

Lawrence Webb

The Cinema of Urban Crisis

Seventies Film and the Reinvention of the City

Amsterdam
University
Press



The Cinema of Urban Crisis

Cities and Cultures is an interdisciplinary humanities book series addressing the interrelations between contemporary cities and the cultures they produce. The series takes a special interest in the impact of globalization on urban space and cultural production, but remains concerned with all forms of cultural expression and transformation associated with contemporary cities.

Series editor: Christoph Lindner, University of Amsterdam

Advisory Board:

Ackbar Abbas, University of California, Irvine

Nezar AlSayyad, University of California, Berkeley

Derek Gregory, University of British Columbia

Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, University of New South Wales

Shirley Jordan, Queen Mary, University of London

Geoffrey Kantaris, University of Cambridge

Bill Marshall, University of London

Ginette Verstraete, VU University Amsterdam

Richard J. Williams, University of Edinburgh

The Cinema of Urban Crisis

Seventies Film and the Reinvention of the City

Lawrence Webb

Amsterdam University Press

Cover illustration: Cover image from *The Conversation* (American Zoetrope/Paramount Pictures, 1974).

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

Amsterdam University press English-language titles are distributed in the US and Canada by the University of Chicago Press.

ISBN 978 90 8964 637 8

e-ISBN 978 90 4852 299 6

NUR 670

© L. Webb / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2014

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Introduction	9
Cinema and Urbanism after 1968	
1. Mapping New Hollywood	29
Spatial Perspectives	
2. Atlantic City, Philadelphia and Detroit	45
Narratives of Decline and Urban Renaissance	
3. New York City	75
Cinema and Crisis in the Entrepreneurial City	
4. San Francisco	127
Projections of Post-Fordism, Allegories of Independence	
5. Los Angeles	155
The Cinematic Aesthetics of Postmodern Urbanism	
6. Global Flight Paths	191
Towards a Transnational Urban Cinema	
7. London	205
The Crisis of Modernism and the End of Utopia	
8. Paris	235
Urban Revolutions: Film and Urban Theory after 1968	
9. Rome and Milan	261
The <i>Anni di Piombo</i> and the Politics of Space	
10. Frankfurt, Cologne and Berlin	283
New German Cinema and the Urban Public Sphere	

Conclusion	309
Notes	325
Films and Television Programmes Cited in the Text	381
References	389
Index	419

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Central Research Fund at Senate House, University of London, for funding research excursions to New York and Los Angeles in 2009. I am also grateful for the assistance of the Margaret Herrick Library at the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, the Stanley Kubrick Archive, the New York Public Library and the British Film Institute. This book developed from doctoral research carried out at King's College London between 2006 and 2010. I would like to thank my thesis supervisor at King's, Mark Shiel, who provided expert guidance, detailed commentary and inspirational discussion sessions that helped shape the project from its earliest stages of conception. Mark Betz and Richard Dyer provided useful feedback on drafts at a formative stage. I would also like to thank Matthew Gandy, Thomas Elsaesser, Barry Langford and several anonymous peer reviewers for their astute and insightful comments on earlier versions of the text and individual chapters. Jeroen Sondervan and Chantal Nicolaes at AUP have been models of efficiency as the text made its way towards publication. Final revisions and editing were carried out at the University of Gothenburg, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude, and in New York, where I have been grateful for the hospitality of Columbia University during spring 2014.

I would also like thank the following: my friends and colleagues at King's, especially Maurizio Cinquegrani, Tijana Mamula, John Riley, Louis Bayman, Jonathan Driskell, Martha Shearer, Mariana Liz, Ryan Powell, Sarah Forgacs, Davina Quinlivan, and many others, whose good company and academic vigour created an exceptionally rich environment for discussion and debate (much of it, admittedly, at the Lyceum pub); my students, especially those I taught on city-themed courses at KCL and at Royal Holloway, University of London, and who helped me to sharpen up many of the ideas in the book; my colleagues and friends in the SCMS Urban Studies Scholarly Interest Group; Katharina Stumm and Ollie Savage for their hospitality in Berlin and Los Angeles respectively; Louis Moreno, for sharing my enthusiasms for the movies and the seventies and for being a constant source of inspiration over the years; and James Docherty, for being the kind of person who will get up at gam of a Sunday morning for a rare screening of *The Hour of the Furnaces*. While researching and writing this book, I have often recalled Tor Åge Bringsvaerd's short story, "The Man Who Collected the First of September, 1973". In this tale, the protagonist becomes enveloped in an increasingly obsessive enquiry into one date, a potentially infinite process that becomes an allegory for the final unknowability of history itself. At

times when I have threatened to disappear down such a rabbit hole, I have been especially grateful for the support and good humour of my close friends and particularly of my family, to whom I extend special thanks. Finally, for her endless patience, love and understanding (not to mention astute comments on the text!) I would like to thank Sofia, without whom none of this would be possible.

Introduction

Cinema and Urbanism after 1968

Released in the late summer of 1969, Haskell Wexler's *Medium Cool* first hit American cinema screens as the turbulent decade of the sixties was drawing to a close. Shot a year earlier in August 1968, the film famously captured documentary footage of violent clashes between police and demonstrators at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago and wove it into a fictional narrative about a television news cameraman. When the film premiered at the Loews Tower East cinema on the Upper East Side of Manhattan on 27 August 1969, its images of violent unrest on the streets of Chicago resonated strongly with New York's own burgeoning urban crisis and the darkening mood of the country more generally; as *New York Times* critic Vincent Canby put it, this was "a kind of cinematic Guernica, a picture of America exploding into fragmented bits of hostility, suspicion, fear and violence".¹ Alongside pictures such as *Midnight Cowboy* (John Schlesinger, 1969), released just a few weeks earlier that summer, *Medium Cool* marked a radical departure in the cinematic representation of the American city. The film's significance lay not only in its documentary-style reportage of the protests but also equally in its new cinematic geography of Chicago. A native of the city, Wexler had been able to take his crew into areas of Chicago rarely, if ever, seen in a Hollywood film before, from the African-American ghettos of the South Side to the Appalachian slums of Uptown. Similarly, *Midnight Cowboy* also projected fresh and disturbing images of urban decay and social deprivation in its depiction of the squalor and apparent moral decline of Times Square, once the glamorous centre of American film exhibition and now pictured as home to seedy clusters of porn cinemas and sex shops. Both films took advantage of the demise of the MPAA Production Code and the freedoms afforded by the new X rating to push the limits of acceptability in their authentic images of the inner city. However, both films also revealed deeply divided cities, with images of poverty and urban blight thrown into relief by a more characteristically postindustrial, commodified cityscape, defined above all by the corporate architecture of the central business district and the omnipresence of advertising, television and the media.

This close cinematic engagement with the shifting American urban landscape was in part made possible by a parallel crisis in the Hollywood studio system. By late 1969, newspapers and trade press were reporting a widespread industrial crisis for the motion picture industry, with evaporat-

ing profits creating a profound uncertainty about the future direction of the business and the nature of its audience. In this book, I argue that these simultaneous crises of the film industry and the inner city were closely intertwined. At the threshold of the seventies, then, films such as *Medium Cool* and *Midnight Cowboy* appeared to illuminate a new path forward for a formally inventive, thematically mature and politically committed American cinema. Though the revolutionary energy of 1968-1969 soon faded, a brief and celebrated period of innovation in American cinema – then dubbed the “New American Cinema” or “Hollywood Renaissance” – nevertheless flourished in this context of industrial restructuring, urban flux and cultural malaise. Shaken by its financial crisis, Hollywood entered into a period of change that bridged the breakdown of the old studio system and the forthcoming era of the corporate blockbuster. Though the subsequent restructuring appeared to lead inexorably towards high-budget, high-concept spectacle such as *Jaws* (Steven Spielberg, 1975) and *Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977), the reconfiguration of the business also had important geographical dynamics. Placing a new emphasis on flexibility and mobility, the majors continued to downsize and divest large portions of their Los Angeles studio space, allowing location shooting to thrive on the streets of American cities such as New York and San Francisco that were seeking to foster a new cultural economy to replace their disappearing manufacturing base. From New York in *The French Connection* (William Friedkin, 1971) and Atlantic City in *The King of Marvin Gardens* (Bob Rafelson, 1972) to Los Angeles in *The Long Goodbye* (Robert Altman, 1973), San Francisco in *The Conversation* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1974) and Philadelphia in *Rocky* (John G. Avildsen, 1976), the city frequently took centre stage in New Hollywood movies. As these examples suggest, the American city in decline, transition and renewal provided seventies cinema with a grounded, densely textured fictional world and narrative space, a powerful symbol of America’s wider social malaise, a subject for exploration and ideological critique, and frequently, a source of aesthetic inspiration and visual fascination.

Yet the crisis of the city and its representational codes cannot be understood as an exclusively American phenomenon. On the other side of the Atlantic, the renowned *événements* of May 1968 in Paris were only the best publicised of a series of protests and strikes that hit European cities from London to Prague. Across major urban centres, filmmakers such as Jean-Luc Godard, Francesco Rosi and Alexander Kluge displayed a newly politicised conception of urban space that emerged in parallel with developments in urban theory and political praxis after '68. Whether engaging with tenant revolts in *Leo the Last* (John Boorman, 1970), the Parisian periphery in *Tout*

va bien (Jean-Luc Godard, 1972) or the deindustrialisation of the Ruhr in *Alice in the Cities* (Wim Wenders, 1974), filmmakers apprehended and investigated the city in crisis while revising the traditions of both art cinema and popular genres. Just as in the United States, this reconfiguration had both cultural and industrial motivations. While Hollywood experienced recession and restructuring, the European state-subsidised national cinemas that had undergirded the postwar art film also came into crisis, with new relationships crystallising between cinema, television and the state. For both America and Western Europe, therefore, the seventies was not only a critical phase of economic, social and political crisis in which cities were subject to new dynamics of redevelopment, but also a period of uncertainty, adaptation and change for filmmaking, from which vital movements such as the New Hollywood and the New German Cinema emerged.

This book traces this integral, multifaceted relationship between cinema and the decline, crisis and transformation of the industrial city between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1980s, and the simultaneous emergence of a new, postindustrial paradigm that would define the trajectory of urban development in the decades that followed. In retrospect, this period of crisis can be best understood as a process of transition for both cinema and cities, and crucially, as one that fused them in novel and often unexpected configurations. Throughout, I explore how on both sides of the Atlantic, filmmaking and the cinematic image of urbanism began to fulfil complex and sometimes contradictory functions in the emerging postindustrial city. While many individual films appeared to critique the city and produced essentially negative images of urban living, film industries developed new commercial and ideological roles, whether by contributing to the growth of an increasingly important cultural economy or in rebranding the city on the global stage. During the seventies, therefore, film played an intensified role in circulating images and narratives of the city in transition, projecting landscapes of urban decay and deindustrialisation as well as bringing the new realities of gentrification, downtown redevelopment and global finance into view.

From the standpoint of film history, this overarching narrative of the shift from industrial to postindustrial city suggests an alternative periodisation that allows us to reframe and remap movements and forces in American and European cinema in productive ways. In this book, analysing this crucial interrelationship between seventies cinema and urban change provides a new geographical perspective on a rich period of film history. Placing the intertwined development of cinema and cities in dialogue, I assess how the processes of urban restructuring that emerged from the crisis of the late

sixties had profound effects for film industries as well as on the form and content of films themselves. Not only would the city come to play a new role in the political economy of the film industry, but as the city was remade, so were the representational codes, narrative patterns and genre formats associated with older forms of social organisation and urban living that were rapidly dissolving. The shifting landscapes and cultural formations of the city became a direct inspiration for filmmakers, who sought novel ways of constructing and presenting cinematic space, revised and remade genres, and developed new modes of narrative. These structures, aesthetics and affects of seventies cinema both reflected and helped to shape the experience of the emerging postindustrial zeitgeist and would continue to influence popular perceptions of cities and urban life for years to come.

Untangling these complex, recursive relationships between cities and cinema requires equal attention to questions of industry and political economy on the one hand, as well as more classically 'textual' issues of aesthetics and representation on the other. In this regard, this book is intended to contribute to an expanding body of scholarship in film studies on the 'cinematic city', to which I will return below, as well as to areas of research in urban studies, broadly defined, that have sought to understand the vital interrelationship of cities, economics and culture. As the urban sociologist Sharon Zukin has argued, it has become increasingly important to recognise the interpenetration of the cultural with the economic, to combine analysis of the city as "political economy" with analysis of the "symbolic economy" of urban societies.² For Zukin, "the most productive analyses of cities in recent years are based on interpretations and interpenetrations of culture and power".³ Working from this perspective, this book combines an understanding of films as industrial products embedded within urban economies with close attention to the representational spaces mapped out by individual movies. Throughout, I contend that viewing seventies cinema through such a spatial lens not only provides new perspectives on a critical decade of film history, but also that film gives us a unique vantage point for reflecting on the processes of globalisation and urban change that were beginning to transform cities and regions across the world.

In contrast to much of the existing scholarship on seventies film, which has tended to operate within the critical boundaries of individual national cinemas, this book takes an explicitly transnational approach. Discussing filmmaking in a series of cities across America and Europe, I track laterally, cutting across the urban cultures and material geographies of diverse locations to build a comparative study of cinema and the city during the seventies. Working at this scale enables us to trace correspondences, patterns and

interrelationships that might not otherwise become visible. For example, across chapters on New York, San Francisco, Paris and London, I map out the various ways in which filmmakers engaged with a widespread turn against modernist precepts of architecture and planning, and consider how this played out differently in specific local contexts. Thinking transnationally is also necessary in order to grasp the economic and political dynamics of the era. Indeed, many of the defining events of the late 1960s and 1970s, such as the popular uprisings of 1968, the OPEC crisis and the global stock market crash of 1973, were inherently international in character. In this respect, cities and their film industries were shaped by pressures operating above and beyond the horizon of the nation state.⁴ And as scholars such as Saskia Sassen and David Harvey have emphasised, a new round of globalisation was rapidly redefining relationships *between* cities, as what Harvey calls “space-time compression” brought metropolitan centres such as Los Angeles, New York, London and Milan closer to each other economically and culturally than they were to their own rural hinterlands.⁵ In Sassen’s influential formulation, the seventies was a key moment in the development of a newly integrated global economy in which specific metropolitan centres such as London and New York, later codified as ‘global cities’, were assuming qualitatively new roles.⁶

However, assembling any cross-national study involves making selections and inevitably excluding other choices. By concentrating on the United States and four Western European countries, I focus my discussion on what were, excluding Japan, the original members of the G6 and at that time the five largest global capitalist economies. As my primary interest lies in understanding cinema as it relates to a crisis in Western industrial capitalism, it is in these countries that these connections were most clearly visible. Furthermore, placing these nations together is also intended to reflect the strong links between the four European countries in question (all members of a common economic area by 1973), the extremely powerful American economic and cultural influence in Europe after WWII, and the long-established transatlantic leapfrogging of films, directors, stars, styles and ideas that has defined one strand in the history of cinema. The first half of the book analyses filmmaking in American cities, with chapters on the declining Rust Belt of the Northeast and Midwest (Atlantic City, Philadelphia and Detroit), New York City, San Francisco and Los Angeles. At the centre of the volume is a short chapter on two key international art films of the seventies, *Alice in the Cities* (Wim Wenders, 1974) and *The Passenger* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1975), which trace international journeys across cities and continents. The second section, on Western Europe, examines

filmmaking from Britain (London), France (Paris), Italy (Rome and Milan) and West Germany (Frankfurt, Cologne and Berlin). Shorter and more focused on one specific theme than their American counterparts, these chapters on European cinema do not aim to be comprehensive accounts of the period in those national contexts. Rather, they are intended as more speculative explorations into specific issues through a relatively limited selection of films, and might be understood as points of departure for further exploration and debate. By placing discussion of these films into dialogue with my primary case study, the United States, I aim to demonstrate that the urban crisis of the seventies must be understood not as nationally specific but rather as local manifestations of complex, interlocking global phenomena.

I also wish to stress that many of these changes were necessarily implicated in a new relationship between Western capitalist economies and the developing nations of what was then referred to as the Third World.⁷ Of course, focusing solely on 'Western' nations is also potentially problematic in its implicit Eurocentrism. Indeed, the period in question in this book also saw the emergence of new postcolonial cinemas in the non-aligned nations that radically questioned and attacked both Hollywood and European art cinema. At the same time, domestic film industries in Third World cities also produced popular genre cinemas that were no less affected by this moment of global change. However, the experience of rapidly expanding and industrialising urban regions from Mexico City to Manila was radically different – though inherently connected to – deindustrialisation and the postindustrial transition experienced by much of the West. Ultimately, the cinematic and urban histories of these cities during the 1970s lie beyond the scope of this project and remain a potential avenue for future exploration.

The long seventies and the new urban crisis

The decade is, of course, an essentially arbitrary unit of historical time and can be potentially problematic as a historiographical category.⁸ In this book, I define a 'long seventies' that runs roughly from 1968, when the paroxysms of urban revolt signalled the end of the postwar boom, to the early eighties and the consolidation of neoliberal power registered by rise of Ronald Reagan and the New Right. In counterpoint to previous assumptions that the seventies was a relatively uneventful decade stuck between the revolutionary sixties and the corporate eighties, recent historical scholarship on the period has emphasised the far-reaching effects of its social, political

and economic transformations. An era marked by global recession, energy crises and international terrorism, the seventies were, as Judith Stein puts it, a “pivotal decade” in which manufacturing was displaced by financial services and real estate as the engine of Western economies, ushering in a new “age of inequality” in the eighties.⁹ Crucially, the breakdown of the Bretton Woods agreement in 1971 (the so-called ‘Nixon Shock’) created a new era of capital mobility and set the stage for the vast expansion of financial services in the eighties and beyond.¹⁰ In these terms, the central legacy of the seventies has been the disintegration of the Fordist-Keynesian compact and the emergence of neoliberal paradigms of social policy that have defined the political landscape ever since.¹¹

By the late 1960s, the most visible manifestation of the mushrooming crisis in the inner city was the series of urban uprisings or ghetto riots that ripped across African-American neighbourhoods in American cities from coast to coast, most famously in Watts, Los Angeles (1965), Detroit (1967) and Newark (1967). Yet the riots were not a cause but rather a symptom of a much larger and more structural malaise, harbingers of an eruption of urban unrest during the years to come and an impending crisis in capitalism itself. Above all, the global struggles of 1968 signalled the dissolution of the fragile social consensus that underpinned the postwar economic boom, and marked the emergence of a new relationship between the city and political subjectivity. Emphatically urban *and* global, these constituted a set of interconnected (if disparate) events that brought together student radicals, trade unions, black power movements and anti-colonial struggles. The relative synchronicity of events across continents was striking. In Europe, May '68 was mirrored by protests and strikes throughout 1968-1969 in Rome, West Berlin, London and many other European cities, while unrest in America ranged from university campus occupations (notably at UC Berkeley and Columbia University) to the riots that raged following the assassination of Martin Luther King and the conflict captured by *Medium Cool* in Chicago. But this was truly a global phenomenon, with related protests breaking out on the streets of major cities such as Tokyo, Dakar and Buenos Aires.¹² As Antonio Negri has pointed out, this demonstrated the *urbanisation* of political struggle: it was now on the territory of the major cities that revolutions would be won or lost, with social protest and strike action spilling out from campus and factory floor onto the city streets.¹³

The international simultaneity of '68 was mirrored by the economic downturn of the years to come. While productivity fell and Western economic performance slumped in the early part of the decade, it was not until 1973 that a global stock exchange crash, the collapse of international prop-

erty markets and the OPEC embargo pushed all major capitalist economies into a synchronised recession. The 'urban crisis' of the mid-to-late 1960s, closely associated with ghetto riots and largely understood (especially in the United States) as grounded in issues of poverty, racial discrimination and civil rights, developed into a broader, more fundamental second phase in the 1970s. As an editorial for the *Wall Street Journal* outlined in 1975, this 'New Urban Crisis' compounded the familiar symptoms of urban blight and social unrest with mushrooming deficits, decaying infrastructure, faltering public services and fiscal crises that pushed municipal governments to the brink of bankruptcy. The urban theorist Manuel Castells developed a similar distinction in his seminal piece "The Wild City" (1976). As he argued, the public discourse of 'urban crisis' in the United States had served a specific ideological function in the sixties, framing a more generalised crisis as geographically contained and racially coded in a deeply problematic fashion. But in the seventies, the urban crisis was repositioned within a broader struggle over the political and economic strategies through which a projected 'urban renaissance' – equally an ideological construct – might be brought about.¹⁴

After the sixties, emphasis shifted away from riots towards city finances. New York City was the most extreme example. Narrowly avoiding default in 1975 despite the Ford administration's famous refusal to extend federal aid, it was later 'rescued' and restructured by an emergency coalition of investment banks and other corporate interests that helped set a new agenda for public spending and development in the years to come. Yet this was not merely an issue for New York City: fiscal crisis was a recurring feature of city politics throughout the decade, with municipal governments brought near to insolvency by the double whammy of eroding tax bases and spiralling welfare commitments. These crises struck cities on both sides of the Atlantic, from declining centres of American industry, such as Philadelphia, Detroit and Cleveland, to major European cities such as Milan, Naples, Munich, Frankfurt and Liverpool. In this book, the term 'urban crisis' is therefore intentionally broadened beyond the context of the American inner city in the 1960s, to encapsulate the widespread sense of economic, political and cultural crisis that characterised American and European cities throughout the 1970s.

However, with Castells's analysis in mind, the notion of urban crisis must be understood partly as a discursive construct and crucially, as an idea that was reproduced and worked through by films and other cultural forms in complex ways. Indeed, from the urban crisis to the crises in Hollywood and European film industries, to the crisis of the dollar, the OPEC crisis,

the fiscal crisis of New York City or the ‘legitimation crisis’ of the European state, ‘crisis’ was a widespread media term that was applied liberally to any number of contexts in the sixties and seventies.¹⁵ As such, it appears throughout this book in a variety of contexts that reflect its usage in the press and popular debate. However, the sheer frequency of its appearance across such disparate settings is potentially problematic (it has also since become a somewhat overused academic trope that can conceal more than it describes). In this book, I pair the term ‘crisis’ with Edward Soja’s definition of ‘restructuring’, which provides a more useful sense of the dynamics of continuity and change than a static notion of crisis. As he explains, the term “evokes a sequential combination of falling apart and building up again, deconstruction and attempted reconstitution, arising from certain incapacities or perturbations in established systems of thought and action”.¹⁶ For Soja, restructuring is generated by shocks – like the crises of the late sixties – and is characterised by reconfiguration and realignment more than wholesale revolution. As he puts it, “restructuring implies flux and transition, offensive and defensive postures, a complex and irresolute mix of continuity and change. As such, restructuring falls between piecemeal reform and revolutionary transformation, between business-as-usual and something completely different”.¹⁷

New paradigms soon began to emerge from the ashes of the urban and economic crisis. Nixon’s unpegging of the dollar from the gold standard, often construed at the time as a defensive measure against Japanese economic competition, was in fact one of the first signals of a wide-ranging, long-term shift from Keynesian macro-economic policies to those now associated with neoliberalism. In the first instance, neoliberal policies were introduced as strategic responses to the economic conundrum of ‘stagflation’, the symptom of simultaneous inflation and economic stagnation that Keynesian economics was neither able to explain nor cure. Building on the economic theories of Milton Friedman and reinforced by an ideological commitment to the free market and entrepreneurialism, neoliberal policies advocated fiscal deregulation and retrenchment in social spending, and placed a new emphasis on finance capitalism as the motor of economic growth. Furthermore, cities were not just passive subjects of neoliberal policy; rather, they were often at the forefront of these developments. Deregulation, public-private partnerships and property speculation became established (if contested) protocols for downtown and neighbourhood redevelopment. As Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore put it, “the point is not only that neoliberalism affects cities, but also that cities have become key institutional arenas in and through which neoliberalism is itself evolving”.¹⁸

This broad sweep of development from the urban crisis of the sixties to the neoliberal agendas of the eighties has been usefully theorised by the geographer David Harvey, who provides one of the clearest explanations for understanding how economic cycles and crises are fundamentally connected to dynamics of decline and renewal in cities. Not coincidentally, these ideas were first forged in the early 1970s. Having recently moved from Oxford to Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Harvey had become acutely aware of the effects of the urban crisis on America's social fabric. As he explains in *Social Justice and the City* (1973), Harvey began to analyse the connections between capitalism's inherent crisis tendencies and the processes of ghetto formation and urban decline that had sparked violent unrest in the inner city. In Harvey's view, such questions could not be satisfactorily answered through the liberal positivist framework of existing geographical theories; it required, in Harvey's terms, "a revolutionary geographical theory" to match the object of its analysis.¹⁹

The accumulation process, Harvey contends, cannot be properly conceptualised without understanding the crucial role played by urban development. The economic downturn and urban crisis experienced globally during the 1970s was not an anomaly. Rather, as Marx had argued, such periodic crises were internal properties of capitalism itself.²⁰ For Harvey, the city occupies a central role in this process: firstly, as a system for maximising productive capacity and accumulating surplus value; and secondarily, as a means of circulating surplus value through architecture and infrastructural investments. During periods of expansion such as the two decades after the Second World War, capitalist production accumulates surplus value, which then becomes stored in the "fixed capital" of the built environment. As he puts it, "Capital represents itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image, created as use values to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital. The geographical landscape that results is the crowning glory of past capitalist development".²¹ However, this landscape begins to progressively inhibit the circulation of capital. As Harvey explains, capital accumulation relentlessly produces surplus profits, which must be re-invested or recycled in order for the process to continue. From this perspective, the 1970s were a period of "chronic capital surplus", in which neoliberal policies emerged as a means to break down barriers for profitable reinvestment. Harvey continues, describing the processes of building and demolition, creation and destruction that therefore characterise the historical development of capitalist space:

Capitalist development has therefore to negotiate a knife-edge path between preserving the exchange values of past capitalist investments in the built environment and destroying the values of these investments in order to open up fresh room for accumulation. Under capitalism, there is then a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time. The temporal and geographical ebb and flow of investment in the built environment can be understood only in terms of such a process.²²

Such crises lead to the search for what Harvey terms a “spatial fix”, by means of which the circulation of capital and the rate of productivity might be restored.²³ In this way, the restless urban dynamics of decline and renewal, building and demolition can be understood as central, recurring features of capitalist economies.

Frequently building on these ideas, urban geographers have emphasised the ways in which the urban crises of the sixties gave way to a new set of restructuring processes that would transform cities over the decades to follow.²⁴ Whether viewed through the theoretical optics of postindustrialism, post-Fordism, flexible specialisation, or ‘cognitive-cultural capitalism’, a rough consensus exists around the broad parameters of change (if the explanatory logic and emphasis often differs).²⁵ Though the experience of individual cities and the pace of change differed widely, there were nevertheless striking areas of similarity. While traditional manufacturing and unionised jobs declined, eroding the urban landscape associated with industrial communities, a ‘new economy’ began to crystallise around finance, real estate, and new high-tech forms of production. To take New York as an example, at the same time as specific areas such as the South Bronx faced devastating disinvestment and decline, other neighbourhoods such as SoHo were transformed by gentrification and new patterns of cultural production. What was only inchoate and emergent in specific places in the 1970s would by be clearly articulated and dominant by the 1990s: new types of postindustrial space, the expansion of cultural industries, the remaking of central cities as zones of consumption and spectacle, and the often repressive monitoring and surveillance of public space. At the same time, these developments brought with them new experiences of dislocation, displacement and fragmentation. Cities were subject to new dynamics of exclusion and de facto segregation, which fomented various forms of direct political action from grassroots community protest to riots and urban terrorism.

However, while Harvey et al. provide powerful models for understanding the dynamics of urban change, these do not generate immediate ways for conceptualising shifts in urban culture. From one perspective, periods of economic and social crisis in cities may also be those of the greatest artistic and technological innovation and change. In the first instance, the dynamics of decline and redevelopment in cities have provided opportunities for artists, filmmakers and various kinds of cultural entrepreneurs (though, as Sharon Zukin has stressed, the relationship between artists and gentrification has often been problematic).²⁶ In the seventies, many filmmakers were able to capitalise on the landscape of urban decline and renewal as a production resource, whether using cheap ex-industrial warehouse space for production facilities, or shooting in blighted neighbourhoods of the city. This was evident, for example, in John Boorman's use of a condemned West London terrace in *Leo the Last* (1970), Marco Ferreri's shooting in the vast hole left by the redevelopment of Les Halles in *Touche pas à la femme blanche* (1973) and Francis Ford Coppola using empty San Francisco warehouses and derelict properties for *The Conversation* (1974). Economic geographers such as Allen Scott have also emphasised how cities function as powerful agglomeration economies and as such become catalysts for innovations in technology, labour organisation, lifestyles and cultural production.²⁷ In this book, I bring cinema into this discussion of cities as nerve centres of cultural change and draw on these ideas to help explain the paradoxical sense that artistic and industrial innovation might emerge from moments of crisis in the city.²⁸

Film theory and the cinematic city

At this stage, I wish to map out some conceptual territory regarding the relationship between cinema and the city. Over the course of its history, cinema has oscillated between different approaches to the representation of urban space. While specific genres and movements (such as Italian neorealism or film noir) have tended to emphasise location shooting and a relatively authentic reproduction of the city, others (such as German Expressionism of the 1920s and 1930s) were dominated by artifice and sets, characteristically developing fictional worlds in which, as Peter Wollen puts it, "the city is perceived as a kind of dream space, a delirious world of psychic projection rather than sociological delineation".²⁹ For the most part, seventies cinema prioritised location shooting and contemporary settings, displaying the special affinity between film and the material

spaces of the city that Siegfried Kracauer memorably described in an earlier historical period as its “susceptibility to the street”.³⁰ However, despite the exceptionally close relationship between cinema and the city in this period, and the paradigm shifts in urban space and theory that I have outlined, there have been few sustained attempts to elaborate on the urban aspects of seventies cinema.³¹

Over the last ten to twenty years, the ‘cinematic city’ has become the focus of wide-ranging interdisciplinary debates across film studies, cultural geography, architectural history and visual culture. This has resulted in a range of edited volumes and a smaller (though growing) number of monographs that focus on individual cities and urban-oriented film genres or movements.³² Important studies by writers such as Edward Dimendberg, Mark Shiel, Pamela Wojcik, Charlotte Brunson, Stanley Corbin and Yomi Braester have elucidated the rich, reciprocal relationship between cinema and the city from multiple perspectives and orientations.³³ Likewise, urban studies has also increasingly acknowledged the prime importance of film and other art forms in the cultural economy of the city and the role of images and narratives urban life play in producing our conception of the ‘urban’ itself. Studies of cinema and the city have marked out particular privileged moments in urban history as paradigms for the experience of modernity and postmodernity, such as *fin-de-siècle* Paris, Weimar Berlin or postwar Los Angeles.

During the 1970s, film theory had been dominated by the journal *Screen* and various permutations of semiotics, psychoanalysis and Althusserian Marxism. Though hugely productive at the time, especially in explicating a gendered theory of spectatorship, *Screen* theory principally understood film as a textual system, despite the implicit importance of space to key essays such as Stephen Heath’s “Narrative Space” and Laura Mulvey’s “Visual Pleasure in Narrative Cinema”. Moreover, the tendency to view classical Hollywood and (largely European) counter-cinema as a realist/modernist binary was becoming increasingly outdated in the light of the contemporaneous development of a New Hollywood cinema that was itself challenging and dismantling many of the shibboleths of the classical cinema.³⁴ Either way, cultural approaches to cinema, space and cities would not emerge until the 1980s, when as part of the development of a ‘New Film History’, scholars began to focus on the concept of *modernity* as a conceptual frame through which to understand the emergence of cinema at the turn of the twentieth century. For theorists such as Miriam Hansen, re-evaluating the writings of Siegfried Kracauer, Georg Simmel and especially Walter Benjamin provided a rich source of theoretical ideas through which to

connect the perceptual experience of the modern city dweller and the emergent cinematic spectator.³⁵

In particular, Benjamin's insights have provided film studies with a number of persistent motifs – especially that of the *flâneur* – which have provided fruitful ways of understanding cinema within the wider contexts of urban visual culture. These paths were also developed by pioneering historical research on early cinema by scholars such as Tom Gunning, Thomas Elsaesser, Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz.³⁶ Similarly, Jonathan Crary's *Techniques of the Observer* (1990), Anne Friedberg's *Window Shopping* (1993) and Giuliana Bruno's *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map* (1993) all sought to contextualise the emergence of the cinematic spectator within an understanding of other contemporary modes of visual experience from the shopping arcade to the camera obscura.³⁷ In these works, the study of cinema became an archaeology of early-twentieth-century modernity, contextualising film and filmgoing within what Charney and Schwartz describe as an “array of new modes of technology, representation, spectacle, distraction, consumerism, ephemerality, mobility, and entertainment”.³⁸ From this viewpoint, cinema was urban from the outset, umbilically linked to the twin processes of industrialisation and urbanisation that wrought profound changes in late-nineteenth-century society. Though not exclusively made and consumed in such spaces, the link between cinema and urban change was most clearly visible in the rapidly expanding metropolitan centres of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, most notably Paris, London, and Berlin, and in the early twentieth century, New York and Chicago.

Following Fredric Jameson's 1984 essay “Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism”,³⁹ attention also concentrated on the notion of *postmodernity* and the study of the city at the opposite end of the twentieth century, with significant works by Friedberg, David Harvey and Michael Dear developing Jameson's description of postmodernist culture.⁴⁰ Further attention to Los Angeles as the paradigmatic postmodern metropolitan sprawl was fuelled by Mike Davis's influential *City of Quartz* (1990). The postmodern city – identified, for example, in essays by David Harvey and Giuliana Bruno – is a place of fragmentation, simulacra, eclecticism, and marginality.⁴¹ These characteristics or symptoms became increasingly visible during the 1980s and 1990s in now-canonical postmodernist films such as *Blade Runner* (Ridley Scott, 1982), *Wings of Desire* (Wim Wenders, 1987) and *Falling Down* (Joel Schumacher, 1993).

No longer modern after the fashion of Benjamin's industrial metropolis, nor fully postmodern like Davis's millennial Los Angeles, urban culture of the seventies sits at a hinge point between the two periods as they have

conventionally been described. Indeed, while the notion of 'postmodernity' may be useful for conceptualising the telling synchronicity between shifts in economics, space and culture, it can also result in somewhat broad brush strokes. In this study, I take a more fine-grained approach. What is often implicit in both the modernity/metropolis debates and Jameson's notion of postmodernism is a generalised argument about the way in which shifts in urban sensory experience translate into aesthetic change. While such notions are enticing, I endeavour to produce a more grounded and materialist approach to understanding the relationships between urban change and cinematic aesthetics, placing importance on economics, institutions and technology as well as more general shifts in the 'structure of feeling'. In this respect, I use the term 'postmodern' generally when it has been widely applied within a specific discipline. For example, the term had already begun to emerge in architectural debates during the 1970s (e.g., in Charles Jencks's influential *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, first published in 1977) to refer specifically to a broad move against the styles and assumptions of modernism.

Rethinking space: architecture, planning and urban representations

In negotiating this terrain, I draw on a variety of intellectual responses to cities and urbanism that developed in parallel with the decade's cinema. The seventies produced a rich body of theoretical work that brought about paradigm shifts in concepts of space, architecture and cities across different disciplines. From urban sociologists such as Henri Lefebvre and Manuel Castells, to architectural theorists Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown and the literary theorist Fredric Jameson, the reconceptualisation of space and spatial theory was a defining aspect of the period. Drawing on this legacy helps to situate cinema within broader spatial discourses and complicate commonplace ideas about the representation of the city on screen.

Though this book is principally concerned with what is often referred to as 'the representation of the city' in cinema, this does not reflect any straightforward duality between the concrete reality of the city and its fictional or imaginary representation on film. Firstly, cinema (the medium of film alongside its related institutions and practices) has a material existence within the city and its social spaces. Secondly, images of urban space on film (specifically as a medium) are one among many representations of the city, whether those produced in other art forms, in advertising and

the media, or in the more official representations of cartographers and planners. Furthermore, as Rob Shields notes, the ‘representation of the city’ is a potentially problematic construct because, as he suggests, “the notion of ‘the city’, *the city itself, is a representation*”.⁴² Urban space is already in some senses representational and cannot be understood as a stable, pre-existing object that films can capture more or less faithfully.

The critical thought of Henri Lefebvre provides a useful way of placing cinema within a wider conception of what he famously termed “the production of space”.⁴³ In a series of articles and books published between 1968 and 1974, including *The Right to the City* (1968), *The Urban Revolution* (1970) and *The Production of Space* (1974), Lefebvre developed a new critical theory of space and its fundamental role in the reproduction of capitalist society. In opposition to what he saw as one-dimensional (and patently ideological) conceptions of space as a mere ‘empty container’ for social relations, Lefebvre proclaimed that “(social) space is a (social) product”. For Lefebvre, spatiality is best understood as a triad linking the physical, mental and social aspects of space: the perceived, the conceived, and the lived. As Edward Soja explains, this concept develops from the introduction of a third term – lived social space – to destabilise the traditional dualisms between the real and the imagined, the material and the mental, base and superstructure.⁴⁴

Lefebvre defines his spatial ‘trialectic’ as follows. Firstly, there is *spatial practice*, everyday material space, the space of daily/urban reality: “the spatial practice of a society secretes that society’s space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it”.⁴⁵ Secondly, there are *representations of space* – the space conceived of by scientists, mathematicians, planners, and architects – the dominant spatial episteme which enables spatial practice. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, *spaces of representation*: “space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols”, the space of inhabitants/users and artists.⁴⁶ This third term, while not being in any sense the dialectical synthesis of spatial practice and representations of space, nevertheless connects and encompasses them, as Soja asserts: “spaces of representation contain all other real and imagined spaces simultaneously”.⁴⁷ Despite Lefebvre’s own ambivalent relationship to cinema, thinking film through Lefebvre’s spatial triad, in all its complexities and ambiguities, will help us to go beyond the apparently binary opposition between the ‘real’ space of the city and its ‘imaginary’ representation in cinema.⁴⁸ Viewed as a ‘space of representation’, film can therefore be seen to mediate between the material profilmic environment of the city, the conceptual world of

architectural theory and urbanism, and the socially experienced space of the city of which it is both a 'representation' and a concrete instance.

In this book, I frequently historicise cinema within the context of broad changes in the disciplines of architecture and planning during the seventies. In these areas, what unified otherwise disparate writers and thinkers was a widespread turn against modernist epistemologies of the city and their application in practice. In opposition to modernist notions of rationality, functionalism and centralised perspective, the city could now be conceived of as a "collage" (Rowe and Koetter), an eclectic landscape of commercial architecture and mixed media (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour), a series of "ecologies" (Banham), the locus of a productive sense of "disorder" (Sennett), or as constituting layers of historical memory (Rossi). In the architectural profession, the turn against the modern movement accelerated in the late 1960s with two defining works, Aldo Rossi's *Architecture of the City* (1966) and Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966), which began to challenge and dismantle the theoretical underpinnings of architectural modernism and planning.⁴⁹ As Robert Hughes wrote in *Time* magazine in 1979, "the 1970s were the decade in which modernism died".⁵⁰ Charles Jencks famously put a specific date on this demise: "Modern architecture died in St. Louis, Missouri on July 15, 1972 at 3.32pm (or thereabouts) when the famous Pruitt-Igoe scheme, or rather several of its slab blocks, were given the final *coup de grâce* by dynamite".⁵¹ Famously captured on film, the images of Pruitt Igoe's demise quickly provided a powerful visual shorthand for the perceived failure of modernism and tectonic changes both in the architectural profession and public discourse. Pruitt-Igoe had been constructed in 1955-1956 as part of a slum-clearance programme. Designed by Minoru Yamasaki, whose World Trade Center towers were just being completed as Pruitt-Igoe was demolished, their design had initially been hailed as innovative at a time when such projects, and many others like them, were broadly seen as politically progressive. Yet by the late 1960s, they were case studies for social exclusion and held up as examples of the worst tendencies of modernist planning and design. Meanwhile, central business districts globally had been reconstructed with increasingly formulaic interpretations of International Style modernism, which for many became a symbol for the alienating homogenisation and commodification of modern city life.

At the same time, a series of influential texts diagnosed new directions in architecture and planning. Reyner Banham's paean to the Californian metropolis, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (1971) and Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour's *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972) both valorised, in different ways, the populist eclecticism and

unplanned vitality of the consumerist American sprawl, in opposition to an increasingly standardised corporate interpretation of modernism.⁵² This helped to prepare the ground for a new architectural postmodernism – for example, in the work of Philip Johnson, Charles Moore, Frank Gehry, and John Portman – which made an emphatic turn away from the ascetic geometry and functionalist purity of the modern movement towards eclecticism, historical references, and the influence of pop culture.⁵³ As I will discuss further in chapter five, Banham and Venturi/Scott Brown's interventions into urban discourse must also be understood not just as texts but as complex visual pieces that employed techniques of collage and mixed media and engaged with the new cityscape in a similar way to contemporary films such as *Zabriskie Point* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1970).

Cognitive mapping

Issues of architecture and space also began to encroach on different types of cultural and critical theory. By the early 1980s, the literary critic Fredric Jameson had also placed architecture at the centre of his work on postmodernism, arguing that it is “in the realm of architecture ... that modifications in aesthetic production are most dramatically visible, and that their theoretical problems have been most centrally raised and articulated”.⁵⁴ From the early 1970s, we can trace Jameson's simultaneous turn towards architecture and cinema as privileged media in understanding the emergence of postmodernity and its new “structure of feeling”. These two concerns first came together productively in one of his first pieces on film, a 1977 essay on *Dog Day Afternoon* (Sidney Lumet, 1975) which he later explicitly suggested was an early attempt at “cognitive mapping”.⁵⁵ The essay develops an innovative spatial analysis of the film and its locations, arguing that a repressed class dimension comes to the fore in its imagery of the “ghettoisation” of Brooklyn neighbourhoods, which contrast with a number of other figures for multinational capitalism, especially the “science fiction landscape” of JFK airport.⁵⁶ The geographical focus of this piece was later underscored by Jameson's call for a ‘spatial analysis of culture’, in which a close attention to space was vital in moving beyond the impasses of Marxist aesthetics and the seemingly irresolvable split between realism and modernism (terms, of course, beginning to lose purchase in the media-saturated world of the late twentieth century).

In analysing the spatial and textual dynamics of seventies film, I draw on Jameson's notion of ‘cognitive mapping’ and its lineage in the work of

the American urbanist Kevin Lynch, whose classic book *The Image of the City* (1960) compared the mental cityscapes recalled by citizens of Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles.⁵⁷ Analysing drawings made by local residents, Lynch contrasted the “imageability” of dense, historically layered cityscapes such as Boston with the formlessness and fluidity of the built environment in cities such as Jersey City and especially Los Angeles, where few iconic landmarks were available to orient the user in their surroundings. Tellingly, Lynch’s descriptions of urban experience themselves have cinematic resonances. For Lynch, city design is a “temporal art” which organises segments of space and time for its users: “on different occasions and for different people, the sequences are reversed, interrupted, abandoned, cut across”.⁵⁸ The individual experience of the city is partial, fragmentary and subjective, with elements apprehended in relation to each other and to previous experience: “Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences”.⁵⁹

For Jameson, this relationship of the individual subject to a wider social structure provided a compelling spatial figure for the problematic of contemporary capitalism, in which a new set of global relationships essentially displaced older forms of political thought and representation. Developing this view in *The Geopolitical Aesthetic*, Jameson argues that the “conspiracy narratives” of films such as *The Parallax View* (Alan J. Pakula, 1975), *Three Days of the Condor* (Sydney Pollack, 1975) and *All the President’s Men* (Alan J. Pakula, 1976) are unconscious attempts to “think a system so vast that it cannot be encompassed by the natural and historically developed categories of perception with which normally orient themselves”.⁶⁰ Postmodern narrative forms are thus faced with what he calls “representational problems”: the fundamental difficulty (or even impossibility) of representing or mapping the global capitalist system, which he suggests is ever present as an “absent totality”.

Extending the notion of “cognitive mapping” beyond Jameson’s usage, I suggest that it can be applied to several levels of film: the implicit ‘mapping’ of territory enacted by the film itself through the locations it represents and traverses; the implied ‘mapping’ of the protagonists within the narrative system of the film; and the ‘mapping’ carried out by the audience as part of their spectatorial experience. Films therefore produce cognitive maps both through their formal articulation and engagement with space, and the relationship developed between the protagonist(s) and their diegetic world. Importantly, ‘cognitive’ here is not understood to exclude embodied spectatorship, but also encompasses a range of affective responses to cin-

ematic space. Here, I adapt elements of both Lynch and Jameson's notions of 'cognitive mapping' to establish ways in which a film's spatial form produces relations of visibility, mobility and affectivity within the urban environment, and examine how these might be understood to produce political meanings in a specific geographical and historical context. Through such cognitive-affective maps, films also condense the flux of urban change into aesthetic form, a movement which reverberates back into the urban environment in a process of continual feedback. In the chapters to come, I place this activity of cinematic mapping and remapping urban space into dialogue with films' social and industrial contexts. By paying attention to their engagement with the streets, buildings and cityscapes of the emerging postindustrial city, I aim to show how relations of space, vision and movement were central to these films' contemporary social meanings and consider how shifting narrative modes and aesthetic strategies were related to wider processes of historical change in the urban environment.

In the following chapter, I begin by grounding these issues in the industrial history of seventies cinema. Reviewing the geographical dynamics of New Hollywood, I argue that the crisis and restructuring of the industry catalysed the further decentralisation of production across the United States. While location shooting became increasingly important to the political economy of New Hollywood and its flexible production regime, city governments came to view film as one route towards culture-led regeneration and a potential avenue for rebranding themselves nationally and internationally. In chapters two to five, I examine how these changes played out in a variety of different urban contexts, and describe how new production strategies and working practices helped to shape the narrative and aesthetic qualities of New Hollywood film. The second half of the book focuses on European cinema and cities. In chapter six, I argue that the economic, institutional and cultural backdrop to the European art cinema was fundamentally shifting in the 1970s, and trace these changes through two symptomatic films, which plotted out melancholy journeys between cities and continents and pioneered the transnational road movie as a new cinematic trope. In chapters seven through ten, I examine filmmaking in a series of urban centres – London, Paris, Rome and Milan, Frankfurt, Cologne and Berlin – and explore how European cinemas were shaped by the experience of urban crisis, redevelopment and transition during the 1970s.

