liar. This lying is presented as an innate part of his personality. It is suggested that the character is untruthful in every aspect of his life, and instinctually lies about even minor details. Though the Alfred in *Donkeys* does lie, his evasion of the truth is not incidental, nor is it constant. Rather, his lies are specifically aimed at covering the fact that Stevie is his son. Similarly, though

the film deals with death insofar as its lead character decides to end his own life, there is nothing to suggest that Alfred has a fear of dying. There is also very little about the other characters that links them to *Red Road* or the Advance Party brief: TT and Crispin are essentially extras, April and Clyde have very minor roles and Avery is not even in the film. It is the character of Jackie that most clearly connects *Red Road* and *Donkeys*.²⁰ In particular, the loss of her family, which is central to the narrative of Arnold's film, is also referenced in *Donkeys*. In *Donkeys* however, the character's backstory is altered so that her daughter is still alive. That Jackie provides the strongest connection between the two films ultimately works to the detriment of *Donkeys*, as its comparatively less innovative and striking engagement with this element of Jackie's backstory invites unenthusiastic comparisons.

The essential disintegration of the creative challenge posed by Advance Party had notable implications in terms of the financing, distribution and reception of both *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, which are considered later in this thesis. As the chapter that follows discusses, a key motivation underpinning the Advance Party initiative is a desire to promote collaboration. The eventual shunning of the central rule is important to note for, as is discussed towards the close of the next chapter, it points to the partial failure of this objective.

²⁰ The (re-)appearance of Stevie also acts as a link between the two films, but as this character was created by the three directors, he is not included in the brief. In an interview to accompany *Donkeys* inclusion in the East End Film Festival, Compston (2010) notes that the only thing about the character that is carried over from *Red Road* is his name. He also explains that the character's backstory outlines that Stevie was sexually abused by his dad. However, there is no reference to this in *Donkeys* and as analysis thus far suggests, Stevie is unaware that Alfred is his father until he is an adult.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed the use of space and place in the Advance Party films. Drawing on the sizable body of scholarly research on *Red Road*, an absence of dialogue between writings that situate the film in a British context and those that position it within a Scottish framework was identified. As has been shown, overlaps in the two bodies of research exist. This is particularly evident in the work of Murray (2007, 2012) and that of Forrest (2009b, 2010). Both authors position *Red Road* as emblematic of a wider trend in British *or* Scottish cinema in which national concerns diminish as a result of the growing prioritisation of art house aesthetics. Rejecting Murray's (2012) claim that the title "Red Road" amounts to nothing more than a "red herring" (p. 406) through its promise, but ultimate shunning of local specificity, it was argued that *Red Road* simultaneously engages with the specificities of the Red Road locale, while also coding the landscape in such a way so as to render it accessible to an audience unfamiliar with its history. Importantly, this chapter also highlighted the need to take into consideration the possibility that different audiences (Glaswegian, Scottish, British, European, North American etc.) might take different meanings from the film. This points to the need for future research on the national to consider audience engagement with film texts.

Through reference to interviews with writer McLaren, it was illustrated that, in the case of *Donkeys*, although the filmmakers intended to construct a relationship between character and place that would augment the idiosyncratic nature of lead character Alfred, for the reasons discussed, this was not achieved to the extent desired. McLaren aligns the end product with the less than positive associations of social realism, namely aesthetic conservatism. The challenges encountered during the filming of *Donkeys* also gesture to the potential difficulties of low budget location

shooting, and highlight the need to consider production circumstances when analysing film aesthetics.

Chapter Four: Creative Hubs

This chapter provides a critical overview of the agents and agencies involved in the realisation of the Advance Party films. It scrutinises the various partnerships that formed, and were utilised, in the development and release of the two Advance Party films, and contextualises analysis within the broader filmmaking environments in which these relationships exist. This chapter begins by examining the partnership between Sigma Films and Zentropa, which facilitated the development of the Advance Party concept. Although Zentropa personnel played an influential role in the development of the scheme, their direct involvement with the resulting films did not progress further. Rather, other partnerships, often Glasgow-based, were utilised. Following analysis of the creative hubs that brought *Red Road* and *Donkeys* from concept to completion, this chapter ends through analysis of the rule doctrine approach to filmmaking. After examining the philosophies underpinning the Dogma movement, important differences between Dogma 95 and Advance Party are discussed, and the latter's underlying motivations identified.

Strategic Partnership: Sigma Films and Zentropa

Mette Hjort (2010a) terms the relationship between Sigma Films and Zentropa an instance of “affinitive and milieu-building transnationalism” (pp. 49-51). For Hjort (2010a), this “type” of transnational cinema is characterised by “collaboration across national borders with ‘people like us’” (p. 49) in order to develop capacity. Hjort's interview-based analysis predominantly centres on the comparable goals and ethos of Sigma Films and Zentropa, however she also suggests that this might be extended to Scottish and Danish culture more broadly. She cites the following comment made by Gillian Berrie, co-founder of Sigma Films, as possible evidence of an affinity between Scots and Danes:

You always feel like you're with a kindred spirit when you're with a Dane. It's something to do with being on the same latitude, or the weather perhaps. There's a self deprecating aspect to the Danish personality that's at home here. The Danes always say it's the Scots they end up with in the bar in the wee hours of the morning. (Berrie, as cited in Hjort, 2010a, p. 52)

While, as Hjort (2010a) rightly notes, these comments do point to the “*perception of shared culture*” (p. 52, emphasis in original) amongst those involved in the conception of Advance Party, this is best understood in terms of the compatible ethos and goals of Sigma Films and Zentropa. (To convincingly extend such analysis to Scottish and Danish culture requires considerably more research.)

The longevity of the relationship between Sigma Films and Zentropa stands in contrast to the independent film sector, which is characterised by fragmentation (Christensen, 2003; Kerrigan, 2009). As Finola Kerrigan (2009) observes, those working in the independent sector often enter into operational, rather than strategic, partnerships. As noted in Chapter One, Mentzer et al. (2000) draw a distinction between these two types of partnerships, noting that the former is a temporary relationship utilised as-needed, while the latter is a long-term relationship maintained by the parties involved. In terms of the film industry, operational partnerships can be viewed as privileging the production of individual films, and strategic relationships, a body of films over a longer period of time. In reference to operational partnerships, Mentzer, Min and Zachariah (2000) write that this “includes an orientation to view the partner as an extension of their own firm” (p. 552). This position is exhibited on the “About” section of the Sigma Films website (sigmafils.com), as the company describes itself as having a close alliance with Zentropa, evidenced through their “acting as the sole UK co-producer” (para. 3) on a number of Zentropa’s films. As is discussed later in this chapter, the idea of collaboration is integral to the design of Advance Party. However, it is also important to note that the relationship between Zentropa and Sigma Films, particularly at the moment when Advance Party was

conceived, is one in which Sigma Films is the junior partner and Zentropa is the senior (Hjort, 2010a). As is examined towards the close of this chapter, this helps explain the design of the Advance Party rules.

Zentropa

Lars von Trier and Peter Aalbæk Jensen founded Zentropa in 1992 after collaborating on von Trier's *Europa* (1991) (Hjort, 2005, p. 8). Initially a joint venture between the two individuals, 50% of the company was later sold to Nordisk Film in 2008 and company employees acquired a further 25% (Zentropa, 2011, para. 1). In addition to being the largest production company in Scandinavia since 1994, Zentropa has also ventured into other aspects of the film industry (Bondebjerg & Redvall, 2011, p. 39). In 1997 Zentropa established a sales company, Trust Films Sales, and in 2006, a distribution arm was founded (Macnab, 2007). The distributor's run was relatively short lived, closing just a few months later. Trust Film Sales has since merged with Nordisk Film International and now operates under the name TrustNordisk. In 2011 Zentropa entered into distribution again when it became the first independent production company to launch its own VOD platform, Zentropa On Demand (Roxborough, 2011). However, as of January 2013, this service has ceased. The company cites the success of Zentropa films on other VOD platforms, including iTunes and Netflix, as rendering the service unnecessary (Hobel, 2013). In a short film about the history of Zentropa available on the Zentropa website (zentropa.dk), Jensen notes: "The most important thing the company has done was to apply an industrial approach to the art of film-making" (Jensen & von Trier, 2003). This approach is evident in the company's move into areas of the film industry other than production (including equipment rental and post-production) and, as is discussed below, the

creation of Film Town. However, as their distribution attempts indicate, their efforts to expand have not always been successful.

TrustNordisk is currently based in Zentropa's filmmaking complex, Film Town. Located on a former military base in Avedøre on the outskirts of Copenhagen, Film Town opened in the autumn of 1999. In keeping with von Trier's manifesto approach to filmmaking, which is discussed at length towards the close of this chapter, the complex was launched with a manifesto-like statement entitled "Project Open Film Town". As Hjort (2005) observes, this declaration exhibits von Trier's "self-understanding as a kind of avuncular enabler and instigator of projects with an especially collectivist dimension" (p. 19). In *Small Nation, Global Cinema*, which was published in 2005, Hjort writes: "At this point the Film Town functions as a site of emergent creativity, providing a home to approximately twenty film companies" (p. 19). However, many companies have since left Film Town, and in 2012, Zentropa, undergoing a period of financial hardship, sold three of the complex's empty buildings (Jensen, 2012a). The same year, Jensen announced that he intends to step down as Zentropa CEO by 2015 (Jensen, 2012b). Reports in the press link his decision to a series of layoffs Zentropa made the previous year (Jensen, 2012b). At present (August 2013), the complex houses Zentropa Productions, as well as their equipment rental company and post-production services. Other companies also situated at Film Town include production companies Regner Grasten Film, Græsted Film and Wise Guy (Jensen, 2012a).

Sigma Films

Situated in Glasgow, Sigma Films was established in 1996 by producer Gillian Berrie, director David Mackenzie and his actor brother Alistair Mackenzie. Spearheaded by Berrie, the company has produced or co-produced more films than any other Scottish

independent production company (Murray, 2012, p. 402). As would be expected, prominent amongst the titles on the filmography of Sigma Films are those of co-founder Mackenzie. In its early years, the company produced short films, making the transition to features with Mackenzie's *The Last Great Wilderness* (2002), which Zentropa co-produced. Following this, Sigma Films has co-produced several Zentropa productions, *Wilbur (Wants to Kill Himself)* (Scherfig, 2002), *Dogville* (von Trier, 2003), *Manderlay* (von Trier, 2005), *Drabet* (Fly, 2005), *Dear Wendy* (Vinterberg, 2004) and *Efter brylluppet/After the Wedding* (Bier, 2006), as well as Scotland-based *Dear Frankie* (Auerbach, 2004) and *Citadel* (2012), the directorial debut of Ciarán Foy. The production company has also produced numerous promising shorts, including Paddy Considine's *Dog Altogether* (2007) and Colin Kennedy's *I Love Luci* (2010). As this overview suggests, to date much of Sigma Films' operations have centred on production. Two developments stand in contrast to this production focus. First is the development of Sigma Releasing, a tentative, and as yet unsuccessful, move into distribution. Sigma Releasing is a topic of Chapter Five and Chapter Six. Second is the successful establishment of Film City Glasgow.

Inspired by visits to Film Town, which she made during the 1990s, Berrie instigated a project to renovate Glasgow's Govan Town Hall into a similar complex, Film City Glasgow. Plans for Film City Glasgow cite New York's Green Street Studio and Zentropa's Film Town as inspiration (Hjort, 2010a, p. 54). Situated near the Clyde waterfront, Film City Glasgow is part of the "Creative Clyde" hub, along with other film and television companies including BBC Scotland and STV.²¹ The final phase of the redevelopment of Govan Town Hall – which cost £3.5 million and was funded by Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, Glasgow City Council and the European Regional

²¹ On their website (creativeclyde.com), Creative Clyde (n.d.) describes itself as a "business hub based on the waterfront in Glasgow – with office space, land for commercial development, and an entire community of creative minds to collaborate with".

Development Fund – was completed in spring of 2009 (Film City Glasgow, n.d.-a). In addition to housing the headquarters of Sigma Films, Film City Glasgow is also the base of other companies. These include: Capricorn Productions, Finestripe, Hopscotch Films, Keo North and Maramedia, all producers of film, television and/or web content (Film City Glasgow, n.d.-b). It is also the home of casting agencies Kahleen Crawford Casting and United Casting, post-production companies Serious Facilities (image post-production) and Savalas Sound Studio (sound post-production), accountancy and finance firms O'Neill Partnership and Williams & Co Accountancy Services, as well as various other companies (Film City Glasgow, n.d.-b). The complex also includes a small studio.

Lynne Hibberd (2008) compares the Film City Glasgow project to numerous, and as of yet unsuccessful, attempts to build a film studio in Scotland. She argues that Film City Glasgow is to date the most productive attempt to bring together multiple facilities and a small studio under one roof. For decades, talk of the possibility of establishing a film studio in Scotland has periodically surfaced, but a studio has never materialised (Bruce, 1990; Hibberd, 2008; Petrie, 2000). In May of 2013, Fiona Hyslop, the Scottish Government's Cabinet Secretary for Culture and External Affairs, announced the launch of a Film Studio Delivery Group to consider proposals to establish a new film and television studio in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2013). It remains to be seen whether or not a film studio will emerge on this occasion.

Realising *Red Road* and *Donkeys*: Company Overview

While Zentropa contributed to the financing of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, and TrustNordisk is the sales agent of both films, the creative involvement of Zentropa personnel did not extend beyond development. In terms of pre-production, production and post-production, analysis of the agents involved reveals the formation of

Glasgow-based creative hubs. Appendix C contain an overview of key organisations and individuals involved in the realisation and release of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, and provide full details as to the sources of the information presented in the section that follows.

As is apparent as this chapter progresses, the development of *Donkeys* took considerably longer than that of *Red Road*. Additionally, as the previous chapter detailed, McKinnon's project also experienced considerable delays in post-production. Consequently, there was a four-year gap between the release of Arnold's film and the release of McKinnon's. As noted in the Introduction, and as is discussed further in the subsection that follows, Nørgaard's *The Old Firm* never materialised.

Development

The development of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* was funded by three organisations: Glasgow Film Office (GFO), Scottish Screen and the UK Film Council (UKFC). GFO and Scottish Screen became involved with Advance Party at an early stage in its development. It has been noted (Introduction, above) that Lenny Crooks (then head of GFO) and John Archer (then head of Scottish Screen) were present at the initial meeting at EIFF in 2000 when the possibility of collaboration between Sigma Films and Zentropa was first suggested (Hjort, 2010a). As Chapter Seven discusses, press reports from EIFF also point to the involvement of Paddy Higson's Antonine Films and Danish production company Calyx Filmproduktion. Not long after this meeting, both companies ceased doing business. A timeline provided by GFO (2006) notes that several years later, in November 2002, GFO suggested to Berrie that, "if she could persuade her partners at Zentropa to collaborate on a series of signature pieces by emerging directors then Glasgow Film Office could provide the development funds" (p. 1). GFO was first to fund the development of Advance Party, investing a total of

£100,000 in the development of the three films in July of 2003 (£33,333 per project).²² Advance Party was funded through their Winter Work Scheme, aimed at attracting productions to Glasgow in the quieter winter months. There was no formal application for this funding. Instead money was allocated as a result of regular meetings and negotiations between Sigma Films and GFO (Hamish Walker, personal communication, August 30, 2011).

Hamish Walker (personal communication, August 30, 2011), now Production Executive at GFO, identifies the organisation's involvement with low budget features *Solid Air* (Thomas, 2003) and *Late Night Shopping* (Metzstein, 2001) as providing useful experience in low budget filmmaking that the organisation wanted to transfer to other projects. In particular, Walker notes GFO wanted to take advantage of digital technology in order to reduce production costs. This is in keeping with the Advance Party scheme, which as noted above, explicitly stipulates that the three projects must use digital technology and each adhere to a production budget limit of £1.2 million. He also identifies the involvement of Zentropa, and in particular their affiliation with the then-Trust Film Sales, as a key factor that prompted investment.

After a successful application to Scottish Screen, which is analysed in Chapter Five, a total of £50,000 was awarded to the development of all three Advance Party films by this agency. The UKFC provided the remaining development finance, contributing £10,962 to *Red Road* in June of 2005, and £18,375 to *Donkeys* in September 2007, over two years after GFO and Scottish Screen.

In January of 2004, Arnold, McKinnon and Nørgaard attended a series of workshops and meetings at Film Town. These sessions include discussions with Scherfig about the Advance Party characters and conversations with von Trier about

²² At this time, GFO was in receipt of money from the European Development Fund, however this has since been discontinued and their sole source of funding is now the Glasgow City Council (Walker, personal communication, August 30, 2011).

the philosophy underpinning the initiative, as well as more practical workshops on production, post-production and marketing. While all three directors wrote the treatment for their project, Arnold was the only one to develop this into a script. In January of 2005, *Red Road* was accepted to the Sundance Institute's Screenwriters Lab. The cost of attendance was funded by GFO.²³ In contrast to *Red Road*, the development of *Donkeys*, as the previous chapter suggested, was much more erratic. Originally, McKinnon was teamed up with producer Angus Pigott, who had previously worked with Sigma Films on *The Last Great Wilderness* and *Wilbur (Wants to Kill Himself)*. However, Anna Duffield, associate producer of *Red Road*, eventually produced the film. Similarly, the film's writer also changed multiple times.

McKinnon, who wrote the treatment for her project, initially intended to develop this into a script (GFO, 2006, p. 2). However, in December of 2004 she started working with Andrew Meehan, a screenwriter suggested to her by Sigma Films (GFO, 2006, 2; McKinnon, personal communication, January 12, 2012). This pairing did not prove advantageous and McKinnon opted to work with Colin McLaren who eventually wrote the final script based on her treatment (McKinnon, personal communication, January 12, 2012). The two have been friends since high school and collaborated on numerous projects including the BAFTA winning short *Home* (1998). McKinnon (personal communication, January 12, 2012) explains:

At the start of the project someone in a key position (I'm not sure who) was keen that I work with another writer other than Colin (who I had always worked with up to that point) so I worked with the initial writer to see what it would be like. I think there were a couple of drafts with the initial writer which were not well received and as things progressed, he wanted to take it in one direction and I wanted to take it in another. This was discussed and there was an amicable parting of the ways. I had written the treatment before both writers took it on, but I think that my sensibility was always with Colin's style in mind. He came on board and fleshed it out into a script – changed some fundamental parts that made it more darkly comic and dramatic. I have always

²³ The Screenwriters Lab is an intensive five-day program that runs before the Sundance Film Festival and has had many notable alumni.

loved Colin's style of writing and it ended up being the right choice for the film.

These personnel changes led to a prolonged development and go some way towards accounting for the gap between the two Advance Party projects.

While McKinnon's film encountered delays, Nørgaard's never materialised. As the chapter that follows discusses through analysis of the application for development finance submitted to Scottish Screen, Nørgaard was paired with Scottish writer Jack Lothian, whose prior credits include *Late Night Shopping*. Shortly after being selected for Advance Party, Nørgaard started work on the Danish television programme *Klovn/Clown* (Christensen & Hvam, 2005-2009), produced by Zentropa. The series became somewhat of a phenomenon in Denmark, running for six series and generating a subsequent movie *Klovn: The Movie/Klovn* (2010). In addition to directing almost all the episodes of *Clown*, Nørgaard also directed the film. This was a box office success and brought some much-needed income to the then financially struggling Zentropa (Jensen, 2011).

Pre-Production

Much of the production finance for *Red Road* and *Donkeys* was awarded by the same agencies that supplied development finance: GFO, Scottish Screen and the UKFC. GFO was the first to invest production finance in *Red Road*, awarding the film £125,000 in March of 2005; shortly after Arnold's short film *Wasp* (2003) won an Academy Award. The organisation also covered costs incurred in the first two weeks of pre-production, during which time contracts were being finalised. Shortly after, both Scottish Screen and the UKFC invested in *Red Road* through their Content Production Fund and New Cinema Fund respectively. Scottish Screen made a total of three payments to Arnold's debut: £290,833 in June of 2005, £15,577 in October 2005 and £15,420 in April 2006. The UKFC awarded two lots of production finance:

£390,857 in August of 2005 and £45,287 in October of the same year. Zentropa and Zoma Films – a Glasgow-based private limited company registered by Zentropa in 2001 – provided the remaining production finance.²⁴ The level of financial investment committed by Zentropa and Zoma Films has not been disclosed, but given the stipulated budgetary ceiling of £1.2 million, their combined investment would unlikely be in excess of £300,000. In February of 2006, while *Red Road* was in post-production, BBC Films acquired the television rights to *Red Road* from London-based independent distributor Verve Pictures (see Chapter Six) and later revised its licence fee to become an equity investor.

The makeup in production finance for *Donkeys* is largely comparable to *Red Road*: GFO provided £50,000, Scottish Screen £281,189 and the UKFC £350,000. There is a considerable gap between the date Scottish Screen committed finance (February 2006) and the date the UKFC did the same (December 2007). In addition to monies from these sources, Zentropa's involvement as co-producer meant that *Donkeys* qualified for funding from the Danish Film Institute (DFI). Funding to the sum of 1,000,000 DKK (then about £100,000) was provided by this organisation in 2007. The Limelight Fund administered by venture capital trust Limelight Plc., provided tax credit finance to *Donkeys*. This was awarded in February of 2008, shortly after principal photography commenced.²⁵

Analysis of development and production finance raised for the Advance Party films points to the significance of organisations based in Scotland, or more specifically, Glasgow. In particular, the role of GFO is important to note as its smaller size and flexible funding process allowed the agency to move swiftly when allocating finance.

²⁴ The filmography of Zoma films is relatively limited. It is listed as a production company on *Song for a Raggy Boy* (Walsh, 2003), *Arven/The Inheritance* (Fly, 2003), *Dogville*, *Darbet* (Fly, 2005) and *Red Road*.

²⁵ Limelight VCT plc., now closed, was established after the introduction of a new tax credit system in the UK.

This finance would likely have helped secure funding from Scottish Screen and the UKFC. Information provided by Creative Scotland and, before its closure, the UKFC, reveals that in most instances Sigma Films submitted applications to the UKFC after being awarded finance by Scottish Screen, or considerably after applying to the Scottish agency.²⁶ This factor, in combination with Scottish Screen and GFO's presence at the initial meeting at EIFF, and the latter's role in kick-starting the project, suggests a sustained level of dialogue between the Scotland-based companies; a factor that is perhaps to be expected given their close geographic proximity. It also implies that Sigma Films believed the Advance Party projects would stand a greater likelihood of securing finance from the UKFC if they had first been awarded funds from Scotland. While these factors gesture towards a Glasgow filmmaking hub, it is crucial to highlight that the UKFC is a sizable contributor to the financing of both films. Indeed, in terms of production finance, the London-based organisation provided slightly more funding than Scottish Screen, making it the largest investor in both *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. In light of McLaren's comments regarding the creative influence of public funding bodies (Chapter Three), this is especially important to note. It is also apparent from the overview provided thus far that Zentropa, in addition to designing the Advance Party scheme, also provided finance to both films – either awarding monies itself, or through its eligibility for funding from the DFI. As becomes apparent in the chapter that follows, Zentropa's reputation is also flagged in applications submitted by Sigma Films to Scottish Screen.

In addition to playing a crucial role in terms of the funding of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, Glasgow-based organisations also played an important role in the stages of production and post-production.

²⁶ This is based on email correspondence with Creative Scotland or the UKFC.

Cast and Crew

Kahleen Crawford Casting, a company now based at Film City Glasgow, handled the casting of both films. As the Advance Party rule stipulates that all three films must feature the same actors in the same roles, the process of casting was especially important. Arnold (2007) asserts that the three Advance Party directors initially intended to cast before scriptwriting commenced, however while several casting sessions were held, no decisions were made at this point, and final casting did not occur until *Red Road* was given the green light. Each director selected different lead character(s) for their film: Arnold, Jackie and Clyde; McKinnon, Alfred; and, Nørgaard, Stevie/Sandy and April.²⁷ In interviews to accompany the release of *Red Road*, Arnold (2007) asserts that casting the three films was relatively unproblematic. As each director had by chance chosen to focus their film on different character(s), they were each given final say over his or her lead(s). Yet, as the previous chapter suggested, an alternative take on casting is articulated by those involved in *Donkeys*.

Casting for *Red Road* was finalised in August of 2005, with the four principal roles assigned to Kate Dickie (Jackie), Tony Curran (Clyde), Natalie Press (April) and Martin Compston (Stevie). The other Advance Party characters were cast as follows: Paul Higgins (Avery), Andrew Armour (Alfred), Carolyn Calder (TT, credited as “cleaner”), John Comerford (Crispin, credited as “man with dog”) and, Bronwyn (Jessica Angus). As noted, the recasting of the part of Alfred received coverage in the press. The previous chapter explained that Berrie attributes the recasting to the film’s prolonged development, and in particular the significant alterations made to Alfred’s character as a result of the changes in writer. A similar explanation is given by McLaren (personal communication, July 4, 2012), who states that the casting of

²⁷ In the treatment for Nørgaard’s *The Old Firm*, the character of Stevie is called Sandy. Despite the change in name, this was intended to be the same character (GFO, 2006, p. 2).

Andrew Armour was ultimately not right for *Donkeys*. The replacement of Armour with the higher profile James Cosmo also led to speculation that the filmmakers were attempting to boost the commercial appeal of the film. Additionally, the recasting has been linked to Armour's ill health. Unbeknown to the filmmakers, Armour sadly had cancer and died shortly after. McKinnon explains: "We could see he had become very physically fragile and we worried for him taking on a big project. It was awful, but ultimately you do have to think of the film" (as cited in Graham, 2010, para. 5). The implications of this recasting in terms of the scheme as a whole are analysed in the closing section of this chapter.

In *Donkeys*, Dickie and Compston return to their roles, while Curran and Press, prominent in *Red Road*, have extremely limited screen time. As the previous chapter observed, Calder and Comerford, who were initially intended to play feuding stallholders, are essentially extras, and Higgins does not even have a role. The part of Bronwyn was also recast, perhaps inevitable given the young age of the character and the time between films.

At the outset of the Advance Party scheme, three director/writer/producer teams were selected: Arnold was paired with producer Carrie Comerford, McKinnon with writer Meehan and producer Pigott, and Nørgaard with writer Lothian and Zentropa producer Marie Gade. It was also intended that each producer would co-produce the other two films. However, this did not transpire. Moreover, only the pairing of Comerford and Arnold remained until completion. In terms of other crewmembers, Arnold opted to work with several people from the crew of her Oscar winning short film, *Wasp*. Editor Nicholas Chauderge, cinematographer Robbie Ryan and production designer Helen Scott all returned to their respective roles for *Red Road*, and have since gone on to work with Arnold on her subsequent films *Fish Tank* (2009) and *Wuthering Heights* (2011). In addition, actress Press had also worked with

Arnold prior to *Red Road*, playing the lead role in *Wasp*. As noted, McKinnon similarly eventually came to work with a long-time collaborator, writer McLaren.

Production and Post-Production

As Chapter Three examined in detail, both Advance Party films were shot in Glasgow over a period of six weeks: filming on *Red Road* commenced in October of 2005 and *Donkeys* began principal photography in February of 2008. Although the Advance Party rules stipulate that the productions can take place anywhere in Scotland, given GFO's involvement in the project and the Glasgow base of Sigma Films, a Glasgow setting had both financial and logistical advantages. Moreover, this setting was also intended to strengthen the connection between the three films (Chapter Three).

Companies located in Glasgow also carried out much of the post-production work. Post-production on *Red Road* was fast-tracked in order to meet Cannes' submission deadline. Companies involved in this process include Savalas Sound Studio and Serious Facilities, both now situated at Film City Glasgow. Work by the former, costing £30,000, was financed by GFO. Danish company Mainstream ApS was charged with sound mastering, while London-based One Post (now part of Ascent 142) provided digital intermediate services. In contrast to the timely completion of *Red Road*, McKinnon's film experienced more delays during post-production. Analysis of funding applications reveals that a version of *Donkeys* was shown to distributors and festival programmers, and their consensus was that it should be re-edited (Chapter Five). As the next chapter makes clear, after a successful application to Scottish Screen, *Donkeys* was awarded an additional £45,000 for this purpose. This caused a two-year gap between principal photography and release.

Glasgow Creative Hub

The relationship between Sigma Films and Zentropa facilitated the development of the Advance Party scheme, and Zentropa assisted in the financing of its two resulting films. However, it was Sigma Films that oversaw the production of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, and in the course of their realisation, utilised the services of several Glasgow-based companies, many of which are now based at Film City Glasgow. In *Scotland: Global Cinema*, Martin-Jones briefly touches on the idea of a Glasgow hub in his discussion of art cinema. He writes:

It is often frustrating to read of discussions of “British” cinema that note the supposed demise of the art film by citing the waning popularity of preciously famous England-based auteurs of the 1980s and 1990s (Derek Jarman, Sally Potter, Peter Greenaway) or the lack of apparent continuation of their legacy. These Anglocentric accounts can seem either unaware of (or possibly in denial of) the emergence of a new base for the art film, no longer in London, but in Glasgow. Thus, whilst acknowledging the individual works of new Scotland-based auteurs (Peter Mullan, Lynne Ramsay, David Mackenzie, Andrea Arnold), the coexistence of this emergent talent in the new centre for art cinema is often ignored. (2009a, p. 10)

Like Petrie before him, Martin-Jones overstates the Scotland, or in this instance more specifically Glasgow, locale of the directors he references. To describe Arnold as “Scotland-based” is a real stretch, as by all accounts her time in Scotland is limited to the duration of *Red Road*. Both her subsequent features, *Fish Tank* and *Wuthering Heights*, are set in England, and her latest project, *Mag Crew* is set in the US.²⁸ Similarly, both Ramsay and Mackenzie have made films outside Scotland: *We Need to Talk About Kevin* (2011) and, *Asylum* (2005) and *Spread* (2009) respectively. Instead, Arnold’s affiliation with the city is best understood as directly related to the Advance Party initiative. This points towards one of the overarching aims of the scheme, namely to contribute towards the development of a more stable and collaborative Scottish filmmaking milieu.

²⁸ At present (August 2013), *Mag Crew* is currently in development with Film4 and Focus Features.

Advance Party: Origins and Intentions

Drawing on interviews with those working at Sigma Films or Zentropa, Hjort (2010a) points to the imbalance between the prosperous Danish filmmaking landscape and the comparatively struggling Scottish environment as a means of understanding the intentions underpinning the scheme. On this difference, Hjort cites Berrie as stating:

In Denmark they have in excess of £25m (about U.S. \$50 million) a year to put into films. They get up and they go to work and they make films every day, whereas filmmakers here get to make one film every three years, if they get to make films at all. (As cited in Hjort, 2010a, p. 53)

In addition to outlining the disparity in levels of finance, Hjort also quotes Glasgow-based director, writer and producer Eleanor Yule in order to outline a difference between the filmmaking culture in Scotland and that in Denmark. Yule states:

When you go to Filmbyen, the film city where Zentropa and other companies are based, you see everyone helping one another out. It means you breed a more collaborative environment, but there's also the expectation that you will be making films for cinema regularly. In Scotland it feels like a lottery at every step of the process. We are not self-sufficient in the same way. (As cited in Hjort, 2010a, p. 53)

Yule's comments regarding the collaborative ethos of Zentropa and Film Town are particularly important to note as they point to the collectivist spirit of the Dogma movement, and the collaborative intentions of the Advance Party scheme. Importantly however, the reformist rhetoric underpinning the collective stance of Dogma is all but absent in the case of Advance Party, which unlike its predecessor, is not accompanied by a manifesto.

Dogma 95, Lars von Trier and the Rule Doctrine

As Scott MacKenzie (2003) observes, the use of manifestos in cinema is nearly as old as the medium itself. The tradition of manifesto writing is most clearly evident in avant-garde cinema, and is typically used as a means for filmmakers to articulate their aesthetic and political goals (Langkjær, 2006; MacKenzie, 2003). MacKenzie (2003)

writes: “In most cases, these texts were calls to revolution – a revolution of consciousness, of political hierarchies and of aesthetic practices, which all bled together in an attempt radically to redefine the cinema and the culture in which it existed” (p. 49). The impact of manifestos however, has generally been negligible (MacKenzie, 2003). In this respect, the reach of Dogma, which was outlined in the Introduction, stands out in the history of manifestos.

Of the Dogma brothers, the manifesto and accompanying Vow of Chastity can most clearly be linked to the work of von Trier. The films in his first trilogy – *Forbrydelsens element/Element of Crime* (1984), *Epidemic* (1987) and *Europa* – are each accompanied by a manifesto, as are his subsequent films and projects. Importantly, these manifestos were released after project completion. The Dogma manifesto, in contrast, was very publically launched *before* development had commenced on any of the Dogma films. Dogma also marks a shift in von Trier’s role: from individual filmmaker to collective leader. The latter role extends beyond Dogma to the creation of Film Town (see Hjort, 2006) and other projects including *The World Clock* (see Schepelern, 2003), *The Five Obstructions* (Leth & von Trier, 2003; see Hjort, 2006) and *Advance Party*.

This notion of collectivism is evident in the rhetoric used in the Dogma manifesto. After describing Dogma 95 as “a collective of film directors”, the manifesto goes on to assert:

In 1960 enough was enough! The movie was dead and called for resurrection. The goal was correct but the means were not! The new wave proved to be a ripple that washed ashore and turned to muck.

Slogans of individualism and freedom created works for a while, but no changes....The auteur concept was bourgeois romanticism from the very start and thereby...false!

To DOGME 95 cinema is not individual! (As cited in Hjort & MacKenzie, 2003a, p. 199, emphasis & ellipsis in original)

The denunciation of the individualist stance the manifesto associates with the auteur concept – and in particular the work of the New Wave directors – is explicitly

prohibited in the Vow of Chastity through rule number ten: “The director must not be credited” (as cited in Hjort & MacKenzie, 2003a, p. 200). As multiple commentators note, this sentiment and its accompanying rule are juxtaposed by the distinct authorial style of the first wave of Danish Dogma films (*Festen/The Celebration*, Vinterberg, 1998; *Idioterne/The Idiots*, von Trier, 1999; *Mifunes sidste sang/Mifune*, Kragh-Jacobsen, 1999; and, *The King is Alive*, Levring, 2000), and the films of the subsequent second wave of Danish directors that took up the Dogma baton (including: *Italiensk for begyndere/Italian for Beginners*, Scherfig, 2000; *Et rigtigt menneske/Truly Human*, Sandgren, 2001; *En kærlighedshistorie/Kira’s Reason: A love Story*, Madsen, 2001; and, *Elsker dig for evigt/Open Hearts*, Bier, 2002).

Additionally, the individual tendencies of the Dogma instigators are reflected in the rules governing the scheme. The rules, as well as constituting a response to Hollywood filmmaking practices inasmuch that they prohibit the use of conventional mainstream techniques (sets, props, sound effects, non-diegetic music, complex camera and lighting setups, genre tropes and so on), are also designed to confront the tendencies of the manifesto’s creators. As Hjort (2003) outlines, both von Trier and Vinterberg claim to have devised the rules on one basic principle: “Identify the very means of cinematic expression on which you habitually rely and then make the technique or technology in question the object of an interdiction” (p. 34). In von Trier’s case this led to a ban on lighting (rule number four), and in Vinterberg’s, an abolition of non-diegetic sound (rule number two). The rules however, were also intended as a guide for aspiring filmmakers. They were to enable first-time directors to take advantage of what the manifesto terms the raging “technological storm” (as cited in Hjort & MacKenzie, 2003a, p. 199) in order to produce a low-cost feature.

The Advance Party Initiative: Underlying Motivations

While similar factors to those outlined in relation to Dogma 95 are evident in the motivations underpinning Advance Party, crucial differences between their impulses also exist. As noted, in her interview-based research, Hjort (2010a) points to the disparity between the Scottish and Danish filmmaking environment as instigating the development of Advance Party. Hjort (2010a) cites Berrie as identifying two key problems in Scotland: the absence of sufficient training opportunities in Scotland and the difficulty in transitioning from shorts to features. Berrie's observations stand in contrast to the relatively prosperous view of career progression Petrie (2000b) puts forth in *Screening Scotland*, which was released just a decade before. As the next chapter charts in greater depth, it took McKinnon and writing partner McLaren many years to move from shorts to features. As a means of beginning to combat these problems, Advance Party is aimed at first time filmmakers. This focus helps to explain the "practical" rules governing the scheme: that the projects must be filmed on location, over a period of six weeks, using digital technology and a budget not exceeding £1.2 million. These stipulations reduce production costs and thereby create a relatively low risk environment in which three first time directors could practice their craft.

Although Hjort (2010a) specifically situates Berrie's comments in a Scottish context, only one of the three Advance Party directors, McKinnon, is based in Scotland. Arnold and Nørgaard reside in England and Denmark respectively. The Scotland/England/Denmark locale of the three directors reflects the sources of finance utilised in the production of the two completed films. Moreover, the intended and/or eventual writers and producers are also based in Scotland, England or Denmark. As the next chapter examines, nationality is a key factor in Scottish Screen's application forms, and is a prominent feature in the applications Sigma Films

submitted for Advance Party. In order to situate the scheme more directly in a Scottish context, the Advance Party brief stipulates all three films must take place in Scotland. As Chapter Five reveals, the benefits associated with this, most prominently measured by terms such as production spend and the experience offered to Scotland-based cast and crew, are foregrounded in funding applications.

In part, the limit placed on the number of participating directors can be connected to the scheme's function as a way for novice filmmakers to gain experience in feature filmmaking. The cap placed at three films ensures that Advance Party remained controllable. It can also be viewed as a way of presenting funders with a manageable and concrete concept. However, it is important to note that, whereas funding for the initial Dogma films was secured simultaneously (although admittedly after significant delays), the Advance Party films were largely financed on a project-by-project basis.²⁹ The next chapter discusses this point further in relation to funding applications submitted to Scottish Screen.

The aim at first time filmmakers and the contained nature of the scheme also account for the lack of reformist rhetoric in the documentation accompanying the framework. This is reinforced in the absence of a manifesto. While the title "Advance Party", a term used in the military to refer to a "detachment sent ahead of the main force to ensure its uninterrupted advance" (US Department of Defence, 2009, p. 5), is suggestive of the activism foregrounded in the Dogma manifesto and Vow of Chastity, this connection does not extend further. Analysis of documentation surrounding

²⁹ As Hjort and MacKenzie (2003b) explain, Jytte Hilden, the Danish Minister of Culture in 1995, verbally promised to fund Dogma 95 to the sum of 15 million DKK. However, in Denmark, the Danish Film Institute awards state funding for film, and applicants are required to make individual applications for finance. As such, "a grant following directly from the Ministry of Culture to the Dogma project would have violated the very mandate of the Danish Film Institute" (p. 2). The Dogma filmmakers were invited to apply for funding for their projects individually, but considering this to go against the collaborative spirit of the movement, they declined. Several years later, the Dogma brothers reached a funding deal with the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (for more, see Hjort & MacKenzie, 2003b, pp. 2-3).

Advance Party does, however, point to a foregrounding of the collaborative ethos promoted by Dogma, and the collective actions of von Trier and Zentropa more generally.

Collaboration?: Director Driven Scheme

In a document outlining the history of the Advance Party project, which was submitted to Scottish Screen in application for development finance, Sigma Films explain:

We decided to initiate a concept for three low-budget digital films. Looking at the huge success of the Dogma films, we wanted to know what were the best lessons learned. We approached Lars von Trier and he identified the key to the success of the Dogma movement as collaboration. He also thought that certain obstacles can become creative challenges.

The influence of Dogma 95 and von Trier's signature approach to filmmaking, which sees creativity enhanced through constraints, is made explicit in the extract above. As noted in the previous chapter, the notion of collaboration, which the document positions as key to the Dogma movement, is evident in the scheme's underpinning creative challenge that involves the use of the same group of characters. Unlike the Dogma films, which although arguably linked at the level of form, are not directly related in terms of content, the Advance Party films are intended to be visibly united by the (re-)occurrence of the same characters, each with their specific background and traits. It has been affirmed that Zentropa's Anders Thomas Jensen, whose writing credits include multiple Dogma films (*Mifune*, *The King is Alive* and *Open Hearts*), and Lone Scherfig, writer and director of *Italian for Beginners*, wrote the sketches for seven characters and together the three directors were permitted to create two more (Stevie/Sandy and Bronwyn). The decision to allow the filmmakers to create additional characters signals a deviation from the rigid approach to rules that characterises von Trier's involvement with Dogma, as well as other rule-driven

projects, most notably *The Five Obstructions*. The permissive attitude to rules can be attributed to the absence of a reformist agenda. Rather than being envisioned as a challenge to dominant filmmaking practices, Advance Party was designed as a way of instigating filmmaking activity in Scotland in a manner intended to encourage greater dialogue between filmmakers.

Despite its collaborative sentiment, it is important to make clear that Advance Party, as the project history states, is conceived primarily as “a director driven concept”. Conversely, this is not reflected in the central Advance Party challenge, which predominantly rests with the writer. The challenge, first and foremost, is a task of incorporating nine characters into one script. As the initial goal was to make three films, it is also implied, without being explicitly stated, that the characters should be of sufficient likeness to their description in the brief, so as to render them recognisable throughout all three films. The previous chapter argued that this did not transpire. Two key factors are crucial to note in this respect, both of which have already been touched upon. First, the different speeds at which the three projects developed, or, in Nørgaard’s case, did not develop: this made sustained productive dialogue between the three projects unfeasible. It also, as has been argued, had notable implications in terms of casting. Second, the scheme’s director focus conflicts with the emphasis its rules place on the role of the writer. It was perhaps hoped that all the directors would choose to write their project. Whilst both Arnold and McKinnon wrote the treatment for their individual project, and consequently were each responsible for devising the central premise of their film, McKinnon decided not to write the script for her project. The project history notes that in such instances, “the directors are to work in close collaboration with writers”. However, this chapter has documented that this did not transpire. By both writing and directing her project, Arnold retained a greater degree

of authorial control. This partially accounts for her more accomplished integration of the Advance Party characters, which was outlined in Chapter Three.

Conclusion

As a creative experiment spanning multiple films, Advance Party did not prove particularly successful. The thesis Conclusion examines the intended trilogy in relation to others that adopt a similar creative principle, in particular, Lucas Belvaux's Trilogy. This chapter has argued that Advance Party was not conceived exclusively as an experiment in innovation. The central concept does, however, speak to the wider aim of collaboration that underpins the scheme. As Hjort (2010a) asserts, Advance Party was designed to encourage the development of a collaborative filmmaking milieu in Scotland similar to that at Zentropa's Film Town. It is perhaps unsurprising that analysis of the agents and agencies involved in the completion of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* reveals a concentration of activity in Glasgow. This chapter observed that many of these organisations are now based at Film City Glasgow – a development that marks Sigma Films' most coherent contribution to the development of a production hub in Glasgow.

The centrality of Glasgow, both off and on the screen (Chapter Three, above), perhaps suggests that Advance Party might best be understood in regional, rather than national, terms. However, the intertwining of these identities in both academic and industry discourse is such that it is difficult, if not impossible, to clearly separate the two. Chapter One observed that Scottish film scholars have situated the cultural discourse of Clydesideism as providing a potentially "authentic" portrayal Scottish life (e.g. McArthur, 1982; Caughie, 1990; Petrie, 2004). As the chapter that follows discusses, the applications submitted to Scottish Screen frequently use the Glasgow base of key individuals and the Glasgow setting of the two films as evidence of their national status. It is also important to note that such concentration of media activity in

specific cities, typically a country's largest, is a feature of the media industries more generally.

Chapter Five: Funding Applications

This chapter is concerned with the process of raising finance. It centres on the analysis of funding applications submitted by Sigma Films to Scottish Screen and, following its amalgamation with the Scottish Arts Council (SAC), Creative Scotland, for the Advance Party projects. As becomes apparent in the course of this chapter, the funding application is a revealing document, both when analysing how a film is presented to potential funders and when considering the criteria used by that agency in the allocation of its resources. The analysis that follows thus scrutinises both question and response.