1. Mapping New Hollywood

Spatial Perspectives

At the end of the 1960s, Hollywood and the American inner city faced historic crises that seemed to threaten their very existence. While the Hollywood studios suffered combined losses of \$600 million between 1969 and 1971, the formerly prosperous centres of American cities were mired in an urban social crisis that was fast transforming into a widespread economic crisis.¹ In January 1971, Abel Green, the long-standing editor of *Variety*, reviewed the first year of the decade and its media representation in his unique style. As he put it, “All media in 1970 reflected in day-by-day downbeat the madness, modness, moodiness of a year of crisis and confusion”. Inflation, cutbacks and recession had been consistent themes not only for the national economy but also more specifically for Hollywood, where write-downs, write-offs, lay-offs and liquidation of assets had dominated the trade press headlines. Beyond the film industry, Green made connections between Hollywood’s malaise and the urban crisis. In particular, New York City offered a compressed portrait of the country in microcosm, an “extension of the national scene, but more so”, with issues including “housing ... flight of population, strikes, passing of traditional enterprise ... violence, bombings, Panther trials, prison revolt, narcotics addiction programs, police bribery, firemen harassment, bomb scares ... and vigilante aggressiveness”.²

Of course, this parallel period of crisis in Hollywood and the American city also witnessed the first iteration of a ‘New Hollywood’, during which the films of the ‘New American Cinema’ or ‘Hollywood Renaissance’ exploded onto movie screens. Accounts of this celebrated period of American cinema emphasise, in varying degrees, different aspects of the narrative, whether industrial/institutional (package production, corporate takeovers, the demise of the Production Code), aesthetic (the influence of European cinema, television and exploitation film), auteurist (a new ‘film school’ generation), or cultural/historical (the influence of the New Left and the counterculture). Nevertheless, most agree that the preconditions for a ‘new’ Hollywood were generated by industrial instability and broad patterns of social change, opening up a relatively brief period of innovation and experimentation that would be foreclosed by the triumph of the blockbuster in the second half of the decade. Though there is some critical dissent over the term ‘New Hollywood’, I use it throughout this book to refer broadly to changes in Hollywood filmmaking after around 1967. However, I align myself here with

scholars who have identified two distinct (yet closely interrelated) phases of New Hollywood.³ The first phase refers to the auteur-based, artistically ambitious and often socially critical cinema that flourished between the late 1960s and mid-1970s, best exemplified by films such as *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969), *Five Easy Pieces* (Bob Rafelson, 1970), *Chinatown* (Roman Polanski, 1974) and *Nashville* (Robert Altman, 1975). In contrast, the second phase describes the rise of the so-called 'movie brats' and more commercially oriented and accessible fare such as *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (Steven Spielberg, 1977) and *Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977). Though this is necessarily an imprecise periodisation, it is nevertheless useful in understanding broad changes in orientation, business strategy and structure of feeling. However, there were significant continuities between the first and second waves of New Hollywood, and as I will elaborate on further below, the organisational changes set in motion by the crisis played an important role in the development of Hollywood production in the decades to come.

In this chapter and those that follow, I argue that our understanding of New Hollywood and the emergence of a post-classical American cinema can be reframed through an explicitly spatial perspective. In the first instance, the crisis and reorganisation of the industry at the end of the 1960s had important – and as yet under-examined – geographical dynamics. While the industry crisis accelerated the long-term shift towards package deals and independent production, it also had a significant impact on the volume and geographical pattern of location shooting. This opened up new cinematic terrain for Hollywood, expanding location shooting beyond its established coordinates – such as Manhattan or parts of the American West – into new locales, from small towns and rural landscapes to cities of the Rust Belt and the Sun Belt. As I will expand on below, this industrial change can also be contextualised within the wider development of the postindustrial city and emerging neoliberal approaches to urban governance. From this perspective, location shooting was not only a key part of New Hollywood's flexible industrial strategy and a cornerstone of the new generation's aesthetic sensibility. As both economic activity and artistic practice, filming on the city streets also began to assume new functions in the dawning era of culture-led redevelopment and city branding initiatives. Moreover, this crucial swing towards package production, subcontracting and working on location would also play a central role in breaking down the conventions of classical Hollywood and its studio-based production practices, while the city as setting and subject became central to many New Hollywood filmmakers and their rejection of classical tropes, iconography and ideology.

The 1969-1971 crisis

Hollywood's financial crisis of 1969-1971 catalysed a series of organisational and industrial restructuring strategies that profoundly reshaped the American film industry over the years to come.⁴ Though the breakup of the vertically integrated studio system had been underway since the Paramount Antitrust Decree of 1948, it was not until the economic shock of 1969-1971 and its aftermath that the shift towards vertical disintegration and flexible specialisation was fully accomplished. These broad shifts in the organisational structure and economic logic of the business have been most clearly articulated by the economic geographers Michael Storper and Susan Christopherson. In a series of key articles, they locate the transformation of the studio system after WWII within wider shifts in the dynamics of production, consumption and labour in postwar America. From this perspective, Hollywood's reorganisation provides an exemplary case of the broader transition from Fordism to post-Fordism. In their analysis, the classical Hollywood studio system operated along essentially Fordist principles, broadly conceived, whereby oligopolistic control over exhibition maintained a stable mass market for a relatively standardised product. Filmmaking was centralised, hierarchically organised and divided into discrete tasks carried out by contracted employees. In contrast, post-studio system Hollywood has worked along more characteristically post-Fordist lines. While the financing and distribution of motion pictures remained in the control of the Hollywood majors (or their corporate parent companies), production has been typically carried out by small, specialist firms, which emphasise technological innovation and flexibility in order to respond to shifts in consumer preferences and market conditions. However, while this analysis has been subject to critique in film studies, largely for failing to engage with Hollywood's continuing power over distribution and the movement back towards vertical integration in the conglomerate era of the 1990s and beyond, it remains vital to our understanding of changes in the production process during the 1960s and 1970s and, in particular, the geographical dynamics of those changes.⁵

Nevertheless, any account of Hollywood's reorganisation in the late 1960s and 1970s must begin with factors more specific to the film industry. Though the proximate cause for the profitability crisis was overproduction in the late 1960s and the box office failure of a number of high-budget epics and musicals such as *Star* (1968), *Hello, Dolly!* (1969) and *Darling Lili* (1970), it reflected deeper structural faults in the system. The origins of the crisis can be traced back to the late 1940s and early 1950s, when Hollywood was hit by a

dramatic drop in attendance and revenues. Though often attributed directly to the impact of television, the postwar crisis of the studio system was in fact a product of large-scale demographic, geographical and cultural shifts of which television was only a constituent part. Foremost among these shifts was the historic migration of young, prosperous couples and families from the city to the rapidly expanding suburbs. Suburbanisation therefore played a central role in the fate of the inner city and the crisis of Hollywood's mass audience: as urban centres declined, so did their entertainment districts and the first-run theatres that had generated the greater proportion of studio profits in the era of vertical integration. Yet even more than this was at stake: no less than a wholesale reorganisation of patterns of urban life, of consumption and leisure, and the use and meaning of public and private space. The studios sought various solutions throughout the 1950s and 1960s, whether through product differentiation, technological innovation, or accommodation with (and expansion into) the new medium of television. At the same time, geographical expansion provided a vital lifeline in the struggle to maintain profitability and market dominance. While distribution and marketing further saturated Hollywood's international market coverage, increasing amounts of runaway production capitalised on cheap studios, locations and labour in Europe and beyond. However, by the early 1970s, runaway production was curtailed by the emerging global recession and especially by the devaluation of the dollar in 1971. In contrast, the industry's 'spatial fix' of the 1970s would involve the reorganisation of production within the United States, with the increased mobility and territorial flexibility offered by location shooting becoming central to the new business structure.

The economic shock of 1969 was foreshadowed by a cultural shock. The first signs of radical change emerged in late 1967, with the release of groundbreaking films such as *Point Blank* (John Boorman, 1967), *Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn, 1967) and *The Graduate* (Mike Nichols, 1967). In December that year, an influential *Time* magazine article by Stefan Kanfer was among the earliest responses in the national media to what was fast becoming referred to as a 'New American Cinema'. Titled "The Shock of Freedom in Films", the article championed the new trend in filmmaking and astutely diagnosed the rise of a younger audience who had new pre-conceptions of what cinema could deliver.⁶ Now accustomed to widespread coverage of the Vietnam War and the urban crisis on television and closely attuned to experimentation in other art forms, these viewers were ready for a cinema that engaged with what Kanfer called "the questioning of moral traditions, the demythologizing of ideals, and the pulverizing of esthetic

principles".⁷ The sheer disparity between this cutting edge of filmmaking and the flops of the of the 1968-1969 season signalled the extent to which the Hollywood studios had failed to adapt to changing social and economic conditions, technological challenges, and perhaps above all, shifts in audience demographics and preferences. An early warning sign had been Fox's *Doctor Dolittle* (1967), which returned only \$6.2m in domestic rentals against production costs of \$17m.⁸ By 1970, only one picture in eight was recouping its production cost, which represented an unsustainably high level of risk for the studios and their financiers.⁹ An influential contemporary analysis from Bank of America's A.H. Howe argued that while total box office receipts remained relatively static at around \$2 billion worldwide – which after deductions left roughly \$200 million in studio revenue for the seven majors – the combined production outlay of the studios was steadily increasing, and had reached a total of \$400 million. In short, such production expenditures were unsustainable. Sooner or later, the industry would have to restructure in order to survive.¹⁰

At the end of the 1960s, these problems were compounded by the faltering national economy and an increasingly tight supply of credit.¹¹ The studios fell deep into the red: in 1969, the Hollywood majors recorded combined losses of \$200 million, making it their first unprofitable year since World War II. David Cook estimates that over the following two years the industry suffered total losses of some \$600 million. Share prices plummeted. For example, after posting a \$36 million deficit for 1969, 20th Century Fox stock dropped in value from \$41.75 in 1969 to just \$6.00 in 1970.¹² The combination of valuable assets (largely in the form of real estate and film libraries) and historically low share prices made the studios particularly vulnerable to further corporate takeovers, a process that had begun in 1962 with MCA's takeover of Universal. By the early 1970s, four of the seven major studios were directly under the control of multinational conglomerates, while MGM was acquired by real estate tycoon and Las Vegas hotelier Kirk Kerkorian.¹³

In the aftermath of the financial crisis, studio management responded with a plan to restructure and reorganise the business. In most cases, the first move was to reduce debt through the divestiture of assets or fixed capital in the form of sound stages, backlots, props, costumes and film libraries. In terms of studio space, what had been cheap, peripheral land in Los Angeles in the early days of the industry in the 1910s was now highly valuable real estate. As a *Newsweek* article reported in 1969, "MGM owns 1,850 acres in Ventura County, 140 in Culver City. Fox owns 2,738 acres of Malibu ranch, 74 acres a gemstone's throw from Beverly Hills; Warner Bros.

has 105 acres, Paramount 54, Columbia 53, and Universal 420, including a mountain. Land is the bedrock of the studios' asset structures. Land makes them alluring to conglomerate managements".¹⁴ MGM was perhaps the most extreme case. A year after posting losses of \$35 million in 1969, Kirk Kerkorian sold the entirety of MGM's sound stages in Culver City to real estate developers for \$7.3 million, saved a further \$8.3 million by shifting their head office from New York to Culver City, and closed 22 of their 32 sales offices.¹⁵ By early 1971, their withdrawal from Los Angeles was complete, with the small slate of forthcoming MGM features shooting either in New York City or overseas.¹⁶

At Fox, often viewed as the bellwether of the film industry, August 1970 saw the studio in what *Variety* described as "throes of economic uncertainty", with Darryl Zanuck and his son Richard initiating "a restructuring program of perhaps unprecedented proportions" in order to "redesign the make-up of 20th to bring it in tune with today's film business and national economy". Streamlining of staff and the production slate was combined with a new management information system and further exploitation of real estate assets, especially continuing development at Century City (which had been underway since the early 1960s).¹⁷ Other studios made similar moves, with Universal transforming much of their studio space into a theme park and mall, and Columbia and Warner Bros. making substantial savings by merging their facilities into a joint studio at Burbank.¹⁸

Stanley R. Jaffe, Chief Operating Officer at Paramount, described their restructuring strategy to *Life* magazine in 1970:

We intend to cut down this company until we have an organization that can support 12 to 15 pictures a year. In a small building in Beverly Hills our whole feature production staff will be just 25 people including secretaries. As for the studio, we're going to get rid of it. That delights me personally. Without that tremendous overhead we will finally have flexibility. It's like the army. A general can move ten men more easily than a thousand. In the future we can be more receptive to changes in the marketplace without the studio hanging around our necks.¹⁹

While Paramount did not quite go as far as Jaffe suggests, his comments give a sense of the prevailing corporate attitude in Hollywood at the time. The picture painted here indicates a new ideal conception of the 'studio' as a streamlined operation, outsourcing everything but core financial and managerial functions in order to remain flexible and receptive to changes in the audience. From this point onwards, the Hollywood majors became

primarily financiers and distributors, with the majority of production sub-contracted to independent companies, who could operate more efficiently, flexibly and innovatively than the studios. Without in-house production space, nor the economies of scale involved in serial production, independent production companies began to use non-studio locations for the majority of exterior and interior scenes. This was made possible by technological innovation in more sensitive film stocks, lightweight cameras such as the Arriflex 35BL and the Panaflex, faster lenses, and other mobile filming equipment such as the Cinemobile, a portable, self-contained film studio in a van.²⁰ As technologies improved, so the cost of going on location fell, and as location work became increasingly normalised, so the incentives increased to create the equipment that would enable it.

On location: the entrepreneurial city

By the turn of the 1970s, location work was no longer seen as a necessary expense to be weighed against the inauthenticity of studio shooting, but rather as a cost-effective strategy that offered multiple benefits. Under these conditions, location shooting shifted from being a component part of an essentially studio-based production process to become the dominant production technique in Hollywood filmmaking.²¹ This was the result of multiple factors that were economic, technological and cultural in different measures. From one perspective, if the Hollywood sound stages were often empty at the end of the 1960s, it was in part due to a new generation of filmmakers for whom the authenticity and verisimilitude of location shooting was fundamental to their artistic vision. However, it would likely have remained a minority technique without the economic realities of the 1969-1971 crisis; following the restructuring of the studios, location shooting became a necessity rather than a choice. As Don Haggerty, President of the AFL-CIO Film Council, made clear, the benefits of location shooting meshed with the cost-cutting imperatives of the studios' corporate management, with incentives including "avoidance of studio overhead, avoidance of state corporate taxes on production, free or cheap city and state licensing, the ability to dodge payment on fringe benefits, cheaper extras, and loose or non-existent union regulations that allow production savings".²² As Haggerty suggests, working on location not only saved on studio rental fees, but also allowed production companies to seek flexible labour conditions and deregulated working environments. The increased mobility of production allowed the studios to evade direct confrontation

with the unions. If disputes flared up, shooting could now be relocated at short notice, as Paramount had done with the Woody Allen project *Play It Again, Sam* (Herbert Ross, 1972), one of three films pulled from production in Manhattan as a result of what Paramount President Frank Yablans deemed “intransigence” on the part of local unions.²³

The new flexibility enabled by package production and location shooting allowed Hollywood to develop in what Storper and Christopherson describe as a “split-locational pattern”.²⁴ While corporate headquarters and the majority of the new independent pre- and post-production facilities remained in southern California, shooting itself became widely dispersed across the United States. Though this is necessarily difficult to quantify, contemporary estimates suggested that around 70% of production was being filmed on location outside Los Angeles by 1974.²⁵ However, if this was due in part to Hollywood’s search for cheap and novel locations, there were also forces pulling from the other direction. In the face of industrial decline and eroding tax bases, cash-starved municipal governments were beginning to turn away from publicly funded construction projects in favour of public-private partnerships and new policies of culture-led regeneration that would become widespread in the decades to come. As a result, from the late 1960s, cities and states began to compete at a new level of intensity for the expanding location shooting dollar, luring production companies with tax breaks, minimal regulation, and non-unionised workforces. Such incentives were increasingly coordinated by city and state film commissions, leading to what the *Hollywood Reporter* called a “scramble for the now fragmented lodes of movie gold” and the *New York Times* referred to as “an ever spreading though undeclared war for location shooting”.²⁶ As I will explore further in chapter three, New York City was a trendsetter in this respect. The Mayor’s Office of Motion Pictures and Television, established in 1966 by Mayor John V. Lindsay, effectively provided a blueprint for city and state film commissions across the world in coordinating permits, streamlining procedures and promoting the city as a destination for Hollywood productions.²⁷ By 1976, when the first convention of film commissions or “Cineposium” was held in Denver, thirty city and state governments had departments or associated organisations dedicated to promoting location shooting.²⁸

This decentralisation of production was widely reported in the trade press and in local newspapers, often mixed with a shot of civic boosterism. For example, in 1976, *Chicago Times* film critic Gene Siskel summed up the benefits of location filming for the Windy City: “To put it simply, this moviemaking boomlet is one very nice development. Nice, because our

town and state are benefitting financially. Nice, because our town's talented film crews are getting work. And nice, because a variety of public and private citizens are working together to freshen our city and state images by exposing them to display on wide and small screens throughout the world".²⁹ As Siskel's comments suggest, while in the first instance, the promotion of urban location shooting was motivated by economic imperatives, the cultural representation of the city was also becoming an increasingly important commodity itself during the 1970s. In this way, the rise in location filming during this period was also congruent with the strategic aspiration of city governments to manage and project an image of their city for a global marketplace. As cities adapted to a predominantly service-sector economy, they began to position themselves as global financial centres and tourist destinations, hubs of leisure and consumerism. This reflects David Harvey's assertion that modes of urban governance had begun to shift during the 1970s from what he terms a "managerial" to an "entrepreneurial" paradigm, whereby cities and regions have been increasingly compelled to compete on the open market for mobile flows of capital and labour.³⁰ The cinematic representation of the city thus developed alongside and in dialogue with new schemes for city branding during this period.³¹ Film commissions were therefore one of a number of quasi-public bodies at municipal level, such as redevelopment agencies and convention and visitors bureaus, that sought to promote the city and its revitalised downtown as a safe place for tourists and as an attractive location for company headquarters. In this way, two simultaneous processes – the terminal crisis of the studio system and the rise of cultural strategies for redeveloping and rebranding the postindustrial city – provided the institutional and economic framework for the decentralisation and dispersal of Hollywood location shooting.

The postindustrial city therefore emerged not only as a production resource for New Hollywood but also as a visual commodity and artistic inspiration. As a result, American cinema of the 1970s displayed a new authenticity or verisimilitude in its images of the urban landscape; not since the heyday of film noir in the late 1940s had Hollywood film engaged so closely with the American city. The most prominent examples were undoubtedly New York and San Francisco, both of which experienced a boom in film production in the early to mid-1970s. Both could capitalise on distinctive, instantly recognisable and often beautiful cityscapes, were long-standing cultural hubs, and had pro-active local government support for filmmaking. Equally importantly, Hollywood location shooting moved beyond these relatively established cinematic cities. In the late 1960s and 1970s, films were shot in cities – and significantly, specific *areas*

of cities – that had been rarely, if ever, seen in mainstream feature films before. Previously peripheral or marginal spaces came into view. Cinematic New York now extended beyond its traditional Manhattan base into as-yet-unexplored parts of the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens. Hollywood made new forays into Brooklyn, taking in gentrifying areas such as Park Slope in *The Landlord* (Hal Ashby, 1970) and Brooklyn Heights in *Desperate Characters* (Frank Gilroy, 1971), as well as working-class districts such as Bay Ridge in *Saturday Night Fever* (John Badham, 1977). African-American filmmaking and the so-called ‘blaxploitation’ genre capitalised on authentic locations in Harlem, in films such as *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (Ossie Davis, 1970) and *Super Fly* (Gordon Parks Jr., 1972). Further afield than New York, the streets, buildings and neighbourhoods of declining industrial cities began to assume a new prominence on screen: for example, Philadelphia in *Rocky* (John G. Avildsen, 1976), Chicago in *Medium Cool* (Haskell Wexler, 1968), blue-collar Boston in *The Friends of Eddie Coyle* (Peter Yates, 1973) and *The Last Detail* (Hal Ashby, 1973), Detroit in *Scarecrow* (Jerry Schatzberg, 1973) and *Blue Collar* (Paul Schrader, 1978), and the steel town of Clairton, Pennsylvania, in *The Deer Hunter* (Michael Cimino, 1978). In the next chapter, I examine a selection of films shot in Rust Belt cities, before moving on to consider New York in chapter three.

Through their narratives and mise-en-scène, films shot in the Rust Belt directly or indirectly captured the experience of urban decline, racial tension, population loss and the disintegration of unionised labour in traditional industry. However, the relative decline of the industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest was offset by the concomitant rise to prominence of the Sun Belt and the economic and demographic expansion of cities such as Los Angeles, Miami, Houston and Atlanta. Though the Rust Belt/Sun Belt split risks oversimplification, it nevertheless reflects a significant realignment in the political and economic centre of gravity of the United States during the postwar decades.³² This “power shift”, in the words of Kirkpatrick Sale, was driven by migration and capital flight from unionised industrial centres in the Northeast and Midwest to expanding high-tech industries and service sector employment in Southern and Western states such as California, Texas, Florida and Arizona.³³ While urban welfare programmes such as Model Cities were cut and the Ford administration refused to rescue New York City from bankruptcy, federal spending poured into the Sun Belt through defence contracts in aerospace, electronics and space exploration. Declining productivity and labour unrest in the Rust Belt led many corporations to move operations to smaller plants in the so-called “right to work” states of the South and West, where labour was cheap and flexible. In this

way, the relative decline of the Rust Belt and the rise of the Sun Belt were to a significant extent interdependent phenomena. As Bernard Weinstein and Robert Weinstein put it, “Schumpeter did not have a spatial context in mind when discussing the process of creative destruction, yet it is easy to visualize the Sunbelt and the Northeast as rising and declining systems of entrepreneurial capitalism”.³⁴

Like their Rust Belt counterparts, city governments in the Sun Belt also viewed film and television production as an ideal form of non-polluting economic development. As New Mexico Governor Bruce King explained, “it’s a clean industry, and New Mexico is trying to orient itself to this kind of industry instead of the smokestack type”. The revenues generated could be substantial: the *Los Angeles Times* estimated that while a low-budget production might generate around \$25,000 a week, a high-budget picture could inject up to \$75,000 a week into the local economy.³⁵ For example, Clint Eastwood’s cop film *The Gauntlet* (1976) was estimated to have left \$343,000 locally after a 22-day shoot in downtown Phoenix, while *Black Sunday* (John Frankenheimer, 1977), shot on location in Miami, was cited as contributing a staggering \$2.5 million to the city.³⁶ However, just as Chicago and Boston were massively under-represented in seventies cinema in comparison to New York, the cinematic representation of expanding Sun Belt cities such as Houston, Miami and Atlanta did not match their increasing economic and political significance, and these cities did not become frequent location shooting destinations until the 1980s. In chapters four and five, I therefore concentrate on San Francisco and Los Angeles, which were by far the most significant filmmaking destinations during the seventies. Developments such as the establishment of the Texas Film Commission in 1971 led to an increased number of location shoots in the state, though films such as *The Getaway* (Sam Peckinpah, 1972), *The Sugarland Express* (Steven Spielberg, 1974) and *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (Tobe Hooper, 1974) were predominantly set in small towns and rural areas. Perhaps the most significant New Hollywood era films set in the Southern and Western states were Scorsese’s *Alice Doesn’t Live Here Anymore* (1974), shot in New Mexico and Arizona, and Robert Altman’s films *Brewster McCloud* (1970), which made use of the Houston Astrodome, and *Nashville* (1975), which intuited the importance of the Sun Belt for the rise of the New Right. One particular area of expansion was, fittingly, science fiction: the city of the future in *Logan’s Run* (Michael Anderson, 1976) was filmed in vast indoor shopping malls in Dallas and Fort Worth and newly built corporate headquarters in downtown Dallas, while *Futureworld* (Richard T. Heffron) used the backdrop of downtown Houston and the Johnson Space Center.

New Hollywood: locations and landscapes

Of course, location shooting had been rising in prevalence throughout the 1950s and 1960s, especially for independently produced features. However, with the advent of New Hollywood at the end of the 1960s, the role of location shooting had fundamentally changed in terms of aesthetics, technology and economics. Two films usefully demonstrate this shift: *Rebel without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955) and *The Rain People* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1969). In the mid-1950s, Warner Bros. produced a promotional featurette for *Rebel without a Cause* which clearly illustrates how the industry viewed location work at the time. The film begins with images of a convoy of trucks heading out from the Warner Bros. premises in Burbank to shoot a section of the film in Griffith Park (itself on the doorstep of the studio). What is striking is the extent to which the voiceover emphasises the sheer scale and logistical complexity of the operation, listing the vast array of heavy equipment needed:

While the city slept, the caravan of trucks was loaded with everything from lights to lunches, from catwalks to cameras, from pins to people: everything, tons of it, a city on wheels guarded by its own police, all just to bring life to a bundle of typewritten pages we call the script. Grip trucks, light trucks, prop trucks, wardrobe trucks, a truck for cameras, three dressing room trailers, a high-lift truck, a boom truck, buses for the crew, busloads of extras, generator trucks capable of lighting over 400 homes like yours or mine. Yes, when Warner crews go on location, they go like the US army: prepared to stay.

This demonstrates how a major studio in the mid-1950s conceived of going on location as essentially an extension of the studio. Not only would studio conditions be replicated on-site wherever possible, but once there, it was relatively fixed in place. While location work was becoming more widely used in the 1950s, it remained a component part of a studio-based production system that was still working to the logic of a large scale organisation with relatively inflexible, top-down planning and management processes (the invocation of the US army is telling in this respect).

In contrast, Francis Ford Coppola's *The Rain People* (1969) demonstrated just how far the shift towards mobility and flexibility in production could be taken in the post-studio era. Though the film was distributed by Warner Bros/Seven Arts, it was produced independently by Coppola, enabling him to work outside the strictures of studio conventions. Shot on the go in a van

driving across the United States, the film begins in suburban Long Island, where a disaffected housewife (Shirley Knight) embarks on a meandering, purposeless journey that takes in St. Louis and small towns in Virginia and Nebraska. As Coppola recalled, “we travelled for four months through eighteen states, filming as we went ... [W]e did not set out with a finished screenplay in hand but continued filling it out as shooting progressed. When I spied a setting that appealed to me along the way, we would stop, and I would work out a scene for the actors to play”.³⁸ Here, the production logic of the studio system is reversed: rather than recreating the script by searching for a location, the locations were influencing the script. This type of episodic narrative development was central to films of the period such as *Five Easy Pieces* (Bob Rafelson, 1970) or *The Last Detail* (Hal Ashby, 1973), which are essentially unthinkable as studio productions. In 1974, *New York Times* critic Vincent Canby captured this change in his description of an emerging trend in American cinema, “the regional or environmental film, the film in which the locale may be as important as plot”.³⁹ For Canby, one of the distinguishing features of the New American Cinema was the extent to which it was grounded in real locations, an emphasis on space which could deprive the classical film’s narrative drive:

The old films had nothing if not stories. They may not have been very good but they did have beginnings, middles and ends. Directors working in studios didn’t have the time, facilities or interest to “discover” their characters within environments ... In this fashion the availability of New York City, for better or worse, is having a direct influence on the content of what we’re seeing in movie theaters. It’s also influencing the style of movies like *Law and Disorder* and *Mean Streets*, in which character and accumulated incident replace conventional plot.⁴⁰

As Canby argues, the “denatured” locations of the backlot and its ersatz architecture were replaced by recognisable streets and buildings, themselves loaded with social and political significance outside the diegetic world of the film. Thus to paraphrase Canby, this new ‘emphasis on geography’ enabled a loosening of classical Hollywood narrative form, with place taking on a new structural importance and causal effect. As I will explore further in chapter two, the turn towards location shooting therefore helped catalyse the dedramatised narratives that Thomas Elsaesser diagnosed in the mid-1970s as central to the New Hollywood and its “pathos of failure”.⁴¹

By taking advantage of the decline of the Production Code and the new freedoms afforded by package production, filmmakers were able to present

a realistic, unvarnished and often violent and sensational image of the city in crisis. The city therefore came to play an important role in New Hollywood's implicit rejection of classical Hollywood's iconography and ideology. As has often been pointed out, the majority of the 'Renaissance' filmmakers avoided direct political commentary, preferring to critique dominant American ideology by revising genre and breaking with conventional aesthetic and narrative forms.⁴² As Mark Shiel has argued, classical Hollywood genres (with the notable exception of film noir) had tended to depict the city as "an exciting, physically abundant space in which the natural ambition of the individual for modest material achievement and romantic love was bound to be fulfilled".⁴³ In contrast, seventies films often implicitly critiqued the city as a place of social division, institutional corruption and corporate power, or used the landscape of urban decline as a metaphor for America itself. Yet at the same time, the city also provided much of the vitality and energy of films such as *The French Connection* (William Friedkin, 1971) and *Annie Hall* (Woody Allen, 1977), or the inspiration for new forms and textures in films such *The Long Goodbye* (Robert Altman, 1973) or *Welcome to L.A.* (Alan Rudolph, 1976).

Overview

While the sensation of crisis permeated the decade more generally, Hollywood was in fact relatively quick to recover in the early 1970s, and by the close of the decade, the motion picture industry was more profitable than ever. This renewed stability was partly achieved by the business model and production structure I have outlined and the dominance of the 'blockbuster syndrome', a shorthand for new approaches to production, marketing and risk management that emphasised a small number of exceptionally high-grossing 'event' movies that could balance an entire year's slate of films. Above all, the overwhelming success of *Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977) provided a blueprint for a new kind of post-classical cinema propelled by spectacle, special effects and nostalgia and an emphatic turn away from the contemporary (and often urban) concerns of the earlier part of the decade. The recovery of the American city in the seventies was much less clear-cut. Nevertheless, the discourse of 'urban crisis' that had dominated media responses to the inner city in the late 1960s and early 1970s began to be displaced by reports of an 'urban renaissance' in the latter part of the decade. By 1976, a *Time* editorial proclaimed that 'Downtown Is Looking Up'.⁴⁴

Conveniently bracketing the deep social divisions that continued to plague inner cities, *Time* championed a new wave of high-rise construction that was transforming urban centres from Cleveland and St. Louis to Atlanta and Los Angeles. Perhaps the most famous icons of this so-called 'downtown renaissance' were two complexes designed by the architect-developer John Portman, the Renaissance Center in Detroit and the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. Both projects were completed in 1977, the same year that *Star Wars* was released, their reflective glass exteriors symbolising the ambivalence of this corporate remodelling of central business districts to the ongoing social problems of their wider urban environments.

Throughout the following four chapters, I examine the intertwined development of New Hollywood and the American city. Chapter two focuses on three Rust Belt cities of the Northeast and Midwest – Atlantic City, Philadelphia and Detroit – and argues that through their use of cinematic space, films such as *The King of Marvin Gardens* and *Rocky* enacted powerful allegories of urban decline and renewal that paralleled the crisis and revival of the American film industry. Chapter three focuses on New York City, an especially vivid example of how the newly entrepreneurial city became focused on attracting location shooting. But while the city government promoted filmmaking, it could not control its own image; many of the most memorable films shot in the city presented it as fundamentally unsafe or even ungovernable. Chapter four switches focus to the West Coast and San Francisco, which also became an important destination for Hollywood and a developing centre for independent cinema. Focusing on Francis Ford Coppola's independent company American Zoetrope and *The Conversation*, I assess how filmmaking became intertwined with the city's wider redevelopment and the rapid expansion of the region's high-tech economy. Chapter five examines Los Angeles and its unique urban form, and considers films from *Zabriskie Point* to *American Gigolo* which sought to encapsulate the city's audiovisual environment as a hyper-stylised cinematic experience.

2. Atlantic City, Philadelphia and Detroit

Narratives of Decline and Urban Renaissance

They hide their faces
And they hide their eyes
‘Cause the city is dying
And they don’t know why
– Randy Newman, “Baltimore” (1976)

In this chapter, I examine four key films that were shot and set in Rust Belt cities during the 1970s: *The King of Marvin Gardens* (Bob Rafelson, 1972), *Atlantic City* (Louis Malle, 1979), *Rocky* (John G. Avildsen, 1976) and *Blue Collar* (Paul Schrader, 1978). Across these films, I examine New Hollywood’s engagement with the urban crisis and trace the ways in which the transformation of American cinema’s spatial and affective landscape – from evocations of stasis, failure, and immobility in the early 1970s, to mobility, flexibility and euphoria in the later part of the decade – can be linked to the wider economic-industrial shifts both in Hollywood and the American city. While Hollywood’s new production practices and developments in urban public policy catalysed a new engagement with urban space, New Hollywood cinema established what Thomas Elsaesser has referred to as “a new iconography of place alongside a new emotional topography”.¹

Atlantic City: *The King of Marvin Gardens* (1972) and *Monopoly*

The King of Marvin Gardens was produced by BBS and financed by Columbia as part of a six-picture deal.² Alongside films such as *Five Easy Pieces* (Bob Rafelson, 1970), *The Last Picture Show* (Peter Bogdanovich, 1971), and *A Safe Place* (Henry Jaglom, 1971), *Marvin Gardens* exemplified a new trend towards small scale, auteur filmmaking and flexible production strategies within Hollywood. Budgeted at less than \$1 million a piece, these productions were able to take advantage of IATSE concessions that allowed location filming with smaller crews.³ As Andrew Schaefer argues, the filmmakers and writers clustered around BBS were the most closely associated with the counterculture and the New Left of all the New Hollywood generation.⁴ Bob Rafelson has since described how part of the political outlook and realist ethos of BBS was to explore the hidden corners of the American

urban landscape, focusing on what he refers to as 'backwater cities' such as Taft, California and Birmingham, Alabama.⁵ *Marvin Gardens* was shot entirely on location, predominantly in Atlantic City, New Jersey, where the screenwriter Jacob Brackman had grown up, with some material filmed in nearby Philadelphia. Though neither city had opened an official film bureau at this stage, permission to film in Atlantic City, including interior scenes at the jail and the Convention Hall, was directly granted by Mayor William T. Somers, who had reviewed the script and deemed (perhaps somewhat optimistically) that the film would generate "good publicity" for the city.⁶ As the inspiration for the original Monopoly board layout and home of the Miss America pageant, Atlantic City has a symbolic presence and especially representational quality that Brackman and Rafelson explored, allowing the film to work both as a document of a specific city in decline as well as a self-reflexive, allegorical piece about the fortunes of America (and Hollywood) at the turn of the 1970s.

Atlantic City was established by real estate speculators in the 1880s and first rose to prominence as a holiday resort in the 1900s. It remained a successful, even affluent seaside town throughout the 1920s and 1930s; its Prohibition-era heyday has, of course, recently been carefully recreated on screen in *Boardwalk Empire* (HBO, 2010-). But its glamour had already begun to fade in the 1950s, with the rise of international tourism, jet travel, and new domestic destinations such as Disneyland. By the sixties, it had become an exemplar for urban decay. As such, the rise and fall of Atlantic City, a booming resort town from the early 1900s until the late 1940s, roughly paralleled the fortunes of the Hollywood studio system itself. As products of American industrial and economic expansion, both capitalised on the emergence of a new urban consumer to produce new kinds of entertainment and leisure. Similarly, the relative decline of both Atlantic City and the Hollywood studios from the 1950s onwards was to a large extent caused by similar factors: suburbanisation, 'white flight', and the rise of new forms of leisure and consumption, whether television, out-of-town malls or theme parks. Indeed, as Bryant Simon has documented, Atlantic City itself had no less than 15 movie theatres in the mid-1950s, the majority of which had closed their doors only a decade later, a microcosm of the wider decline in inner-city exhibition that was so influential in the demise of the studio system.⁷

Marvin Gardens captures Atlantic City in the grip of an economic downturn that had left it permanently out-of-season. In a *New Yorker* article of 1972, John McPhee captured the extent of its decay, making striking connections between the American urban crisis and the ruins of postwar Europe:

The physical profile of streets perpendicular to the shore is something like a playground slide. It begins in the high skyline of Boardwalk hotels, plummets into warrens of “side-avenue” motels, crosses Pacific, slopes through church missions, convalescent homes, burlesque houses, rooming houses, and liquor stores, crosses Atlantic, and runs level through the bombed-out ghettos as far – Baltic, Mediterranean – as the eye can see ... Then beyond Atlantic Avenue, North Carolina moves on into the vast ghetto, the bulk of the city, and it looks like Metz in 1919, Cologne in 1944. Nothing has actually exploded. It is not bomb damage. It is deep and complex decay. Roofs are off. Bricks are scattered in the street. People sit on porches, six deep, at nine on a Monday morning.⁸

However, the film commences not in Atlantic City but in Philadelphia, where bespectacled, bookish radio DJ David Staebler (Jack Nicholson) is delivering one of his trademark semi-fictionalised autobiographical monologues. Leaving the radio station at 3am, he walks back through anonymous streets, taking the deserted subway back to his grandfather's house. The next morning, David receives a call from his brother summoning him to Atlantic City. Jason Staebler (Bruce Dern) is a small-time hustler with outsized entrepreneurial ambitions; on his arrival, David finds Jason temporarily jailed on a trumped-up automobile offence. Jason lives with two women in a suite at the Marlborough Blenheim hotel: Sally, “a middle-aged Kewpie doll” (Ellen Burstyn) and her stepdaughter, Jessica (Julia Ann Robinson). David soon becomes drawn into Jason's latest scheme: a flawed real estate venture to develop a casino resort on a tiny Pacific island, Tiki. Meanwhile, the two women are obsessed with the Miss America pageant, and rehearse their routines in empty club venues on the Boardwalk. The fruitless entrepreneurial schemes of Jason and David unravel against a drama of family psychology that operates on two intersecting levels, the resentment and reconciliation between the Staebler brothers on the one hand, and the growing rivalry and antipathy between mother and daughter on the other.

The film ends with a climactic, yet pointless, act of violence, which resolves nothing; ultimately, it reads as a satire on the American dream, entrepreneurship, and individual success. As such, the film is emblematic of a particular strand of early 1970s American cinema in which a mood of inertia, disillusionment, and regret predominates. In his landmark 1975 piece on the New Hollywood, Thomas Elsaesser memorably described this tendency as “the pathos of failure”. These were films that rejected the affirmative, goal-oriented narrative causality of the classical cinema, its

action-hero protagonists and their implicit ideological functions.⁹ Instead, this broadly left-oriented cinema crystallised this moment of cultural and political aporia through the figure of the “unmotivated hero”, whose trajectory was followed either through unresolved, meandering journeys – in road movies such as *Two Lane Blacktop* (Monte Hellman, 1971) – or else, as in *Marvin Gardens*, through recourse to “dramatic situations that have a kind of negative, self-demolishing dynamic”.¹⁰ While the Staebler brothers are not, strictly speaking, “unmotivated” – Jason in particular is propelled by the manic entrepreneurial zeal of the con-artist – the film is nevertheless marked by various failures, from the brothers’ doomed real estate venture to the more personal and psychological blockages that lead to the film’s tragic conclusion.

The ‘Marvin Gardens’ of the title is, of course, a direct allusion to the Monopoly board, which took the names of Atlantic City’s streets when it was first mass-manufactured by Parker Brothers during the 1930s.¹¹ This provides a symbolic map – one closely associated with a specific period of American capitalism – which Rafelson juxtaposes with the real geography of the city in order to explore his themes of crisis and failure. As the director confirmed, “Monopoly and Atlantic City are very clear metaphors for the American Dream”.¹² Each block of the original Monopoly board corresponded to a genuine location in Atlantic City, with the exception of Marvin Gardens. This property is a misspelling of a real suburb just outside the city, Marven Gardens, its name a composite of two neighbouring areas, Margate and Ventnor. The film’s use of the Monopoly spelling therefore opens up a split or opposition between Marven/Marvin – the symbiotic relationship between a ‘real’ place and its representation – while at the same time, setting up the Monopoly board as an organising metaphor for the film as a whole. The title therefore makes an allusion to a particular phase of American capitalism – ‘monopoly capitalism’ – then entering into a period of crisis.¹³ The film’s Monopoly board metaphor therefore offers a useful way to frame some of the relationships between the crisis of classical Hollywood narrative and the spatial reorganisation of American cities in the 1970s.

The Monopoly board is not only an implicit narrative form – Horatio Alger reformatted as financial *Bildungsroman* – but also a diagram of the American city. Significantly, it schematises the urban basis of capital accumulation: making a fortune is directly related to the player’s ability to invest in real estate, build housing and speculate on hotel construction. The central irony of *Marvin Gardens* is, of course, that the blighted urban landscape of Atlantic City seems to offer no possibility of success for those ‘playing’ the game. Indeed, by the 1970s, the Monopoly diagram

of the city was looking increasingly anachronistic, as global market forces reconfigured the relative relationship between cities and regions at national and international scales. In short, the symbolic space of the Monopoly board had become fundamentally estranged by the influence of places and processes not visible on the board – that is to say, beyond the city or the macro-economy of the nation state.

As Franco Moretti has argued, narrative forms have often been strongly influenced by their geographical context. For example, Moretti maps connections between narrative conventions in the nineteenth-century realist novel (Dickens, Balzac) and the geography, complexity and class structure of the rapidly expanding cities of London and Paris.¹⁴ Similarly, Fredric Jameson has argued that the modernist breakdown of realist narrative in the early twentieth century crystallised a schism between the lived experience of the individual and the increasingly complex and abstract structures that defined and organised that experience.¹⁵ Postmodernism stages this same problematic at a higher order, for the global financial and technological networks of advanced capitalism have developed a hitherto unimaginable level of complexity, scale and abstraction such that traditional narrative forms have been faced with incommensurable representational crises.¹⁶ As he succinctly put it in an interview:

Narrative seems supremely able to deal with the way in which the truth of individual life was constructed by smaller environments. In the nineteenth-century novel, the narrative apparatus became much more complex in order to deal with the truth of individual experience in a national setting, and of course even more so in imperial settings. But in the global perspective of late capitalism, there's a real crisis in this older narrative machinery.¹⁷

This crisis of the “narrative machinery” of classical Hollywood is, of course, one of the key characteristics of 1970s cinema, in which we often find narratives that are episodic, dedramatised, and essentially unresolved. In these terms, Elsaesser’s “pathos of failure” can be closely linked to a crisis of cognitive mapping, of space and political subjectivity. As films such as *The King of Marvin Gardens* demonstrate, this problematic relationship between the individual and their cognitive mapping of social space is not only evident in overtly postmodernist “hyperspaces” such as Portman’s Bonaventure Hotel, but is also applicable to the decaying cities of the Rust Belt.¹⁸

This inability to effectively map the global and the local is articulated in the film through the disparity between the protagonists’ point of view and

the spatial or cartographic imagery offered to the spectator. While the film's locations document the effects of disinvestment in the urban environment, the narrative provides little means of historical contextualisation. The Staebler brothers' plan to open a holiday resort on a deserted island off Hawaii gestures at the new global realities of the 1970s, as do the now-dated scenes with the Japanese businessmen. Their attempts at offshore expansion inevitably fall flat, and the narrative remains largely contained within the boundaries of the seaside town. Two specific moments in the film underscore the Staebler's attempts at 'cognitive mapping'. In an extended scene in the hotel suite, they spread out maps of the Pacific on the floor, projecting their dreams for success beyond the city and into global space. Later, they survey their surroundings from the panoramic viewpoint of a fairground ride, which offers a broader view of the cityscape uncharacteristic of the film's largely contained *mise-en-scène*. Jason's dialogue here also acknowledges the lamentable decline of Atlantic City itself, which he promises will not be allowed to happen on Tiki: "This could have been a fantastic island right here. It was full-out class until about 1930 – until you could hop a plane out to Bermuda for the weekend ... Let that be a lesson to us. I promise you – strict controls on Tiki. We can't ever let it go downhill. That's why I won't let anyone build on anything less than 10 acres. No Pokerino, no frozen custard, no Salt Water Taffy". Beyond Atlantic City, the film is bookended with scenes of Nicholson in Philadelphia, which outside the family home is chiefly figured through two carefully framed shots of the neon-lit curtain wall of the "Industrial Valley Bank". These brief, silent images hint at another architectural and social world – of global finance, downtown redevelopment, International Style modernism – visual signifiers of the wider economic and urban processes in which Atlantic City is implicated.

While linear narrative became arguably less central to Hollywood narrative in the early seventies, this was arguably counterbalanced by the heightened importance of location and place. In *Marvin Gardens*, Rafelson and cinematographer Laszlo Kovacs used a series of specific aesthetic strategies to depict the urban environment. Shots linger on the empty space of the windswept Boardwalk, a starkly depopulated locale in which the teeming crowd of the modern city has disappeared (fig. 1). Kovacs's deep focus cinematography makes subtle use of the affective properties of winter light to give the deserted cityscape a melancholy quality that Rafelson likened to the work of painter Maurice Utrillo. Throughout, the material presence of the built environment takes precedence over the classical Hollywood emphasis on narrative. This sense of dedramatised

narrative is accentuated by Rafelson's decision to keep the camera entirely still in all the exterior shots, a technique he borrowed from the films of Yasujiro Ozu.¹⁹ This languid temporality and sense of stillness or stasis is further emphasised by insistent long takes and the complete absence of non-diegetic music. Such non-classical stylistic patterns were picked up by contemporary critics, who found strong echoes of European cinematic modernism in *Marvin Gardens*. For example, Foster Hirsch in the *New York Times* drew a comparison between the desolate backdrop of Atlantic City and the empty landscapes of Antonioni's *L'Avventura*. Hirsch also noted other formal motifs with European resonances: "there are Antonioni shadows, as well, in the languorous and rhythmic pacing, and in the device of allowing the camera to remain, fleetingly, on the scene after the action proper has been completed".²⁰

Rafelson has recently described how the properties of Atlantic City inspired this stylistic approach, recalling how he had fallen in love with "the geometry of the place". The Monopoly board metaphor also influenced his construction of cinematic space, leading him to place the camera at an unusually diagonal or perpendicular angle to the actors as if they were pieces in the board game itself²¹: "The way the board is organized fascinates me: it's very linear, very geometric. The pieces can only move in straight lines and right angles ... I thought this peculiar way of moving the pieces could be used as a style of movement for the film images".²² This style is perhaps most clearly articulated in a sustained two-shot where the Staebler brothers talk to each other while mounted on horseback at 90 degrees to the camera. This slightly mannered and self-conscious construction of space



Figure 1: The Atlantic City boardwalk in *The King of Marvin Gardens* (Columbia Pictures, 1972).

also operates through what Rafelson referred to as “creative geography” in exterior scenes: a set of framing and editing strategies for emphasising and amplifying certain elements of the pro-filmic space in relation to the characters, so that shots would alternately frame the protagonists against the boundless, open natural space of the beach and the ocean, and the decaying hotel façades.²³

One further element of the Monopoly board metaphor needs to be illuminated. When considering how geographical locations operate within the spatial system of a film, we must always also ask: what spaces are not represented, remaining invisible and implicitly marginalised, and what logic of exclusion might govern such choices or render them possible? Such missing spaces can be seen to operate as structuring absences, implicitly framing, stabilising, or de-stabilising the meaning of the visible screen space. In the case of Rafelson’s film, the Marvin (Marven) Gardens of the title is such a missing location, neither referred to nor physically present in the film. As Jay Boyer puts it in his study of Bob Rafelson, “much of the board game Monopoly has a basis in the actual geography and street system of Atlantic City; not so Marvin Gardens. This most valuable piece of property is purely fictitious, and for Jason to be its monarch is to be an emperor of air”.²⁴ Though technically, this is true – Marvin Gardens, following the Monopoly board spelling, is indeed a fabrication – the real location and meaning of Marven Gardens has a further resonance which is worth some consideration.

In his *New Yorker* piece, ‘The Search for Marven Gardens’, John McPhee develops a running joke: nobody in Atlantic City appears to have heard of this elusive area, or knows of its whereabouts. Finally, he discovers its location: a couple of miles south of the city, it lies between the suburbs of Margate and Ventnor. The area “consists of solid buildings of stucco, brick, and wood, with slate roofs, tile roofs, multi-mullioned porches, Giraldic towers, and Spanish grilles”. Marvin Gardens, we are told, is “the ultimate outwash of Monopoly ... a citadel and sanctuary of the middle class”. Interviewing a local resident, he elicits a clear expression of suburban fear: “We’re heavily patrolled by police here. We don’t take no chances”.²⁵ An exclusive suburban development, Marven Gardens is emblematic of one of the crucial factors behind the urban crisis: that the mass disinvestment from inner-city areas was predicated upon the migration of the white middle-classes away from the increasingly plural, democratic public spaces of the city towards secluded and implicitly segregated private spaces that could be safely monitored and controlled. As Bryant Simon explains, the historical development and decline of Atlantic City can be elucidated through an understanding of the role of the white middle-class and its attitudes to race and public space:

Beginning in the 1960s, Atlantic City stopped being a place where people lived their lives on the streets and on their porches. Many families retreated inside behind lace curtains, barred windows, and double-locked doors, and then out to the suburbs. Foregoing sidewalks, parks, corner stores, and movie houses, they looked inwards, and in so doing, they exchanged the close quarters and intense daily interactions of the neighborhood for the more controlled, easily protected, yet less stimulating life of private homes in segregated, middle-class sanctuaries like Marven Gardens.²⁶

As Simon demonstrates, the type of public space represented by Atlantic City was “never about democracy; it was about exclusion ... During its heyday, Atlantic City was a Jim Crow town”.²⁷ The decline of Atlantic City as a holiday destination was determined to a large extent by two external factors: firstly, the advent of cheap intercontinental jet travel had made foreign holidays accessible to many for the first time, against which traditional resorts such as Atlantic City seemed pedestrian and outdated; secondly, the development of two new holiday resorts: Disneyland (opened in Anaheim, California, in 1955) and Las Vegas, both of which represented new forms of proto-postmodern consumer space, selling differing sorts of fantasies to holidaymakers. As Bryant Simon observes, Disneyland capitalised on a desire for “long-lost, safe public places”, precisely that type of public experience which had once been provided by the Boardwalk itself:

Behind its thick fortress walls, Disney created a public sphere, much like the Boardwalk, the shopping mall, and the casino, based on the economically viable principles of exclusion mixed with the illusion of equal access and democracy.²⁸

Tellingly, the issue of race was little discussed in the US reception of the film, though the French critic Michel Grisolia went so far as to suggest to Rafelson that *Marvin Gardens* might be seen as “a political film about the rise of black power”.²⁹ While the director remained equivocal on this point, he nevertheless recognised elements of truth to the critic’s overstatement. Though it is relatively submerged, *Marvin Gardens* does suggest that a certain kind of white middle-class space has been displaced or decentred. The real centre of power in the Staebler’s world is, in fact, the sharply attired mob boss Lewis (Scatman Crothers), who appears to have the power to keep Jason in or out of prison. Beginning with David’s initial meeting with Lewis, during which a heated argument is taking place in the adjacent room, we are left with the sensation that a more exciting and conventional crime film is

unfolding off-screen. This notion is redoubled by the sudden appearance of two of Lewis's associates in the hotel, who appear to have stepped straight out of a blaxploitation movie (a genre then in its first flush of success), and in the representation of Lewis's nightclub, the only public space represented as having any vitality in the entire city.

Atlantic City (1979)

While the Staebler brothers' casino development and real estate speculation remained a pipe dream in the film, it was shortly to take on a new topicality. Following a referendum in November 1976, the state of New Jersey passed an amendment to legalise gambling within the boundaries of Atlantic City. This was intended as a "magic bullet" that would revitalise the flagging resort town by stimulating economic growth, creating employment, and driving urban redevelopment. In Louis Malle's *Atlantic City* (1979), the material effects on the built environment are immediately visible: building sites and bulldozers surround the boardwalk. The opening and closing credits of Malle's film show documentary footage of the empty hotels that dominated the mise-en-scène of *The King of Marvin Gardens* being dynamited to make way for new casino-hotel developments. These bookends encase the narrative within a specific moment of the city's historical development, turning Rafelson's notion of "instability" into a concrete reality. As Malle saw it, the diegetic world of the film occupied "a moment of extreme fluidity", an interregnum where "nothing was finished, when there was no present, only a past and a future".³⁰ Writing in the *New York Times*, Vincent Canby picked up on this sense of what he termed "hysterical flux": "Elegant, old-fashioned, ocean-front hotels are demolished before our eyes – collapsing gracefully in subdued long-shots – while new, even bigger, probably flimsier hotels rise to take their places".³¹

Malle later described how he had felt "visually inspired" by the city: "My obsession was to have Atlantic City ever present and to shoot as much as possible outside".³² As he saw it, Atlantic City should be seen as the "central character" of the film, which he suggested was also "a documentary about America" in a more general sense. The film is balanced between Louis Malle's documentary impulses and the acerbic wit of the screenplay, courtesy of American playwright John Guare.³³ The project was funded by a Canadian tax shelter investment consortium, whose primary stipulation to Malle was that he should wrap production before the end of the financial year.³⁴ The film was therefore written and directed rapidly, with Malle's primary inspiration directly drawn from the pages of the *New York Times*.

As Malle told John Guare at the time, “if this doesn’t work, I’m going to come back anyway with a 16mm camera and do a documentary on what’s going on in Atlantic City”.³⁵

Atlantic City tracks the narratives of three different sets of protagonists. Sally (Susan Sarandon) works in the Oyster bar at the newly opened Resorts International Casino, and is training to become a croupier. Her estranged husband Dave (Robert Joy) is a childlike hippie who has eloped with Sally’s sister (Hollis McLaren). Together they steal drugs from a dealer in Philadelphia, returning to Atlantic City to sell them and make their fortune. Enter Lou Pascal (Burt Lancaster), an ageing hood with misremembered fantasies of the old days of Nucky Johnson and Bugsy Siegel who endeavours to fence the drugs for them. Through the star persona of Burt Lancaster, Malle directly makes an extra-textual reference to classical Hollywood. Yet if Guare’s screenplay displays elements of nostalgia for a disappearing America – the beauty queen and the Boardwalk, monopoly capitalism and classical Hollywood – this is undercut by its self-conscious humour, perhaps best exemplified by Lou’s line: “You should have seen the Atlantic Ocean in those days – the ocean was something then”. Malle also explained that the *dramatis personae* were intended as a conscious articulation of different moments or stages of American history: while Lou and his mistress Grace belong to the heyday of Atlantic City in the 1920s and 1930s, Dave and Chrissie represent an already outmoded sixties counterculture. Sally alone is the truly contemporary figure: upwardly mobile and aspirational, she has moved from rural Saskatchewan to work in the city’s new service sector.

During the 1970s, municipal and state governments began to search for new solutions to the economic and social crisis with which their cities were confronted. The legalisation of gambling in Atlantic City can now be considered a prototypical neoliberal restructuring strategy, in that it directly used deregulation to kick-start the local economy, driving widespread transformation in the built environment through real estate speculation. At the time, the application of such a policy with the express intent of revitalising a declining city was uncharted territory, as Thomas Hines explained in the *American Institute of Architects Journal*: “Casino gambling is radical therapy for a dying city. Nothing quite like what is happening in Atlantic City has ever been tried before. Casino gambling made Las Vegas out of almost nothing, and it has supplemented other established resorts. But it has never before been used as a tool of urban renewal, not to make a buck but to remake a city”.³⁶

Redevelopment plans were steered by Mayor Joseph Lazarow and the “Committee to Rebuild Atlantic City”, an uneasy alliance of interests includ-

ing hotel and casino developer Resorts International, Playboy executive Hugh Hefner, and local unions. The President of the New Jersey AFL-CIO publicly summed up the hopes for the city in unabashedly boosterish terms: “Capital investment not only in construction, but also in commerce generally, will enhance the city. Instead of decay and slums, a modern, alive city will arise”.³⁷ In the first instance, the legalisation of gambling generated a wave of property speculation across the city. In the two years after the referendum, the city recorded \$214 million in real estate transactions, an increase of 800% on the two previous years. After another two years, this had doubled again to \$436 million.³⁸ However, this rapid redevelopment had what the *New York Times* described as “sociological consequences”: “Hotels and other business[es] may be erected in an area now covered mostly by slum housing, most of which is being sought by speculators”.³⁹ The paper recorded that some 700 to 1,000 residents had already been displaced by development, with a study revealing a “systematic effort to evict Hispanic, poor and elderly residents from Atlantic City tenements, to raze buildings and sell property at rates inflated by the expected arrival of casino gambling”.⁴⁰ While median property prices increased by 147% in the period 1976-1980, crime also increased dramatically over the same period and the city still lacked basic amenities like a department store.⁴¹

The documentary footage that opens Malle’s film shows the implosion of the Traymore Hotel. This footage was in fact filmed in 1972, and echoes more famous images of demolition from the same year: the demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe housing projects in St. Louis, an event famously taken by Charles Jencks to symbolise the end of modernist architecture.⁴² In 1981, the same year that Malle’s film was released in the United States, Steven Izenour supervised a research studio on Atlantic City at the University of Pennsylvania.⁴³ An exhibition based on the findings was shown at several museums including the Cooper-Hewitt in New York. The post-gambling redevelopment effectively turned the boardwalk into one extended strip of the kind that Izenour, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown examined in their seminal book on Las Vegas.⁴⁴ However, the exteriors of the Atlantic City casinos were more functional and less outwardly showy than in Vegas. Izenour was particularly critical of the new casino architecture: “What you have now in Atlantic City is esthetics by committee. The end result is just gray. There’s nothing. It’s corporate architecture for corporate clients”.⁴⁵ Similarly, Guare’s script has Lou lament the corporate takeover of the town; as he puts it, “Burger King casinos, McDonalds casinos, pizzeria casinos – Jesus! ... Now it’s all so goddamn legal – tutti-frutti ice cream and craps don’t mix”.

State legislation had stipulated that the casinos must be contained within mixed-use developments that offered a minimum number of hotel rooms, and as a result, the new Atlantic City was dominated by a small number of enormous corporate developments. Rather than dwell on the undistinguished casino exteriors, Malle opted instead to film the vast, deep interior spaces of these new gaming halls. As Steven Izenour explained, "Casinos are probably the most introverted building type ever invented ... That's for obvious, money-making reasons. You don't want to let people become aware of time, space, the weather, anything".⁴⁶ One of his students emphasised the point: "The casino space is immense. We found what we defined as a 'new monumentality' in these vast, low spaces. With no visible edges, no tangible walls and ceilings; the space is defined only by furniture, gambling machines, light and people – people psychologically unaware of time and space, day and night".⁴⁷ Gambling is also shown by the film as endemic in the city, cutting across social and spatial divisions. For those unable to afford the Resorts International, an informal economy persists. In one sequence, Lou collects payments for his numbers game in the ghetto behind Atlantic Avenue, where the houses appear to be in a shocking state of disrepair and dereliction. As the *New York Times* reported in 1978, pockets of slum housing remained in close proximity to the new casinos: "A mile of so away, in a part of the city where black and Hispanic people live, some blocks recall the devastation of downtown Beirut, smashed and deserted in an urban civil war".⁴⁸ In contrast to the newer legalised form of gambling, this older racket brings in little reward: Lou's take is \$48; the Resorts International reportedly took so much money in its opening night that staff had to run to nearby discount stores to buy buckets to keep it in.

Malle cuts between Lou's numbers racket and scenes of Sally being trained as a croupier. Her slightly mechanical gestures in this scene also reveal traces of the Taylorist production process that persists in the post-Fordist leisure industry. This 'sensory-motor' connection between the factory production line and the gambler was one made by Walter Benjamin in the 1930s: "Even the worker's gesture produced by the automated work process appears in gambling, for there can be no game without the quick movement of the hand by which the stake is put down or the card is picked up".⁴⁹ For Benjamin, the gambler was one of a number of archetypal figures of the modern city. Gambling represented a new type of perceptual mode specific to the metropolis, enabling a type of 'threshold' experience that condensed the fluctuation of the market into individual experience. In a characteristically fragmented fashion, Benjamin began to draw tentative

links between urban development, financial speculation, and the subjective experience of the gambler:

Haussmann's activity is linked to Napoleonic imperialism. Louis Napoleon promotes investment capital, and Paris experiences a rash of speculation. Trading on the stock exchange displaces the forms of gambling handed down from feudal society. The phantasmagorias of space to which the flâneur devotes himself find a counterpart in the phantasmagorias of time to which the gambler is addicted. Gambling converts time into a narcotic.⁵⁰

In *Atlantic City*, gambling itself is not the focal point of any individual narrative line; rather, the film portrays its external or peripheral effects for those in the industry or within the orbit of the new casinos. In contrast, two other films of the 1970s that directly focused on gambling as a central narrative device – *California Split* (Robert Altman, 1974) and *The Gambler* (Karel Reisz, 1974) – both concentrate on the individual pathology of the gambler. Both films were released during the deep global recession of 1974, a year punctuated by stock market crashes and with inflation in the US running at 11%. Gambling has clear resonances with the role of finance capital in the US economy as a whole: like speculating on financial markets, gambling is a purely abstract form of production; no commodity is exchanged, only credit. If gambling has remained largely prohibited in the United States, it is surely because it highlights the contradictions of capitalism itself; the fantasy of immediate wealth is seen as incompatible with the protestant ideology of the American dream.

In summary, the two films discussed so far in this chapter plot out the development of Atlantic City through a through a transitional moment that might be understood, using the titles of two influential books, as a movement from “monopoly” to “casino” capitalism.⁵¹ Indeed, another immediate consequence of the Atlantic City experiment was that gaming stocks began to soar on Wall Street, despite an otherwise sluggish market. The *Economist* recorded in December 1976 that shares in casino consortium Resorts International had risen farther, faster, than any other shares since the beginning of that year, peaking at an extraordinary 486% above their original price.⁵² Yet this was only a small part of a wider “speculative mania” that took hold during the 1970s, as Harry Magdoff and Paul Sweezy detailed:

The number of contracts traded on commodity futures exchanges in 1980 was more than four-and-one-half times that of 1970. The gambling

spirit has spurred the invention and spread of new types of speculative trading in which well-heeled corporations and individuals participate: stock options, foreign currencies, interest rate futures. Almost all of these newer forms of gambling got their start or came into full bloom in the 1970s, just when the stagnation tendencies in production took over. By now, the volume of speculative trading in futures of all kinds (commodities, precious metals, financial instruments, and currencies) exceeds \$2 trillion a year.⁵³

Following the dismantling of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates in 1973, the volatility and fluctuation of the global financial markets took on a new intensity. As Susan Strange has argued, this climate of heightened risk and instability was implicating itself into the fabric of everyday life: as she puts it, “The Western financial system is rapidly coming to resemble nothing as much as a vast casino ... [T]he increase in uncertainty has made inveterate, and large involuntary, gamblers of us all”.⁵⁴ The *New York Times* economics correspondent Leonard Silk described how these conditions had a wide-ranging impact across the United States, from rampant inflation in the price of basic consumer goods to an overheated property market: “Wall Street trading 50 million shares in a day; gambling casinos spreading from Las Vegas to Atlantic City, and, to complete a circle, gambling company stocks booming on Wall Street. Money is flowing out of the country to pay oil bills, and flowing back in to bid up farm land in Iowa, California, South Carolina – and buy banks in New York, Atlanta, and Washington. The national debt is growing, the value of the dollar eroding, and the nation is running faster and faster to stay in the same place”.⁵⁵ Hollywood budgets were, of course, also subject to this rapid inflation, both through the falling value of the dollar and pressures internal to Hollywood. Indeed, the financial logic of the re-emerging blockbuster format was in many ways a response to this intensification of risk that occurred during the 1970s, which saw the average production cost of a Hollywood film shoot up from \$2 million in 1972 to \$10 million by 1979.⁵⁶

***Rocky* (1976) and urban renaissance**

While *The King of Marvin Gardens* and *Atlantic City* both contained brief scenes filmed in Philadelphia, these presented the city relatively anonymously, a generic big city in contrast to the seaside town of Atlantic City. Indeed, despite the historical and cultural importance of Philadelphia to

the United States, the city's rich architectural heritage was relatively rarely seen on screen throughout the classical period, a situation perhaps best exemplified by the fact that *The Philadelphia Story* (George Cukor, 1940) was not shot in the city but entirely at the MGM studios in Culver City. However, from the late 1970s onwards, increasing amounts of location shoots were drawn to the city. This built on the runaway success of *Rocky*, which played a vital role in attracting Hollywood productions; despite being shot without municipal permits, *Rocky* is now fêted by the Greater Philadelphia Film Office as the inaugural picture in a sequence of films that would use Philadelphia as a backlot during the 1980s and beyond.⁵⁷ The character's transformation and triumph was, of course, also paralleled by the film's own extraordinary box office success – returning \$117 million in domestic rentals against production costs under \$1 million – and the rise of Sylvester Stallone as a self-made Hollywood entrepreneur.⁵⁸

Though *Rocky* is arguably one of the key films in which American cinema regained its confidence in linear, goal-oriented narrative, it remains fundamentally split between the urban realist tendencies that characterised certain strands of early 1970s cinema and an individualist, rise-to-success plot that would become commonplace in 1980s Hollywood. In this regard, *Rocky* reworks the boxing genre's social realist traditions: while its use of the authentic urban locations of Philadelphia's working-class districts suggests a critical and potentially progressive stance on the urban crisis, this is countered by a narrative paradigm which allows collective renewal only on individualist terms through self-help and free enterprise. Further, *Rocky* was one of several films of the mid-1970s that developed new relationships to screen space through their then-innovative use of the Steadicam, and it is precisely this new spatial mobility in *Rocky* that provides not only a compelling figure for social mobility but also an enduring symbol for the fiscal 'disciplining' and revitalisation of the city itself at the end of the decade.

Like other Rust Belt cities, Philadelphia had entered into a state of precipitous decline by the late 1960s. Rapid suburbanisation led to extensive population loss from the central city, with processes of deindustrialisation, suburbanisation and containerisation producing devastating effects on the city's economic well-being. Though New York's famous fiscal crisis and near-default of 1975 is more widely remembered, former industrial hubs such as Philadelphia, Detroit and Cleveland were also in dire financial straits by the mid-1970s. A substantial decline in industrial output, the erosion of the city's tax base through population outflow, and the increased spending commitments concomitant with high unemployment were compounded

both by the worldwide economic downturn of 1973-1974 and the retrenchment in urban welfare programs enacted by the Nixon administration.⁵⁹ In the year that *Rocky* was released the city recorded municipal debts of \$86 million and the city's credit status was subsequently downgraded by rating agencies Moody's and Standard & Poor's. Cuts ensued in public services, jobs, and public sector wages, alongside a punitive 30% rise in local tax rates, leading the *New York Times* to reflect on the disparity between the state of the city and its new-found cinematic icon: "In the movie, Rocky lost the championship fight, but it didn't matter. In Philadelphia, there are plenty of real-life losers. Some of the problems here are a school fund crisis, dilapidated housing, a federal investigation of the police department for alleged brutality and friction between the one third of the population that is black and the two thirds that is white".⁶⁰

Yet 1976 was also the year that America celebrated the bicentennial anniversary of its foundation, an occasion which offered its oldest city an opportunity to reposition itself on the global stage as a revitalised centre of tourism, entertainment and commerce. As Andrew Feffer explains, "the staging of the Bicentennial underscored the spectacular nature of redevelopment, in which the visual makeover of private and public spaces served efforts to improve the city's 'symbolic economy' – to reshape the urban landscape as a marketable commodity and to advertise the downtown as an attractive destination for tourism, consumerism, and resettlement".⁶¹ Indeed, city officials of all stripes were quick to seize on Rocky as a local icon and symbol for the city's renewed vitality and projected renaissance.⁶² In this sense, *Rocky* engages with the city at a distinctive watershed moment, when a neoliberal paradigm of redevelopment was emerging from the ashes of the urban crisis. As I will explore further through an analysis of two key moments in the film, *Rocky* allegorises the city's crisis and revitalisation through its central narrative of individual discipline and achievement and its construction of cinematic space.

Steadicam aesthetics and post-Fordist trajectories

The first half of the film develops a strong sense of containment within the Italian neighbourhood through a series of distinctive locations: the boxing gym and the pet shop, the docks and peripheral industrial spaces, the characteristic Philadelphia row-houses and street corners. The financial opportunities of such an environment are limited and on the edge of legality: as a small-time boxer, Rocky's physical labour is unrewarding (he wins

just \$40 for a fight in the opening sequence); as a debt collector for the mafia, he hassles hard-up dock workers, themselves struggling against inflation and wage-freezes. The exterior street scenes in Rocky's neighbourhood were filmed in Kensington, one of the city's declining inner-ring areas, which contemporary accounts described as a desolate landscape of empty factories, derelict stores and rubble-strewn lots.⁶³ The earlier sections of the film focus closely on the decay of the Italian neighbourhood and the industrial zone surrounding the docks – still operating but, it is suggested, affected by containerisation – which unlike the busy New Jersey docks portrayed in *On the Waterfront* (Elia Kazan, 1954), are almost empty of workers. Camera viewpoints are on the whole pedestrian and largely static; the only cars belong to Rocky's mafia employers. Wide shots predominate, situating Rocky as an isolated figure in the industrial landscape. In one particularly notable sequence, Stallone walks into the distance along a railway siding, the camera remaining fixed. The railings and sidewalk bisect the frame diagonally, converging towards the vanishing point in a geometrical composition, a muted, wintry palette of greys, browns and blacks. Elsewhere, the camera lingers on wasteland and the decaying infrastructure of the industrial city, paying close attention to the material decline of the built environment.

While the first half of the film is characterised by a sense of stasis and immobility, drawing on the 'pathos of failure' of early 1970s Hollywood and its evocation of postindustrial masculinity in crisis, it is in the later sections, as Rocky Balboa begins his training, that the film's relationship to space is transformed by the introduction of the Steadicam, through which the film finds a new mobility around the city. The famous rise-to-success montage is, crucially, constructed as a journey through Philadelphia, linking Rocky's physical and psychological transformation directly to the urban environment and, as I will argue, producing an allegory or spatial metaphor for urban renaissance.

As the Steadicam is central to producing the speed, fluidity and mobility of Rocky's training sequences, it is worth briefly considering the development of the technology itself and its relationship to this specific historical conjuncture. Though the first feature to use the Steadicam was Hal Ashby's decidedly non-urban Woody Guthrie biopic *Bound for Glory* (1976), it came to prominence in two films from the same year, *Rocky* and *Marathon Man* (John Schlesinger, 1976), both of which memorably focused on the motif of running and movement through urban space. Developed by the cameraman and inventor Garrett Brown in the early 1970s and first marketed by Cinema Products Corporation in 1975, the Steadicam was one of a number of

technological innovations that helped to develop new practices in location shooting during the decade. A camera-stabilising device that attaches to the operator's body, enabling fluid, mobile shots without the unevenness and bumpiness of handheld camerawork, the Steadicam opened up new possibilities for location filming and the presentation of screen space, allowing for lengthy sequence shots without laying dolly track and novel camera movements such as 360-degree pans.⁶⁴

As John Belton has argued with respect to the introduction of CinemaScope and colour processes, technological innovation in Hollywood is not necessarily the primary driver of change; rather, new technologies have tended to be adopted only when they also fulfil economic and ideological functions for the industry.⁶⁵ The economic and logistical benefits of the Steadicam were clearly articulated across a series of promotional features in the trade press at the time, which emphasised its ability to reduce costs, cut down on crew, and to enable shooting in difficult locations, especially city streets. Writing in *American Cinematographer*, experienced Steadicam operator Ted Churchill described the usefulness of the Steadicam for working in urban locations, allowing film crews to operate relatively unobtrusively among city crowds and respond to the contingencies of such situations. As he put it, "it's indispensable when it becomes impossible to 'own' the territory in which one is shooting".⁶⁶ Avildsen exploited this territorial flexibility on the production of *Rocky*, which minimised costs by shooting rapidly in Philadelphia with a non-union crew and without city permits.⁶⁷ The director explained how he would use the neighbourhood as a kind of filmmaking resource: "We went in low profile and did it like the old days, operating in the poor section of town and getting people into the spirit of things".⁶⁸ Avildsen's reference here to the "old days" refers to his early days making low-budget exploitation films for Lloyd Kaufman's Troma, an experience that informed the style and production values of *Rocky*.⁶⁹ Kaufman assisted on the shoot, and later recalled himself and Avildsen "zipping around the city in eight days making sure his non-union crew wasn't spotted by union representatives. At a Los Angeles screening of *Rocky*, Kaufman said, 'union guys were trying to remember when they shot that footage'".⁷⁰ Philadelphia was also central to the development of the training sequence, which drew direct inspiration from Garrett Brown's original test film for the Steadicam prototype, in which he filmed his partner running up and down the steps of the Art Museum.⁷¹

While the Steadicam therefore fitted the new mobile and flexible production regime of New Hollywood, its aesthetic properties also fulfilled what we might describe as ideological functions for the industry. At a

time when Hollywood's continuity codes and conventions of screen space had been seriously challenged and destabilised, the Steadicam provided a way of absorbing and smoothing out some of the more disruptive elements of the first wave of New Hollywood. On the one hand, it enabled freedom of movement, spatial dynamism and the kind of restless, excessive visuality now associated with post-classical style. Yet at the same time, it ensured stability, smoothness, continuity, and, as was argued at the time, an enhanced realism. As Churchill explained, the "Steadicam was designed to solve a persistent problem which had plagued cinematographers for quite a few years: how to make the camera as mobile and versatile as a human being while rendering a stable and accurate frame competitive with traditional, but more complicated, techniques".⁷² While freeing up radical new possibilities, the Steadicam and its aesthetics were also consonant with essentially classical values, such as the stability of the frame and the accentuation of a human subjectivity allied to the camera's viewpoint or embodiment of space. Ed DiGiulio, president of Cinema Products Corporation, also argued that it increased realism by eliminating the shaky footage associated with handheld shooting; as he put it, "the human eye does not rock-and-roll and bump the way the hand-held camera of Cinéma Vérité was wont to do".⁷³ The Steadicam therefore operated both literally and figuratively as a 'shock absorber', allowing post-classical cinema to incorporate a new fluidity and complexity of movement within the shot while eliminating the more disruptive, imperfect and essentially modernist properties associated with films of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In *Rocky*, the Steadicam is central in producing the formal and affective properties of the training sequences and in their engagement with the city. Rocky's physical transformation, the self-discipline of the body – symbolically, the self-discipline of the body politic of the city – is mapped out as a journey across urban space. Starting in the industrial wasteland surrounding the docks, we are reminded of Gilles Deleuze's "any-space-whatever": spaces that are "deserted but inhabited, disused warehouses, waste ground, cities in the course of demolition or reconstruction".⁷⁴ Moving fluidly through the litter-strewn streets of the 9th Street Market, the camera follows Rocky in smooth, uninterrupted takes, through the park, along the waterfront, and then, famously and triumphantly, up the steps towards the monumental neo-classical edifice of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, looking out across the Benjamin Franklin Parkway and downtown Philadelphia. Here, we are presented with a set of spatial oppositions to the confinement and stasis of the docks and the Italian neighbourhood:



Figure 2: Rocky surveys Center City from the steps of the Philadelphia Art Museum in *Rocky* (United Artists, 1976).

this is open, classical, public space; highly iconic; and elevated above the city (fig. 2). The architecture associated with Rocky's transformation – the Greek-revival museum, designed by Horace Trumbauer (1919-1928) – is pointedly not the International Style modernism of Philadelphia's Central Business District, but rather leaps further back to draw on Philadelphia's status as the birthplace of American democracy. Through identification with this monumental space and its elevated position, the viewpoint suggests a newly acquired ability to produce a cognitive map of the spatial and social surroundings of Philadelphia.

Through his paradigmatic movement from the old neighbourhood to the monumental space of American democracy, Rocky's "urban voyage" becomes a figure for upward social mobility and the revitalisation and renewal of the city more generally. Through this celebratory, highly influential rise-to-success montage sequence, Hollywood film can be seen to have regained its "action image", which is here aligned with individual enterprise and entrepreneurship. The Steadicam not only enables this new mobility through urban space, but is also central in producing the affective charge and euphoric rush of Rocky's transformation for the spectator. This moment marks an implicit move away from the 'pathos of failure' associated with American cinema in first half of the 1970s – and from the crisis both in Hollywood and in the American inner city – and points forward to the dominance of the blockbuster and the neoliberal downtown renaissance of the 1980s and beyond.

The film's politics are broadly populist, reflecting Avildsen's notion of the film as a "classic, Frank Capra type story".⁷⁵ Indeed, Capra himself is known to have admired the picture, and its relationship to Capra's Depression-era populism is clear at the level of ideology as well as narrative form.⁷⁶ Yet the values which constituted the ideological backbone of Capra's work – individualism, enterprise, and 'self-help' in the economic sphere, alongside a distrust of both corporate power and federal government – take on different resonances in the context of neoliberal economic policy and urban redevelopment in the 1970s. As Leger Grindon argues, the revitalised boxing movies of the late 1970s constructed "the boxer as a white-working-class hero no longer under allegiance to New Deal liberalism but as spokesman for the 'silent majority'".⁷⁷ Rocky's chance at the title is explicitly associated with American individualist ideology. As Rocky's adversary Apollo Creed puts it, "American history proves that everybody's got a chance to win". This viewpoint resonates with emerging right-wing positions on the urban and economic crisis, exemplified by influential studies such as Edward Banfield's *The Unheavenly City* (1970).⁷⁸ For Banfield and other neoconservative thinkers such as Irving Kristol and George Gilder, urban renewal programs – and social welfare policies more generally – were not only misguided but damaging and ideologically suspect. It was to become a totemic belief for the right that renewal policies and social welfare had not only failed to solve the urban crisis; they had, it was argued, helped to cause the crisis through fostering a sense of dependency and a ghetto mentality which worked against their ideal, equality of opportunity – an equality best offered by a deregulated free-market consumer society.⁷⁹

The film's submerged anti-corporate sentiments are implicitly mobilised against Apollo Creed, who is consistently identified with big business: sharp suits, downtown office space, and an immaculately managed media profile. In contrast, Rocky is a self-styled "ham-and-egger". As Peter Biskind and Barbara Ehrenreich have argued, Rocky symbolised a beleaguered, white working-class masculinity under siege from the advances of feminism and civil rights.⁸⁰ *Rocky* is also notably based around a white protagonist in a period where both boxing and the inner city had become to a large extent African-American. The film imagines African-Americans gaining political and economic ascendancy, whether the up-and-coming black fighter displacing Rocky in the gym, or through the figure of Apollo Creed himself. Yet despite the obvious racial significance of the confrontation between Balboa and Creed, the film skirts around the issue of racial politics, arguably concealing or seeking to downplay the real extent of racial tensions within the city. Since WWII, Philadelphia had undergone a substantive demographic shift that reordered its racial profile: while ethnic minorities made up 18.3%

of the total in 1950, African-Americans alone constituted 37.8% of the city's population by 1980.⁸¹ The race riots that exploded in 1964 were one of the first signals of a widespread escalation of the urban crisis during the 1960s, reflecting the fact that urban disinvestment and destructive renewal policies had made a disproportionate impact on black neighbourhoods in central and north Philadelphia. Racial tension in the city was further escalated by the election of so-called "supercop" Mayor Frank Rizzo (Chief of Police from 1967-1971 and Mayor from 1972-80). Indeed, Rocky's celebration of 'white-ethnic', working-class identity tallies with the rise to power of Rizzo, whose law-and-order rhetoric, reputation for brutality and racist policing tactics frayed race relations in the city throughout the 1970s.

Detroit: the crisis of Fordism

Alongside *Rocky*, Paul Schrader's directorial debut *Blue Collar* (1978) was one of a number of Hollywood films of the late 1970s that directly represented the everyday life of the American working class, including *Saturday Night Fever* (John Badham, 1977), *F.I.S.T.* (Norman Jewison, 1978), and *Norma Rae* (Martin Ritt, 1979).⁸² It was also among the few films shot in Detroit during the 1970s.⁸³ Like other declining industrial powerhouses such as Cleveland and Pittsburgh, Detroit attracted very few Hollywood productions during this period. Its failure to do so reflected the depth of its structural economic and social problems and the inability of the city to diversify its economic base following the crisis of the late 1960s and 1970s.

In the summer of 1967, violence ripped across American cities from coast to coast. The most widespread and destructive of these urban insurrections occurred in Detroit. Following a police raid on an illegal bar, the city was paralysed by five days of armed conflict, looting, and arson; the National Guard were deployed to retain control of the streets.⁸⁴ The statistics were grim: 43 dead and hundreds injured; 7,200 arrests made; over 2,000 properties destroyed. Overall damage was valued at over \$500 million. Shortly afterwards, a *Time* magazine feature surveyed the devastation:

Whole sections of the nation's fifth largest city lay in charred, smoking ruins. From Grand River Avenue to Gratiot Avenue six miles to the east, tongues of flame licked at the night sky, illuminating the angular skeletons of gutted homes, shops, supermarkets. Looters and arsonists danced in the eerie shadows, stripping a store clean, then setting it to the torch. Mourned Mayor Jerome Cavanagh: "It looks like Berlin in 1945".⁸⁵

The riots left permanent scars on the city and stood alongside Watts as the most visible signifier of America's racial divisions during the 1960s. Furthermore, Detroit and the other urban rebellions of the late 1960s also warned of a wider, impending crisis in American capitalism itself. Though they stigmatised the city for years to come, the riots were themselves not a cause but rather an expression of the social and economic inequities underneath the city's industrial expansion.

Detroit remains a synecdoche for the auto industry just as Hollywood is for the movies, and the city's decline in the seventies was closely tied to the crisis of the "Big Three" car manufacturers: Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler. The auto industry is particularly sensitive to cyclical swings in the national economy, and it slumped in the deep recession of the mid-1970s under pressure from rising inflation, a burgeoning energy crisis, and an influx of smaller, cheaper foreign cars.⁸⁶ Efforts to restore productivity and profitability included GM's so-called "Southern Strategy", shifting plants to non-unionised regions of the South.⁸⁷ By 1975, unemployment in Detroit stood at 23%, and the city teetered on the brink of fiscal crisis.⁸⁸ With the highest homicide rate of any American metropolitan area in the mid-1970s, the press began to aggravate an already poor public image by referring to Detroit as "murder city".⁸⁹ Its difficulties were compounded by an inability to diversify its economic base. Successful businesses had begun to leave town, perhaps most famously the Motown record label. Berry Gordy, who had famously applied the principles of the Fordist production line to the music industry, shifted his operations to Los Angeles in 1972. At the time of *Blue Collar's* release in 1978, Detroit had become synonymous with the decline of the Rust Belt industrial cities just as it had once been the apotheosis of the Fordist production model.⁹⁰ Detroit had, of course, been the birthplace and laboratory for Fordist industrial organisation and its corresponding urban form. As the architect Patrick Schumacher explains, Fordism represented a "technical and spatial system", with the city of Detroit itself offering a "a paradigmatic case study of Fordism as an organisational model of urbanisation and for the collusion between industry and architecture".⁹¹

Blue Collar's theme is not deindustrialisation *per se*, but rather the Fordist production model under economic stress and the inability of the unions to deliver radical change. The film's narrative passes through the prism of three different genres, moving from social realism into a heist plot, and finally assuming the contours of a conspiracy thriller. As Schrader put it, he had "followed the Don Siegel maxim of taking the plots from three movies and putting them into one".⁹² The film centres on three friends,

two black – Zeke (Richard Pryor) and Smokey (Yaphet Kotto) – and one white – Jimmy (Harvey Keitel), a faintly utopian cross-racial group that hang out together after work hours. Jimmy, Zeke and Smokey work on the production line at a Detroit auto plant for an unspecified one of the Big Three. Early in the film, the three workers attend a meeting for the AAW (Auto Assembly Workers), clearly intended as a proxy for the real UAW (United Auto Workers) union. Zeke is initially radical in outlook – “everybody knows that plant is just short for *plantation!*” – yet his demands to the union quickly regress into everyday banalities, with his repeated and comic insistence on getting a broken locker door fixed. Change is mediated through a slow and self-serving union bureaucracy that has little effect at the grassroots level. However, in *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin listed some of the possible grounds for antagonism in the mid-1970s beyond broken locker doors: “the unaccountability of UAW officials, discriminatory hiring, unsafe machinery, capricious time studies, the exclusion of blacks from skilled trades, speed-up, holdups in pay, short paychecks, harassment over sick leave, the need for job upgrading and increasing regimentation at the plants”.⁹³

Schrader’s research included watching a filmography suggested by an article in the leftist journal *Cineaste* on workers’ documentaries. In particular, he drew inspiration from *Finally Got the News* (Stewart Bird, Rene Lichtman and Peter Gessner, 1970) which charted the rise of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) and other black union movements that constituted the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The rise of black radical movements in the city was also chronicled in Georgakas and Surkin’s book, which outlines how disaffection with UAW had led to the establishment of a number of black workers’ organisations such as DRUM and the radical newspaper *Inner City Voice*.⁹⁴ Yet curiously, despite Schrader’s careful research, these movements are not represented in *Blue Collar*. Instead, the narrative focuses on the corruption of the union, and as such, exemplifies the persistent tendency of Hollywood cinema to rework or encode such political content according to the demands of genre narrative or, as in its contemporary *Norma Rae*, rewrite collective struggle into the melodramatic celebration of individualist success. Nevertheless, through its close attention to the quotidian realities of industrial labour it remains one of the most outwardly left-wing Hollywood films of the 1970s, despite Schrader’s refusal to let artistic concerns be dominated by the requirements of a didactic political message.

Detroit was the city where the institutionalised labour politics of the postwar decades were set in place. The Treaty of Detroit in 1950, a landmark

agreement between the UAW and the Big Three, set the benchmark for postwar labour relations with a five-year contract that renounced strike action in exchange for a series of negotiated benefits. However, following the explosion of interracial conflict in the late 1960s and the economic downturn of the 1970s, the uneasy relationship between labour and management came apart at the seams. Workers' prosperity began to be squeezed through the slowdown in manufacturing productivity and spiralling inflation, against which even carefully bargained wage increases could not keep pace. In Schrader's film, Zeke sums up this dilemma: "I don't have anything against the union. It's been fair to the workers concerning wages. But damn, man, wages aren't the problem no more – it's the fucking prices. Everything's so goddamn high, the more you earn, the less it's worth". While average manufacturing wages had declined in real terms throughout the second half of the 1970s – gross weekly earnings in 1979 were below levels for 1968 – prices rose at an average annual rate of 7.8% between 1974 and 1979. Average annual addition to debt for this period was \$193.5bn (compared to around \$65bn for the period 1957-65).⁹⁵ Henry Ford's famous calculation had, of course, been that mass production could only be sustained if the worker could afford the product; in other words, the system needed to 'produce' consumption in order to reproduce itself. As the economy came under stress during the 1970s, credit began to be increasingly important in maintaining levels of consumer spending. In *Blue Collar*, the exhaustion of this model is made particularly clear in one scene following a party where Pryor, Kotto and Keitel are framed together on a sofa in a claustrophobic long-take. On the downward spiral from the hedonist excesses of the night before, Jimmy expresses his frustration with his world of reified commodity objects:

Credit's the only thing you can get free from the company. Get a house, a fridge, dishwasher, washer-dryer, TV, stereo, motorcycle, car ... Buy this shit, buy that shit ... all you've got is a bunch of shit. You don't even own it, and you can't give it back because it's already broken down.

That for these workers the bottom line is whether the 'finance man' can be paid also points to the role of debt in reproducing the social order. With Jimmy unable to meet his daughter's dental bills, and Zeke caught out on \$3,000 of back taxes by the IRS, the three begin to look for a solution to their own fiscal crisis. Previously committed union members, they plot to take down the AAW safe. However, instead of the \$10,000 cash they hope to find, they get away with a few hundred dollars and some account books. Their instinct that the union is corrupt is now proved correct by a

ledger showing illegal loans at extortionate rates. In the fall-out from the heist, Smokey is killed in a terrifying industrial “accident” in the spraying room engineered by union heavies; the relationship between Jimmy and Zeke becomes increasingly hostile and paranoid. While Zeke is paid off by taking a position in the union, Jimmy becomes an FBI informant. The final freeze-frame, in which the two are locked in combat on the shop floor, echoes the militant working-class aesthetics of the famous Diego Rivera murals in Detroit. In a classic, Brechtian moment, Yaphet Kotto’s voiceover is replayed over this final image of conflict: “They pit the lifers against the new boys, the young against the old, the black against the white – everything they do is to keep us in our place”.

The film’s representation of the city is limited and largely ignores downtown Detroit. As the Big Three rejected his requests to film on their premises, Schrader was left with little option but to shoot the factory interiors at a much smaller operation, Checker Cabs, further afield in Kalamazoo, Michigan. The factory exteriors were shot at the Ford plant at River Rouge, and it is this low-level industrial sprawl that dominates the film’s *mise-en-scène*. As a review in *Variety* put it, “Regardless of where individual scenes are set – at the afterwork tavern, at a bowling alley, at a worker’s home, in the union headquarters or on a Detroit street – the factory dominates every frame of this film”.⁹⁶ The film does not tend to linger on the city streets but concentrates on interiors: the factory, the bar, and the unremarkable everyday architecture of the city’s neighbourhoods. This perhaps reflects a persistent outsiders’ view of Detroit as a city without an architectural heritage – though in fact it had a great number of neo-classical and modernist buildings downtown, many of which would fall into ruin over the years to come. For example, in a contemporary piece on Detroit’s industrial decline, the *New York Times* ignored the city’s troubled downtown for the outlying industrial and suburban sprawl, describing it as “an interior city. For whatever reason, it has paid relatively little attention to external appearances. Its architectural symbol might well be the two family frame-house covered with clapboard or imitation brick paper, set against the background of auto plant”.⁹⁷

The city as a structure for maximising productive capacity is constantly reiterated by shots of an enormous digital counter standing over the freeway, providing a running tally of car production during 1977. Little of downtown appears, save a visibly fading Woodward Avenue and its pawnshops, dive bars and boarded up cinemas. Though no overt reference is made to them in the film, the ominous, reflective cylindrical towers of the Renaissance Center appear implacable and distant in the background of the shot while

Jimmy fills up his gas tank. The Renaissance Center, completed during the year of filming, had been financed by the Downtown Detroit Development Corporation, an alliance the auto companies and other major city firms under the aegis of Henry Ford II. One of several developments in the late 1970s that aimed to revitalise ailing business districts, it was designed by John Portman, architect-developer of several emblematic structures of the American 'downtown renaissance', from Atlanta's Peachtree Center to the Westin Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. Yet in Detroit, the experiment was unsuccessful: rebuilding downtown could not solve the structural problems that Detroit faced, and by the mid-1980s, the centre sat "amid acres of undeveloped rubble, teetering close to insolvency".⁹⁸

The film's critical reception mirrored Schrader's own political ambivalence towards the issues covered by the film. As he admitted, while he had not set out to make a left-wing film, he realised that "it had come to a very specific Marxist conclusion".⁹⁹ Schrader explained: "Large organisations such as businesses, governments, unions, try to keep men fighting horizontally so they can't fight vertically – which is the Marxist truism but one that bears repeating".¹⁰⁰ While Peter Biskind was chary of Schrader's intentions, he nevertheless hailed it as the "best film about work and workers since the 30s", adding that the final freeze frame was "didactic cinema at its best". Similarly, Andrew Sarris and others at the *Village Voice* praised the film as the latest in a minor left-wing tradition in American cinema.¹⁰¹ A critic at the *Hollywood Reporter* expressed surprise that such an outwardly leftist film might be distributed by Universal: "My guess is that many will read it as a union-busting movie, particularly since it emerges under the aegis of a company that has frequently been accused of excessive rigidity in its own labor relations policies".¹⁰² Similarly, Arthur Schlesinger wrote that the narrative harboured a "grave disjunction" between the message implied by the ending and the fact that the "central villain is the union".¹⁰³ As Schlesinger saw it, the film fell into the trap representing unionism and organised crime as essentially interchangeable, as Elia Kazan's *On the Waterfront* had memorably (and perhaps more purposefully) done some twenty years earlier.

In Detroit, the leftist film journal *Cineaste* organised screenings for local workers and activists. Most of the participants interviewed recognised strong elements of realism in the depiction of everyday life on the production line. Other responses pointed to the long-standing paradox of politically-engaged narrative: to represent the victory of the workers seems unjustifiably utopian or naïve; to represent their failure, pessimistic and fatalistic, reinforcing the sense that the "system always wins".¹⁰⁴ Similarly,

the *Los Angeles Times* reported on screenings arranged for members of the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist League, and the New American Movement.¹⁰⁵ A Communist Party spokesman predictably denounced it as “offensive” and “racist”, decrying its anti-union stance. Perhaps the most incisive comment came from Claudia Fonda-Bonardi, activist at NAM and regular contributor to *Cineaste*:

Americans have a long, complex history of worker unity and struggle, and that history is denied by this film. This film seems to exist in an ahistorical void. But, the problem is structural. It’s built into the way Hollywood makes movies. Hollywood melodrama deals with immediate dilemmas. In *Blue Collar*, it’s the workers’ frustrations with a corrupt union. Melodrama can’t pull back enough to deal with questions such as how the unions got that way, with any sense of history.¹⁰⁶

Here, Fonda-Bonardi alludes to wider debates about politics and cinema in the 1970s. As Jean-Louis Comolli and Jean Narboni argued in their famous *Cahiers du Cinéma* editorial, a radical film needed politicised, modernist aesthetics as well as politically-oriented content.¹⁰⁷

While aesthetically innovative, New Hollywood film was not for the most part politically engaged, and Schrader’s stylistic flourishes – such as the bravura tracking shots and freeze-frames of the opening credits – were perhaps best described by Pauline Kael as “jukebox Marxism”. The film’s mixed critical reception attests to the contradictions contained in the text itself. However, whereas *Rocky*’s rise-to-success narrative supplied a political metaphor for self-help and downtown renaissance, Schrader’s compelling final freeze-frame suggests a city in the midst of a crisis yet to be resolved.