Between 2004 and 2010, Sigma Films submitted four applications to Scottish Screen and one to Creative Scotland for the Advance Party projects. All five of these applications resulted in the allocation of funding. As the previous chapter detailed, in 2004, a total of £50,000 was awarded to the development of all three projects. Production finance to the sum of £290,833 was awarded to *Red Road* in June the following year and *Donkeys* received £281,189 in February of 2006.³⁰ Three-and-a-half years later, in September of 2009, *Donkeys* secured an additional £45,000 towards the cost of completing a revised edit of the film. In 2010, a final award of £10,000 was made to Sigma Films, this time by the newly formed Creative Scotland, to cover the cost of marketing the film in Scotland. During this six-year period, the composition of the funding application used by Sigma Films changed on more than one occasion. Nevertheless, as this chapter discusses, consistent criteria can be seen running throughout the various applications. Following analysis of funding applications submitted for Advance Party, the close of this chapter considers Scottish Screen's gatekeeper role more broadly. This is achieved through a survey of the films that were

³⁰ Scottish Screen awarded *Red Road* supplementary funding of £15,577 in October 2005 and £15,420 in April of 2006. Neither award required an additional application.

never made, despite receiving finance from Scottish Screen. During its tenure, Scottish screen was a key source of funding for films based in Scotland, and the same is now true of Creative Scotland. As such, analysis of the funding procedure and criteria used by the agency reveals much about the process of raising finance in Scotland during the 2000s.

Dual Remit

Scottish Screen was established as a Non-Departmental Public Body in 1997, prior to devolution. The organisation's initial budget was £2.5 million (Hibberd, 2009, p. 145). This increased to £5.5 million in 2000 when responsibility for administering National Lottery finance was transferred from SAC to Scottish Screen (Hibberd, 2009, pp. 145-146). In 2006, the Scottish Government (then named Scottish Executive) announced plans to merge Scottish Screen and SAC into a single agency, Creative Scotland. As its name suggests, Creative Scotland's remit extends beyond the screen industries to the creative industries more generally. While a detailed scrutiny of Creative Scotland's operations is outwith the scope of this chapter, where relevant, its function and objectives are considered in relation to the Advance Party initiative. After some delay, Creative Scotland launched on July 01, 2010.

In "Scottish' Screen? Exploring the Role of National Identity in Scotland's Screen Agency", Lynne Hibberd (2009) argues that Scottish Screen's operations were complicated by its dual remit. She writes:

Although Scottish Screen was conceived of under the Conservative government before the devolution of the UK, the announcement of Scottish Screen as a national body led inevitably to calls for it to serve a remit which would recognise the imminent emergence of Scotland as a distinctive nation. On a cultural level, it was hoped that Scottish Screen would nurture work which would "play an important role at the heart of a revitalised national culture" (Petrie 2000, 226). But the commercial imperatives of Scottish Screen's remit had been a founding principle behind the body, and it was equally charged with supporting the kind of productions, often location shoots, that would help to boost the national economy.... (p. 147)

Analysis of the funding applications used by Scottish Screen and, since its demise, Creative Scotland evidences the dual cultural and economic remit observed by Hibberd. As becomes apparent as this chapter progresses, the various applications reflect – albeit this in changing and often ambiguous guises – both cultural and economic considerations.

The Funding Application: A Brief Overview

In order to be considered for funding from Scottish Screen, an application must first have been submitted to the agency. This procedure is typical of such organisations and continues to be used by Creative Scotland. As this chapter attests, the funding application is an insightful resource for the researcher to consider. The answers provided reveal how an applicant marketed their project to a financier. As noted, responses are shaped by the question asked and, as such, an awareness of the guiding framework in which this positioning takes place is required. Concurrently, the content and composition of a funding application reveals a great deal about the criteria used in the allocation of finance and is likewise valuable to consider from this perspective. As Chapter Two observed, it is important to note however, that other documents requested in support of an application, in particular the script, will likely inform funding decisions, as too will more informal conversations and meetings. Nevertheless, the funding application is the crux of what might be thought of as the “official” funding history. This is reinforced on the application forms considered in this chapter. For instance, Creative Scotland’s 2010 application states that the application form and supporting documents provide “the basis on which Creative Scotland will make its decision” (p. 1).

An overview of the application forms used by Scottish Screen or Creative Scotland when Sigma Films applied for funding for the Advance Party projects is

given in Appendix G. It is apparent from the content of this appendix that the layout of the application changed on more than one occasion during the period in question. These alterations are examined in depth as this chapter progresses. At present, it is important to note that certain components of the form remain essentially unchanged. Unsurprisingly, all applications require the candidate's contact details and information about their company. Moreover, as the section below explores, project details (title, synopsis and so on) are uniformly requested.

Film Synopsis and Project Title

Close examination of the synopses submitted for the Advance Party projects reveals a great deal about the different speeds at which the projects progressed, and the nature of their respective developments. As the extracts below illustrate, a slight, but nonetheless important, change is apparent between the synopsis of Arnold's film submitted in application for development finance and the overview provided the following year in request for production finance.

1. Jackie is a CCTV operator. One day she sees in her monitors the man responsible for the death of her child. She has to confront, she has to forgive. (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form, Scottish Screen)
2. A woman obsessed with the loss of her family uses her job as a CCTV operator to confront the man responsible for their deaths. (*Red Road*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

In both synopses, the lead character's occupation as a CCTV operator is foregrounded. In extract 1, this job facilitates her sighting of the man, yet it is not explicitly positioned as a means of tracking him down. In contrast, the inclusion of the verb "uses" in the synopsis in extract 2 makes this link clear and positions the female character as a more active agent. Additionally, the removal of the character's need to forgive increases the emphasis placed on the act of confrontation and, through this,

enhances the aggression associated with this action; an attribute and role not typically reserved for female characters.

A further, more prominent development between applications is visible through analysis of the project title. In the initial application, the film is unnamed, but by the time of the later application, the title “Red Road” is listed. This difference confirms that the film’s narrative was conceived prior to the selection of the Red Road location (see Chapter Three). Yet this does not necessarily nullify the importance of the Red Road setting. Indeed, as is discussed later in this chapter, this location is foregrounded in Sigma Films’ application for production finance in a way that recalls the social realist traditions.

Whilst important, the changes made to Arnold’s project can be positioned as part of the inevitable development a film goes through prior to production. In contrast, those made to McKinnon’s project are considerably more substantial, and evidence the film’s prolonged development, production and post-production. Additionally, the alterations also shed light on other responses given in the application forms, which are considered as this chapter progresses.

3. Alfred is dying. Worms is the tragic, funny and deadpan story of a meaningful end to a meaningless life. (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form, Scottish Screen)
4. Alfred is 64. He’s lost touch with his family and a threat to his health makes him realise he wants to make amends. The more he tries to do right, the more he does wrong. As his past comes back to haunt him, he is forced to face up to what his life means to him. (*Donkeys*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

As extract 3 suggests, McKinnon’s film was initially titled “Worms”. This changed to “Old Dogs” in the application for production finance, and eventually “Donkeys” in later applications. Additionally, the film was also referred to in press releases and newspaper articles as “Rounding Up Donkeys” (for example, see Chapter Seven, p. 249). The frequent changes in title are symptomatic of the wider creative difficulties

the project experienced. These troubles are also evident in the synopses, which reveal a lack of certainty as to the project's genre and content. The synopsis in extract 3, which was written when Andrew Meehan was attached as scriptwriter, positions McKinnon's film as a tragicomedy. It provides some indication as to the film's content, but in comparison to the overview of Arnold's film given at the same time (extract 1), it contains little sense of a narrative structure. Rather, the applicant is overly reliant on unimaginative and uninformative expressions, such as "meaningful end to a meaningless life", which do little to situate the film as unique or provide confidence as to its underlying creative intentions. The comedic element of the film is then absent from the synopsis shown in extract 4, which instead conveys that the film is a drama. This further suggests the absence of a clear creative direction.

The synopsis submitted in application for distribution finance (extract 6) reworks the synopsis shown in extract 4 in order to highlight, if rather clumsily, the film's comic aspect.

5. 'Donkeys' is Morag Mckinnon's [sic] debut feature film. It is the second film in the Advance Party trilogy, Andrea Arnold's 'Red Road' was the first. (*Donkeys*, Investment Application Form, Content Production Fund [supplementary finance], Scottish Screen)
6. Alfred is 64. He's lost touch with his family and ill health makes him realise he wants to make amends – but before things get better they get a whole lot worse as Alfred [sic] efforts backfire hilariously. (*Donkeys*, Screen Investment Application Form, Market Development Fund, Creative Scotland)

Whilst similarities are evident in the first, second and fourth synopsis written for *Donkeys*, the third, written in application for supplementary funding, is remarkably different. Of all the synopses submitted, it is the only to mention the Advance Party framework. This is not done in passing, but is the overview's exclusive focus. As is discussed at greater length later in this chapter, this can be viewed as a way for the applicant to reinforce the artistic merit of the film at a time when funds were being sought to improve its quality.

Although Nørgaard's *The Old Firm* never entered production, it is worth very briefly considering its synopsis as it provides some indication as to how the project might have sat in relation to *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, as well as the director's wider body of work.

7. Released from prison, Sandy wants to make a new start. But his plan goes askew when his path crosses with April, who blackmails him into pretending to be her boyfriend..... (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form, Scottish Screen, ellipsis in original)³¹

In an extended synopsis submitted in support of the development application, *The Old Firm* is described as “a black comedy about religion, football and grown men in cowboy hats”. In terms of genre, it would appear that Nørgaard's unmade project has more in common with *Donkeys* than *Red Road*. This longer synopsis also introduces a subplot involving Sandy's “idiot policeman brother James” who “has hatched a plan for Sandy to steal the Scottish cup, so James can retrieve it and become a hero”. The incorporation of the Scottish Cup works as a means of beginning to situate the narrative within a Scottish context. Elsewhere in the application the applicant notes: “Mikkel felt that it would be best to work with a Scottish writer and teamed with Jack Lothian”. This implies a conscious attempt to situate the narrative within a recognisably Scottish setting.

Aspects of the information provided on *The Old Firm* are also reminiscent of the television show *Klovn/Clown* (Christensen & Hvam, 2005-2009), and its subsequent movie. As noted in the previous chapter, Nørgaard directed most of the show's episodes, as well as the film. *Clown*, similar to *The Office* (Gervais & Merchant, 2001-2003), *Curb Your Enthusiasm* (David, 2000-present) and *Arrested Development* (Hurwitz, 2003-2006, 2013), employs a television style that Bret Mills (2004) terms “comedy verité”. As Ethan Thompson (2007) observes in relation to *Arrested*

³¹ As noted in the previous chapter, the character of Sandy is known in *Red Road* and *Donkeys* as Stevie.

Development, this “televisual style...with its handheld cameras, awkward pacing, and violations of continuity rules, looks a lot more like a documentary than it does a traditional sitcom” (p. 63). Akin to the above television programmes, there is an element of farce to *Clown*. This is also suggested in the synopsis of *The Old Firm* through its improbable comedic premise and the extreme actions of its characters, and even the extended ellipsis with which the synopsis finishes.

Assessment Criteria: A Critique

The assessment criteria used by Scottish Screen and, after its closure, Creative Scotland, are based on policy directions compiled by the Scottish Government. The policy directions changed on more than one occasion during the time period in question and resulted in alterations to the layout and content of the funding application form. The criteria used to assess applicants in 2004 are shown below.³²

1. Your project must benefit the general public in Scotland
2. Your project must foster the development of a sustainable film industry in Scotland and must have strong Scottish elements
3. Your project should already be at an advanced stage of development
4. Your project must be of the highest creative and commercial quality
5. Your project should have theatrical exhibition potential in Scotland and beyond
6. Lottery funding must produce major improvements or new developments which would not otherwise have taken place
7. You must show that you will manage the project effectively
8. You must have a convincing development budget outlining the key areas of expenditure to move the project forward
9. You must have a suitable level of partnership funding
10. Your project must be capable of qualifying as a “relevant film” as defined by the Films Act 1985 (Scottish Screen, 2004c, p. 7)

Hibberd’s (2009) observations regarding the organisation’s dual cultural and economic remit are evident in these criteria. The agency’s cultural remit is most apparent in point 2 and point 4. While there are obvious economic benefits to having a sustainable

³² The criteria used to assess applications for production finance in 2004 are much the same as the criteria shown above. As would be expected, the terminology used in the production application reflects the differing nature of the fund.

film industry in Scotland, the latter part of the second criterion centres on cultural considerations. As is discussed in greater detail shortly, this manifests itself in the form of the subjective and slippery requirement that a project must be “culturally relevant to Scotland” (2004b, p. 8). To an extent, the stipulation in point 4 that a project must be of high “commercial quality” can be related to the likelihood that it will secure theatrical distribution. This consideration is placed alongside the – not always compatible – need for a project to meet a high creative standard, which is measured through aspects such as the script quality, creative team, directorial vision and casting ideas (2004b, p. 8).

In these criteria, economic considerations take the form of ensuring that a project seeking finance will first be completed (points 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9) and then secure distribution (point 5). The wording of point 1 is slightly ambiguous. The guidelines accompanying the application detail that this criterion is measured in several ways. These factors are essentially covered in other criteria.³³ As the close of this chapter considers, many projects that received funding from Scottish Screen did not enter into production. Similarly, as the chapter that follows discusses, not all films were successful in securing distribution.

³³ The guidelines note the following in relation to this criterion: (a) “The likely distribution of the project being developed”; (b) “The highest possible standards of excellence”; (c) “Potential recoupment on investment will be a priority”; (d) “While partnerships with broadcasters will be welcomed, care will be taken to ensure that these partnerships bring added cultural value and cannot be seen as using Lottery finance to subsidise television production”; (e) “Lottery investment into film production will link to other Scottish Screen activities and the work of other agencies such as the Scottish Film and Video Workshops thereby ensuring the widest possible access to training and production opportunities across Scotland” (2004c, pp. 7-8).

Advance Party's "Scottish Elements"

In relation to the second criterion – “your project must foster the development of a sustainable film industry in Scotland and must have strong Scottish elements” (2004b, p. 7) – the Scottish Screen (2004c) guidelines detail:

For companies normally based in Scotland and with a Scottish-based project, this might be taken as read. For companies based outside of Scotland, seeking National Lottery funding for a Scottish project, you will need to make the case for how your project will assist the broad development of Scottish film-making.

To assess this criterion we ask you

- where the key development team members are based (for current purposes this means the producer, director, writer, casting agent and, depending on the project and its state of readiness, other key personnel)
- what percentage of the film's budget is likely to be spent in Scotland
- What [sic] plans do you have to create training opportunities in Scotland
- where the production will be shot
- how your film is culturally relevant to Scotland (p. 8)

These notes reveal an attempt to quantify a project's level of “Scottishness”. This is yet more apparent in the application in use when production finance was being sought for *Red Road* and *Donkeys* (Appendix G). At this time, in order for a project to be eligible for funds from Scottish Screen, it must first achieve a minimum score (see Appendix G, p. 325). This score is calculated from points awarded on the basis of factors including: the location of key personnel and companies, percentage of budget spent in Scotland, the setting of the narrative, and the primary location of filming. This eligibility checklist and the guidelines shown above convey a rather simplistic understanding of a film industry as consisting of a country with filmmaking activity. While this is undoubtedly important, such an equation is narrow and foregrounds a conception of Scotland as a bound geographic space. The final point in the above guidelines most directly attempts to address cultural considerations, yet this is done in a manner that can be best described as vague. The phrase “culturally relevant to

Scotland” is subjective and ambiguous, and no attempt to clarify it is made in the accompanying guidelines. Consequently, it reads as a hastily added afterthought.

In view of Scottish Screen’s advice, it is perhaps unsurprising that Sigma Films’ application for development finance repeatedly emphasises the Scottish, or often more specifically Glaswegian, base of the individuals and agencies involved in the scheme. Indeed, as becomes apparent as this chapter progresses, this is a common feature that runs throughout the applications submitted to Scottish Screen or Creative Scotland for Advance Party.

8. *How is your project culturally relevant to Scotland?* The three scripts are Glasgow based. The stories are Scottish, the majority of the actors will be Scottish. Scottish talent, crew, services will be used in the development and production of all three feature films. (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form, Scottish Screen)

In this response, the Scottish nationality of cast and crew connected to the Advance Party projects is underscored, as well as the Glasgow setting of all three scripts. The applicant also states that the three “stories are Scottish”, although crucially they do not say how. This evidences an ambiguity similar to that exhibited in Scottish Screen’s application form and accompanying guidelines. The presentation of the “Scottish” attributes of Advance Party reads as clumsy and rushed. For instance, the statements that “the stories are Scottish” and “the majority of the actors will be Scottish” are two separate ideas, but the use of a comma between the two implies that the applicant views these as closely related. More importantly, the lack of detail in this response is especially striking.

The vague and haphazard nature of this response suggests a confidence that the project will receive funding regardless of the quality of the application form. In some ways this points towards the limitations of the funding application as a resource for film scholars. It suggests that other, more informal channels, such as conversations, are used to communicate information about a project. This in turn

situates the funding application as more of a formality, rather than “the basis on which” (Creative Scotland, 2010a, p. 1) funding decisions are made. Yet, this point in itself is highly revealing about the funding process, which, despite these speculations, does continue to constitute the “official” basis on which funding is allocated.

Repetition in the responses provided by Sigma Films, both within and across application forms, further suggests a dismissive attitude towards the application process by both funder and applicant.

9. *Please describe briefly the contribution your company makes to the Scottish screen industry both historically and planned.* Advance Party Films has been set up to develop and produce three Scottish feature films. We will work with Scottish talent. We will work with Scottish trainees to enable them to learn more about the filmmaking process. Key talent involved so far include Morag Mckinnon [sic], Jack Lothian, Andrew Meehan and Angus Pigott – all of whom have worked extensively in Scotland and contributed to the Scottish film industry. (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form, Scottish Screen)
10. *Why can you not development [sic] this project with money from other sources?...As the three films are based in Glasgow, written specifically for Scotland with Scottish actors we would of course hope to receive Scottish Lottery support.* (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form, Scottish Screen)

The response shown in extract 9 once again centres on the Scottish nationality of the films and individuals involved in their realisation, and once more, the nationality of films and individuals is presented as a series of statements. The applicant singles out director McKinnon, producer Pigott and writers Meehan and Lothian, all of whom, it is noted elsewhere in the application, are Glasgow-based. In contrast, the remaining members of the director/writer/producer teams (Arnold, Nørgaard, Comerford and Gade), who are all based in either London or Copenhagen, are not mentioned in this response. That Pigott, Meehan and Lothian ended up departing the scheme infers that their role was no more important than those not mentioned, and that their significance in this response is only in terms of their nationality. The repeated use of nationality as a way of justifying investment strengthens the assertion that both applicant and funder viewed this as a key factor in the allocation of finance, while also further

suggesting a degree of standardisation in Sigma Films' application. As extracts 11 and 12 convey, analysis of subsequent applications submitted in request of production finance for *Red Road* or *Donkeys* reveal answers that recall those outlined thus far and, in some instances, an almost word-for-word duplication is evident.

Although changes are apparent between the layout and, to a lesser degree, the content of Scottish Screen's application form for development finance and that for production finance for the years in question, the criteria guiding both forms is essentially the same (see Appendix G).³⁴ Producer Carrie Comerford submitted the application for *Red Road*, while Berrie is listed as the producer of *Donkeys*. Rather surprisingly, the application for *Red Road* has been completed by hand. In order to convey the difference in presentation between the written application for *Red Road* and the typed application for *Donkeys*, extracts cited from these are displayed as images. These have been digitally cut from the forms supplied by Creative Scotland. The haphazard presentation of the *Red Road* application further indicates that those involved in its production were confident that it would secure finance. Such unprofessional presentation would be unthinkable in a business setting. As the text has been captured as an image, any grammatical or spelling errors are not marked.

³⁴ Many of these alterations, as would be expected, reflect the differing natures of the funds being sought.

11.

1.1 Please summarise the potential benefits to the indigenous film industry in Scotland associated with the production of this project

The script is set in Glasgow. The cast will be mostly Scottish. The production team are Scottish based and crew will be mostly Scottish. We believe the director's Oscar win for WASP will help to place the film at 'A' list festivals and will be viewed and marketed as a Scottish film.

(*Red Road*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

12.

1.1 Please summarise the potential benefits to the indigenous film industry in Scotland associated with the production of this project

The proportion of the budget spent in Scotland will provide significant income to those Scottish companies and individuals who provide the services we need. In the local area in which we shoot, the main significance will be the opportunity for members of the community to be involved in something that is not normally part of their lives, which we hope will be stimulating and rewarding. There will no doubt be some financial significance for local businesses.

The project will be significant for employment and training purposes for all Scottish crew involved. A number of the people who have been involved in trainee capacities on our previous work have gone on to greater things within the screen industry in Scotland. Our trainees will benefit from working with skilled HOD's to gain experience. Investment in film industry talent is significant both now and in time to come.

(*Donkeys*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

In extract 11, by now familiar statements are once again made: the applicant notes the film's Glasgow setting, Scottish cast and Scottish crew. Alternatively, the answer in extract 12 focuses on the benefits offered to the local area. These are measured financially and in relation to the novelty experience offered by principal photography. In light of the troubles *Donkeys* encountered while filming at The Barras market (Chapter Three), the desire expressed by the applicant that members of the local community will find the process of being involved in the film's production

“stimulating and rewarding” is rather ironic. The latter part of each answer points to further considerations, Arnold’s auteur status and Sigma Films’ profile, which are considered in detail in a later section.

In a slight deviation from the layout of the 2004 application, the 2005 form for production finance explicitly requires applicants to “summarise the strong SCOTTISH ELEMENTS associated with the production of [their] project”. The capitalisation of the phrase “Scottish elements” clearly suggests that it is important. Regardless, neither application nor accompanying guidelines clarify what this phrase means. As the extracts below make clear, both applications foreground the Glasgow setting of their story in response.

13.

1.3 Please summarise the strong SCOTTISH ELEMENTS associated with the production of this project. (This statement may appear in the press so please be accurate)

This is a story set in Glasgow, developed by a Scottish production company. The majority of cast and crew will be Scottish. The 'Red Road' of the title refers to the famous Red Road flats in Glasgow and we will be delighted to shoot there prior to them being demolished.

(*Red Road*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

14.

1.3 Please summarise the strong SCOTTISH ELEMENTS associated with the production of this project. (This statement may appear in the press so please be accurate)

The story of *Old Dogs* has been written to be specifically set in Glasgow. One of the key locations of the story is The Barras – one of the most famous Glasgow landmarks. The script has been developed by a Scottish production company and sees one of Scotland’s top new film making talents embark on her first feature film.

(*Donkeys*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

One immediate point to note is that the first half of extract 13 is almost an exact duplication of the answer given in extract 11. Following this, the applicant highlights the Red Road setting of the film and notes, “we will be delighted to shoot there prior to them being demolished”. This recalls aspects of the social realist traditions discussed by Higson (1996) and Hill (1986) in relation to the films of the British New Wave. The adjective “delighted” is suggestive of what Higson (1996) terms “cultural tourism” (p. 149), whereby the filmmakers external to the community they are portraying create for the audience “a position of mastery to which the working-class protagonist of the ‘kitchen sink’ film has only a limited access” (Higson, 1996, p. 151).

In both instances, a “famous” Glasgow setting is positioned as a primary indicator of Scottishness. Such reasoning draws on, and thereby furthers, the perception of the city – or more accurately, certain areas of the city – as offering greater potential for “authentic” portrayals of Scotland and Scottish identity. Indeed, as many of the extracts presented thus far convey, throughout the application forms, a Scottish identity and a Glaswegian identity are presented as interchangeable. Such rationale is not confined to Sigma Films’ applications. For instance, Chapter One documented scholars’ touting of films positioned within the national cultural discourse of Clydesideism as a result of their perceived potential to offer a greater deal of authenticity. However, such positioning greatly simplifies Scotland’s regional, economic, ethnic and cultural diversities and, as Chapter One argued, is further problematized by the discourse’s position within the wider social realist traditions.

Tailoring Film to Financier

In an interview for the news and current affairs programme *Scotland Tonight*, Claire Mundell, producer of *Crying With Laughter* (Molotnikov, 2009) and *Not Another Happy Ending* (McKay, 2013), states that when financing a film, a producer has “to be very

attuned to the elements in your film that will be attractive to a market and will bring finance” (Doyle, Casci & Mundell, 2011). Analysis thus far revealed Sigma Films’ overwhelming tendency to tackle questions relating to Scottish cultural identity and economic benefit by listing the Scotland, or often more specifically Glasgow, base of the cast, crew and film.

The use of location as an indicator of nationality is not a practice exclusively used by Sigma Films and Scottish Screen/Creative Scotland. Brief reflection on Nicolas Winding Refn’s *Valhalla Rising* (2009) brings forth noteworthy observations. Glasgow-based La Belle Allé Productions acted as co-producer on the Nibus Films production, which was filmed entirely in Scotland. Scottish Screen awarded *Valhalla Rising* £287,879 in production finance during the 2006/2007 financial year, and made two further awards of £137,121 and £75,000 respectively the following year (Scottish Screen, 2007, 2008c). Further finance was awarded from sources including the DFI and GFO (DFI, 2008a; GFO, n.d.-a). Revealingly, the synopsis of *Valhalla Rising* listed by Scottish Screen, which is inferably that given by La Belle Allé Productions in their application for finance, differs from that listed on the Danish Film Institute’s website (dfi.dk).³⁵

Valhalla Rising is an adventure story focusing on one man’s quest to discover his identity. A prisoner in a Scottish settlement for many years and abused by his captors, Harald escapes and sets off on a odyssey that will expose both his and his fellow passenger’s weaknesses. (Scottish Screen, 2008b, p. 3)

In contrast, the Danish synopsis does not mention the film’s Scottish setting, but does emphasise that the characters board a ship on course to Norway, before they are

³⁵ All funding applications used by Scottish Screen or Creative Scotland state that the synopsis given might feature in press releases.

caught in a fog and washed ashore on an unknown land.³⁶ This suggests that whereas La Belle Allé Productions believed *Valhalla Rising's* Scottish setting would appeal to Scottish Screen, Nimbus Films viewed its Nordic connection as more appealing to the Danish Film Institute.

Artistic Quality and Assurance

The synopsis of *Donkeys* in extract 5 indicates that the Advance Party framework is used to communicate and reinforce the artistic pedigree of its resulting films. As noted, creative quality is a key way in which the cultural merit of a project is measured in the 2004 application, and this is also present in the application for production finance (Appendix G). On close examination of the responses given in the relevant forms, it becomes apparent that artistic quality is communicated in different ways in the various application forms in question.

Zentropa Filmmakers and The Advance Party Framework

The creative involvement of Zentropa personnel is an important component of the application for development finance. In this, an overview of the initiative is given (extract 15) and later explicitly used to reinforce the artistic quality of the three projects (extract 16).

15. *What further development is necessary before the project is ready to move towards production?* These projects are unique. The concept was devised by Lars von Trier as a way of helping directors to collaborate. A group of characters have been devised by Lone Scherfig and Anders Thomas Jensen and these characters have been presented to the three directors. The directors must devise scripts around the same group of characters. The same actors will then be cast in all three films. Characters will have the same traits in each film but

³⁶ This synopsis reads: “On the run from Barde’s clan, One-Eye [formerly named Harald] and Are board a Viking ship that is bound for Norway. Unfortunately the ship gets caught in a persistent fog, which only disappears when they reach an unknown land. And while the Viking meets a cruel fate, as the new land reveals its secrets, One-Eye discovers his true self...” (DFI, n.d., own translation, ellipsis in original).

they may have different relationships to each other. [...] This unique development process includes workshops with the directors. The directors will meet again for casting purposes but also to discuss each others work and to collaborate on each others scripts. Workshops with Lars von Trier/David Mackenzie/Lone Scherfig/AT [Andrew Thomas] Jensen will be set up for directors to discuss script [sic]/working with actors and the production process. We will start looking for production finance in the Autumn with a view to shooting the first film in Spring 2005. (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form, Scottish Screen)

16. *Why do you consider this project to be of high artistic quality and ready to go into production after the end of this development process?* [...] With the support of Lars von Trier and top Danish writers – Lone Scherfig and Anders Thomas Jensen, the project already has a high artistic pedigree. At the end of this process we expect our talented directors will have scripts that have been well developed. Projects will also be cast, with locations selected. (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form, Scottish Screen)

From the outset of the response in extract 15, Advance Party is situated as “unique”. The creative involvement of Lars von Trier, Lone Scherfig and Anders Thomas Jensen is then outlined, and reiterated towards the end. The answer in extract 16 draws on their participation more explicitly as a means of arguing, “the project already has a high artistic pedigree”. The use of the word “already” places emphasis on the scheme, rather than individual projects, and suggests that this is where the artistic quality of the scheme most prominently lies.

The second sentence of the response in extract 15 outlines that the Advance Party rules were designed “as a way of helping directors to collaborate”. This is reiterated in the project history submitted in support of the application.

17. We decided to initiate a concept for three low-budget digital films. Looking at the huge success of the Dogma films. We wanted to know what were the best lessons learned. We approached Lars von Trier and he identified the key to the success of the Dogma movement as collaboration. (Advance Party, Project Development Application Form [Appendix: Project History], Scottish screen)

The previous chapter discussed Hjort’s (2010a, 2010c) positioning of the Advance Party scheme as a channel through which collaboration between Sigma Films and Zentropa could be extended. The collaboration foregrounded in this instance however, is that between the three directors, which as Chapter Three and Chapter Four argued,

is key to executing the Advance Party creative challenge successfully. Very little about the application forms suggest that Advance Party was conceived as a way of furthering collaboration between the two production companies. The most direct articulation of the scheme in these terms is shown in extract 18 in the next subsection. To an extent, this can be attributed to the layout of Scottish Screen's applications and the agency's articulation of cultural considerations in two different, if rather vague, terms: specific to Scotland and artistic quality. In relation to the two production companies, the application forms for Advance Party considered thus far predominantly address the former through reference to Sigma Films' Glasgow-location and the latter by outlining Zentropa's impressive history, particularly in relation to the Dogma movement. It is now apparent that collaboration between directors was not realised to the extent envisioned in the extracts above. This is an important point, and one to which the Conclusion of this thesis returns.

Arnold: An Emerging Auteur

The application for production finance for *Red Road* draws on Arnold's stature in order to convey the quality of the film.

18.

8. Your project must be of the highest creative and commercial quality
If there is anything you would like to add here to substantiate this please do so

We believe that Andrea Arnold is a great new talent. Her recent Oscar win has only reconfirmed this. The strong Advance Party team based at Sigma and Zentropa combined with Andrea's script and director's vision makes for a convincing creative combination.

(*Red Road*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

As is clear from the response in this extract, production finance for *Red Road* was sought shortly after Arnold's short film *Wasp* won an Academy Award. This win is used to reinforce the positioning of the director as "a great new talent", a phrase that calls forth the idea of the auteur. This is enhanced in the latter part of the answer, which reminds the reader that Arnold is both writer and director of *Red Road*. Artistic calibre is further communicated through reference to the "strong Advance Party team based at Sigma and Zentropa".

The performance of Arnold's shorts is also used to generate confidence that Arnold's debut will perform well at film festivals. As is noted in the extract below, two of Arnold shorts screened at Cannes: *Milk* in 1998 and *Dog* in 2002.

19.

3.1 Do you have a marketing plan for the distribution and exhibition of the film once it has been delivered? Please provide details

(In the event that you do not have a sales agent and/or distributor on board, you will be expected to allow between 5% and 10% of your production budget for marketing the film once delivered. Such expenditure to include screenings, trailers, publicity and festival attendance)

Two of Andrea Arnold's previous short films have screened at Cannes. We would intend to place 'Red Road' at Cannes or another 'A' list festival for its launch. Our UK distributor will advise on UK marketing plans.

(*Red Road*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

The intention to premier *Red Road* at Cannes or "another 'A' list festival" augments Arnold's auteur profile and through this, locates the film as an art house production. The applicant also comments that the project has a UK distributor already attached. As the next chapter details, the involvement of a distributor prior to the start of production is not all that common amongst Scottish Screen-funded films, despite distribution ostensibly being a key factor in the allocation of funding.

Donkeys: Sigma Films and Creative Difficulties

While McKinnon's profile is not entirely absent from the application for production finance, it is not foregrounded to the same extent as Arnold's. This is perhaps unsurprising, as over five years had passed since her short film *Home* won a BAFTA award. Instead, the film is positioned foremost as a Sigma Films production.

20.

1.2 What plans do you have to create training opportunities for Scottish based crew?

On past projects, the nature of the low budget film work we were doing meant that almost everything we did was a direct training opportunity, with almost everyone working above their normal industry capacity. Although this no longer applies, we are still keen to employ trainees on our feature films wherever possible. We also encourage and support younger, less experienced producers and directors to realise their short film projects. In the past we have employed trainees both through official sources like Scottish Screen Training and Skillset whenever possible. We believe we have a good record in doing this and intend to continue the process with all our future work.

(*Donkeys*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)³⁷

This extract, similar to extract 12, makes extensive use of the first person, plural personal pronoun "we". Although this is also used in the application for Arnold's film, its use in the application for *Donkeys* is more prolific. As Berrie, co-founder of Sigma Films, completed the latter form, this perhaps reflects her close involvement with the production company. The extensive use of "we" works to position *Donkeys* as a Sigma Films production. The production company's prior work, and in particular their use of trainees, is provided as evidence of their contribution to the wider filmmaking landscape in Scotland.

The creative difficulties experienced by McKinnon's project, which were detailed earlier in this thesis, are suggested in the application for production finance.

³⁷ The response to this question extends across two pages. However, in order to ease the reading process, the text has been grouped into a single image.

Extract 21 makes clear that there was still work to do on the script when the application for production finance was submitted.

21.

5.1 What further steps do you need to undertake before the project is ready to move into production?

We would like Morag and Colin to do one final polish on the current draft, just to refine some elements of character and structure before commencing prep.

We would then encourage Morag to work with a storyboard artist and potentially hold a couple of workshops with her actors who have obviously already been cast by all three directors in the scheme.

(*Donkeys*, Feature Film Production Funding Application Form, Scottish Screen)

On the basis of this application form, Scottish Screen made a soft funding commitment in February 2006 and this was turned into a hard commitment the following tax year.³⁸ As principal photography did not commence until February of 2008, it would appear the final script polish, referenced above, took longer than expected. That funds were later pursued to produce a revised edit of the film implies that the script was not yet ready to go into production. The information shown in extract 21 also suggests that, when this application was filed, it was anticipated that all the actors from *Red Road* would reprise their respective roles. However, a cast and crew update dated November 30, 2007, which was later attached to the application, notes: “In the past two days we have offered the roles of Alfred and Brian to James Cosmo and Brian Pettifer respectively”. It also states that Kate Dickie and Martin Compston are attached to the project and have recently met with McKinnon. Although perhaps easier to spot with hindsight, analysis of the application forms thus far foreshadows the creative troubles the film later experienced and calls into question the decision to

³⁸ Scottish Screen (2006) specify that a hard commitment is defined as an instance “where Scottish Screen has made a firm offer of grant which (together with the appropriate conditions) has been accepted by the recipient”, whereas a soft commitment refers to an occasion “where Scottish Screen has agreed to fund a project and made an offer but the offer has not yet been formally accepted” (p. 20).

award production finance to *Donkeys*. At the time the application for production finance was submitted, even the candidate acknowledged the film required further script work.

Assessment Criteria: A Critique

When an application for supplementary production finance for *Donkeys* was filed several years later, Scottish Screen was using a different application form (Appendix G). By this time, the agency had abandoned a direct question and answer format in favour of a written proposal and accompanying statement. Creative and cultural considerations are absent from the proposal guidelines, which instead place emphasis on assessing the viability of the project in commercial terms.³⁹ One crucial point to note is that the factors applicants are asked to address in their proposal are based on questions used in previous applications. Consequently, the content of this section of the application is not significantly different from applications discussed previously, despite its altered presentation.

Candidates are also required to write a one-page statement addressing four criteria points. Scottish Screen outline that the information provided in this statement should be supported by the proposal. The investment criteria used in 2009 are as follows:

1. Cultural Impact
How will your project/activity promote Scotland's screen culture to a national and international audience?
2. Creative Impact
How will Scottish Screen's investment address one of [sic] more of the following:
 - Allow Scottish talent to develop

³⁹ A summary of the points requested in this proposal reads as follows: use of investment; location of project/activity; history of project; proposed project finance, management and delivery; track record of those involved; expected revenue; project monitoring and evaluation arrangements; target audience and how they will be reached; need for investment; and, projected outcome of investment (for full wording see Appendix G).

- Create work recognised as creatively excellent
- Create work recognised as original and innovative

3. Business Case/Ability to Deliver

How does the previous experience of the individuals involved demonstrate their ability to deliver the project?

What impacts will Scottish Screen's investment have on your business and/or on the screen sector in Scotland?

What investment has your project/activity already attracted?

4. Market/Audience Interest

Has your project already attracted market or commercial interest?

How will your project be promoted to financiers in the future, exploited and/or marketed to an audience?

What impact will this project have on markets and audiences? (Scottish Screen, 2009c: p. 7)

Similar to the proposal, the content requested as part of the one-page statement is not drastically different from previous application forms. The organisation's cultural remit is again framed in two key ways: first, in relation to Scotland and second, creative calibre. In this instance, the phrasing of the former is slightly less ambiguous. It is also more directly framed in terms of distribution. Although the term "Scotland's screen culture" is subjective, it is less so than the previously used "Scottish elements". Nevertheless, as will soon become apparent, the statement written by Sigma Films makes comparable points to those that feature in previous applications, and does so using much of the same wording. While the previous application forms devoted space to attempting to ascertain the likelihood of project completion and distribution, these considerations are more clearly foregrounded in the layout of this application.

Scottish Screen's impending amalgamation into Creative Scotland, and the resulting incorporation of film into the wider creative industries, is evident in the investment criteria used in 2009. Unlike the last two applications, no use of the term "film industry" is made and instead "screen culture" is referenced. This shift is also reflected in changes made to the organisation's funding strands between 2005 and 2010. In 2006, Kenneth Hay, then head of Scottish Screen, announced a change in the organisation's strategy: "The difference now is that we are taking seriously the whole

of what the screen industry represents in Scotland and not just the production of films” (as cited in Miller, 2006, p. 3). This led to the organisation expanding its near exclusive focus on development and production into other areas of the film industry, in particular distribution and exhibition. While analysis of Creative Scotland’s current funding strands and the application forms accompanying these is outwith the scope of this thesis, some brief observations can be made. A key point to note is the placement of film within the broader creative arts. This is reflected in Creative Scotland’s current (July 2013) funding programmes as just one out of twenty of these focuses on film, and the remit of this strand also encompasses television.

Persistent Responses

Despite the revised structure of the 2009 application form, the answers supplied by Sigma Films in request for funds to complete a revised edit of *Donkeys* recall those discussed thus far.

22. Cultural Impact

‘Donkeys’ is a Glasgow set tragic comic tale, the film is inherently Scottish, and tells the story of a Glasgow man. The film has the look and feel of Glasgow and is tonally refreshing in it’s [sic] take on Scottish screen culture. It’s [sic] unique and engaging narrative, as well as incredible central performances will inevitably lead to positive promotion of Scotland. (*Donkeys*, Investment Application Form, Content Production Fund [Section D: Investment Criteria], Scottish Screen)

23. The work will include all post production processes until contractual delivery. The majority of the work will take place in Scotland involving a Scottish editor and Scottish facilities, including Film City Glasgow and Savalas. (*Donkeys*, Investment Application Form, Content Production Fund [Section C: Proposal], Scottish Screen)

24. Creative Impact

Morag Mckinnon [sic] is a first time feature director and this project has been part of Advance Party – a first time feature film talent development scheme. In order of [sic] the film to fulfil it’s [sic] potential, it’s essential the finished film is as creatively excellent as possible. The revised cut is the best possible version of the film and we believe it will have the life it deserves in the international market place. (*Donkeys*, Investment Application Form, Content Production Fund [Section D: Investment Criteria], Scottish Screen)

The first sentence of extract 22 is similar to many extracts discussed previously. It suggests that the film is “inherently Scottish” as a result of its Glasgow setting and the Glaswegian identity of its lead character. The sentence that follows it evidences an awareness of Scottish Screen’s change in terminology through its use of the phrase “Scottish screen culture”. It is not entirely clear why the candidate views *Donkeys* as “tonally refreshing”. The placement of this claim within the same sentence as the statement that the film “has the look and feel of Glasgow” suggests that the two points are linked. Specifically, it implies that the applicant views the film’s portrayal of the city as offering an authentic alternative to prior representations. However, this is not clarified or expanded upon. The final sentence addresses Scottish Screen’s requirement that funded projects must “promote Scotland’s screen culture to a national and international audience”. Again, this is done in a vague and subjective manner. It is not explained how the film’s “unique and engaging narrative” and “incredible central performances” will generate “positive promotion of Scotland”, despite the candidate stating that this is “inevitable”. As the chapter that follows discusses, *Donkeys* theatrical release was ultimately confined predominantly to Scotland. In a style akin to the funding applications scrutinised to date, extract 23 from the required proposal lists the Scottish nationality of the individuals and organisations undertaking the additional post-production work.

In extract 24, the Advance Party scheme is referenced. As noted near the outset of this chapter, the synopsis given in this application, unlike those provided in other forms, centres on the initiative. In an approach similar to that used in the application for development finance, Advance Party is cited to convey creative quality. By setting *Donkeys* within this context, the applicant aims to assure the funder that the film exhibits artistic merit, despite its post-production troubles, and through this, justify past and future investments.

Completion and Distribution Finance

The application for funds to complete the post-production process explains that this funding is being sought after industry professionals suggested that the film needed recut.

25. Since completion of the original post process, the film has been tested on leading UK distributors, trusted industry colleagues and A List festival selectors, the consensus is that the cut in it's [sic] original form will not be able to achieve an audience in the current market place. The core production team has conducted some experiments with this version of the film (with financier and bond consent) and we now believe we have a version of the film which is considerably stronger. (*Donkeys*, Investment Application Form, Content Production Fund [Section C: Proposal], Scottish Screen)

The nature of the funds requested discloses that *Donkeys* was experiencing creative difficulties at the time of application. Perhaps aware of this, the candidate's answer foregrounds the production company's network of industry contacts. This works to strengthen confidence in the project and to provide assurance that, with revisions, *Donkeys* can secure distribution and a place in a top film festival. Further details as to the film's distribution potential are provided later in the application.

26. Market/Audience Interest

The revised cut of *Donkeys* has attracted interest from audiences and markets alike. Earlier this year the cut was very nearly accepted to Cannes – championed personally by the selector for Directors [sic] Fortnight. Whilst the film did not make the final selection, it was made clear to us how close we came in a highly competitive year with many auteurs battling for acceptance. The revised cut was accepted by EIFF, although it was decided (by financiers and sales agent) that a larger international launch pad with a strong sales markets [sic], would be secured instead.

Recently the film has been selected for Pusan and we have a UK distributor considering the film. (*Donkeys*, Investment Application Form, Content Production Fund [Section D: Investment Criteria], Scottish Screen)

The overview of *Donkeys*' near-selection to Cannes suggests that, when complete, the revised cut will secure selection into another prestigious festival. The candidate states that *Donkeys* will launch at Pusan International Film Festival (now Busan International Film Festival), which is more prominent in terms of market activity than EIFF. Ultimately, the film did not screen at Pusan and went on to premier at EIFF

the following year.⁴⁰ As the next chapter scrutinises in greater detail, even in its revised form, *Donkeys* failed to secure a theatrical distributor, both in the UK and internationally. Its premier at EIFF did however, catch the attention of Paul Sweeney, a film buyer for cinema chain Cineworld, and *Donkeys* went on to receive a limited release in Scotland, which was handled by Sigma Films.