3. New York City

Cinema and Crisis in the Entrepreneurial City

While New York City narrowly avoided the worst of the urban violence of the late sixties, the seventies were nevertheless traumatic years for the city, during which a burgeoning urban social crisis at the turn of the decade turned rapidly into a deep fiscal crisis that came to a climax in 1975 with the municipal government's famous near-bankruptcy. As the "capital of the American century", New York had, of course, come to symbolise a particular manifestation of urban modernity in the cultural imaginary.¹ Through iconic architectural landmarks from the Brooklyn Bridge to the Chrysler Building, the Rockefeller Center to the Seagram Building, the image of New York had long been understood as a synecdoche for American capitalism itself. The crisis of New York and the image of its decline during the seventies therefore had a far-reaching impact beyond the city limits, becoming a symbol of national political and ideological divisions and a implicit bellwether for the state of the American city more generally. As I will explore further below, the city's crisis and restructuring in the 1970s was a constituent part of a wider passage towards a postindustrial economy and a critical moment in the development of neoliberal economic policy that had profound implications over the decades to come. Yet somewhat paradoxically, these years of crisis and change also saw a resurgence in the city's film industry that generated some of the New Hollywood's most celebrated and influential films, from *The French Connection* (William Friedkin, 1971) and *Klute* (Alan J. Pakula, 1971) to *Taxi Driver* (Martin Scorsese, 1976) and *Annie Hall* (Woody Allen, 1977). In this chapter, I examine how and why the film industry boomed in seventies New York and the complex role that cinema played in representing and engaging with these processes of change for the city and its inhabitants.

As I will expand on below, the establishment of the Mayor's Office of Motion Pictures and Television in 1966 began a period of rapid expansion for location shooting on the streets of the city and played a significant role in the development of New Hollywood. However, while revenues from film production were helping to support the economic regeneration of the city, the largely dystopian images offered by films in the late 1960s and early 1970s frequently appeared to work in direct opposition to the aim of the city government to revitalise the *image* of the city as well as its economic base. Yet viewing the decade's cinema of urban crisis as simply oppositional does not do justice to the complexity, both textual and political, of these

films and the way they engaged with contemporary currents in the city's redevelopment. In this chapter, I argue that dystopian and often implicitly anti-urban images of the city in the early seventies did not necessarily work against the city's managerial and financial elite, but rather counterintuitively helped to legitimate New York's restructuring after the crisis of 1975 by presenting the city as a problem to be solved. Later in the decade, positive and re-energised depictions of a cosmopolitan and bourgeois New York helped to normalise an increasingly gentrified, postindustrial vision of the city as safe for investors, tourists and middle-class homeowners. Yet within these broad currents, individual films frequently displayed internal contradictions that testify to the complexity of the decade's ideological struggles. Moving from this general argument to a closer view of the decade's films, I trace the shifting fortunes of the city through two subgenres or cycles. The first cycle, a series of films based around housing and dealing with issues of gentrification and race, focus on internal, residential restructuring and frequently depict brownstones and apartments as frontier or fortress spaces for the white middle class. Conversely, the heist films of the seventies symptomatically revealed New York's place within a new world financial system, symbolically repositioning the city in emerging networks of global production and exchange.

'Made in New York': the political economy of location shooting

In the mid-1960s, filmmaking in New York had reached a nadir. In 1965, only 13 features were shot in the city, in whole or in part. Yet just a decade later in 1975, at the height of New York's fiscal crisis, some 41 features were given permits, with an entire issue of *New York* magazine dedicated to boosterish celebration of the city's multi-million dollar movie industry. What factors lay behind this recrudescence of filmmaking on the city streets, and why did the industry flourish in the context of an urban and economic crisis? New York had always played an important role in the vertically integrated studio system, home to the Hollywood majors' finance and distribution arms and the flagship first run theatres that generated the lion's share of profits. But production remained largely confined to the Los Angeles studios, with location shooting playing a significant yet relatively minor role in the filmmaking process. As I have argued in chapter one, the rise of independents and package production in the 1950s and 1960s catalysed the decentralisation of production from California. The industry crisis of 1969-1971 accelerated this trend, dispersing filmmaking across a network

of urban centres across the United States. While technological innovation pushed down the cost of location shooting, city and state governments introduced policies with the aim of making their cities more competitive environments for the film industry. This was particularly evident in cities such as New York and San Francisco where the cultural industries were gaining a new economic importance in the face of manufacturing decline.²

In this respect, New York City was an important trendsetter, becoming the first major city to establish a film commission in 1966. This signalled an important shift in the city government's approach to film production and especially location shooting. While New York had, of course, been a consistently popular setting for the movies during the classical era, it was a cinematic city largely reconstructed and reimagined in the studio through elaborately designed sets and backdrops.³ This began to change in the postwar period, though the actual quantity of footage shot in the city remained relatively low; while undoubtedly influential, films that employed extensive location sequences, such as *The Naked City* (Jules Dassin, 1948) and *Force of Evil* (Abraham Polonsky, 1948), were the exception rather than the norm.⁴ The shortage of New York sound stages and Hollywood's entrenched studio-based production practices were only one aspect of the problem. As reports in the local newspapers and trade press made clear, shooting on the streets of New York was expensive, logistically complex and restricted by excessive red tape. Filmmakers were required to apply for as many as fifty permits from dozens of often uncooperative municipal agencies and it was openly acknowledged that bribes to police and other city officials were commonplace. If bureaucracy and payola were not enough to contend with, filmmakers also claimed that their work was often obstructed by exasperatingly inflexible trade unions. As Delbert Mann, director of *Mister Buddwing* (1966), explained to *Variety* in 1965, "I have just spent three weeks of location shooting in New York City, a period of which has been the most incredible example of non-cooperation by almost every local union concerned I have ever experienced". This incident, referred to repeatedly in the pages of *Variety* as the 'Buddwing affair', led Mann to the conclusion that he would never again film on the streets of New York and became a public symbol of the city's unwelcoming atmosphere for Hollywood crews.⁵

Such negative media coverage helped move the municipal government into action. Though successive mayoral administrations at least as far back as William O'Dwyer (1946-1950) had displayed an interest in attracting film production, a dedicated film commission was not established until June 1966, when John Lindsay's Executive Order Number 10 created the Mayor's Office of Motion Pictures and Television as an agency of the city's

Economic Development Administration (the office was later renamed the Mayor's Office of Film, Theatre & Broadcasting in 1982). Responding to the criticisms of industry professionals such as Mann, the Mayor's Office and its film coordinator helped to create a new, streamlined 'one-stop-system' that required only one centrally-issued permit.⁶ A range of city departments from the NYPD and emergency services to Parks and Recreation and the Transit Authority were publicly encouraged to assist filmmakers, with a special unit of the Tactical Police Force even established solely to work with film companies on location.⁷ While local lifestyle magazines such as the recently established *New York* celebrated the renaissance of the city's film industry, frequent reports in the *New York Times* charted another aspect behind "Hollywood on the Hudson": the ongoing negotiations between the Lindsay administration and local film unions, which constituted only a small element of a wider confrontation between City Hall and organised labour during the 1960s and 1970s.⁸ An integral part of Lindsay's strategy was to generate favourable investment conditions by making film production cheaper, more flexible and less regulated. Hollywood producers such as Phil Feldman at Warners claimed that overall production costs were 25% to 30% higher in New York than in Los Angeles or London, and cited union "inflexibility" in overtime rates, starting times, and wage scales as the major contributing factors.⁹ After negotiations with studio representatives and labour leaders, Lindsay subsequently pressured the unions into an agreement whereby they would match the rates available in Hollywood; in return, producers would agree to complete their entire project within the city, earning the stamp "Made in New York" on the film's credits.¹⁰

New York City was therefore primed to take advantage of the crisis of the studios at the end of the 1960s. Indeed, in establishing proactive municipal support for filmmaking, New York set a blueprint that would be replicated by city and state governments across the United States and beyond over the years to come.¹¹ Though not the only factor behind New York's renaissance as a film centre, this newly competitive climate certainly contributed to a rapid surge in production: whereas in 1965, only 13 features were shot in the city, this rose sharply to 24 in 1966, and more than doubled again to 50 in 1967.¹² In total, some 600 feature films were shot on location in the city between 1966 and 1979.¹³ Production levels averaged at around 40 films a year throughout the 1970s. This constituted an increasingly significant proportion of total US film production, which dropped from 267 in 1970 to just 167 at its nadir in 1977.¹⁴ This revival of the city's film industry was all the more remarkable given that the prevailing winds were blowing in the opposite direction, with a large proportion of the television and

music industries relocating from the East Coast to California since the late 1950s.¹⁵

Of course, New York's film renaissance was also driven forward by a number of successful, independently minded directors with deep roots in the city, such as Martin Scorsese, Sidney Lumet, Woody Allen, and Gordon Parks Sr. Alongside key cinematographers such as Gordon Willis and Owen Roizman, these filmmakers captured their native city on film with unprecedented authenticity and local colour. The competitive production environment also attracted international interest, reversing the earlier trend for Hollywood production to relocate offshore, with influential European producers such as Dino di Laurentiis establishing permanent bases in the city.¹⁶ Moreover, the new municipal arrangements also had an impact on the content and aesthetics of the films themselves. The streamlined permit system not only increased the number of movies produced in the city, but also effectively expanded the geographical scope of the action in individual films. For example, Sidney Lumet's *Serpico* (1973) used 105 separate locations across four of the city's five boroughs, a feat that would have previously been prohibitively expensive and administratively complex, not least because it would have required police permission for every separate precinct covered.¹⁷ Christine Conrad, executive co-ordinator at the Mayor's Office, estimated in 1971 that as many as 3,500 locations had been arranged on the city's streets in the previous year.¹⁸ New types of locations also became possible to represent directly onscreen, often as a result of direct intervention from City Hall. For example, Mayors Lindsay and Beame personally acted on behalf of filmmakers on numerous occasions, allowing movie cameras in the New York Public Library for *You're a Big Boy Now* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1967), onto the subways for *The Taking of Pelham 123* (Joseph Sargent, 1974), and even halting the demolition of a building condemned for urban renewal to enable the shooting of *The Night They Raided Minsky's* (William Friedkin, 1968).¹⁹

Furthermore, city departments were now instructed not to veto projects on the grounds that they might be construed as unflattering to the city.²⁰ Under the old system, implicit and often unacknowledged censorship had operated at the level of individual agencies such as the Transit Authority, which had the power to block a script that could generate negative publicity. For example, to show the subway system as dangerous or poorly maintained, as films such as *The Warriors* or *The Taking of Pelham 123* did in the 1970s, would have been near impossible. As Lindsay aide Barry Gottehrer explained, "From now on, there's not going to be any lower-level public relations guy reading a script and deciding that it's bad for the city."²¹ For City Hall, the economic success of the film industry and the enduring media im-

age of New York as a 'cinematic city' in general terms took precedence over the micro-management of the city's representation on screen. Alongside the disintegration of the MPAA Production Code in 1968, this relaxation of censorship effectively made possible the gritty, unvarnished and often violent image of New York that dominated its cinematic representation in the 1970s. This presented somewhat of a paradox for the city government. If one aim of boosting the film industry had been to export an appealing image of New York for global consumption – a cinematic analogue of Lindsay's Fun City – then the outcome could hardly have been further from their intentions. Some notable exceptions aside – such as Woody Allen's romanticised, nostalgic portrayal of the city in *Annie Hall* (1977) and *Manhattan* (1979) – the defining image of New York in the 1970s was that of a city in crisis. From *Midnight Cowboy* (1969) and *The Out-of-Towners* (1970) to *Taxi Driver* (1976) and *Fort Apache, the Bronx* (1981), the cinematic image of New York became closely associated with urban crisis: the omnipresent threat of crime and violence, endemic corruption, drugs, prostitution, decaying housing stock, crumbling infrastructure, and industrial unrest. As the *New York Times* critic Vincent Canby observed in 1974:

New York City has become a metaphor for what looks like the last days of American civilisation ... New York City is a mess, say these films. It's run by fools. Its citizens are at the mercy of its criminals who, as often as not, are protected by an unholy alliance of civil libertarians and crooked cops. The air is foul. The traffic is impossible. Services are diminishing and the morale is such that ordering a cup of coffee in a diner can turn into a request for a fat lip.²²

Canby also began to wonder whether images of crisis were themselves marketable, and if dystopian backdrops could be a draw for filmmakers and audiences alike. As he succinctly put it, "is being a mess box office?" Certainly, the wider malaise of the city seemed to be no barrier to rapid expansion in film production. At the height of the city's fiscal crisis in 1975, the film industry was apparently in rude health, contributing an estimated \$40-\$50 million annually to the local economy. While the spectre of municipal bankruptcy haunted the pages of the local and national press, a special edition of *New York Magazine* in December 1975 was busy celebrating New York's "love affair with the movies" and proclaiming the city to be "the greatest movie set ever".²³

Such an apparent paradox reflected the contradictory and uneven nature of New York's redevelopment in the 1970s. In the preface to the proposed

architectural master plan for the city, the Plan for New York (1969), the authors were candid about the city's problems. "It is obvious enough", they wrote, "that there is a great deal wrong. The air is polluted. The streets are dirty and choked with traffic. The subways are jammed. The waters of the rivers and the bays are fouled. There is a severe shortage of housing. The municipal plant is long past its prime. Greatest of all is the problem of the slums".²⁴ Yet at the same time, the Plan optimistically celebrated another side to the city: "As never before, it is the national center of the United States. It is headquarters for a large share of its major corporations; it is the capital of its financial markets; it is the center of its communications, its advertising, its publishing; it is the center of its arts, its theater and its fashion".²⁵ What emerged in the 1970s was what Manuel Castells and John Mollenkopf would later aptly define as a "dual city", with decline in relative population size, affluence and manufacturing output counterbalanced by the increasingly global reach of New York's investment banking and financial services sector, which boomed during the decade.²⁶

The seventies also engendered a number of immensely fertile subcultures that flourished despite – or perhaps as a result of – New York's wider crisis. While hip-hop music, breakdancing and graffiti emerged from the ruins of the South Bronx, disco, post-punk and 'no-wave' cross-pollinated in the heady atmosphere of the downtown music scene. The increased availability of ex-industrial loft space also fuelled an artistic avant-garde that had been increasingly visible and influential on the global stage since the 1950s. Underground cinema had also emerged from a similar milieu, with the Lithuanian émigré Jonas Mekas and his Film-Makers' Cooperative spear-heading a vibrant network of alternative filmmaking since the early 1960s. This range of alternative and underground cultures thrived in the landscape of disinvestment and decline, providing important counter-images to the deteriorating image of the city in the mainstream media.

The fiscal crisis of 1975

But how did the erstwhile capital of the American century come close to bankruptcy in 1975, and what were the political and ideological issues at stake? For a number of reasons, the deepening crisis in the American economy had heightened effects in New York. The ensuing fiscal crisis of the city government became a stage on which a political confrontation was played out between City Hall and Washington, DC. As William Tabb explains, the restructuring of New York set a precedent for a more general

neoliberal economic strategy, both in terms of federal government policy and later in the 'structural adjustment' packages enforced by the IMF in indebted Third World nations during the late 1970s and 1980s.²⁷ As Tabb puts it,

The New York City fiscal crisis – with its resolution in budget cuts and austerity measures on the one hand, and incentives to business, the substitution of economic rationale for social welfare as the guiding force behind government spending, and taxation policies on the other – evolved as the model for the national economic policies of presidents Ford, Carter, and Reagan.²⁸

New York had been subject to similar processes of deindustrialisation as other Rust Belt cities in the Northeast and Midwest. Between 1958 and 1976, the city lost over 400,000 jobs in manufacturing, which represented a 40% decline.²⁹ The city had also undergone a demographic transformation during the 1960s, with one million African-Americans and other ethnic minorities moving into the city and one million whites moving out to the suburbs.³⁰ In this respect, New York and the other Rust Belt cities shared a similar predicament, as a Congressional Report from 1975 noted: "these cities have been called on to assimilate a new wave of rural migrants into the industrial economy just when the industries offering employment opportunities are shifting their bases of operation out of the cities"³¹ Yet unlike typical Rust Belt cities such as Cleveland or Pittsburgh, New York's manufacturing output had been largely based on light industry and artisanal production in trades such as garments, printing, brewing, and scientific instruments. Further, it differed from such second-tier industrial cities because of its world-class financial services sector, which played a key role both in the fiscal crisis and the subsequent restructuring and 'rehabilitation' of the city during the decade.

As well as promoting the film industry, Lindsay also took a close personal interest in the architecture and design of the city, setting up the Urban Design Panel – a nine member advisory board that included Philip Johnson, I.M. Pei, and William S. Paley (CEO of television network CBS) – and commissioning the Plan for New York (1969).³² Lindsay's interventions in the city's built environment coincided with an intensive real estate and construction boom. Large areas of Lower Manhattan made available by the declining port and deindustrialisation were redeveloped into office space and high-end apartments. Perhaps the most visible sign of this transformation was the construction of the World Trade Center (1972) and the surrounding area of

Battery Park, developed under the aegis of David Rockefeller's Downtown Lower Manhattan Association.³³ This building boom overheated and the property market crashed in 1973, resulting in a massive overexpansion in office capacity. In 1975, it was estimated that around 45 million square feet of office space lay empty.³⁴

The causes of the New York fiscal crisis are complex and have been widely debated. For critics on the right – perhaps best represented by Roger Starr's book *The Rise and Fall of New York City* – the city's near bankruptcy has been broadly perceived as a "failure of liberalism".³⁵ The city government was seen to have run up an unmanageable fiscal deficit through profligate social spending. For example, the *Washington Post* wrote in May 1975 of an impending "day of reckoning" in which the "largess" of the city government would return to haunt it.³⁶ Conversely, Robert Fitch's *The Assassination of New York* explicitly blamed the fiscal crisis on the Rockefeller family, construing the city's passage to a postindustrial economy as a land-grab orchestrated by the city elites on behalf of the finance, insurance and real estate sector. However, both Starr and Fitch agree that the crisis had deep roots in the urban development policies of Governor Nelson Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay, who used the Urban Development Corporation (UDC), at state level, and the Housing Finance Agency (HFA), at city level, to borrow billions of dollars in short-term funds to finance the construction of housing, offices, and public building programmes. Following the 1974 crash in the stock exchange and the real estate market, the UDC defaulted, undermining confidence in city debt.³⁷

However, fiscal crisis was not unique to New York, but was also experienced in a wide range of other cities in the US and Western Europe during the 1970s. As William Tabb argues, these fiscal emergencies reflected the inability of city economies to respond effectively to cyclical downturns and long-wave shifts in production and consumption.³⁸ During the recession of the early 1970s, the City of New York began to borrow increasing amounts from the New York investment banks in order to maintain levels of social spending. By 1975, municipal debt had skyrocketed to \$14 billion. As the crisis intensified during the nationwide recession of that year, investors lost confidence in the city and banks began to pull out of the New York bond market, selling billions in securities. Unable to find buyers for the city's short-term municipal bonds and struggling to maintain basic services, Mayor Lindsay's successor Abraham Beame (1974-1977) had no option but to turn to Washington for federal assistance. Expert opinions on this dilemma were polarised, largely reflecting a growing political division between redistributive welfare policies and emerging neoliberal attitudes

towards privatisation and deregulation. On the centre-left, social liberals of the Keynesian stripe predominantly favoured federal aid to the city. For example, J.K. Galbraith argued in a *New York Times* article that “no problem associated with New York City could not be solved by providing more money” and blamed the “fiscal funkholes” of the suburbs for eroding the city’s tax base.³⁹ In contrast, the Chicago School economist Milton Friedman asserted that the correct path of action was to let the city go bankrupt; as he argued, “that will make it impossible for New York City in future to borrow any money and force New York to live within its budget”.⁴⁰

The president’s decision was summed up by the infamous *Daily News* headline of October 30, 1975: “Ford to City: Drop Dead”. No federal money would be forthcoming; instead, the financial rehabilitation of the city would be overseen by two new semi-public bodies: the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC), an alliance of New York investment bankers, and the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), a supervisory board consisting of state and city politicians alongside representatives of the corporate sector. A three-year plan was devised under the stewardship of the chairman of Lazard Frères, Felix Rohatyn.⁴¹ Through MAC, the city was able to borrow funds that it was incapable of securing on the open market. In exchange, a set of austerity measures were imposed on city spending, including a substantial reduction of the public sector workforce, wage freezes, higher taxes, cuts in social welfare spending, and the imposition of tuition fees at CUNY. Rohatyn himself described these measures in explicitly punitive terms: “the pain is just beginning. New York will now have to undergo the most brutal kind of financial and fiscal exercise that any community in the country will ever have to face”.⁴²

Thus the decision of the Ford administration not to extend funding to the city was not merely pragmatic, but reflected a distinctive political and economic strategy. As a *Time* magazine editorial suggested, “the city must shed its big government psychology ... It must declaim its pretensions that it can resolve fundamental social problems or provide a tremendous range of worthy services”.⁴³ The city was therefore subject to multidirectional forces during the 1970s, with austerity measures, public service cuts and the deepening deprivation of areas like the South Bronx thrown into relief by the simultaneous boom of the financial sector and the growing influence of a white-collar, postindustrial middle class. As William Tabb explains, “Urban disinvestment and abandonment are matched by the dynamic growth of corporate Manhattan; planned shrinkage and the decline of social services are matched by gentrification and subsidies to the affluent”.⁴⁴ Further, placing the city’s affairs into the hands of the investment banks

was effectively a process of disenfranchisement, resulting in a shift of power away from democratically elected officials towards the appointees of MAC and EFCB. As a *New Yorker* editorial noted at the time, “much of the direction of the city is in the hands of men who were neither elected to run New York nor elected to any public office whatsoever”.⁴⁵

Representing New York

For a city moving rapidly towards a postindustrial economy, with globally successful advertising and television industries, a celebrated art scene and a rapidly expanding film sector, the crisis and restructuring of New York was not only a matter of economics but also entailed a struggle over the city’s public image and symbolic representation. As Miriam Greenberg argues, the image of New York became particularly contested during the 1970s, during which time the city government and its financial and managerial elite developed a series of marketing and branding strategies to repair its negative image and reposition the city on the global stage.⁴⁶ From the early 1970s, a strategic battle was waged through a series of place marketing campaigns that sought to provide counter-narratives to the dominant conception of the city as a crisis-ridden and ungovernable place. But what role did cinema, arguably the city’s pre-eminent narrative form, play in this struggle for New York’s symbolic representation? As I have argued above, the city government’s sponsorship of the film industry did not operate at the level of content, leaving Hollywood to produce films that, at least on the surface, worked in explicit opposition to the sanitised self-image promulgated through campaigns such as I ♥ New York.

While cinema undoubtedly played an important role in creating images and narratives of the city, it is always difficult to measure accurately what effects films have played in shaping public opinion. On the one hand, outwardly critical images of the city fed into already-existing anti-urban discourses that had deep roots in American culture. From this perspective, the barrage of negative images of the city may have encouraged further flight to the suburbs and played directly into the hands of Nixon’s law-and-order rhetoric. However, at a more localised level, apparently negative imagery of the city may have had counterintuitive effects. Whatever the progressive intentions of the filmmakers, persistent images of the city in crisis in the earlier half of the seventies helped to create a consensus that the city was a problem to be solved, implicitly preparing the ground for austerity measures and restructuring by the financial elite after the fiscal

crisis. Thus, while appearing to challenge the official representation of the city offered by its government, these films later gained an unexpected kind of utility in legitimising neoliberal 'solutions' to the crisis. Later in the decade, mainstream cinema and the city government would synchronise in a more straightforward way when, as I will examine in further detail below, successful films such as *Kramer vs. Kramer*, *An Unmarried Woman* and *Manhattan* implicitly meshed with attempts to rehabilitate and rebrand the city in marketing and public relations campaigns.

However, there are several reasons why we need to be cautious about making generalisations about these issues. First, we cannot assume that audiences received these films uniformly. Hollywood films have always staked their popularity on the ability to appeal to different kinds of audience simultaneously. In this respect, while white suburban audiences may have viewed urban crisis films touristically, enthusiastically embracing their implicit anti-urbanism, it is also plausible that younger audiences in specific inner-city areas saw something entirely different. Did the sheer excitement, unpredictability and glamour of city life onscreen outweigh the sensation of crisis, providing a positive reminder of the pace and drama of urban dwelling? The blaxploitation cycle, which had been explicitly generated by the studios in response to shifting racial composition of inner-city exhibition, would no doubt have played entirely differently in Harlem than in suburban theatres in upstate New York. More generally, it is plausible that for a certain demographic of urban viewers – particularly white urban professionals in gentrifying areas, who often associated themselves implicitly with progressive politics and countercultural values – New Hollywood's warts-and-all portrait of the city presented a validation of their urban lifestyle in all its grit and authenticity, in opposition to the suburban conformity of their parents' generation.

Furthermore, as Robin Wood convincingly argued, more so than ever before Hollywood films of the 1970s were "incoherent texts" with complex and contradictory political meanings that rarely gelled in a straightforward way. For Wood, the ideological position of a film like *Taxi Driver*, for example, was impossible to 'read' satisfactorily.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, with these caveats in mind, we can mark out broad patterns in the city's cinematic representation over the decade. In the Lindsay era (1966-1973), especially from 1968-1969, New York became represented as an increasingly dangerous and crisis-ridden place. Yet from the poverty of Ratso Rizzo in *Midnight Cowboy* (1969) to the heroin addicts of *The Panic in Needle Park* (1971), these films were often underlined by an implicit liberalism in their outlook on urban problems. Under the Abraham Beame administration (1974-1977), arguably the most

troubled and directionless years of the decade, the city's cinematic image became even more dystopian and paranoid. The key films here are the vigilante fantasies of *Death Wish* (1974) and (more complexly) *Taxi Driver* (1976). By the time of Edward Koch's mayoralty (1978-1989), films had begun to split more obviously into two opposing strands. On the one hand, films like *Manhattan* (1978) and *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979) began to rehabilitate the image of the city as a safe place for consumers and families. At the same time, the aggressively right-wing approach of the city government was reflected in a series of over-the-top crime films such as *Fort Apache, the Bronx* (1981) and *Escape from New York* (1981) that pushed the urban crisis cinema of the mid-decade into the realm of exploitation and fantasy.

Placed against this broad historical backdrop, the following sections examine the cinematic image of New York through close analysis of two distinctive film cycles. The sheer volume of films shot in New York during the 1970s makes any such analysis necessarily highly selective. Here, I intentionally focus my attention both on well-known films as well as less canonical texts in order to demonstrate that the crisis of the city reverberated across disparate genres and styles. The two groups of films under examination here broadly reflect Sharon Zukin's contention that "cities always struggle between images that express a landscape of power and those that form the local vernacular".⁴⁸ The first set of films is a cycle of dramas and comedies that engage with the local vernacular, placing the residential, domestic spaces of houses and apartments at the centre of their narratives. From *Desperate Characters* (Frank Gilroy, 1971) to *An Unmarried Woman* (Paul Mazursky, 1978), these films engaged with concerns about public and private space, class, race and the neighbourhood, tracing a development from crisis and paranoia in the early seventies towards a renewed bourgeois self-image at the end of the decade. In the second section, I focus on the crime film, arguably the emblematic genre of seventies New York, paying special attention to the heist cycle and its relationship to finance, technology and surveillance, from *The French Connection* (William Friedkin, 1971) to *The Taking of Pelham 123* (Joseph Sargent, 1974). Finally, I turn to Alan J. Pakula's *Rollover* (1981) and its representation of New York as the nerve centre of an unstable global banking system.

Gentrification and the restructuring of residential space

Though the dominant narrative of the inner city in the 1960s and 1970s was one of decline, another significant tendency in emergent global cities such

as New York was that of gentrification, whereby the class composition of previously working-class neighbourhoods began to change through a small but influential influx of middle-class homeowners.⁴⁹ As I will expand on below, this shift embodied a number of wider patterns in the use of city space and conceptions of urban living, especially for a specific section of urban middle-class professionals. For urban theorists such as Neil Smith and Sharon Zukin, this was not only a case of shifting taste and consumer preferences, but also a fundamental component of the city's wider transition towards a postindustrial economy; as Smith puts it, "By the 1970s gentrification was clearly becoming an integral residential thread in a much larger urban restructuring".⁵⁰

The shifting class and race composition of New York's neighbourhoods became the implicit focus of a number of films during the 1970s, which presented a range of different viewpoints on urban life and the nature of the city. In particular, a series of comedies and melodramas placed issues of residential space, housing and urban living centre stage. What joins together otherwise relatively disparate films such as *The Landlord* (Hal Ashby, 1970), *Desperate Characters* (Frank Gilroy, 1971), *Little Murders* (Alan Arkin, 1971), *The Prisoner of Second Avenue* (Melvin Frank, 1975) and *An Unmarried Woman* (Paul Mazursky, 1978) is their use of the domestic sphere as a central organising space and anchor for the dramatic world of the film. At the heart of each film is a house or an apartment that operates as the focal point for its narrative space.⁵¹ In these films, the crisis of the city and the restructuring of inner-city neighbourhoods is played out through narratives which focus on a specific set of middle-class anxieties about the nature of public and private space. In particular, these films all demonstrate a recurring spatial motif, in which the problematic boundary between the exterior and interior – the porous dividing line between the public, democratic space of the modern city street, and the private space of the house or apartment – becomes questioned and renegotiated.

Hal Ashby's debut feature *The Landlord* (1970) was one of the first films of the New Hollywood directly to concern itself with race and the inner city and to venture beyond Manhattan into the streets of Brooklyn. Based on the eponymous novel by the African-American writer Kristin Hunter and scripted by Bill Gunn, the film had originally been a project for Norman Jewison, the director of the acclaimed Civil Rights drama *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), on which Ashby had cut his teeth as an editor. Beau Bridges was cast as Elgar Enders, a wealthy 29-year-old WASP who inadvertently becomes a landlord in a predominantly black area of Brooklyn. In what J. Hoberman has described as a "mock bildungsroman", Elgar finally leaves his

family mansion in Long Island to make his way in the big city, acquiring on the eastern borders of Park Slope.⁵² Initially, he plans to remove the tenants and redevelop the interior to his own taste. On arrival, his neighbour and fellow urban redeveloper assures him that the area is changing fast: “this neighbourhood’s gonna be very chic, very chic; let’s hope this influx of beautiful people is the start of an inclination”. However, evicting the tenants and capitalising on his investment proves to be a more complex proposition for Elgar than he first supposes.

Elgar’s move to Brooklyn represents a small but significant trend during the 1970s whereby the post-WWII middle-class exodus from the city to the suburbs began to be reversed. Frequent reports in the contemporary press enthusiastically celebrated the phenomenon of what was then known as ‘brownstoning’, a term coined after the distinctive brownstone architecture of the terraced houses in areas such as Brooklyn Heights and Park Slope. While their parents’ generation had chased the American dream in the tranquillity of suburbia, an increasingly influential group of young middle-class professionals began to reject the conformity of suburban life in favour of the messy complexity and social diversity of urban living. Equally importantly, the availability of historic housing stock in relatively convenient inner-city areas provided compelling investment opportunities. Though the trend had begun as far back as the 1950s, it became increasingly viable in the late 1960s after mortgage providers began to lend in previously no-go areas.⁵³ Indeed, its appearance in Hollywood films such as those discussed here attests to the cultural diffusion of the brownstoning phenomenon into the popular zeitgeist.

This middle-class return to the inner city coincided with and helped to cement a significant reorientation in the dominant trends of American urban planning. Since the 1930s, the development of New York had been profoundly shaped by the leadership of its master planner, Robert Moses, an extraordinarily powerful figure whose life and work has been chronicled by Robert Caro in his book *The Power Broker*.⁵⁴ The epitome of the modernist urban planner, Moses presided over an unprecedented volume of urban renewal schemes and large-scale infrastructure projects from the Triborough Bridge to the Cross-Bronx Expressway. In the post-WWII decades, this approach to urban planning broadly meshed with a wider consensus on civic management and social policy forged in the liberalism of the New Deal era. During the sixties, Moses famously found his nemesis in the figure of the writer and social activist Jane Jacobs, whose *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) mounted a spirited critique of both suburban sprawl and modernist urban renewal. For Jacobs, the Corbusian tower blocks that

most urban renewal projects embraced had destroyed the complex ecology of street of an older model of urbanism, best exemplified by her home neighbourhood, Greenwich Village. In leading a series of protest campaigns against the demolition of Penn Station and the (never constructed) Lower Manhattan Expressway, Jacobs played a significant role in turning public opinion away from large-scale clearance and renewal projects.

By the 1970s, it seemed as if Jacobs's vision had prevailed. In 1974, the City Planning Commission announced that it was sidelining the 1969 Plan for New York in favour of a series of mini-plans that would operate incrementally at the level of individual neighbourhoods. Large-scale provision of public housing was scrapped in favour of piecemeal redevelopment that promoted the preservation and rehabilitation of existing housing stock rather than clear-cut renewal. On the surface, this represented a significant ideological shift that paid heed to Jacobs's critique of urban planning.⁵⁵ John Zucotti, chair of the City Planning Commission, made the apparent debt to Jacobs clear: "To a large extent, we are neo-Jacobean. We have adjusted our sensitivities to the pulse and scale of the neighborhoods. We have changed our focus to work on the detailed fabric of the city, rather than seek to improve the pattern by cutting it new from whole cloth".⁵⁶ In the increasingly difficult fiscal climate for the municipal government, this was also a financially prudent move that transferred a significant proportion of the costs of redevelopment into the purses of the private sector and middle-class homeowners. Thus, as Neil Smith argues, these shifts were underpinned by strong economic imperatives. Smith contends that gentrification must not only be understood at the level of individual choice, but also as a part of a widespread reorganisation of economic and class power. As he puts it, "gentrification is part of the restructuring of inner-city residential space. It follows the previous and ongoing restructuring of office, commercial, and recreational space, and while this restructuring has a variety of functions, it operates primarily to counteract the falling rate of profit".⁵⁷ For Smith, investment into the suburban and peripheral areas of the city and the simultaneous disinvestment and decline of the inner city opened up a "rent gap" between the actual cost of urban residential property and its potential future value. By the 1970s, areas like Park Slope began to represent compelling investment opportunities to middle-class homeowners. In these terms, Elgar Enders is not merely slumming it, but making a shrewd property investment.

However, as Sharon Zukin has pointed out, real estate markets were only one aspect in the complex economic-cultural nexus of gentrification: both brownstoning or loft living were phenomena that emerged from what she

terms an “aesthetic conjuncture” that generated new standards of taste and lifestyle expectations.⁵⁸ For Ashby as much as Enders, Brooklyn provided the right mix of financial and artistic opportunities. Though the novel was in fact set in Philadelphia, Ashby considered that shooting in New York, then riding the upward crest of the movie boom, would be financially beneficial.⁵⁹ Park Slope also offered the requisite social mix to be a believable destination for Enders, though as some commentators pointed out, rapid social change meant that nearby Bedford-Stuyvesant would have been more authentic, if perhaps less amenable to film crews. As the *Los Angeles Times* put it, Park Slope was “ghetto, but not deep ghetto” – and in some cases, not quite ghetto enough: “The neighborhood *was* made to look a bit more rundown than it is. For example, a beat-up car had been obtained from a junk-yard and ‘abandoned’ in front of the brownstone”.⁶⁰ The house itself was repainted to create the required ambience; as the *New York Amsterdam News* reported, Ashby’s crew “literally splashed a dirty paper-bag brown colour paint on the front of it to fit in with the producer’s concept of a ghetto building in a decayed neighborhood block” (fig. 3).⁶¹ Such distortions of the local area were picked up by the local press, who insisted on comparing the film with social conditions on the ground. For example, the *Brooklyn City Free Press* wrote disparagingly of the “hip” film crew offering locals work as extras, and complained bitterly that it misrepresented the often antagonistic relationship between landlords and tenants (exemplified by the rent strikes reported in the very same issue of the paper). The filming process also made a direct impact on the neighbourhood itself, as the *City Free Press* recorded:



Figure 3: Prospect Place in *The Landlord* (United Artists, 1970) with garbage and beat-up cars added by the production team to recreate an ‘authentic’ Brooklyn street scene.

“the block where the movie was filmed (Prospect Place between 5th and 6th Avenues) has subsequently experienced a most unusual real estate boom. ‘Hip’ young people have been quietly buying up the old brownstones and, much more efficiently than their Hollywood counterparts, systematically expelling the tenants with and without nervous conditions”.⁶²

The inter-racial narrative of *The Landlord* reflected the shifting relationships not only within New York’s neighbourhoods but also within Hollywood cinema’s audience. Following their collapse and fragmentation during the 1960s, the studios increasingly promoted their films to a variety of emerging niche markets. One of the first major films marketed directly to black audiences was MGM’s Chester Himes adaptation *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (Ossie Davis, 1970). Released in the same week as *The Landlord*, *Cotton Comes to Harlem* can now be seen as a key film in the emergence of the blaxploitation genre, which in the early 1970s was primarily, though not exclusively, a New York phenomenon, with films such as *Shaft* (Gordon Parks Sr., 1971), *Super Fly* (Gordon Parks Jr., 1972), *Black Caesar* (Larry Cohen, 1973) also shot on location in the streets of Harlem.⁶³ Like *The Landlord*, *Cotton* pushed location filming into areas of New York that had rarely been captured on celluloid. Yet location shooting in Harlem was not without risks, even for a movie with a predominantly black cast and a black director at the helm. The response from local residents to movie cameras moving across 110th street ranged from celebration to outright hostility.⁶⁴ Despite protection from the New York Police Department and the local Black Citizens Patrol, a female white script assistant was hit on the head by a bottle thrown from a nearby rooftop during a crowd scene filmed at the corner of Lexington and 128th Street.⁶⁵ As one disgruntled Harlem resident explained to a *New York Times* reporter, “[the film] does not represent or project the black concept, or the black mind, or what black people are really trying to say or strive for today. It is another Hollywood fantasy of what they think Harlem really is”.⁶⁶ Yet, as Ossie Davis countered, the representation of previously unseen places was in itself a kind of emancipation: “To bring the cameras to Harlem and to establish the truth of us and our existence is a tremendous step forward”.⁶⁷

Ashby’s background as an editor is apparent in *The Landlord*’s cinematic style, which often moves into Brechtian territory. From the outset, Ashby uses distancing, irony and surrealism to offset and complicate what would otherwise appear like a straightforward late-1960s social issue film (which, had it been directed by Jewison, it might well have become) and produce a more contemporary New Hollywood style. His debt to Brecht (or perhaps more likely, Jean-Luc Godard) is made clear from the pedagogic opening, in which a schoolteacher addresses a class: “Now children, how

do we live?" Direct address and subjective, non-diegetic inserts add to the film's satirical feel, placing the audience at one remove from the drama and allowing it to voice opposing opinions that would have been extremely contentious if played straight. In this way, the film is able to satirise both Elgar's naïveté and the unthinking racism of his parents. Elgar's mother (Lee Grant) voices the doublethink of the suburban liberal: "Didn't we go together to watch *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?* You have to realise that not all Negroes are like that!"

The neighbourhood is first presented as comically threatening. On his first visit, Elgar is chased down the street by his tenants, and out of Brooklyn through empty lots and demolition sites. This sense of the 'urban frontier' is emphasised by scenes in which Elgar is threatened by black residents with a shotgun, a bow and arrow and an axe, respectively. The contrast between inner city and suburb is expressed cinematically through a number of formal strategies. Ashby and cinematographer Gordon Willis construct a spatial opposition between Long Island and Brooklyn through levels of lighting and exposure. This is first developed in the credit sequence, which cuts between Elgar in overexposed shots of an empty, white squash court, and sombre compositions of rainy Brooklyn streets, the dark greys, browns, and blacks of decaying tenement blocks. In the Brooklyn sequences, Gordon Willis films the interiors under low light, in a style that he would later use to memorable effect in *The Godfather* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1972). In contrast, the footage of Long Island becomes increasingly overexposed throughout the film. Though initially emphasising the racial polarity of the two areas, these stylistic patterns also present Brooklyn as the 'real', grounded, dirty, sensuous city, against the ethereal, insubstantial, decadence of upper-class suburbia, fundamentally disconnected from the realities of its neighbouring city.

The Brooklyn scenes emphasise the city street as a place of public congregation and interaction, with the apartment block presented as a hub of social and romantic exchange. Soon, Elgar becomes inexorably drawn into the social life of Park Slope, attending raucous parties and eventually falling in love with Lanie, a dancer with a multi-racial family background. Melodramatic tensions ensue after he fathers a child with one of his tenants, Fanny, to the obvious displeasure of her husband, black radical Copee. Following the climactic scenes in which Copee chases Elgar with an axe, Elgar quietly renounces his status as landlord (and his hopes of redevelopment), handing over his property to its occupants and settling down nearby with his girlfriend and baby daughter. In this respect, the narrative arc of *The Landlord* has striking similarities with John Boor-

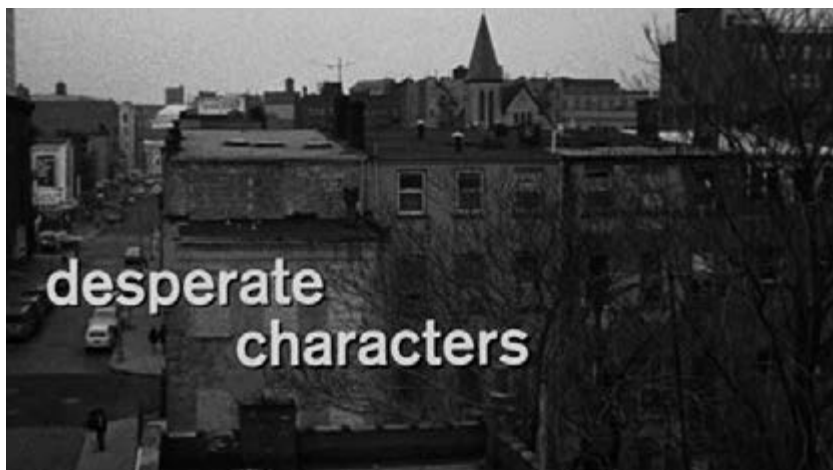


Figure 4: Brooklyn Heights in *Desperate Characters* (ITC Films, 1971).

man's *Leo the Last* (1970), which I will discuss at length in chapter seven. In Boorman's film, Marcello Mastroianni plays an Italian prince who inherits a street in the Ladbrooke Grove area of West London. Incensed by the impoverishment of his tenants, he leads them in an act of urban insurrection against property rights, culminating in the destruction of his own family mansion. In comparison, *The Landlord* avoids such radical conclusions. *The Landlord* ultimately portrays integration as challenging, if not impossible, especially when issues of power and property ownership are at stake. Yet in its final moments, Elgar's rejection of his parents' racism and acceptance of his new multi-racial family is still infused with optimism (though that he gets together with the light-skinned Lanie, who can pass for white, is significant here). From this perspective, the tenement becomes a space where reconciliation across boundaries of class and ethnicity are possible, if problematic. In this respect, *The Landlord* represents the tail end of a certain type of sixties liberalism which would contrast sharply with the increasingly paranoid and hostile representations of urban life in films in the early to mid-seventies.

In contrast to the light, satirical touch of *The Landlord*, *Desperate Characters* reworks the brownstone narrative in an altogether darker and more paranoid key. Shirley MacLaine and Kenneth Mars play the "desperate characters" of the title, Sophie and Otto Bentwood, a middle-class couple living on the outskirts of Brooklyn Heights, then a dilapidated, multi-ethnic, working-class neighbourhood. From its opening moments, the film generates a subtle sense of urban paranoia that infuses the drama. The credit

sequence opens with semi-documentary footage of an anonymous Brooklyn street, filmed from an elevated position (fig. 4). On the soundtrack, we hear only the ambient sounds of the street: the constant hum of traffic, children playing in a nearby schoolyard, the murmur of foreign languages. Here, the sensory experience of the modern city is rendered through the constant presence of sound: it is, to use Marshall Berman's quotation from James Joyce, the "shout in the street" of modernity.⁶⁸ The opening sequence unfolds in a single, languid take of nearly two minutes: the camera zooms out, pans slowly to the right, revealing the back of a row of brownstone houses, and then zooms in gradually and deliberately towards the back door of one of the houses in the row. The image then dissolves to a view through the back window into the kitchen, where a couple sit at the table. While we can clearly see them speak, the only sound we hear is the ongoing shouts and cries of the city outside. Only now do we cut to the interior; yet, rather than a classical two-shot, we are instead given a medium shot from an unusually elevated point at the opposite end of the room. Through its subtle disruption of classical spatial codes and sound design, this opening sequence produces a sense of an anonymous, yet pervasive, watching presence. Here and throughout, *Desperate Characters* is a film carefully poised on the edge of horror. But whereas a horror movie would characteristically recuperate the implied gaze to an identifiable agent within the film, here it is left open, producing not only a generalised sense of anxiety but also the notion that the fault-line between interior and exterior, apartment and street is in question.

Early in the film, Sophie is bitten by a stray cat that turns up at her back door. Unable to find a doctor at the weekend, the possibility that she may have contracted rabies amplifies the ever-present sense of paranoia over the days that follow. The slow disintegration of two partnerships – the Bentwoods' marriage, and Otto Bentwood's legal partnership – is plotted out against the decline of the city at large, which like Sophie, is beginning to manifest pathological symptoms of its own. As Vincent Canby wrote in his review for the *New York Times*, "The subways they ride are inhabited by two kinds of people, those who talk to themselves and those who pretend not to notice. The streets are boobytrapped with garbage and dog excrement and drunks who might be stiff."⁶⁹ The cat bite becomes a kind of figure for social contamination, and by extension, the cat itself can be understood as a not-so-subtle symbol of the urban poor. Throughout, the Bentwoods display a type of pioneer mentality with regard to their neighbours, best exemplified by Otto's disparaging remarks about the 'locals' playing 'bongos' on summer evenings.

Though the streets of Brooklyn are represented as fundamentally unsafe, Manhattan fares little better. The central city is primarily depicted as a coldly abstract modern space. This is chiefly figured through one key scene in which Sophie walks through the empty modernist space of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden at MoMA (Philip Johnson, 1953), which is surely intended as a symbol of postwar modernist architecture more generally. This sequence, in which a lone female figure walks through an alienating modern landscape, has clear stylistic echoes of Michelangelo Antonioni's *La notte* (1961). Indeed, the MoMA scene follows a pervasive stylistic tendency of 1970s cinema, perhaps indebted to Antonioni, whereby geometrical framing and an elevated camera position are used to situate the protagonist within a completely built environment. Scale here is important: in contrast to most classical Hollywood framing, the insistence on the long shot ensures that the human body is not the implied subject of the scene, instead placing it within an enveloping architectural environment that takes on causal or deterministic qualities. Sophie catches sight of a friend, Ruth, walking past on the street. Yet this chance encounter – the *sine qua non* of modern street life – is deliberately disrupted and made problematic by the intrusive presence of a set of railings separating the two women. Sophie suggests they meet for lunch. “I don’t eat lunch anymore – I’m on a diet”, counters a noticeably jumpy Ruth, hastily scrambling into a cab. As she leaves, her parting words are obscured – for Sophie and for the audience – by a car horn. Sophie turns to an indifferent passer-by for confirmation of her suspicion: “Did she tell me to go away?” These communicative difficulties of the modern city are refracted through her burgeoning sense of paranoia. Her social interactions become increasingly fraught, and this fragile mental state is projected expressionistically onto one street scene which is almost entirely out of focus.

When the telephone rings late at night, there is a pregnant pause while the Bentwoods consider whether or not to answer. Their apparent anxiety is proved appropriate, for it is an anonymous prank call, evidently a common phenomenon. Such calls – whether silent, deep breathing, or explicitly obscene – recur across movies of the period, from *Desperate Characters* and *Little Murders* to *Klute* and *Play Misty for Me* (Clint Eastwood, 1971). The resonance is twofold. Firstly, they are a direct incursion into the private, secluded space of the apartment, their anonymity suggesting a generalised or abstract sense of menace, the urban jungle penetrating the protective shell of the interior. Further, in this context the telephone stands in as a more tangible figure for newer forms of communication and information technologies that were transforming the nature of private space itself, a

relationship explored further by contemporary films such as *The Anderson Tapes* (Sidney Lumet, 1971) and *The Conversation* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1974).

If the amiable anti-urbanism of *The Out-of-Towners* (1970) had concluded that the good life really was to be found back in Twin Oaks, Ohio, after all, then these films find no such consolation in prelapsarian rural idyll or post-urban exurbia. Retreating to their Long Island holiday home, the Bentwoods appear momentarily to have escaped their urban predicament. However, a carefully calculated shock awaits them: the summerhouse has been trashed, the apparent motive not robbery but rather class hatred. A grotesque scarecrow landowner sits at their kitchen table; dead birds litter the bath. The Bentwoods suspect the resentful locals; as *Straw Dogs* (Sam Peckinpah, 1971) and *Deliverance* (John Boorman, 1972) were also to suggest in the 1970s, the countryside represented only an illusory outside to the social disorder of the city. With the ghetto riots and political struggles of the 1960s supposedly fresh in the memory, Otto Bentwood's fear has direct overtones of class conflict: "I wouldn't mind being shot in a revolution, or having my house burned, but this is meaningless". Returning to their Brooklyn apartment, they pause momentarily on the stoop. "Suppose they've been here too?" says Sophie. "Not yet", answers her husband, though exactly who "they" are remains ambiguous. As the credits roll, the camera remains outside, stationary, filming the front door; there is no music on the soundtrack, only the ever-present hum of the city streets.

Placed in their historical context, what is perhaps surprising about these two representations of brownstone living in the early 1970s is the extent to which they present urban life as a site of racial and class divisions and, especially in *Desperate Characters*, figure the city as a paranoid and hostile place. This contrasted strongly with the increasingly confident self-image of the upwardly mobile professionals occupying brownstones, whose values and taste were in the process of becoming normalised by publications from the *New York Times* to *New York Magazine*. Yet, as I will explore further below, this class would find its cinematic expression later in the decade as New York's image began to be revised and rehabilitated both off and on screen.

Other New York films of the 1970s picked up on similar themes, placing rented apartments rather than brownstones at the centre of their narratives, and very often representing the intertwined spaces of home life and work, itself in the process of change. At the start of the 1960s, Billy Wilder's *The Apartment* (1960) had suggested that the apparently opposed spaces of work and home were already becoming increasingly inseparable. Yet, in Wilder's film the routinised anonymity of office life is ameliorated by the possibility

of the chance encounter: in other words, this is still an office block where a boy might meet a girl in the elevator. Baxter's apartment itself is presented as a place for romantic encounters on the one hand and on the other, as a place of exchange, symbolised by the circulation of the key around the office. For all Wilder's characteristic cynicism, *The Apartment* remains a film suffused with the romance of the big city, presenting an ultimately celebratory vision of late-modern New York. In contrast, in films of the 1970s, the apartment was often the location through which a set of anxieties about urban life were articulated and expressed. Released in 1975 at the height of the city's fiscal crisis, *The Prisoner of Second Avenue* (1975) is a comic exploration of the social effects of economic downturn. Based on Neil Simon's successful Broadway production, the film follows the travails of recently unemployed Manhattanite Mel Edison (Jack Lemmon), an organisation man without an organisation. His wife Edna (Anne Bancroft) returns to work, leaving Mel stranded in their midtown apartment. "I'm unravelling", Edison exclaims. "I'm losing touch ... I'm disappearing. I don't need an analyst; I need lost and found". Edison's breakdown is precipitated by two events: firstly, his redundancy, and with it, access to the commercial and professional environment of the office; and in quick succession, the theft of the personal possessions and commodities which line the private sphere of his apartment.

This implicit relationship between bourgeois subjectivity and social space was one analysed by Walter Benjamin in "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century". Benjamin described how the emergence and triumph of the bourgeois subject or 'private individual' in mid-nineteenth-century France was not only bound up with new forms of democratic governance, but also a specific ordering of social space. For Benjamin, the notion of the private individual was constructed through a perceived opposition between the private space of the apartment and the commercial space of the office.⁷⁰ As Tom Gunning explains, Benjamin's analysis of the new commercial space of the Arcade was centred precisely on this boundary between exterior and interior:

The exterior as interior becomes a crucial emblem for Benjamin's analysis of the nineteenth century, because this ambiguous spatial interpenetration responds to an essential division on which the experience of the bourgeois society is founded, the creation of the interior as a radical separation from the exterior, as a home in which the bourgeois can dwell and dream undisturbed by the noise, activity, and threats of the street, the space of the masses and of production, a private individual divorced from the community.⁷¹

In *Desperate Characters*, *Little Murders*, *The Prisoner of Second Avenue*, and *Klute*, there is a pivotal moment within the narrative in which the apartment is broken into and ransacked. In these scenes, the intruders characteristically remain anonymous. The possessions and furniture – as Benjamin would have it, the traces of the bourgeois individual – are stolen, turned upside down, or in *Klute*, violated in more explicitly sexual terms. In his analysis of the detective story, Benjamin described “a certain type of detective novel at the dynamic centre of which stands the horror of apartments”.⁷² In these films, such a “horror of apartments” is manifested as the inability to maintain their separation from the intrusion of the urban exterior.

This fear of intrusion into the protective shell of the apartment is also a central theme of *Klute* (Alan J. Pakula, 1971), which offers elements both of the urban anxiety film and the paranoid thriller, linking together the disparate elements of the “dual city” and providing a compelling portrait of the city in transition. Interviewed for a promotional featurette, both Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland expressed concern about the state of 1970s New York that mirrored that of their characters. Like his character, John Klute – a security operative from Tuscarora, Pennsylvania – Sutherland was an out-of-towner. As he remarked, “I think anyone who comes here for the first time is initially appalled – the air is impossible to breathe, there are too many people, and it is compressed too tightly. I was awestruck by the areas of degradation and squalor”. Similarly, Jane Fonda accentuated the psychological impact of the city in a way that echoed her character, the prostitute Bree Daniels: “After you’ve been in New York a month, you become tense, and nervous, and alienated, and consequently you don’t notice it so much in other people”.⁷³

Like *Desperate Characters*, the city in *Klute* is represented as a site of female neurosis.⁷⁴ Bree is undergoing analysis – presumably an unlikely pastime for a call-girl – and conversations with her analyst are interspersed with the main action of the narrative. A self-confessed “nervous broad”, Bree suffers from a generalised anxiety about her urban surroundings which she channels onto the apartment itself: “I get these feeling, but they’re just feelings – it’s just me ... Sometimes I get spooked and I think I see people, hear things. Or I go out in the morning and think somebody has been prying open my mailbox, or if there’s trash in front of my door, I think somebody’s trying to freak me out”. Her apartment is consistently figured as a paranoid space of confinement and surveillance. Gordon Willis’s low-light cinematography and restricted palette constructs the interior as dark and claustrophobic. Visual emphasis is placed on points of entry and vision, with recurring

images of the skylight and shots framed through the window from the exterior. Pakula also uses framing to present Bree as confined and isolated within the space of the apartment. For example, in her first interrogation scene with John Klute, the shot is persistently framed over Sutherland's shoulder in an uneven composition, leaving over two-thirds of the frame entirely black. For Bree, downward social mobility is a pressing concern: while she once kept a pad on Park Avenue – “a nice apartment, with leather furniture” – she has slipped a few rungs down the ladder. Though the scenes for her brownstone were filmed in the West 40s, it is kept ambiguous in the film. While it may be Harlem, it sharply contrasts with the squalor evident in the scenes where Bree visits her junkie friend, Arlyn Page.

Indeed, Bree's uncertain class identity is central to the film. As Jane Fonda explained, “Bree is a girl from a middle-class family, who has had at least a couple of years of college”.⁷⁵ Though she works intermittently as a prostitute, Bree aspires to work in the city's expanding cultural industries, auditioning unsuccessfully for fashion modelling and parts in off-Broadway productions. In these sequences, it is made clear that inclusion in the city's new cultural economy is protected by invisible yet all-too-present boundaries. These new industries are contrasted with those in decline, such as that of her customer, the old garment cutter Goldfarb. A deliberate sense of slippage is created between Bree's work as a prostitute – consistently shown as a kind of dramatic performance – and her points of entry into the cultural economy, all of which centre around her body as a commodity. As Bree jokes, prostitution is merely the logical extension of this the reification of the female body: at \$200 a night, she is roughly equivalent in value to a “perfectly good dishwasher”. The film points to the ways in which the affective labour, especially of women, has been marshalled into the productive circuits of post-Fordist capitalism.

Momentarily, the film reveals what Sutherland referred to as the “marvellous microcosms” of urban street life; in a fleeting instant of romantic warmth and domesticity, the couple shop for fruit at a 9th Avenue grocery stand.⁷⁶ However, this is immediately punctured as the couple return to find their apartment ransacked. Here, the invasion of the apartment is explicitly figured as sexual, a symbolic violation of Bree by proxy. In a climactic moment of horror, the phone rings: Bree listens aghast as a recording of her own voice is replayed to her down the line. This mobilises above all the fear of what Michel Chion calls the disembodied or “acousmatic voice”.⁷⁷ The intrusion into domestic space is also represented through technology itself, a theme that is repeated throughout the film. Anxiety is reproduced through the *mise-en-scène* with the repeated appearance of specific technological

objects – in particular, the recurring motif of the miniature reel-to-reel tape recorder that Cable uses to record his interactions with his victims.

As his surname playfully suggests, Cable also represents the communicational network itself. As Fredric Jameson has suggested, one of the salient aspects of Pakula's films of the 1970s is the way in which "the public-private opposition is rehearsed ... in unusual and untraditional ways".⁷⁸ As Jameson explains, the film untraditionally associates the public realm not with the urban centre but with the exurban community of which Klute, Gruneman and Cable are members, whereas the city is linked to the privacy, interiority and individual psychopathology. These shifting articulations of public and private also cut across the obvious opposition within the film between the notionally private, domestic space of Bree's apartment and Cable's downtown office. This key spatial opposition within the city is marked by a series of formal strategies; as Pakula put it, the film "seems to straddle two styles: naturalism and a baroque theatricality".⁷⁹

In the 1970s, Alan J. Pakula and others used modernist architecture – and, in particular, the endless, isotropic grid of the curtain wall – as a series of spatial tropes to signify political and economic crisis and reorganisation in terms other than linear narrative. Pakula has referred to his style as "American Baroque": a particularly stylised presentation of space that draws both on the influence of European cinematic modernism – especially the architectural abstractions of Antonioni – and the more specifically American genres of film noir and melodrama.⁸⁰ *Klute* makes a symbolic and structural link between the domestic, private sphere of the home and the restructuring and expansion of downtown office space, cutting between the dark interior of Bree's apartment and the sleek, abstract geometry of Cable's office. These sequences were filmed at 140 Broadway – then the Marine Midland Building – an emblematic late-modernist skyscraper designed by Gordon Bunshaft for Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM).⁸¹ With a gossamer-thin, homogenous curtain wall in black tinted glass and anodised aluminium, 140 Broadway was celebrated by architectural critics such as Ada Louise Huxtable, who called it "New York's ultimate skin building".⁸² SOM had come to be associated, perhaps more than any other practice, with the development of minimalist, Miesian aesthetics into an enduring idiom of corporate architecture. As Arthur Drexler, director of the Department of Architecture and Design at MoMA wrote: "The 'function' of the building is recognised as analogous to that of a package; what is offered is a commodity: portions of space. Marine Midland is thus a commodity in a glass and metal wrapping so flat that it appears to have been printed rather than built".⁸³



Figure 5: Cable's office and views of construction in Downtown Manhattan in *Klute* (Warner Bros, 1971).

Although *Klute's* narrative deals with Bree and Cable on psychoanalytic terms, its *mise-en-scène* complicates and abstracts these notions into a more structural sense of malaise. In particular, the sequences at 140 Broadway situate Cable in a structural or architectural context. In one scene, Pakula presents Cable in his office, listening to a surreptitiously recorded tape of Bree. As her voice plays on the soundtrack, we are presented with a series of static compositions: Cable mirrored in the reflective surface of his desk; Cable in his chair, framed by the stark black-and-white lines of the office windows; and then a wider shot, that frames him against the skyline outside. This final shot, out of the downtown Manhattan office window, shows kangaroo cranes reconstructing lower Manhattan – most likely, involved in the final stages of construction for the World Trade Center towers (fig. 5). This movement from the specific to the general is repeated later in a similar sequence: Cable is framed against the window, from the outside, while the camera begins to zoom out and away from the building, revealing the rest of the skyscraper. These sequences place Cable within a wider social configuration, moving away from personal, psychological sickness (Cable as stalker, voyeur, murderer) to situate him within social and economic structures (Cable the employer, the businessman, apparent pillar of society), utilising the symbolic force of the vertical distance and the inexpressive surface of the curtain wall. As Pakula put it, "*Klute* is a vertical movie ... I tried to fight against the horizontal format of Panavision and seek verticals. The horizontal relaxes, creates a pastoral feeling".⁸⁴

As the film progresses, the representation of Bree's apartment undergoes a subtle shift. As Roger Greenspun observed, after *Klute* nurses Bree through drug withdrawal, "suddenly her apartment, which had been a mess until then, appears all waxed floors and newly discovered fireplace, in a good-taste tenement restoration semi-traditional that may be a key to the soul

of *Klute*.⁸⁵ The apartment, which has been symbolically presented as an articulation of Bree's interior psychological state, mirrors her own progressive rehabilitation through her contact with John Klute. At the end of the film, Bree's apartment again takes centre stage. The film closes with a static shot of the empty apartment, presented like an estate agent's photograph: spacious, wooden floors, original features. Over the top, we hear Bree's voiceover, spoken to her analyst: "I've no idea what's going to happen – I just can't stay in the city". But then she adds a contradictory rejoinder: "Maybe I'll come back. You'll probably see me next week". This ending has been read in opposing ways. For example, Colin MacCabe has argued that "what she really wants is to settle down in the [Midwest] with John Klute ... and have a family".⁸⁶ For MacCabe, *Klute* demonstrates the persistence of the classical realist text in the New Hollywood. Though he argues that Bree's voiceover is to be understood as a suturing metadiscourse, it might equally well be understood as a disruptively subjective element. Yet either way, this privileges the authority of language over form. This melancholy empty space – very similar in mood and effect to the end credits of *Desperate Characters* – leaves Bree's narrative visually unresolved, while at the same time, suggesting a urban development process yet to fully unfold.

Released in the same year as *Desperate Characters* and *Klute*, *Little Murders* explored similar territory in the mode of black comedy. Adapted from a play by *Village Voice* cartoonist Jules Feiffer, the film follows the fortunes of a young couple Alfred (Elliott Gould) and Patsy (Marcia Rodd), a photographer and interior designer, respectively. In *Little Murders*, the pitfalls of urban life – burglaries, muggings, power cuts, and obscene phone calls – are dealt with a blasé nonchalance until the occurrence of one final, deadly intrusion from without, escalated to a nightmarish conclusion: while Alfred and Patsy embrace in their apartment, she is shot dead by a sniper through the window. Soon, the family have become besieged in their apartment, armed to the teeth behind a series of bulletproof screens and locks. This fortified apartment suggests a kind of proto-gated community, a protective shell against the threatening incursions of urban life. Patsy's father mounts a hysterical tirade: "We need a giant fence around every block in the city – an electronically-charged fence! And anyone who wants to leave the block has to get a pass, and a haircut, and can't talk with a filthy mouth! We need respect for a man's reputation! TV cameras ... that's what we need – TV cameras! In every building lobby, in every elevator, in every room". *Death Wish* (Michael Winner, 1974) took this urban anxiety into the realms of the exploitation film, explicitly rendering the violence that is only threatened elsewhere. A street gang break into the family apartment,

murder the mother, sexually assault the daughter and spray graffiti on the walls. Rather than increased surveillance, the implied 'solution' to the urban crisis is instead a vigilante revenge fantasy – a theme that would be ambiguously reprised by Martin Scorsese in *Taxi Driver* (1976).⁸⁷

The era's television displayed similar ambivalences in its representation of the city. As the television critic Stephanie Harrington observed in *Harper's*, the major networks had invested heavily in urban programming in a bid to capture the most active viewing demographic, young to middle-aged residents of cities and their inner suburbs. Despite the urban crisis, Harrington noted, around three-quarters of prime-time shows were either based in cities or infused with what she called a "metropolitan sensibility".⁸⁸ New York sitcoms such as *All in the Family* (CBS, 1971-1979), *Doc* (CBS, 1975-1976), *The Jeffersons* (CBS, 1975-1985) and *Maude* (CBS, 1972-1978) tended to create a nostalgic, family-oriented view of urban life that harked back to an earlier era of close-knit communities and cross-generational interaction. This apparent rejection of contemporary urban reality did, however, resonate with films of the era in one important respect. As these shows were almost entirely shot in Los Angeles, their studio-based, interior feel also helped to create a sense of the besieged domestic sphere as disconnected from the city street. As Harrington writes, "The mood of the urban situation comedy connects with the suppressed paranoia of actual city dwellers in only one way: almost all of the action takes place within the four walls of someone's home, totally cut off from the streets outside. We never see the urban landscape. And this reinforces the sense of the apartment as family fortress".⁸⁹ Conversely, another popular strand of television programming was the street-smart cop show, best represented by *Kojak* (CBS, 1973-1978), which tended to present the city streets as an essentially unsafe space through which police pursued criminals. In this regard, the televisual image of the city was also split between the crime genre and its concern with policing and surveillance on the one hand and on the other, ambivalent representations of the domestic interior and its complex relationship to the wider urban environment.

The late 1970s: reconciliation with the city

From the early 1970s, it was clear that negative and essentially anti-urban representations of New York were having an adverse effect on the city. In *Branding New York*, Miriam Greenberg argues that the crisis of New York was compounded by an "image crisis, through which negative representations

in and of themselves were exacerbating the city's wider economic decline".⁹⁰ The political and economic significance of the city's image was underlined in 1971 by the candid assessment of credit agency Standard & Poor's that "the city's bad publicity resulting from crime, strikes, welfare, and other municipal problems has been a major factor in the failure to upgrade the city's credit rating".⁹¹ Greenberg outlines how the city's political, business and cultural elites collaborated in an intensive place marketing strategy to revitalise the image of the city for investors, tourists, and middle-class homeowners. Influential public relations campaigns such as Big Apple (begun in 1971) and I ♥ New York (from 1977) worked in confluence with the pro-business reforms enacted in the wake of the fiscal crisis. As Greenberg summarises, "lifestyle magazines and marketing campaigns created a cleaned-up vision, presenting New York as a safe and exciting city for the 'average' white, middle-class consumer" – a vision which "helped to promote and sell the city's postindustrial and neoliberal program of economic development".⁹²

Towards the end of the 1970s the cinematic image of New York also began to be 'rehabilitated' – or perhaps 'gentrified' – by a number of commercially successful and critically acclaimed films such as *Annie Hall* (Woody Allen, 1977), *Kramer vs. Kramer* (Robert Benton, 1978), *An Unmarried Woman* (Paul Mazursky, 1978) and *Manhattan* (Woody Allen, 1979).⁹³ These films enacted a symbolic reconciliation of the white middle-class audience and the urban centre, producing an updated image of the city consonant with its re-articulation in marketing and publicity campaigns. In each of these films, the protagonists work in professions which are emblematic of the new economy – finance, advertising, television, and fine art – and the spaces in which they work and live plot out the co-ordinates of an upper-middle-class milieu that had begun to return to the inner city in force. As Castells and Mollenkopf note, from around 1977 onwards "the white middle- and upper-middle-class professional and managerial strata experienced a considerable growth in income. They fashioned their spaces not only in old upper class areas, but fuelled the creation of new residential and consumption zones in former industrial areas like SoHo and in townhouse areas like the Upper West Side, Chelsea, Brooklyn Heights, and Park Slope".⁹⁴

Above all, this visual reframing of the city was crystallised by the famous opening montage sequence to *Manhattan*. Shot in sumptuous widescreen black-and-white, this city symphony celebrated the architecture, parks, and bustling street life of the modern metropolis. However, its iconographic reference points were resolutely stuck in the early-to-mid-twentieth century from the Chrysler Building (William Van Alen, 1930) to the Guggenheim Museum

(Frank Lloyd Wright, 1959). Similarly, the most enduring romantic image from the film (and its poster image) – Allen and Diane Keaton watching the dawn rise over the Queensboro Bridge – uses the steel cantilever bridge (completed 1909) as a synecdoche for a specific moment of twentieth-century urban modernity.⁹⁵ Allen’s comic, self-reflexive voiceover suggested the difficulty of representing a city that had already accumulated so many layers of mythology and cliché. Yet it is difficult not to associate the director’s vision with the sentiments of the voiceover, which self-consciously “romanticized New York out of all proportion”; clearly, for Allen, “this was still a town that existed in black and white, and pulsed to the great tunes of George Gershwin”. Of course, this nostalgic view of the city was an effect consciously sought out by Allen, as he explained in the *New York Times*: “the black-and-white photography, the Panavision, the romanticised view of New York – all that’s part of the story”.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, consciously or not, it largely downplayed the social, demographic and architectural transformations that the city had undergone in the previous two decades, and as his detractors have often been keen to point out, suppressed the city’s ethnic and cultural diversity.

In comparison, the extended montage that opened Sidney Lumet’s *Dog Day Afternoon* (1975) – released four years earlier at the height of the fiscal crisis – offered an altogether different, if no less heartfelt, visual compendium of the city. Lumet’s New York extends beyond Manhattan into the more traditionally blue-collar borough of Brooklyn, accentuating the visible indices of urban crisis (decay, garbage, homelessness) as well as more proletarian scenes of everyday life, which it contrasts with the distant presence of the downtown skyline and its citadels of finance. These extended montage sequences are persistent features of 1970s film. Going beyond traditional functions of establishing narrative location, these montages are often disconnected from plot, character, or temporal sequence, taking on a more abstract and generalised relationship to the social space of the narrative that is about to unfold. The credit or pre-credit sequence then arguably allows for a semi-abstract, purely visual organisation of space within the Hollywood narrative form that would otherwise risk appearing excessive or indulgent at any other moment in the film. These opening sequences in later Hollywood films – often ‘sutured’ together by the addition of popular music – are able to develop a kind of preliminary mapping or spatial diagram of the film’s territory. Just as advertising operates through presenting a set of images or clichés as a shorthand for a particular way of living, being, or consuming, these sequences of the city exemplify a mode of urbanism or spatiality, allowing the film’s narrative to develop an close contextual relationship to its socio-economic setting.

Paul Mazursky's *An Unmarried Woman* (1978) presented a less self-consciously romanticised portrait of the urban middle class. The film also opens with a panoramic view of the city, a soaring helicopter shot that takes us over the Queensboro Bridge and the newly reconstructed Roosevelt Island, along the shore of the East River. The film centres on a middle-class family – Erica (Jill Clayburgh), Martin (Michael Murphy) and their daughter Patti (Lisa Lucas) – whose lives are up-ended when Martin leaves to live with another woman. As Todd Gitlin and Carol Wolman observed, the city of *An Unmarried Woman* is “above all a romantic look at selected Manhattan ambiances: the Upper East Side, land of chic restaurants, white sofas, and jogs along the East River; and SoHo, land of the avant-garde artist as successful entrepreneur”.⁹⁷ The earlier films' pervasive anxiety about public space is overturned. For example, in *Kramer vs. Kramer*, the Central Park Mall is reclaimed as a family space; in *An Unmarried Woman*, the Bentons take morning jogs along the East River. If domestic space was figured in the earlier films as a fortress – a space of confinement, enclosure and surveillance, or as an extension of the fragmented urban subject – the interiors of *An Unmarried Woman* are symbolically opened outwards onto the city. In the Benton's plush modern apartment in the Upper East Side, each wall is dominated by large windows with spectacular views onto Manhattan. In one sequence, Erica finds herself alone in the apartment and dances in her underwear to *Swan Lake*. Charlotte Brunsdon has suggested that this scene presents us with Erica's “fantasy of being appreciatively watched” and as Laura Mulvey famously suggested of classical film, it offers her first and foremost as an “erotic spectacle”.⁹⁸ Yet it is important here that a second spectacle is presented for our visual pleasure: the image of the city itself, which dominates the background of these shots. In addition to the Benton's Upper East Side residence, another paradigmatic apartment space is introduced in Mazursky's film: the SoHo loft. As Erica asserts her independence, she becomes involved with a successful English artist Saul (Alan Bates) who lives and works in a converted loft space. As James Sanders has pointed out, this represented an entirely new cinematic location. Its consecration in a Hollywood film signalled that loft living had moved from the underground into mainstream urban culture. Since the late 1950s, artists had been using space in areas of the city that had been previously dedicated to light manufacturing, particularly in the area South of Houston Street (SoHo), which had been declared an historic preservation area in 1973 on account of its unique concentration of cast-iron architecture.⁹⁹

As Charlotte Brunsdon notes, *An Unmarried Woman* was among a series of late seventies films that dealt with shifting notions of femininity; if not

feminist films *per se*, they dealt with the advances of feminism as a social fact and incorporated these concerns into their narratives.¹⁰⁰ While the break-up and recombination of relationships, marriages, and families is central to each of the four films mentioned above, their narratives are broadly positive and reconciliatory. Despite being unable to repair the initial schism, these films signalled an acceptance of new modes of living in the city – as in the father-son relationship in *Kramer vs. Kramer* – or female sexual independence, as in *An Unmarried Woman*.¹⁰¹ While these films have been loosely grouped together by David Cook as the “comedy of divorce”, they were also in another sense still “comedies of remarriage”, though the reconciliation was not marital but rather the renewed union between the middle-class and inner-city urban space.¹⁰²

Finance, technology and the heist film

While the films discussed in the previous section were focused around the redevelopment of residential space, New York crime films of the 1970s displayed an almost obsessive interest in the infrastructure of the city, from the decaying roads, railways and bridges that link Manhattan to the further reaches of the other boroughs, to its proliferating networks of information and communication that extended out into global space. In seeking innovative ways of presenting essentially formulaic genre entertainment, these films were closely attuned to shifts in the financial and technological networks that underpinned the city. In this respect, the films in this section are to be understood symptomatically, focusing on the ways in which they often unintentionally documented or revealed salient aspects of the 1970s city within the framework of popular film. In particular, heists and hijacks were genre formulas that registered some of the ways in which finance and technology were reordering the spatiality of New York City. Through the organisation of a few basic components, the heist narrative plots out relationships between labour, space, money, and technology, or in other words, many of the underlying structures of the late-capitalist city. This section considers three heist films of the 1970s: *The Taking of Pelham 123* (Joseph Sargent, 1974), *The Anderson Tapes* (Sidney Lumet, 1971), and *Cops and Robbers* (Aram Avakian, 1973), each of which represents the restructuring of seventies New York through the refracting lens of its genre requirements.

The heist was a popular genre staple throughout the decade, in films such as *The Last Heist* (1970), *The Hot Rock* (1972), *The Outfit* (1973), *Charley Varrick*

(1973), *Bank Shot* (1974), *Dog Day Afternoon* (1975), *Special Delivery* (1976) and *The Brinks Job* (1978). In the 1970s, these films began to operate a type of submerged self-reflexivity at the level of the genre as a whole. The need to invent novel ways to present a plot contained by an essentially limited set of options became fundamentally connected to the sense within the narrative that the very notion of the heist was becoming outmoded. This then became a characteristic thematic concern. For example, in *Charley Varrick*, Walther Matthau's team of bank robbers doubles up as a small crop-spraying business; they are the self-styled "last of the independents", whose last stand in the film against the mafia is played out as the family business versus the corporation. Elsewhere, as in *The Anderson Tapes* or *Cops and Robbers*, the gang must adapt to new technologies of surveillance and detection, which are beginning to render their methods anachronistic; in *Dog Day Afternoon* or *The Taking of Pelham 123*, the heist becomes the characteristically 1970s event of the hijack, which is first and foremost a media event.

From the New York Subway system to the Stock Exchange, these films are typically concerned with what Anthony Giddens has referred to as "abstract systems": technological and economic structures operated by experts beyond the realm of everyday understanding.¹⁰³ These systems often function as what Giddens calls "disembedding mechanisms", which reorder the relationship between the individual and their spatiotemporal context.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, as Fredric Jameson has suggested, the heist movie is "always in one way or another an inscription of collective non-alienated work", whose protagonists are a self-organising collective of skilled manual labourers and intellectuals planning to obtain wealth to emancipate themselves from the world of work (one last 'job').¹⁰⁵ At this level, what is played out in the heist films of the 1970s is the difficulty of organising resistance to an increasingly fluid organisation of power and space. However, as genre entertainment, any level of critique is always necessarily limited by the films' own fascination with these abstract systems and the formal and narrative problems that they generate.

Furthermore, the crime genre's distinctive use of architecture and infrastructure as mise-en-scène makes defining the social and political perspective of these films especially complex. On the one hand, crime films have frequently critiqued the city from alternately progressive or reactionary perspectives. However, outwardly negative or critical narrative content must be balanced against the potential meaning and effects of films' use of city space as backdrop and social signifier. Frequently, crime films of this period displayed an excessive use of city space that went well

beyond scene setting or narrative utility. We might consider, for example, the credit sequence of *Madigan* (Don Siegel, 1968), which presents a kind of topographical survey of midtown Manhattan and its skyscrapers filmed upside-down from the window of a night patrol car. Similarly, the 1972 heist film *The Hot Rock* (Peter Yates, 1972), provides an opportunity for Dortmund (Robert Redford) and his crew to disguise themselves as policemen and pilot a helicopter across downtown Manhattan. In an extended, dialogue-free scene lasting several minutes, the movie takes us on a vertigo-inducing ride over the financial district, lingering particularly on the twin towers of the World Trade Center, then in the final stages of construction. Here, the danger and violence of the city implied by the crime narrative is more than offset by the potential branding opportunities of these extended views of the remodelled cityscape. Far from the blighted landscapes of Harlem and the Bronx, these viewpoints implicitly presented the success of the city's finance sector as architectural fact and asserted New York's symbolic agency on the global stage.

Realism and docufiction

The 1970s saw an increasing convergence between the popular narrative forms of Hollywood cinema and the 'bestseller' novel.¹⁰⁶ Each of the three heist movies under consideration in this section were developed from popular crime novels: *The Anderson Tapes* by Lawrence Sanders, *The Taking of Pelham 123* by John Godey, and *Cops and Robbers* by Donald Westlake. In his analysis of the 1970s bestseller format, John Sutherland classifies *The Anderson Tapes* as emblematic of a genre he dubs "superdocumentary". This format, exemplified by the work of writers such as Michael Crichton, Lawrence Sanders, and Robert Ludlum, characteristically attempted to present the fiction as reportage, through extensive research, insider knowledge, the use of contemporary news events as source material, and most importantly, the use of authentication devices. Often taking the form of prefaces, footnotes, or appendices, such devices frame the fictional material within an apparently authentic depth of information. For Sutherland, the superdocumentary often amplified this trend in such a way that "authentication was flagrant, and calculatedly designed to rupture the surface of the narrative".¹⁰⁷

Such authenticating devices were, of course, not new to literary fiction. In the early development of the novel in the eighteenth century, the narrative was typically introduced with a preface that established the 'fictional

contract' by presenting the main body of the text as 'real' material such as diaries, letters, or reports.¹⁰⁸ Once the third-person narration of the realist novel had become conventionalised, such strategies were no longer necessary. Similarly, classical Hollywood film had little need for narrative authentication, for its illusionism already rested on a willing suspension of disbelief. To stake such a claim for verisimilitude would be to disrupt the play between spectatorial expectation and a highly conventionalised set of narratives and tropes. Yet, in the 1970s such devices were particularly evident in the docufiction impulse of the New York crime film – for example in *The French Connection* (William Friedkin, 1971), *Serpico* (Sidney Lumet, 1973), *Dog Day Afternoon* (Sidney Lumet, 1975), and *Prince of the City* (Sidney Lumet, 1979), each of which were based closely on recent real-life events. As well as the textual authentication of the pre- and end-titles, great care was taken to replicate the detail of the real case, whether by assigning the real-life detectives as advisers (*The French Connection*), or through attention to what Lumet referred to as “the truth of the location”.¹⁰⁹

Documentary also informed cinematic style. Owen Roizman recalls how he worked with William Friedkin on *The French Connection* to achieve a “rough, almost documentary” feel, underexposing the film and then force developing it a couple of stops to reproduce a flat, grey quality to the light.¹¹⁰ Friedkin has also tellingly described his approach to filming *The French Connection* as “induced documentary”.¹¹¹ During many of the outdoor sequences, the actors would rehearse the scene without the camera crew present. The camera operator, Enrique Bravo, would follow the action without knowing where the actors would move next. For Friedkin, this “imperfect” style was influenced both by European cinema (Friedkin cites both Godard and Costa-Gavras) and implicitly, Third Cinema: Bravo had worked as a cameraman on political documentaries in Cuba.¹¹² This realist aesthetic – or perhaps better, films which excessively articulate the ‘reality’ of their textual discourse – can be understood as a symptomatic response to contemporary pressures. Rather than succumb to postmodern fragmentation and depthlessness, they attempted to reground the image in the ‘gritty’ reality of the city as a reaction to the abstracting or disembedding processes of urban and economic restructuring. The apparent exhaustion of classical film genres in the 1970s therefore produced two primary responses: a tendency towards self-reflexivity, genre deconstruction, and pastiche on the one hand, and the turn to docufiction and realist aesthetics on the other. Though Lumet’s later New York films enact this realist turn more substantially than *The Anderson Tapes*, it is in this earlier film that the relationship between city space and surveillance technology is most explicitly

rendered. As Sutherland argues, the “superdocumentary” is closely related to technological innovation, in that it serves to “digest new technology and reduce its alien configurations to familiarity, for the easier consumption of a non-technocratic reading public”.¹¹³

In *The Anderson Tapes*, the heist centres around a plush apartment block on the Upper East Side. The plot is to steal the entire contents of the block in one sweep: furniture, antiques, jewellery, paintings, sculpture, and any other bourgeois accoutrements (in contrast to the films discussed in the previous section, the audience is effectively placed on the other side of the mirror). Duke Anderson (Sean Connery) has recently been released from a ten-year prison stretch. This time-lapse operates as a device for presenting technological advance as if to an awakening patient; one of Anderson’s gang has been in prison since before the Great Depression. As Anderson stakes out the apartment block, a new type of security is visible: the electronic monitoring of closed-circuit television.

In Sanders’s novel, the plot unfolds entirely through transcripts from wiretaps, testimony of law enforcement agencies, and witness statements. Each section is presented as a kind of secret dossier, giving precise details of time and place, method of surveillance, and a code. If Lumet’s film is unable to make the formal leap necessary to reflect this aspect of the novel, it attempts to do so at the narrational level, for there is no scene in the film which cannot be traced back to some kind of audio/visual surveillance or recounted testimony, whether wiretaps, film, court records, or police interviews. Even the heist scene itself is continually disrupted by what appear to be flash forwards to the victims making police statements. A picture of Anderson and his heist is built up from the data collected around the movements of his team members, each of which are being monitored by agencies both private and public: Ingrid is being covertly recorded by private investigators working for her jealous boyfriend; Anderson’s mafia contacts are being tracked by the Treasury Department and the IRS; Anderson’s accomplice Tommy is under FBI surveillance for fencing stolen antiques; agents working on behalf of the House Internal Security Committee (the descendent of HUAC) are staking out a Black Panther office underneath the driver’s apartment; the Kid (Christopher Walken) is being followed by the narcotics squad; and finally, the apartment block itself is being constantly monitored by the concierge on a set of CCTV screens in the lobby.

The first image of the film is a recording of Anderson on the now-familiar monochrome tones of a closed-circuit television screen. The camera pulls back, revealing the prisoner watching himself. Shortly to be freed after a ten-year stretch, he is undergoing a final group session with the prison

psychologists. Following this initial sequence of medical monitoring, the credits then establish the prevalence of CCTV cameras in the prison. On the outside, such monitoring technologies are then shown to have been extended from specific zones such as the prison to the civic spaces of the city, from semi-public areas – the Port Authority bus terminal and the bank – to the notionally private spaces of the apartment and, finally, the bedroom.

This movement, from the specific ‘disciplinary’ site of the prison to the wider city – from a regulated, confined space to the diffuse interpenetration of the entire social field – has clear resonances with Michel Foucault’s analysis of panopticism in *Discipline and Punish*. Though Foucault’s analysis, first published in 1975, centres on the emergence of disciplinary power as a nascent model for social control during the Enlightenment, it is not coincidentally related to the contemporary development of technologies that were finally making Bentham’s model possible in ways it had not been before. For Foucault, Bentham’s Panopticon is “a diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form”. Not only “a type of location of bodies in space”, the vocation of the disciplinary diagram of the Panopticon “was to become a generalized function”, operating in a “diffused, multiple, polyvalent way throughout the whole social body”.¹¹⁴

In the specific context of New York, such panoptic measures were introduced in the 1960s and 1970s in response to soaring crime rates and the pervasive sense of urban anxiety I have discussed in the previous section of this chapter. At the same time as location shooting was flourishing on the streets of the city, the rapid proliferation of surveillance techniques, from CCTV cameras to police wiretaps, were enacting an entirely different audiovisual monitoring of urban space. CCTV surveillance schemes were spearheaded by the Association for a Better New York, a semi-public body led by real estate developer Lewis Rudin. A new type of public-private partnership, ABNY represented corporate interests in city government and advocated a series of reforms in order to repair New York’s dismal public image.¹¹⁵ ABNY organised private funds for high-profile CCTV schemes in Midtown Manhattan, especially around Times Square. As the *New York Times* reported, it was “the first time that such extensive and permanent electronic surveillance had been installed on the city’s streets”.¹¹⁶

Notions of surveillance also informed urban planning discourse and discussions of public housing. A key theoretical exposition of such policies can be found in Oscar Newman’s influential study *Defensible Space: People and Design in the Violent City* (1972), one of several critiques of modernist architecture and urban planning published during the 1970s.¹¹⁷ Using New

York Housing Authority Data, covering some 528,000 people in 169 public housing projects, Newman analysed architectural design alongside detailed police reports and computerised data on tenants and criminal activity. Newman's work therefore represented a new type of spatial analysis, which was able, for example, to suggest statistical correlations between high-rise blocks and incidences of mugging. In this respect, Newman's book not only advocated panopticism as an architectural principle of community design; it was itself an instance of panoptic methodology in its use of statistical and spatial information to construct a discourse on crime and architectural space.

Newman's analysis was explicitly based on the assumption that high crime rates were an index of a wider breakdown in community structures and the social mechanisms that underpinned them. The reigning principles of public housing design – in the postwar period, largely variations on Corbusian modernism – were argued to have played a major role in this rift in the social fabric; if not directly caused by architectural design, crime and social disorder were at least catalysed or heightened by this specific ordering of the built environment: “In our newly-created dense and anonymous residential environments, we may be raising generations of young people who are totally lacking in any experience of individuality, of personal space, and by extension, of the personal rights and property rights of others”.¹¹⁸

Here, Newman almost suggests that the collectivist roots of social housing in the Bauhaus had slowly undermined the understanding of individual property rights, a notion underlined by his tacit assumption that personal rights and property rights are unproblematically equivalent. Newman's solution was “defensible space”: “the physical expression of a social fabric that defends itself”.¹¹⁹ Against such models as the infamous Pruitt-Igoe projects in St. Louis – where “certain kinds of space and spatial layout favour the clandestine activities of criminals” – Newman advocated a restructuring of public and private space into a series of semi-public spaces that would encourage the community to “survey itself”.¹²⁰ While Newman's advocacy of a community self-surveillance is rooted in the mostly progressive analyses of Jane Jacobs or Elizabeth Wood, the notion of internalised surveillance combined with advanced technical solutions has a distinctly Foucauldian flavour. Solutions such as these were supported by contemporary news events such as the moral panic over the infamous ‘Kitty Genovese incident’ in 1964. Local newspapers reported that the 28-year-old was stabbed to death near her apartment in the Kew Gardens district of Queens, while some 38 bystanders watched impassive and immobile from their windows. This incident later became the basis for Carlo Lizzani's section of the Italian

portmanteau film *Love and Anger* (1969), where the camera tracks a rape from tower block windows through a series of vertiginous zooms and pans. This representation of public housing projects as spaces of surveillance is also evident in *The French Connection*, in the sequence where Popeye Doyle is confronted by a sniper in the Marlboro Houses, Brooklyn.

The Anderson Tapes is in part a reflection of the mounting public disquiet over the covert methods of law enforcement and intelligence agencies, which would of course come to the fore in the Watergate scandal and cinematically in films such as *The Conversation* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1974). Further, it suggests an emerging shift in the urban 'architecture of the visible' and a reorganisation of public and private space.¹²¹ Yet, the dénouement of *The Anderson Tapes* contrasts with that of the paranoid thriller, for as the case is on the verge of media exposure, each of the government agencies erases its tapes, uncertain of the legality of their methods.¹²²

Like *Dog Day Afternoon*, *The Taking of Pelham 123* splices the heist narrative with another characteristic 1970s component, the hijack plot. Adding a twist to the aeroplane hijack – familiar from films such as *Skyjacked* (John Guillermin, 1972) – the target is a subway train and the ensuing breakdown in city infrastructure that will ensue from its capture. Four armed men, including an ex-subway driver, a British mercenary, and an ex-mobster take control of a subway train: the number 6, Pelham 123, a reference to its destination and time of departure (1.23pm). The demand is \$1m in cash. In addition to the usual debate over whether to capitulate to the gang's demands, the city is faced with another problem specific to mid-1970s New York: facing bankruptcy, it simply cannot pay the ransom without borrowing money. The city mayor, a proxy for Abraham Beame, is ineffectual and indecisive, booed by crowds and fearful of voters: "Another strike? I can take another strike. But this?" The police chief, fearful of "another Attica", is in favour of paying up. In order to do so, a loan must be arranged from a New York bank. "We're trying to run a city, not a goddamn democracy", says the mayor's adviser. Though local government is heavily involved in the plot, there is no explicit political motive. As in most films about hijacking or terrorism from the period, such events are represented in depoliticised form, which acts to neutralise its possible political charge. Filming on Transit Authority locations was initially blocked for fear that the movie would incite copycat attacks. However, while a criminal gang never did halt the subway system, it was repeatedly shut down by a series of strikes by the Transport Workers Union during the late 1960s and 1970s.¹²³ Organised crime is therefore presented as structurally related to organised labour, a conflation that Hollywood had explicitly made in the past, for example

in *On the Waterfront* (Elia Kazan, 1954). What the film appears to suggest, then, is a subterranean connection between lawlessness – a criminality under the surface – and union activity: the unions representing the city's public services were, figuratively speaking, holding City Hall to ransom for money they could no longer afford to pay.