With the release of *Donkeys*, the production company made its first venture into distribution. The newly established Creative Scotland awarded Sigma Films £10,000 from their Market Development Fund for the film's marketing and distribution. Although Creative Scotland had been established, they continued to use Scottish Screen's application form for a period of time. As this application is to the Market Development Fund, it requires slightly different information (see Appendix G). In particular, applicants must submit a marketing plan and schedule of activity. The content of these documents is not examined at length at present, as they are critiqued in the chapter on marketing and distribution that follows. Nevertheless, several points are useful to note in the context of this chapter.

In the extract below, the applicant makes clear that the funds being sought are for the film's release in Scotland.

27. Please describe clearly (between 20 and 30 words) what the investment you are seeking is for? [*sic*] To cover the cost of preparing marketing materials and undertaking marketing activity to publicise and promote DONKEYS to its target audience using Scotland as its distribution platform. (*Donkeys*, Screen Investment Application Form, Market Development Finance, Creative Scotland)

From this and the marketing plan included in the application, it is apparent that the Scottish screenings are envisioned as the start of a wider release. As noted, this did not transpire, and theatrical showings of *Donkeys* did not extend far beyond the borders of

⁴⁰ It is unclear exactly why the film did not premier at Pusan. It is however, possible to speculate that as the festival took place October 8-16 and Scottish Screen did not allocate funds until September, there was not sufficient time to complete the revised edit of the film.

Scotland. The above extract also implies that Sigma Films have identified a target demographic for the film. Despite this suggestion, analysis of the application reveals the absence of a clearly defined audience. The closest the candidate comes is to note that the film “has the potential to appeal to a broad Scottish audience” (see extract 29, below). Moreover, the next chapter argues that the marketing campaign devised by Sigma Films evidences the absence of any clearly defined target audience. Given that the application on this occasion is for marketing finance, such information might have been expected.

Sigma Films’ Foray into Distribution

What is particularly striking in this application is the extent to which *Donkeys* is situated as a Sigma Films production. The applicant repeatedly stresses that funding will facilitate the production company’s move into a new area of the film industry, as well as the release of *Donkeys*. As the extracts below convey, this rationale emerges in the proposal (extract 28) and is central to how the investment criteria portion of the application is addressed (extract 29).

28. Creative Scotland’s investment in this venture is vital to ensure that DONKEYS has the opportunity to find its audience, the by-product being that Sigma gains experience and expertise in marketing and distribution which will continue to be a critical part of our film-making activity in the future. (*Donkeys*, Screen Investment Application Form, Market Development Finance [Section C: Proposal], Creative Scotland)

29. Cultural Impact

Sigma Films is one of the leading independent production companies in Scotland aiming to produce commercially and artistically appealing films of a high creative calibre....

With DONKEYS recently completed and PERFECT SENSE and IN THE PARK in post production it is time to seriously turn our attention to marketing and distribution. We understand how critical it is to the success of our films and recognised the urgent requirement to become skilled and experienced in this arena.

Morag McKinnon’s DONKEYS played extremely well during the Edinburgh Festival [sic] this year and Sigma Films are [sic] keen to support the film through the first steps into distribution. We believe DONKEYS has the potential to appeal to a broad Scottish audience.... (*Donkeys*, Screen

Investment Application Form, Market Development Finance [Section D: Investment Criteria], Creative Scotland)

The previous chapter argued that a key difference between Zentropa and Sigma Films is the latter's move beyond development and production into other areas of the film industry. In the extracts above, Sigma Films acknowledge a need to gain experience in marketing and distribution. This is initially positioned as a potential "by-product" of the funding, and the release of *Donkeys* as the application's foremost concern. As is evident from extract 29, this shifts as the application progresses and the focus becomes the opportunity for Sigma Films to gain experience in the latter stages of the supply chain. The year after Creative Scotland allocated money from its Market Development Fund to *Donkeys*, the organisation announced that it was investing £250,000 in Sigma Releasing, a distribution arm of the production company set up to enable it to co-release its films with other distributors (Creative Scotland, 2011). Both David Mackenzie's *Perfect Sense* (2011) and *You Instead* (2011) were released in this way, however, as the next chapter makes clear, neither performed well at the box office comparative to other films funded by Scottish Screen.

Dual Remit

Analysis of funding applications used by Sigma Films in request of finance from Scottish Screen or Creative Scotland reveal evidence of the dual remit observed by Hibberd (2009). This chapter has argued that cultural considerations become manifest in these application forms in two distinct ways. First, through the slippery and ill-defined idea that a project must be culturally specific to Scotland and marked as such, and second, the project's broader creative merit. In particular, the translation of the former into application forms is characterised by ambiguity and uncertainty. Overwhelmingly, both applicant and funder interpret and measure Scottish cultural identity in terms of location. This factor is also used to gauge economic worth, both in

the application for, and the allocation of, funding resources. Further key ways in which the economic remit manifests itself throughout the applications considered is through measures intended to evaluate the likelihood that a project will first be completed and then find distribution. These points are further investigated in the remainder of this chapter and the one that follows. The next section begins with a survey of some of the projects that currently remain unmade, despite receiving finance from Scotland's former screen agency Scottish Screen. It then considers completion strategies employed, to varying degrees of success, by Scottish-based productions. The distribution of completed Scottish Screen-funded films is the focus of the latter portion of Chapter Six.

Films That Might Have Been

The financial and structural gains of the 1990s are well documented by Petrie in *Screening Scotland*, and have been outlined in Chapter One. The allocation of National Lottery funding to film in 1996 is central to these advances, as too is the establishment of Scottish Screen the following year. These developments, along with others detailed in Chapter One, contributed to the creation of a filmmaking landscape in Scotland that was inconceivable just a decade before (Petrie, 2000b; Murray, 2007).

Writing at the turn of the century, Petrie (2000b) states:

The latter half of the 1990s has witnessed unprecedented levels of production in Scotland, providing opportunities for Scottish film-makers to learn and practice [sic] their craft in their native country rather than accepting the inevitable move to London or Los Angeles. (p. 172)

The films and careers of Lynne Ramsay, Peter Mullan and, to a lesser extent, David Mackenzie, are frequently cited as evidence of Scotland's burgeoning film industry. Petrie (2000a, 2000b) positions the emergence of short film schemes as key to their success, arguing that such schemes facilitate a transition from shorts to features. Most prominent amongst these schemes is the now defunct Tartan Shorts – an initiative

instigated by Scottish Screen's predecessor the SFPP and BBC Scotland. Amongst the most successful projects produced through Tartan Shorts are Ramsay's *Gasman* (1998) and Mullan's *Fridge* (1995), both of which "helped pave the way for the film-makers concerned to make their first feature" (Petrie, 2000b, p. 180).⁴¹ However, McKinnon's transition from shorts to features, paints an alternative picture. After winning a BAFTA award for *Home*, over ten years passed before her first feature, *Donkeys*, was released; though, as has been noted, her involvement with the Advance Party scheme did start over six years prior. Between 1999 and 2010 McKinnon and McLaren developed a total of ten features. Of these, only *Donkeys* entered into production. As the section that follows discusses, Scottish Screen reacted with varying degrees of enthusiasm when met with requests for funding for their projects.

Morag McKinnon: Controversial Themes and Unmade Projects

Chapter Three observed that *Donkeys* tackles controversial subjects, particularly assisted suicide and incest. Provocative themes and subject matter can also be seen in McKinnon and McLaren's unreleased projects, some of which proved unpopular with the Scottish Screen funding panel. One such project, *Barking & Shaking*, received development finance from Scottish Screen, but its application for production finance was later rejected. According to McKinnon, after the film was refused production finance, "a couple of members of the funding committee (internationally renowned producers)" informed her that while "the majority of the panel had loved the script, two influential members of the committee had vetoed the project, stating that they never wanted to see films 'like that' made in Scotland" (personal communication,

⁴¹ Mackenzie's short films *California Sunshine* (1997) and *Summersault* (2000) were funded through the Glasgow Film Fund, then another major investor in short films.

January 12, 2012).⁴² She continued, “I think there are quite a few good scripts out there that will never see the light of day as people play safe and are either too afraid or too dull to take risks”. The script of *Barking & Shaking* centres on a father who, after the suicide of his son, takes his family to live in isolation as he blames society for his son’s death. McKinnon outlines:

One day their isolation is broken by the arrival of a scientist testing soil samples. The children, who thought they were the only ones in the world, are intrigued by the stranger – especially the teenage daughter whose awakening sexuality is aroused by the man. The father does his best to get rid of him and to reduce his influence; however the stranger has an effect on everyone and gradually breaks down the cohesion of the family – which takes place in a completely surreal way. As the fabric of their reality breaks down, the wife appears to evolve backwards, turning into a chimpanzee (which I imagine is where the members of the committee who vetoed the script had a problem) and their house is taken over by nature. The children try to escape the captivity of their father as his grip becomes more intense and gradually the family falls apart, ending with the stranger helping the children escape from their crazed father. (Personal communication, January 23, 2012)

As McKinnon notes, the idea of a woman de-evolving, so to speak, into a chimpanzee as a result of her husband’s actions is likely what members of the funding committee, perhaps understandably, objected to. The narrative of *Barking & Shaking* however, contains parallels with completed and critically acclaimed films.

The idea of a family living in isolation from society recalls Giorgos Lanthimos’ 2009 film *Kynodontas/Dogtooth*, which won Cannes International Film Festival’s Prize of *Un Certain Regard*, and was nominated for Best Foreign Language Film at the 83rd

⁴² A Freedom of Information request was made to Creative Scotland for the notes of the meeting in which the decision was made not to allocate production finance to *Barking & Shaking*. However the organisation does not keep records of unfunded projects that date this far back.

Academy Awards.⁴³ There are also echoes of Lars von Trier's films in *Barking & Shaking*, particularly in relation to the often-controversial roles assigned to women in von Trier's films. However despite the debates his films instigate, his leading actresses frequently receive critical acclaim: Emily Watson was nominated for an Academy Award for her role as Bess in *Breaking the Waves* (1996), while Björk (*Dancer in the Dark*, 2000), Charlotte Gainsbourg (*Antichrist*, 2009) and Kirsten Dunst (*Melancholia*, 2011) all won the Award for Best Actress at Cannes for their leading role in a von Trier film. While the success of these films does not necessarily indicate that *Barking & Shaking* would have secured similar accolades, their realisation and acclaim does suggest that there is a market for films of a similar controversial nature.

Not all of McKinnon and McLaren's projects were met with such resistance from Scottish Screen. In 2003, Scottish Screen awarded £250,000 in production finance to their project *Freak*, which was to be produced by Carolynne Sinclair Kidd, whose credits include *The Acid House* (McGuigan, 1998) and *Solid Air* (Thomas, 2003), and David Muir, who co-produced *The Acid House* and *Skagerrak* (Kragh-Jacobsen, 2003) (Scottish Screen, 2004a). Billed as a psychological thriller, *Freak* centres on a female character, Anwyn, whose sister has recently gone missing (Kemp, 2003). Anwyn learns that her sister was working as a prostitute and comes to believe a taxi driver is responsible for her disappearance. With the aim of proving her suspicions, she takes up the role of a prostitute. While it is apparent that *Freak* also contains what

⁴³ A synopsis of *Dogtooth*, available from the Cannes website (festival-cannes.fr/en), reads as follows: "The father, the mother and their three kids live in a house at the outskirts of a city. There is a tall fence surrounding the house. The kids have never left the house. They are being educated, entertained, bored and exercised in the manner that their parents deem appropriate, without any influence from the outside world. They believe that the airplanes flying over are toys and that zombies are small yellow flowers. The only person allowed to enter the house is Christina. She works as a security guard at the father's business. The father arranges her visits to the house in order to appease the sexual urges of the son. The whole family is fond of her, especially the eldest daughter. One day Christina gives her as a present a headband that has stones that glow in the dark and asks for something in return".

might be considered controversial issues, prostitution (and the problematic gender roles this associates), abduction and murder, this subject matter more readily features in mainstream cinema and thus does not involve the same level of taboo as that of *Barking & Shaking*. Furthermore, the billing of the film as a psychological thriller, a genre popular in both art cinema and the mainstream, alludes to a more conventional approach to the issues being tackled. Yet despite this, *Freak* never entered into production. While McKinnon and McLaren's gravitation towards controversial subject matter provides some explanation as to why their projects have struggled to raise production finance, proposed projects more in keeping with recognised traditions within Scottish cinema have also failed to enter into production.

Literary Adaptations

Reflecting on the decade that followed the release of *Trainspotting* (Boyle, 1996), Murray (2007) notes a "Lottery-led push to turn Scotland into a minor player in the international Anglophone mainstream", citing "a slew of literary adaptations and/or projects written by literary celebrities" (p. 82) as evidence of this: *The Slab Boys* (Byrne, 1997), *Regeneration* (MacKinnon, 1997), *The Winter Guest* (Rickman, 1997), *The Life of Stuff* (Donald, 1997), *The Acid House, My Life So Far* (Hudson, 1999), *Complicity* (Millar, 2000) and *House of Mirth* (Davies, 2000). While Scottish Screen continued to fund literary adaptations and/or projects by literary celebrities into the 2000s, many of these failed to enter into production.

After the release of *House of Mirth* in 2000, director Terence Davies and producer Bob Last set about developing an adaptation of Lewis Grassie Gibbon's 1932 novel *Sunset Song*. Shortly after, Peter Barber-Fleming's Saltire Film and Television Productions began developing *The Cone Gatherers*, based on Robin Jenkin's 1955 novel of the same name. Both films required substantial budgets: £7-10 million and £5

million respectively (Johnston, 2003; Scottish Screen, 2008b). Scottish Screen awarded each project £500,000 in production finance, however significant sums were still required from elsewhere (Johnston, 2003; Scottish Screen, 2004a). Such budgets are in keeping with the films identified by Murray as being geared towards the Anglophone mainstream. Murray (2007) compares the budgets of *Regeneration* (£3.9 million), *The Winter Guest* (£5 million) and *Complicity* (£4.6 million) (Dyja, 1997, p. 22, 26; Dyja, 2001, p. 24, as cited in Murray, 2007, p. 82), to the £0.9 million budget of *Shallow Grave* (Boyle, 1995) and £1.7 million budget of *Trainspotting*. However, Robert Jones, the former head of the UKFC's Premiere Fund, considered the commercial appeal necessitated by this market absent in the case of *Sunset Song* (Hattenstone, 2006). Davis publicly conveyed his anger at Jones and the UKFC after the organisation, which had looked set to fund the film, pulled out at the last minute. The UKFC's decision indicates a foregrounding of commercial interests. This priority has drawn public criticism from filmmakers in other instances (see Christopher Meir, 2009). *Sunset Song's* arguably difficult subject matter, along with the novel's heavy use of Scots, likely raised concerns at the UKFC as to the commercial viability of the project. Indeed, Davis cites Jones as denying the project funding on the basis that it "won't travel" (as cited in Hattenstone, 2006).

In February of 2012, it was reported that *Sunset Song* would finally go into production in late 2012, or early 2013, over a decade after it was first developed (Dawtre, 2012). The film is to be produced by Bob Last (*House of Mirth*) along with Solon Papadopoulos and Roy Boulter of Liverpool-based Hurricane films, who produced Davis' documentary *Of Time and the City* (2008), and Christer Nilson of Swedish production company Götafilm. As a result of the film's co-production status, filming is to take place in Scotland and Sweden (Cooper, 2012). At Cannes in May of 2012, it was announced that Amsterdam-based Fortissimo Films has acquired the

international rights to *Sunset Song*, which has Peter Mullan and Agyness Deyn attached as cast (Pulver, 2012). However, at the time of writing (August 2013) the film has yet to go into production.

Completion Strategies

Various strategies have been employed by filmmakers in an attempt to get their projects made. One prominent tactic used to attract production finance is the altering of filming location and project setting. During the 2000s, several productions moved to Scotland, or more specifically Glasgow, from other locations. John Hill (2009, pp. 88–90) partly attributes the Glasgow setting of Ken Loach’s loosely grouped West of Scotland trilogy (*My Name is Joe*, 1998; *Sweet Sixteen*, 2002; and, *Ae Fond Kiss*, 2004) to the advent and availability of National Lottery revenue in Scotland. In these films, he argues, “Glasgow came to function as a kind of surrogate location...a sort of Liverpool-in-disguise” (p. 90). In another example, the location of Gaby Dellal’s *On a Clear Day* (2005) was moved to Glasgow, this time from Newcastle, so that Peter Mullan could play the role of lead character Frank (Martin-Jones, 2009a, p. 188). Scottish Screen awarded the film £157,809 in production finance in the 2003/2004 financial year and invested a supplementary £15,000 the following year (Scottish Screen, 2004a, 2005a). Moreover, Mette Hjort (2010a) writes that the location of Lone Scherfig’s *Wilbur (Wants to Kill Himself)* (2002), a film initially intended for the same cast as her 2000 award winning box office hit *Italiensk for begyndere/Italian for Beginners*, was moved from Denmark to Glasgow after the proposed cast demanded higher salaries than she or production company Zentropa could afford (p. 52). The film was moved to Scotland in order to capitalise on Zentropa’s growing relationship with Sigma Films. Following this location change, Scottish Screen invested in the film.

These alterations in location reinforce the importance of place as a factor in Scottish Screen's allocation of finance.

Such location changes however, also feature in reverse, and productions intended to have a Scottish setting and shoot have moved elsewhere, or attempted to move elsewhere, in order to raise production finance. For instance, writer Sergio Casci's *The Caller* (Parkhill, 2011), a film described in its production notes as "a supernatural thriller...about a young troubled divorcee that is being violently harassed via telephone by a mad woman whom [sic] insists [she] is calling from the past" (Bankside Films, 2012, p. 2), was first written with a Glasgow setting. However when Casci was unable to find a Scottish production company willing to accept the project, he switched the Glasgow setting for New York (Casci, as stated in Doyle, Casci & Mundell, 2011). This attracted the interest of a London-based production company, who was then able to secure co-producers in North America. Ultimately, the film's location and shoot was later moved to Puerto Rico to take advantage of the territory's tax incentives.

Black Camel Pictures adopted a similar strategy in an effort to secure production finance for their project *Breathe*. In 2005/2006 Scottish Screen awarded the project £12,500 in development finance and contributed £375,000 towards the film's £2.5 million production budget the following year (Scottish Screen, 2006, 2007, 2008b). A synopsis of the film provided by Scottish Screen in 2008 reads: "*Breathe* is a fast paced and lean thriller which places a female policewoman in its lead as she transports a criminal across the Scottish Highlands" (2008b, p. 4). However, the synopsis featured on Black Camel Pictures' website (blackcamel.co.uk) at the time of writing (August 2013) is as follows:

Playing out on the broad cinematic canvas of the Canadian Rocky Mountains, *Breathe* is a thrilling, action-packed chase movie that follows Molly, a determined police officer, and her desperate attempts to get a high profile prisoner back into

protective custody. All the time evading the well-connected crime syndicate that are [sic] ruthlessly hunting them down. (n.d.)

As might be expected for this synopsis, Black Camel Pictures' website now also reports that a Canadian production company, Brightlight Pictures, are now partners on the project. However, to date *Breathe* has not been released and at present there is no word on when, or if, the project will go ahead.

Another completion strategy that warrants consideration is crowd funding. This involves inviting individuals to contribute a small amount to a film's budget. The producers of *Burns*, a project based on the life of Robert Burns, which was awarded £500,000 by Scottish Screen, attempted a variation of this technique in an effort to raise the remaining finance it needed to enter into production (Scottish Screen, 2005a). In 2009, at an event celebrating the 250th anniversary of the birth of Burns, Scotland's First Minister Alex Salmond announced that the film's producers intended to recruit 250 subscribers to the project, the same number that came together in 1786 to publish the Kilmarnock edition of Burns' poems. To date however, the film has yet to materialise.

In 2012, Glasgow-based Synchronicity Films launched a crowd funding campaign in an effort to raise \$50,000, the remaining money they needed in order to produce *Not Another Happy Ending*. The production company set up a page on the international crowd funding website Indiegogo (indiegogo.com) that allowed individuals to financially contribute to the film in return for certain "perks". These incentives range from a digital postcard for a contribution of \$10, to a production credit costing \$1,000. The campaign raised a total of \$22,600, a little less than half of its target, but nevertheless principal photography took place during the summer of 2012 and the film premiered at EIFF the following year.

Scottish Screen's Gatekeeper Role

It is evident from this survey that, while funding from Scottish Screen did not guarantee a film was completed, as the administrator of the only sizable source of film finance in Scotland, it did play an important role in shaping what projects did or did not enter into production. Indeed, it would be exceedingly difficult for a producer to convincingly make a case to funders elsewhere if their project did not secure production finance in its home country. This makes the organisation an influential figure when considering Scotland's cinematic output of the 2000s. As Chapter Three suggested in relation to *Donkeys*, a degree of creative control is relinquished when accepting funding from a public body. The guidelines accompanying each of the application forms considered in this chapter inform candidates that in addition to the standard terms that accompany a funding award, the organisation "may also add specific conditions to your particular award".

In order to circumvent the loss of creative control associated with public finance, some filmmakers have sought to avoid approaching Scottish Screen, or other public funders, until the majority of their finance is in place. In an interview with Peter Broughan conducted in 2012 as part of the Scottish Cultural Memory Project (SCMP), Richard Jobson outlines that he typically seeks public finance only after most of a project's budget has been secured through private financiers.⁴⁴ Recounting an instance in which he met with a representative of the UKFC in an effort to secure finance for *16 Years of Alcohol* (2003), Jobson explains that he was informed by the UKFC agent that the social-economic background of the film's lead character rendered

⁴⁴ The central aim of the SCMP is to record and preserve the experiences of those working in the cultural industries in Scotland. The collaborative project involves Peter Broughan (Rob Roy Films) and the University of Stirling, and is funded by Creative Scotland.

his poetic characteristics unbelievable.⁴⁵ After this meeting, Jobson decided to approach private financiers and *16 Years of Alcohol* was ultimately made on a budget of £300,000, the majority of which was raised through pre-sales. Scottish Screen later made an award of £25,000 to the project (Scottish Screen, 2004a). Jobson explains that he made this application after the bulk of the film's budget was in place, as it made it more difficult for the public body to reject the application, while also considerably reducing the creative clout he had to relinquish. Following *16 Years of Alcohol*, Jobson, who also acts as producer and writer on most of his productions, has continued to raise the majority of finance required for his low or micro budget films from private financiers. Although not abandoning public funding completely, Jobson's approach to film finance does offer an alternative to the near-exclusive reliance on public finance exhibited by *Red Road* and *Donkeys*.

Conclusion

The role filled by Scottish Screen, and now Creative Scotland, is no doubt a difficult one. With a limited pot of money to cover an ever-expanding range of activities, decisions must be made to fund certain projects at the expense of others. The high-risk nature of film production, along with the nearly impossible nature of predicting what projects will be a hit with audiences, makes the task of deciding what projects to invest

⁴⁵ A synopsis of *16 Years of Alcohol*, available from Scottish Screen Archive's website (ssa.nls.uk) reads as follows: "Sometimes, for some people, things don't work out as they might have hoped'. *16 Years of Alcohol* is the story's [sic] of a man's desperate attempt to free himself, not only from alcoholic addiction, but also to overcome his violent nature, basic mistrust in human nature and ferociously anti-social conduct. Growing up with a father who is himself an excessive womaniser and brute who both fascinated and repelled his son, he turns into a vicious gang leader who beats up friends and enemies alike".

in an exceptionally difficult one.⁴⁶ Yet, analysis of the funding applications used by Scottish Screen/Creative Scotland, points to a funding process that is highly uncertain of its intentions. This in turn further complicates the process of allocating funding. In October 2012, one hundred artists signed an open letter to Sir Sandy Crombie, chairman of Creative Scotland, in which Creative Scotland's "ill-conceived decision making" and "unclear language" (as cited in BBC, 2012) are criticised. This suggests that issues surrounding the ambiguity of the organisation's funding criteria have continued, if not worsened, under the new body. More recent developments involving Creative Scotland are discussed in the Conclusion.

This chapter provided a critique of the funding applications submitted by Sigma Films for the Advance Party projects, as well as the gatekeeping process that facilitated their production. Analysis of funding applications and accompanying guidelines reveals an attempt by Scottish Screen and Creative Scotland to prompt applicants to justify why their project should receive funding in national terms. However, as has been shown, the construction and wording of these documents is ambiguous. Both funder and applicant engage with the notion of Scottishness, in economic and cultural terms, through reference to location. While this suggests that the national is at least ostensibly a central consideration in the allocation of funding, it is important to note that other factors, in particular Arnold's auteur status and Sigma Film's profile, are key components within Sigma Films' application forms.

The chapter that follows examines the distribution of the two Advance Party films, and in particular, the positioning of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* in promotional materials aimed at potential viewers. The close of the next chapter revisits the ideas

⁴⁶ Although outwith the scope of this thesis, it is important to note that the success of Netflix original series (most prominently: *House of Cards*, Willimon, 2013-present; the revived season of *Arrested Development*; and, *Orange is the New Black*, Kohan, 2013-present), and the launch of Amazon Studios, challenge traditional conceptions of the role of the audience within the process of pre-production.

raised in this chapter through examination of the distribution of Scottish Screen-funded films more broadly.

Chapter Six: Marketing and Distribution

This chapter analyses the marketing and distribution of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. It begins by providing a brief overview of the UK distribution landscape in which the films were released. Analysis then turns to look more specifically at the UK distribution of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. As becomes apparent as this chapter progresses, the activities undertaken by those involved in marketing and distribution are an important means through which identity, be this national and/or other forms of identity, are negotiated and articulated within a promotional context. For reasons suggested in Chapter Two, the UK release of both films is at the centre of analysis. In the case of *Red Road*, this is because the advertising materials commissioned by Verve Pictures were made available to international distributors through Trust Film Sales. However, as becomes apparent, not all distributors opted to use the materials supplied, and instead commissioned their own. In the case of *Donkeys*, a UK, or more specifically Scotland, focus is adopted, as, to date, this is the only area in which the film has been theatrically released. As noted in the previous chapter, a survey of the distribution of films funded by Scottish Screen is presented at the close of this chapter. Patterns in the acquisition and release of Scottish Screen films are identified, and *Red Road* and *Donkeys* are positioned accordingly.

UK Film Distribution: A Brief Overview

A report by The Monopolies Commission published in 1966 concludes that, despite the large number of distributors licensed in the UK, the “majority of feature film distribution is in fact done by a small number of companies” (p. 7). This observation is still relevant almost fifty years later. The 1966 report singles out ten key players in the UK theatrical distribution market: Associated British-Pathé, British Lion Films, Columbia Pictures, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Paramount, Rank Film Distribution, 20th

Century Fox, United Artists, Walt Disney and Warner Brothers. Of these companies, British Lion Films, Rank Film Distribution and Associated British-Pathé are described as “wholly British companies” (p. 7), while the others are said to be “wholly-owned subsidiaries of United States film companies” (p. 7). Since 1966, Associated British Picture Corporation (ABPC) and the Rank Organisation, who owned Associated British-Pathé and Rank Film Distribution respectively, have closed, and the distribution arm of British Lion Films shut in 1976.⁴⁷

The UK box office is still dominated by UK arms of Hollywood studios. Figures for 2012 reveal that Sony is the current market leader with 18.0% of the theatrical box office in the UK and Ireland.⁴⁸ 20th Century Fox is not far behind with 16.1%, followed by Warner Brothers (12.9%), Universal (10.7%), Walt Disney (10.2%) and Paramount (7.7%) (BFI, 2013b, p. 105). Combined, the Hollywood studios account for 75.6% of the 2012 box office. The four distributors rounding off the top-ten are as follows: eOne Films (6.7%), Lionsgate (5.7%), Momentum (4.3%) and Entertainment (3.1%) (BFI, 2013b, p. 105). Of these distributors, Entertainment is the only company whose activities are solely confined to the UK and Ireland. As its name suggests, Entertainment predominantly releases independent, mainstream titles. The same is also true of US mini-major Lionsgate and Canada-based eOne Films. In 2013, eOne Films finalised a deal to purchase Alliance Films, the parent company of Momentum (Goldsmith, 2013).

⁴⁷ ABPC’s reign since the sound period was brought to a close in 1970 (Porter, 2000), while the Rank Organisation’s withdrawal from the film industry was a gradual process spanning a quarter of a century (Macnab, 2005). This eventually came to an end in 2005 with the sale of Delux Films, formerly Rank Film Laboratories.

⁴⁸ Given the cultural similarity and geographic proximity of the UK and Ireland, distribution in these countries is often intertwined. Similarly, this is often the case in the following countries: Canada and the US, Australia and New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries, and the Benelux countries. Distribution rights for the UK and Ireland are often acquired simultaneously, and box office data relating to both territories grouped together. As a result, the precise area to which data relates is not always clear. Throughout this thesis, an effort is made to ensure that the territory stated, for instance “the UK” or “the UK and Ireland” is as accurate as possible.

During the 2000s, places seven through ten on the list of top-ten theatrical distributors frequently changed. Prominent amongst those featuring on this list include the now defunct Icon, British commercial independent production and distribution company Vertigo, French production, distribution and exhibition company Pathé and US mini-major Lionsgate. As will become evident at the close of this chapter, during the 2000s, many of the distributors outlined thus far were involved to varying extents in the distribution of Scottish Screen-funded films.

The remaining 119 distributors have a combined market share of just 4.6% for 2012 (BFI, 2013b, p. 105). Figures published by the BFI, and prior to this, the UKFC, reveal that between 2002 and 2012, the number of distributors fighting for a share of the theatrical market more than doubled, from 54 in 2002 to 129 in 2012. The total number of films released grew by over a third, from 420 in 2002 to 755 in 2012. It is apparent from Figure 15, that the upsurge in number of films is not attributable to the top ten distributors. Crucially, this increase has not had a substantial bearing on their combined market share, which despite falling slightly between 2002 and 2011, has consistently remained above 90%.

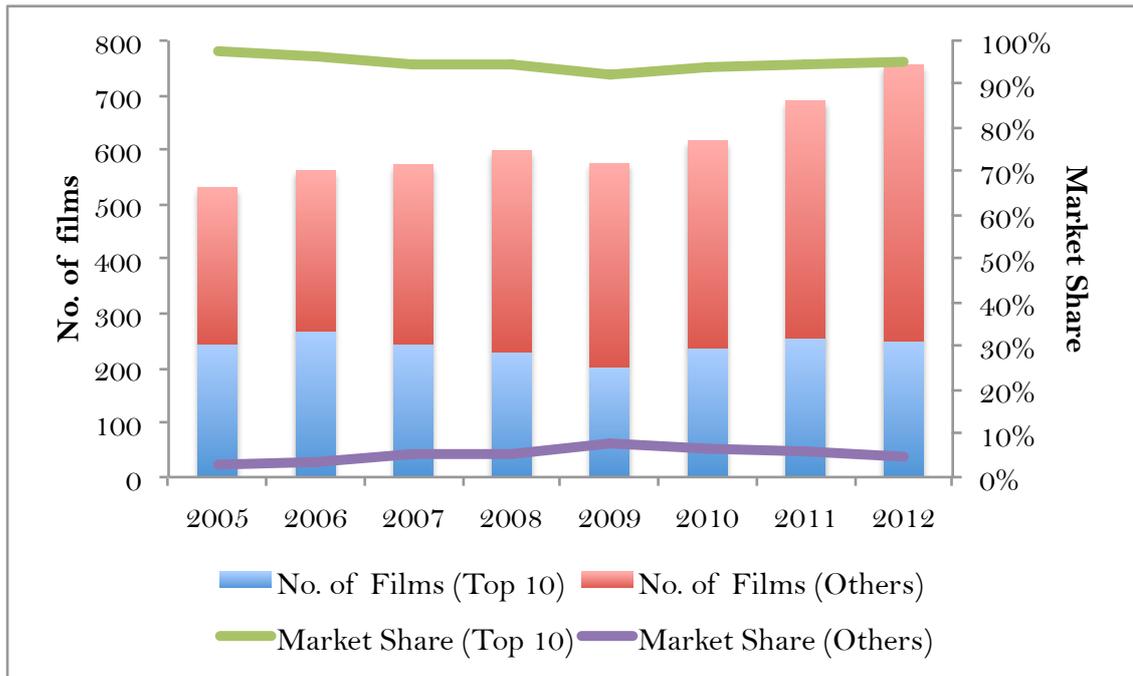


Figure 16. UK Theatrical Distribution, 2005-2012. This figure displays statistics relating to market share and number of films on release for (a) the top ten distributors by market share, and (b) the remaining distributors. Statistics for the years 2002-2004 have not been included in this graph, as only statistics relating to the top nine distributors are available for these years. The figures displayed are taken from the BFI's annual Statistical Yearbook, which was published by the UKFC prior to its closure.

Other Distribution Platforms

Theatrical distribution is of course just one means through which a film can reach an audience, and it typically is not the most profitable (Bloore, 2009).⁴⁹ Nonetheless, as Steven Blume (2006) observes, “a successful theatrical box office performance will help define and increase the value of later revenue streams” (p. 335). In order to maximise the profit generated from each platform of release, an optimal distribution life cycle

⁴⁹ In terms of generated revenue, Peter Bloore (2009), in a report for the UKFC, ranks the distribution outlets as follows: “DVD and VHS sales/rental; Pay TV (satellite and cable); Cinema (a.k.a the Exhibitor); Free TV (PSB or Advertising); Video On Demand (VOD); and finally Online download (rent or own)” (p. 10). Although informative, it is important to keep in mind that Bloore’s report is now several years old and the distribution landscape has changed in recent years. In particular, the VOD market has grown considerably. The value of this market in the UK for 2012 is £243 million, an increase of 50% on 2011 (BFI, 2013b, p. 143).

has evolved within the film industry.⁵⁰ Blume (2006) explains: “This can best be expressed as staggered and timed ‘windows’ of exhibition, triggered by the initial theatrical release of the film in each territory around the world” (p. 334). The windows of exhibition Blume outlines are shown in Table 2. As will become evident through analysis of the distribution of *Donkeys*, the windows of exhibition shown in this table are ideal, and not necessarily attainable in an independent distribution sector characterised by fragmentation.

Table 2. Windows of Exhibition.

Medium	Window	Beginning
Theatrical	6 months	Initial theatrical release
Home video	10 months	4 to 6 months after initial theatrical release
Pay-per-view	2 months	8 months after initial theatrical release
Network	30 months	30 months after initial release
Pay television second window	12 months	60 months after initial theatrical release
Basic cable	60 months	72 months after initial theatrical release
Syndication	60 months	132 months after initial theatrical release

Note. Taken from “The Revenue Streams: An Overview”, by S. Blume, 2006, p. 335.

Red Road: Acquisition and Release

As noted in Chapter Four, London-based independent distributor Verve Pictures acquired *Red Road* when the project was still in development. Established in 2003 by Julia Short and Colin Burch, the distributor was relatively new at the time it

⁵⁰ At present, advances in digital technology are impacting conventional windows of exhibition. However, Blume’s work retains much of its relevance when thinking about distribution in 2006 and 2010, the years in which the Advance Party films were released.

purchased Arnold's debut.⁵¹ Short (personal communication, September 22, 2011) explains that she and Burch decided to acquire the film after the script was sent to her by producer Comerford, who she met at a training event some years prior. Though the UK rights to *Red Road* were sold while the project was still in development, the bulk of sales occurred after the film's screening at Cannes (Rosner, Trust Film Sales Executive, as cited in Sweeney, 2006). The then-sales branch of Zentropa, Trust Film Sales, handled *Red Road's* international sales. Territories in which the film was acquired include: Australia, Benelux, Brazil, France, Greece, Israel, Scandinavia, Spain and the US (see Appendix C).

In 2006, the UKFC awarded Verve Pictures £82,325 from its Specialised P&A Fund to assist with the distribution of *Red Road* (UKFC, n.d.). Films are classified as "specialised" if they "do not sit easily within a mainstream and highly commercial genre" (UKFC, 2008a, p. 1). Table 3 displays the average amount spent on a film's release, by size of release, for 2006. The widest point of *Red Road's* release was its opening weekend, during which it screened at 38 sites. The data in Table 3 reveals that the average cost of a release this size was £80,000, comparable to the amount awarded to *Red Road* by the UKFC. In a press release, the UKFC (2006a) notes that this money allowed Verve Pictures to double the size of *Red Road's* release, while also increasing publicity spend. A total of 38 prints of *Red Road* were made, these likely costing in the region of £1,000 per print (Dent, 2009). As becomes apparent in analysis of the distribution of *Donkeys*, the increased availability of digital screening by 2010 reduced the cost involved in creating copies of the film.

⁵¹ Initially, the distributor worked exclusively as a distributor-for-hire (Skillset, n.d., para. 9). Examples of projects released in this capacity include: *L'ultimo bacio/ The Last Kiss* (Muccino, 2001), *Mr In-Between* (Sarossy, 2003), *Freeze Frame* (Simpson, 2004) and *Fear X* (Refn, 2003). The distributor's first straight acquisition was *The Honeymooners* (Golden, 2003), followed by *Code 46* (Winterbottom, 2003), *Way of Life* (Asante, 2004) and *Bullet Boy* (Dibb, 2004) (Skillset, n.d., para. 10).

Table 3. Average Release Cost by Size of Release.

Sites at Widest Point of Release	Average Release Cost (£ million)
500+	3.72
400-499	2.33
300-399	1.50
200-299	1.10
100-199	0.52
50-99	0.26
10-49	0.08
<10	0.02

Note. Taken from *Statistical Yearbook 2006/07*, by the UK Film Council, p. 77.

Red Road: Marketing Campaign

Short (personal communication, September 22, 2011) explains that Trust Film Sales identified the UK as a key market for *Red Road*, and as such, they believed it important that the advertising materials developed were appropriate for this market. Verve Pictures and Trust Film Sales shared the cost of developing key advertising materials on the condition that these were later made available to distributors in other territories. As is evident from Table 5 towards the close of this chapter (p. 208), the UK was indeed a key market for *Red Road*.

Verve Pictures commissioned graphic designer Karl Sinfield to create two posters for *Red Road*: one for international sales purposes and another to accompany the British distribution of the film (Sinfield, personal communication, May 15, 2011). These posters, along with a trailer, constitute the core advertising materials developed by Verve Pictures. Kerrigan (2009) identifies these materials as central to “conventional marketing practices” (p. 123). Perhaps unsurprising given the time period in which Ellis’ (1982) work was released, it is these materials on which his work on the narrative image centres. Although *Red Road*’s marketing campaign essentially comprises of conventional practices, as is discussed later in this chapter, the campaign for *Donkeys* foregrounds practices enabled by digital technology.

Sales Poster

A poster for a film distributed by a Hollywood major will typically be used throughout the territories in which that film is released. It might be adapted slightly in order to suit the conventions and language requirements of a particular territory, but the overriding concept will remain the same. In contrast, the rights to an independent film are often acquired on a territory-by-territory basis and, as a result, a number of distributors require materials with which to advertise a film. Before a film can be released however, it must first attract a distributor. As is discussed in greater detail towards the end of this chapter, film markets and festivals are crucial sites at which the rights to an independent film are sold. A sales poster is vital for such events and functions both as a means of attracting potential buyers and as an example of how they might then market the film in their territory. The standard format of a sales poster is 27 by 40 inches, in keeping with the dimensions common to most territories. A prominent exception to this is the UK, which has traditionally used a horizontal “quad” format. Sales posters tend to be characterised by simplicity. John Durie, Annika Pham and Neil Watson (2000) observe that it is not uncommon for a sales poster to consist of a blow-up of a still photograph, accompanied by a title and credit block. This photograph will not necessarily feature in the final campaign targeted at the consumer, but rather, provides an indication of the direction this poster might take.

A tower block is the focus of the *Red Road* sales poster, shown below. For those with an existing knowledge of the Red Road housing scheme, the visual of the building, in combination with the film’s title, will provide enough information to suggest that the Red Road flats are important to the film’s narrative. Logically it might be assumed that this is the central location of the film. However, given the international nature of the intended audience of this poster, it is important to also consider what it communicates without an awareness of the flats.

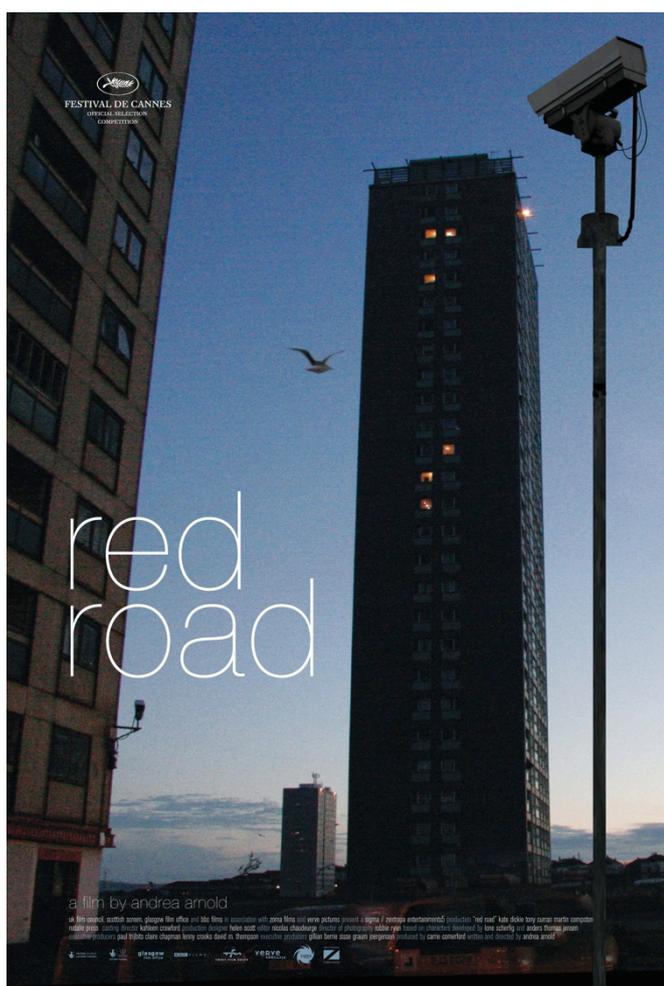


Figure 17. Sales Poster, *Red Road*. Designed by Karl Sinfield and commissioned by Verve Pictures.

As suggested in Chapter Three, in the context of commercial cinema, high-rise buildings and surveillance technology such as cameras often signify a slick high-tech narrative world associated with the action-thriller genre. Indeed, tower blocks frequently feature on posters for films of this genre. See, for example, the poster for *The Adjustment Bureau* (Nolfi, 2011) or *Inception* (Nolan, 2010) shown below. Yet in the *Red Road* sales poster, the CCTV camera is far from state of the art and the building radiates neglect. Rather, the poster gestures towards social realism. Given the absence of scholarly work on the manifestations of social realism in film posters or on posters of social realist films, it is necessary to begin by drawing on academic literature

pertaining to social realism more generally. One point to note is that a film said to be social realist need not be advertised as such, and equally, a film advertised as social realist may not sit firmly within this category.



Figure 18. Poster, *The Adjustment Bureau*. This is one of the posters used by Universal to accompany the film's release in the UK. A version of this poster was also used throughout many of the territories in which the film was released.



Figure 19. Poster, *Inception*. This is one of the posters used by Warner Brothers to accompany the film's release in the UK. A version of this poster was also used throughout many of the territories in which the film was released.

As observed in Chapter One and Chapter Three, an important aspect of many established conceptions of social realism is the use of “real” locations, the existence of which is not confined to the story world. In a British context, often such interpretations of social realism are linked to the work of Ken Loach (Forrest, 2010). As Chapter One suggested, the relationship between environment and character is central to Julia Hallam and Margaret Marshment’s (2000) conception of social realism. The authors write that the aim of such texts is to “show the effects of environmental factors on the development of character through depictions that emphasise the relationship between location and identity” (p. 184). By using an image of the exterior of the tower block, this poster suggests *Red Road* was filmed on location and that this location is central to the narrative of the film. Although no characters are depicted, the conventions of fictional cinema have instilled in audiences the expectation that cinema is character focused, even in instances where characters are not the driving force within a narrative. As such, by foregrounding the importance of environment, this poster implies that *Red Road* will explore the relationship between character and place. For authors such as Samantha Lay (2002, 2007) and Hallam and Marshment (2000), within social realist texts, this relationship is often utilised in order to explore themes and issues relevant to contemporary society. This poster suggests multiple ways in which this might be explored in *Red Road*.

In contrast to the sleek skyscrapers of Manhattan or Canary Wharf, this residential tower block is representative of what have become known as the “slums in the sky” (Hanley, 2007, pp. 97-147). Such buildings, once a site of promise, quickly fell into reputational decline and, as Chapter Three observed, have become signifiers for the “marginalized and the menacing” (Burke, 2007, p. 177). The near ground level angle at which the photograph is taken emphasises the vast and imposing stature of the building. The use of available light, a practice with origins in documentary cinema,

enhances this sense of foreboding, as the tower block appears as almost a silhouette. This setting is indicative of what Raymond Williams (1977) terms “social extension” (p. 63), whereby the characters depicted in a film are extended to include those rarely afforded screen time in mainstream cinema. Lay (2002) writes: “In British social realism, the social extension urge has moved film-makers to redress social and representational inequalities in relation to class” (p. 15). While, as suggested in Chapter One, this statement is perhaps problematic as it overlooks prominent social realist works that feature characters from other classes, it also highlights the readiness with which this association is made. The image of the tower block suggests that *Red Road* will tackle class inequality in relation to housing conditions. Additionally, the presence of the CCTV camera, drawing associations of crime and crime prevention, implies that criminality will also feature in the narrative.

In addition to calling forth more conventional ideas of social realism, this poster is also perhaps reminiscent of Forrest’s (2009a, 2009b, 2010) analysis of contemporary social realism. The varying blue tones of the sky, which contrast with, as well as enhance, the dark silhouette of the tower block, has an expressive quality that is suggestive of a poetic and bold directorial style. This is reinforced in the copy of the poster. A small line above the cast, crew and company credits reads: “a film by andrea arnold [sic]”. This expression is in keeping with the notion of director as author of a film, typically associated with art house cinema. What is interesting in this instance is that *Red Road* is Arnold’s debut feature film and as such, there was arguably not yet sufficient knowledge of her work for the phrase “a film by” to attach a concrete meaning. It instead functions to position Arnold as an emerging auteur. The inclusion of the Cannes festival logo and accompanying text stating that the film was shown In Competition, works to legitimise this claim.

UK Theatrical Poster

Verve Pictures used an alternative, and strikingly different, poster to accompany the UK theatrical release of *Red Road* (Figure 20). As is often the case with posters designed for a film's theatrical release, this poster includes extracts from the press (Ellis, 1982). Four quotations are cited and within them specific words emphasised: “a *spectacular* debut...a beautifully chiselled thriller” (*The Times*, emphasis & ellipsis in original), “the *rear window*-style atmosphere...*tension*...has the feel of a michael haneke [sic] film” (*The Guardian*, emphasis & ellipsis in original), “tense, gritty and *sexually charged*...” (*Independent on Sunday*, emphasis & ellipsis in original) and “really impressive...*gripping*” (*The Independent*, emphasis & ellipsis in original). Short (personal communication, September 22, 2011) notes that Verve Pictures identified an “upscale, art house cinema audience” as the film's target audience. This is reflected in the source of these quotations as they are from “quality” newspapers, rather than more popular newspapers or magazines. Nevertheless, elements of this poster evidence a desire to maximise the film's crossover appeal through gesturing towards the thriller genre, a genre popular amongst mainstream and art house audiences. In the first press extract, *Red Road* is directly described as a thriller. This positioning is enhanced in the remaining quotations, first through reference to “tension” and then through the descriptors “tense” and “gripping”. Moreover, comparisons to Alfred Hitchcock's *Rear Window* (1954) and the work of Michael Haneke highlight the film's crossover appeal, as films of both directors, to varying extents, experienced both mainstream and art house success. In relation to Haneke's *Caché/Hidden* (2005), Robert Beeson, Managing Director of the film's British distributor Artificial Eye, attributes the positioning of the film as a thriller as key to its mainstream success (as cited in Bentham, 2006).⁵²

⁵² *Hidden* grossed £1.5 million at the UK box office (BFI, n.d.-b).

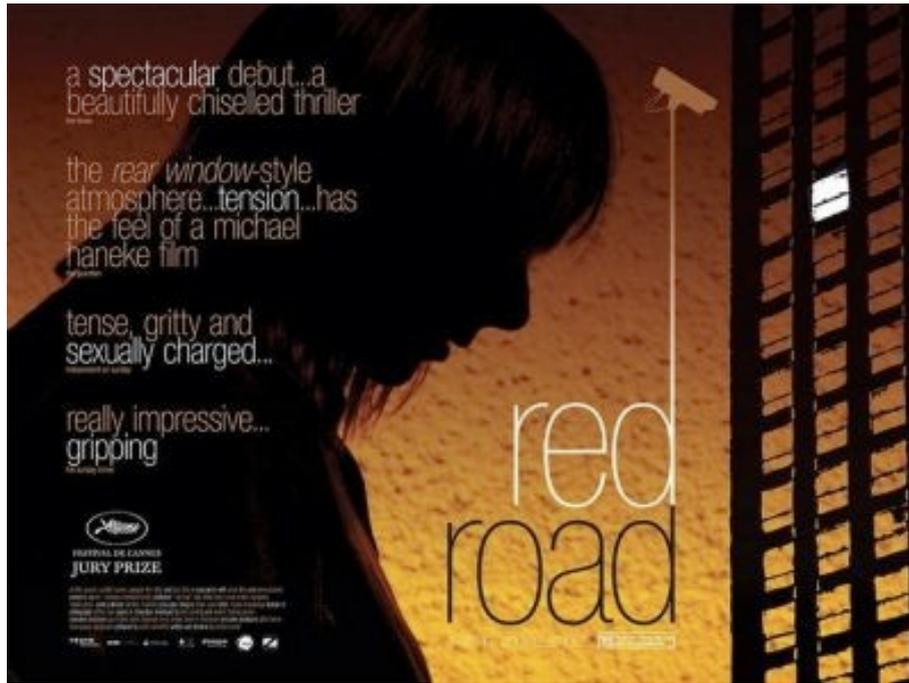


Figure 20. UK Theatrical Poster, *Red Road*. Designed by Karl Sinfield and commissioned by Verve Pictures.

The reference to Hitchcock's *Rear Window* and the work of Haneke is particularly apt given that the theme of surveillance is integral to the narratives of *Rear Window* and *Hidden*. For those familiar with these films, this connection will be apparent, although in keeping with the function of the narrative image, *Red Road*'s engagement with this theme is clearly marked as distinct. The distribution poster retains the inclusion of a CCTV camera, but in this instance, it is a smaller silhouette shown as an extension of the "d" protruding from the film title. It is placed as though looking into a specific window, which is the only one illuminated in the portion of the building that is visible. This implies that the narrative of *Red Road* is concerned with a specific flat and that those living here are in some way important to the narrative. The positioning of the female in front of the camera indicates that it is her doing the surveillance and this, along with the colours used in the design, alludes to the theme of voyeurism. The deep red silhouette of the woman and the intensity of her stance are illustrative of this, and the phrase "sexually charged", which is highlighted in the press extracts, enhances this interpretation. This subtly draws further parallels with the

work of Hitchcock, as this theme is perhaps most associated with his films. An important point to note is that in Hitchcock's films, and in theatrically released cinema more generally, the voyeur is typically male (Williams, 2005, p. 334).

The deep, vibrant colours used in this design call forth an element of art house exoticism. Such colours, in combination with a close-up image of a female face, are utilised in other poster designs. For instance, the British poster for Lynne Ramsay's *Morvern Callar* (2002) features a close-up of Samantha Morton's face, taken from a low angle position, shown in a pallet of reds and yellows akin to those used in the *Red Road* design. Furthermore, the poster for Pedro Almodóvar's *Volver* (2006) and the poster for *Los abrazos rotos/Broken Embraces* (2009), which were both used in slightly varying forms throughout most territories in which the films were released, employ a close-up of a woman's face, which in both instances is Penélope Cruz, and use rich purple and red colours. In all these instances, bold colours and emphasis placed on the female face are indicators of the psychologically complex female characters that drive the respective films. In relation to *Red Road*, the still photography made available by Trust Film Sales also has a strong female focus. The five stills featured on Trust Film Sales' website (trustnordisk.com) are almost exclusively focused on the female cast, Kate Dickie and Natalie Press, and director Arnold.

International Posters

As outlined, the posters discussed thus far were made available to distributors in other territories through Trust Film Sales. In most instances distributors decided to adapt either the sales poster or the UK theatrical poster, however, there were also instances in which distributors opted to commission a new design. Drawing on his experience, Sinfield (personal communication, February 1, 2012) asserts that in cases where his client receives a sales poster as part of a distribution package, he will use or adapt this

poster if he and the distributor consider it appropriate for the British market. He reasons that this is a quicker and cheaper process than creating an alternative design. In the case of *Red Road*, the most common action taken by international distributors was to adapt the British distribution poster. Examples of territories in which this was done include France, Italy, Spain and the US, many of the key markets for any independent film.

In contrast, Danish distributor Camera Film opted to adapt the sales poster for use in their territory and made only slight changes to the design (Figure 22). It is updated to reflect the film's success at Cannes and Arnold's BAFTA award win.⁵³ Furthermore, a slightly different font is used throughout the design and with the exception of the film title the text is in Danish. As most distributors chose to use a version of the poster designed for the British distribution of *Red Road*, it is interesting that this was not done in Denmark. The form of this poster is perhaps more suggestive of the minimalist aesthetic encouraged by the Dogma manifesto (Chapter Four). Surprisingly the Danish poster does not make the Danish involvement with *Red Road* explicit, however the packaging for the DVD, which was also released by Camera Film, does note the involvement of Scherfig and Jensen.

Alternatively, Czech distributor Aerofilms commissioned a local artist to design a unique poster for *Red Road*, a course of action they also took with prior releases *Shortbus* (Mitchell, 2006) and *Taxidermia* (Pálfi, 2007). Steffen Silvis (2007), reporter for *The Prague Post*, notes that Aerofilms' posters for *Shortbus* and *Taxidermia* have become "something close to collectors' items" (para. 28). Aerofilms' *Red Road* poster, shown in Figure 23, is remarkably more abstract than those analysed thus far and defies many of the poster conventions discussed to date. The design consists of the

⁵³ In 2006, Arnold won The Carl Foreman Award for Special Achievement by a British Writer, Director or Producer in their First Feature Film at the BAFTA award ceremony.

film title, displayed in an interpretive typography not immediately legible to the untrained eye, set against a vibrant red background. This draws on the heritage of the Czech film poster, which is similar to, but not as well documented, at least in English, as their Polish counterparts.

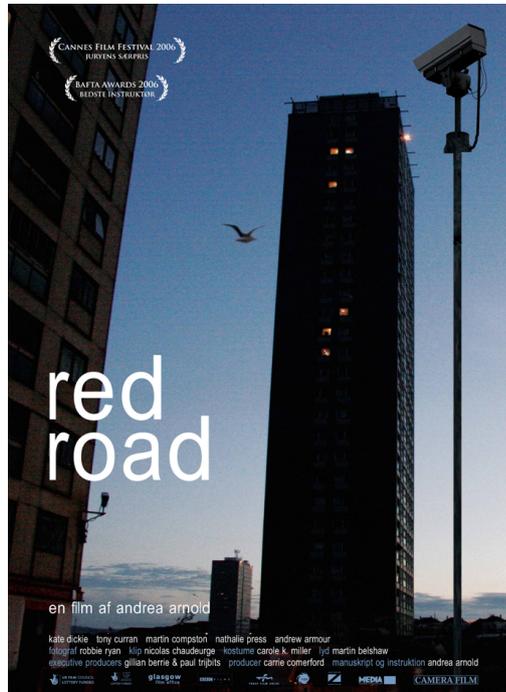


Figure 21. Danish Theatrical Poster, *Red Road*. Commissioned by Camera Film.

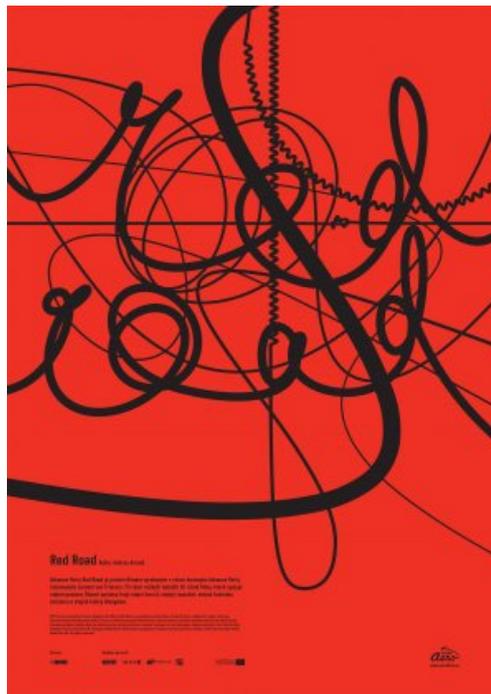


Figure 22. Czech Theatrical Poster, *Red Road*. Commissioned by Aerofilms.

Narrative Images?

As outlined in Chapter Two, Ellis' (1982) work centres on a Hollywood context and as such, he does not take into consideration the formation of the narrative image in the independent sector, which, in contrast to Hollywood, is characterised by fragmentation. It is evident from the analysis presented thus far that, despite this fragmentation, distributors in the majority of territories in which *Red Road* was released, used one of the two posters commissioned by Verve Pictures, thus ensuring a degree of consistency with regards to the film's narrative image. Nevertheless, the difference between these two posters, in combination with the development of others specific to individual territories, points to the need to consider the possibility of the existence of narrative *images*. This in turn highlights the need for research into the ways in which audiences engage with advertising materials. To date, this type of research has been virtually absent from scholarly work on film marketing. Whilst this sort of audience research is also outwith the scope of this thesis, it does offer the potential to further understanding of film marketing within academic research.

Theatrical Trailer

While alternative posters were created for *Red Road*, as far as is possible to ascertain, no distributor created a unique trailer, preferring instead to use the one provided by Verve Pictures.⁵⁴ Several did adapt it slightly, altering its length and the content of title cards. As would be expected, this trailer draws on many of the ideas present in the distribution poster commissioned by Verve Pictures.

Usually between 90 and 120 seconds in length, film trailers tend to have in common several generic features. As Lisa Kernan (2004) asserts, these include: "Some sort of introductory or concluding address to the audience about the film either

⁵⁴ This is based on information from the websites of companies that distributed *Red Road*. However, some distributors are no longer in existence or do not have websites.

through titles or narration, selected scenes from the film, montages of quick-cut action scenes, and identifications of significant cast members or characters” (p. 9). Trailers also typically follow a standard structure. This is similar to, yet distinct from, other types of narrative. One way that this can be understood is through reference to Tzvetan Todorov’s (1971/1979) work on narrative theory. Todorov writes:

An ‘ideal’ narrative begins with a stable situation which is disrupted by some power or force. There results a state of disequilibrium by the action of a force directed in the opposite direction, the equilibrium is re-established; the second equilibrium is similar to the first, but the two are never identical. (p. 111)

At the start of a trailer an initial equilibrium is established, this generally involves the introduction of main characters and the establishment of a setting. For example, at the outset of the trailer for Tim Burton’s *Dark Shadows* (2012), Barnabas Collins is living in Collinwood mansion with a woman he calls his “love”. The use of first person narration explicitly conveys this information and montage editing provides visuals of these characters and the setting. A jealous evil witch disrupts this equilibrium by casting a spell on Barnabas, condemning him to an eternity as a vampire buried underground. He is unearthed several centuries later and attempts to adapt to his surroundings and thus re-establish a new, yet similar, equilibrium. However, the evil witch returns to thwart his actions. Crucially, while the trailer suggests possible ways through which the equilibrium could be re-established, this does not take place, as this resolution could make viewing the film unnecessary.

The trailer for *Red Road* makes use of these standard features and this narrative structure, while also subverting the coherence of mainstream trailers such as the one described above. Rather than enticing the viewer into a seamless narrative world, the audience is only grudgingly permitted to observe the lead character, never sure as to the motivations that propel the trailer narrative. At the outset of the trailer, a woman is in a control room looking over CCTV footage (the equilibrium), she sights a man on one of her monitors that she recognises (the disequilibrium) and tracks him

down in-person (the force in the opposite direction). Importantly, the significance of the man is never made clear.

The relationship between the woman and the man is central to the narrative “enigma” (Ellis, 1982, p. 31) created by the trailer. Building on Verve Pictures’ distribution poster, this trailer makes clear at whom the woman’s gaze is directed, but it withholds the exact nature of their relationship. Through a montage of quick cut scenes, the viewer is presented with a series of possible relationships. These abbreviated scenes proceed as follows: the woman is outside, she watches as the man talks with two women; the woman is in a shower, a close-up highlights a cut on her face; the woman is in a café, she stares at the man as he flirts with a waitress; the woman is in a graffiti scrawled lift, she retches; the woman walks into a pub and over to the bar where it is revealed that the man is standing; the woman is in a bathtub, she examines her naked body; the woman wanders down a hallway with a drink in her hand; and, the woman and man are in the same room, he pulls her forward and they embrace. As they do, the only line of dialogue, spoken by a man, presumably the man shown in the trailer, plays over the top: “But I cannae [can’t] work out how...well I have this feeling that I have met you before. Look at me, I need you to look at me”. This explicitly articulates the central enigma: how does the woman know this man? Through this series of shots, several possible themes are indicated, which point towards different types of relationships: violence, he is an abusive partner; jealousy, she is a jealous former lover; and, romance, they have a caring relationship. As will now be evident, the cause and effect relationship between these events is unclear. This uncertainty instils in the audience a sense of anticipation, which manifests in the form of anxiety as a result of the insinuated themes of violence and jealousy. The distorted sound effects heighten this tension. These aspects situate *Red Road* within the thriller genre, or given the importance placed on the implied sexual relationship between the

two, the erotic thriller genre. At the close of the trailer, a shot of the woman appearing to have an orgasm confirms the film's erotic content.

The trailer relates sexual desire to female voyeurism. At the outset of the trailer, the woman's occupation as a CCTV operator facilitates her sighting of the man. When he first appears on her monitor, he is engaged in a hasty sex act with a woman in a derelict area of land, while the woman in the control room observes. This creates, and through this suggests, that the film will likewise create, an interesting variation of the gender roles traditionally associated in cinema with the act of looking. The camera, and through this the viewer, is constantly positioned behind or to the side of the woman, instilling distance between spectator and text. Thus, despite making use of the standard narrative structure and many conventional features of the trailer, the *Red Road* trailer's subversion of plot linearity and the absence of coherent character motivation positions the film in opposition to the mainstream.

As discussed in relation to the posters commissioned by Verve Pictures, the trailer also works to position *Red Road* as a "quality" film. One key way in which this is communicated is through the content of the title cards. The trailer's opening address is in the form of a title card that reads: "Part of Lars von Trier's 'Advance Party' concept". Of the materials discussed thus far, this is the first to directly reference the Advance Party framework. As a point of comparison, the advertising materials created for many of the Dogma films make reference to the wider initiative. This disparity is perhaps unsurprising as the high profile launch of the Dogma initiative created a level of awareness that, as the next chapter outlines in analysis of the UK newspaper coverage of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, was not matched in relation to Advance Party. The mention of von Trier draws on his profile and suggests that Advance Party involves a similar rule governed framework. It also acts as a prompt to encourage interested viewers to find out further details about the initiative. As will be

discussed in the chapter that follows, the production notes made available by Verve Pictures and the press book provided by Trust Film Sales, give an overview of the initiative, and thus supply the press, and through them potentially the public, with information regarding this aspect of the film. Nevertheless, as the next chapter details, the Advance Party framework was not a focus of UK newspaper coverage of *Red Road*. Nor, as is discussed as the following section progresses, was it mentioned in the advertising materials commissioned for *Donkeys*.

***Donkeys*: Do-It-Yourself Distribution**

The previous chapter observed that the funding applications submitted to Scottish Screen reveal that Sigma Films did not initially intend to handle the theatrical release of *Donkeys*. Other distributors were approached, but a theatrical distribution deal was not reached. UK independent distributor Soda Pictures eventually purchased the home entertainment rights to *Donkeys* and the film was released on DVD in the UK in August of 2012. As Table 2 (p. 174) outlined, the ideal window between theatrical and home release is typically between four and six months. If this gap is much shorter, there is a danger that home entertainment sales will eat into box office takings, and if it is much longer, public awareness of the film, which typically peaks at the time of theatrical release, will have faded. With a gap of almost two years between theatrical and home entertainment release, *Donkeys*' transition between platforms was far from ideal.

McKinnon's debut feature premiered at the 64th Edinburgh International Film Festival in June of 2010. In attendance was Cineworld film buyer Paul Sweeney who, after viewing the film, wanted to purchase it for screenings at Scottish Cineworld cinemas (Sweeney, as cited in STV, 2010). It took him several days to track down McKinnon and enquire about purchasing *Donkeys*, suggesting that neither sales agent

TrustNordisk or Sigma Films were active in their attempts to sell the film at this festival. Ultimately, *Donkeys* played at Cineworld cinemas in Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Falkirk and Dundee, as well as the following Scottish independent cinemas: Glasgow Film Theatre, Perth Playhouse, Edinburgh Filmhouse, Dundee Contemporary Arts, Robert Burns Centre in Dumfries and Eden Court in Inverness. Of these cinemas, all but three (Dundee Contemporary Arts, Robert Burns Centre and Eden Court) received digital equipment through the UKFC's Digital Screen Network initiative. A digital print costs as little as one tenth of a 35 mm print, significantly reducing the cost of releasing a film (BFI, n.d.-a, para. 2). Screenings of *Donkeys* outside of Scotland were extremely limited. The film was shown at the Press Play Film Festival in Newcastle and London's East End Film Festival. The dates and venues at which the film played are shown in the table below. As is evident from this table, Sigma Films opted to concentrate the release of *Donkeys* in Scotland. The close of this chapter returns to this idea through examination of the Scottish box office performance of select films funded by Scottish lottery finance.

Table 4. Theatrical Screenings of *Donkeys*.

Date(s) (2010)	Venue
08-14 October	Glasgow Film Theatre
09-10 October	Perth Playhouse
29 October-11 November	Cineworld Glasgow
01-04 November	Edinburgh Filmhouse
04-11 November	Cineworld Aberdeen
05-11 November	Cineworld Edinburgh
05-11 November	Dundee Contemporary Arts
08 November	Robert Burns Centre, Dumfries
11 November	Cineworld Falkirk
12 November	Cineworld Dundee
12-17 November	Eden Court, Inverness

Note. Dates and venues taken from the *Donkeys* Facebook Page.

Similar to *Red Road*, conventional marketing materials were commissioned for *Donkeys*. In addition to these, the campaign also comprises of what Kerrigan (2009) terms "new" (p. 123) marketing practices. Kerrigan (2009) writes:

Developments in new technology have significantly changed film marketing practices. Having said this, depicting these changes as wholesale movement from “old marketing” to “new marketing” may be overstating things. For the moment, many of the conventional film marketing practices still survive and may be supplemented by innovative online campaigns. (p. 123)

As is discussed in greater depth in a later section, in addition to developing a poster and trailer for *Donkeys*, Sigma Films also established, and continue to maintain, accounts on social media websites, most prominently Facebook. During the four years in between the release of the two Advance Party films, use of social media websites increased significantly (Brenner, 2013; Forrester Research, n.d., as cited in Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Despite the lack of consistency amongst difference sources as to the extent of this growth, there is a consensus that this increase is sizeable. Sigma Films’ use of social media facilitated a means of communication between distributor and audience that differs from that possible through conventional marketing practices. Nonetheless, as becomes apparent through analysis of the *Donkeys* marketing campaign, Ellis’ (1982) overriding notion of creating “an idea of the film” (p. 30) remains pertinent. A key way that Sigma Films used social media was to make available conventional marketing materials.

Poster

Only one poster was commissioned for *Donkeys*, this is shown in Figure 23. Sigma Films’ Colin Kennedy, writer and director of short film *I Love Luci* (2010), which screened before theatrical showings of *Donkeys*, designed this poster. In a blog entry dated June 6, 2010, Kennedy outlines that he was offered this work on the basis of the poster he designed for his short film.

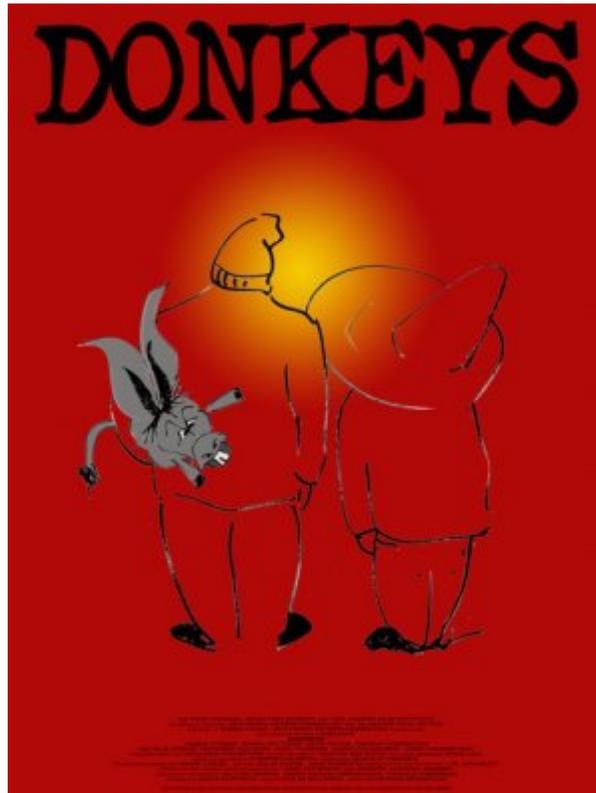


Figure 23. Theatrical Poster, *Donkeys*. Designed by Colin Kennedy and commissioned by Sigma Films.

Though it was once commonplace for film posters to be illustrated, it is unusual to see illustration in contemporary designs. Since the 1990s, use of photographs, particularly of principal actors, has become standard practice. In a blog entry, Kennedy (2010) outlines the inspiration behind this poster. He singles out the poster for *Mon Oncle/My Uncle* (Tati, 1958), shown in Figure 24 (p. 197), and the classic Polish film posters as being of particular influence. Judith Salavetz, Spencer Drate, Sam Sarowitz and Dave Kehr (2008) observe that in the wake of World War II:

Polish designers began to eliminate the purely decorative flourishes of the Art Nouveau and Art Deco styles that were dominant in the '20s and '30s, as well as the huge star portraits that had come to dominate posters in Hollywood and Western Europe. Instead...artists searched for a single image to summarize and symbolize the film's content.... (p. 6)

The authors go on to note that during the 1950s and 1960s, Polish film posters became increasingly “dreamlike and free-associative, sometimes to the point where it became difficult to tell what film was...being advertised” (p. 6). In keeping with the

conventions Salavetz et al. outline, the *Donkeys* poster does not focus on the film's stars. The illustration does not reveal who is in the film, and the actors' names are displayed in an extremely small font at the foot of the design. Moreover, in line with the Polish tradition, an image is used that is intended to "summarize and symbolize the film's content" (2008, p. 6), though this does not exhibit the same degree of interpretive style that characterises many of the Polish posters, particularly of the 1950s and 1960s. Nevertheless, the *Donkeys* poster is decidedly removed from the majority of contemporary film posters. On the one hand, this works to mark the film as unique. On the other, the poster's shunning of mainstream practices may alienate potential viewers accustomed to conventional designs, particularly as it reveals little about the film's subject matter and genre. Once again, this highlights the need for research into audience engagement with film marketing materials.

Perhaps unsurprising given the micro budget on which *Donkeys* was released, audience research appears to have also been essentially absent from the process of developing advertising materials. After designing the poster for *Donkeys*, Kennedy (2010) took to his blog in an attempt to gather feedback from his readers. The only user to respond comments: "Is this film about two dudes aka a couple of asses who wear funky hats?" Not sure what message/hook about the film this is sending me" (Sue (Sweet on Sigma), 2010). Although this is the opinion of just one potential viewer, it suggests an ambiguity with regards to the relationship between the image featured on the poster and the content of the film. In response Kennedy (2010) writes:

The story is about two old guys who are planning to see out their days in Spain. They are old guys, one sells bric-a-brac tat on a market stall. Hopefully that explains the stuffed donkey and the sombrero, two items of tat that are commonly associated with tourist garbage bought while on holiday on the Costa del Sol. They are looking into the sunset, an age old metaphor for twilight years, and the colours are very reminiscent of Spain too, same as the flag. The old boys are not the brightest sparks on the face of the planet, they are actually a couple of donkeys - colloquial english [sic] in the same way that ass is used in the States, idiots, but more endearing....I hope this explains a few things, maybe my metaphors are bit on the bland side. I'll have a think about a

way I can make the thematic things clearer. The idea's gone down quite well in the office, but we're all familiar with the content of the movie so our opinions don't really count.

From this it is clear that the image featured on the poster is intended to capture and indicate the content of the film in a relatively straightforward way. However, the user's response casts doubt as to how easily the intended message can be decoded without prior knowledge of the film's content. This highlights one of the key challenges facing independent distributors: namely, financial and structural obstacles often prevent sufficient market research from taking place (Kerrigan, 2009). Without a clear and concise idea of a film's target audience and a sense of their response to advertising materials, Sigma Films were essentially operating with a set of untested assumptions.

The illustrated outline of two male characters is central to the poster. Their stance is suggestive of the iconic duo of Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy, whose slapstick comedy is emblematic of the early focus of the buddy film (Abbott, 2009). The visual reference to the poster for *Mon Oncle* (Figure 24), a film featuring Jacques Tati's signature blend of satirical and slapstick comedy, enhances this positioning. As the section that follows discusses, although the *Donkeys* trailer also alludes to this to a degree, it is not its defining aspect. Nor is the relationship between the two men.

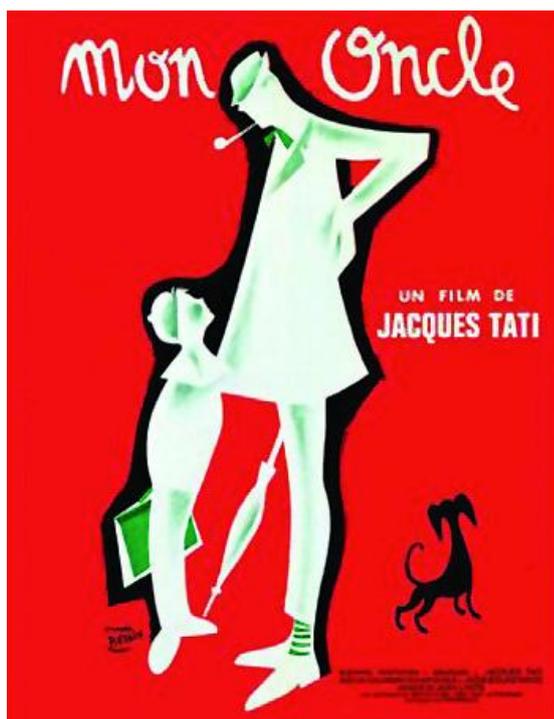


Figure 24. Poster, *Mon Oncle*. This is the French poster for Tati's *My Uncle*. The BFI used a similar design for the film's DVD casing when it was released on DVD in 2003.

A final point to note in regards to the *Donkeys* poster is that it does not make reference to the Advance Party initiative. In relation to this, Kennedy (2010) states in a blog entry: "It could easily mention the Advance Party scheme, although I suspect...that will only mean something to a seriously knowledgeable few". He adds: "Maybe it could have something about the same producers as *Red Road* but I fear that would send a conflicting message about the tone of the film". This is a different stance to that exhibited in the application form submitted to Scottish Screen for development finance in 2004. In this, Sigma Films assert that the scheme offers a "unique marketing opportunity". Conversely, a considerable portion of newspaper coverage of *Donkeys*, as the next chapter details, makes reference to the Advance Party scheme. This disparity has the potential to confuse the link between *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. The recasting of the part of Alfred, which was discussed in Chapter Four, further clouds the relationship between the two films.

Home Entertainment Release

Typically, when a film is released on DVD or Blu-Ray, the casing design is based on the film's theatrical poster. In contrast, when Soda Pictures released *Donkeys* on DVD, they used an alternative design (Figure 25). This features a photographic image, rather than an illustration, and unlike the theatrical poster, the actors' names are clearly displayed on the case. The yellow and red colouring of the image, in combination with its seemingly tattered edges, gives the casing an "indie" quality that is enhanced by the quotation from *The Guardian* at the bottom of the design, which reads: "Scotland's UNDERGROUND HIT film of the year" (emphasis in original). In keeping with the theatrical poster, the DVD casing situates *Donkeys* as an alternative to the mainstream, but does so in accordance with the conventions of contemporary film advertising materials. The positioning of James Cosmo and Brian Pettifer retains the buddy film pairing of Sigma Films' poster to a degree, however the DVD casing does not gesture towards slapstick comedy. The inclusion of Martin Compston perhaps goes some way towards enhancing the film's potential appeal to a younger demographic. Similar to the theatrical poster, the DVD casing makes no reference to the Advance Party scheme.

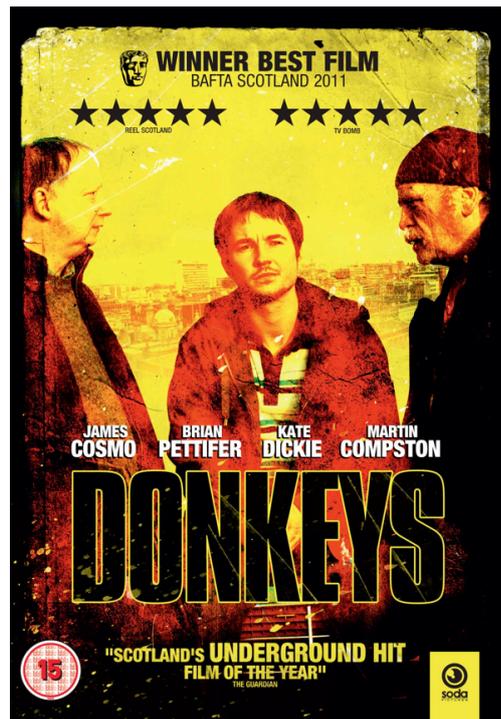


Figure 25. DVD Casing, *Donkeys*. Commissioned by Soda Pictures.

Trailer

As with the poster, at the outset of the trailer commissioned by Sigma Films, the relationship between the two elderly male characters is foregrounded. (Although the trailer does not explicitly reveal the name of the characters it features, in order to avoid confusion, the analysis that follows will refer to the characters by the names assigned to them in the feature film.) As the trailer progresses new strands are added. Most likely these are intended to broaden the appeal of the film, yet they also have the potential to confuse its central thrust.

The *Donkeys* trailer largely follows the conventional trailer narrative outlined in relation to *Red Road*. At the outset of the trailer, the friendship between Alfred and Brian is established, and it is suggested that the latter's fear of flying prohibits their plan to go to Spain. The pair are shown sitting at the airport and Alfred says to Brian: "You and me are going to Spain, and you are getting on a plane". The scruffy appearance of the two men stands in contrast to their surroundings. As Thomas

Hylland Eriksen and Runar Døving (1992) observe, “the airport can be seen as an ‘international symbol’ of the modern individual” (para. 19). The two men are a far cry from the image of the sleek, professional man or woman conjured by the term “modern individual”, and thus a comic contrast is created through the juxtaposition of characters and place. Soon after, the two men are shown at a rundown market. Alfred is attempting to flog bric-a-brac, while Brian sits looking up at him as he works. The active image of Alfred contrasts with the passive Brian, and establishes the former as the lead character.

After about 30 seconds Alfred first makes reference to his daughter. A shot of a young man, Stevie, in which he tells Alfred, “You’re a nutcase pal”, is followed by a reverse shot of Alfred in which he responds, “I’m her dad”. At this point, the exact nature of the father/daughter dynamic, and its place within the narrative, is unclear, although the dialogue suggests that their relationship is troubled. A brief shot of Alfred and Brian at a burger van during which Brian tells Alfred, “It’s a beautiful thing being a dad”, is followed by one in which the pair are shown following a woman, inferably Alfred’s daughter, Jackie. Alfred informs his friend, “Ten years she has blanked me”, confirming that their relationship has been difficult for some time. Through this montage of shots, the father/daughter story is positioned as central to the narrative, and their relationship begins to supersede the emphasis placed until this point on the friendship between Alfred and Brian.

Alfred’s plans to move to Spain are unsettled when he learns that he is dying. Close-ups of Alfred’s eyes and chest being examined, followed by a medium-long shot of Alfred sitting comically dressed in a hospital gown, locate the audience in a hospital. Alfred rises from the hospital bed and begins to walk briskly around the room proclaiming, “I’m dying!” To this the voice of another patient responds, “Welcome aboard”. The flippant way in which the subject of death is dealt with is suggestive of

the black comedy genre (Gehring, 1996). Interestingly, the trailer makes no reference to the provocative issues of assisted suicide and incest, which are also dealt with in the film and are likewise in keeping with the serious subject matter of the black comedy genre (Gehring, 1996; O'Neill, 1983). Their controversial nature was perhaps considered to have the potential to limit the audience to which the film would appeal. In fact, the relationship between Jackie and Stevie is presented as a straightforward romance.

The rest of the trailer shows Alfred's attempts to make amends with his daughter, while also highlighting his declining health and, to an extent, his friendship with Brian. Additional information as to the reason Alfred and his daughter are no longer on speaking terms is provided. The two are shown at a graveyard and the woman asks her father, "Why don't you just die?" The trailer then cuts to a scene between Jackie and Stevie during which she reveals, "He killed my husband". A shot of Jackie and Stevie kissing, intercut with Alfred telling his granddaughter, "When a man and a woman really like each other, they, eh...get things out that they normally wouldn't get out", foregrounds a romantic subplot and underscores the comedic nature of the film.

From this overview, there is a sense that the *Donkeys* trailer attempts to be all things to all people. This is perhaps unsurprising given the apparent absence of a clearly defined target audience. Moreover, the trailer does not create a clear narrative enigma. Initially it would appear that it is raising the question as to why Jackie is no longer on speaking terms with her father, but this question is seemingly answered half way in when she proclaims, "He killed my husband". The less enticing questions of if and how he will make amends then arise.

Social Media and Promotions

Confusion is also evident in Sigma Films' social media campaign. On September 4, 2010, Sigma Films established a Facebook Page for *Donkeys*. The following month, on October 19, during the film's limited theatrical run in Scotland, the Page had just 462 "Likes".⁵⁵ This figure has since increased to 1,065, however this is still fairly insubstantial in comparison to the stats for other films.⁵⁶

As well as relying on Facebook users to actively seek out a Page, those running it may attempt to increase their number of Likes by using social plugins. These allow personalised features from Facebook to be directly integrated into other websites. At present, Sigma Films' website makes use of plugins. These link browsers to the company's Page/profile on social media websites, or the Page/profile of their individual films. Facebook also suggest that a business might consider paying for advertising space on Facebook. In theory, advertisements, which can be targeted at a certain demographic, can be used to prompt users to click-through to a particular Page, or a specific post, image, trailer etc. It is hoped that users that click through will go on to Like that Page, as this means posts from that Page may appear in the user's

⁵⁵ As Michal Kosinski, David Stillwell and Thore Graepel (2013) observe, Facebook Likes is "a mechanism used by Facebook users to express their positive association with (or "like") online content, such as photos, friends' status updates, Facebook pages of products, sports, musicians, books, restaurants, or popular Web sites" (p. 1).

⁵⁶ To provide these figures with a tentative context, the number of Facebook Likes for select films on release at the time of writing (August 2013) are as follows: *Elysium* (Blomkamp, 2013), 395,150; *We're the Millers* (Thurber, 2013), 239,636; *Planes* (Hall, 2013), 501,685; *Grown Ups 2* (Dugan, 2013), 8,504,621; and, *The World's End* (Wright, 2013), 164,119. As a further points of comparison, Sigma Films' subsequent releases *Perfect Sense* (Mackenzie, 2011), *You Instead* (Mackenzie, 2011) and *Citadel* (Foy, 2012) currently have 37,201, 9,177 and 3,569 Likes respectively, while recent Scotland-based productions *I Am Breathing* (Davie & McKinnon, 2013) and *Not Another Happy Ending* (McKay, 2013) have 3,524 and 4,383. Directly comparing the figures for *Donkeys* to those shown above is of course problematic. For one, the films have been released in a different number of countries for varying lengths of time. Moreover, almost three years have passed since the release of *Donkeys* and use of social media has altered during this time. Despite these points, it is possible to say with some degree of assurance that, at the time of *Donkeys*' release, the film's Facebook audience was not particularly substantial.

News Feed. In order for a post to appear higher in a News Feed, a company can pay to promote their posts. It is unclear the extent to which social media websites such as Facebook are of use to businesses, or in this instance distributors, as Facebook does not publish extensive statistics pertaining to click through rates and news feed appearance. Nonetheless, it is possible to observe that although social networking websites have the potential to extend awareness of a film, this is not without financial cost. In the case of *Donkeys*, it is likely that those who Liked the Page, sought it out of their own accord.

A key way in which Sigma Films used the *Donkeys* Facebook Page was to alert followers to upcoming screenings. For instance, on September 4, 2010, the day the *Donkeys* Facebook Page was created, an event entitled “Launch screening with cast, director and writer Q&A” was setup. Similar events were created, or posts made, to alert followers to subsequent screenings. For example, on November 17, 2010 the following was posted: “Last day to see Donkeys at Eden Court ! [sic]”. Such messages were also posted, or Tweeted, on the social networking website Twitter. At the end of October 2010, the *Donkeys* Twitter account had 227 followers. These posts have the potential to alert people who have expressed an interest in the film to specific screenings. Given *Donkeys*’ minimal P&A budget and the fact that screenings were sporadic and infrequent, the task of making those with an expressed interest in the film aware of specific showings is of the utmost importance.

As the first example cited above indicates, screenings were often accompanied by an event, most notably a Q&A session with members of the cast and crew. Such events were held at a number of cinemas during *Donkeys*’ initial release in Scotland. In addition to the film’s opening night at GFT, a Q&A session was also held at Perth Playhouse, Edinburgh Film House, Robert Burns Centre and Eden Court. Q&A sessions take advantage of Sigma Films’ local basis and facilitate a level of intimacy

between filmmakers and audience that is not typically attainable in feature film distribution. Another event that likewise capitalises on the film's local basis in order to promote a distinctly local identity is the appearance of opera singer and chip shop owner Luigi Corvi, who has a brief role in the film, at the Cineworld on Glasgow's Renfrew Street. Corvi serenaded Cineworld customers as they waited in line to purchase tickets on October 29, the same day a Q&A session was held with members of the film's cast and crew. As the chapter that follows discusses, Corvi caught the attention of Glasgow's *Evening Times* newspaper, which printed an article entitled "Luigi's big night at the movies" on October 29. Such events endow the film with a sense of the local and situate *Donkeys* within a regional (Glasgow) or national (Scotland) context.