The majority of the film unfolds in two key spaces: the subway carriage, which conveniently contains a cross-section of the city's demographic makeup, and the Transit Authority control room, an enormous, windowless operating centre in which a staunchly male, blue-collar team monitor the system on maps, dials, and computer systems. Sargent's camera tracks and pans repeatedly around this set, an exact replica of the genuine control room reconstructed in the Filmways Studio.¹²⁴ This intense interest in the technical apparatus produces the effect of an informational depth-of-field, for like any procedural narrative, its primary spectatorial draw is the sensation of a technical system being demonstrated from the inside. Here, the micro-management of the transit system also stands in allegorically for the techno-bureaucratic management of the urban environment at large, which was becoming further entrenched during the period. In response to the perceived failure of urban renewal programmes in the mid-1960s, government agencies began to favour the scientific management of urban planning using systems theory and defence research tools developed during the height of the Cold War.¹²⁵ For New York in particular, such policies had been specifically developed following the establishment of the city's branch of the RAND Corporation in 1969. Indeed, the control room of *Pelham* is not merely symbolic, for such techniques had in fact been first transposed into urban settings through transit systems and traffic-flow management. However, if such techniques were able to map and analyse the city with unprecedented precision, they remained unable to prevent criminal behaviour. The inability to control the transport system in *Pelham* doubles as a loss of control over the urban environment: New York appears to be, as John Lindsay once dubbed it, an “ungovernable city”.¹²⁶

Pelham includes several montage sequences of cash being counted in the Federal Reserve, by hand and by machine, and its central chase sequence arguably revolves around the mobility of capital (how best to transport \$1m in cash across Manhattan?). But what kind of object is money, and how does it operate in the heist narrative? The object at the centre of the heist appears, in the first instance, to be a classic instance of a Hitchcockian MacGuffin: an object that drives forward the plot, but whose own properties are essentially irrelevant to the narrative. However, in *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, Slavoj Žižek distinguishes between different categories of MacGuffin. The first,

its purest, Hitchcockian expression, is entirely abstract or intangible: the formula in *The 39 Steps*, or the melody in *The Lady Vanishes*. Elsewhere a second order of MacGuffin is apparent:

What matters here is precisely its presence, the material presence of a fragment of reality – it is a leftover, remnants which cannot be reduced to a network of formal relations proper to the symbolic structure, but is paradoxically, at the same time, the positive condition for the effectuation of the formal structure. We can define this object as an object of exchange circulating among subjects, serving as a kind of guarantee, pawn, on their symbolic relationship.¹²⁷

Paper money, simultaneously material and immaterial, is precisely this “object of exchange” which figures the “impossibility around which the symbolic order is structured”. As Anthony Giddens explains, money as a symbolic token is a key example of a “disembedding mechanism”, which brackets “time-space by coupling instantaneity and deferral, presence and absence”.¹²⁸ In these films, it operates in accordance with Franco Moretti’s description of ‘the Third’, the “figure for social overdetermination” which disrupts the narrative by suggesting the overbearing presence of the relationships of exchange which structure the city.¹²⁹

Aram Avakian’s 1973 caper *Cops and Robbers* opens with a scene in which a police officer holds up a liquor store. The film playfully suggests not an equivalence between police and criminals so much as a sense that the police and other types of social institutions are beginning to proliferate as simulation: if a policeman holds up a liquor store in uniform, is he a cop or a robber? Avakian’s film is a comic take on the corrupt cop movie, perhaps best exemplified by Sidney Lumet’s *Serpico* (1973) and *Prince of the City* (1981). Its protagonists, two working-class cops who seem to be forever stuck in a traffic jam on the Long Island expressway, have turned to crime as a solution to the economic squeeze of inflation and wage freezes. Suggesting a bank robbery to a mafia contact, they are presented with a deal: they are to take down not a bank but the New York Stock Exchange itself. The target is \$10m in treasury bonds, direct from Wall Street; for this sum, they will receive \$2m in cash. In uniform, they will be hidden in plain sight, their real identity as policemen concealed behind their uniforms, which will naturally be presumed to be fake. Here, the status of the heist object steps up a further level of abstraction, from currency to securities – as Mackenzie Wark describes them, “the most abstracted, most dematerialised, of all commodities”.¹³⁰

This movement from cash dollars to securities reflects the uncertain status of the dollar, which had had been effectively devalued in 1971 following its uncoupling from the gold standard. As many critics have argued, this had profound implications for the development of the international financial system in the decades to come. This floating of the dollar – no longer fixed to gold, it became ‘fiat money’, backed only by confidence in the issuer – has also been read in textual terms by Fredric Jameson to symbolise a rupture in our conceptions of the ‘real’, between the signifier and the signified.¹³¹ Such concerns are playfully dealt with by Avakian’s film. Having carried out the robbery and finding it hard to escape the building because of heavy CCTV surveillance, the cops hit on a solution: secure in the knowledge that the heist will be reported in the following day’s newspaper, the bond documents can be shredded and thrown out of the window into the passing ticker tape parade. Their heist becomes a pure media event: the mafia will pay up on the basis of the confidence generated by its media coverage. This resonates with Jean Baudrillard’s suggestion in *Simulacra and Simulation* (1981) that “all the holdups, airplane hijackings, etc. are now in some sense simulation holdups in that they are already inscribed in the decoding and orchestration rituals of the media, anticipated in their presentation and their possible consequences. In short where they function as a group of signs dedicated exclusively to their recurrence as signs, and no longer at all to their ‘real’ end”.¹³²

The Wall Street offices are again subject to a new kind of electronic monitoring by surveillance camera. The presentation of the office interiors is representative of a particular model of 1970s cinematic space, which makes distinctive use of what the architectural historian Reinhold Martin has designated “the organizational complex”: a systematic and pervasive ordering of commercial architectural space and office systems in postwar America developed from the work of modernist architects such as Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Eero Saarinen, and Eliot Noyes.¹³³ Using geometrically framed widescreen compositions, telephoto and extreme wide-angle lenses, filmmakers in the 1970s established a cinematic aesthetic that corresponded with this modernist architectural space. At its most stylised, this style is visible in the vast, white interiors in science fiction films such as *THX 1138* (George Lucas, 1971) or *Westworld* (Michael Crichton, 1973), or the paranoid textures of *The Parallax View*, *The Conversation*, and *A Clockwork Orange* (Stanley Kubrick, 1971). This presentation of architectural space was developed by filmmakers such as Lang, Welles, Antonioni, and, in particular Kubrick in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968).¹³⁴ Modernist architecture became a recurring visual motif for all sorts of abstract systems,

and, in particular, their inscrutability or alienating functions vis-à-vis the individual.

Although Wall Street, the banking sector and the spectre of financial crisis cast a shadow over 1970s cinema, it was not until 1981 that a fully-formed cinematic representation of economic meltdown arrived on movie screens in the shape of Alan J. Pakula's *Rollover* (1981). A thriller set in the world of high finance, *Rollover* shares the heist movies' fascination with the technological and architectural infrastructure of abstract systems. Indeed, it arguably tackles the ultimate abstract system of them all: the global economic network itself. Made at the turn of the decade and released in 1981, the film distils a number of characteristically 1970s anxieties – financial crisis, the status of the dollar, geopolitical realignment and the challenge to American hegemony – and works them into the model of the paranoid thriller. As Richard Schickel wrote in *Time*, “it undertakes to explain, in dramatic terms, how the international monetary system functions and to speculate on how a monkey wrench could be inserted into the computerized, satellite-linked works by which currency is instantaneously traded around the world”.¹³⁵ Situated on the fault line between the two decades, *Rollover* is not only the last significant entry in two emblematic genres of the seventies – the paranoid thriller and the disaster movie – but also the inaugural film of a new cycle, the high-finance movies of the eighties and beyond, such as *Trading Places* (John Landis, 1983), *Wall Street* (Oliver Stone, 1987), and *The Bonfire of the Vanities* (Brian De Palma, 1990). Indeed, the film is perhaps unique in its period for explicitly representing a collapse in the global economic system (arguably the submerged or allegorical content of both the conspiracy and disaster genres to begin with), which during the 1970s was not merely a matter of fictional speculation but a distinct possibility. Twenty-seven US banks defaulted between 1974-1976, including two with assets over \$1 billion.¹³⁶ As the American Marxist economists Harry Magdoff and Paul Sweezy wrote in 1977, “The specter haunting today’s capitalist world is the possible collapse of its financial institutions and an associated world economic crisis”.¹³⁷

Fredric Jameson has argued that the conspiracy narratives of the 1970s are best understood as unconscious attempts to grasp the “absent totality” of the global capitalist system.¹³⁸ However, in *Rollover* Alan J. Pakula intentionally set out to represent the financial system in literal rather than allegorical terms. The film’s commercial failure highlights some of the difficulties in transposing the inherent complexities of the financial system into a Hollywood genre format. After taking only \$2.3 million on its opening weekend, Warner Bros. changed tack and tried to push the film as an erotic thriller

(its somewhat desperate tagline was: “the most erotic thing in their world ... was money”). Commercial failure was compounded by critical derision. Reviewers mocked the inscrutable plot and unwieldy expository dialogue. “Is the Arab Euro-dollar really a good subject for movie banter?” wondered Janet Maslin in the *New York Times*.¹³⁹ That it was billed in the press release as Pakula’s latest addition to the “socio-political suspense genre” points up a central contradiction between two opposing ideas of cinema – as a kind of socio-political reportage on the one hand, and as genre entertainment on the other. These two ideas were arguably held in productive tension by films such as *All the President’s Men* (1976) but became problematic in *Rollover*.

Rollover globalises the conspiracy plot, centring its intrigue on global financial transactions. The paper dollar has disappeared from the film: money is represented as pure information, transactions occurring instantaneously across national borders. The film opens with an image of computerised stock exchange figures, white on black. As the camera slowly pans to the right, this is revealed to be one of many walls in an empty office, switching on one-by-one. If the working environment could be said to have changed relatively little between the famous office sequence of *The Crowd* (King Vidor, 1928) and Wilder’s tribute to it thirty years later in *The Apartment*, then this space surely represents a paradigm shift: the whole room is lit up with a multitude of computer screens, terminals, telex machines, wall displays, and information banks. This new cinematic space – as Pakula put it, a cross between a casino and an airport control tower – is the currency trading room of Borough National, a medium-sized Manhattan bank.¹⁴⁰ As the film opens, the dollar is falling in value. Borough National is overexposed to losses on its dollar position, and drops \$100 million into the currency markets, creating a short-term crash. Borough National is temporarily bailed out by Maxwell Emery (Hume Cronyn), President of the First New York Bank, a figure conceived by Pakula as an amalgamation of David Rockefeller (Chase Manhattan) and Walter Wriston (Citibank), the two most influential New York investment bankers of the 1970s.¹⁴¹

Emery sends in a financial troubleshooter, Hub Smith (Kris Kristofferson), whose strategy is to keep Borough National afloat by brokering a deal for Winterchem, a petrochemical company recently inherited by ex-movie star Lee Winters (Jane Fonda) following the mysterious death of her husband, Charlie Winters. Smith and Lee Winters set up a deal with Saudi investors. In the process, they discover the truth about her husband’s murder: it covered up the existence of a secret account into which Saudi ‘petrodollars’ are being quietly transferred in fear of a collapse of the dollar. As the conspiracy unravels, the Saudis pull their money out of the US banks,

precipitating a worldwide economic crisis. The global financial meltdown is presented through a mock CNN report, with historical documentary footage pressed into service to represent scenes of rioting and violence across global cities – Rome, London, Cairo, Seoul – like an apparition of 1968.

Produced by Jane Fonda and Bruce Gilbert's IPC productions, the original idea for the film was credited to both Gilbert and Fonda's husband, former Students for a Democratic Society leader Tom Hayden.¹⁴² Pakula went to great lengths to ensure the script was authentic, embarking on what he called "a research odyssey", meticulously scanning contemporary press and periodicals for background detail and interviewing a selection of industry insiders from bankers, economists and traders to former members of the Nixon administration.¹⁴³ Senior investment bankers such as Lionel Pincus (Warburg Pincus), John Gutfreund (Salomon Brothers) and Felix Rohatyn (Lazard Frères) – chairman of MAC and architect of New York's financial restructuring – were among those to advise on the script.¹⁴⁴ The financial details were overseen by Jane D'Arista, an analyst at the Fiscal Analysis Division of the Congressional Budget Office, who was credited as "Economic Consultant" on the film and accompanied Pakula on a research visit to the IMF.

Pakula and screenwriter David Shaber commissioned D'Arista to supply them with a précis of significant developments in the international banking system during the 1970s. In a fifteen-page memorandum, D'Arista outlined some of the key shifts that had affected the financial world since the demise of the Bretton Woods system in 1971. As D'Arista explained, fluctuations in exchange rates were exposing banks to increasing levels of risk. Larger and increasingly rapid short-term international capital flows were producing heightened levels of volatility and instability in the system, while banks became progressively more dependent on each other to maintain liquidity. Further, outdated regulatory systems at national level were unable to resolve these issues on a global scale. As D'Arista saw it, Borough National represented "a case history of these developments, moving from a low-key but stable bank in Queens to a role as a bit-player in the multinational scenario. But Borough National is a bank whose problems can very easily shake the system by creating a crisis in confidence in markets on which all banks are heavily dependent and by threatening losses on funds borrowed by it from other banks".¹⁴⁵

The script of *Rollover* also drew inspiration from a number of contemporary magazine articles that voiced American anxieties over the rising geopolitical significance of the OPEC nations.¹⁴⁶ For example, *Business Week* warned in 1980 that

The stunning growth of Arab financial power is taking the West by surprise in much the same way that the emergence of OPEC caught it off guard ... By the end of 1980, Arab OPEC nations will have \$340 billion in assets deployed round the world – triple what they had five years ago and more than the combined assets of Bank America, Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, JP Morgan, and Manufacturers Hanover Trust.¹⁴⁷

The 1973 hike in oil prices had resulted in a huge surge of dollars into the banks of the OPEC nations. These ‘petrodollars’ were then mostly deposited into investment banks in New York and London. However, these banks were then faced with a conundrum: how could such large sums be profitably circulated? To a large extent, the answer was provided by the IMF: this surplus of petrodollars would be lent by New York banks to the developing nations of the Third World, often paired with ‘structural adjustment’ packages which, not unlike the fiscal austerity imposed on New York, imposed limits on public spending and free-market deregulation in order to ensure a favourable business climate for US investors.¹⁴⁸

The diegetic space of *Rollover* plots out a financial world insulated from the wider city in which it is embedded. The film’s New York locations are restricted to a small number of monumental public buildings – the World Trade Center, the Rockefeller Center, the Museum of Natural History – and a series of characteristic corporate-modernist interiors. The streets and neighbourhoods of New York are absent; the financial world of downtown Manhattan is depicted as closer to London, Frankfurt, or Riyadh than its own urban hinterland. As Pakula put it, “if we want to cut back and forth to Tokyo and Paris and Frankfurt in short cuts, we’ve set up a style in the film”.¹⁴⁹ Above all, this global style is summarised by one abrupt cut, which takes us from the clean white geometry of the squash court – itself the harbinger of a new type of corporate culture – to the horizontal expanse of the Saudi desert. This transnational movement emphasises the geographical coordinates of the banks themselves, as D’Arista explained: “New York banks still cannot cross the Hudson into New Jersey or move up to Greenwich but they may have branches in fifty other countries”.¹⁵⁰ The World Trade Center façade by night becomes a recurring visual motif. Row by row of Minoru Yamasaki’s slimline windows light up in the darkness like so many zeroes and ones, recalling Ezra Pound’s image of the skyscraper at night as “squares and squares of flame, set and cut into the ether”. A visual rhyme with the computer readouts in the opening sequence, this composition demonstrates how Pakula uses modernist architectural abstraction as a shorthand or spatial metaphor for the abstractions of the global financial system.

The film's extremely limited *dramatis personae* amplifies the sensation of financial institutions as semi-autonomous entities operating beyond the political and regulatory sphere of the nation state. Politicians are curiously absent from the film, as are law enforcement agencies of any type. The sheer inadequacy of the regulatory system is personified by the pathetic figure of the federal bank examiner, Jerry Fewster, an essentially decent but spineless man who compromises himself by taking a kickback from Emery's bank. He later commits suicide in the garage of his suburban home. Fewster's status as an ordinary guy – part of the suburban 'silent majority' – is underlined spatially by his modest family home in Levittown, the archetypal postwar American suburb. However, the potential impact of a financial disaster on the material geography of the United States is made clear by Max Emery, who warns Hub that unmasking the conspiracy will send destructive ripples across the United States: "You'll see a worldwide depression that will make the 1930s look like kindergarten. In two months, you'll have bread lines in Detroit, riots in Pittsburgh; in six months, you'll see grass right over Rodeo Drive, Michigan Boulevard, and Fifth Avenue".

Pakula published a brief defence of *Rollover* in *Monthly Film Bulletin*. As he explained, one of his key motivations was to render this specific milieu on screen in a way that had not been done before: "One of the reasons I chose to make the film was to explore a world rarely seen on film. I found the very strangeness of the monetary world, the newness for audiences of its jargon and rituals and the way it operates, one of the strong attractions of the material".¹⁵¹ Yet despite all his efforts towards authenticity, he also complained that critics had taken the film too literally – whereas he had "hoped that its obvious stylisation would make it work as a cinematic fable".¹⁵² Critics had also complained that the principals were badly miscast, Kristofferson, in particular. For example, Richard Schickel wrote that "Kristofferson ... lacks the kind of ruthless intelligence one expects of Wall Street wolves; he seems the last person anyone would ask to explain puts and calls options".¹⁵³ Yet Pakula also claimed that Kristofferson was not miscast, but that his country-and-western mannerisms served a specific symbolic purpose: "The emphasis on the Western side of Hubbell Smith (Kris Kristofferson) came after Kris was cast ... Again, I was using an American film archetype. The man from the West who – according to the legend – will solve anything, who must inevitably triumph". Given this notion of Hub Smith as Western hero – riding in to save not a frontier town but a failing bank – it is tempting to further map the basic components of *Rollover* onto the archetypal narrative units of the Western genre: the global financial system is the frontier; Borough National the wild frontier town; the Saudis are the Indians; Max

Emery and First New York stand in for the corrupt East Coast city; and the bank examiner Jerry Fewster is the sheriff, unable to keep law and order in his own town. Within the context of late 1970s/early 1980s America, the opposition between Hub and Emery takes on an additional resonance: that of the tension between the rising influence of the Sun Belt states and the financial institutions of the Northeast.

As Pakula noted, constructing a thriller using the simplistic moral framework of the Western was potentially problematic: "Of course, there is an irony in the counterpoint between simplicity of good and evil in the Western legend and the complexity and abstract, impersonal quality of the world of finance".¹⁵⁴ This is a contradiction that the film is fundamentally unable to reconcile. Despite its attempts towards factual accuracy, *Rollover* demonstrates the tendency to conceive of crises in capitalism as if they were caused by external factors rather than structural features of the system itself. The narrative not only defaults to a conspiratorial logic of explanation, but also one that problematically points to the implacable Other as the ultimate source of the crisis. The characters' barely suppressed xenophobia against the Saudis occasionally surfaces, for example, when Lee Winters exclaims, "I feel like a beggar asking them for alms, and I hate it". Further, while this latent xenophobia does objectively represent American anxieties about the rising influence of the Arab oil states, the crisis scenario portrayed in the film is nevertheless at odds with the geopolitical realities of the early 1980s, in which financial crises rippled through indebted nations in Eastern Europe and South America following the so-called "Volcker Shock" of 1981-1982.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to demonstrate that the decentralisation of Hollywood production and developments in public policy generated a filmmaking boom on the streets of New York City, bringing a vast and highly varied series of urban landscapes into the scope of mainstream cinema. Yet the content of the decade's films often seemed, at least on the surface, to work against the strategic aspirations of the city government for New York's symbolic revitalisation. However, by viewing the fiscal crisis as the hinge point of the decade it becomes clearer how even images of crisis may have gained utility in generating a consensus that change was needed. Thus from one perspective, cinema played an active role in bringing about the decade's transformational changes – both as part of a new postindustrial economy

and as an agent in the city's shifting discursive representation. At the same time, films encoded broader processes of historic change into aesthetic and narrative form. As Pauline Kael put it as early as 1971, the urban crisis cinema of the early part of the decade "provided a permanent record of the city in breakdown".¹⁵⁵ Yet by the end of the decade, dystopian imagery of the city was countered by a renewed confidence in a gentrified, middle-class New York and a postindustrial economy of culture, fashion and finance. While this journey of gentrification could be plotted through films from *The Landlord* to *An Unmarried Woman*, crime movies of the period worked through the impact of another set of changes, whereby the city's productive capacities were fundamentally repurposed. Even when outwardly evoking crisis, films like *Rollover* simultaneously heralded the ascendance of the banking sector and repositioned Wall Street and its social world within a compressed global network of finance and exchange.

4. San Francisco

Projections of Post-Fordism, Allegories of Independence

Like New York City, San Francisco also gained a new importance for post-studio Hollywood in the 1970s. In this chapter, I argue that San Francisco's distinctive contribution to New Hollywood went deeper than iconic cityscapes or countercultural surface. As a rapidly redeveloping city at the cutting edge of high-tech, post-Fordist production, San Francisco offered the spaces and capital arrangements necessary to allow Hollywood sufficient breathing space to reconfigure both its relationship to its own talent and its viewers' relationship to films in ways that would fully enlist both groups in the postindustrial economy. This chapter explores San Francisco's distinctive role through close analysis of one film, *The Conversation* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1974), often viewed as a key text of seventies cinema. While conventionally viewed through the prism of Watergate and national politics, reframing or remapping the film in its specific urban context provides an alternative perspective on New Hollywood filmmaking and its participation in new paradigms of production, consumption and labour. Shot on location by Coppola's independent company American Zoetrope in disused warehouses, condemned buildings and newly-built skyscrapers, *The Conversation* evinces the material role of the film industry in the shifting productive capacities of the city. And through its central investigational narrative and evocation of two key visual tropes – the planner's gaze and the editor's gaze – it engages with the transformation of the city and new modes of authorship and spectatorship in the emerging New Hollywood.

On the surface, San Francisco had much to offer the Hollywood location scout: a long-standing (counter)cultural centre in relative proximity to Los Angeles, it could boast a beautiful and highly iconic visual environment with a newly cinematic, 'Manhattanised' skyline. Yet, as I will argue, the causes of the city's expansion as a filmmaking centre and its significance within the composition of New Hollywood require further unpacking. This chapter pursues this from three interrelated perspectives. Firstly, the film industry in San Francisco was substantially assisted by proactive local government support. As part of a wider postindustrial turn, imaging (and potentially branding) the city via cinema began to be conceived of within a wider visual strategy of which urban design was the clearest expression. In the early 1970s, San Francisco was an important testing

ground for this emerging discipline, which reconceptualised the urban citizen of the modernist city as a 'user' or 'consumer' of the cityscape as visual environment. Secondly, the redevelopment of specific areas of San Francisco provided both novel backdrops for filmmaking and cheap and plentiful space for post-production facilities. Though this was not unique to the city, the development of film and cultural industries in San Francisco followed an especially high-tech path that evinced its interconnectedness with the wider urban region. Beyond the city limits, Bay Area firms were at the cutting edge of new developments in electronics and microprocessors, fuelling innovation in key aspects of film technology from sound processing to special effects – areas that would be of central importance to the industry's revival in the second half of the decade. Thirdly, the city functioned as an important space, both materially and discursively, for a set of successful filmmakers (notably Francis Coppola and George Lucas) who reflexively constructed the notion of an 'independent' or 'creative' San Francisco in implicit opposition to the imperatives of corporate studio management. In this way, San Francisco not only provided the physical distance from LA and the infrastructural requirements for a new kind of filmmaking but also became an important ideological marker for renegotiating the status of the 'auteur' in the age of flexible specialisation.

In this chapter, these concerns are framed by an in-depth analysis of *The Conversation*. While the film's strong political resonances with the Watergate scandal have long been understood by critics and academics alike, little has been written about its relationship to the city. Shot on location in San Francisco under the auspices of Coppola's American Zoetrope studio, though funded and distributed by Paramount/Gulf & Western, its production history provides a rich case study of the ways in which New Hollywood was both shaped by and participated in the restructuring of urban space and the emergence of post-Fordist models of production, and of the specific role of San Francisco within these processes. Yet, as I will explore, cinema did not passively reflect such developments, but arguably played an active, material role in crystallising new forms of visuality and spectatorial activity that were central to the postindustrial city and its emerging logic of labour and consumption. Finally, I double back from the city to the film industry again to consider how *The Conversation* might be read as an industrial allegory, whereby the film's central premise – the struggle over the ownership and interpretation of a piece of recorded material – becomes a figure for the perennial battle for 'final cut' and a productive symbol for the role of the artist in New Hollywood.

San Francisco and New Hollywood

As San Francisco moved rapidly towards a primarily postindustrial economy, Mayor Joseph Alioto (1968-1976) was quick to grasp the importance of the film industry as an area of strategic significance in economic, cultural and ideological terms. Taking the lead from his New York counterpart John Lindsay, Alioto was a key player in promoting filmmaking in the city.¹ Previously an antitrust lawyer, the Mayor had already played a supporting role in the vertical disintegration of the studio system, having successfully represented Walt Disney and Samuel Goldwyn in widely-publicised lawsuits against 20th Century Fox and their West Coast exhibition monopoly.² And as chair of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency during the 1960s, he had an especially strong understanding of the potential synergy between urbanism, cinema and the visual branding of the city on the national and international stage. Throughout his time in office, Alioto was a strong advocate for the local movie industry and a visible public presence in the city's film community, making speeches at the San Francisco premiere of *Dirty Harry* and at American Zoetrope's opening party (an event described as "an orgy of self-congratulation").³ While the city had yet to develop an autonomous film commission, location shooting was promoted as a wider part of the city's marketing strategy through the Convention and Visitors Bureau. Alongside producing publicity materials for the city more generally, the CVB developed a location-shooting manual and a guide to filmmaking, and offered industry liaison both for Hollywood and the city's expanding advertising industry.⁴

This pro-active support from local government catalysed the development of the city as a Hollywood location shooting destination. *Bullitt* (1968) kick-started a series of Bay Area crime films that took advantage of the city's distinctive topography and soaring skyline, which provided a visual environment that was at once recognisably metropolitan yet subtly different from (and markedly less dystopian than) Manhattan. Alongside films such as *They Call Me Mr. Tibbs!* (Gordon Douglas, 1970) and *The Laughing Policeman* (Stuart Rosenberg, 1973), it was above all *Dirty Harry* (Don Siegel, 1971) and its sequels that cemented the city's onscreen reputation during the 1970s.⁵ While the crime film leaned towards urban crisis and the landscapes of disinvestment and decline, San Francisco was also a natural habitat for comedies and capers, such as *Play It Again, Sam* (Herbert Ross, 1972), *What's Up, Doc?* (Peter Bogdanovich, 1972), *High Anxiety* (Mel Brooks, 1977) and *Foul Play* (Colin Higgins, 1978).⁶ For example, Bogdanovich's successful neo-screwball comedy *What's Up, Doc?* presented an entirely different conception of the city from the crime genre, in which the city's postindustrial

turn is played out through the recovery of downtown as a middle-class playground. While the film is unmistakably situated in contemporary San Francisco, its resurrection of the slapstick and screwball genres enables a return to an imaginary, lost moment of innocence regarding urban public space (an innocence paralleled by the resurrection of Production Code-era family-oriented romance). Bogdanovich avoids placing the reconstructed downtown and its modernist architecture in his panoramic views, preferring upscale neighbourhoods like Nob Hill and Russian Hill, using the city's steep inclines to lend a propulsive, kinetic quality to the film's chase sequences.

Frequently, the city's redevelopment became directly implicated in films such as George Lucas's sci-fi dystopia *THX 1138* (1971), which used sections of the newly constructed Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system to double as a futuristic underground city. The city's high-rise boom was also the implicit subject of *The Towering Inferno* (John Guillermin and Irwin Allen, 1974), a disaster movie set in the world's tallest building, the imaginary 'glass tower', which drew inspiration from a recent series of late-modernist monoliths such as Chicago's John Hancock Center (SOM, 1970) and the twin towers of the World Trade Center (Yamasaki, 1972). Playing on public disquiet about skyscraper development, the film was understood both allegorically (the destruction of the world's tallest building as cipher for a crisis of modernity, technological progress, and professional elites) and surprisingly literally (architects and the construction industry responded with a PR campaign to assuage public fears about skyscraper safety).⁷

From a broader perspective, location shooting was but one component of a strategy to manage the city's postindustrial transition – a strategy that viewed the city both in terms of economics and aesthetics and increasingly placed the city's visual environment centre stage. In some cases, the city branding potential of cinema and television was self-evident. For example, the credit sequence of *The Streets of San Francisco* (Quinn Martin Productions, 1972-1977), a rapid montage of iconic monuments and visitor attractions, plots out a tourist itinerary of the city. Showcasing the Golden Gate Bridge, the Municipal Railway, Coit Tower and Chinatown, this sequence brings together historic landmarks with newly redeveloped areas such as the postindustrial dockland district of Fisherman's Wharf. On the surface, *The Conversation's* low-key and somewhat abstract meditation on urban alienation could hardly have been further removed from this vision of the city. But while Coppola's film was hardly likely to excite the Chamber of Commerce, it was nevertheless implicated in a sea change in the development of the city's approach to planning, a correspondence that requires a brief detour into San Francisco's unique urban history.

From modernist planning to urban design

As I have suggested, San Francisco was a key arena for the emergence of a new discipline, urban design, which superseded the practices of modernist planning that had defined urban development in the postwar period.⁸ Nascent during the 1960s, the new approach was enshrined in public policy in the San Francisco Urban Design Plan (1971), which set a benchmark for future engagement between city government, developers and citizens.⁹ The rise of urban design in San Francisco was, in part, a pragmatic response to the city's rapid modernisation – and the resistance it generated – during the postwar decades. It is now somewhat of a historical irony that Jimmy Stewart's detective in *Vertigo* (1958) should develop acrophobia on the eve of what *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen would dub a “vertical earthquake”: a two-decade skyscraper boom that transformed downtown and dramatically re-imagined the city skyline. In the year following *Vertigo*'s release, the construction of the Crown-Zellerbach building (SOM, 1959) inaugurated a series of high-profile construction projects that massively expanded the Central Business District. Throughout the 1960s, a pro-growth coalition of local government and business interests pushed urban renewal schemes intended to revitalise key areas and reposition the city as a financial hub for the West Coast/Pacific Rim. Downtown office space doubled between 1960 and 1980; by the mid-1970s, the city could claim to be the second largest financial centre in the United States.¹⁰ By the time Harry Callahan surveyed the city from the rooftop of the Bank of America Center at 555 California Street a radically transformed San Francisco was in full view.

But such breakneck modernisation came at a price. Unsurprisingly, given the city's long association with political radicalism, development was met with fierce resistance from the late 1950s onwards. While struggle first ignited around the proposed Embarcadero Freeway, protest subsequently became widespread, tackling a range of concerns from population displacement to environmental impact. The iconic aesthetic form of the city also figured strongly in the local imagination, and numerous attempts were made to pass anti-high-rise legislation throughout the 1970s.¹¹ The adoption of urban design in the 1971 plan was therefore strongly shaped by a strategic need to curb the most visible excesses of the city's redevelopment while preserving its political-economic functions. Building on research carried out between 1968-1970, the 1971 plan produced what Kevin Lynch described as a “statement of visual policy”.¹² Stipulating guidelines on building height, width and colour, establishing zoning priorities and preserving specific “view corridors”, the plan set out what Kenneth Halpern described as “the

most comprehensive urban design controls in the US".¹³ In the philosophy of the designers, protecting views of the Bay and the Bay Bridge was given special weight, as were areas of classical public space such as Union Square.

From one perspective, urban design had progressive credentials, responding in part to the demands of pressure groups and paying greater respect to the existing form of the city and its public spaces. In this way, it was a signal moment in the turn against the perceived authoritarianism and paternalism of the top-down, modernist planner. Yet viewed from another angle, the move from 'planning' to 'design' had a neoliberal orientation. Rebranding the discredited urban planning as design moved urbanism more fully into an entrepreneurial paradigm of city governance, under which developing, visualising and marketing the city became closely intermeshed. Aimed at 'users' or consumers rather than 'citizens', urban design largely avoided questions of social equity in favour of purely aesthetic concerns, conceptualising the city as an essentially visual experience for consumption or reproduction. Furthermore, it replaced direct intervention with regulatory oversight, mapping out a new kind of public/private relationship for development. Just as the Hollywood studios had relinquished full control of the detail of their finished product by turning to subcontracting, so the city development agencies became authors not of city space itself but rather the 'decision environment' in which design was carried out. Various described by Jonathan Barnett as "designing cities without designing buildings" and Robert Shibley as "enabling but not authoring the built environment", urban designers are understood not as authors of city space but as the creators of an 'invisible web' that guides development. R. Varkki George names this intervention at one remove "second order design", an especially useful management structure for working in "turbulent decision environments" when shifting social, political and economic factors make top-down control a riskier venture.¹⁴

American Zoetrope and the logic of subcontracting

We thought that we could go to San Francisco and produce a new cinema of contemporary stories, with more ambitious themes, shot with tiny and mobile crews, and making use of the new film technology

– Francis Ford Coppola¹⁵

The early 1970s were also undoubtedly a "turbulent decision environment" for the Hollywood studios, where subcontracting creative work also played

a significant role. Though subcontracting or ‘outsourcing’ of elements of production and post-production had been a feature of the studio system since the Paramount Decree in 1948, the crisis of 1969-1971 significantly accelerated these practices. This shift towards package production and flexible specialisation also reconfigured the relationship between the studio and their talent. A new generation of film-school educated directors like Coppola, Lucas and Scorsese now envisioned their role not as studio employees but as auteurs: perceiving themselves within but not *of* the mainstream, they saw creative control as an ideal to be defended. Yet for the studios, and their new corporate management, these directors held the key to success with the all-important youth market.

One significant way in which this relationship was managed during the early 1970s was through contractual agreements with small, semi-independent production houses helmed by proven talent. A key example was BBS, discussed in chapter two, where Bob Rafelson and Bert Schneider were able to leverage their insider status and success with *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969) to produce an influential series of personal films such as *The King of Marvin Gardens* (1972) for distribution with Columbia. It was on this basis that Warners/Seven Arts first invested in Coppola’s American Zoetrope project. In a development deal worth \$600,000, Warners signed options for seven pictures budgeted at under \$1 million a piece, including prospective projects such as *THX 1138*, *The Conversation* and *Apocalypse Now*. In its first iteration, American Zoetrope brought together a group of Coppola’s established collaborators and fellow travellers, including George Lucas, editor and sound mixer Walter Murch, and the cinematographer Caleb Deschanel. Coppola spent the bulk of the advance money at the Photokina trade fair in Cologne on state-of-the-art editing and sound technology from Keller and Steenbeck. At this point, investing in new technology placed Zoetrope well ahead of the Hollywood studios, whose plant was becoming increasingly dated (as MGM production head Herbert Solow lamented at the time, “Unfortunately, this studio was built 45 years ago and so were all the others in town”).¹⁶ For the majors, then, another implicit benefit to outsourcing production to innovative small firms such as Zoetrope was that it enabled filmmakers to take advantage of technological innovations unavailable in the crumbling studios.

However, the deal with Warners/Seven Arts was dissolved after their production executives deemed *THX 1138* too uncompromising for the mass market, and in November 1970, the studio demanded their money back. Coppola was forced to make cuts at Zoetrope and transform it from an idealistic filmmakers’ collective into a viable business venture, reducing

staff and leasing office space and equipment to producers of advertising and industrial films. It was not until August 1972, after the extraordinary success of *The Godfather*, that Coppola was able to put together a new deal, this time with Paramount/Gulf & Western. The Directors Company brought together three of the hottest talents in New Hollywood – Coppola, Peter Bogdanovich and William Friedkin – and placed them in an open twelve-picture deal with Paramount, who would split profits 50/50. For the directors, it promised an unusually high degree of creative autonomy; for the studio, it helped provide a steady flow of projects and kept three talented filmmakers under their wing. As Jon Lewis puts it, “The Director’s Company recontextualised auteurism within the studio superstructure; although the deal ceded a modicum of autonomy to three famous directors, it did so in exchange for what amounted to the directors’ capitulation to the studio’s primary goal of producing movies that made money”.¹⁷ Or, at least, that was the ideal: while Gulf & Western boss Charlie Bluhdorn was in favour, Frank Yablans, then Paramount President, hated the idea.¹⁸ This set the stage for confrontation further down the line and produced a rift between Coppola and the studio that affected *The Conversation* on multiple levels.¹⁹

The site of the first incarnation of American Zoetrope was some vacant warehouse space at 827 Folsom Street in San Francisco’s South of Market (SoMa) district. The premises were a stone’s throw from the site of the proposed Yerba Buena Complex, a highly contested redevelopment zone which was stymied by grassroots protests and stalemate in local government and remained little but an enormous empty space throughout the 1970s (though it would later become, in Thomas Hutton’s words, “a flagship site of San Francisco’s cultural economy and tourism sector”).²⁰ It is, of course, now a familiar pattern that artistic movements and high-tech, “creative” industries have emerged in urban locations where they can capitalise on cheap and plentiful space arising from industrial decline. In this sense, Zoetrope was at the cutting edge, combining technological innovation and artistic endeavour in a distinctly postindustrial setting and prefiguring the area’s later development as a hotspot for media companies and web startups (it would later be dubbed ‘multimedia gulch’).

The Conversation therefore emerged at a historic turning point or fault line between the modernist city of the planner and the postmodern city of urban design. As I will argue, it participates in a broader, New Left critique of the modernist city as an alienating and abstracting place where unchecked corporate-bureaucratic power threatens the sovereignty of the individual and destroys coherent public space. Yet the film was caught up in a double bind. At the same time as it critiques the planner’s gaze and the modernist

grid, the film is unavoidably implicated, both in its conditions of production and its textual form, in the emergence of a new paradigm – the postmodern city of urban design, gentrification and flexible labour. In opposition to the top-down planner's gaze, this new model emerges through the narrative of the independent contractor and visually through another persistent visual trope, the editor's gaze – a horizontal and reflexive viewpoint that the user must incorporate and internalise. As I will demonstrate, *The Conversation* aligns the planner's gaze and modernist architecture with surveillance, the corporation and the decline of the historic city, which is threatened with violent erasure. But Coppola's film and the American Zoetrope enterprise were implicated in the redevelopment of the city in two interlinked ways. The filmmakers used the redeveloping city as an infrastructural resource for location shooting and post-production, employing empty warehouses, demolition sites, condemned buildings and vacant downtown office space.²¹ And equally importantly, the film participated in a new logic of production and consumption, both materially (through the working practices of American Zoetrope) and cinematically (whereby the editor's gaze is paralleled in the spectatorial activity of the viewer).

Surveillance and the planner's gaze

The Conversation establishes its concern with the city in general, and the modernist city in particular, from its opening shot, a symmetrically composed, high-angle view of Union Square in downtown San Francisco (fig. 6). Though Union Square itself pre-dates modernist planning, the panoptic, bird's-eye perspective aligns the camera with the totalising, top-down viewpoint that has been closely associated with modernism and what Martin Jay has called the "scopic regime" of modernity.²² From this opening sequence onwards, the planner's gaze of modernism is strongly associated with technologies of surveillance and control, and by extension, the potential erosion or disappearance of cohesive public space. The trope of the plan recurs several times during the film, particularly through the use of various maps and models, from the scale reproduction of Union Square that Caul discovers at the wire-tappers' convention to the replica of the new downtown and waterfront in the Director's office. These consistently foreground the importance of the city to the structure of the film, as well as invoking the notion of planning and the planner's gaze figured in the opening scene. The selection of Union Square is also significant. In its urban design framework, the City Planning Department singled out



Figure 6: The planner's gaze on San Francisco's Union Square in *The Conversation* (Paramount, 1974).

Union Square as one of only three open public spaces remaining downtown and accordingly set out explicit principles for maintaining its character. Throughout the 1970s, attempts to redevelop buildings surrounding the square became the focal point of struggle between developers and the design panel. From this perspective, Union Square represents an older form of built environment threatened by the advance of urban renewal and corporate reconstruction.

The Union Square sequence opens with a continuous three-minute take, the camera zooming slowly and evenly towards the bustling midday crowds. As Coppola has explained, this scene was intentionally filmed in a way that would replicate the fictional events on screen. Six cameras filmed simultaneously from secret positions around the square, with the majority of non-actors in the scene unaware that a shoot was taking place. Rather than film the actors' movements according to a precise, storyboarded plan, the camera crew were encouraged to follow the action without prior knowledge of how the scene would unfold. While outwardly a realist technique, this lends a disruptive sensation of contingency and indeterminacy to the action in comparison to the transparent organisation of space in the classical film. Rejecting the classical axiom that the film should give the spectator "a constantly optimum vantage point", Mark (Fred Forrest) and Ann (Cindy Williams) regularly walk behind people and objects and obscure our view.²³ In this way, the film develops a surveillance-image or surveillance aesthetic, which is further enhanced by foregrounding the technological nature of both image and sound. The extremely slow and

even pace of the zoom was achieved using a newly developed programmable electronic lens, which in eliminating the observable human imperfections in the manual zoom, renders the shot as purely electronic. This evocation of technologically mediated experience is intensified by the soundtrack, which repeatedly disturbs the reproduction of diegetic sound with bursts of analogue interference (an effect achieved by running the signal through an ARP synthesiser).

While this surveillance aesthetic is most clearly visible (and narratively motivated) in the opening sequence, it subtly permeates the fabric of the film, collapsing together public and private space across the city. As Lawrence Schaeffer observed in *Film Quarterly*, while previous films had made use of such technologies, "*The Conversation* is the first to interrelate a whole galaxy of monitoring devices in such a way that the entire film seems like closed-circuit television".²⁴ The overt monitoring of public space in Union Square is transposed into the domestic sphere of the apartment, where a set of cinematic techniques disrupt the implied invisibility of the camera. For example, during the first scene in Harry Caul's apartment, the camera is static, framing an empty space with two doorways. The shot remains fixed while Caul enters, then moves out of shot into his kitchen, leaving an empty, silent room. He then reappears and begins to make a phone call, moving off screen to the left, leaving the camera fixed on an empty space for more than ten seconds. Slowly, the camera readjusts and pans left to frame him sitting on the sofa, its apparent indifference suggesting the movements of a closed-circuit television camera. As Coppola explains, this Antonioni-style *temps mort* was a specific evocation of surveillance: "I wanted the camera just to be *dead*, just to be there as if it was just a passive eavesdropping device – if an actor walked out of the frame, and something happened outside the field of view, it would not show it".²⁵

The film's central interest in surveillance has often been linked to wider social trends; as Stephen Paul Miller puts it, "surveillance and self-surveillance were dominant traits, or tropes, of seventies culture".²⁶ But for *The Conversation*, the technological specifics of snooping were a more local preoccupation. As the scenes filmed at a real wire-tappers' convention make clear, the surveillance industry portrayed in the film flourished on the West Coast in the 1960s and 1970s as a by-product of technological innovation. As a *Time* magazine article reported, "California, with its high divorce rate (half as many as marriages), high incomes and highly sophisticated industries, is the hard-heartland of the U.S. bugging industry. Espionage is so commonplace in oil, chemical and aerospace companies that many California executives begin to fidget if a visitor so much as sets a briefcase

beside him".²⁷ This kind of industrial espionage is explicitly referenced in the film (Caul's Detroit-based competitor Bernie Moran is "the guy who told Chrysler that Cadillac was getting rid of its fins") and alludes to another important facet of the Bay Area's development in the 1970s: the extraordinary expansion of the high-tech industrial complex in the Santa Clara Valley, recently dubbed 'Silicon Valley' in 1971. Rapid advances in semiconductors, integrated circuits and microprocessors had produced 400,000 jobs in two decades and turned a previously rural area into one of the most intensive high-technology manufacturing complexes in the world.²⁸ These innovations not only revolutionised consumer electronics, producing the digital watch, pocket calculator, and early home computers, but also later impacted on the Hollywood film industry, first through developments in sound recording at companies like Ampex and Dolby (whose noise-reduction techniques are prefigured in Caul's homemade equipment), and later with special effects and other digital post-production techniques. Above all, these new processes were capitalised on by companies such as Lucasfilm and Industrial Light and Magic (set up in Van Nuys in 1975, but based in Marin County since 1978).²⁹ However, this celebrated innovative milieu also had an underside that underscores the dark mood of *The Conversation*: by the late 1970s, Silicon Valley constituted the largest open shop in North America, routinely employing low-wage, non-unionised migrant workers, and left a damaging environmental footprint that belied its reputation as a 'clean' industry.³⁰

The Conversation and urban redevelopment

Prior to editing, *The Conversation* contained a significant subplot about urban renewal that did not make it into the final version of the film. In these deleted sequences, we discover that Caul is the owner of his apartment block, which he has chosen not to repair because he intends to profit from its demolition under an urban renewal program. While this thread was, of course, excised from the released version of the film, urban redevelopment remains a submerged thread of the film that is often visible in the *mise-en-scène*. Cross-referencing the coordinates of the film's key shooting locations with a map of San Francisco's contemporary redevelopment programs demonstrates the extent to which the film is defined by the landscapes of urban renewal. While Union Square represents traditional, premodernist public space, the other key locations of the film are clustered around redevelopment zones such as the Golden Gateway, the Western Addition



Figure 7: Harry Caul destroying his apartment in *The Conversation* (Paramount, 1974). The scene was shot using a condemned property in the Western Addition.

and South of Market/Potrero Hill. The scenes in Caul's apartment were shot in a condemned property in the Western Addition, a residential area subject to a highly contested urban renewal program in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Eminent domain legislation was used to clear large areas of housing for redevelopment as public housing, office blocks and hotels, displacing some 4,000 families in the process. As the missing strand of the narrative would no doubt have made clear, the selection of this neighbourhood was not happenstance. Images of demolition and rebuilding are visible in the background on several occasions, and the noise of bulldozers is audible on the soundtrack. Working with a condemned building also provided the opportunity to do things with the site that would not normally have been possible, especially in the crucial final sequence of the film, in which Caul destroys his apartment, tearing up the floorboards in his search for the elusive bugging device (fig. 7).

In unpacking the politics of *The Conversation's* urban themes, direct comparison with another key San Francisco film of the seventies, *Dirty Harry*, is especially revealing. From their high-angled, panoptic opening shots, to their examination of surveillance, voyeurism and the politics of space, the two films share many similarities but evince diametrically opposed approaches to the city. Both display essentially anti-urban impulses, but from different ends of the political spectrum, and can be placed within Robert Ray's useful (if rather schematic) division of seventies cinema into "right" and "left" cycles.³¹ *Dirty Harry* is, of course, an emblematic film of the right cycle. A game of cat-and-mouse between libertarian, individualist cop

Harry Callahan (Clint Eastwood) and the deranged serial killer Scorpio, who is both associated with the counterculture (he wears a peace symbol) yet targets ethnic minorities, *Dirty Harry* played on political and racial tensions within the city and was widely received, fairly or unfairly, as a reactionary picture. Pauline Kael, for example, explicitly understood the film as a right-wing take on the urban crisis which promoted the Nixon administration's law-and-order rhetoric against the perceived failure of sixties liberalism. As she saw it, "The film, which was released late in 1971, drew its special force from its overt extreme rightwing ideology; it 'explained' the law-and-order troubles of the cities by blaming them on the liberals – an explanation that Nixon and Agnew, then at the peak of their popularity, had made credible to their followers".³² Though there has been some debate about the political intentions of the filmmakers (Siegel was a liberal, while Eastwood's libertarian politics are well known), *Dirty Harry* has nevertheless been widely understood by audiences as a critique of liberalism. As Kael suggests, this not only encompassed Miranda rights but also broader aspects of social policy that had been touchstones of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs. Declaring the urban crisis to be 'over', Nixon cancelled Johnson's Model Cities initiative and reframed the problem of the cities as one of policing rather than structural poverty and discrimination, a shift in political narrative that is undeniably brought to the surface, if not necessarily endorsed wholesale, by *Dirty Harry*.

This split is also figured and reinforced through visual style and cinematic space. The low-key image of the city in *The Conversation* contrasts strongly with the representation offered by *Dirty Harry*. Whereas Coppola favours relatively anonymous and abstract space, Siegel's film accentuates civic institutions and monumental architectural landmarks from City Hall to Kezar Stadium, preferring wide open space (in expansive 2.35:1 Panavision) to the contained style of *The Conversation* (filmed in the slightly more claustrophobic 1.85:1). Here, the implied 'fascism' that Kael diagnosed in *Dirty Harry*'s narrative scheme is also evoked through its spatial characteristics, employing the monumentality of municipal architecture to underpin its discourse on the necessity of interventionist policing. Though Siegel and Eastwood considered other cities for the film, they settled on San Francisco, well known as a left-leaning city, as the perfect counterpoint to their right-wing protagonist. Callahan is explicitly played off against the city's ethnic diversity and sexual subcultures throughout. In one particularly significant scene, which predates a similar scenario in *Taxi Driver* (Martin Scorsese, 1976) by several years, Callahan drives past the strip clubs on Broadway at night, expressing both fascination and disgust ("these loonies

... they ought to throw a net over the whole bunch of them"). As in *Taxi Driver*, the pathological sickness of the city is introjected into the life of the protagonist, leading to psychosis in Travis Bickle and Callahan's barely suppressed voyeuristic tendencies (whether this is genuinely the source of his 'dirty' appellation is left unclear). Nevertheless, despite some of *Dirty Harry's* apparent subtleties, the film's has persistently been seen as promoting the necessity of increased police powers and the rollback of liberal legislation in the face of urban social crisis.

Whereas the city in *Dirty Harry* is explicitly a site of racial tension, *The Conversation* sidelines the city's famous ethnic and social diversity. The areas most closely associated with the city's alternative and underground subcultures, such as the gay village of the Castro or the countercultural enclave of Haight-Ashbury, are systematically marginalised and excluded from view. This reflects the film's intention to produce a highly subjective and interiorised view of the city. Like many left-leaning films of the era, its political stance is relatively vague. As Robert Ray describes, many of these films depicted "depersonalized villains who came to represent the incessant advance of modernity ... whose impersonality seemed to stand in for a historical process".³³ The non-specific anti-urbanist slant of the film, which aligns corporate control with abstract modernist space, had a clear counterpart in the political views of the new gentrifying class who were beginning to emerge in the 1970s. As Suleiman Osman explains, young professionals moving into historic neighbourhoods frequently presented themselves in opposition to "a modern city that was 'impersonal', 'abstract', 'alienating', or 'inauthentic'. Others referred to an 'organizational bureaucracy', 'technocracy', 'papa institution', 'the system', or simply 'the city'".³⁴ These broad-brush criticisms of the modernist city are reflected in *The Conversation's* intentionally abstract and contained sense of the city. The film carefully avoids the traditional touristic (or cinematic) iconography of San Francisco. Though Union Square is widely (though not by any means universally) recognisable, the audience are given no panoramic vistas or picturesque skylines to anchor them more reliably in geographical space. The city's iconic landmarks, from the Bay Bridge to Coit Tower, are also entirely missing. This universalised sense of city space, courtesy of art director Dean Tavoularis, is a key component in the film's discourse on modernism, which it evokes as threatening the specificities of place.³⁵

This imprecise and politically ambivalent critique of the modern city is reflected by Caul's trips downtown, during which another topography of the city emerges. The unnamed corporation that employs Caul occupies offices in the recently completed Embarcadero Center (John Portman and Associ-

ates, 1971), one of the central developments of the downtown reconstruction. In Portman's rather grandiose view, the Embarcadero complex exemplified his vision of "what the emerging city of the future might be".³⁶ Portman was arguably the key figure in the so-called 'downtown renaissance' of the mid-to-late 1970s, when a series of high-profile, iconic developments emerged in the stricken downtown areas of major cities. The most well-known example was the Bonaventure Hotel (1977), famously used by Fredric Jameson as a key symbol of postmodern spatiality.³⁷ Though architecturally modernist on the exterior, their complex and fragmented interior spaces, where inside and outside, centre and margin were collapsed, left the disoriented user with no recourse but to submit to control. Their reflective glass surfaces, indoor shopping malls and parking garages suggested a complete withdrawal from and rejection of the city beyond.³⁸

Though the city in *The Conversation* is disjointed and fractured in a way that Jameson would term postmodernist, it is still modernist architecture that defines the film's representation of downtown. While Embarcadero Center is a key location for the narrative, it functions foremost as a kind of abstracted notion of corporate modernism rather than at the level of an identifiable iconic building. In contrast, the instantly recognisable Transamerica Pyramid (1972) is glimpsed only as a reflection, its image appearing fleetingly in the curtain wall of One Maritime Plaza (SOM, 1964). While these locations have extra-textual meanings (especially within the contemporary context of San Francisco), they also mobilise more general and abstracted functions of *space* as opposed to the specificities of *place*. This is especially clear in the establishing shots that open Caul's visits to the Director's office, where geometrically framed compositions of Embarcadero One fill the screen with abstract form. This use of modernist architecture as a cinematic trope was also visible in other conspiracy thrillers of the era, most notably the three collaborations between Alan J. Pakula and cinematographer Gordon Willis: *Klute* (1971), *The Parallax View* (1974) and *All the President's Men* (1976). In these films, as in *The Conversation*, the late International Style and its reflective surfaces, repetitive gridded structures and curtain walls, took on heightened significance in the *mise-en-scène*. In *The Conversation*, Caul's crisis of agency is figured through architectural environments in which he often appears trapped.

These visual tropes of abstraction are reinforced by the film's sound design, which made innovative use of electronic signal processing. The experimental qualities of the soundtrack were the work of Walter Murch, who also edited the film in Coppola's absence while he was shooting *The Godfather, Part II*. A devotee of avant-garde composers Pierre Schaeffer and

Pierre Henry, key figures in the creation of *musique concrète*, Murch brought an experimental sensibility to the sound processing that helped established the film's sense of a destabilised and abstract spatial environment. Coppola and Murch also had connections with the San Francisco Tape Music Center, located a few blocks away from Zoetrope, where composers such as Steve Reich, Terry Riley and Pauline Oliveros were exploring new possibilities offered by synthesisers, tape loops and signal processing.³⁹ Aside from the distinctive synthesiser interference used in the Union Square scene, Murch also used electronic techniques to subtly blur the distinction between score and sound effect, and by extension, diegetic and non-diegetic sound.

The idea of modernist urban renewal is also expressed, especially towards the end of the film, as a potentially nightmarish process of erasure that threatens the cultural heritage and collective memory of the city. By the climactic sequences in the Jack Tar Hotel, *The Conversation* begins to slip into horror film territory, a type of genre fragmentation characteristic of the period. The general sense of indeterminacy and subjectivity in the Jack Tar scenes mark them as especially interiorised in comparison to the outwardly realist style of the earlier parts of the film. This invites the viewer to entertain symbolic or psychoanalytic readings of details in the *mise-en-scène*. Caul's schizoid psychic state is articulated through the architectural effects of the Jack Tar Hotel, where he is visually isolated in grid-like structures and endless corridors. As the tension builds, Caul sits in a chair in his hotel room. We cut to a full-screen shot of a mural on the hotel room wall, a painted panorama of pre-1960s San Francisco rendered in pastel shades. The mural is shown twice, for a relatively long duration, which suggests more than an incidental detail. Significantly, this nostalgic and romanticised portrait of the city shows it *before* the intervention of modernist high-rises transformed the skyline. Throughout the film, the historic city is only offered only as a two-dimensional, reproducible image, rather than something that can be directly apprehended, and is presented as a knowing counterpoint to the banal and anonymous modernism of the Jack Tar itself. Completed in 1960, it was the first major hotel to be built in the city for 30 years, and it quickly came to symbolise the city's ambivalence towards modernism (the press derided it as "Texas's idea of what Los Angeles looks like").⁴⁰

As in *Vertigo*, which also played on the intersecting layers of the city's history and memory, the hotel feels haunted by some kind of unspoken trauma – that its own construction had played a part in the erasure of the city's historic character, displacing populations and dissolving collective memory.⁴¹ This is reinforced by the next scene when, following the overflow-

ing of the toilet bowl – a clear symbol for repressed material returning to the surface – Caul flees the hotel and runs past the demolition site glimpsed earlier in the film. Here, the return of repressed memory is associatively linked to the demolition of the apartment block, further combining Caul's breakdown with the transformation of the city and the disappearance of older forms of public space.

The pathos of the independent contractor: Harry Caul and immaterial labour

However, *The Conversation's* concern with the modernist reconstruction of the city was hardly new to American cinema in the mid-1970s. As Ed Dimendberg has shown, film noirs of the 1940s and 1950s had also frequently been preoccupied with the “loss of public space, the homogenisation of everyday life, the intensification of surveillance, and the eradication of older neighborhoods by urban renewal and redevelopment projects”.⁴² But what distinguishes *The Conversation* is the extent to which it symptomatically reveals and helps to bring into being an emergent paradigm that was fast replacing the city of the modern planner. In this sense, the melancholic affect of the film elides its real relationship to an ascendant urban middle class and a new logic of production, labour and spectatorship that was also central to post-studio Hollywood.

The scenes at Caul's workshop were filmed in similar postindustrial warehouse space to the Zoetrope premises, just a few blocks south in Potrero Hill. As Walter Murch recalled, “The warehouse that Harry Caul works in is very similar to the warehouse in which we were making the film. All of them were disused warehouses in the South of Market area, circa 1972, where light manufacturing had gone on, and were now empty”.⁴³ The decline of these areas south of Market Street provided the filmmakers not only with affordable studio space but also what was effectively a new type of Hollywood location, an environment that had previously only been seen in avant-garde films such as *Wavelength* (Michael Snow, 1967).⁴⁴

Accounts of the Zoetrope offices in this period describe it as a prototypical creative industry space which anticipates the kind of blurred boundaries between work and leisure now associated with the dot.com firms that have proliferated in SoMa since the 1990s:⁴⁵

Zoetrope is a cozy, jazzy place ... that resembles a collision of Creative Playthings and Paraphernalia – red, white and blue brick walls, bubbly

chairs, blowups of famous old directors and zebra-stripe slashes of color. The reception area is dominated by an antique wooden pool table and a gleaming silver espresso maker and shelves displaying early movie gadgets.⁴⁶

This slippage between work and play was not only a sign of the times, but also indicated an emerging shift in the way cultural industries understood the nature of labour itself. In a contemporary newspaper article, Coppola mused on his reasons for moving to San Francisco, which he summed up as “to bask in the cultural-political climate, to take advantage of the terrific orchestration of terrains in the Bay Area, and to negotiate a sane union contract”.⁴⁷ As Coppola suggests, the Bay Area was attractive not only for its visual environment, but also what he perceived as a more conducive creative milieu than Hollywood. Furthermore, Coppola also viewed San Francisco as an opportunity to negotiate new kinds of flexible agreements with the unions. *Variety* records that by September 1969, he had established a new accommodation with local craft unions that worked to the benefit of small filmmakers and multitasking crew, a move that the local IATSE rep acknowledged as “the first of its type” in the business.⁴⁸ From one perspective, there were perfectly valid artistic reasons for preferring non-union labour: for Coppola, as for many New Hollywood directors, union crews represented the entrenched conservatism and conformity of the Hollywood studios, and enforced what often seemed like unreasonable restrictions on working hours and filming practices.

However, on other occasions Coppola’s dealings with labour were less consensual and more problematic. As Peter Biskind has detailed, Coppola’s anti-union stance was not limited to over-the-hill Hollywood journeymen, but extended to employees of all kinds at Zoetrope: “The feeling from working for Francis is tough shit if you don’t think you’re getting paid enough or if you don’t think your working conditions are good enough,” said Deborah Fine, a former Zoetrope librarian. “There’s a million people out there that would kiss the ground to work for him for nothing”.⁴⁹ Either way, Zoetrope was at the cutting edge of a new conception of cultural production and flexible labour which helped define the trajectory of the industry and, as I will explore below, provided a central theme for *The Conversation*.

The spatial context for this new paradigm was former industrial areas such as SoMa, which have generated what the economic geographer defines as “cognitive-cultural capitalism”. Scott describes how such areas have become home to dense clusters of specialist firms that, like American Zoetrope, operate within high-tech manufacturing, neo-artisanal production and

media. Labour has tended to split into two disparate layers, with low-paid service workers at one extreme and at the other, a new higher stratum that Scott defines as a “new core labour-force elite, whose work is concentrated on high-level problem solving tasks”.⁵⁰ While American Zoetrope and its workforce were clearly based within this emerging paradigm, these shifts in the nature of production and labour not only resonate in the fictional world of *The Conversation* but also have implications for the cinematic spectator more generally. From this perspective, Harry Caul is not a detective in the *noir* tradition, but instead represents the new information worker or ‘immaterial’ labourer, whose work primarily involves processing information, manipulating sound and image, and “high-level problem solving”.⁵¹

Like Coppola at Zoetrope, Caul runs a small firm that relies on specialist expertise and technological innovation to compete with other operators on the market (as the trade magazine has it, Caul is “pre-eminent in the field”). His position as a subcontractor is also essentially unstable, an instability that is passed on to his employee, Stan, who later leaves to join the closest competitor, Bernie Moran (Allen Garfield). Caul’s work is contracted from corporate clients, though his task is primarily technical and should not involve developing a wider political or ethical framework in which to comprehend it (as he puts it, “I just want a nice fat recording”). However, he is unable to disregard the implications of the Union Square recordings. Caul is haunted by a previous job, the 1968 welfare fund case that led to the brutal murder of a Teamster accountant and his family. Despite his efforts to the contrary, the Union Square recording expands not only into his personal time but also into his memories and dreams. This reflects another facet of immaterial labour: its use of cognitive and affective processes may envelop the worker’s life more fully and in a more subtle fashion than physical exertion. As Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri put it, “When production is aimed at solving a problem, however, or creating an idea or a relationship, work time tends to expand to the entire time of life. An idea or an image comes to you not only in the office but also in the shower or in your dreams”.⁵²

The repetition of the material at the editing table and the gaze of the editor is a cinematic trope that has resonances across the sixties and seventies. While *The Conversation* echoes both the Watergate tapes and the Zapruder footage, its most immediate cinematic relative is arguably not *Blow Up* (Antonioni, 1966) but rather the Maysles brothers’ documentary *Gimme Shelter* (1970), which had been shot using equipment borrowed from Zoetrope and counted Lucas and Murch among its camera operators. *Gimme Shelter* had inadvertently recorded a murder at the Rolling Stones concert at Altamont, an event that quickly became shorthand for the end of the

1960s. The final sequences of the film, in which the Rolling Stones replay the grainy footage over and over on an editing table – as if attempting, through repetition, to grasp its significance or their own barely comprehended moral implication in the violence – anticipates the later scenes in *The Conversation* of Caul in his workshop. While the editing scenes in *Gimme Shelter* have a specific function within the direct cinema tradition, they nevertheless help to establish the visual trope of the editor's view, which takes on a new relevance in *The Conversation*.

The notion of high-level problem solving is also reproduced in the cognitive work expected of the spectator, where decoding the audio-visual conundrum of the Union Square sequence is the primary task required. Indeed, in its narrative complexity and ambiguity, *The Conversation* can be seen as an influential precursor to the 'puzzle' film or 'mind game' film that became a successful Hollywood niche in the 1990s and 2000s.⁵³ The film's central sequences of Caul examining the evidence in his editing suite also prefigures a new kind of spectatorial relationship with the text, whereby film can be replayed and re-examined to reveal its hidden complexities.⁵⁴ As Thomas Elsaesser has argued, the deeper significance of this characteristic of the puzzle film is that it reproduces the logic of post-Fordist labour in the cognitive processes of the spectator.⁵⁵ In such an analysis, films do not only 'reflect' such changes but have actively been involved in training audiences in new paradigms of labour. In the visual economy of these films, then, the top-down view of the planner's gaze in the opening of *The Conversation* and *Dirty Harry* is superseded by the editor's gaze, a reflexive and horizontal view that establishes a new logic for the post-classical spectator at the dawn of the video era.

'These tapes are dangerous, Mr. Caul': final cut, authorship and industrial reflexivity

The film's evocation of the pathos of the independent contractor and the editor's "pre-eminence in the field" could hardly be kept from reflecting back on the film industry itself. As I have argued, *The Conversation* is not just a film produced by subcontracting; it is fundamentally a film *about* subcontracting. In this regard, through its engagement with new configurations of production and labour, *The Conversation* is also a complex, self-reflexive text that projects a view of the auteur's ambivalent and shifting position in the emerging corporate Hollywood of the mid-1970s. The central procedural sequence, in which Harry Caul repeatedly plays and analyses the audio

recording to clarify its meaning, has often been understood to generate a variety of possible metacinematic interpretations for the audience. For Noël Carroll, this sequence (and its acknowledged debt to Antonioni) constituted a 'modernist' allusion through which the film reflected on the nature of cinema and the cinematic apparatus. However, recent work by Jerome Christensen and J.D. Connor on the concept of industrial reflexivity provides another perspective through which to apprehend the allusive nature of these scenes. As Thomas Elsaesser summarises, these theorists view Hollywood films as "allegories of their own conditions of production, as parables of their studio's self-projection, and as commentaries of how Hollywood writes and rewrites its corporate history".⁵⁶ In this light, *The Conversation's* narrative of a high-tech San Francisco entrepreneur pitted against downtown corporate interests has more than coincidental resonances with Coppola's own status within the industry: rather, it can be understood as an active allegorical tool for projecting and maintaining an image of "independence" in the shifting ground of seventies Hollywood.

In *America's Corporate Art*, Jerome Christensen argues that studio-produced films should be understood primarily as the product of corporate rather than individual authors.⁵⁷ By viewing films as privileged examples of 'corporate speech', Christensen demonstrates how the Hollywood studios used films as vehicles for advancing the strategy, aims and values of the organisation. From this perspective, films contain narratives, images, ideas and dramatic situations that allegorically represent and advance the interests of the individual studio. As he describes, the intended audience of such self-representations might vary widely: "A studio may use allegory to admonish its employees and punish its stars; it may exhort the President of the United States to alter policy; it may allegorize its formidable institutional power to appease its creditors and dismay its competitors".⁵⁸ However, during the industrial crisis of the early 1970s, the fragmentation and decentralisation of the production process weakened the studios' control over the corporate identity of their output. The struggle between individual and studio authorship, always present but relatively suppressed in the classical era, therefore became intensified as package production became the norm. The question of who was able to maintain control over authorship in the era of outsourcing became a particularly vexed issue.

During the industrial crisis of the 1970s, the film text itself was therefore one important site where this struggle played out. This uncertainty or anxiety over authorship and ownership is the central allegorical thrust of *The Conversation*. Compressed to its most diagrammatic form, the film allegorises the process of recording and post-production for a feature film.



Figure 8: Harry Caul's workshop as a proxy for the American Zoetrope studio in *The Conversation* (Paramount, 1974).

The audio-visual content is first captured in the Union Square sequence, a clear stand-in for principal photography on location. Though only sound is recorded in the diegesis, the film frequently and persuasively aligns the camera with gun microphones on numerous occasions and the link between sound and image is underlined by providing a visual counterpart almost every time the audio is subsequently reproduced. While Harry Caul is a soundman, the key editing sequences replay the film footage of Union Square, encouraging us to see him not just as a sound editor but as a filmmaker more generally. The workshop also functions as a proxy for Zoetrope itself, which is reinforced by photographs and accounts of the studio premises at the time. As Michael Goodwin and Naomi Wise describe, Zoetrope's cutting-edge facilities paralleled Caul's laboratory: "Zoetrope's advanced Keller sound system could record, play back, mix and transfer sound from any one of seven strips of film to any other, and run that sound in sync with any image from 70mm down to Super-8 and video" (fig. 8).⁵⁹ As production takes place off-site, the process only becomes complicated on Caul's delivery of the materials (the dailies) to Martin Stett (the studio executive). From this point onwards, the film dramatises the post-production process and the struggle over ownership and authorship that is inherent (if not always explicit) in every package production. Caul's struggle with Stett for ownership (and the 'correct' interpretation) of the material he has recorded then corresponds to the perennial battle between the studio and the director for the right to final cut (a struggle which would play out many times as Zoetrope, from *THX 1138* onwards). The film's final

twist is also central: the real villain of the piece is not, of course, the figure of the 'Director', but rather Martin Stett (a clear representative of the new generation of studio executives, if not specifically Frank Yablans himself).

The focus on post-production and final cut is significant: as Jon Lewis has argued, post-production became a key battleground for control between studio and creative during this period.⁶⁰ The high-tech turn in post-production pioneered by Coppola and Lucas, first at Zoetrope but later at Industrial Light and Magic, then became an important aspect in renegotiating this balance. For Lewis, a valuable by-product – or even a strategic aim – of making post-production reliant on high technology and specialist technical expertise was that it moved the balance of power away from the studios. What is worked through in *The Conversation*, then, is a specific set of anxieties around the move towards flexible specialisation, which created new areas of conflict between filmmakers and management and opened up problems for the regulation and cohesive corporate authorship of the film text.

Though *The Conversation's* reception in the press was largely defined by the strong echoes of the Watergate scandal, the industrial allegory embedded in the film was not entirely unnoticed by contemporary critics. In Pauline Kael's estimation, Paramount had intentionally under-promoted *The Conversation* precisely because it didn't project the studio's values, but rather Coppola's. As she saw it, blockbuster logic was already beginning to dominate studio thinking about marketing (certain projects were tagged as hits from the outset and given large publicity budgets; others, like *The Conversation*, were left to wither on the vine). Despite its success as Cannes, *The Conversation* did not receive the high-profile publicity campaign lavished on *The Great Gatsby* and *Chinatown*. As Kael saw it, Paramount were not merely cutting their losses with a non-commercial arthouse film but explicitly asserting studio power: "*Gatsby* and *Chinatown* were their pictures, but *The Conversation* was Francis Ford Coppola's, and they're incensed at his being in a position (after directing *The Godfather*) to do what he wanted to do; they're hurt that he flouts their authority, working out of San Francisco instead of Los Angeles". Even more significantly, she diagnosed another layer of complexity to the film's subterranean political nuances that reflected back critically on Hollywood itself: "Maybe the reason the promotion people didn't try to exploit the Watergate tie-in was that they suspected the picture might also be saying something about movie companies".⁶¹

The industrial allegory of *The Conversation* is best viewed as part of Coppola's maintenance of an apparently paradoxical position within Hollywood. Simultaneously playing insider and outsider, indie maverick and industry

player, his public self-fashioning and masterful media manipulation has frequently sought to cultivate this position. However, while Coppola and Lucas may have begun as small-scale filmmakers, their roles soon expanded to those of entrepreneurs and industrial innovators, and their hits of the seventies, *The Godfather* and *Star Wars*, famously defined the blockbuster logic of the new era. Yet both still repeatedly fall back on the discourse of independence, a position that J.D. Connor convincingly demonstrates has become a commonplace, though highly significant, piece of rhetoric for directors who are patently central to the mainstream.⁶² This projection of independence and its discourse of auteurism characteristically masks or elides their position and influence within the industry and problematically blurs the lines between differing conceptions of independence.⁶³

San Francisco has performed a significant role in this projection of autonomy. For Coppola and Lucas, two of the most influential players in the second wave of New Hollywood, San Francisco (and the Bay Area more generally) not only provided cheap space, infrastructure, flexible labour, and a creative production culture. For these filmmakers, the city also functioned discursively and ideologically. In interviews, books, press releases, promotional featurettes and not least the films themselves, San Francisco has been consistently evoked to maintain an ideology of 'creativity' and 'independence', projecting the notion that despite being central to the revived success of the Hollywood mainstream in the 1970s, they were at the same time 'independent' filmmakers with artistic integrity.⁶⁴

The American Zoetrope story has often been mythologised, not least by Coppola and Lucas themselves, as a struggle between independent auteurs and the corporate machinations of the Hollywood majors. For example, Michael Sragow writes in the introduction to his book on San Francisco filmmaking, *Cinema by the Bay*, that Zoetrope was emblematic of San Francisco's role as "a lodestone for alternative creativity"; stacked with the "seminal talents of their generation", it sparked a "creative explosion".⁶⁵ The city's role as the alternative counterpart to Los Angeles was emphasised by Coppola at the Zoetrope opening party, where he declared that: "In San Francisco, movie makers have total control and total freedom. The difference is that in Los Angeles, you talk about deals, and here you talk about films".⁶⁶ Here, San Francisco is clearly evoked as the cornerstone of Coppola's public image as a maverick entrepreneur, where it represents art and creativity in opposition to finance and marketing. For Sragow, it merits a classical allusion: San Francisco is Athens to Los Angeles's Sparta (though perhaps a more apposite and contemporary formulation would be Apple, itself headquartered in the Bay Area, versus Microsoft). As the title of

Gary Leva's hagiographic documentary *Fog City Mavericks* makes clear, this discourse of independence has become central to the image of San Francisco filmmakers, whether genuinely so (John Korty) or those demonstrably at the heart of the mainstream (John Lasseter).

Though Paramount did not own premises in San Francisco, the parent company of United Artists, Transamerica Corporation, had indeed recently moved into new flagship headquarters in the Transamerica Pyramid at 600 Montgomery Street (its creator, William Pereira, had form as Hollywood's architect of choice: after designing a new building for Paramount in the 1940s, he was hired temporarily as an art director for the studio and even went on to produce two of his own films).⁶⁷ As former UA executive Steven Bach has chronicled in his book *Final Cut*, the relationship between UA and Transamerica was especially important in the mid-to-late 1970s in defining the direction of the 'new' New Hollywood.⁶⁸ In particular, the fallout from two spectacularly excessive auteur productions, Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979) and *Heaven's Gate* (Michael Cimino, 1980) effectively bankrupted UA and decisively shifted the balance of creative and financial control from the director to the producer and studio management, calling time on the 'Hollywood Renaissance' and ushering in the new corporate era of the eighties. During the fraught production of *Apocalypse Now*, Coppola made a gift of a telescope to Transamerica President Jim Harvey. Positioned at the window of his office on the 25th floor of the Pyramid, it looked down directly at Coppola's new premises in the Sentinel Building and came accompanied with the inscription: "To Jim Harvey, from Francis Coppola, so you can keep an eye on me".⁶⁹ This is, of course, pre-figured in *The Conversation*, where Caul briefly looks through a telescope in Martin Stett's office. More than an insider joke, this detail highlights how the self-reflexive industrial commentary of *The Conversation* reflected back into real world negotiation between personal and corporate control.

Conclusion

For Coppola, Lucas and others, San Francisco became an active, functional symbol of authorial control, maintained through discourse both inside and outside the film text. Using the city's left-wing, bohemian reputation, these filmmakers deployed San Francisco as a key component of the projection of creativity and independence, highly ideological keywords that often elided their real function as auteur brands and outboard research and development units for the studios. Though the industrial allegory of *The*

Conversation played in an uncharacteristically melancholy and introspective key, it carried out the groundwork that made possible the ongoing projection of San Francisco independence, an ideology that has retained demonstrable currency in the industry since. While Coppola's blockbuster success with *The Godfather* arguably saved Paramount (and in Jon Lewis's estimation, Hollywood itself), *The Conversation* set an alternative blueprint for the industry. Rather than understanding the film as the swan song of a paradoxical arthouse Hollywood project, we might consider it as pioneering the symbiotic relationship between the mainstream and a constellation of semi-independent filmmakers and firms. For the auteur/entrepreneur, this relationship must be partly disavowed, and independence maintained; San Francisco has played multiple roles in establishing this physical and ideological distance. Far from dying out with the 'Hollywood Renaissance', the puzzle film and the self-reflexivity of the editor's gaze has become a central part of the contemporary Hollywood landscape. Despite American Zoetrope's crises and rebirths, a version of the company still operates in the present, and its early story provides an important starting point in understanding the specific function of the Bay Area for significant players in post-classical Hollywood, from Industrial Light and Magic to Pixar.

5. Los Angeles

The Cinematic Aesthetics of Postmodern Urbanism

For Los Angeles, the rise of New York, San Francisco and other new film-production centres within the United States compounded the extant problem of overseas runaway production, which had been an ongoing source of concern for local government and Hollywood unions since the 1950s. The industry crisis exacerbated this state of affairs, which was summed up by *Variety* in 1970: “Production here is at its lowest ebb in many years, a situation which has created acute unemployment conditions and poses a major threat to the very existence of Hollywood”.¹ In response to the decline of the industry and specifically reacting to pressure from local labour leaders, Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty actively campaigned against runaway production and promoted federal support for the Los Angeles film industry.² In 1971, Yorty wrote to Nixon to request assistance for Hollywood. “The average unemployment in the motion picture industry is catastrophic”, he wrote, adding that “many motion picture studios, film laboratories and numerous allied businesses are bankrupt. Others are hopelessly approaching bankruptcy”.³ At state level, California Governor Ronald Reagan also pressed Nixon for a tax incentive, despite his general aversion to ‘big government’, as a vital means to stem what he referred to as the “deterioration of the motion picture industry and the disintegration of its Hollywood base”.⁴ However, while the tax shelters subsequently created by the Nixon administration did throw a lifeline to the industry, municipal leadership had nevertheless understood that the increasing mobility and flexibility of film production gave a new importance to entrepreneurial, ‘film friendly’ policies based around attracting and retaining location shooting on the city’s streets.⁵

Though much of the anti-runaway rhetoric had been aimed squarely at overseas production, from the late 1960s the focus increasingly turned towards domestic location shooting, especially since the establishment of the Mayor’s Office of Motion Pictures and Television in New York. The Hollywood film unions lobbied the city and state government to take action, using the example of Lindsay’s scheme to campaign for more pro-active local government support.⁶ The press also made direct comparisons between the two mayors, both of whom were highly media-literate and deeply enamoured with show-business (Yorty even hosted a talk show on local television), though Lindsay often came out on top (as a *Variety* headline had it, “Yorty Can’t Equal Charms of NY’s Lindsay as Chum of Film Biz”).⁷ In February 1967,

representatives of the Los Angeles city government met with the AFL Film Council's Committee on Runaway Production to discuss the intensifying competition from New York.⁸ The Mayor announced the appointment of a liaison officer for the industry and called for greater cooperation between the city and Hollywood. "After meeting with representatives of the motion picture industry guilds and unions", Yorty wrote in an open letter to the Association of Motion Picture and Television Producers, "I have decided to ask your assistance in reaffirming the city's stand for total cooperation between the City of Los Angeles and all phases of the motion picture and related industries".⁹ This was later formalised in 1971 with the establishment of the Office of Motion Picture Coordination, a "one-call service point" for permits, assistance from city departments and industry liaison that drew direct inspiration from Lindsay's efforts in New York.¹⁰ Greater flexibility for location shooting was also established by a bill passed by the City Council and Mayor Tom Bradley in 1975. As *Variety* memorably put it, the legislation gave "camera angles priority over zone rights" by legalising filming on private residential property, previously restricted by zoning laws if widely practiced nevertheless, and aimed to further promote LA as an attractive destination for interior (as well as exterior) location work.¹¹

Thus, while the proportion of American films made in Los Angeles dropped overall, especially on sound stages (which were more often being used for television production), location shooting flourished in the city during the late 1960s and 1970s. As a result, from the late 1960s onwards Los Angeles developed an increasingly well-defined and self-conscious onscreen presence perhaps only matched by the heyday of film noir in the 1940s and early 1950s. The city became popular not only as a location but also significantly a distinctive, named setting and to an increasing extent a subject for exploration in American cinema.¹² The city's streets, architecture and urban culture played a crucial role in a series of films from *Point Blank* (John Boorman, 1967), *The Graduate* (Mike Nichols, 1967) and *Zabriskie Point* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1970) to *The Long Goodbye* (Robert Altman, 1973), *Chinatown* (Roman Polanski, 1974), *Shampoo* (Hal Ashby, 1975) and *Welcome to L.A.* (Alan Rudolph, 1976). This tendency for Los Angeles to 'play itself' was a marked contrast with the studio era, during which the city's malleable, chameleon-like quality had often been a significant asset, allowing it to double for other cities and any number of historical and geographical settings from Ancient Rome to Prohibition-era Chicago. Furthermore, the long-standing tendency of filmmakers to conflate Los Angeles with its most famous suburb meant that many films set in the city were often limited to Hollywood and its immediate vicinity. Conversely, many of the films made

in the late 1960s and 1970s foregrounded the uniqueness of the city and its essential qualities. In doing so, they explored the city's distinctive, sprawling low-rise landscape, its freeways, commercial architecture and modernist houses, its especially close interrelationship with the natural environment, and often, its compelling synthesis of glamour, commodification and urban anomie.

The importance of LA as a cinematic subject not only reflected the industrial and institutional factors outlined above but also pointed to the city's increasing cultural self-confidence and rising economic and political significance within the United States. This confluence of civic boosterism, place marketing and cultural renaissance was also apparent in the newfound interest of public institutions in the city's cinematic history. In 1973, the County Museum of Art dedicated a four-week season to "L.A. on Film", screening a range of titles from early newsreels and travelogues to *Sunset Blvd* (Billy Wilder, 1950), *Rebel without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955) and *Model Shop* (Jacques Demy, 1969). As the *Los Angeles Times* architecture critic John Pastier put it, "Outsiders have often derided Los Angeles as a huge movie set – a temporary, insubstantial and deceptively appealing façade. Perhaps because of local sensitivity to this charge, there has never been any serious attempt to define and interpret the city's physical and social environment through film history".¹³ In contrast, the season was "an exercise in civic consciousness raising. It sketches the startling and often tragic physical changes that 75 years of forced growth have wrought and surveys roughly 40 years of changing social patterns ... The survey gives glimpses of a civil flux too strong and pervasive to be comprehended through individual experience alone".¹⁴

This chapter explores such patterns of historic change and flux in the cinematic representation of Los Angeles in the 1970s through recourse to five key films: *Zabriskie Point* (1970), *The Parallax View* (1974), *The Long Goodbye* (1973), *Welcome to L.A.* (1976), and *American Gigolo* (1980). Each of these films foreground the cityscape as an aesthetic object and audiovisual experience, producing an especially stylised rendering of urban space that adapts elements of European art cinema and American Pop Art to the emerging 'postmodern' urban environment of Los Angeles. The increased tendency towards location shooting was important in catalysing a number of innovative production techniques and aesthetic strategies which were visually inspired by the perceptual experience of the urban landscape. This chapter explores how the breakdown of classical Hollywood spatial codes was closely related both to new technologies and filmmaking practices and the emergence of a new type of urban space. Each of the five films discussed

exhibit a number of distinctive stylistic motifs and cinematographic techniques: an emphasis on motion and fluidity; the compression and distortion of space with zoom lenses and the accentuation of surface over depth; persistent use of reflective materials in their mise-en-scène; and the use of filters and ‘flashing’ film stock. Though not coherent or stable enough to be understood as a regional aesthetic, it is nevertheless striking that the films shot in Los Angeles during this period display a markedly different cinematic style from those made on the East Coast, for example. Finally, I will briefly discuss the ‘network narrative’ and its affinity to a decentred, postmodern urban form where, as Charles Jencks put it, “the periphery is the centre”.¹⁵ Throughout, I argue that these films can be productively viewed in conjunction with the work of a number of architects, urbanists and artists who also analysed and represented Los Angeles during the 1960s and 1970s and likewise sought new forms and concepts to represent this novel urban landscape.

Los Angeles: a new urban form

The crisis of the motion picture industry was thrown into relief by the rapid growth and rising economic importance of Los Angeles more generally, which by the early 1970s had become America’s second largest urban region and its third largest manufacturing centre.¹⁶ The rapid development of the Los Angeles region in the postwar decades was propelled by the expansion of the military industrial complex and substantial federal investment in the aerospace and electronics sectors which continued throughout the Cold War. This expansion in manufacturing increasingly occurred in specialised, high-technology industries that operated smaller, non-unionised plants and occurred in parallel with a simultaneous decline of Fordist industrial production within other areas of the city. Thus, while some areas of the city experienced deindustrialisation and urban blight, other zones flourished as new agglomerations of high-tech industry formed. As Ed Soja puts it, “Frostbelt and Sunbelt dynamics come together in Los Angeles, intermeshing to produce a complex mix of selective industrial decline and rapid industrial expansion”.¹⁷

The city’s uneven development was reflected by the economic and physical decline of the Hollywood district, itself a frequent topic of debate in the local press. In 1977, *The Los Angeles Times* described Hollywood as a “community fallen on disreputable times” and detailed the “proliferation of porno shops and the concomitant rise in crime – particularly street banditry

and prostitution” that had plagued the area over the previous decade. Plans to redevelop the area had been discussed since the late 1960s. In 1968, the local community mounted fierce resistance against Hollywood Development Project No. 1, a plan proposed by the Community Redevelopment Agency and implicitly backed by studios including Paramount/Gulf and Western. Compulsory purchase powers were to be used to condemn and redevelop a largely residential area of some 556 acres in South Hollywood into a new studio facility that its supporters hoped would help rejuvenate the business.¹⁸ However, just a year later, financial crisis had hit the industry and the idea of constructing new sound stages now looked seriously outmoded in the face of studio belt-tightening and the rising trend towards location shooting. By the mid-1970s, attitudes towards urban redevelopment had also shifted. In contrast to earlier schemes, the Hollywood Revitalization Committee (established in 1976) shunned a “bulldozer approach” to renewal, instead advocating the restoration of historic buildings on Hollywood Boulevard and attracting artisans to occupy the vacant second floor shop space, a strategy which implicitly drew on the ideas of Jane Jacobs (“We would be creating a street life which sociologists will tell you, if you spend any time around them, crowds out street crime”, a spokesman said).¹⁹ In 1977, the Committee hired the architectural firm Skidmore, Owings & Merrill to complete an economic and demographic study of the area and produce rehabilitation and restoration proposals for the neighbourhood.

Nevertheless, the real estate development that followed Hollywood’s crisis also contributed to a burst of high-rise construction in the city, which helped to counter widespread allegations that the city had no identifiable landmarks or recognisable skyline. However, in keeping with the region’s polycentric configuration, high-rise development was not only confined to downtown but developed in a distributed pattern, as the *Los Angeles Times* outlined: “Other cities generally confine their tallest buildings to one or two central locations but Los Angeles has at least 10 groups of high-rise structures that form a constellation of skylines”.²⁰ Large areas of downtown and adjacent areas such as Bunker Hill, a dense, historic neighbourhood that had provided the setting for many film noirs, were cleared for renewal to make way for a flurry of new high-rises such as the Crocker Citizens Bank (William Pereira, 1967), Union Bank Plaza (Albert C. Martin & Associates, 1968), Arco Plaza Towers (Albert C. Martin & Associates, 1972), United California Bank (Charles Luckman, 1973), and perhaps most famously, the four reflective glass cylinders of the Westin-Bonaventure Hotel complex (John Portman, 1977).²¹ This growth was augmented by an influx of foreign capital into downtown Los Angeles real estate. As Mike Davis explains,

in the seventies “the accelerating pace of redevelopment came under the control of offshore managers of truly vast pools of mobile capital, and individual buildings gave way to multiblock developments like the Westin Bonaventure”.²² Nearer to Hollywood, clusters of high-rises formed in two areas along Wilshire Boulevard, at mid-Wilshire and the Miracle Mile, and at Century City, where buildings such as Minoru Yamasaki’s Century Plaza Towers (1975) occupied land that had formerly been part of the 20th Century Fox studios. Further afield in the San Fernando Valley, large sections of the Universal lot were also redeveloped into Universal City, an office, hotel and entertainment complex that also housed the MCA/Universal headquarters, a black-tinted glass and steel monolith nicknamed the Black Tower (Ralph Vaughn, 1963).²³

As I have argued in earlier chapters, the restructuring of the Hollywood film industry in the 1960s and 1970s was integrally related to wider patterns of urban-industrial change in Los Angeles itself. As urban geographers such as Storper, Christopherson and Scott have demonstrated, the development of the film industry during this period manifested various elements of the flexible, post-Fordist capitalism that has shaped the urbanisation of the Los Angeles region since the 1960s.²⁴ For urbanists, Los Angeles was considered an exceptional case among American cities for much of the twentieth century, remaining stubbornly irreducible to the core-periphery structure that provided the basis for the dominant Chicago School model of urban sociology. However, in the mid-1980s, a new, self-titled ‘LA School’ of urban theorists set themselves in explicit opposition to the Chicago School tradition, proclaiming that the decentralised, polynucleated urban region of Los Angeles was no longer exceptional but fast becoming the global norm for contemporary urbanisation and industrial growth.²⁵ In a special issue of *Society and Space* in 1986, Edward Soja and Allen Scott claimed Los Angeles to be “the paradigmatic industrial metropolis of the modern world”.²⁶ For Soja, Michael Dear and others, the city had begun to require what they referred to as “postmodern” geographical analyses to tackle its complexity and heterogeneity.²⁷ This geographical interest in the city also drew inspiration from (and cross-pollinated with) the pre-eminent role given to Los Angeles in postmodern cultural and architectural theory of the 1980s and 1990s, in the work of Fredric Jameson, Umberto Eco, Jean Baudrillard, and Charles Jencks.²⁸

Yet such critical interest in the city’s unique characteristics can be traced back at least as far as the 1960s, when numerous architects, urbanists and writers were drawn to Southern California to investigate and represent this new urban landscape.²⁹ What unified the approach of thinkers and writers

as disparate as Kevin Lynch, Tom Wolfe, Joan Didion, Reyner Banham and Denise Scott Brown was their rejection of older, high-modernist critiques of Los Angeles, best exemplified by Adorno and Horkheimer's attack on the city as the epitome of commodity capitalism and the false consciousness espoused by Hollywood's "culture industry".³⁰ In contrast, these new approaches to Los Angeles explicitly rejected canonical notions of taste in architectural history by affirming the importance of popular, vernacular architecture, celebrating eclecticism and pastiche, and pitting the unplanned vitality of sprawl against the regulated conformity of modernist 'top-down' planning. Equally importantly, they also began to conceive of the cityscape itself as an aesthetic object, a new perceptual environment offering novel types of individual sensory experience that required new representational forms to be adequately expressed.

Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (1960) was one of the first studies to explicitly contrast the urban form of Los Angeles with other American cities. Lynch's research compared the visual environment of Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles in terms of their legibility and visual clarity. In older cities such as Boston, users were able to orient or 'micro-locate' themselves through a dense and visually coherent accumulation of historic buildings and iconic landmarks. Conversely, the low-density sprawl of Los Angeles was shown to produce sensations of fluidity or formlessness at the level of individual experience:

When asked to describe or symbolize the city as a whole, the subjects used certain standard words: "spread out", "spacious", "formless", "without centres". Los Angeles seemed to be hard to envision or conceptualize as a whole. An endless spread, which may carry pleasant connotations of space around the dwellings, or overtones of weariness and disorientation, was the common image. Said one subject: "It's as if you were going somewhere for a long time, and when you got there you discovered there was nothing there, after all".³¹

Here, Lynch's research seemed to reproduce what was already a commonplace about the city's lack of a dominating centre and its relatively intangible and formless quality that made it especially hard to represent visually. Significantly, Lynch is concerned here with the individual cognitive or sensory experience of the city, prioritising qualitative description rather than quantitative data and placing the perceptual quality of the cityscape and its design above other factors. Unique to Los Angeles was the sensation that the affective experience of the city resulted from its apparently radi-

cally new and ahistorical form, which could provoke ambivalent responses: "In Los Angeles there is an impression that the fluidity of the environment and the absence of physical elements which anchor to the past are exciting and disturbing".³²

Whereas Lynch's phenomenology of the city dweller was explicitly intended to inform the development of the emerging discipline of urban design, the work of the British architectural historian Reyner Banham attempted to question received opinions of Los Angeles in both scholarly circles and the wider public imagination. In *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (1971), Banham spliced first-person accounts of his visits to the city with erudite analysis of its rich and undervalued architectural legacy. The book is organised into four thematic sections that explore different layers or 'ecologies' of the city: Sufurbia, Foothills, The Plains of Id and Autopia. Kazys Varnelis suggests that Banham's project might now be seen as a kind of "early postmodern cognitive mapping", its unconventional structure an attempt at representing a city fundamentally incompatible with the traditional methods of architectural history.³³ Like the authors of *Learning from Las Vegas*, Banham drew on techniques from New Journalism and the photo collage to produce a text/image assemblage that was at once scholarly and unabashedly popular – arguably itself a performance of the very collapse of high and low culture that the work analysed. Banham's celebratory re-evaluation of Los Angeles's popular architecture and rejection of the planned city was a theme reprised in his collaborative piece "Non-Plan" for the British journal *New Society*. Alongside Peter Hall and Cedric Price, Banham used the example of Los Angeles's apparently unplanned sprawl to argue that Greater London could generate a similar economic dynamism through deregulating planning controls. However, while this favourable stance towards commercial architecture and preference for laissez-faire development over centralised planning now seems uncomfortably in tune with neoliberal, free-market economics, Banham's work on Los Angeles was not entirely depoliticised. This becomes clearer in his BBC television documentary, *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles* (1972), which adapted elements of a four-part radio series first broadcast in 1968 and stands as a companion piece to the book. In particular, the sunny boosterism is tempered at key moments by an acknowledgement of the city's problematic tendencies towards privatisation, securitisation and segregation. En route to San Pedro, Banham is startled by the realisation that the road he wishes to take is in fact private and protected by 24-hour security checkpoints. His comic encounter, probably staged, with the security guard plays on his naiveté and outsider status, as does his surprised response to the idea of a gated area of the city

("I didn't know there were any private roads!") However, while implicitly critical of wealthy, private enclaves such as Palos Verdes, it is unclear whether this merely reflects a perceived disjunction between the gated community and what Banham supposes to be the broader ideals of the city as populist, built from the ground up and above all embodying freedom of movement.

As Edward Dimendberg has argued, Banham's film also makes use of the cinematic medium's inherent advantage over the printed page in its capacity to represent motion, an experience central to a city based around the automobile.³⁴ Throughout the film, Los Angeles is frequently presented in rapid motion, whether through the windshield of a car or via aerial cinematography. Here, the 'fluidity' expressed by Lynch's interviewees is directly linked to the central importance of the car (and especially the freeway) to the experience of urban space in the city. For Banham, the freeways represented an entire 'ecology' of the city's urban form, producing a novel perceptual experience of motion and speed: "the freeway system in its totality is now a single comprehensible place, a coherent state of mind, a complete way of life ... The actual experience of driving on the freeways prints itself deeply on the conscious mind and unthinking reflexes".³⁵ However, local commentators such as *Los Angeles Times* architecture critic John Pastier were sceptical, arguing that Banham's essentially touristic view of the freeways elevated driving on them into a sublime experience that ignored the essential banality of the daily commute for many Angelenos.³⁶ Nevertheless, the notion of the city as defined by kinetic, mobile experience was one that resonated throughout the era's cinema, which was also often produced by outsiders to the city.