The *Donkeys* Facebook Page also regularly featured competitions run in connection with the film. The central aim of many of these competitions is to encourage existing followers to share the Page with their Facebook friends. For instance, on October 14 the following was posted: "Hallam Foe DVD's [sic] available to the first 6 people who share Donkeys with all their friends on their page then post back to let us know - share and share alike!!!" Despite setting the number of free DVDs at six, only four users responded, calling into question the value and effectiveness of such competitions, and the prizes offered. Sigma Films also ran a competition, "Donkey Work", through the creative social network Central Station (thisiscentralstation.com), which is funded by Creative Scotland. A link to this competition, which involves the opportunity to win a day of work experience on Sigma Films' *Citadel* (Foy, 2012) through writing a 100-word review of *Donkeys*, was posted on the *Donkeys* Facebook Page. As will become evident in the next chapter, this also received attention in the press.

Integrated Campaign?

In an article published in the journal *Business Horizons*, Andreas M. Kaplan and Michael Haenlein (2010) argue, that in order to build a successful social media campaign, integration with traditional media is of utmost importance. The content of the *Donkeys* Facebook Page reveals a different rationale from that underpinning the poster. Whereas a decision was made not to include reference to the Advance Party framework or *Red Road* on the poster, the About section of the *Donkeys* Facebook Page states: “coal black comedy from the makers of Hallam Foe and Red Road”. Moreover, shortly before the film started its limited Scottish run, Sigma Films made several posts that centre on the Advance Party framework. For instance, on October 6 they ask: “Have you seen the first film in the Advance Party Trilogy?” An overview of the Advance Party rules was posted the next day, as too was a link to the scheme’s Wikipedia entry, and on October 8, the character sketch of Jackie was made available.

At present, there is a dearth of research on the use of social media in film marketing campaigns, and the little work that has been published (i.e. Kerrigan, 2009, pp. 200-202) centres on the use of social media in the marketing of Hollywood films. It is beyond the scope of this present research project to consider in depth the use of social media in the marketing of independent films, however some suggestions are useful to note when thinking about Sigma Films’ use of Facebook in its marketing of *Donkeys*. While the altered stance towards the role of the Advance Party framework does have the potential to confuse possible viewers, Facebook was perhaps viewed as a way for Sigma Films to reach an eager audience more likely to be interested in the Advance Party framework. However, this rationale overlooks the fact that conventional materials do not exist independently of digital marketing practices. Indeed, a comment posted on the *Donkeys* trailer on YouTube, “Does this story have any relation to Red Road? I loved that movie and I would like to see this if there is any

continuity” (sweiland75, 2010), anecdotally reinforces the need for clarity and consistency throughout a marketing campaign.

The uncertainty as to what should be foregrounded in the marketing of *Donkeys* points to Sigma Films’ inexperience in marketing and distribution. Although intended to be a scheme for first time filmmakers, the release of *Donkeys* ultimately also provided Sigma Films with their first experience in marketing and distribution. Drawing on analysis of the content of funding applications presented in Chapter Five, it is clear that the distribution of *Donkeys* was much more limited than Sigma Films initially intended. As will become clear however, it is preferable to the distribution, or lack thereof, of other films funded by Scottish Screen. As the section that follows also reveals, McKinnon’s debut feature is not the only film to have been released by its production company. The next section considers the distribution of Scottish Screen films. It notes patterns in their release and situates the Advance Party films within this wider context.

Theatrical Distribution of Scottish Screen-Funded Films

Overall, the distribution of Scottish Screen-funded films is characterised by fragmentation, an attribute symptomatic of independent cinema more generally. As observed in relation to Arnold’s film, independent distributors typically operate on a territory-by-territory basis, acquiring the rights to distribute a film only in a single market. In the UK, the virtual absence of distributors based in Scotland requires producers to look elsewhere, typically London, in order to find a UK distribution deal for their film. Independent distributors that released Scottish Lottery-funded films in the UK range from the likes of Icon, Momentum and Pathé, distributors, which as the outset of this chapter noted, often rank places seven through ten on the top-ten list of distributors in the UK and Ireland, to smaller companies such as Verve Pictures and

Soda Pictures, and the even smaller CinéFile and Guerilla Films that release just a few titles a year. In a few instances, the UK distribution arm of a Hollywood major acquired the rights to a Scottish Screen-funded film.

Premier Film Festival Launch to the Art Cinema Circuit

As in the case of *Red Road*, film festivals and markets played a pivotal role in facilitating the buying and selling of rights to Scottish Screen-funded films. In terms of market activity, Cannes and to a lesser extent Berlin are particularly important festivals to consider when thinking about the distribution of European art cinema, as both have associated markets running alongside. Several films premiered at either Cannes or Berlin: in addition to *Red Road*, *Morvern Callar*, *Sweet Sixteen* (Loach, 2002) and *Young Adam* (Mackenzie, 2003) launched at Cannes and, *Ae Fond Kiss* (Loach, 2004) and *Hallam Foe* (Mackenzie, 2007) at Berlin. Table 5 contains cinema admissions for these films relating to select countries. As observed in analysis of *Red Road*, Cannes proved vital to ensuring the film secured distribution in countries other than the UK. It is evident from Table 5 that Trust Film Sales' assertion regarding the importance of the UK market is astute. The film performed significantly better in this territory than in any of the others listed: 65,196 admissions were recorded in the UK, while the second largest showing was in France where just 25,163 were recorded.

Table 5. Cinema Admissions by Territory, Scottish Lottery-Funded Films.

	<i>Morvern Callar</i>	<i>Sweet Sixteen</i>	<i>Young Adam</i>	<i>Ae Fond Kiss</i>	<i>Red Road</i>	<i>Hallam Foe</i>
Belgium	Not available	32,091	11,126	59,828	6,138	3,978
Denmark	Not available	15,937	2,307	99,514	6,961	4,151
France	16,836	351,288	9,351	423,011	25,163	59,237
Germany	Not available	16,901	22,438	132,379	2,207	82,559
Italy	Not available	128,050	26,116	335,629	10,330	Not available
Netherlands	1,709	2,884	15,884	26,733	9,677	6,681
Spain	Not available	135,967	28,112	210,282	6,801	Not available
Sweden	11,127	6,919	4,735	10,971	3,075	594
UK	84,102	178,485	174,616	101,639	65,196	84,050
US (estimate)	44,600	52,500	123,600	4,800	22,500	8,400

Note. Figures from the European Audiovisual Observatory and Box Office Mojo.

While Cannes was vital to securing international distribution for *Red Road*, when *Young Adam* premiered at the festival in May of 2003, the project had already been sold to multiple distributors at the MIFED film market in 2001, before principal photography had commenced (Dawtre, Foreman & Hopewell, 2001). Vertigo had acquired rights to the film in Spain, Mikado in Italy, Odeon in Greece, LNK in Portugal, 3 Line Pictures in the Benelux countries and Noah in Israel. Reporting from Cannes in 2003, Adam Dawtre notes that prior to screening in Cannes' *Un Certain Regard* sidebar, *Young Adam* had sold everywhere except North America and Germany. Sony Pictures Classics later picked up the film for North America, while Alamode Film purchased the German rights.⁵⁷ As is evident from Table 5, the United States is an important market for *Young Adam*, and is second only to the UK in terms of total admissions.

⁵⁷ Mongrel Media distributed *Young Adam* in Canada, as they have done with Sony Pictures Classics' films since 2001.

Unlike *Red Road*, which casts relatively unknown actors as its leads, *Young Adam* features the much higher profile Ewan McGregor and Tilda Swinton. At the time of *Young Adam's* release, the former had recently starred in Baz Luhrmann's Academy Award winning *Moulin Rouge!* (2001) and as Obi-Wan Kenobi in the first two *Star Wars* prequels (Lucas, 1999, 2002), and the latter was known foremost for her art cinema roles, in particular for starring as Orlando in Sally Potter's 1992 film of the same name and her work in the films of Derek Jarman. McGregor can thus be viewed as boosting the film's commercial appeal and Swinton, its art house credentials. In the UK, *Young Adam* enjoyed a wider release than the other titles shown in Table 6 (below). Warner Brothers distributed the film in this territory and during its opening weekend it played at 133 sites, a figure three-and-a-half times that of *Red Road* and almost eight times that of *Morvern Callar*. *Hallam Foe* is the only other film in this table to have been distributed by a Hollywood major. The film was released in the UK by Disney owned Buena Vista and opened at 98 sites, the second widest launch of those films shown in Table 6. Despite receiving a wider release than the other films shown in this table, the opening weekend average gross per site for *Young Adam* and *Hallam Foe* is considerably lower than those for *Red Road* and *Morvern Callar*, the films that opened on the least number of sites.

Table 6. UK Opening Weekend, Scottish Screen-Funded Films.

Film	Distributor	Gross (£)	Number of sites	Average gross per site (£)
<i>Morvern Callar</i>	Momentum	82,014	17	4,824
<i>Sweet Sixteen</i>	Icon	144,388	66	2,188
<i>Young Adam</i>	Warner Brothers	228,692	133	1,719
<i>Ae Fond Kiss</i>	Icon	106,366	62	1,716
<i>Red Road</i>	Verve Picture	81,992	38	2,158
<i>Hallam Foe</i>	Buena Vista	132,972	98	1,357

Note. Figures from the British Film Institute.

In contrast to Arnold and Mackenzie, both relatively unknown directors when distribution deals were being sought for *Red Road* and *Young Adam*, Loach, director of

Sweet Sixteen and *Ae Fond Kiss*, had a long established reputation that proved influential when securing sales for his Scottish Screen-funded films. In relation to *Ae Fond Kiss*, Stephan De Potter (2006) of Belgian distributor Cinéart notes that, as Cinéart had released a number of Loach's films prior to this, the rights to this film were negotiated directly between the distributor and producer. Antonio Medici (2006) of Italian distributor Bim Distribuzione describes a similarly lengthy relationship between Loach and Bim Distribuzione. In order to maintain his reputation, it is vital that Loach's films premiere at a top festival. The positioning of his films as "quality" is enhanced through the nomination and allocation of prizes at these festivals.

Further Towards the Anglophone Mainstream

While the films discussed thus far received a theatrical release in the US, this market proved more lucrative for *The Last King of Scotland* (Macdonald, 2006), *The Magdalene Sisters* (Mullan, 2002) and *Dear Frankie* (Auerbach, 2004), three films geared further towards the mainstream than those considered to date. In relation to *The Last King of Scotland*, it is important to note the involvement of Fox Searchlight Pictures, the arm of 20th Century Fox that specialises in the production and distribution of independent cinema. The studio was involved with the film from its production stage and later went on to distribute it in multiple territories (Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, France, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, the UK and the US). Indeed, in comparison with other Scottish Lottery-funded films, the distribution of *The Last King of Scotland* was remarkably less fragmented.

Despite 20th Century Fox's involvement, premiering at a high profile festival was crucial to the success of *The Last King of Scotland*. The film held its official world premiere at the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), a festival whose

reputation has gone from strength to strength in recent years. Catherine Shoard (2012) observes:

In 1998, *Variety* wrote that Tiff was ‘second only to Cannes in terms of high-profile pics, stars and market activity’. A decade on and *Time Magazine* went one better, reporting that Tiff had grown into ‘the most influential film festival, period’. (Section 5, para. 1)

In part, Shoard attributes the festival’s growth to its close relationship with the Academy Awards. She notes that many films included in its programme in September go on to Academy Award success in February. This happened with *The Last King of Scotland*, which saw Forest Whitaker win the Best Actor award for his portrayal of Ugandan dictator Idi Amin. The film’s successful Oscar campaign increased its profile and substantially bolstered box office takings. *The Last King of Scotland* went on limited release in the US in September of 2006. This widened in the month leading up to the Academy Awards and it was during this period that the film saw its box office takings spike (Box Office Mojo, n.d.). Ultimately, the film grossed almost \$18 million at the US box office, recouping its £4 million production budget several times over in this market alone (Calderwood, as cited in Scottish Screen, 2008a).

Though screening at TIFF increased the profile of *The Last King of Scotland*, due to Fox’s involvement in its production, inclusion in the festival was not needed to secure distribution. In the instance of Peter Mullan’s second feature film, *The Magdalene Sisters*, it was during this festival that a North American distribution deal was struck with Miramax (Goodridge, 2002). The film premiered at the Venice International Film Festival in August of 2002 where it won the festival’s prestigious Golden Lion award, and less than two weeks later, it screened at TIFF. In an interview at Venice, Mark Ordesky, president of Fine Line Pictures, one of the distributors interested in acquiring the film for the US market, states his intention to hold off bidding on the film until TIFF (as cited in Bruni, 2002). He reasons that increasingly he views Venice as a festival at which to identify films for future

consideration. Several weeks later, Miramax Films held off competition from Fine Line Pictures and Sony Pictures Classic and acquired the rights to *The Magdalene Sisters* for \$600,000 (Goodridge, 2002; Lyons & Kelly, 2002). The film recorded over 800,000 admissions in the US, and this territory proved to be an important market for the film (Box Office Mojo, n.d.). *The Magdalene Sisters* also performed well in Europe, recording 760,845 admissions in Italy, 562,782 in France, 443,305 in the UK, 191,420 in Ireland, 131,946 in Germany and 122,510 in Spain (European Audio Observatory [EAO], n.d.).

Miramax also acquired *Dear Frankie* for the US market. The film, produced on a budget of £2 million, was purchased at the MIFED in November of 2003 (Mohr, 2004). After this acquisition the film's premiere, originally scheduled to take place at the Sundance Film Festival in January, was moved to the Tribeca Film Festival in May (Kay, 2004). The film received a largely positive response from critics in the US and a total of 209,256 cinema admissions were recorded in this market (EAO, n.d.). *Dear Frankie* was also included as a last minute edition to the *Un Certain Regard* sidebar at Cannes. Hannah McGill and Phil Miller (2004) note the film's screening at Cannes was met with hostility from several British journalists in attendance. Peter Bradshaw (2004), writing for *The Guardian*, awards the film just one out of five stars and describes it as "mawkish and fundamentally unconvincing" (para. 1). Pathé, who had also contributed to the film's production finance, released the film in the UK, where it failed to make an impact at the box office. The film grossed just £130, 459, performing better in Germany and Spain than in the UK (BFI, n.d.-b; EAO, n.d.).

Little or No Distribution

Despite *Dear Frankie's* poor performance at the UK box office, its distribution was more desirable than that of many Scottish Screen-funded films. Prominent amongst

films that received minimal distribution is *True North* (Hudson, 2006), a thriller about three fishermen played by Martin Compston, Peter Mullan and Gary Lewis, who attempt to smuggle illegal Chinese immigrants across the North Sea. The film premiered at TIFF in 2006, but it was not until 2007 that Edinburgh-based CinéFile, a small distribution company that initially specialised in the release of French language titles, but which has since broadened its interests to include “challenging films from around the globe” (CinéFile, n.d., para. 1), acquired *True North* for the UK market. The film opened in just three cinemas, grossing £2,255 during its opening weekend (BFI, n.d.-b). Since its release, *True North* has recorded just 1,049 admissions in this market and to date has not been released on DVD (EAO, n.d.). Those in the UK wishing to purchase the film are required to import the DVD from the Netherlands.

Films that likewise received a limited theatrical release in the UK include the Guerilla Films titles *Blinded* (Yule, 2004; 1,536 recorded admissions) and *Gamerz* (Fraser, 2005; 809 recorded admissions), and Soda Pictures’ *AfterLife* (Peebles, 2003; 4,410 recorded admissions) and Gaelic language *Seachd – The Inaccessible Pinnacle* (Miller, 2007; 2,049 recorded admissions) (EAO, n.d.). Unlike *True North*, these films have all been released on DVD in the UK. Three of the aforementioned films, *Afterlife*, *Blinded* and *Seachd – The Inaccessible Pinnacle*, all held their world premiere at EIFF. As was noted in relation to *Donkeys*, the market activity at this festival is minimal.

There are also Scottish Screen-funded films that did not receive theatrical distribution. *Yasmin* (Gleannan, 2005), a film about a Muslim community in a town in West Yorkshire dealing with the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, which received £300,000 from Scottish Screen, was not released in UK cinemas (Scottish Screen, 2004a). The film, which is written by Simon Beaufoy, writer of *The Full Monty* (Cattaneo, 1997) and *Slumdog Millionaire* (Boyle, 2008), and stars Archie Panjabi, centres on a young woman, Yasmin, who leads a conflicted double life in her

attempts to please both her traditional Pakistani family and her Western colleagues. While, as Stuart Jeffries (2005) notes, the subject matter is similar to that of Panjabi's previous films *East is East* (O'Donnell, 1999) and *Bend it Like Beckham* (Chadha, 2002), the tone of *Yasmin* is comparably less upbeat, thus threatening its commercial appeal. Indeed, the film premiered on Channel 4, rather than in cinemas. Producer Sally Hibbin notes that after *Yasmin* won the Audience Award at the Dinard British Film Festival in France, Verve Pictures offered to distribute the film in the UK. However Hibbin's outlines:

The problem was, they couldn't find an opening at cinemas for a long while. And that wasn't good enough for us, because the film is clearly very topical and any delay would weaken its impact. So we went to Channel 4. I think there is a nervousness about how this kind of film will play at the British box office. (As cited in Jeffries, 2005, para. 10)

Although the film was met with apprehension by distributors in the UK, it was theatrically released elsewhere, including in France, Germany, Brazil and Switzerland (Jeffries, 2005).

Production Company Enters Into Distribution

Akin to the distribution of *Donkeys*, production company Bard Entertainment handled the UK release of Don Coutts' *American Cousins* (2003). When Margaret Matheson's Bard Entertainment concluded that they could not find a UK distribution deal that the production company could not better itself, it opted to take charge of the film's distribution (Matheson, personal communication, May 22, 2012). The film received a limited release in the UK and generated around £24,000 at the box office (BFI, n.d.-b). The UK home entertainment and television rights were acquired by Momentum, who later licensed the film to the BBC. Internationally, *American Cousins* sold in the following markets: Australia, New Zealand, Czech Republic, the former Yugoslavia, Greece, Cyprus, Iceland, Indonesia, Israel, Latin America, the Middle East, Portugal,

Romania, Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States, Scandinavia, South Korea, Taiwan, the US and Canada (Matheson, personal communication, May 22, 2012).

Following the release of *Donkeys*, Sigma Films established Sigma Releasing, a distribution arm of the company that enables it to co-release their films with other UK distributors. In May of 2011, Scottish Screen's successor Creative Scotland (2011) announced that it was investing £250,000 in Sigma Releasing, which allowed the company to co-release two of David Mackenzie's films, *You Instead* (2011) and *Perfect Sense* (2011) with Icon and Arrow respectively. By co-releasing their titles, Sigma Films is able, in theory at least, to reinvest revenue generated through distribution into future projects. However, neither *You Instead* nor *Perfect Sense* performed well at the box office. Although *You Instead* opened at an impressive 82 cinemas, it grossed just £6,770 during its opening weekend (BFI, n.d.-b). This equates to a poor site average of just £83. *Perfect Sense* performed little better. The film opened at 59 cinemas, but grossed just £21,675; a site average of £367. These figures can be usefully compared to those shown in Table 6 (p. 209).

Scottish Performance of Scottish Lottery-Funded Films

As detailed in the previous section, the release of *Donkeys* was predominantly confined to Scotland. This was practical for Glasgow-based Sigma Films, however it also raises the question as to whether films about Scotland perform better in Scotland relative to the rest of the UK. A major obstacle encountered when thinking about the distribution of films in Scotland is that published box office statistics relate to the UK as a whole and are not broken down by region or nation. One useful study in this respect is J. Ron Inglis, Sue Todd and Steve Westbrook's (2005) report on film exhibition in Scotland, which was commissioned by Scottish Screen. Based on statistics relating to

ten Scottish Screen-funded films, the authors conclude: “The portion of the UK box office income attributable to screenings at Scottish cinemas averages 32%, three times the proportion that would be expected on a pro-rata population basis” (p. 59). They go on to write: “Films with a clearly identifiable Scottish subject or location perform very much more strongly in Scotland than the rest of the UK – a pattern which is found in Ireland and Wales as well as most Nordic and European countries” (p. 59). As their study takes into consideration just ten feature films, this is perhaps a rather bold conclusion to draw. Moreover, while Inglis et al. usefully position Scottish box office takings relative to that of the rest of the UK, their observations do not take into consideration the international circulation of the films in question. As a means of addressing this, Figure 26 illustrates admission figures for *Wilbur (Wants to Kill Himself)* (Scherfig, 2002) relating to territories for which this information is available. These figures are displayed as a percentage of the total cinema admissions recorded in each territory during the year the film was released.

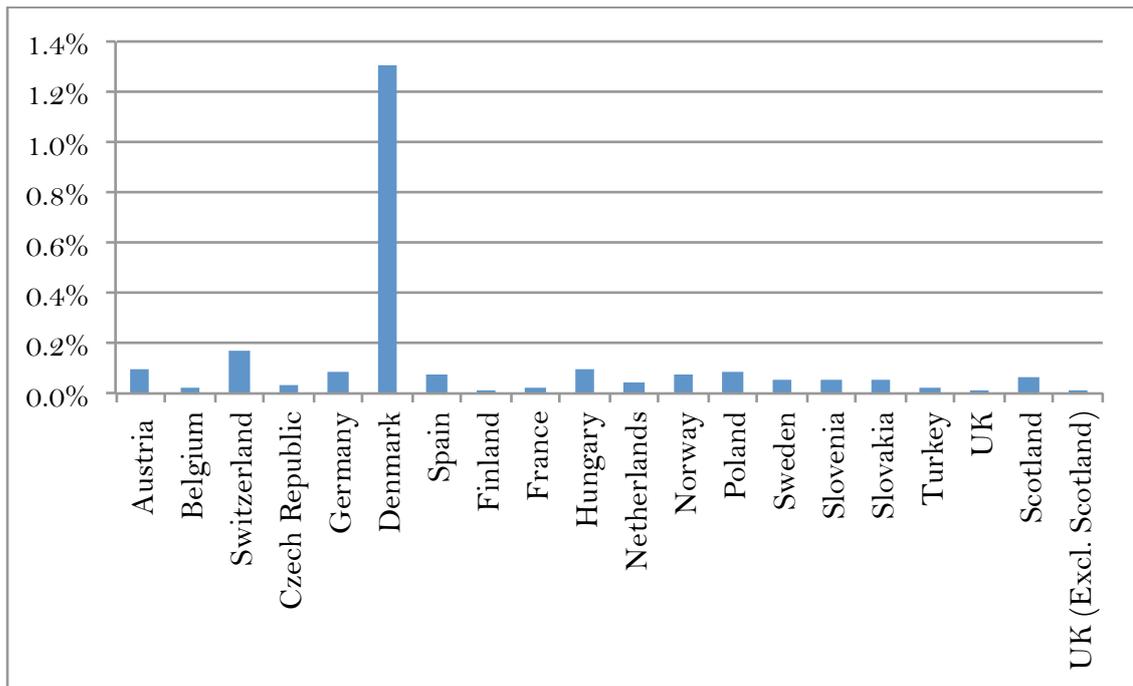


Figure 26. Admission Figures, Wilbur (Wants to Kill Himself). This figure displays admissions statistics for *Wilbur (Wants to Kill Himself)* as a percentage of total annual cinema admissions for select territories in which the film was released. The total admissions used in calculations are for the year the film was released in each territory. Data from the European Audiovisual Observatory and Inglis, Todd and Westbrook, 2005.

As is apparent from this graph, *Wilbur (Wants to Kill Himself)* recorded the greatest success, measured in terms of recorded admissions as a percentage of total cinema admissions, in Denmark. The Danish involvement with the film (p. 163) goes a long way towards accounting for its success in this territory. Indeed, the popularity of the film in Denmark sheds new light on its performance in Scotland. Although *Wilbur (Wants to Kill Himself)* accounted for 0.06% of cinema admissions in Scotland during the year of its release, a figure six times that relating to elsewhere in the UK, in Denmark, 1.3% of cinema admissions for the relevant year are attributable to the film; a figure 22 times that of the Scottish equivalent. This is perhaps unsurprising, for as Robin MacPherson (2010) observes, in terms of audience share for domestic productions, Denmark “provides something of a benchmark exemplar for a country like Scotland” (p. 6). Nonetheless, analysis of box office takings elsewhere quickly

illustrates that the film recorded stronger showings in Austria (0.09%), Switzerland (0.17%), Germany (0.08%), Spain (0.08%), Hungary (0.10%), Norway (0.08%) and Poland (0.09%) than it did in Scotland. When framed in these terms, Scotland's affinity for films with a Scottish subject matter appears less significant.

As this analysis relates to just one film, this conclusion cannot be extended to Scottish films more generally. In his comparative study of production levels and audience share for domestic films in Scotland, Ireland and Denmark, MacPherson (2010) cautions against drawing firm conclusions from Scottish box office data, as this data often evidences an "extreme susceptibility to individual events" (p. 13).⁵⁸ For example, he notes that Scottish films took over 2% of the Scottish market in 2005, up from 0.2% in 2006, largely as a result of the popularity of *The Last King of Scotland*.

Whilst informative, box office data is only one means through which audience enthusiasm for domestic films can be measured. Such analysis reveals little about how people engage with films and whether or not a sense of "Scottishness", however this might be measured, plays a defining role in the selection and viewing process. To date, audience research has been virtually absent from Scottish film criticism, and whilst this is outwith the scope of this thesis, such research offers the potential to significantly expand the field of study.

Recent Developments

Both the distribution of *Red Road* and that of *Donkeys*, as this chapter has shown, can be situated within wider patterns of release evident in the distribution of Scottish Screen-funded films. It is clear that in cases where a film is not co-produced by a Hollywood major, attendance at key festivals and markets is vital in order to attain

⁵⁸ MacPherson (2010) acknowledges the difficulty involved in defining a Scottish film. His study adopts a broad definition and includes "all those titles with a recognizably Scottish leading creative, production or financial input" (p. 9).

widespread international distribution. Additionally, in most instances, the likelihood of a wide release is improved if a film is selected to a prominent film festival. The importance of festival and market attendance is recognised in Creative Scotland's current funding setup. At present, a strand within their Film and Television funding programme awards successful applicants up to £1,500 for market and festival attendance. Creative Scotland does not however, allocate annual funding to assist in film distribution. Given the near absence of distributors based in Scotland, this is perhaps not surprising. UK distributors releasing Scottish-based productions can apply for funding from the BFI's Distribution Fund, a revamped version of the UKFC's P&A Fund. Since this money is intended to supplement existing finance, rather than exclusively cover P&A costs, it would be of little use to productions that do not have an existing budget. This is of significance as it is likely films released through their production company will have only micro P&A finance available, if any at all.

It is worth briefly mentioning two other Scottish films that likewise have received a limited theatrical release linked to their production company: *We Are Northern Lights* (Higgins, 2013) and *I Am Breathing* (Davie & McKinnon, 2013), both documentaries.⁵⁹ The former is a low budget, crowd-sourced documentary funded to the sum of £250,000 by Creative Scotland through their First in a Lifetime Fund (Creative Scotland, 2012). The film comprises of amateur videos shot by members of the public, in response to being asked to think about Scotland's past, present and future. The film premiered at the Glasgow Film Festival and went on to a limited release in Scotland. It is the first Scottish documentary to be picked up by Cineworld and it played at Cineworld cinemas in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Falkirk, Dundee and

⁵⁹ Unless stated otherwise, the information provided on *We Are Northern Lights* and *I Am Breathing* is taken from their individual website (wearenorthernlights.com and iambreathingfilm.com).

Glasgow, as well as a number of independent cinemas and community centres throughout Scotland, and various locations in the Highlands and Islands via the Screen Machine. The geographic reach of the film's release, which includes screenings in areas of Scotland that do not have permanent access to cinema, connects the film with the range of communities from which footage was gathered. Producer and director Nick Higgins created a distribution company through which to release the film, Northern Lights Film Ltd. Given the film's Scottish subject matter, it is perhaps unsurprising that screenings have been predominantly held in Scotland. A section of the film's website (wearenorthernlights.com) contains a contact form for those wishing to organise a community, cinema or festival showing. An emphasis on audience participation can thus be seen in both the film's production and distribution.

Morag McKinnon and Emma Davie's *I Am Breathing*, a film that follows Neil Platt, a man with Motor Neurone Disease (MND), in the final months of his life, likewise offers an interesting case study when thinking about the distribution of contemporary Scottish cinema. The documentary marks McKinnon's first film since *Donkeys*. *I Am Breathing* is co-produced by the Scottish Documentary Institute's SDI Productions, based at the Edinburgh College of Art, and Danish Documentary, and is funded by Creative Scotland, the DFI, Wellcome Trust, MND Association and the former UKFC. Ben Kempas, Producer of Marketing and Distribution for SDI, is currently (August 2013) overseeing the film's marketing and distribution. Similar to *We Are Northern Lights*, the website for *I Am Breathing* (iambreathingfilm.com) contains information as to how interested parties might go about arranging a screening. The film has screened in over forty countries to date, although importantly, these screenings have been at film festivals or one-off events.⁶⁰ Many of these took place on June 21 (2013), Global Screening Day, which coincided with Global

⁶⁰ For a full overview of screenings visit the *I Am Breathing* website (iambreathingfilm.com/screenings).

MND/ALS Awareness Day. On the eve of Global MND/ALS Awareness Day *I Am Breathing* screened at EIFF, and the following day was shown at the Glasgow Film Theatre. Both events, as was the case with *Donkeys*, were accompanied with a Q&A session. Half of the film's profits are donated to the MND Association and the other half to outreach work. Building on the momentum of the highly successful Global Screenings Day, Kempas launched a petition to get *I Am Breathing* into more cinemas. On the back of this, further screenings were held on August 22, 2013 in several Picturehouse cinemas in London, and in Leeds and near Falkirk.

In different ways, the distribution of both *We Are Northern Lights* and *I Am Breathing* is closely related to the production of the individual films. The production of *We Are Northern Lights* evidences a conscious effort to gather spontaneous, informal footage from around Scotland, and its distribution similarly reflects a desire to take the film to parts of Scotland without permanent access to exhibition outlets. In the case of *I Am Breathing*, its release foregrounds its subject matter through the Global Screenings Day initiative. In each case, this works to mark the film as unique, an important aspect in the creation of the narrative image (Ellis, 1982). However, the respective distributions of the two films are labour intensive. In the run up to the release of *We Are Northern Lights*, an Assistant Producer of Marketing and Distribution was hired to work alongside Higgins, and as noted, SDI's Kempas is the Producer of Marketing and Distribution for *I Am Breathing*. To extend the release of the films would require additional staff members.

Conclusion

Closer integration of production and distribution will perhaps continue to become more prominent in the future. Consequently, the number of distributors in the UK will likely continue to rise. Yet, it should also be remembered that such a distribution

model is unlikely to yield significant financial returns and, as a result, is more suited to films made on a micro budget. In order for a film to receive an extensive release outside Scotland, a producer must approach companies based elsewhere. In the UK, this typically requires going to London. This in turn means that a higher portion of any money generated through distribution also exits Scotland. Sigma Films' creation of Sigma Releasing offers a potential means through which Scottish production companies can extend their operations into distribution and thereby increase the portion of money returned to the company for investment in future projects. Given the poor site averages of *You Instead* and *Perfect Sense*, it remains to be seen whether such a model is sustainable.

Analysis of *Red Road* suggests that the relevance of the national is all but absent when thinking about marketing and distribution. Whilst national borders can be seen as important inasmuch as they provide loose boundaries within, and across which, a distributor's operations take place, examination of the marketing and distribution of *Red Road* uncovers a degree of consistency with regards to the materials used in its distribution. Graphic designer Sinfield's (personal communication, May 15, 2011) assertion that, in instances where his client receives a poster suitable for the UK market, he will adapt this, rather than create a new design, is particularly relevant to recall, as it suggests a need for distributors and designers to keep universal accessibility in mind. Alternatively however, analysis of *Donkeys* reveals an emphasis on the film's local base. Especially noteworthy in this respect is Sigma Films' use of promotions and events to accompany the film's limited Scottish release. However, as discussed above, such a release is labour intensive and is unlikely to yield significant financial returns. The varying distribution routes travelled by *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, and the different observations made in analysis of the two cases, highlight the complexities and potential dangers involved in making generalised claims about

the relevance of the national in relation to distribution.

The process of distribution is financially important, but also, as this chapter has shown, plays a central role in the creation of an identity for a film. This chapter has demonstrated that a film marketing campaign is far more than an adjunct of the feature film. As noted in Chapter Two, the activities of a distributor are just one key means through which an idea of a film enters into circulation. Another prominent way the narrative image is shaped is through the activities of journalists (Ellis, 1982). The chapter that follows continues analysis of the narrative image through examination of the UK newspaper coverage of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*.

Chapter Seven: UK Newspaper Coverage

In *Melodrama and Meaning* Barbara Klinger (1994) writes of a changing attitude towards reviews within film scholarship. She asserts: “Reviews are not just pieces of failed criticism, but types of social discourse which, like film advertisements, can aid the researcher in ascertaining the material conditions informing the relation between film and spectator at given moments” (p. 69). She goes on to write that the value of film reviews “lies...in their mobilization of terms that attempt to define how a film will be perceived in the culture at large” (p. 70), what Robert Allen and Douglas Gomery (1985) refer to as their “agenda-setting” (p. 90) potential. Similarly, John Ellis (1982) outlines the crucial role journalists play in constructing a narrative image of a film. He likewise singles out the “activities of film reviewers” as being “intimately connected” (p. 35) to the creation of the narrative image. While these studies highlight the importance of reviews, a film may also receive additional coverage in the press. For instance, as becomes apparent in examination of the newspaper coverage of *Red Road*, many articles are linked to the film’s inclusion in the Cannes International Film Festival line-up. Such articles also play a role in shaping the narrative image of the film and can inform the content of reviews.

In order to develop a comprehensive understanding of UK newspaper coverage of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, this chapter begins by outlining the results generated through a quantitative content analysis. It then considers in greater detail a sample of these articles using close textual analysis. As becomes apparent, the Advance Party framework does not play a significant role in the UK newspaper coverage of *Red Road* or *Donkeys*. This chapter closes through examination of its limited function in this capacity and begins to consider other types of publications, trade and film magazines, in which coverage of the initiative is more pronounced.

Content Analysis: Findings

As outlined in Chapter Two, a content analysis was performed in order to identify when the majority of newspaper coverage of the Advance Party films was printed, as well as its prompt, or what has been termed the “occasion” of coverage. (An overview of this variable and how it was measured is given in Appendix D.) Whether an Advance Party film was the focus of an article – measured categorically as either the focus, not the focus or shared focus (for more see codebook and instructions in Appendix D) – was also coded, as was the word count of each article. Using the search parameters detailed in Chapter Two, a total of 295 articles were retrieved in connection with one of the two films. Of these articles, 258 are linked to *Red Road* and only 37 to *Donkeys*. These figures do not necessarily represent the totality of UK newspaper coverage of the films, but they do provide a reliable indication as to the extent of their respective coverage.

As is evident from the graph in Figure 27, newspaper coverage of *Red Road* peaked on four occasions. These correspond with recognisable events, which are marked on the graph. A peak is first apparent on April 21, the day after the Cannes line-up was announced. In 2006, the festival took place May 17-28 and the award ceremony was held on the closing night. The day after, May 29, press coverage reached its highest point when 17 articles were published that made reference to *Red Road*. Overall, more than 20% of the articles retrieved are connected to Cannes. This indicates that the festival was a decisive factor in ensuring information about the film entered into circulation prior to theatrical release. Following Cannes, there was a lull in press coverage until the film’s general release at which time a second spike is evident on the graph. Further peaks are then visible at the time of the Scottish BAFTA Awards and the British Independent Film Awards. These findings suggest

that independent of general release, newspaper exposure of *Red Road* is overwhelmingly linked to established film festivals and events.

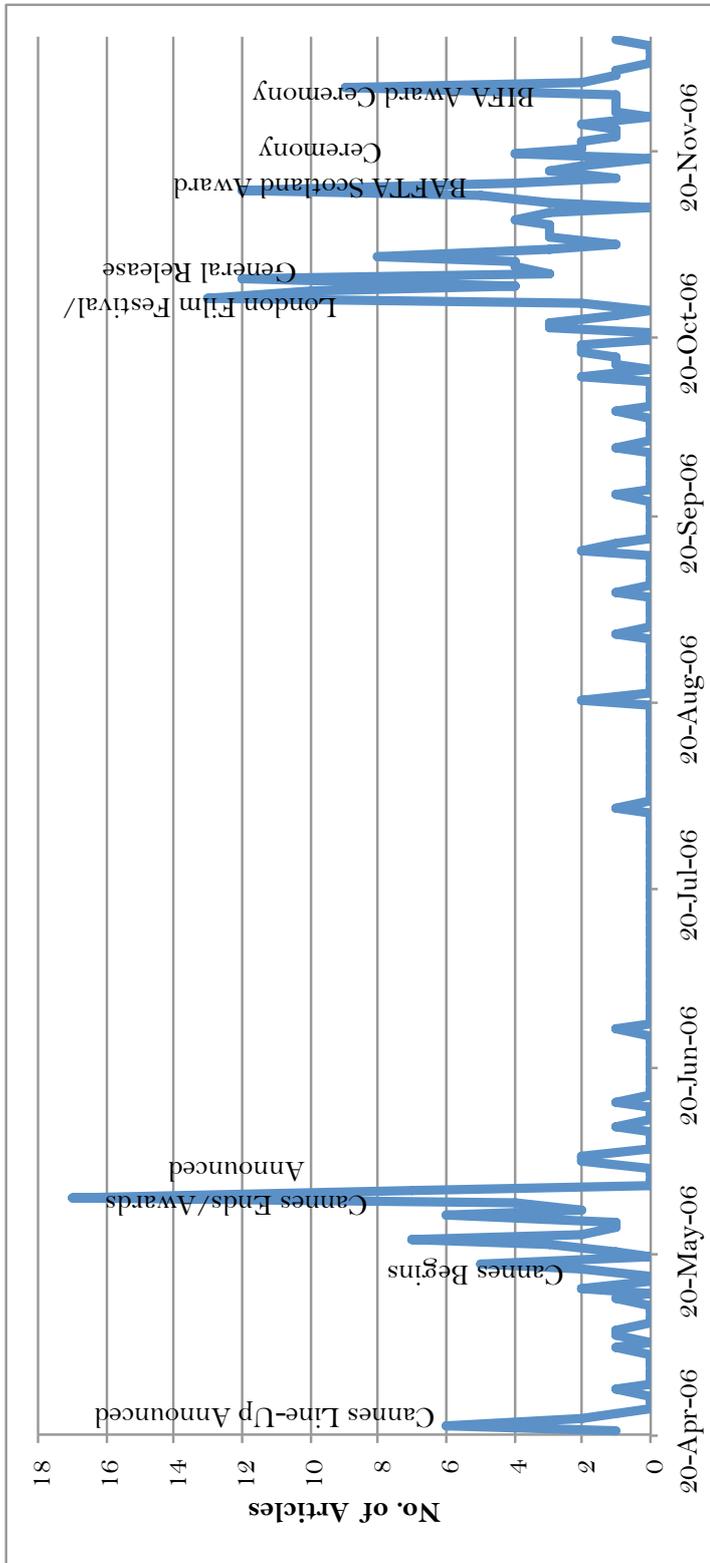


Figure 27. UK Newspaper Coverage, *Red Road*. This figure displays the volume of UK newspaper coverage of *Red Road* for the period April 20 to December 7, 2006.

Data generated by Google Trends (Figure 28) conveys a similar pattern to the results discussed thus far. Google Trends displays the volume of searches for a particular term relative to the total number of Google searches for a period of time.⁶¹ The graph in Figure 28 displays the UK search volume for the phrase “Red Road” for the period April 2 to December 9, 2006. It is of course possible that the term was searched for reasons other than those relating to the film. Most notably, it might have been searched in connection with the Red Road flats.⁶² However, as no major news event concerning the estate occurred during this time, it is highly probable that the volume of searches related to the estate was not higher than average during this period. Consequently, it is possible to assert with some confidence that UK public interest in *Red Road*, measured in terms of volume of Google searches, was at its highest at the time of the film’s general release. In comparison to the previous graph, other peaks are less discernible. Alternatively, when the search is not limited to the UK, the peak search volume occurs at the time of Cannes. A final point worth noting is that within the UK, Scotland returns the peak search volume and England a volume of 64. This figure for Northern Ireland and Wales is 0. Yet in terms of cities, London is

⁶¹ Data displayed by Google Trends is normalised and presented on a scale of 0 to 100. The highest point on a graph is therefore always 100. For more on how figures are calculated see google.com/trends. Normalisation allows search volumes to be compared between, for instance, Iceland and the United States, despite the vast difference in their population size. Although Google Trends is a valuable resource, some caution is needed when interpreting the results it generates. For instance, a term that returns a search volume of 0 for a particular area does not necessarily mean that this term was not Googled in this area, but that it was more popular elsewhere. Furthermore, a search word/phrase can have multiple associations. For instance, when “Red Road” is searched using the default time period (2004-present), the region with a search volume of 100 is Australia. If the time span is reduced to April-December 2006, the UK has a search volume of 100, but Australia is still prominent at 50. A closer examination of the regional interest within Australia reveals that this is concentrated in the state of Victoria, and a Google search reveals that there is a restaurant called “Red Spice Road” in Melbourne. A final point to note is that a person wishing to find out information about a film could do so without using Google. Alternative sources, such as other search engines, newspapers, people etc., could be consulted. Despite these potential limitations, Google Trends is a useful resource.

⁶² There is also a community radio station based in Sheffield called Redroad FM.

the only city to return a search volume greater than 0. This suggests that, although “Red Road” constitutes a higher portion of Google searches for this period in Scotland relative to other countries in the UK, interest measured in these terms was considerably higher in London than in any Scottish city. While it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions from this data, the figures do reinforce the need for research into audience engagement with films.

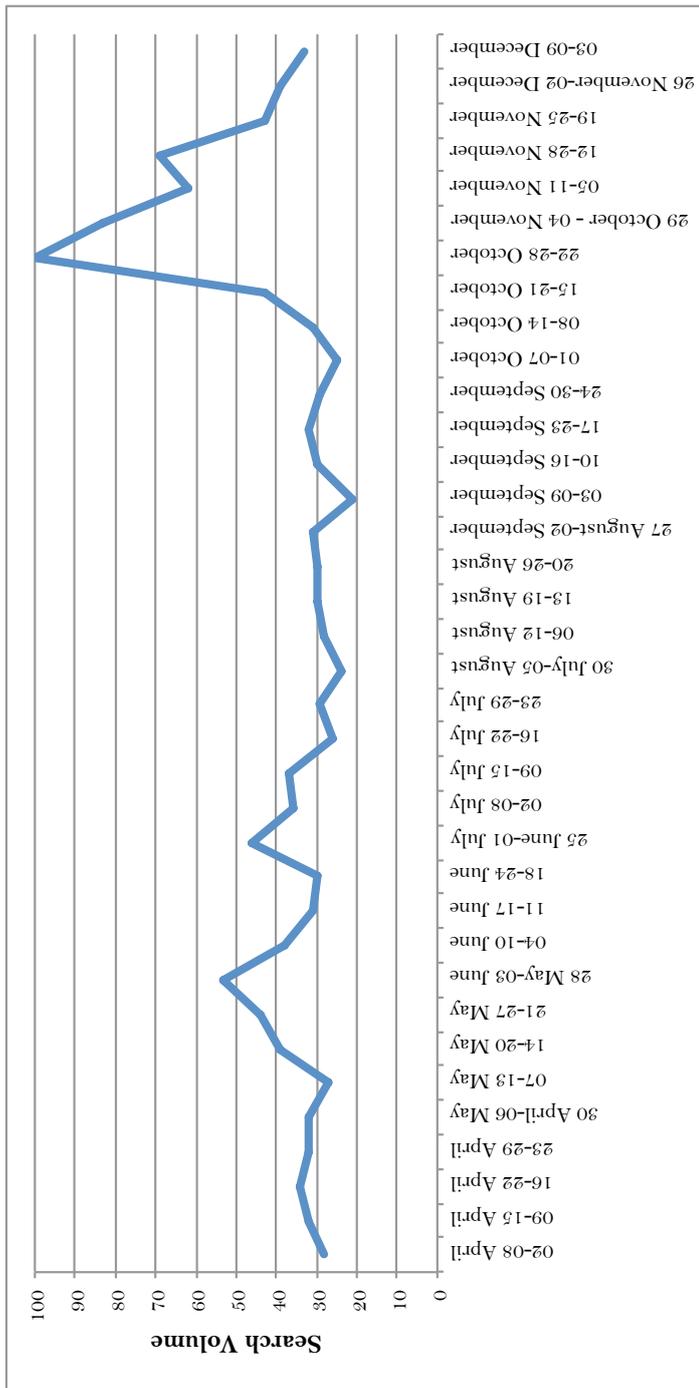


Figure 28. Google Trends Data, “Red Road”. The data displayed represents UK search interest relative to the highest point on the chart for the search term “Red Road”.

The results presented thus far make clear that *Red Road's* opening weekend was a key point in terms of generating newspaper coverage in the UK, and suggest that public interest in the film also peaked at this time. A film's opening weekend is widely recognised as vital to its overall box office success (Fellman, 2006; Friedman, 2006; Pollack, 2006; Redstone, 2006). It is during this weekend and the one that follows that a film will generate much of its box office takings. In contrast to *Red Road*, as the previous chapter outlined, theatrical screenings of *Donkeys* took place intermittently over a one-month period, thus diminishing the traditional focus on the opening weekend. As is evident from Figure 29, *Donkeys'* alternative release is reflected in newspaper coverage of the film. Like screenings, this coverage might also be described as sporadic. While much of this appeared during the period in which screenings took place (October 7 to November 7, 2010), only two articles ever appeared on the same day. As is discussed further at a later point in this chapter, many of these articles were printed in local newspapers and are linked to a specific screening of the film. A final observation that can be made from Figure 29 is that the film's premiere at EIFF had little impact on the volume of newspaper coverage. The film screened twice during the festival, once on June 20 and again on June 24. Nexis UK returns just three articles that make reference to the film's inclusion in EIFF, and in none is *Donkeys* the focus.

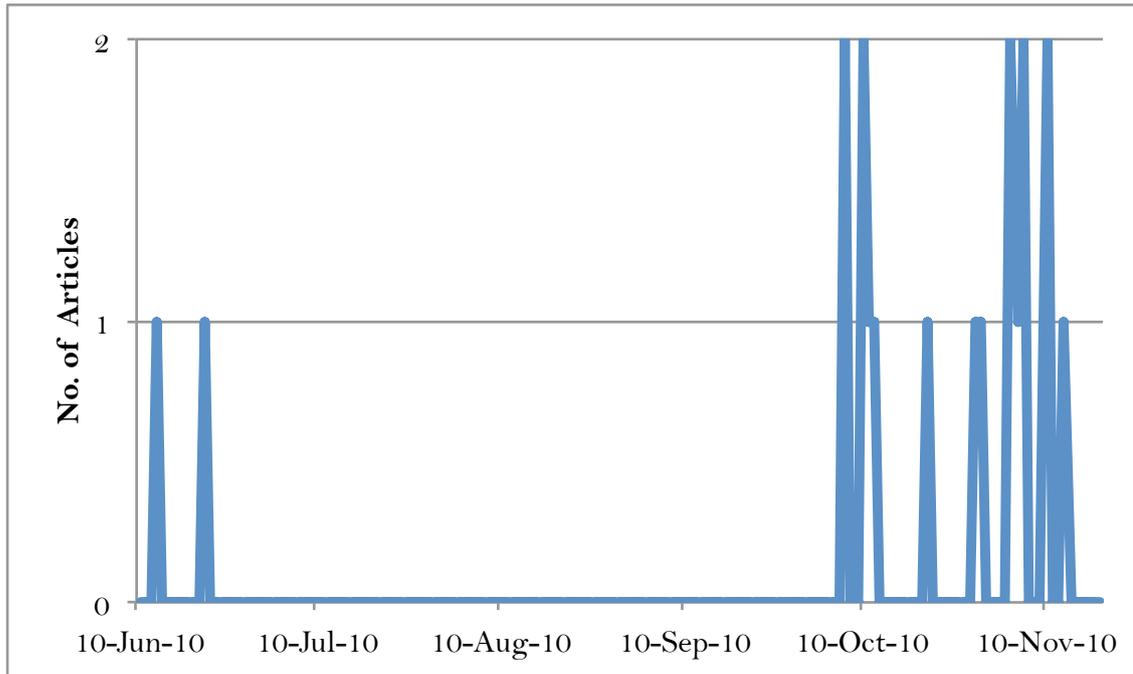


Figure 29. UK Newspaper Coverage, *Donkeys*. This figure displays the volume of UK newspaper coverage of *Donkeys* for the period June 10 to November 10, 2010.

In addition to featuring in almost seven times as many articles as *Donkeys*, consideration of *Red Road*, measured in terms of number of words, is also more detailed. The graph in Figure 30 illustrates the average article length for the two Advance Party films. The results are classified according to whether the film is the focus of the article. As is apparent from this graph, the percentage breakdown relating to article focus is largely comparable in both instances. A key difference however, is that the average word count for articles in which *Red Road* is the focus is double this figure as it relates to *Donkeys*.

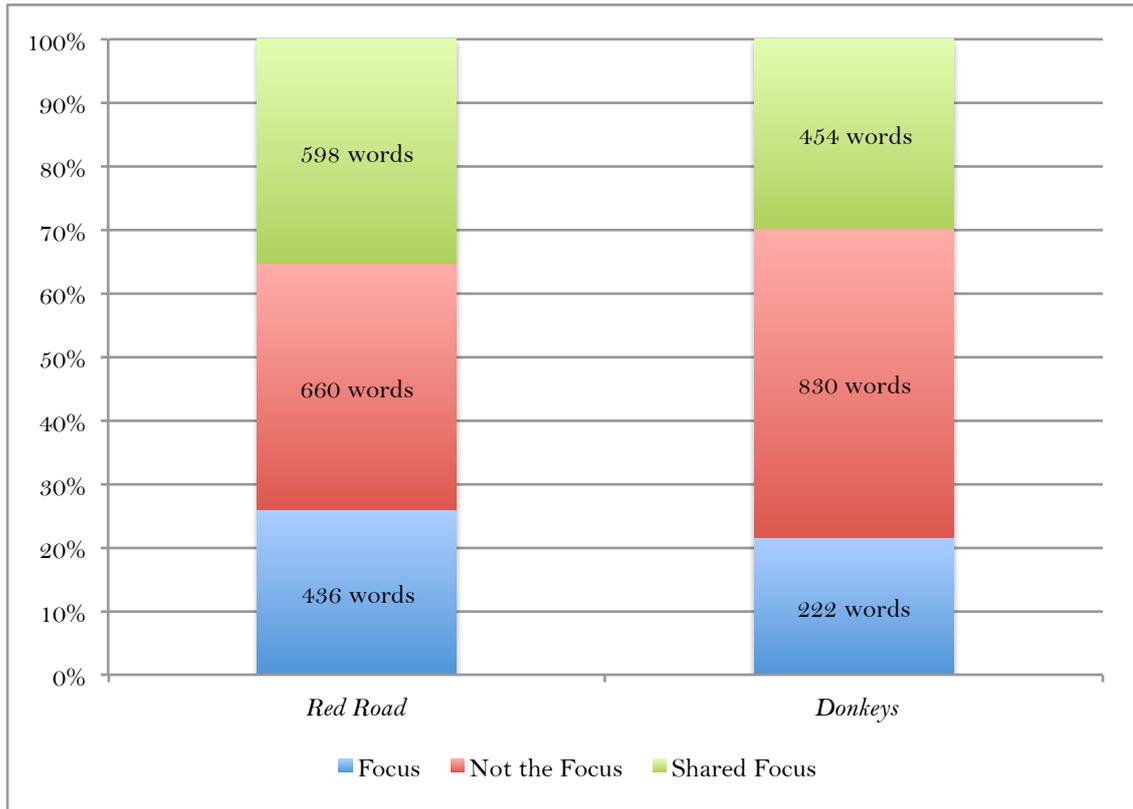


Figure 30. Article Focus and Word Count. This figure displays the percentage of articles in which each Advance Party film was the focus, not the focus or shared focus. The average word count for each article is also displayed.

Locating *Red Road*: Cannes Selection and Performance

As the previous section revealed, much of the newspaper coverage of *Red Road* is connected with Cannes International Film Festival. In 2006, three films with ties to Britain were nominated for the Palme d'Or, the festival's top award: *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* (hereafter abbreviated to *TWTSTB*; Loach, 2006), *Red Road* and *Fast Food Nation* (Linklater, 2006). The Jury, chaired by Wong Kar-wai, awarded the top prize to *TWTSTB* and the Jury Prize to *Red Road*. The national, or regional, context in which *Red Road* is placed within news reports of Cannes varies markedly between the newspapers included in the close textual analysis.

Glasgow's Red Road

As the extracts shown below illustrate, the Glasgow setting of *Red Road* is central to how its selection for Cannes is reported in the *Evening Times* and *The Herald*.

1. Cannes spotlight falls on Glasgow flats

GLASGOW'S Red Road flats are to feature in this year's star-studded Cannes Film Festival. (*Evening Times*, April 21, 2006, p. 3)

2. From Red Road to Cannes: Glory waits for Glasgow film

A DRAMA chronicling the life of a Glasgow CCTV operator is in the running for one of the most prestigious prizes in film.

Red Road, which was shot in the city last year, was yesterday nominated for the Palme d'Or award at the annual Cannes Film Festival. (*The Herald*, April 21, 2006, p. 12)

In both instances the film's Glasgow setting is explicitly foregrounded, first in the article title and then multiple times in the body of each article. As no other interpretation of the title is offered in either instance, readers are left to infer that "Red Road" refers solely to the setting and thus, location is central to the positioning of the film in these articles. The city is also assigned an element of authorship to *Red Road*. In the first extract, this is achieved through the phrase "Glasgow's Red Road flats" and in the second, the words "Glasgow film". Moreover, it is this identifier that is assigned prior to other markers, such as director or lead actors. In both articles the success of *Red Road* is extended beyond the film to Glasgow and its population. In each of these extracts Cannes is positioned as an esteemed festival and *Red Road's* nomination for the Palme d'Or as impressive. In the extract from the *Evening Times*, Cannes is described as "star studded", and in the extract from *The Herald*, the Palme d'Or is said to be "one of the most prestigious prizes in film". By highlighting the Glasgow identity of *Red Road* and the impressive stature of Cannes, the film's accomplishment is shared with the city and its population.

Other organisations and individuals involved in *Red Road's* production are outlined as the article progresses. In both extracts production company Sigma Films is the first party identified. It is described as “Glasgow based Sigma Films” in the *Evening Times* and “Glasgow’s Sigma Films” in *The Herald*, thereby reinforcing the centrality of the city. As would be expected, both articles provide some information about the film’s cast and crew. One point to observe is that neither article mentions Kate Dickie or Tony Curran, and instead position Natalie Press and Martin Compston as the leads. Indeed, this is common amongst articles written prior to the film’s screening at Cannes. However, as the extract below suggests, this ceased after the film’s premier.

3. The Glasgow born actress [Dickie] plays a CCTV operator in the tower blocks that dominate the skyline on the eastern M8 approach to Glasgow. (*The Herald*, May 27, 2006, p. 3)

In a manner comparable to the introduction of Sigma Films, when Dickie is first mentioned her Glaswegian identity is foregrounded. This is followed by a detailed description of the flat’s location within the city.

At this juncture it is useful to draw on E.A. Schegloff’s (1972) work on “commonsense geography” (p. 102) to consider the ways in which location is articulated in the extracts discussed thus far.⁶³ Schergloff writes:

If one looks to the places in conversations where an object (including persons) or activity is identified (or as I shall call it, “formulated”), then one can notice that there is a set of alternative formulations for each such object or activity, all the formulations being, in some sense, correct (i.e., each allowing under some circumstance “retrieval” of the same referent). (p. 95)

Schergloff goes on to propose that location formulation be thought of as a series of concentric circles, where the context of an exchange influences the allocation of the contributor’s position within these layers of circles. The closer the participants are

⁶³ In “Putting the Nation in the News: The Role of Location Formulation in a Selection of Scottish Newspapers” Michael Higgins (2004) draws on Schegloff’s work as a means of considering the manifestation of nationhood in Scottish newspapers.

assumed to be, the more precise the descriptor used, and the further apart, the more general the descriptor. The most exact description is given when both contributors are members of the inner most circle.

In the third extract, the Red Road flats are said to “dominate the skyline on the eastern M8 approach to Glasgow”, a description that will be familiar only to those who have travelled this road into the city. While an awareness of this specific location is not required to take meaning from this sentence, such locally specific knowledge implies that the writer is familiar with this location and assumes their readers will be as well. Indeed the readership of the *Evening Times* and *The Herald*, which are both edited, produced and printed in Glasgow, are largely confined to the city and its surrounding area (Herald and Time Advertising, n.d.; Dekavalla, 2009). It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that both newspapers flag a Glasgow location and create a Glaswegian identity for, and from, the film. As a point of comparison, Nexis UK does not return articles from other prominent Scottish newspapers – *The Press and Journal*, *The Scotsman* or *The Daily Record* (*The Dundee Courier* is not part of the Nexis archive) – that make reference to *Red Road*'s selection or performance at Cannes.

While the articles considered to date situate *Red Road* in a regional context that is first and foremost marked as Glaswegian, they also create wider contexts, although not explicitly, as the extracts below illustrate.

4. Red Road will be competing for the 2006 award with films including Ken Loach's latest release *The Wind That Shakes The Barley* [sic]. (*Evening Times*, April 21, 2006, p. 3)
5. Written by Scottish screenwriter Paul Laverty, *The Wind That Shakes The Barley* [sic] stars Cillian Murphy and Liam Cunningham. (*The Herald*, April 21, 2006, p. 12)

In the fourth extract, of the 19 other films selected to screen In Competition, *TWTSTB* is the only one named directly. Although neither Loach nor his film is explicitly positioned within a national context, it can be argued that the writer

assumes their readership will be familiar enough with the director and his prior works to infer that a British context unites both films. However, it could also be suggested that as Scottish-set works are prominent amongst the director's *oeuvre*, a Scottish context is also implied. Indeed, in the extract from *The Herald*, the Scottish nationality of *TWTSTB* screenwriter Paul Laverty is stated, highlighting this association.

An article that appeared in the *Evening Times* the day after *Red Road* was awarded the Jury Prize foregrounds this connection and marks the context more specifically as Glaswegian.

6. Red letter day as city has award in Cannes

GLASGOW'S notorious Red Road flats became the toast of the film world last night.

And the city had a double cause for celebration after director Ken Loach, whose work includes Glasgow-set films *Sweet Sixteen* and *My Name is Joe*, scooped the prestigious Palme d'Or – the glamorous Cannes festival's highest accolade. (*Evening Times*, May 29, 2006, p. 3)

In this extract, it is not *Red Road* or *TWTSTB* that triumphed at Cannes, but Glasgow. It is Glasgow's Red Road flats that "became the toast of the film world", not the director, actors, producers or so on as one might expect. Moreover, the article suggests the city can lay claim to more than *Red Road*, as an element of ownership is also assigned to Loach's Irish-set film. The reasoning behind this is made clear: his previous Glasgow-set films have made him an honorary member of the Glasgow community. Nevertheless, it is still *Red Road* that leads the article not Loach's film, despite the latter receiving the more prestigious prize. In other words, the article gives priority to the film with the more pronounced affiliation with the city.

Alternatively, the article in *The Herald* leads with Loach's award.

7. Loach triumphs at Cannes with film about Irish struggle for independence

KEN Loach, the veteran British director, last night claimed one of the world's most prestigious film prizes.

The Wind that Shakes the Barley, penned by Paul Laverty, the Scottish screenwriter, won the Palme d'Or at the Cannes film festival [sic].

Andrea Arnold's Red Road, a low-budget feature film set around Glasgow, took a special jury prize.

However, Glasgow-born Kate Dickie, who plays a CCTV operator in the tower blocks that dominate the city skyline in Red Road, lost out in the best actress category to the ensemble female cast, including Penelope Cruz, of Volver by Pedro Almodóvar, the Spanish director. (*The Herald*, May 29, 2006, p. 5)

In this instance it is the film that won the Palme d'Or that is the focus of the article and Arnold's film is not mentioned until the third sentence. Moreover, the success of *TWTSTB* is not positioned as a win specifically for Glasgow. A wider British context is overtly created in the opening line when Loach's nationality is flagged as British. Schergloff (1972) writes that every time an "object" is "formulated" a set of "alternative formulations" (p. 95) could also have been used with equal correctness. In the seventh extract Loach could have been described as, for example, English or Nuneaton-born. However, neither identity is shared with the majority of the newspaper's readership and as such, it follows that he is allocated a British identity as his success is then shared with a community to which the readers also belong. Nevertheless, a Glaswegian or Scottish identity is constructed in relation to other persons when possible: screenwriter Laverty is explicitly described as "Scottish" and Dickie is introduced as "Glasgow-born". Similarly, when reference is first made to *Red Road*, the article highlights the film's connection with the city.

A Win for Britain

In contrast to the articles considered thus far, *The Guardian* and *The Times* explicitly prioritise a British context in their coverage of *Red Road*'s selection to Cannes and its performance at this festival.⁶⁴

8. Cannes do: Comeback for British films

After several years in the wilderness, two British films are in the frame for the film world's most prestigious award – the Palme d'Or.

Ken Loach's *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, set during the Irish civil war, has been selected for the main competition in the Cannes Film Festival. (*The Guardian*, April 21, 2006, p. 26)

9. *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, Loach's Irish civil war epic starring Cillian Murphy and Padraic Delaney, will have its world premiere at Cannes before opening across Britain and Ireland on June 23.

It is one of three British films on the 19-strong shortlist announced yesterday for the festival, which runs from May 17 to 28. (*The Times*, April 21, 2006, p. 37)

The article from *The Guardian* goes further than those discussed previously and singles out the Palme d'Or as unequivocally "the film world's most prestigious award". It notes that it has been several years since a British film was nominated for the Palme d'Or and positions *TWTSTB* and *Red Road* as evidence of British cinema's return to the filmmaking elite. Little explicit justification is provided as to why the films are considered British, however some reasoning is implied. It is Loach with who *TWTSTB* is first identified in extract 8, and it can be argued that his name functions as an indirect means through which the film's British credentials are reinforced. Similarly, as the extracts below convey, when *Red Road* is introduced, which is after *TWTSTB* in both articles, Arnold's British identity is flagged along with her impressive credentials.

⁶⁴ As noted in Chapter Two, the former newspaper is made available in the same edition throughout the UK, while a Scottish edition and a main UK/English edition of the latter are published. All the articles considered in this chapter however, appear in both editions.

10. *Red Road*, British director Andrea Arnold's full-length debut, will also join the line-up in the main competition – an unusual honour for a first feature. (*The Guardian*, April 21, 2006, p. 26)
11. The UK Film Council was particularly pleased with the film's [*TWTSTB*] inclusion, having given £545,000 of national lottery money to the project. It also backed, with £447,100, another shortlisted British film, *Red Road*, which stars Natalie Press in a story of obsession and forgiveness. It marks the feature debut of its British director, Andrea Arnold, who was described yesterday by David Thompson, head of BBC Films and a co-producer, as a "film-maker of incredible vision". (*The Times*, April 21, 2006, p. 37)

The Times also locates *Red Road* within a British context, however it provides a more detailed overview of the film's British credentials, as well as those of the other films identified as British. Specifics regarding funds allocated by the UKFC to *TWTSTB* and *Red Road* are provided, and BBC Films' involvement with the latter and *Fast Food Nation* detailed (see extract 13, below). Funding emanating from sources based in countries other than the UK or from specific countries within the UK, i.e. Scottish Screen, are not mentioned.⁶⁵ As a result, the British identity created for the film might best be described as London-centred.

To return to extracts 8 and 9, a difference is evident in the number of British films specified in each article. *The Guardian* reports this figure as two, *TWTSTB* and *Red Road*, and *The Times* as three, also including *Fast Food Nation*.⁶⁶

12. Jeremy Thomas, a leading British producer whose films include *The Last Emperor*, will be flying the flag with another BBC Films co-production, *Fast Food Nation*, a satirical work directed by the renowned American film-maker Richard Linklater. (*The Times*, April 21, 2006, p. 37)

⁶⁵ *TWTSTB* was funded by a variety of sources, each based in one of the following countries: Germany, Ireland, Italy, Spain or the UK.

⁶⁶ A synopsis of *Fast Food Nation*, available from the Cannes website (festival-cannes.fr/en/), reads as follows: "Don Henderson – a corporate executive at Mickey's Fast Food Restaurant chain, home of 'The Big One' – has a problem. Contaminated meat is getting into the frozen patties of the company's best-selling burger, and he needs to find out why. Discovering the answer won't be as simple or as clean as he had hoped. Embarking on a journey to the dark side of the All-American meal, he leaves the cushy confines of the company's Southern California boardroom for the immigrant-staffed slaughterhouses, teeming feedlots and cookie cutter strip malls of Middle America. What Don discovers is that this 'Fast Food Nation' is a country of consumers...who haven't realized it is they who have been consumed by an industry with a seemingly endless appetite for bodies, human and otherwise".

In this extract, BBC Films' role as co-producer is highlighted, along with the British nationality of producer Jeremy Thomas. It is perhaps unsurprising that *Fast Food Nation* is absent from the article in *The Guardian* as the British identity of *TWTSTB* and *Red Road* are largely formulated in relation to their respective director and, as is observed in extract 12, Richard Linklater is American.

In extract 12 from *The Times*, *Fast Food Nation* is said to be "flying the flag" at Cannes along with *Red Road* and *TWTSTB*, suggesting the competition is between nations, rather than individual films. The article in *The Guardian* stresses this point further.

13. There are four French films in the line-up of 19, and two Italian offerings—including Nanni Moretti's *Caiman*, a satirical portrait of outgoing Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi.

Two Mexican directors with films in the selection are: Guillermo del Toro, with *Pan's Labyrinth*, and Alejandro Gonzalez Inarritu, with *Babel*. (*The Guardian*, April 21, 2006, p. 26)

By assigning the competing films a singular national identity, the contest for the Palme d'Or is constructed as one between nations and within this, the director is rendered the foremost concern in the allocation of a national identity. Similarly *The Guardian* and *The Times* present the outcome of the award ceremony in national terms.

14. BRITAIN basked in its biggest glory for years at the Cannes Film Festival when Ken Loach, the veteran filmmaker, won the coveted Palme d'Or award and Andrea Arnold, a debut director, won the celebrated Jury Prize. Between them, they eclipsed some of the world's most respected filmmakers. (*The Times*, May 29, 2006, p. 5)
15. In an exceptional year for the British film industry, the other UK film in competition was also a big award winner. Andrea Arnold's debut feature, *Red Road*, won the Prix du Jury prize. (*The Guardian*, May 29, 2006, p. 5)

In extract 14 it is "Britain" that is said to have "basked in its biggest glory for years" as a result of the achievements of Loach and Arnold. Meanwhile *The Guardian* situates the results as an achievement of the British film industry, describing it as having an "exceptional year" at Cannes.

Reviewing *Red Road*: Press Coverage at Time of General Release

While news articles, in theory at least, are characterised by objectivity, reviewers are given the task of conveying their opinion of a film to their readers. In their work on the reception of the controversial film *Crash* (Cronenberg, 1996), Martin Barker, Jane Arthurs and Ramaswami Harindranath (2001) find that when writing a review, a reviewer will typically keep in mind the profile of their readership. They note that readers will be more open to a reviewer's opinion if they believe that they and the reviewer belong "broadly to the same cultural universe" (p. 11).

As is evident from the extracts below, in both the *Evening Times* and *The Herald*, the reviewer uses personal pronouns to create a shared community to which they and their readership belong.

16. Given the state of some of the films *we've* produced in Scotland lately there are wedding videos that provide more entertainment and better camera work. (*Evening Times*, October 26, 2006, p. 4, emphasis added)
17. *Red Road* arrives already garlanded with the jury prize at Cannes. Even so, your first thought might be "for the love of giros, not another Glasgow grimfest". Though the city is deprived in every way a statistician can calculate, when it comes to gritty, urban, minimalist and miserablist dramas, it has an embarrassment of riches. The genre has unkindly been dubbed "social-worker cinema", as if those who spend their days dealing with despair want nothing more of a weekend than to wallow in more of the stuff. A more accurate label would be HMB, or haud-me-back, films. What might seem fascinating to a director from outside is depressingly familiar to those who spend their lives here. What can directors such as Kent-born Arnold or Ken Loach tell *us* that is new? (*The Herald*, October 26, 2006, p. 2, emphasis added)

In the first instance, the author uses the personal pronoun "we" when writing about the quality of filmmaking in Scotland. It is "we" as a nation that has produced a poor quality of films, rather than specific filmmakers or agencies. Similarly, in extract 17, the writer asks what Arnold and Loach can tell "us", the shared community encapsulated by the author and their reader, about life "here" in Glasgow. Moreover, the *Evening Times* reviewer closes by situating himself, albeit retrospectively, within the *Red Road* community in which the film is set.

18. And on a personal note, having been born and raised in Red Road it was a nice surprise to go to the pictures and see my old house. (*Evening Times*, October 26, 2006, p.4)

This reinforces the writer's position as a member of the wider Glasgow community and, given their familiarity with the film's setting, enhances their status as an appropriate authority on the film and its subject matter.

"Haud-Me-Back": Red Road and Genre

The extracts discussed thus far also work to position the film in terms of quality and genre. In extract 16, the writer, having established himself as a member of the same community as his readers, is able to use self-deprecating humour as a means of situating *Red Road* within the context of Scottish cinema. Although the reviewer does not warm to the film completely – it is awarded a rating of three out of five stars – he nevertheless views it as an improvement on previous films produced in Scotland. Extract 17 draws more specifically on Glasgow-set films and locates *Red Road* within this context. The author devotes a significant portion of the article to outlining what she terms “haud-me-back” cinema. This is characterised by a less than enthusiastic interpretation of Glasgow-set social realist films. The reviewer associates this type of cinema with directors from outwith the city and creates a dichotomy between “us”, the community to which the writer and their readership belong, and “them” the directors external to this community. However, one point to observe is that the accuracy of “haud-me-back” films is not disputed. Their content is described as “depressingly familiar” to those that live “here”.

In addition to printing a review of *Red Road*, the *Evening Times* also published an interview with residents of the Red Road flats that worked as extras on the film. The rhetoric of this article is largely in keeping with the “haud-me-back” cinema put forth in *The Herald*.

19. David Clark, 33, said: “They were filming and I just walked up and said to the casting director: ‘Have you got any jobs going?’”

“He asked me for my number and said he’d get back to me. He phoned me the next day, for a scene down at Barlinnie, where the guy played by Tony Curran is confronted”.

“It’s quite realistic. We were sitting on a bus going by, and he’s banging on the bus to try to get on it”.⁶⁷

Another day, David was an extra in a scene shot in the nearby Broomfield Tavern, when another big fight takes place.

Curran and Martin Compston are among those involved in the noholds-barred rammy.

“After the fight scene”, said David, “I asked Martin, ‘Where do you get that energy, that aggression from?’ He said, ‘Being from Glasgow and drinking loads of vodka’”.

“I asked Tony Curran the same question and he said, ‘Being from Glasgow and drinking Buckie’”. (May 29, 2006, *Evening Times*, p. 4)⁶⁸

Once again a familiarity with the area in which the film is set and shot is exhibited, both by the interviewee and the interviewer. The interviewee makes reference to a scene filmed “down at Barlinnie”, and the writer refers to one shot at the “nearby Broomfield Tavern”. The article highlights that both are fight scenes. Whilst recounting conversations he had with *Red Road*’s male principal cast members, the interviewee quotes both Compston and Curran as attributing their performance in the film’s fight scenes to their upbringing in Glasgow and alcohol. Although delivered in a comic manner, this nonetheless reinforces, and works to authenticate, a view of Glasgow in keeping with the “haud-me-back” cinema identified in *The Herald* review, and to place *Red Road* within this sphere.

⁶⁷ In the finished film, it is Jackie that bangs on the bus, while Clyde is inside. Though it is possible that an alternative scene was filmed, it is also interesting to note that the quotation from the interviewee also exhibits a tendency to equate violence with a particular type of masculinity.

⁶⁸ Buckie, or Buckfast, is a fortified wine known for its low price and high caffeine content. It is often associated with anti-social behaviour.

Despite devoting a considerable portion of their review to discussion of “haud-me-back” cinema, the reviewer for *The Herald* ultimately rejects an interpretation of the film in keeping with this type of cinema.

20. Once past the HMB feelings, something rather wonderful happens with *Red Road*. It becomes plain that the urban wasteland on the screen could be on the fringe of any European city – Paris, Berlin, Dublin, wherever. It happens to be Glasgow. These are Glaswegians, but they could be any group of damaged people. Arnold has created a world in which the audience, even the home crowd, can lose themselves, and told them a story they’ll not forget easily. She can come back any time. (*The Herald*, October 26, 2006, p. 2)

In this extract, the reviewer concludes that the Glasgow setting of *Red Road* is irrelevant to the story and, as a result, their readership will be able to “lose themselves” in the film. In other words, it is only when the narrative is detached from a local specificity that it can offer the possibility of interest to a local audience. Arnold’s ability to write a film incidentally set in Glasgow gains the approval of the reviewer who, on behalf of the community she has positioned herself within, invites the filmmaker to return to Glasgow in the future. Yet, to an extent, just by foregrounding discussion of *Red Road* in relation to “haud-me-back” cinema, the film is inevitably associated with this type of filmmaking.

The Times also *directly* positions *Red Road* within what can also be identified as the social realist traditions. However, the focus on this occasion is not the film’s Glasgow setting.

21. Gritty, raw and bleak. How often have you read such adjectives applied to a British film set on a rundown estate where drugs, drunkenness and loveless sex are the norm. Such dirty realism has become another British cinema genre to go alongside the white-flannels period film and geezer gangster movie. Now adding to this moody miserablism is Andrea Arnold’s Cannes-praised *Red Road*. (*The Times*, October 26, 2006, p. 16)

Social realism, or “dirty realism”, is situated as a staple within British cinema. The description of the genre as centring on “drugs, drunkenness and loveless sex” in combination with the label “dirty realism” creates a derogatory stance towards this

type of cinema. That *Red Road* is said to be “adding” to this implies a lack of deviance from prior films of this genre.

Alternatively, the review in *The Guardian* does not centre on discussion of social realism and instead focuses on the thriller genre. The reviewer opens with an overview of the Advance Party initiative, a subject to which this chapter returns, and the extract below follows.

22. ...this set-up has actually enabled first-time feature director Andrea Arnold to create a tough and superbly intelligent surveillance thriller, with real and believable characters brought to life by very good actors: it's an undoubted success to go with the Oscar she has won for her short film, *Wasp*. *Red Road* draws on the paranoia and unease of Coppola's *The Conversation* and Michael Haneke's video-inspired nightmares, and in its dreamlike sense of detail and mood it shows the poetic priorities of Lynne Ramsay's *Ratcatcher* or Lucrecia Martel's *The Holy Girl*. (October 27, 2006, *The Guardian*, p. 7)

In this extract *Red Road* is directly classified as a “surveillance thriller” and then likened to *The Conversation* (Coppola, 1974) and *Caché/Hidden* (Haneke, 2005), two award winning thrillers.⁶⁹ Comparisons are also drawn with the “poetic priorities” of Lynne Ramsay and Lucrecia Martel, aligning the film indirectly with prominent European female directors. Through reference to Haneke, Ramsay and Martel, the reviewer assumes their reader will be well versed in films that fall under the general category of art cinema. In this instance a national, or regional context disappears and the film is positioned instead as a thriller within the sphere of art cinema.

Similar to the review published in *The Guardian*, those printed in *The Times* and *The Herald* also make reference to the Advance Party scheme. In the latter two articles however, a derogatory stance towards the initiative is taken. As extract 23 illustrates, *The Times* review establishes a link between the film's *dénouement* and the Advance Party framework.

⁶⁹ *The Conversation* won the Palme d'Or in 1974 and was nominated for three Academy Awards. *Caché* was also successful at Cannes, winning three of the festival's awards in 2005 including the Award for Best Director.

23. Such a melodramatic rush after a low-key prelude is very Lars von Trier, which perhaps isn't so surprising when one knows that *Red Road* is the first in a Scottish-set trilogy by first-time feature directors that is being co-produced by the Danish maverick's company and will feature the same characters. (*The Times*, October 26, 2006, p. 17)

In this extract, the climax of *Red Road* is described as a “melodramatic rush” and parallels are drawn in a less than positive manner with the work of von Trier. The reviewer implies that it is von Trier's involvement with *Red Road* that is responsible for what she considers its unconvincing end. Likewise *The Herald* review exhibits little enthusiasm for the initiative. The reviewer suggests that this might be something that their readers might rather “push to one side” when viewing the film.

The close of this chapter discusses newspaper coverage of Advance Party in greater depth. At present, it is sufficient to note that discussion of the Advance Party framework is not prominent amongst newspaper coverage of *Red Road*. Despite both Verve Pictures' production notes and Trust Film Sales' press book providing detailed information about the scheme, less than 4% of articles retrieved from Nexis UK cite it by name.

Gender, Synopsis and Genre

Chapter Three discussed *Red Road* in terms of its reworking of traditional gender roles, an aspect that, as the previous chapter detailed, is also communicated in the advertising materials created for the film's UK release. Close examination of newspaper coverage of *Red Road* however, reveals little reflection framed explicitly in terms of gender and sexuality. As extract 22 suggests, discussion of *Red Road* along these lines is often implicit. A key way in which articles allude to issues surrounding gender is through descriptions of Dickie's performance, which, as extract 7 implies, several newspapers speculated might win her Cannes' Award for Best Actress. For instance, the *Evening Times* refers to Dickie's “brave and selfless performance” and the

character's "emotional nakedness" (October 26, 2006, p. 4), while *The Times* references her "striking performance of bottled-up emotion" (October 26, 2006, p. 17). Such statements however, are made in passing and do not constitute a considered engagement with ideas surrounding the film's depiction of gender and sexuality.

Another way in which gender and sexuality are (indirectly) articulated, and genre is conveyed, is through a synopsis of the film. This synopsis, shown below, greatly resembles those submitted to Scottish Screen (Chapter Five). The extent to which articles borrow from the synopsis supplied by TrustNordisk and Verve Pictures is striking. In some instances this involves taking lines directly from the synopsis, while in others, the structure of the narrative overview is remarkably similar.

Jackie works as a CCTV operator. Each day she watches over a small part of the world, protecting the people living their lives under her gaze. One day a man appears on her monitor, a man she thought she would never see again, a man she never wanted to see again. Now she has no choice, she is compelled to confront him. (TrustNordisk, 2006, p. 4; Verve Pictures, 2006, p. 2)

In the first line, the lead character Jackie is introduced and her occupation established. That this occupation is one of the primary identifiers assigned to the character suggests her job is important to the narrative. Indeed, as the synopsis develops this becomes apparent and the theme of voyeurism emerges. As noted in the previous chapter, the voyeur in cinema is typically male (Williams, 2005, p. 334). Therefore, by foregrounding that the voyeur in this instance is a woman, the film is marked as deviating from this convention. However, in the second sentence this is aligned with a role more conventionally associated with female characters: a maternal figure, mother as protector of order. The sighting of the unnamed male character disrupts Jackie's equilibrium, and the implied emotional trauma that this sighting causes her is indicative of melodrama. The thriller genre is also suggested through the words "compelled" and "confront", which connote suspense. As has been discussed, this genre is highlighted in *The Guardian's* review of the film.

Shifting Perspectives, Building Identities

Overall, the decisively positive attitude that characterises coverage of *Red Road*'s inclusion in, and performance at, Cannes, shifts to a more critical stance in reviews. This can in part be attributed to the nature of the articles in question. Whereas reports from Cannes are concerned with the film's achievements, rather than the film text, reviews, as one would expect, predominantly centre on analysis and evaluation of the film's form and content. Although the reviews considered in this chapter are not scathing, those printed in the *Evening Times* and *The Times* are far from enthusiastic and award Arnold's debut just three out of five. This largely confirms Hannah McGill's (2006) assertion that *Red Road* is the "kind of British film of which certain critics...despair" (para. 13).

Given the status of Cannes as one of the most – if not the most – prestigious film festivals, it is unsurprising that news reports extend the film's success to a community to which they and their readership also belong. Drawing on Schegloff's (1972) visualisation of location formation as a series of concentric circles, the national or regional identity constructed in coverage of Cannes is the smallest circle inhabited by both readers and the film. This functions as a means of extending the film's achievements, while the circle's position relative to those of wider circles maximises a collective sense of accomplishment.

In addition to constructing a national or regional identity for *Red Road*, the articles considered in this chapter also enhance and legitimise Arnold's auteur status, which, as the previous chapter detailed, is also promoted in advertising materials. Given *Red Road*'s daring investigation of female sexuality and Arnold's subsequent involvement in debates surrounding the presence of female filmmakers at Cannes (e.g. Child, 2012), it might be expected that issues surrounding gender and sexuality would

play a prominent role in newspaper coverage of *Red Road*. While these are not absent entirely, they are also not a defining aspect of coverage.

***Donkeys*: Controversy and High Expectations**

Perhaps unsurprising given its comparatively smaller release, newspaper coverage of *Donkeys* is far less extensive than that of *Red Road*. Of the 37 articles retrieved in connection with McKinnon's film, it is the focus or shared focus in just 19. The circulation of newspapers that printed content on *Donkeys* (Figure 31) is largely confined to Scotland. Of these newspapers, *The Herald*, *Evening Times*, *Daily Record* and *Sunday Mail* are based in Glasgow, while the *Press and Journal* and *Evening Express* are based in Aberdeen, and *Scotland on Sunday* in Edinburgh. The *Daily Mail* is available throughout the UK and publishes an edition specific to Scotland.⁷⁰

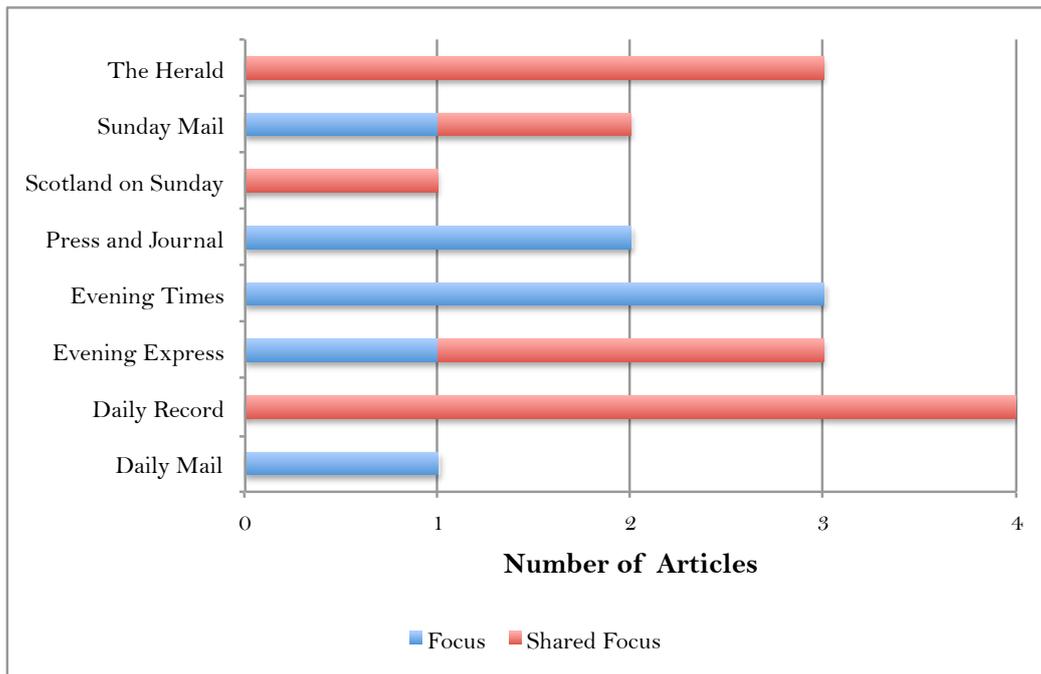


Figure 31. Volume of Coverage by Newspaper, *Donkeys*. This figure conveys the newspapers that printed coverage in which *Donkeys* is the focus or shared focus, and indicates the number of articles printed.

⁷⁰ Unfortunately the National Library of Scotland does not hold the UK/English edition of the *Daily Mail* for the date in question. As such, it has not been possible to determine if the *Daily Mail* article features in both the UK/English and Scottish versions of the newspaper.

The first article was printed in the *Evening Times* on February 23, 2008, the week before principal photography commenced on the film. As the extract below makes clear, the success of *Red Road* generated high expectations for the second Advance Party film.

24. GLASGOW has become a film set for five weeks with the shooting of a follow-up to the award-winning *Red Road* movie.

Filming has started in the city on *Rounding Up Donkeys*, with high hopes of more international glory for a Glasgow based movie. (*Evening Times*, February 23, 2008, p. 3).

In this extract, the relationship between *Donkeys* and *Red Road* is highlighted and an overview of the Advance Party initiative is given as the article progresses. The author describes *Red Road* as achieving “international glory” and expresses “high hopes” that McKinnon’s film will do the same. Similar to news coverage of *Red Road*, the article positions *Donkeys* within a context explicitly marked as Glaswegian.

Shortly after, on March 3, the *Daily Mail* ran an article, “Red Road Actor Sues Over ‘Stolen’ Role”, which centres on the recasting of the part of Alfred.⁷¹ In this, as the extract below conveys, *Donkeys*’ defiance of the primary Advance Party rule is foregrounded.

25. Sigma Films, whose other films include *Hallam Foe* and *Young Adam*, admitted its guilt. Producer Gillian Berrie said: “In the end, it’s the film first and we broke the rules”. She added that the new film had gone through two writers and several title changes, and that the character of Alfred had changed. (*Daily Mail*, March 3, 2008, p. 13)

In this extract, producer Berrie is cited in defence of the decision to recast the part of Alfred. She argues that as *Donkeys*’ creative team changed several times, recasting the role was the appropriate course of action. Though this reasoning attempts to justify the decision to recast, it also points to the film’s creative difficulties outlined in

⁷¹ It is unclear whether or not Armour actually went through with the lawsuit. No further reference to this is made in the press.

previous chapters, and suggests there is a lack of coherent creative authorship guiding the film.

This extract is also interesting to consider in relation to the analysis of the function and design of *Advance Party*, which was given in Chapter Four. Writing on *Red Road*, Hjort (2010a) observes an absence of debate amongst film critics as to “whether or not the rules were actually followed” (p. 57). Such discussions, she notes, “characterized the reception of early Dogme films” (p. 57). Hjort attributes this disparity to the only partial disclosure of the *Advance Party* setup: although the central idea of putting the same characters played by the same actors into three different films was made public, full character sketches were withheld.⁷² As Hjort explains, the limited availability of character descriptions minimises the potential for debates regarding the extent to which the characters that appear in *Red Road* adhere to those outlined by Scherfig and Jensen. As *Red Road* is the first *Advance Party* project, the characters/actors as they appear in this film – rather than Scherfig and Jensen’s sketches – essentially set expectations for *Donkeys*. As extract 25 conveys, the disclosure of the central *Advance Party* challenge and *Donkeys*’ defiance of this rule is reported in the press.

When *Donkeys* premiered at EIFF two years later, *The Herald* reviewed the film. This review, similar to others that were published in connection with the film’s limited theatrical run, discusses the film through reference to *Red Road*.

26. The second in a loose trilogy begun by Andrea Arnold’s *Red Road*, *Donkeys* takes the bleak comedy option where *Road* was merely, almost unbearably bleak. (*The Herald*, June 21, 2010, p. 17)

27. THOUGH this Glasgow-set drama features Kate Dickie and Martin Compston ostensibly playing the same characters they played in *Red Road*, *Donkeys* otherwise bears almost no relation to the 2006 award winner. (*Evening Times*, October 7, 2010, p. 25)

⁷² While Hjort (2010a) is correct to note that the complete character descriptions were not made public, abbreviated sketches are available in Verve Pictures’ press notes.

28. This is the second film in the three-feature concept that began with *Red Road*, but director Morag McKinnon has ditched the grim foreboding of the first film and reworked its characters into a wryly funny account of Alfie (James Cosmo) and his clumsy attempts to reconnect with his daughter (Kate Dickie) and granddaughter. (*Scotland on Sunday*, October 10, 2010, p. 6)

Extract 27 adopts a dismissive attitude towards the relevance of the Advance Party framework and the author argues that very little connects the two films. In contrast, extract 26 suggests the two films are united by a thematic “bleakness”, one that manifests itself in the form of black comedy in the case of *Donkeys*. Importantly, this does not develop into analysis of if, and how, the Advance Party framework was responsible for this bleakness. The final extract differs from the two before. It presents the two Advance Party films as thematically different, arguing that *Donkeys* does not share the “grim foreboding”, or bleakness, of *Red Road*, whilst also taking a positive stance towards the film’s reworking of the Advance Party characters. Despite the varying opinions conveyed in the extracts above, all three place *Donkeys* within the same sphere as *Red Road* and through doing so, transfer elements of *Red Road*’s narrative image to *Donkeys*.

Just one of the articles included in the textual analysis corpus note that the directors of the Advance Party films are both female. This article, printed in *The Herald* in May of 2008, was prompted by the UKFC’s allocation of funds to three projects, each with a female director: *Fish Tank* (2009), *Donkeys* and Jane Campion’s *Bright Star* (2009).

29. THREE female directors, including two associated with Scotland, have received significant new funds from the UK Film Council to make their new films. (*The Herald*, May 16, 2008, p. 5)

This article, as the above extract indicates, positions McKinnon’s film as the follow-up to Arnold’s *Red Road*. As would be expected given analysis thus far, the Glasgow-based newspaper highlights Arnold’s affiliation with Scotland, regardless of the writer/director’s English nationality and the English setting of *Fish Tank*. Although

the article links Arnold's *Red Road* and McKinnon's film through mention of the Advance Party framework, it does not suggest that the initiative is specifically targeted at female directors.

A Local Film

As noted, many of the articles connected to *Donkeys* make reference to a specific screening. As with many films that receive a limited release, in some articles this amounts to a few words after the body of text that states where the film is showing. For example, the review in *Scotland on Sunday* finishes with the following: "Glasgow Film Theatre, Friday and Saturday" (October 10, 2010, p. 6). As discussed in the previous chapter, select screenings of *Donkeys* were accompanied by a Q&A session with members of the cast and crew. Such events were noted in the press on several occasions. The review in *The Herald*, for example, finishes: "Tomorrow night's 6.30pm screening will be followed by a Q&A with cast and crew" (October 7, 2010, p. 17). Such coverage enhances the positioning of the film as local, an attribute that the previous chapter argued, is also central to its marketing and distribution.

While the coverage considered thus far directs its readers to specific showings, in each case the screening is not the focus of the article. Alternatively, a screening is central to an article printed in the *Evening Times* on October 29, 2010. As the previous chapter observed, on this day Luigi Corvi, an opera singer and chip shop owner who has a brief role in *Donkeys*, performed at the Cineworld on Glasgow's Renfrew Street.

30. The 53-year-old has a brief but memorable role in the Scottish independent film *Donkeys*, which will be screened at the Cineworld in Renfrew Street tonight. (October 29, 2010, *Evening Times*, p. 45)

The novelty of Sigma Films' event proved sufficient to attract the attention of the Glasgow-based newspaper and in turn provided additional, low cost exposure for *Donkeys*. The emphasis placed on one select screening attaches an element of local

specificity to the event and through this, the film. This is heightened by the description of *Donkeys* as a “Scottish independent film”.

Shortly after, *Donkeys* was shown in Aberdeen and the *Press and Journal* ran an article in connection with this.

31. *Donkeys* set to take on the blockbuster

DONKEYS, a Scottish, independent, low-budget film has been picked up by giant cinema chain Cineworld and given a chance to prove itself against the big-money blockbusters this weekend at Aberdeen’s Union Square Cineworld.

The tragi-comedy, set in Glasgow and starring James Cosmo, Martin Compston, Kate Dickie and Brian Petifer, will also play DCA, Dundee, November 5-11, Eden Court, Inverness, November 12-16, and Cineworld, Dundee, November 12. (November 4, 2010, *Press and Journal*, p. 12)

In this extract, a dichotomy is established between *Donkeys*, a “Scottish, independent, low-budget film”, and “big-money blockbusters”, in other words, the foreign, studio, big-budget Hollywood films that typically dominate the exhibition sector. Through this *Donkeys* is positioned as a local underdog doing battle with Hollywood. *Donkeys*’ independent nature is further communicated via the information as to when and where the film will screen. This places emphasis on the importance of individual screenings to the film’s overall success.

The article concludes by informing readers of Sigma Films’ “Donkey Work” competition.

32. Sigma Films also wishes to help would-be filmmakers in Scotland follow in their footsteps by offering a chance to see how the industry works at first hand, by offering aspiring movie-makers the chance to win a day on the set of their new film, *Citadel*. For more information, contact Alison Young on 0141 222 2813. (November 4, 2010, *Press and Journal*, p. 12)

As extract 32 conveys, Sigma Films ran a competition to win a day on the set of their next feature, *Citadel* (Foy, 2012). The article notes that the competition is to allow “would-be filmmakers in Scotland” to follow in their footsteps, thereby foregrounding the Scottish profile of the competition and through this, the film. This is further

enhanced by the contact number, rather than website or email address, provided for interested readers to find out more information about the competition.

The Advance Party Framework

Analysis thus far finds that although reference to the Advance Party framework is not entirely absent from newspaper coverage of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*, this did not develop into discussion of the framework's overriding rules or function. Data from the content analysis reveals that the framework is cited by name in just 6% of the articles coded. This figure is 4% in coverage of *Red Road* and considerably higher, almost 19%, in that of *Donkeys*. Conversely, as the previous chapter observed, the advertising materials created for *Red Road* mention the Advance Party framework by name, whilst those for *Donkeys* make no reference to the scheme. It is of course possible to discuss the initiative without citing its title, and indeed this was done in many of the articles considered. Yet, its sparing use does point to an absence of name recognition, or brand identity, which several commentators note characterises the Dogma movement (Badley, 2005; Rao, 2008).

As noted in the Introduction, Hjort (2010a) observes that Berrie first suggested the idea for structured collaboration between Sigma Films and Zentropa at a meeting with John Archer (Scottish Screen), Lenny Crooks (GFO) and a representative of Trust Film Sales at EIFF in 2000. During the festival, *The Herald* printed an article entitled "Scots and Danes in Digital Film Venture", which reports plans for a partnership between Sigma Films, Paddy Higson's Antonine Films, Zentropa, Calyx Filmproduktion and Trust Film Sales. The article reports that this venture is to result in the production of three digital films a year in Scotland. However, several months later Antonine Films folded and, based on information available through the Danish Film Institute's online archive (dfi.dk/faktaomfilm), the

existence of Calyx Filmproduktion was short lived: the company produced just one feature film, *Cotton Club Girl* (Jensen), which was released in Denmark in 2002. Advance Party can thus be viewed as a version of the digital venture reported in *The Herald*.

The earliest article Nexis UK returns with the keywords “Advance Party” and “Sigma Films”, is an interview with Berrie printed in *The Sunday Herald* on February 1, 2004 in connection with the launch of Film City Glasgow. It mentions that the following week Berrie will be attending the Berlin International Film Festival to “announce a trilogy of low-budget projects by new filmmakers called Advance Party” (p. 8). However, the database does not retrieve any articles that make reference to the initiative’s launch at Berlin, even when the search parameters are widened to include all available publications.

For reasons documented in Chapter Two, it is outwith the scope of this chapter to analyse in detail coverage of the initiative in industry publications and film magazines. Nevertheless, brief consideration of such sources makes clear that it did receive more detailed analysis in these publications. For instance, *Screen International* ran an article on the launch of the scheme, entitled “Zentropa and Sigma to Throw Advance Party”, in February of 2004. Nexis UK does not retrieve articles in similar publications that centre on the initiative’s introduction, but the database does return ones linked to the development and production of *Red Road* that foreground the initiative. See, for instance, an article entitled “Von Trier Recruits Oscar Nominee” published in *Variety* on January 31, 2005 and “Arnold Teams with Von Trier for Red Road Feature” printed in *Televisual* on December 8, 2005. Additionally, as its numerous citations in this thesis attest, McGill’s feature on *Red Road* for *Sight & Sound* provides one of the most comprehensive engagements with the rules and functions of the Advance Party scheme to date. The comparative absence of

engagement with the wider initiative in newspaper coverage raises interesting questions as to the functions of the Advance Party framework, which are considered in the thesis Conclusion that follows.

Conclusion

Analysis presented in this chapter shows that location markers are a key component of newspaper coverage of *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. While articles in London-based newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Times*, position *Red Road* in a context clearly marked as British, Glasgow-based newspapers, *The Herald* and *Evening Times*, create a Scottish, or often more specifically Glaswegian, identity for the film. A similar Scottish/Glaswegian identity emerges in articles connected to *Donkeys*. As outlined above, this coverage is essentially confined to newspapers based in Scotland. Chapter Three observed that the positioning of *Red Road* in a British or Scottish/Glaswegian context is also evident in the British (e.g. Forrest, 2009b, 2010) and Scottish (e.g. Murray, 2007, 2012) frameworks utilised in scholarly debates surrounding the film.

While the findings of this chapter suggests the national framework is of relevance when thinking about newspaper reception, it is also important to remember that other factors are also present in newspaper coverage of the Advance Party films. This reinforces the need to consider national identity in conjunction with other types of identity. One aspect that is prominent in newspaper coverage of *Red Road* is Arnold's auteur status. As the previous chapter noted, this is also communicated in the marketing of the film. Alternatively, it has also been shown that other factors emphasised in the marketing of *Red Road*, particularly relating to gender and sexuality, are not a defining component of newspaper articles. Similarly, in terms of genre, while the materials commissioned by Verve Pictures for *Red Road's* UK release first and foremost situate it as a thriller, with the exception of the review published in

The Guardian, articles printed at the time of general release predominantly align the film with the social realist traditions. In the case of *Donkeys*, the previous chapter outlined Sigma Films' reluctance to make reference to Advance Party or *Red Road* in marketing materials. Yet, this chapter has illustrated that this is a key element of its newspaper coverage. Such differences between marketing and newspaper coverage potentially confuse Ellis' (1982) idea that there is one overarching identity created for a film. In turn, this highlights the need for research into the intertwining, and sometimes potentially contradictory, identities created for a film. In particular, this might be productively researched through analysis of audience engagement with marketing materials and newspaper articles. The possible insights offered by audience research more broadly are revisited in the Conclusion overleaf.

Conclusion

This research has provided a critical account of the Advance Party initiative and its resulting films, *Red Road* and *Donkeys*. It has considered ways in which the national framework is useful when thinking about Advance Party, while also using the case study as an entry point to critique existing academic literature on national cinema. Concurrently, this research offered insights into areas that have been neglected in Scottish film criticism, and often film studies more generally, including: filmmaker experiences, pre-production, marketing and distribution, and reception.

One overarching finding of this research relates to the dangers of making generalised claims about a national cinema. As noted at the outset of this thesis, since its inception, Scottish film criticism has been dominated by questions of nation, national identity and national cinema, and overwhelmingly, influential studies reach generalised and reductive conclusions. Moreover, these conclusions predominantly result from the study of specific aspects of film, and overlook the little-explored areas noted above. At numerous points, this thesis engaged with Murray's (2001, 2007, 2011, 2012) work in which he questions the usefulness of the national framework. Through striving towards the unattainable total history, this research sought to better understand the relevance of the national framework within research on contemporary Scottish cinema. With the shortcomings of totalising conclusions in mind, to simplify the findings of this study to an overriding position either "for" or "against" the national framework would be misleading and in effect, undermine the goal of multiplicity that motivated this study. Although there is evidence to support the continued relevance of the national framework – particularly in analysis of funding applications (Chapter Five) and newspaper coverage (Chapter Seven) – manifestations of, and engagements with, ideas of nation, national identity and national cinema are by no means static, nor do they exist in isolation.

This thesis also highlights the need for more detailed consideration of the methodologies used in the study of Scottish cinema – an observation that is also relevant when thinking about film studies more broadly. Through attempting to achieve the unachievable total history, this research aimed to demonstrate the multitude of areas film scholars might study. As this thesis has shown, prominent debates within Scottish film criticism, particularly surrounding the relevance of the national, are considerably more complex when considered through analysis of different areas of the supply chain. Moreover, as has been shown, these stages should not be viewed as self-contained. As this thesis has demonstrated, where a film is set, for instance, might have implications on how it is positioned to potential funders, and later play a role in its coverage in the press. As the field of Scottish cinema continues to develop, the arguments for a more holistic approach should be kept foremost in mind in order to ensure debates reflect the complexities the study of film presents.

While influential studies, including *Scotch Reels* (McArthur, ed., 1982), Petrie's (2000) *Screening Scotland* and work by Murray (in particular, 2007) are comprehensive in terms of the breadth of their analysis, in order to fully explore the intricacies of film, this needs to be complimented by analysis of sufficient depth. It is also important that studies that adopt a survey format go beyond discussion of film in terms of form and content, in order to study film from divergent perspectives. Both Petrie (2000a, 2000b) and Murray (2007) substantially contribute to the much-needed analysis of funding and infrastructural developments. However, their work is framed in terms of the resulting impact of these developments *onscreen*. Through analysis of unmade projects and distribution patterns, Chapter Five and Chapter Six sought to expand the areas scrutinised using a survey approach, while also keeping in mind the detailed discussion of the Advance Party films presented elsewhere in this thesis.

What is Advance Party?

Throughout this thesis, ideas as to the intended and eventual function of the Advance Party framework have been discussed, and these are revisited in this section. Drawing on Hjort's (2010a) research, Chapter Four noted that Advance Party was motivated by the perception of shared challenges. The obstacles facing filmmakers working in Scotland were considered comparable to those Danish filmmakers faced in the 1990s, before the Danish film industry experienced a period of considerable growth. Chiefly, a lack of collaborative ethos and a difficult, and often lengthy, transition from shorts to features were identified as key obstructions (Hjort, 2010a). However, this thesis has shown that Advance Party's influences, both intentional and unintentional, extend beyond these concerns, which first and foremost relate to production.

In the "Introduction" to their edited collection *Purity and Provocation: Dogma 95*, Hjort and MacKenzie (2003b) write:

[Dogma 95] involves a mixture of elements that calls, not for elusive description in terms of "marketing strategy", "public relations stunt", "aesthetics of denial", "low-budget film-making", "art cinema" or "vehicle for public criticism", but for a critical narrative that elucidates the deeper connections among these seemingly diverse characterisations. (p. 2)

Although a less visible scheme than *Dogma 95*, and a less satisfying experiment as a result of the eventual disintegration of the central rule, analysis of Advance Party likewise necessitates careful consideration of the scheme's multiple roles, and their intricate connections.

The central Advance Party challenge, and its eventual collapse, had notable implications on the marketing of *Red Road* and *Donkeys* (Chapter Six), and their reception in UK newspapers (Chapter Seven). Sigma Films' assertion that Advance Party offers a "unique marketing opportunity", as the "films are not sequels or prequels but are distinctly linked by characters", which is made in their application for Scottish Screen development finance, did not transpire. The marketing materials

commissioned by Verve Pictures make reference to the scheme, without positioning it as integral to the film. In contrast, the materials commissioned by Sigma Films evidence an effort to distance *Donkeys* from *Advance Party* and *Red Road*. As Chapter Seven considered, this decision is linked to the abandonment of the *Advance Party* challenge. These different approaches blur the connection between the two films. As it was released after *Red Road*, this is predominantly of significance to *Donkeys*. The film's ambiguous relationship with *Red Road* is further amplified by newspaper coverage, which often makes reference to the first *Advance Party* film.

Lucas Belvaux's Trilogy, which comprises of *Calvade/One: On the Run* (2002), *Un couple épatant /Two: An Amazing Couple* (2002) and *Après la vie/Three: After Life* (2002), provides a useful point of comparison when thinking about the function of the *Advance Party* framework. The films in Belvaux's Trilogy share the same group of characters, with each part played by the same actor in all three films. The three films each belong to a different genre (*One* is a thriller, *Two* a comedy and *Three* a melodrama), but they all take place in the same narrative world, and over the same 24-hour time period. Motivated by Belvaux's "theoretical question about what constitutes a secondary character" (Perkins & Verevis, 2012b, p. 8), the lives of his characters intertwine in the course of the three films in ways that "can be perceived and fully appreciated only through rereading all three films with hindsight" (Kinder, 2010, p. 248). A similar, although more fleeting, overlap in storylines is also evident in Krzysztof Kieślowski's Three Colours trilogy: *Trois couleurs: Bleu/Three Colours: Blue* (1993), *Trois couleurs: Blanc/Three Colours: White* (1994) and *Trois couleurs: Rouge/Three Colours: Red* (1994).

The films of Belvaux's Trilogy premiered in 2002, shortly before the creation of the *Advance Party* rules, which were drawn up in August 2003 (Scherfig & Jensen, 2003, as cited in Verve Pictures, 2006, p. 4). In terms of its central creative challenge,

Trilogy resembles Advance Party through its retention of the same pool of characters across three different films. However, there are notable differences between the two. In particular, the storylines of *One*, *Two* and *Three* are connected and interwoven to an extent not required by the Advance Party brief, which details: “The development of the characters in each story or genre does not affect other scripts”. Yet, as discussed in Chapter Three, the Advance Party characters were initially intended to (re-)appear in a meaningful, and recognisable, way across the three films. As *Red Road* producer Carrie Comerford explains: “If grubby-looking Jane – not that there is a Jane – is always biting her nails, she must carry that character trait. In one movie she may take a cameo role, in another, the lead” (as cited in Thomas, 2005). From this, it can be understood that the Advance Party projects were envisioned as being interwoven, although in a way less interconnected than Belvaux’s Trilogy. This form of intertextuality, as Chapter Three argued, requires a level of dialogue between the three directors that ultimately did not materialise. Crucially, Belvaux both wrote and directed *One*, *Two* and *Three*, as well as playing a central character.⁷³ This ensured a level of consistency across all three films that did not prove attainable with Advance Party.

The three films of Belvaux’s Trilogy all premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival in September of 2002, and were released theatrically in the UK a week apart: on November 12, November 28 and December 5 of 2003. Similarly, the films of Kieślowski’s Three Colours trilogy were released swiftly, although not quite as rapidly as *One*, *Two* and *Three*. *Blue* was released in the UK on October 15, 1993, *White* on June 10, 1994 and *Red* on November 11, 1994. The timely distribution of both trilogies maximises audience awareness and encourages viewing of all three

⁷³ In an interview, Belvaux (n.d.) explains that the role of Bruno (the character Belvaux plays in Trilogy) was initially written for a French actor. However, for funding reasons, a Belgian actor had to be cast, and he eventually decided to play the role himself.

films. Complete viewing is also prompted by the home entertainment release of *Trilogy* and *Three Colours*, as each is available in a single boxset, the former distributed in the UK by Tartan and the latter by Artificial Eye. These factors also enhance the connection between the three films, and in turn, present each trilogy as a concrete whole.

When positioned in relation to other projects considered in this thesis, most notably *Dogma 95* or Belvaux's *Trilogy*, the achievements of *Advance Party* can appear negligible. After all, one of the three films did not materialise and the central rule was ultimately abandoned in the course of completing *Donkeys*. Nevertheless, in February of 2009, a second scheme was announced. Both Sigma Films and Zentropa returned to *Advance Party* along with Subotica Films, a Dublin-based production company established by Tristan Orpen Lynch and Dominic Wright in 1999. Prior to *Advance Party*, Subotica Films worked with Zentropa on *Song for a Raggy Boy* (Walsh, 2003), and since the launch of *Advance Party II*, co-produced David Mackenzie's *Perfect Sense* (2011) with Sigma Films.

The second *Advance Party* involves eight directors and a new set of rules. The eight directors chosen for the scheme are: Rory Bresnihan, Ciarán Foy, Steph Green, Enda Hughes, Adrian McDowall, Daniel Mulloy, Paul Wright and Esther May Campbell. Similar to the first initiative, at the time of their selection, all eight directors had completed successful shorts, but had not transitioned into features. In a deviation from the first scheme, on this occasion the filmmakers participated in the design of the rules (Appendix H).

In relation to *Dogma 95*, Hjort and MacKenzie (2003b) question the usefulness of the manifesto as a blueprint for the novice filmmaker. The authors convincingly point to the gulf in quality between the Danish *Dogma* films and those made elsewhere, and attribute this difference to the inexperience of the international

directors that accepted the Dogma challenge. Drawing on comments made by Mogens Rukov, who taught at the Danish Film School when von Trier and Vinterberg were both students, the authors observe:

In Jesper Jargil's documentary on Dogma 95, *De lutrede (The Purified, 2002)*, Rukov points out that von Trier was a highly proficient film-maker with proven mastery of most of the technical aspects of his profession when he initiated Dogma 95. Von Trier's idea, in other words, was precisely to place a ban on the very techniques that he had spent years carefully mastering. Following Rukov, Dogma 95 makes most sense as a challenge to the expert film-maker rather than the novice, who, he argues, should be required to follow an entirely different set of rules. (2003b, p. 8)

Rukov's assertion is also relevant when thinking about the first Advance Party challenge, as the task of incorporating nine characters into one narrative is perhaps more suited to the experienced scriptwriter. In the instance of Advance Party II, the opportunity to participate in the design of the rules provided the directors with the chance to tailor the constraints specifically to their skill level and needs. Unfortunately however, this was not capitalised on, and the rules devised are needlessly complex.

Similar to the first scheme, the Advance Party II rules stipulate a budget limit (€1.5 million per film). The remaining rules once again predominantly relate to the writing process. In addition to stating that each project must be "inspired by a location, a character and a secret" written by one of the other directors and selected at random, the rules detail that each film should also feature no more than eight characters, make viewers both laugh and cry, provide an uplifting ending and "in some way, must end as it begins" (as cited in Irish Film Board, 2009; see Appendix H). In keeping with the focus on the number eight, the length of each script is limited to 88 pages. Additionally, the projects must be shot within an eight-mile radius. These rules are considerably more complex than those used in the first Advance Party, and would be difficult for even an experienced filmmaker to execute. They also lack any underlying drive or unity. Whilst, as Chapter Four explained, Advance Party is absent

of the reformist rhetoric that characterises Dogma 95, its underlying challenge is straightforward and unambiguous. In contrast, the Advance Party II rules evidence a haphazard and ill-conceived approach to the use of constraints as a way of stimulating creativity. Revealingly, press releases issued at the time of the scheme's launch, make no reference to the direct involvement of von Trier on this occasion (e.g. Scottish Screen, 2009a; Irish Film Board, 2009).

Chapter Four highlighted that the first Advance Party was driven by a desire to develop a more sustainable filmmaking milieu in Scotland. The inclusion of Subotica Films signals a shift to extend Advance Party to Ireland, though, as is evident from the overview of its rules given above, the production of the second group of films is not positioned within a marked environment. Indirectly however, a focus on nationality is still evident. Press releases from the time of Advance Party II's launch feature a biography of each of the eight directors, and central to these biographies is nationality (e.g. Scottish Screen, 2009a; Irish Film Board, 2009). The directors are Irish/Irish-American, Northern Irish, Scottish or English. The absence of Danish directors is notable as it evidences Zentropa's continued role as enabler. Zentropa, along with Scottish Screen, the Irish Film Board and the UKFC, financed the development of the eight films, reflecting the nationalities of the participating directors.⁷⁴ In keeping with the findings presented in Chapter Five, this reinforces the importance of nationality in the process of raising finance.

⁷⁴ In March of 2008, Sigma Films was one of eight companies awarded money through Scottish Screen's Slate Fund. Funding to the sum of £112,500 was provided to assist in the development of twelve films, eight of which fall under the Advance Party II banner (Scottish Screen, 2009a, p. 10). In September the same year, Sigma Films was one of ten companies to receive the UKFC Vision Award of £75,000 (UKFC, n.d.). Several months later, in November of 2008, the Irish Film Board awarded Subotica €85,000 towards the development of the Advance Party II films (Irish Film Board, n.d.).

In response to questions regarding the reasons that propelled Subotica Films to join the second initiative, co-founder Lynch (personal communication, October 3, 2011) states:

We got involved because we had worked before with Zentropa in Denmark and we had worked before with Sigma in Scotland – they had done the original Advance Party together and created Andrea Arnold’s film. And obviously it is a great project, we are always looking to work with new talent and find a way through, it was just an intriguing way to put a structure on how you do that. Also the possibility of funding projects from three territories to take away the restriction and uncertainty about whether the projects will be made or not.

This recalls several of the motivations discussed in relation to the first scheme. The goal of creating an environment in which new talent can transition from shorts to features is again suggested. So too is the idea of collaboration, which is framed in terms of collaboration between production companies. Importantly, when Lynch makes reference to Zentropa and Sigma Films he also states the country in which each is based. He later cites “the possibility of funding projects from three territories” as a factor propelling his involvement in the scheme. He reasons that this reduces “uncertainty about whether the projects will be made”. This reiterates the importance of nationality as a criterion used by public funding agencies in the allocation of finance, and it foregrounds the importance of cross-border co-productions as a way for small nation production companies to raise funds.

While Hjort (2010a) positions the perceived cultural affinity between Zentropa and Sigma Films as central to their partnership, and extends this observation to Danish and Scottish culture more broadly, Lynch’s view of the relationships underpinning Advance Party II is more practical. He states:

Making films in Europe at the moment is very hard, so I think anyone who manages to get films made, there is a sense of respect for each other. It is a question of trying to facilitate, and trying to make things easier for each other. (Personal communication, October 3, 2011)

In response to the unrealised fate of Nørgaard’s *The Old Firm*, Lynch argues that the completion of two films is actually quite an achievement, reasoning that the average

conversion ratio is much lower. Indeed, a study commissioned by the UKFC and Skillset found that on average, only 18% of feature films developed in the UK are given the green light, a figure they estimate to be lower than that for Hollywood studios (Attentional, 2007, pp. 42-43).⁷⁵ In this light, the completion of two of the three films does appear more impressive, though, as this thesis has argued, the overall execution of the scheme was not entirely successful.

At the time of writing (August 2013), four-and-a-half years after the launch of Advance Party II, not one of the eight films has entered into production. In October of 2011, most of the projects were in second draft phase and “about three or four of them [were] ready to consider the final stages before production” (Lynch, personal communication, October 3, 2011). However, as of yet none have proceeded past development. Many of the eight directors have since made their debut feature through another channel.⁷⁶ This calls into question the suitability of Advance Party’s rule governed structure as a way of providing experience to first time filmmakers. As argued, the rules, particularly of the second scheme, lack any clear direction or intent, and are not particularly helpful to the novice filmmaker. Nonetheless, it is also

⁷⁵ On the conversion rate of Hollywood studios, the report states: “After discussions with three US studio executives, who preferred to remain unnamed, there was a consensus that internal studio estimates for conversion rates in the US sector fell between 20% and 30%. However, a UK development executive with experience at a US Studio informed us that conversion rates in the US are generally lower. The higher estimates may be explained by early-stage projects not being acknowledged” (Attentional, 2007, p. 43).

⁷⁶ Paul Wright’s debut feature film *For Those in Peril*, produced by Warp Films with funding from Film4, was selected for the Critics’ Week strand of the 2013 Cannes International Film Festival. Steph Green’s debut *Run and Jump*, co-produced by Dublin-based Samson Films and Munich-based Bavaria Pictures, premiered at the Tribeca Film Festival in 2013. Esther May Campbell’s *Light Years* received development finance from the BFI in 2012 and in April 2013, the agency announced its intention to award the project production finance (BFI, 2013a). Ciarán Foy’s debut *Citadel*, produced by Dublin’s Blinder Films and Sigma Films, premiered at the South by Southwest Film Festival in 2012. Despite Sigma Film’s involvement, Foy’s debut feature was realised outwith Advance Party II. Alternatively, Rory Bresnihan moved into documentary filmmaking. At present (August 2012), his debut *Lola Ya Bonobo*, produced by Dublin-based Park Films, is in post-production.

important to keep in mind that inclusion in the scheme could have enhanced the directors' CVs, and in turn, aided their future careers.

The idea of collaboration, which is integral to *Dogma 95* and the first Advance Party, is retained in Advance Party II. This is apparent in the shared task of creating the rules. It is also reflected in the strategic partnerships of Zentropa, Sigma Films and Subotica Films. Nonetheless, there is again evidence – beyond the unrealised fates of the eight films – that suggests collaboration was not as prominent as one might expect. During the Berlin International Film Festival in 2009, the eight directors took part in a series of workshops designed to create “the ‘Advance Party’ community” (Scottish Screen, 2009a, para. 8). At this time the directors also participated in a series of seminars on the “business elements of filmmaking” (Scottish Screen, 2009a, para. 8). This involved talks with “visiting directors, writers and actors as well as lawyers, sales agents, distributors and development gurus, with the aim of arming the eight filmmakers with as much information and inspiration as possible” (Scottish Screen, 2009a, para. 8). Revealingly, Lynch notes that neither Arnold nor McKinnon were involved in these workshops. Given that a central goal of the first Advance Party was to foster a collective environment similar to that at Zentropa, the absence of dialogue between the first and second group of directors indicates this aim was not achieved to the degree anticipated.

The extract from Scottish Screen's press release makes clear that the directors were once again required to think about the “business elements of filmmaking”. Both Advance Party schemes, like their *Dogma* predecessor, exhibit an awareness of the importance of thinking about aspects of the film industry other than production. This understanding does not however, necessarily lead to the realisation of critically and commercially successful films. In fact, as *The Old Firm* and the eight Advance Party II projects attest, it does not even ensure project completion.

Drawing on the successes of *Dogma 95* and the generosity of *Zentropa*, *Advance Party* provides one possible means of tackling some of the most imposing obstacles that constrain filmmakers working in small nations. It also, in theory if not practice, provides an enticing concept to present to sales agents, distributors, journalists, and through them, potential viewers. While, as Lynch rightly asserts, the realisation of two out of three films is an admirable accomplishment – especially when one of these films achieve critical success and launched the career of one of the UK's most acclaimed directors for many years – the use of rules as a means of enhancing creativity does appear exhausted in the *Advance Party* guise.

Beyond the Frame: Future Research

Dogma highlighted the need for small nation filmmakers to be aware of the wider environments in which film production exists. Similarly, this thesis has hopefully demonstrated why it is important for film scholars researching the cinema of small nations, and indeed film scholars more generally, to pay attention to more than just the film text. For too long, Scottish film scholars have framed their analysis using narrow parameters and in turn, been prone to reaching generalised and reductive conclusions. It is only by also looking beyond the frame that film scholars can fully engage with the intricacies the study of film presents. The unique methodological approach developed in the course of this project offers researchers working on other small nation cinemas a blueprint with which to develop a similarly comprehensive study, and through this, facilitate a broader comparative analysis.

While this research strived towards total history, it did so with the knowledge that this is not an attainable goal. One area this thesis unfortunately has not been able to explore is viewer engagement. In part, this is a result of space restrictions, but it also relates to timing. Given this project's focus on marketing and newspaper

coverage, the most appropriate point at which to undertake audience research is the time of general release. As research commenced four years after the release of *Red Road* and only a week before *Donkeys* started its theatrical run, this was not possible. However, audience research offers a wealth of potential insight for future research. Given the frequency with which studies of Scottish cinema, and equally British cinema, make claims about viewer experiences, this point cannot be overstated. In addition to the need for audience research in academia, as Chapter Six suggested, findings relating to viewer experiences could also be immensely valuable to those working in film production in Scotland. This is interesting to consider in relation to the renewed public correspondence between Creative Scotland and Scotland-based filmmakers.

As Chapter Five explained, in October of 2012, 100 artists wrote an open letter to Creative Scotland in which they condemn the running of the organisation. This resulted in the resignation of then-Chief Executive Andrew Dixon. Several months later (June 2013) Janet Archer, former Director of Dance at Arts Council England, was appointed to the role. However, criticisms of the public body have lingered. On September 28 (2013), *The Herald* reported that the Independent Producers Scotland (IPS) group sent a memo to the agency expressing their concern about the Scottish film industry, or lack thereof (see Miller, 2013). The memo asserts: “While on the surface Scottish films continue to punch above their weight...the real picture is extremely bleak” (as cited in Miller, 2013). It continues:

In other countries, film producers with the right support are able to make a living out of film...in Scotland, however, the vast majority of film production companies and producers are in financial crisis. Lack of funds and support is killing the industry. (As cited in Miller, 2013)

In the memo, IPS draw comparisons between Creative Scotland’s £3 million budget for film and the higher level of support offered in other countries: Denmark (£52 million), Sweden (£36 million), Norway (£21 million) and Northern Ireland (£13

million) (as cited in miller, 2013). Indeed, frequently both academics and journalists also draw on the cinema of other nations, particularly Scandinavian countries and Celtic countries, in order to highlight the comparatively lower levels of investment in Scotland. In their memo, IPS request Creative Scotland increase funding levels for film to £5 million annually for development and £10 million for production, and ask that the current investment cap of £300,000 per project be lifted (Miller, 2013).

Crucially, the suggestions made by IPS overlook the need for investment in areas other than development and production. Indeed, both journalists and academics (Murray, 2007; MacPherson, 2010) readily neglect sales and distribution infrastructure when drawing comparisons between Scotland and other small nations. As Chapter Five and Chapter Six revealed, even the most limited consideration of audience appears virtually absent in the realisation and release of *Donkeys*. This is particularly evident in the funding application submitted to Creative Scotland for marketing finance. While, as has been noted, the overall lack of detail and haphazard presentation of the funding applications imply that other factors influenced the allocation of finance – and indeed, this in turn suggests that further research into the funding process might potentially be insightful – the absence of even basic details, such as target audience, reinforces the urgent need for more detailed consideration of audience views and desires. Yet, given the dearth of development and production funds at present, to make a convincing case for spend on audience research to producers could be difficult. To finish on an optimistic note, the mutual need for audience research in both industry and academic contexts, asks the question of whether this could perhaps be the focus of a valuable collaborative industry/academic project in the future.

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Appendix A: Dogma 95 Manifesto

The Dogma 95 manifesto is shown below. It is taken from Hjort and MacKenzie's (2003a) *Purity and Provocation* (pp. 199-200). Emphasis and ellipsis are present in the original text as cited by Hjort and MacKenzie.

DOGME 95

...is a collective of film directors founded in Copenhagen in spring 1995.

DOGME 95 has the expressed goal of countering "certain tendencies" in the cinema today.

DOGME 95 is a rescue action!

In 1960 enough was enough! The movie was dead and called for resurrection. The goal was correct but the means were not! The new wave proved to be a ripple that washed ashore and turned to muck.

Slogans of individualism and freedom created works for a while, but no changes. The wave was up for grabs, like the directors themselves. The wave was never stronger than the men behind it. The anti-bourgeois cinema itself became bourgeois, because the foundations upon which its theories were based was the bourgeois perception of art. The auteur concept was bourgeois romanticism from the very start and thereby...false!

To DOGME 95 cinema is not individual!

Today a technological storm is raging, the result of which will be the ultimate democratisation of the cinema. For the first time, anyone can make movies. But the more accessible the medium becomes, the more important the avant-garde. It is no accident that the phrase "avant-garde" has military connotations. Discipline is the answer...we must put our films into uniform, because the individual film will be decadent by definition!

DOGME 95 counters the individual film by the principle of presenting an indisputable set of rules known as THE VOW OF CHASTITY.

VOW OF CHASTITY

"I swear to submit to the following set of rules drawn up and confirmed by DOGME 95:

1. Shooting must be done on location. Props and sets must not be brought in. (If a particular prop is necessary for the story, a location must be chosen where this prop is to be found.)
2. The sound must never be produced apart from the images or vice versa. (Music must not be used unless it occurs where the scene is being shot.)
3. The camera must be hand-held. Any movement or immobility attainable in the hand is permitted. (The film must not take place where the camera is standing; shooting must take place where the film takes place.)
4. The film must be in colour. Special lighting is not acceptable. (If there is too little light for exposure the scene must be cut or a single lamp be attached to the camera.)
5. Optical work and filters are forbidden.
6. The film must not contain superficial action. (Murders, weapons, etc. must not occur.)
7. Temporal and geographical alienation are forbidden. (That is to say that the film takes place here and now.)

8. Genre movies are not acceptable.
9. The film format must be Academy 35 mm.
10. The director must not be credited.

Furthermore, I swear as a director to refrain from personal taste! I am no longer an artist. I swear to refrain from creating a “work”, as I regard the instant as more important than the whole. My supreme goal is to force the truth out of my characters and settings. I swear to do so by all the means available and at the cost of any good taste and any aesthetic considerations.

Thus I make my VOW OF CHASTITY.”

Copenhagen, Monday 13 March 1995

On behalf of **DOGME 95**

Lars von Trier

Thomas Vinterberg

Appendix B: The Advance Party Document

The Advance Party document provided to Arnold, McKinnon and Nørgaard is shown below. It is taken from an appendix to Sigma Films' application to Scottish Screen for development finance.

ADVANCE PARTY

August 2003

The Characters

Here are the characters that will carry all the films under ADVANCE PARTY. The scripts can take their starting point in one or more characters or they may be subjected to an external drama. The characters can also participate in a form that is governed primarily by neither characters nor plot.

The films take place in Scotland but apart from that the writers are free to place them anywhere according to geography, social setting or ethnic background. Their back-stories can be expanded, family relations can be created between them, they can be given habits good or bad, and secondary characters can be added if it is proper for the individual film.

The interpersonal relationships of the characters differ from film to film and they may be weighted differently as major or minor characters. The development of the characters in each story or genre does not affect the other scripts.

All of the characters must appear in all of the films.

The various parts will be cast with the same actors in the same parts in all of the films.

Devised by: Lone Scherfig and Anders Thomas Jensen

ALFRED, 64.

When he was young, he had great dreams and ideas about how his life would turn out. However, certain circumstances caused Alfred to never realize a single one of them and it was quite likely, that he would end his days as a bitter, disenchanted man, but he hasn't and for one simple reason: he lies.

Alfred lies about himself and to himself. He always has a new story about his past. Unexpectedly, he may draw parallels from his experience with for example the bomber raids of Bremen, although he would have been only four years old at the time. He talks about women he has been married to (who have never been married to him) even private details, which he is embarrassed to reveal. He seems to have decided that whatever he might make up is better than the failed existence he came to lead. If you meet Alfred in the pub, he will be an unreasonably interesting acquaintance the first time, the second time you will wonder how for example his ten years as a young engineer in the Far East were possible, and the third time you will write him off as a fool, if you haven't come to love him by then. Because he is very lovable, none of Alfred's lies are vicious.

However, once in a while he will suddenly tell you the truth, but he has been lying so much and for so long, that he may not be quite sure when anymore. Other times, his lies lead to fatal misunderstandings.

Alfred suffers from a severe fear of dying and it worsens every time one of his contemporaries passes on or every time he feels love for one of his close relatives. When he is really scared of dying, he behaves differently.

APRIL, 28.

She is very shy: she is a newcomer or may even be moving to a new place in every film without really knowing anybody at first. Everything she owns fits into two suitcases. She has had to part with something, since she seems to have no past and no family.

She is unusually beautiful, but she has the ability to make herself almost invisible just by sitting quietly and observing what's going on around her. After a while, people forget that she's even sitting there. She never initiates a conversation.

She smokes.

CRISPIN, 40.

Crispin owns a shoe store. Women like him a lot and he loves to fit them for shoes. Crispin's mind is in another place, though. Only his dog really knows him.

Crispin is the last descendant of an old family, and quite possibly he will remain that way, because he isn't a very flirtatious type of person. He has spent a lot of time on his own and he pretty much spends his weekdays on his own, even though the shop may be packed with customers. He thinks before he speaks and he is a good listener. He is slow and calm, almost a bit old-fashioned.

Although the store is running smoothly and Crispin is well liked he has an increasing feeling of being misplaced and it is becoming a serious problem to him.

JACKIE, 34.

The world has been insanely unfair to her. She has lost her only brother, her husband, and their child.

Jackie is a bit aloof and cool. Habitually, she maintains a relationship with a married man, whom she meets with afternoons, fortnightly. He can't quite bring himself to part with her full bosom and she gets just enough intimacy to avoid shutting herself off from the world.

Jackie used to be a lot funnier and crazier than she is now. Little details give away this trait: Maybe she has a flight certificate, speaks French, or plays the banjo – she just hasn't used her skills for some years.

AVERY, 40.

Many years ago, he was hit in the head by a tree. His mother was so grateful that he survived, that she left Avery's father and moved to a convent with her little boy. Avery grew up amongst the nuns and he still visits them. He never became religious himself, but his mother's gratitude and the love of the nuns live on in him. He always gets the best out of everything, and he dislikes having to say no. He struggles to keep track of time, because there are so many people he wants to do favours for.

Avery is a complicated human being, who struggles with the two extremities of his psyche.

Fundamentally, he is very generous and far too kind. He is not a stranger to the idea of giving away his things, buying gifts when they are not called for, and never taking credit for his work. On many a morning, he brings small things or clippings, which he has related to his friends, unselfishly, and brought for their sake. "I know you like butterflies, and I just found this on the sidewalk". Also, he sometimes almost embarrasses the people around him by praising them and lying about them doing good deeds for other people. "William washed the stairs" he will say, although he did it himself and William just moved a doormat. He always sees the positive aspect of his surroundings and spreads joy and laughter wherever he goes.

And then suddenly it all changes. Maybe because the world isn't fair and all the good deeds you do for others are seldom returned. But Avery will suddenly turn very morbid, almost evil. There are mornings when he has had enough of himself,

everything and everybody else. Then he throws his teacup at the floor and wants his goddamn butterflies back. And those, whom he would praise, are stupid bastards and it “wasn’t goddam William, who washed those stairs”. The next day, he returns the butterflies, because after all, they will look better in a collection than back home under his bed.

Avery stays far away from drugs and alcohol, because he knows that he contains anger, that he is afraid to lose control of. His outbursts are not caused by real situations, but by inner feelings, that may burst out at any time.

Avery has had several girlfriends, whom he has stayed with, because he didn’t have the heart to leave them. He hates himself because of this, just like he hates every time he fails to be a nice lovable guy.

CLYDE, 35.

He has spent ten of those years behind bars. Due to good behaviour, he was released a couple of years before time and took the job he originally trained for, being a locksmith. His circle of friends are [sic] still a motley crew, but relentlessly, he sticks to the straight and narrow.

Most women are very attracted to Clyde, and he has lots of them but he quickly loses interest in each of them. Slowly, he lets go of each one of them. In return, he is very faithful to his friends and he tries to make them change their ways as each one of them is released. Sometimes, he succeeds. Other times, he bangs his head against a frozen wall of guilt emerging from his past, which he truly regrets but cannot change.

He is a Catholic.

TT, 35.

She is too fat but fails to realize it. She is a bonfire of determination, energy and strength, and she could beat up most men if she wanted to.

TT despises her mother, but still visits on the odd occasion and she has provided for her needs every [sic] since TT’s beloved father died. It’s expensive, but all that work keeps her mind busy with other concerns, although she works in the same place, where her father used to work.

She is good at her job and has a breadth of outlook and a surplus of energy. She knows where she’s going, but unfortunately, no man seems to want to follow her. But she is in no hurry. There are billions of men and lots of other things she has to do first.

There is only one man, who suddenly makes her feel, small, weak, nervous, say stupid thins and trip over her own legs. Every time this happens, she performs an intense ritual to return to her normal self.

TT has no friends. She feels unsure of herself when someone offers her a chance to confide. She is at her best when she makes herself useful and she is at home, so she often takes shifts for colleagues and she doesn’t have much leisure time. It is almost strange to see her in an ordinary dress, when on the odd occasion; she leaves her uniform at home.

Appendix C: Organisation Overview

The tables presented in this appendix provide an overview of many of the companies involved in the realisation and release of the Advance Party films. As the tables were compiled near the outset of this project, several of the distributor or film festival websites listed in the final column are no longer available. These can however, be accessed via the Internet Archive (archive.org). Where relevant, this is indicated in the source(s) column.

Red Road

Organisation	Involvement	Amount	Date	Source(s)
DEVELOPMENT				
GFO	Development finance & funded Arnold's attendance at Sundance Screenwriters Lab	£33,333	July, 2003	GFO, 2006, p. 1
Scottish Screen	Development finance	£50,000 total (£25,000 <i>Red Road</i>)	Sept, 2004	GFO, 2006, p. 2
Sigma Films	Advance Party concept development	N/A	Discussions first took place in Aug, 2000	Hjort, 2010a
Sundance Institute	Screenwriters lab	N/A	Jan, 2005	GFO, 2006, p. 2
UKFC	Development finance	£10,962	July, 2005	UKFC, n.d.
Zentropa	Advance Party concept development & workshops at Film Town	N/A	Aug, 2003 & Jan, 2004	GFO, 2006, p. 3
PRE-PRODUCTION				
BBC Films	Production finance, equity investor	£250,000	Feb, 2006	GFO, 2006, p. 3; Short, personal communication, Sept 22, 2011; Hibberd, 2008, p. 109
GFO	Production finance	£125,000	Mar, 2005	GFO, 2006, pp. 2-3

Kahleen Crawford Castings	Casting	N/A	Aug, 2005 (final casting confirmed)	GFO, 2006, p. 3
Scottish Screen	Production finance	£290,833, £15,577 & £15,420	June, 2005, Oct, 2005 & Apr, 2006	Creative Scotland, personal communication, Feb 8, 2011
UKFC	Production finance	£390,857 & £45,287	Aug 16 & Oct 4, 2005	UKFC, n.d.
Zentropa	Production finance	Unknown	Unknown	GFO, 2006, p. 3
Zoma	Production finance	Unknown	Unknown	GFO, 2006, p. 3

PRODUCTION

Sigma Films	Production company	N/A	Filming took place Oct-Dec, 2005	GFO, 2006, p. 3
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POST-PRODUCTION

Fatts	Film & tape transcript services	Unknown	Unknown	Fatts website (fatts.co.uk)
GFO	Post finance (Savalas)	£30,000	Aug, 2005	GFO, 2006, p. 3
Mainstream ApS	Sound mastering	Unknown	Unknown	Mainstream website (mainstream.dk)
One Post	Digital intermediate (DI) services	Unknown	Unknown	GFO, n.d.-b
Savalas	Post (sound)	£30,000	Aug, 2005	GFO, 2006, p. 3
Serious Facilities	Post facilities	Unknown	Unknown	GFO, n.d.-b

DISTRIBUTION

Aerofilms	Distribution: Czech Republic	€15,426 (total distribution budget); €5,000 (finance from MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Apr 16, 2007	Aerofilms website (aerofilms.cz); MEDIA, 2007a, p. 7
A-Film	Distribution: Netherlands	€9,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	A-Film website (a-film.nl); MEDIA, 2006, p. 6
Arkles	Distribution: Australia	Unknown	Unknown	Arkles website (available via archive.org)

ASFK	Distribution: Slovakia	Unknown	Unknown	ASFK website (asfk.sk); MEDIA, n.d.
BBC Films	Distribution: UK (television rights)	£250,000	Oct, 2005	GFO, 2006, p. 3; Short, personal communication, Sept 22, 2011; Hibberd, 2008, p. 109
California Filmes	Distribution: Brazil	Unknown	Unknown	California Filmes website (californiafilmes .com.br)
Camera Film (formally Grand Teatret)	Distribution: Denmark	€8,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	Camera Film website (available via archive.org); MEDIA, 2006, p. 6
Cineart	Distribution: Belgium & Luxemburg	€10,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	Cineart website (cineart.be); MEDIA, 2006, p. 6
Cirko Film – Maskepp Alapitvany	Distribution: Hungary	€19,029 (total distribution budget); €4,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2007	Cirko website (cirkofilm.hu); MEDIA, 2007c, p. 10
Swift Productions (formally Equation)	Distribution: France	€50,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	Swift website (swiftprod.com); MEDIA, 2006, p. 6.
Fandango	Distribution: Italy	Unknown	Unknown	Fandango website (fandango.it)
First Production	Distribution: Serbia	Unknown	Unknown	First website (first.rs)
Folkets Bio	Distribution: Sweden	€12,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	Folkets (folketsbio.se); MEDIA, 2006, p. 6
Frenetic Films	Distribution: Switzerland and Liechtenstein	€12,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	MEDIA, 2006, p. 6
Fugu	Distribution: Germany	Unknown	Unknown	MEDIA, n.d.

Golem	Distribution: Spain	€50,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	Golem website (golem.es); Media, 2006, p. 6
GFO	Red Road mini- site	Unknown	To support <i>Red Road's</i> screening at Cannes	glasgowfilm.co m/redroad
Karl Sinfield Designs	Poster design	Unknown	Unknown	Sinfield, personal communication, May 15, 2011
MEDIA	Distribution funds: Swift, Cineart, Frenetic Films, Aerofilms, Camera Film, Golem, Cirko Film, A-Film, Vivarto Film, Prisvideo, Folkets Bio, StraDa, Pro Films, Fugu, ASFk	€196,000 total (figures unavailable for ASFk & Fugu)	Various dates	MEDIA, n.d.
Palisades Tartan	Distribution: US	Unknown	Unknown	Palisades Tartan website (palisadestartan .com)
Prisvideo	Distribution: Portugal	€3,500 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	MEDIA, 2006, p. 6
Pro Films OOD	Distribution: Bulgaria	€24,375 (total distribution budget); €5,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline July 10, 2007	MEDIA, 2007b, p. 13
Semaphore Entertainment Group	Distribution: Norway	€15,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	MEDIA, 2006, p. 6
Shani Films	Distribution: Israel	Unknown	Unknown	Shani Films website (lev.co.il)
StraDa Films	Distribution: Greece	€9,000 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline Dec 1, 2006	MEDIA, 2006, p. 6
Trust Films	Sales agent	Unknown	Unknown	TrustNordisk website (trustnordisk.co m)

UKFC	P&A finance & funding to produce a print for Cannes	1) £82,325 (P&A Fund) 2) £21,960 (print for Cannes)	1) Oct 3, 2006 2) May 10, 2006	UKFC, n.d.; UKFC, personal communication, Mar 7, 2011
Verve Pictures	Distribution: UK (theatrical)	£82,325 (funding from UKFC)	Oct 3, 2006	UKFC, n.d.
Vivarto Film Distribution	Distribution: Poland	€7,758 (total distribution budget); €3,500 (MEDIA)	MEDIA application deadline July 10, 2007	Vivarto, website (vivarto.pl); MEDIA, 2007b, p. 13.

EXHIBITION: FILM FESTIVAL SCREENINGS

Adelaide Film Festival, Australia	Screening	N/A	Feb 24 & 26, 2007	Festival website (available via archive.org)
Arras Film Festival, France	Screening	N/A	Nov 16, 2006	Festival website (arrasfilmfestival.com)
Auckland International Film Festival, New Zealand	Screening	N/A	July 13, 2007	Festival website (nziff.co.nz)
Bangkok International Film Festival, Thailand	Screening	N/A	July 20, 2007	Wong, 2007
Cannes International Film Festival, France	Screening (shown In Competition & won Jury Price)	N/A	May 20, 2006	Festival website (festival-cannes.fr)
Cleveland International Film Festival, US	Screening	N/A	Mar 17 & 18, 2007	Festival website (clevelandfilm.org)
Cornwall Film Festival, UK	Screening	N/A	Nov 18, 2006	Festival website (cornwallfilmfestival.com)
Dinard Film Festival, France	Screening (won Coup de Coeur award)	N/A	Oct 5, 2006	Knowles, 2006
Two Riversides Film and Art Festival, Poland	Screening	N/A	Aug 8, 2007	Festival website (dwabrzezi.pl)
Film by the Sea International Film Festival, Netherlands	Screening	N/A	Sept 16, 2007	Festival website (available via archive.org)

Göteborg International Film Festival, Sweden	Screening (won International Debut Award)	N/A	Feb 2, 2007	Festival website (giff.se)
Hawaii International Film Festival, US	Screening	N/A	Apr 21, 2007	Festival website (available via archive.org)
Helsinki Woman Film Festival, Finland	Screening	N/A	Feb 10, 2007	Festival website (available via archive.org)
Melbourne International Film Festival, Australia	Screening	N/A	Aug 2, 2007	Festival website (miff.com.au)
Motovun Film Festival, Croatia	Screening (won Special Mention)	N/A	July 24, 2007	Festival website (motovunfilmfestival.com)
Philadelphia Film Festival, US	Screening (won Best First Time Director)	N/A	Apr 6, 2007	Rea, 2007
Reykjavik International Film Festival, Iceland	Screening (won FIPRESCI jury awarded)	N/A	Sept 30 & Oct 3, 2006	Festival website (en.riff.is)
Santa Barbara International Film Festival, US	Screening	N/A	Feb 1, 2007	Festival website (available via archive.org)
Seattle International Film Festival, US	Screening	N/A	May 25 & 26, 2007	Festival website (siff.net)
Sundance Film Festival, US	Screening	N/A	Jan 19, 2007	Sundance website (sundance.org)
Sydney International Film Festival, Australia	Screening	N/A	June 21, 2007	Jørgensen, 2007
Toronto International Film Festival, Canada	Screening	N/A	Sept 14, 2006	Tillson, 2006
Transilvania International Film Festival, Romania	Screening	N/A	June 3, 2007	Festival website (tiff.ro/en)
Wisconsin Film Festival, US	Screening	N/A	Apr 14, 2007	Festival website (wifilmfest.org)

Donkeys

Organisation	Involvement	Amount	Date	Source(s)
DEVELOPMENT				
GFO	Development finance	£33,333	July, 2003	GFO, 2006, p. 1
Scottish Screen	Development finance	£50,000 (all three films)	Sept, 2004	Creative Scotland, personal communication, Sept 7, 2011
Sigma Films	Advance Party concept development	N/A	Discussions first took place in Aug, 2000	Hjort, 2010a
UKFC	Development finance	£18,375	Sept 25, 2007	UKFC, n.d.
Zentropa	Advance Party concept development & workshops at Film Town	N/A	Jan, 2004	GFO, 2006, p. 3
PRE-PRODUCTION				
GFO	Production finance	£50,000	Unknown	Hamish Walker, personal communication, July 11, 2011
Kahleen Crawford Castings	Casting	N/A	Casting confirmed with Scottish Screen Nov 31, 2007	Sigma Films' application to Scottish Screen for production finance; Kahleen Crawford website (kahleencrawford.co.uk)
Limelight VCT	Tax credit finance	Unknown	Feb 26, 2008	Macnab, 2008; London Stock Exchange, 2009
Scottish Screen	Production finance	£281,189	Feb, 2006	Creative Scotland, personal communication, Feb 8, 2011
UKFC	Production finance	£350,000	Dec 12, 2007	UKFC, n.d.
DFI	Production finance	1,000,000	2007	DFI, 2008
		DKK		

PRODUCTION

Sigma Films	Production company	N/A	Filming commenced Feb 28, 2008 (five week shoot)	Hunter, 2008
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POST-PRODUCTION

Fatts	Film & tape transcript services	Unknown	Unknown	Fatts website (fatts.co.uk)
Savalas	Post-production (sound)	£45,000 from Scottish Screen for revised cut. Savalas identified as key post-production company.	Unknown	Sigma Films' application to Scottish Screen for supplementary finance
Scottish Screen	Post finance	£45,000	Sept, 2009	Creative Scotland, personal communication, Feb 8, 2011

DISTRIBUTION

Scottish Screen	Marketing finance	£10,000	Sept, 2010	Creative Scotland, personal communication, Feb 8, 2011
TrustNordisk	Sales agent	Unknown	Unknown	TrustNordisk website (trustnordisk.com)

EXHIBITION: SCREENINGS

Cineworld Aberdeen	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Nov 4-11, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Cineworld Dundee	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Nov 12, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Cineworld Edinburgh	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Nov 5-10, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Cineworld Falkirk	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Nov 11, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Cineworld Glasgow	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Oct 29-Nov 11, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010

Dundee Contemporary Arts	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Nov 5-11, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
East End Film Festival	Screening	N/A	Apr 20, 2011	Sigma Films, 2010
Eden Court, Inverness	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Nov 12-17, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Edinburgh Filmhouse	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Nov 1-4, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
EIFF	Screening	N/A	June 20 & 24, 2010	Festival website (edfilmfest.org.uk)
GFT	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Oct 8-14, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Perth Playhouse	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Oct 9-10, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Press Play Festival, Newcastle	Screening	N/A	Sept 27 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Robert Burns Centre, Dumfries	Theatrical exhibition	N/A	Nov 8, 2010	Sigma Films, 2010
Thessaloniki International Film Festival, Greece	Screening	N/A	Dec 5, 6 & 12, 2010	Festival website (filmfestival.gr)

Appendix D: Content Analysis Codebook and Instructions

General Information⁷⁷

V1	Newspaper name. Each newspaper has been assigned a two-digit code (see Appendix D1).
V2	Day. Record day published as two-digit number. For example, 4 th = 04.
V3	Month. Record month published as two-digit number. For example, July = 07.
V4	Year. Record year published as two-digit number. For example, 2000 = 00.
V5	Page number. If unavailable, code 0.
V6	Author's name. If unavailable, code 0.
V7	Article title.
V8	Film. Which Advance Party film is the article concerned with? As <i>Donkeys</i> was released after <i>Red Road</i> , it is likely that the latter will be referenced in articles on the former. However, such instances should be coded 2 as <i>Donkeys</i> is the focus. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Red Road</i>. 2. <i>Donkeys</i>.
V9	Article length. Total number of words in article. This information is listed on Nexis UK.

Article Level Coding

V10	Focus. Is the Advance Party film the focus of the article? This variable is measured in terms of number of words, ordering of presentation and presence in headline. If the Advance Party film is the clear focus, even if other elements such as films or directors are mentioned, code 1. However, if the Advance Party film is mentioned only briefly and another element, for example a film featuring the same cast member, is the chief focus, code 2. Instances where the article gives roughly equal consideration to several films should be coded 3.
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⁷⁷ The design of this codebook is indebted to Judy R. Sims and Joseph Giordano's 1992 study "Newspaper Coverage of the 1992 Presidential Campaign: A Content Analysis of Character/Competence/Image Issues versus Platform/Political Issues".

1. Yes.
2. No.
3. Focus shared.

V11

Occasion. What occasion prompted coverage of the film? The occasion will often be explicitly noted in the article. The article date and type should be kept in mind when coding this variable. For instance, a review published within close proximity to the film's general release should be coded 6. While the article may cover more than one of these categories, the purpose of this variable is to ascertain what *prompted* the article. For more on categories, see Appendix D2.

1. No identifiable occasion.
2. Development.
3. Pre-production.
4. Principal photography.
5. Post-production.
6. Distribution.
7. Exhibition site, excluding film festival.
8. Film festival.
9. Award ceremony.
10. Other.

V12

Advance Party. Is the framework cited *by name* in the article?

1. Yes.
2. No.

Appendix D1: Newspaper Codes

01	ABC Magazine
02	Aberdeen Evening Express
03	Aberdeen Press and Journal
04	Arts and Books Review
05	Bath Chronicle
06	Belfast News Letter
07	Belfast Telegraph
08	Birmingham Evening Mail
09	Birmingham Post
10	Coventry Evening Telegraph
11	Daily Mail
12	Daily Post
13	Daily Record
14	Daily Star
15	Essex Chronicle
16	Evening Chronicle
17	Evening Gazette
18	Evening News
19	Evening Times
20	Grimsby Telegraph

21	Guardian Unlimited
22	Kirkintilloch Herald
23	Leicester Mercury
24	Mail on Sunday
25	Scotland on Sunday
26	Sunday Mercury
27	Sunday Mirror
28	The Daily Telegraph
29	The Evening Standard
30	The Express
31	The Guardian
32	The Herald
33	The Independent
34	The Independent Extra
35	The Independent on Sunday
36	The Mirror
37	The Observer
38	The People
39	The Scotsman
40	The Sun
41	The Sunday Express
42	The Sunday Herald
43	The Sunday Telegraph
44	The Sunday Times
45	The Times
46	The West Briton
47	Western Mail
48	Western Morning News
49	Sunday Mail

Several of the newspapers listed above print both an UK/England edition and a Scotland edition. As Nexis UK does not consistently distinguish between these editions, the content analysis does not either. However, where possible, this information has been determined in relation to the articles included in the textual analysis through consultation of hard copies of the relevant newspapers.

Appendix D2: Occasion

Development: Coverage prompted by an aspect of the film's development. For example, project commencement or completion of the script.

Pre-production: Coverage prompted by an aspect of pre-production. For example, cast and crew selection or film financing.

Principal photography: Coverage prompted by the filming of the project.

Post-production: Coverage prompted by an aspect of post-production. For example, selection of the soundtrack or editing delays.

Distribution: Coverage prompted by an aspect of distribution. Such instances include announcement of sales as well as activity resulting from the film's theatrical release (for example, reviews published at the time of release).

Exhibition site, excluding film festivals: Coverage prompted by a screening, or planned screening, at a *specific cinema* that is clearly identified. Screening must not be part of a film festival.

Film festival: Coverage prompted by film festival selection or the nomination/win of an award, or awards, at a festival, or multiple festivals.

Award ceremony, excluding film festivals: Coverage prompted by the nomination/win of an award, or awards, at an award ceremony, or award ceremonies.

Other: Coverage prompted by an occasion not listed above.

Appendix E: Articles Included in Close Textual Analysis

(Chapter Seven)

All articles were retrieved from Nexis UK (lexisnexis.com/uk/nexis/).

Alberge, D. (2006, April 21). Forget obscenity of the Oscars, I prefer Cannes, says Loach. *The Times*.

Alberge, D. (2006, May 29). Chronicles of everyday lives take top film prizes. *The Times*.

Alexander, G. (2010, November 4). No headline. *Evening Express*.

Anderson, D. (2010, October 29). Luigi's big night at the movies. *Evening Times*.

At the movies. (2010, November 13). *Daily Record*.

Beacom, B. (2008, February 23). City set for five weeks of movie-making mania. *Evening Times*.

Bradshaw, P. (2006, October 27). Film reviews: Stars of CCTV: Andrea Arnold's smart surveillance thriller boasts an unexpected humanity. *The Guardian*.

Cannes puts city on the right road. (2006, May 29). *Evening Times*.

Cannes spotlight falls on Glasgow flats. (2006, April 21). *Evening Times*.

Chiesa, A. (2006, May 29). Loach triumphs at Cannes with film about Irish struggle for independence. *The Herald*.

Chiesa, A. & McGill, H. (2006, May 27). Glasgow-shot movie in running for Palme d'Or. *The Herald*.

Cox, S. (2010, November 4). Donkeys set to take on the blockbusters. *Press and Journal*.

Double triumph for Britain at Cannes. (2006, May 29). *The Times*.

Dougan, A. (2006, October 26). High and mighty. *Evening Times*.

Ellis, M. (2006, May 29). Red letter day as city has award in Cannes. *Evening Times*.

Harrison, M. (2010, November 5) No title. *Evening Express*.

Hendry, S. (2010, June 13). I'm a soul fan: Scots star Martin dances into film fest. *Sunday Mail*.

He's big and he's bold, but he's no Borat. (2010, October 7). *The Herald*.

- Higgins, C. (2006, April 21). Cannes do: Comeback for British films. *The Guardian*.
- Higgins, C. & Brown, M. (2006, May 29). Loach trounces critics by taking top Cannes film prize: Palme d'Or for Irish civil war tale is first for decade: Second UK contender awarded Prix du Jury. *The Guardian*.
- Ide, W. (2006, October 28). Red Road. *The Times*.
- In cinemas: Out this weekend. (2006, October 28). *The Guardian*.
- Johns, I. (2006, October 26). It's all love, hate and revenge in a cold climate this week. *The Times*.
- Leadbetter, R. (2006, October 26). The Red Road to stardom: real-life extras. *Evening Times*.
- Macphail, N. (2010, November 10). Film theatre clinches top screening. *Press and Journal*.
- McBeth, J. (2008, March 3). Red Road actor sues over "stolen" role. *Daily Mail*.
- Miller, P. (2006, April 21). From Red Road to Cannes: Glory waits for Glasgow film. *The Herald*.
- Miller, P. (2008, May 16). Three female directors get funding boost for new films: Red Road creator receives GBP560,000. *The Herald*.
- No headline. (2010, October 7). *Evening Times*.
- O'Neill, P. (2006, May 27). Preview: Film: Bird's eye view London. *The Guardian*.
- Pure dead brilliant; Donkeys 15. (2010, October 10). *Sunday Mail*.
- Rowat, A. (2006, October 26). A tall order rises above the grimfest. *The Herald*.
- Rowat, A. (2010, June 21). A winning hat-trick. *The Herald*.
- Stars are a premiere attraction. (2006, October 26). *Evening Times*.
- Sweet at 16 and still on the rise. (2009, March 21). *Daily Record*.
- Synnot, S. (2010, October 10). Film reviews: Other releases. *Scotland on Sunday*.

Appendix F: Interviews

The people interviewed in the course of this research are listed below. The occupation given refers to the role at the time of interview. Also detailed in each entry is the date the interview took place and the manner in which it was conducted (i.e. face-to-face, email or in-person).

Casci, S. (2012, May 17). Screenwriter [Email].

Henderson, D. (2011, October 11). Deputy Artistic Director, Edinburgh International Film Festival [In-person, Edinburgh Filmhouse].

Lynch, T. O. (2011, October 3). Producer & Founder, Subotica Films [Telephone].

Matheson, M. (2012, May 22). Producer & Managing Director, Bard Entertainments [Email].

McKinnon, M. (2012, January 12). Director [Email].

McKinnon, M. (2012, January 23). Director [Email, follow-up interview].

McKinnon, M. (2012, January 24). Director [Email, follow-up interview].

McLaren, C. (2012, July 4). Screenwriter [Q&A at MacRobert, Stirling].

McLaren, C. (2012, July 24). Screenwriter [Email, follow-up interview].

McLaren, C. (2012, September 11). Screenwriter [Email, follow-up interview].

Short, J. (2011, September 22). Head of Acquisitions, The Works Film Group & Founder, Verve Pictures [Telephone].

Sinfield, K. (2011, June 15). Graphic Designer & Founder, Sinfield Dot Org [Email].

Sinfield, K. (2012, February 1). Graphic Designer & Founder Sinfield Dot Org [Email, follow-up interview].

Varley, N. (2011, October 27). Managing Director, Park Circus [Telephone].

Walker, H. (2011, July 11). Production Executive, Glasgow Film Office [Email].

As Chapter Two explained, during the course of this research, Q&A sessions with other interviewers and interviewees were also attended. Those cited in this thesis are listed below.

Foy, C. (2013, July 15). Director & Screenwriter [Cineworld, Renfrew Street, Glasgow].

Jobson, R. (2012, October 15). Director, Producer & Screenwriter/Interviewer: P. Broughan [University of Stirling].

Appendix G: Scottish Screen Application Forms

This appendix provides an overview of the content of the applications used by Scottish Screen or Creative Scotland when Sigma Films applied for funding for Advance Party.

Scottish Screen National Lottery Project Development Application Form (May, 2004)

Section A: Contact Details

1. Title of film
2. What is the total cost of the project development?
3. How much money are you asking us for?
4. Name of company.
5. Full legal name of organisation if different from above.
6. Your name and position within the organisation.
7. Address for correspondence.
8. Daytime phone number; Evening phone number; Fax; Email.
9. Please give details of any special communication needs you may have (for example, minicom or large print).
10. When is a good time to contact you?

Section B: About Your Project

Project Description

11. Please give the following details: Title of film; Name of producer; Name of writer; Name of director.
12. Please give a brief summary (no more than 30 words) of the film. (We will use this as the basis for all our communications and it may appear in press releases.)

Project Budget

13. What is the total cost of the project development?
14. How much money are you asking us for?
15. What percentage is this of the total development costs?
16. When do you expect to go into pre-production?
17. What is the likely production budget?

Partnership Funding

18. Please give details of other finance into the project development. [Application includes a template for applicants to complete. For reasons of space, this checklist is not included in this appendix.]
19. Please explain how you have worked out the values of any in-kind contributions.
20. What fall-back plans do you have if conditional funding does not come through.

Schedule of Information

21. Please supply the following information and tick the boxes on the documents checklist at the end to show the documents you are enclosing.
 - Final draft script.
 - Plot synopsis.
 - Character descriptions (one or two lines each).
 - Project history.

- Development schedule and budget.
- Outline production financing plan.
- CVs of the producer, the writer and the director.
- Details of any underlying rights.

If your film is not drama-based, please enclose other relevant materials instead of the script and casting plan, such as the storyboard or research papers. Please list these other documents here.

Section C: Meeting the Criteria

Public Benefit

22. What positive steps will you take to encourage equal opportunities? As well as answering the question, please enclose a copy of your equal opportunities policy.

Developing Scottish Film-Making

23. How is your project culturally relevant to Scotland?
 24. Please describe briefly the contribution your company makes to the Scottish screen industry both historically and planned.
 25. Where will your production office for this film be based?
 26. Where do you plan to shoot the film? Please also specify the local authority(ies).
 27. Where are the following team members based? Writer; Director; Producer.
 28. What percentage of the production budget is likely to be spent in Scotland?
 29. What plans do you have to create training opportunities in Scotland?

Stage of Development of Project

30. What further development is necessary before the project is ready to move towards production?

Artistic Quality

31. Why do you consider this project to be of high artistic quality and ready to go into production after the end of this development process? If you have any confirming evidence of this (independent script reports, commitments from other financiers, commitments from distributors, etc.) please provide this.
 32. Why do you consider the creative team is appropriate to this project?

Reaching Audiences

33. Please outline the expected UK release plans for this film. What is the basis for this expectation? If a UK broadcaster is involved as a financier, what is the likely theatrical window? Where possible, please provide evidence for your arguments.

Function of Lottery Investment

34. How will Lottery funding add value to your project?
 35. Why can you not development [sic] this project with money from other sources?

Management and Staffing

36. Please describe arrangements for managing the project development. Who within the organisation will take core responsibility for this? Please indicate their relevant experience.

Section D: Your Organisation

37. Please briefly describe your company and its core operations.
38. When was your organisation established?
39. Legal status?
40. Are you a registered charity?
41. Are you registered for VAT?
42. What is your organisation's yearly turnover?
43. If your organisation is part of a group, please give the names of the holding company and the other group companies.
44. What previous experience does your organisation have of film production?

Section E: Other Funding Applications

45. Are you applying to any other National Lottery funder for this project?
46. Please tell us if you are applying to any other Lottery funder for any other project.
47. Have you applied for any Lottery money before, successfully or unsuccessfully?
48. Have you applied for any non-Lottery funds from Scottish Screen in the last year?

Documents Checklist

- A copy of your final draft script (question 21).
- A copy of your plot synopsis (question 21).
- Character descriptions (question 21).
- Your project history (question 21).
- Development schedule and budget (question 21).
- Production financing plan (question 21).
- CVs of the producer, the director and the writer (question 21).
- Details of the underlying rights (question 21).
- A copy of your equal opportunities policy (question 22).
- Distribution/marketing plans (question 33).
- A copy of your constitution, memorandum and articles of association, or governing articles (question 39).
- A copy of your latest audited yearly accounts (question 42).
- A copy of your budget for the current financial year (question 42).

Scottish Screen National Lottery Feature Film Production Funding Application Form (June, 2005)

Section A: Eligibility Checklist

	10 Points (Max)	5 Points	No Score
Based in Scotland			
Lead producer	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Associate/co-producer		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Director	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Writer	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Project Developed By			
Scottish <i>based</i> company	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Branch office		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Production Spend in Scotland			
75%	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
50%		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25%			<input type="checkbox"/>
Subject Matter			
Story primarily set in Scotland	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Story partly set in Scotland		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Degree of Readiness			
Min 50% finance confirmed		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
UK distributor attached		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sales agent attached		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Points: 30 minimum/75 maximum)

Section B: Contact and Organisation Details

- Title of film.
- Name of company.
- Full legal name of organisation if different from above.
- Applicant's name and position within the organisation.

- Address for correspondence.
- Daytime phone number.
- Mobile phone number.
- Fax.
- Email.
- Date of incorporation.
- What previous experience does your organisation have of film production?
- Please give details of any special communication needs you may have.

Section C: Project Details

Project Description

- Title of film.
- Type of film (please tick): Drama; Documentary; Animation; Other.
- Duration of film (approx).
- Name of producer(s).
- Name of director(s).
- Name of writer(s).
- Please give a brief synopsis of the film (between 20 and 30 words).
(We will use this as the basis for all our communications and it may appear in press releases).
- What is the total cost of the project?
- How much **GUARANTEED** funding is in place?
- How much money are you asking us for?
- What percentage is this of the total cost?
- What is the intended production schedule? Pre-production; Principal photography; Post-production; Delivery.
- What format will the project originate on? Please tick: S16 mm; 35 mm; High definition; Digibeta; Other, please give details.
- What format will you deliver on? Please tick: 35 mm; digibeta; other, please give details.
- Where do you intend the production office for this film to be based? If more than one location please specify.
- Where do you plan to shoot the film? (Please specify number of days and/or weeks in each location.)
- Where will the following team members be based? Producer(s); Writer(s); Director(s); Key cast; Key crew.
- What percentage of the budget will be spent in Scotland?
- What percentage of the film will be carried out in Scotland? Pre-production; Casting; Locations; Studio work; Post-production; Music recording.

Section D: Meeting the Criteria

The 9 policy directions listed below are the main criteria used to decide whether your proposal will receive Scottish Screen National Lottery funding. Please refer to Section G in the Guidelines to assist you in answering the following questions.

1. Your project must foster the development of a sustainable film industry in Scotland and must have strong Scottish elements.
 - 1.1. Please summarise the potential benefits to the indigenous film industry in Scotland associated with the production of this project.
 - 1.2. What plans do you have to create training opportunities for Scottish based crew?
 - 1.3. Please summarise the strong **SCOTTISH ELEMENTS** associated with the production of this project. (This statement may appear in the press so please be accurate.)
2. Your project must benefit the general public in Scotland.
 - 2.1. Comment on the content of your project and its relevance to Scotland's cultural identity? [sic]
 - 2.2. Give reasons why you think it is important your project should be supported with Scottish Screen's National Lottery Fund? [sic] You may wish to comment on the historical, cultural, social and/or educational value of your project for audiences in Scotland and beyond.
3. Your project must have theatrical potential and the market value of the project must be reflected in its cost.
 - 3.1. Do you have a marketing plan for the distribution and exhibition of the film once it has been delivered? Please provide details.
(In the event that you do not have a sales agent and/or distributor on board, you will be expected to allow between 5% and 10% of your production budget for marketing the film once delivered. Such expenditure to include screenings, trailers, publicity and festival attendance.)
4. You must demonstrate that the project will be managed and executed effectively.
 - 4.1. Who will manage the project effectively and ensure that contractual delivery requirements are met? Please give background details on the personnel to demonstrate previous ability and relevant experience.
 - 4.2. If you have been awarded Scottish Screen production and/or development funding previously you must provide details of the status of the project.
5. Your project should already be at an advanced stage at the time of application.
 - 5.1. What further steps do you need to undertake before the project is ready to move into production?
 - 5.2. Please provide the following information:
 - 5.2.1. A list of intended or confirmed cast. If confirmed please provide letters of intent. Name of actor; Name of character; Permanent residence; Confirmed or intended.
 - 5.2.2. A list of intended or confirmed key heads of departments. If confirmed please provide letters of intent. Name; Head of department [sic]; Permanent residence; Confirmed or intended.
6. You must have an element of partnership funding at the time of application.
 - 6.1. Please give details of other finance attached to the project. [Template not included in appendix.]
 - 6.2. Please explain how you have worked out the values of any in-kind contributions.
 - 6.3. What fall-back plans do you have if conditional funding does not come through?
 - 6.4. Please describe the proposed recoupment schedule for this film.
 - 6.5. Are there any additional factors affecting the production budget which you wish to comment on?
7. Lottery funding must produce major improvements or new developments which would not otherwise have taken place.

- 7.1. Why is Scottish Screen Lottery funding necessary and appropriate at this stage of production? What significant impact will it make on the development or improvement of the project? Comment on why you cannot complete your required production funding from other funding sources.
8. Your project must be of the highest creative and commercial quality.
If there is anything you would like to add here to substantiate this please do so.
9. Film Qualification.
 - 9.1. Please tick here to state that your project will be wholly or substantially capable of qualification as a British film defined in section 3(7) of the Films Act 1985.

Section E: Documents Checklist

- Copy of your dated final draft script.
- DVD or VHS of previous work (or other supporting material if first time director).
- Director's notes.
- Copy of your plot synopsis.
- Character descriptions.
- Project history.
- Detailed production schedule.
- Detailed production budget.
- Detailed budget of local spend in Scotland.
- Detailed cashflow schedule.
- Copy of your casting plan and letters of intent from cast or agent, if cast confirmed.
- Letters of intent from heads of departments, if confirmed.
- Written confirmation of secured partnership funding, where applicable.
- CVs of the producer(s), the director and the writer(s).
- Draft heads of agreement between yourself and the leading producer if you are a co-producer or associate.
- Evidence of the underlying rights and chain of title.
- Details of the completion guarantee.
- Memorandum and articles of association.
- Copy of your equal opportunities policy.
- Marketing strategy and letter of intent from sales agents and/or distributors, where applicable.
- Reports on target territories and sales estimates, where applicable.

Scottish Screen Investment Application Form (August, 2009)Section A: Applicant Details

If you have discussed your application in detail with a Lead Officer, please give their name.

1. *Applicant*
 - 1.1. Name of applicant/applicant organisation.
 - 1.2. Contact name (if different from 1.1) and position.
 - 1.3. Contact address.
 - 1.4. Contact telephone numbers: Work; Mobile; Home/out of hours; Fax.
 - 1.5. Email.
 - 1.6. VAT registration number (if applicable).
 - 1.7. Please give details of any special communication or physical access needs you may have, if applicable.
2. *Company Information (if applicable)*
 - 2.1. Trading name of company if different from above.
 - 2.2. Full legal name of company if different from above.
 - 2.3. Please state the principal function/purpose of your company.
Select from: Part time cinema/media centre; Production company (film); Production company (TV); Production company (digital/interactive); Festival; Education or training organisation; Games developer; Broadcaster; Other (please give details).
 - 2.4. What is the legal status of your company?
Select from: Company limited by guarantee; Legally constituted partnership; Local authority; University, college, school, library, society; Other public sector body; Other (please give details).
 - 2.5. Date of incorporation.
 - 2.6. Company number.
 - 2.7. Address of registered office.
 - 2.8. Do you have charitable status? If yes, then please state your registration number.
 - 2.9. Are you a branch or subsidiary of a larger organisation? If yes, please give the following information:
 - 2.10. Name of parent company.
 - 2.11. Contact at parent company.
 - 2.12. Address of parent company.
 - 2.13. Contact telephone number.
 - 2.14. Contact email address.

Section B: Project/Activity Details

1. *Project Details*
 - 1.1. Title of project/activity.
 - 1.2. Investment fund
Select from: Content Development; Content Production; Talent Development Fund; Opportunities Fund; Audience Development; Market Development Fund; Digital Media IP Fund.
 - 1.3. Investment strand.

- 1.4. Form of content (if applicable).
Select from: Live action; Animation; Documentary/factual; Festival; Audience development activity; Promotional activities; Others (please specify).
2. *Synopsis*
Please give a brief synopsis of the project or activity (between 20 and 30 words).
(We will use this as the basis for all our communications including any publicity material.)
Genre (if applicable).
Running time (if applicable).
Dates of event (if applicable).
3. *Investment Details*
Please describe clearly (between 20 and 30 words) what the investment you are seeking is for? [sic]
4. *Key Personnel*
Name; Role; Nationality; Residency.
5. *Underlying Rights*
If your project is based on any existing IPR or if you have been required to purchase any underlying rights for your project please provide a summary of the chain of title and list any documents you are including in the application to demonstrate that you have the right to develop or produce your project.
6. *Budget/Investment Details*
 - 6.1. What is the total budget of the project/activity?
 - 6.2. What is the investment you require from Scottish Screen?
 - 6.3. What percentage is this of the total budget?
 - 6.4. How much **GUARANTEED** co-investment is in place?
 - 6.5. What is the Scottish spend budget?
 - 6.6. What is the ratio of Scottish spend to the requested investment from Scottish Screen?
7. *Schedule/Delivery*
 - 7.1. When is the expected start date of your project/activity?
 - 7.2. When is the expected date of completion for your project/activity?
 - 7.3. What is the total estimated production budget (to be completed for Content Development applications only)?
8. *Investment Plan*
 - 8.1. Please provide details of your investment plan on the table below, including the amount of investment requested from Scottish Screen. If you cannot fit all the information please attach a separate table stating **CLEARLY** the type of investment each of your investors can be classified under i.e. public funding, private equity etc. [For reasons of space, this table is not included in this appendix.]
 - 8.2. Please indicate the terms and conditions of any guaranteed or conditional co-investment funding.
 - 8.3. Where there is an in-kind contribution to your total budget please state how you have worked out its value.

Section C: Information Required as Part of your Proposal

Please provide a detailed proposal for your project or activity that addresses the following:

- What Scottish Screen’s investment is being used for and whether there is a clear need for this finance.
- Where the project or activity will take place and/or be based.
- Project history that is relevant to the application.
- How the project/activity will be financed, managed and delivered.
- The relevant track record of the individuals involved.
- How much revenue your project will generate and how this might be re-invested for the future.
- What monitoring and evaluation arrangements are in place.
- Whether there is an audience or market for your project and your strategy for reaching that market/audience.
- Whether there is a clear need for the investment being applied for and an audience or a market for the project/activity being proposed. Please state if there is any market interest in your project (for example, details of market research or evidence of commercial interest in the project).
- What outcomes you hope to achieve with Scottish Screen’s investment.

Your proposal should clearly reference all essential documents and additional material you are submitting in support of your application.

The length and detail of your proposal should reflect the amount of investment you are requesting from Scottish Screen.

Section D: Investment Criteria

Please provide a one-page document that addresses the four investment criteria below. Your statements should be supported by the information provided in your proposal. Please note that your application will be assessed against these four investment criteria.

1. *Cultural Impact*

How will your project/activity promote Scotland’s screen culture to a national and international audience?

2. *Creative Impact*

How will Scottish Screen’s investment address one or more of the following:

- Allow Scottish talent to develop.
- Create work recognised as creatively excellent.
- Create work recognised as original and innovative.

3. *Business Case/Ability to Deliver*

How does the previous experience of the individuals involved demonstrate their ability to deliver the project?

What impacts will Scottish Screen’s investment have on your business and/or on the screen sector in Scotland?

What investment has your project/activity already attracted?

4. *Market/Audience Interest*

Has your project already attracted market or commercial interest?

How will your project be promoted to financiers in the future, exploited and/or marketed to an audience?

What impact will this project have on markets and audiences?

Section E: Applicant's Statement*Monitoring*

Please fill in and return this monitoring form with your application.

About you (or your organisation, as appropriate)

Please indicate the make up of your organisation and/or project by inserting the relevant numbers of staff:

- Total number of people employed/participating in the project.
- Number of people resident...
 - ...in Scotland.
 - ...outside Scotland but within the rest of the UK.
 - ...outside the UK.
- Number of individuals with gender...
 - ...female.
 - ...male.
- Number of individuals aged...
 - ...under 19.
 - ...19-26.
 - ...27-50.
 - over 50
- Number of individuals with ethnicity:
 - White.
 - Mixed.
 - Asian or Asian British.
 - Black or black British.
 - Chinese.
 - Other.
- Number of individuals from a lower socio-economic group.⁷⁸
- Number of participants engaging in screen activity for the first time.
- Number of disabled individuals – please provide details of disability.⁷⁹
- Is this project directed at a specific group e.g. children, young people, disabled people or particular ethnic groups?
- Does the project have any other particular focus that we should recognise?

⁷⁸ Lower socio-economic is defined as those in groups 5-8 according to the National Statistical Socio Economic Classification (NS-SEC), see http://www.statistics.gov.uk/methods_quality/ns_sec/default.asp for more information.

⁷⁹ Disability is defined under the Disability Discrimination Act as being a “physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect upon his (or her) ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities”, see www.rnib.org.uk/xpedio/groups/public/documents/PublicWebsite/public_DDA.hcs for more information.

Section F: Document Checklist

Please list below all documents you are including with your application.

Please ensure you include all essential documents as detailed under the relevant investment strand in Section E of the Investment Guidelines), along with any additional materials you are submitting.

Essential documents, Content Production Fund [taken from guidelines]:

- Completed and signed application form.
- A one-page document that addresses the four investment criteria.
- Project outline, treatment or script – this may vary according to genre and/or the type of project you are seeking investment for.
- A detailed proposal that includes:
 - Detailed budget.
 - Cashflow schedule.
 - Scottish spend budget (if it varies from the total budget).
 - Investment plan – including draft and/or signed financier’s agreements if available.
 - Evidence of confirmed third party partnership finance if committed at the point of application.
 - Draft shooting schedule.
 - Casting plan including letters of intent if available.
 - Letters of intent from broadcasters, sales agents and/or distributors including sales estimates if available.
 - CVs of key personnel.
- Underlying rights documentation.
- Memorandum and articles of association.
- Equal opportunities policy.

Additional materials you should supply if available:

- One-page summary business plan.
- Cashflow schedule.
- Visual materials such as director’s show reel.
- Director’s notes.
- Any other documentation or information you feel is relevant to you application.

Creative Scotland Screen Investment Application Form (August, 2010)

[Same as previous application form. Alternative document checklist due to the different funds being sought.]

Essential documents, Market Development Fund:

- Completed and signed application form.
- Detailed proposal including the proposed programme of activity.
- A one-page document that addresses the four investment criteria.
- Detailed budget.
- Marketing plan.
- Schedule of activity.
- Copy of film on DVD or equivalent.
- CVs of key personnel.
- Signed letters of intent from co-investors.
- Memorandum and articles of association.
- Equal opportunities policy.
- Evidence of rights, or permission to screen and promote, content referred to.

Additional materials you may wish to supply if available:

- Cashflow.
- Business plan.
- Any other documentation you feel is relevant to your application.

Appendix H: Advance Party II Rules

The eight rules governing the Advance Party II scheme are shown below. They are taken from Irish Film Board website (irishfilmboard.ie).

1. Each film will be inspired by a location, a character and a secret supplied by one of the other eight filmmakers and assigned at random.
2. The film must contain no more than eight characters.
3. The backbone of the story must be filmed sequentially.
4. The film's budget must be less than €1.5m.
5. The stories must make the audience laugh, make them cry and give them an uplifting ending.
6. The film, in some way, must end as it begins.
7. The script must be a maximum of 88 pages.
8. The film must be shot within an eight-mile radius.