Banham's then-unfashionable notion that commercial buildings such as hamburger bars and gas stations were as important to Los Angeles as "dated works in classified styles by named architects" chimed with another contemporary account of the American urban landscape, Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour's architectural manifesto *Learning from Las Vegas*.³⁷ Published in 1972, it was based on an architectural studio conducted by the authors at the Yale School of Architecture in 1968. In researching the book, they spent ten days in Las Vegas and another four days on the streets of Los Angeles. While the more extreme, gaudy casino architecture of Vegas inspired the book's title, it was nevertheless clear that the new urban landscape they surveyed and celebrated was equally visible in Southern California. Paul Mazursky's romantic comedy *Blume in Love* (1973) visualises this new type of urban environment through a knowing counterpoint between classical European city planning and the complex signscape of the Sunset Strip (fig. 9). In a number of scenes of the film, the



Figure 9: The complex signscape of the Sunset Strip in *Blume in Love* (Warner Bros, 1973).

protagonist Stephen Blume (George Segal), recalls a romantic Italian holiday with his now-estranged wife and ruminates on the nature of love and its impossibility in the contemporary American city. These flashback sequences persistently dwell on the famous Piazza San Marco in Venice, an open, pedestrian-oriented public space anchored by iconic landmarks. In Kevin Lynch's terms, this is a strongly imageable space that is "highly differentiated and structured: into two spaces (Piazza and Piazzetta) and with many distinctive landmarks (Duomo, Palazzo Ducale, Campanile, Libreria). Inside, one feels always in clear relation to it, precisely micro-located, as it were. So distinctive is this space that many people who have never been to Venice will recognize its photograph immediately". In contrast, a series of driving scenes in Los Angeles emphasise the proliferation of signs and commercial architecture on the Sunset Strip. For Venturi and Scott Brown, this kind of environment offers a strikingly different sensation of space for the individual: "The image of the commercial strip is chaos. The order in this landscape is not obvious ... The space of urban sprawl is not enclosed and directed as in traditional cities. Rather, it is open and indeterminate, identified by points in space and patterns on the ground; these are two-dimensional or sculptural symbols in space rather than buildings in space, complex configurations that are graphic or representational".³⁸ This notion of the city as especially graphic or representational also shows the influence of the city's art scene on architectural writing during the period. As Alexandra Schwartz has demonstrated, both Banham and Venturi/Scott Brown were deeply influenced by Pop Art and, in particular, the work of the Los Angeles photographer Ed Ruscha, whose

collections “Thirtyfour Parking Lots in Los Angeles” (1967), “Every Building on Sunset Strip” (1966) and “Real Estate Opportunities” (1970) also demonstrated a fascination with the city’s commercial buildings and civil engineering. As I will examine in further detail below, the work of Los Angeles artists also displayed telling confluences with contemporary film style, especially in their shared emphasis on depthlessness and the reflective surface.

However, viewing the city as a predominantly depthless visual experience potentially elided politics. As Richard Weinstein has elaborated, the notion of an aestheticised cityscape experienced through a detached, mobile gaze emphasised the city’s tendency towards privatisation and individualism. Weinstein writes, “The city is experienced as a passage through space, with constraints established by speed and motion, rather than the static condition of solids, of buildings that define the pedestrian experience of traditional cities. The resulting detachment further privatises experience, devalues the public realm, and, by force of the time spent in travel, contributes to isolation”.³⁹ For Weinstein, the postwar development of LA reflects a particularly individuated model of urban form, based predominantly on the single-family dwelling and the individual space of the automobile. In these terms, Los Angeles was arguably the first American city to break completely with older models of American urbanism, which were often still grounded in European thinking, and establish a fully ‘privatised’ urban landscape.⁴⁰ Not only was the growth of Los Angeles defined by a set of essentially anti-urban impulses and an individualist notion of freedom, but its dispersed form arguably concealed even greater inequalities and depths of social and racial segregation than was apparent in cities such as New York. Further, critics such as Cecile Whiting have also suggested a strongly chauvinist or masculinist tendency to the artists associated with the ‘Cool School’, which is perhaps less marked but equally present in the New Hollywood and its lionisation of male auteurship. In what follows, I trace the confluence of aesthetics and politics in the era’s cinema, arguing that while films made at the turn of the decade such as *Zabriskie Point* and *Model Shop* were defined by a tension between political consciousness and aesthetic beauty, later films absorb and normalise this aestheticised disconnection from the city into their cinematic style to generate an altogether more ambivalent view of the city.

Zabriskie Point (1970)

Just as writers and architects had been enticed by the unique urban landscape and cultural milieu of late-sixties Los Angeles, a number of European

filmmakers were also drawn into the city's orbit at the end of the decade. For example, the French filmmakers Agnès Varda and Jacques Demy, who made *Lions Love* (1969) and *Model Shop* (1969), respectively, arrived in Los Angeles at a time when the Hollywood studios appeared, at least on the surface, more open to the influence of European art cinema, left-wing politics and countercultural expression than ever before. Arguably the most renowned of these international visitors was the Italian director Michelangelo Antonioni. Following the resounding and somewhat unexpected commercial success of his London-based film *Blow Up* (1966), Antonioni had begun to research the possibility of producing his next project, the second in a three-picture contract with MGM, in the United States. Though *Zabriskie Point* had almost been entirely written off prior to Kirk Kerkorian's takeover, Antonioni found an unlikely sponsor in a newly-installed chief executive, James T. Aubrey. Though Aubrey had overseen Kerkorian's downsizing of the studio and was highly conscious of the need to limit costs, he considered Antonioni to be a genius, and alert to the recent successes of *Easy Rider* (1969) and *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), gave the Italian carte blanche to assemble the film as he saw fit (a decision the studio heads would later rue, as the film was an unmitigated failure at the box office).⁴¹

After spending several months touring a selection of American cities, including New York, Chicago and New Orleans, Antonioni finally settled on Los Angeles.⁴² As he wrote at the time, Antonioni considered the United States in general, and Los Angeles in particular, to be where "some of the essential truths and contradictions of our time can be isolated to their pure state".⁴³ In a short piece reprinted in the *Los Angeles Times*, Antonioni summed up his thoughts on the United States: "I think what our civilization and our generation represents and produces can be seen here on its highest and purest level as well as on its lowest and most brutal. If I had to sum up my impressions of America, I would list these: waste, innocence, vastness, poverty".⁴⁴ For Antonioni, Los Angeles not only demonstrated some of the most profound contradictions of advanced capitalist society, but also embodied an urban form radically removed from the sedimented layers of architectural history found in cities such as Rome or London, which he had depicted in his earlier films *L'Eclisse* (1963) and *Blow Up* (1966).

In *Zabriskie Point*, the perceptual experience of urban space is figured through two contrasting sequences. In the first, Mark (Mark Frechette) drives a pickup truck across the city. The scene begins with a shot of the famous *trompe l'oeil* mural on Farmer John's Meat Packing Plant in Vernon, which shows a panoramic backdrop of rural life. The camera pans right to reveal the street, accentuating the sense that each is a flattened representa-

tion of the world. A series of rapid and disorientating zooms pick out a series of commercial and industrial signs: Bethlehem Steel, Pacific Metals, Brown Bevis Industrial. We zoom in further, passing a series of pylons, cranes, cylinders, containers, and scrap heaps that become increasingly flattened and abstracted into masses of shape and colour. The visual pleasure that is often offered by the mobile cinematic gaze is explicitly disrupted not only by the disturbing zooms but crucially by an unsettling, disjunctive electronic soundtrack of industrial noise.⁴⁵ The rearview mirror is also used to superimpose a fragmented moving image onto the screen, producing a set of disjointed and discontinuous layers. The heterogeneity of the urban fabric is marked: we cut unexpectedly from the industrial landscape of Vernon to the more familiar environs of palm tree-lined boulevards.

In this sequence, the visual and aural experience of the city is figured as disorienting and alienating. Its representation of the city tallies with what Venturi and Scott Brown described as “a new spatial order relating to the automobile and highway communication in an architecture which abandons pure form in favour of mixed media”.⁴⁶ As they argued, this new space is one best understood in rapid motion: “The commercial persuasion of roadside eclecticism provokes bold impact in the vast and complex setting of a new landscape of big spaces, high speeds, and complex programs. Styles and signs make connections among many elements, far apart and seen fast”.⁴⁷ However, *Zabriskie Point* represents an essentially critical counterpoint to the positive and celebratory tone of *Learning from Las Vegas*. Antonioni and Venturi et al. were very likely visited the city at a similar time during 1968, if for different purposes, and their responses show interesting convergences and divergences. In *Zabriskie Point*, the individual experience of the city as fragmented and alienating is symbolically linked to the political upheavals of the late 1960s. The spatial disorientation of the driving sequence contrasts with a later scene in which Mark has stolen a light aircraft, following the violent confrontation with the police at the university campus. Here, an altogether more coherent, fluid and pleasurable view of the city is presented by the aerial footage of Los Angeles, which is backed with the upbeat soundtrack of the Grateful Dead. Spread out flat, the structures and patterns of the city become legible: the downtown skyline, the iconic freeway intersections, vast parking lots, endless tracts of low-rise sprawl vanishing into the horizon. Yet this aesthetic cognitive mapping also flattens out the city into an abstract, visual object. While it symbolises Mark’s attempt to situate himself within the social and political conjuncture he is enmeshed in, it also points towards the limits of visual techniques of representation to make such a leap.

The compression or flattening of screen space with telephoto lenses used in *Zabriskie Point* was a formal technique that became popular in American cinema in the late 1960s. The modernist auteurs of postwar cinema had been principally concerned with depth-of-field and the artistic possibilities present in deep staging and long takes. As a result, while modernism in painting and in still photography showed a marked tendency towards abstraction and flatness, this was not generally a trait of the cinematic modernism of directors such as Welles, Rossellini, or Renoir. Similarly, classical Hollywood screen space in the 1940s and 1950s was for the most part based around the illusion of depth, achieved by editing and staging conventions if not possible by photographic means alone. The introduction of anamorphic lenses and new colour processes in the 1950s posed problems for this model, however, as they were unable to render space in depth to the same extent as before. In the 1950s and 1960s, Hollywood directors employed a variety of strategies in lighting, staging and framing in order to conceal the flatness of the image and continue to produce the illusion of depth.⁴⁸ With few exceptions, films in this period did not emphasise or stylise this visual compression until the mid-1960s.

The overt, stylistic use of shallow focus and telephoto compression in colour was developed by two influential European films: Antonioni's *Red Desert* (1964) and Claude Lelouch's *Un homme et une femme* (1966). For Antonioni, colour stock and extreme telephoto lenses offered new possibilities for experiments in visual form. In *Red Desert*, Antonioni used these techniques to flatten planes of depth and distort perspective, softening and diffusing blocks of colour and light to produce abstract compositions of the industrial landscape surrounding Ravenna. In contrast, Lelouch elaborated on the possibilities such techniques offered for a more romantic expressivity, mixing the influence of Antonioni's formalism with the soft-focus appeal of magazine advertising (it is worth noting in this context that shallow depth-of-field had already become an accepted part of the vernacular of advertising photography by the 1960s). Elements of this style would appear in American films during the late 1960s such as *The Graduate* (Mike Nichols, 1967), *Petulia* (Richard Lester, 1968), *The Rain People* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1969) and *Midnight Cowboy* (John Schlesinger, 1969).⁴⁹

The "complexity and contradiction" of Los Angeles is mirrored by the construction of the film, which is composed of stylistically heterogeneous sections or fragments.⁵⁰ A direct cinema aesthetic is visible both in the opening scene, which records discussions between real members of the Students for a Democratic Society (Tom Hayden) and the Black Panthers (Kathleen Cleaver), and in the real archival footage of the protest scenes.

The fragmentation of the urban montage sequences is countered by the cool, geometrical abstraction of the Sunny Dunes subplot. The city is contrasted with the brutal and empty natural space of the desert, which Antonioni is careful not to present as an idyllic escape but more an imaginary space – a conceptual exterior to the city but one that offers no real alternative. Finally, the explosion of a purpose-built replica of a modernist house in the desert functions as an almost stand-alone piece of avant-garde filmmaking.

The Sunny Dunes subplot is underdeveloped within the film, though it plays an important overall role by drawing tentative links between capitalist accumulation, real estate development, and the exploitation of the natural world. The characterisation of Lee Allen and his colleagues is severely limited, perhaps reflecting a larger role it may have played in earlier cuts of the film. Ethically suspect, if not explicitly menacing (as in the Parallax Corporation or the anonymous company in *The Conversation*), the representation of the Sunny Dunes Corporation reflects a growing anti-corporate mentality on the countercultural left. However, unlike its later, more paranoid counterparts, *Zabriskie Point* presents a clearer view of the corporation's business dealings: the driving force behind urban development is shown to be the expansion of investment capital. In a *New Yorker* profile of Los Angeles in 1966, Christopher Rand noted that in the early 1960s, some two hundred and sixty acres were being “urbanized” every day. Rand described meeting a real-life counterpart of Lee Allen: “Not long ago, I flew over the range in a helicopter with Robert Shelton, the president of an LA planning firm called the Lantain Park Corporation, which was formed to coordinate planning, engineering, legal, and other services for eleven landowning corporations. These investors, headed by Lazard Frères & Co of New York, had bought eleven thousand three hundred acres of virgin mountain territory”.⁵¹

The scenes in Lee Allen's office were filmed in a set constructed on top of the Mobil Oil building on Wilshire Boulevard. A spatial opposition is set up between the fragmented subjective experience of the city experienced from the automobile, and the obsessively composed and carefully framed experience of the Sunny Dunes building. Several shots isolate the human figure within a small portion of the widescreen frame, filling the remainder with abstract patterns from the office interior. These widescreen compositions of the Sunny Dunes building reflect a persistent mode of representation of office space and corporate architecture more generally during the 1970s, whereby its symbolic or metonymic properties of its abstract surfaces become important elements of *mise-en-scène*.

The symbolic destruction of this world occurs in the final sequences of the film, when Daria imagines the explosion of the desert house.⁵² One of

a number of images of architectural demolition or destruction that appear throughout the films of the late 1960s and 1970s, it symbolises political and social revolution as the need to reshape space. In the subsequent sequence, a series of consumer objects are exploded in extreme slow motion to the backing of Pink Floyd's "Come in Number 51, Your Time Is Up". Through this cinematic 'deconstruction' of modernist architecture and consumer durables, Antonioni developed a critique of modernism – or at least, its application within late capitalism – that is broadly comparable to radical architectural groups such as Superstudio.⁵³ For example, Superstudio's 'Continuous Monument: An Architectural Model for Total Urbanisation' (1969) is a sequence of photographic collages in which the historical or natural space of the photograph – New York or Venice, the sea and the desert – is overlaid with an apparently endless grid of black-and-white squares, a superstructure extending off into the horizon. With ironic repetition, the piece suggests a homogenising technological rationality that threatens to turn every last reserve of the natural world into the abstract space of the modernist grid. Superstudio was one of several radical architectural groups of the period that had rejected buildable projects in favour of what Bernard Tschumi has referred to as 'counterdesign', paper architecture that aimed to critique the political and social outcomes of contemporary urbanism. As Tschumi wrote in an article of 1975, counterdesign uses the "architect's mode of expression in order to denounce institutional trends by translating them in architectural terms". Yet, as Tschumi acknowledges, such approaches were of limited use; by rejecting any conception of positive change, such projects quickly tend towards nihilism, or more appropriately in the case of Superstudio, endless irony. In the case of *Zabriskie Point*, the political charge of the explosion sequences is perhaps tempered both by their sheer aesthetic beauty and their function as a technological spectacle.⁵⁴

The Parallax View (1974)

Though *The Parallax View* (1974) made memorable use of Seattle's most famous landmark, the Space Needle, the majority of the film was shot in the Los Angeles region. Whereas *Zabriskie Point* overtly presented itself as a film about a specific city, *Parallax View* is a more generic Sun Belt film, inhabiting the anonymous, abstract landscape of high-rise towers and business parks, a visual signifier of corporate America that Antonioni had already exploited in the Sunny Dunes sequences. Warren Beatty plays an investigative reporter, Joe Frady, who is looking into an organisation known

as the Parallax Corporation. Parallax masquerades as a research institute – something close to the RAND Corporation – but is secretly in the business of recruiting hitmen for political assassinations, ruthlessly covering their tracks after the fact. As other commentators have pointed out, this attests to a wider cultural sense of paranoia over the political process that intensified following the assassinations of the 1960s and the Watergate scandal.⁵⁵ However, the political stance of the film has often been subject to criticism. For example, Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner contend that conspiracy narratives remain flawed as a mode of social critique, in that they inevitably turn “systemic concealment of real power structures into a personalized account of secret intrigue”.⁵⁶ In the final analysis, they suggest, such films either remain “incapable of conceptualizing the systemic character of power”, or on the contrary, produce something like an Orwellian fantasy of inescapable, omniscient control that equally misses the point. However, Ryan and Kellner’s analyses of seventies cinema operate a reductive or schematic dualism between progressive and conservative texts and often privilege narrative over form. Here, I wish to argue that Pakula was aware of the limitations of political representation that could be achieved through what was essentially a pulp narrative, and that the film’s visual style and spatial organisation can be seen as attempts to overcome the problem of expressing a structural or distributed concept of power.

Pakula’s pre-production notes chart his attempts to resolve an inherent difficulty presented by the source material.⁵⁷ In the novel by Loren Singer on which the film was based, the Parallax Corporation is personified by a central figure, Trumbull, whom Pakula refers to in his notes as the “heavy”.⁵⁸ Yet for Pakula, to represent the corporation with any individual “heavy” would risk veering into the cinematic clichés of the spy film. His initial solution was to represent them as a group of elite politicians and intellectuals. These were to be explicitly based on emblematic figures of the American right such as Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley and Joe Alsop. But this was also unsatisfactory. Perhaps, Pakula considered, “there shouldn’t be any Trumbulls, only individual underlings who don’t seem to add up”. While the representatives of the Corporation should only ever be organization men, without real power, the wider scope of the film’s paranoid structure could only be expressed visually: “You may be able to dramatize your abstract heavy with its omniscience of power visually ... Fascinating cinematic problem: your overall heavy is played and dramatized by the camera”. This abstract expression of power required formal strategies that went beyond the standard remit of the Hollywood narrative and its implicitly linear concepts of causation, structure and agency.

To this end, Pakula drew inspiration from the European cinematic modernism of Antonioni, Fellini and Bertolucci. Like Coppola and Schrader, Pakula admired what he referred to as the “baroque” aesthetics of *The Conformist* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1970), but sought to adapt it into a more specifically American style, a “colder, bleaker baroque”.⁵⁹ Another touchstone for visual style was Fellini’s *Roma* (1972). In particular, Pakula admired the film’s final sequence of a motorcycle procession through Rome at night, and the use of lighting and use of symbolic monuments provided the requisite visual qualities that Pakula sought for *Parallax*.⁶⁰ Antonioni’s spatial abstraction also provided a base-line style for much of the film’s approach to screen space.⁶¹ In an interview with *Film Comment*, Pakula acknowledged the importance of the built environment within his films: “I love to use architecture to dramatize a society, very much so in *Klute*, even more so in *Parallax View*; that was really creating a whole sense of a world through buildings”.⁶² For Pakula, *The Parallax View* needed to be balanced between the realist representation of space and a subtle sense of abstraction that would produce a paranoid sensation in visual terms; as he saw it, the film “demanded a style which while seeming real and unstylised would nonetheless have a sense of the surreal about it. It also would give me a chance to attempt a kind of visual comment on our society, on the way we live and our values, without ever discussing it”.⁶³

The film’s locations were chosen as a result of an extensive survey of modern architecture across the West Coast and the Sun Belt. Pakula’s assistants were sent on a location scouting tour that took in cities such as Phoenix, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Tucson.⁶⁴ Pakula was particularly interested in modernist university campuses such as Arizona State, and buildings such as William Pereira’s library at UC San Diego (1970) and the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Sedona, Arizona.⁶⁵ The range of locations was intended to evoke the contrasts evident in the American landscape, providing a similar feel to Hitchcock’s *North by Northwest*.⁶⁶ The film opens at the Seattle Space Needle, a monument constructed for the 1962 World’s Fair. In the Elvis Presley vehicle *It Happened at the World’s Fair* (Norman Taurog, 1963) the Needle implicitly figured as a positive signifier of modernity, expressing faith in scientific and technological progress and the ability of urban planning to produce social change. However, in *The Parallax View*, the Needle becomes a symbol for the crisis of the above.

In the remainder of the film, the representation of the city is anonymous and abstract. Apart from the Space Needle, Pakula avoids iconic architecture. A number of scenes were filmed not at Hollywood studios but in the buildings that had taken their place: interiors for the *Parallax*

Corporation were shot at the Universal Sheraton Hotel (1968-1969), which was constructed on part of the lot at Universal City. Similarly, in *All The President's Men* (1976), Pakula filmed Woodward's meetings with Deep Throat in the parking garage under the ABC Complex, Century City. Though perhaps unsurprising that the studios would film on their own doorstep, it also demonstrates how the advent of flexible production techniques allowed them to maximise the value of their real estate.

The exteriors of the Parallax Corporation were filmed at the CNA Building (Langdon and Wilson, 1972) by Lafayette Park. One of a series of high-rises built on or around Wilshire Boulevard in the 1960s and 1970s, it was the first tower to be entirely clad in reflective glass. In the *Los Angeles Times*, John Pastier described how its reflective surface gave the building a "precisely calculated near-absence", through which "mass and structure are minimized, and volume and surface become the building's dominant qualities".⁶⁷ As Pastier explained, "The images bouncing off the CNA Building's walls can be highly precise or psychedelically distorted, depending on the distance of the viewer and the reflected object".⁶⁸ This resonates with the film's title, which alludes to the definition of 'parallax': the apparent displacement of an object or angle as seen from two different points, or by two different observers. As Pakula put it, "Part of the tension is the constant change in spatial relationships, which I love to do: the spatial relationships between the characters and their world changing during a scene as well as the spatial relationship between characters changing during the scene".⁶⁹

Grid patterns and geometrical framings are a constant visual motif, and the 2.35:1 widescreen frame is often used to produce areas of negative space or to isolate the protagonists in the shot (fig. 10). For example, on Frady's second visit to the corporation, Pakula frames a shot of the CNA



Figure 10: The modernist grid in *The Parallax View* (Paramount, 1974).

exterior against some bushes, which cut the frame diagonally. A corporation operative enters the frame from behind the bushes, then walks off-screen to the right; a few seconds later (during which the screen contains only two extras), Frady appears from exactly the same position, and pauses, looking off right. Instead of a traditional point-of-view cut to the object of his gaze, Pakula cuts to an extreme long shot of the same set-up. Frady appears miniscule against the exterior of the building, which now fills the entirety of the frame with its reflective, grid surface. The elements of nature present in the shot (generic business park trees and shrubs) are thrown into relief against the reflection of the blue sky in the side of the building. Whereas classical editing tends to move from an establishing shot inwards to the characters, the emotional tone is rendered here not through a close-up on Frady but its opposite.⁷⁰ The reflective surface represents the visual impenetrability of the corporation and the wider power structure it embodies, with Frady portrayed as a tiny individual against the enormous grid system. However, like Antonioni's use of architecture, it remains more metonymic than symbolic: this type of space, like the industrial landscape of Ravenna in *Red Desert* or the Sunny Dunes office in *Zabriskie Point*, is a concrete example and integral part of the system rather than merely its symbolic representation.

Frady's first major discovery is a set of questionnaires designed to measure personality type and behavioural tendencies, marked 'Parallax Corporation, Division of Human Engineering'. This notion of 'Human Resources' was gaining currency within corporate management following the publication of Gary Becker's *Human Capital* (1964). By making reference to this emerging discipline, *The Parallax View* develops the sense that corporations were becoming more interested in influencing types of behaviour and emotional responses, particularly in relation to the consumption of images or ideas. This is particularly developed by the elaborate montage sequence Frady is subjected to as part of his testing, which further points to advertising and marketing – the production of images, signs, ideas, clichés – as central points of focus for the multinational corporation. In this regard, it is tempting to read the Parallax Corporation as a cipher for the corporate control of Hollywood itself, a connection noted by contemporary critics. While Pauline Kael described how films of the era frequently portrayed Hollywood as “a paranoia-inducing company town”, the British critic Alexander Walker observed in his review of *Parallax View* in the *Evening Standard*:

I find the most compelling feature of the movie is how it indirectly reproduces all of the paranoid characteristics not of a national conspiracy but

of a Hollywood film studio. Even the title, with its reference to filmmaking, is a stark clue. The agent who recruits Beatty talks of a 'finders-fee' for his trouble, just like Hollywood wheeler-dealers do. The quiz Beatty is set even asks, 'do you want to be an actor?'⁷¹

From the close phonetic resemblance between Paramount/Parallax, to the darkened screening room in which the protagonist Joe Frady (Warren Beatty) is subjected to an extended training film, the political conspiracy of *The Parallax View* persistently loops back to Hollywood itself. From this viewpoint, the canonical seventies subgenre of the paranoia film can be seen as a fertile ground for self-reflection on the state of the industry. In particular, these films' abiding interest in agency/structure dynamics and their persistent visual tropes of the modern corporation make them not so much critiques of the bureaucratic Cold War state as telling diagnoses of a new business climate. Though the Parallax Corporation notionally manipulates political power through assassinations, its real function is, like that of the Hollywood studios, the production of subjectivity via marketing, branding and the management of human capital.⁷² In addition to their more or less transparent political signification, the emblematic films of the seventies paranoia cycle therefore actualised a secondary, but no less important, level of industrial and economic signification: an aestheticised anxiety about the full induction of post-studio Hollywood – and its audience – into the age of the corporate conglomerate and the postindustrial economy more generally.

Pakula's debt to Pop Art and experimental film are also apparent in the Parallax montage sequence, which like the explosions in *Zabriskie Point* demonstrates the partial incorporation of underground cinema techniques within the mainstream text. As part of the testing procedures Frady is subjected to a four-minute montage, in which a series of still images are interspersed with intertitles: love, mother, father, me, home, country, god, enemy, happiness. To begin with, the images roughly correspond to the text: "mother" is followed by a set of generic shots of women with babies; "country" a set of banal signifiers of nationhood (the Statue of Liberty, Mount Rushmore); "home" images of archetypal US family life (many of which are taken from Bill Owens's photography collection *Suburbia* (1973), while others were sourced from magazine advertising).

The film reads like a trip through the American unconscious: apple pie, Abraham Lincoln, the Ku Klux Klan, General Douglas McArthur, J.M. Flagg's Uncle Sam recruitment poster (1917), E.G. Leutze's painting of *George Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851), Richard Nixon, Martin Luther

King, Lee Harvey Oswald, and Marvel Comics superheroes. Interspersed between these iconic, historical images of America are mundane picture-library photographs: a young couple in love, a grubby kid, cheerleaders, policemen, a wrinkly old man. The sequence gradually picks up pace, each still becoming shorter in duration than the one before. The link between text and image becomes unstable: whereas the first 'enemy' intertitle summons up Hitler, Mao and Castro, the third repetition produces cheerleaders, Douglas McArthur and Nixon; 'me' switches from a child playing baseball, to Oswald, to comic-book superhero Thor. The relationship between the individual images becomes increasingly complex, utilising a version of the Kuleshov effect to create contrasting meanings from repetitions of the same image: a photograph of Hitler has a different resonance when cut in between George Washington and Kennedy than it does between Mao and Castro. As the images become more rapid, small sequences emerge which demonstrate how still photographs combine to make a moving image, or a narrative: a shot of a gun cuts to a bullet, to a body. In contrast to Barthes's description of "anchorage", whereby text fixes the meaning of the inherently polysemous image, anchoring the "floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs", here signification becomes increasingly indeterminate.⁷³

Throughout the whole sequence, the Parallax Corporation screen is directly aligned with the cinema screen, without any reverse-shot to reveal Frady's responses. Strapped into a chair in a darkened room, Frady becomes a figure for the cinema spectator as theorised by Jean-Louis Baudry: in a semi-wakeful, regressive state, his unconscious drives and desires are mobilised by the images.⁷⁴ The montage sequence explicitly displays how the set of keywords and images constructs a viewing subject, both in relation to self and family (me, mother, father), desire (love, happiness), nation and history (country, enemy). The Parallax Corporation (for which we can read corporate power in general) is in control of these images, and through them, identity or subjectivity, a sense of an individual place within history and nation. But whereas classical cinema is said to construct an illusory sense of a unified subject, this set of images, with its unstable signification and irrational links, suggests instead psychosis or schizophrenia – in the Lacanian sense of the "breakdown in the signifying chain, that is, the interlocking syntagmatic series of signifiers which constitutes an utterance or a meaning"⁷⁵ – or perhaps in the Deleuzian conception of the schizophrenic as a product of capitalism: "our society produces schizos the same way it produces Prell shampoo or Ford cars".⁷⁶ In this way, the Parallax Corporation montage sequence draws attention to the tendency of postmodern visual

culture to present history as simultaneous and depthless: historical figures become equivalent and contemporaneous both with each other and the banal and quotidian signifiers of American consumer society.

The Long Goodbye (1973)

Whereas *The Parallax View* takes place in a largely anonymous, West Coast sprawl, Robert Altman's revisionist Chandler adaptation *The Long Goodbye* explicitly draws on the traditions and iconography of film noir, arguably the quintessential Los Angeles genre. Altman's gambit was to transpose Philip Marlowe intact from the 1950s, with his black suit and 1948 Lincoln Continental, into the contemporary Los Angeles of the 1970s. As Altman put it, "we were going to call him Rip Van Marlowe, as if he'd been asleep for twenty years, had woken up and was wandering through this landscape of the early 1970s but trying to invoke the morals of a previous era".⁷⁷ In this sense, the film participates in New Hollywood genre revisionism by internally staging a sense of incompatibility between classical Hollywood formats and the present, suggesting that the contemporary city may have become impossible to represent without what Michael Sorkin called the "fictive scrim" of its accumulated mythologies, narratives and clichés.⁷⁸

The temporal dislocation of Marlowe is also a type of spatial dislocation. Whereas *Chinatown* (Roman Polanski, 1974) recreates a perfectly stylised image of 1930s Los Angeles, *The Long Goodbye* self-consciously produces a disjunctive sense of the past in the present, or the co-existence of modes of production and types of space. But *The Long Goodbye* is not a nostalgia film, nor does it attempt to disavow the existence of the modern world as Fredric Jameson suggests of films such as *Body Heat* (Lawrence Kasdan, 1981). Instead, it uses a kind of historical eclecticism within the film that resonates with Venturi and Scott Brown's description of strip architecture, a collapse of historical moments and styles into the present that with hindsight appears as a hallmark of the transitional phase of the seventies. In thematic terms, this is explored in *The Long Goodbye* through a textual opposition between signifiers of classical/post-classical Hollywood,⁷⁹ and formally, through a number of techniques for destabilising screen space. In *The Long Goodbye*, Altman not only engages self-consciously with the genre tradition of American film, but also develops a number of innovative approaches to the production of cinematic space. Here, I wish to discuss this not so much in relation to film noir iconography or genre archetypes, but more specifically in terms of the film's stylistic experimentation, analysing the ways in which

zoom lenses, camera movement, overexposure, and reflective surfaces are used render a particular view of seventies Los Angeles.

The film loosely follows the plot of Chandler's original novel, in which two apparently open-and-shut cases – the murder of Terry Lennox's wife and his subsequent suicide, and an easily-solved search for the missing writer Roger Wade – begin to unravel, revealing a skein of interconnections in which Marlowe becomes increasingly entwined and morally implicated. Much, but certainly not all, becomes clear only at the very last, when Marlowe unexpectedly finds Lennox alive and, in a departure from the novel, shoots him dead. Up until this point, the film's structure is similar to the Jorge Luis Borges detective story "Death and the Compass".⁸⁰ In this story, Borges constructed a narrative model – also arguably the basis for *The Parallax View* – organised around a central turning point whereby the detective is turned from investigating *subject* into an *object* that is being manipulated. The hermeneutic operations that have structured the detective's narrative are, following this transition, found to have been integral parts in another narrative beyond the understanding or control of the protagonist. This indeterminacy or inconclusivity was a pervasive motif in 1970s cinema, providing the template for numerous neo-noirs such as *Chinatown* and *Night Moves* (Arthur Penn, 1975).

That the plot of Chandler's novel had itself been markedly episodic and unstructured for a detective novel clearly suited Altman and screenwriter Leigh Brackett. As Altman saw it, "what Chandler wrote was really a bunch of thumbnail sketches or thematic essays, all about Los Angeles, and Marlowe was just a device to unite them, and I felt we were very close to that".⁸¹ Altman uses this episodic structure to a set of his own sketches or visual set pieces about the city. This loosening of the narrative structure into a set of thematic sequences is matched by a spatial destabilisation, through which the relatively stable or 'determinate' space of Hollywood genre film is replaced with a sense of insubstantiality and uncertainty about the landscape.⁸² This is primarily established by series of techniques or disruptive effects that emphasise the gaps or disjunctures between protagonist and environment, spectator and screen space: flashing the film stock, excessive use of the zoom lens, and stylistic use of transparent surfaces.

The film's desaturated, hazy cinematographic quality was produced by 'flashing' or exposing the film stock to excess light prior to developing. While this process had been technically possible for decades, it did not become widespread until the 1970s. Its use on feature film in this period was pioneered by the Hungarian cinematographer Vilmos Zsigmond on Altman's *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), in which Altman and Zsigmond had sought

to engineer a sepia-tinted past.⁸³ In *The Long Goodbye* it contributed to what Garrett Stewart memorably described in *Film Quarterly* as a “bleary Polaroid nightmare” of the present.⁸⁴ Such techniques were to become a major trend in 1970s cinematography. As Barry Salt notes, the improving technical fidelity of the image was matched in many cases by a counter-tendency for cinematographers to deliberately work against clarity of vision: “In film photography, the major trend was the destruction of the ever-higher image definition and colour reproduction made possible by the improvements in film stocks and lenses”.⁸⁵ Thus, at the same time as the move towards location shooting provided a heightened sensation of realism to the film image, various techniques were employed to introduce a counter-measure of stylisation or abstraction. These not only included flashing the film but also lens-diffusion, under- or over-exposure, fog filters, and pola-screens. Cinematographer Conrad Hall made this counter-tendency explicit:

Because everything else was so slick, people found that there was beauty in the imperfect ... In fact, I hate anything that's beautiful anymore, photographically speaking. Photographically, I can't even stand a blue sky anymore, to me it's disgusting, it's like a postcard ... When I see a clear, bright, blue sky on the screen, I want to throw up, something happens inside me. I have to destroy it somehow or other. I have to make it pale blue by overexposing it ... That's why I love Los Angeles. Everything is fogged in, smogged in, and the skies are white. It's beautiful visually, gorgeous.⁸⁶

While Hall's ‘imperfect’ aesthetic is some distance from Julio García Espinosa's politicised notion of an “imperfect cinema”, it nevertheless demonstrates a deliberate movement against the slickness of Hollywood studio production.⁸⁷ As Hall put it: “I've had several experiences where the director has gone into the outtakes to find a scene that is more flawed technically in order to have it be less slick”.⁸⁸

A sense of imperfection also inspired the constant motion of the camera in *The Long Goodbye*. As Zsigmond explained, moving the camera was intentionally disruptive: “In *The Long Goodbye*, we did nothing but unmotivated moving shots. It was quite dangerous aesthetically to think about; nobody likes to move the camera for no reason at all”.⁸⁹ Zsigmond also emphasised the move against “slickness”: “The audience will like it better because it's not perfect. The ‘mistakes’ are making it better”.⁹⁰ In *The Long Goodbye*, this unmotivated camera movement usually takes the form of a slow zoom combined with a slight, almost imperceptible

sideways track, almost exclusively to the right. This constant motion differs qualitatively from other types of camera movement that can be observed in contemporary films. Firstly, it is achieved too slowly and steadily to produce the sensation of authenticity present in handheld camera work – for example, in the films of John Cassavetes or early Brian De Palma. Further, and perhaps more significantly, its uncertain relation to the apparent centre or focus of the *mise-en-scène* suggests an arbitrary quality that contrasts, for example, with the purposeful intentionality of Stanley Kubrick's stately tracking shots in *A Clockwork Orange*. This attests to what Robert Kolker has identified as the importance of peripheral activity in Altman's films, or a "decentralization" of visual and aural space.⁹¹ While Zsigmond refers to it as unmotivated, this constant fluid motion and reframing arguably draws on the perceptual experience of the city. As the Dutch writer Cees Nooteboom put it in 1973: "The essence of Los Angeles lies in the fact that it hardly has a centre. It is, if one can say that, a *fluid*, a 'moving' city, not only a city that moves itself – breaks itself down, builds itself up again, displaces and regroups itself – but also a city in which movement, *freedom* of movement, is a strong premise of life."⁹²

The destabilisation of space is also achieved through Altman's pervasive use of zoom lenses. As Robin Wood put it, Altman's films demonstrated the potential of the zoom lens for "dissolving space and undermining our sense of physical reality."⁹³ This was not only a facet of Altman's films but a pervasive tendency across 1970s cinema. John Belton has argued that the intensified use of zoom lenses during the 1970s produced a new set of spatial relations within the shot:

Though the zoom, like the track, preserves the sense of space as an unbroken, temporal continuum, it also, unlike the track, abstracts that space by flattening or elongating it. In effect, the zoom produces an ellipsis of space by both traversing it and not traversing it ... Spatially distorting and inherently self-conscious, the zoom reflects the disintegration of cinematic codes developed before the Second World War.⁹⁴

Several important scenes are constructed around the Wade's Malibu beach house, the constant presence of the breaking waves almost disruptively high in the sound mix. The ever-present plate glass windows and doors show the influence on residential architecture in Los Angeles of the Case Study houses, thirty-six prototype houses constructed between 1946 and 1966 by architects such as Richard Neutra, Charles and Ray Eames, Eero Saarinen, Pierre Konig and Craig Ellwood. Promoted and popularised by

John Entenza's magazine *Arts and Architecture*, the Case Study houses were modernist experiments in domestic architecture united by a common stylistic theme of steel frames and large plate glass windows.⁹⁵ In *The Long Goodbye*, Altman and Zsigmond constructed a series of set pieces which use these translucent or reflective surfaces to play with surface and depth. For example, in an early scene at the police station, Marlowe's interrogation is filmed from behind a slightly distorting Plexiglas screen. Two policemen watch, their reflection also appearing on the partition. Later, in one of the film's most striking compositions, the Wades (Nina van Pallandt and Sterling Hayden) are filmed through a plate glass window of the beach house. Reflected in the glass, we see Marlowe on the beach, but the image is composed so that both levels seem like reflections, essentially superimposing two scenes on top of each other. Architectural surroundings appear as series of visual or perceptual obstacles to the clear framing or presentation of space in depth.

Such a predilection for the artistic possibilities of the reflective surface was also an important facet to what the critic Peter Plagens defined as the "LA Look" in contemporary art: "cool, semitechnological, industrially pretty art" that favoured new materials such as plastic and Plexiglas.⁹⁶ As Plagens describes, in Craig Kauffman's Plexiglas work or Larry Bell's glass installations, space was also deliberately distorted and problematised: "Plastic drastically changes the nature of pictorial space and relationships. Although visually deep, plastic objects are reflective, making it difficult to 'place' colour in a painterly depth. Reflective surfaces animate with the viewer's changing position".⁹⁷ Plagens further argues that such "meditative transparent/translucent surfaces" were inspired by the surrounding environment, or as he puts it, "the aroma of Los Angeles in the sixties – newness, postcard sunset colour, and intimations of aerospace profundity".⁹⁸ As Plagens's study showed, the contemporary art scene had begun to flourish in the 1960s. By the end of the decade, around thirty galleries were in operation in West Hollywood alone. Perhaps the most famous artist engaging with the urban landscape during this period was British émigré David Hockney, for whom the swimming pools and backyards of Beverly Hills would become a defining subject.

Welcome to L.A. (1976)

Los Angeles Pop also influenced the visual style of another self-conscious film about the city, *Welcome to L.A.* (Alan Rudolph, 1976). Rudolph was a

protégé of Altman and had worked as an assistant director on *The Long Goodbye*, *California Split* (1974) and *Nashville* (1975). *Welcome to L.A.* incorporates a number of characteristics familiar from Altman's films, including an interlocking, multiple narrative structure, use of music to join together narrative strands, and long fluid takes with the persistent and overtly stylised use of zoom lenses. The film was also produced by Altman's Lion's Gate. Like Coppola, Altman had used his directorial success to set up an independent production house, and like Zoetrope, Lion's Gate played an important role in the development of film sound in the 1970s, pioneering multi-track recording and mixing.⁹⁹

The film's ensemble cast portrays the interconnected lives of a set of upper-middle-class Angelenos in affluent Westside suburbs such as Beverly Hills, Echo Park and Silverlake. As Rudolph saw it, the film represented a specific slice of the city, "located on both sides of the Santa Monica hills that separate the San Fernando Valley from Hollywood and Westwood. This is not the Los Angeles of misery and crime, but I think this area is like the summary of the city".¹⁰⁰ The plot is largely episodic, mapping out intricate connections (or perhaps disconnections) between ten main characters. As contemporary reviewers suggested, it plays like a Californian update of *La Ronde* (1900), Arthur Schnitzler's examination of sexual morality in turn-of-the-century Vienna. However, one of the scandalous features of *La Ronde* had originally been its use of sexual relationships to examine class structure. *Welcome to L.A.* has no comparable sense of class-consciousness, and like *The Long Goodbye*, it represents the city as a series of racially homogeneous enclaves of the wealthy.

The languid pace and stylistic flatness of *Welcome to L.A.* corresponds to the emotional world of the protagonists. The film displays a kind of weary cynicism about Los Angeles, which according to the repeated motif of Richard Baskin's soundtrack is the "city of the one-night stands". The major connecting node of the narrative is Carroll Barber (Keith Carradine), a songwriter returning to Los Angeles to record an album with Eric Wood (Baskin), and to visit his estranged father (Denver Pyle). He drifts through a set of disconnected semi-romances with the female cast. Geraldine Chaplin plays a neurasthenic who spends her days travelling around LA in the insulated interior of a taxi, painstakingly recording routes on a road map. She delivers platitudes, sometimes directly to camera: "people deceive themselves here ... that's how they fall in love". Lauren Hutton's character is a photographer who takes abstract black-and-white shots of buildings (her speciality appears to be corners). Sally Kellerman is a real estate agent, Ann

Goode, who like Chaplin occasionally makes enigmatic pronouncements on the city:

Goode: I can't handle freeways – you can't daydream. I don't know anybody on the freeways. I always know somebody on the streets. That's what Los Angeles is all about.

Barber: Daydreams and traffic?

Goode: Exactly. You get to choose who you want to be, and how you want to live.

The film exhibits many of the formal characteristics of Altman's work, *The Long Goodbye* in particular. Rudolph makes frequent and overt use of shallow depth-of-field, bringing foreground and background in and out of focus during a scene. A characteristic set-up is a close single, with the subject in crisp focus and the background blurred. In several cases, this is done in the interior of a car, the city outside out of focus, developing a closed or contained sense of space. Elsewhere, the city appears defocused through the windows of apartments and offices, an abstract block of colour. Rudolph's visual style led contemporary critics to pick up on what they often described as the "European" qualities of the film. For example, Jack Kroll wrote in *Newsweek* that "there's something European about Rudolph's L.A., reeking of anomie and Antonioni".¹⁰¹ Similarly, Pauline Kael noted that "Rudolph's blank hero drives around the way Antonioni's characters used to walk – aimlessly, to express their disconnectedness".¹⁰² Stephen Farber commented on the film's "eerie, desolate, outer space landscape ... like a poisoned city from a science-fiction movie where all the people have gone ... The city doesn't impinge on people the way a cramped, crowded, bustling city like New York does. Los Angeles is a city of empty spaces, and imagination fills up those spaces. Locked in their cars, gliding through the traffic, people are free to invent the most exotic fantasy lives for themselves".¹⁰³ The sensation of the city as empty and alienating was partly achieved by employing no extras whatsoever – which, as Pauline Kael noted, drew the unwanted attention of the Screen Extras Guild, who picketed the production believing that non-union workers must have been involved.¹⁰⁴

In the *Los Angeles Times*, Kevin Thomas argued that the film's depiction of atomised and fragmented relationships was consistent with his experience of the city; as he put it, the film and its characters "express perfectly the transitory nature of existence in Southern California that even those of us

who were born here experience continually ourselves".¹⁰⁵ Yet beyond a vague and aestheticised sense of anomie, the political or ideological ramifications of such fragmentation are not explored. Rudolph was himself an Angeleno, and the film drew on his experience of the city: "For two years, I drove around in cars, and I didn't see anybody ... A sense of isolation came out of that experience, and in that respect the movie is autobiographical. You might call it a multi-autobiography".¹⁰⁶ Joan Didion, who also lived and worked in Los Angeles at this time, observed a correlation between the everyday experience of the city and the function of narrative itself:

A good part of any day in Los Angeles is spent driving, through streets devoid of meaning to the driver, which is one reason the place exhilarates some people, and floods others with an amorphous unease. There is about these hours spent in transit a seductive unconnectedness ... Such tranced hours are, for many people who live in Los Angeles, the dead center of being there, but there is nothing in them to encourage the normal impulse toward "recognition" or narrative connection. Those glosses on the human comedy (the widow's heartbreak, the bad cop, the mother-and-child reunion) that lend dramatic structure to more traditional forms of urban life are hard to come by here.¹⁰⁷

As I have suggested, *Welcome to L.A.* is an early example of what David Bordwell refers to as the "network narrative", and retrospectively appears, along with *Nashville*, to be a prototype for future indie movies such as *Magnolia* (Paul Thomas Anderson, 1999). The interlocking narrative appears to be the appropriate symbolic form for the polycentric metropolis where, as Charles Jencks put it, "the periphery is the centre".¹⁰⁸ The later rise of the network narrative, which became a significant mode in international cinema of the 1990s and 2000s – Bordwell counts over 150 since 1990 – further suggests that one factor behind this popularity is the generalisation of the qualities of Los Angeles's decentered urban form throughout urban regions globally.¹⁰⁹

The network narrative maps out a set of contingent relationships between a social network and the space within which it is embedded. As Bordwell notes, the most notable precursor to this format is *Grand Hotel* (1932). Yet, the hotel setting, especially in Weimar Berlin, is itself highly suggestive in the context of the work of Frankfurt School critic Siegfried Kracauer. The hotel, in particular the hotel lobby, represented for Kracauer a paradigmatic space of urban modernity, encapsulating transience, anonymity, exchange, chance, and indeed the intersection of multiple lives and trajectories, all distinctive features of the modern city in microcosm.¹¹⁰ During Hollywood's

crisis and restructuring in the 1970s it became a useful structure in two differing types of film. On the one hand, it was visible in innovative films by directors such as Robert Altman. Elsewhere, it became the narrative form associated with the disaster movie, one of the most profitable cycles of the 1970s. In this case, multiple narrative lines became a canny strategy both for capitalising on star involvement and achieving maximum coverage of as many audience demographics as possible, primarily by appealing to the identificatory desires of disparate groups across age and class boundaries. However, in *Airport* (George Seaton, 1970), *Earthquake* (Mark Robson, 1974), and *Towering Inferno* (John Guillermin, 1974), the apocalyptic spectacle acts as a kind of master signifier that reunites the disparate fragments into a coherent whole.

Between *Grand Hotel* and *Airport* we can see a paradigmatic shift from the hotel to the international 'non-place' of the airport terminal. In a striking, if rather speculative analysis, John Berger suggests a link between the narrative forms of the modern novel and the onset of globalisation, mass communication technologies, a new hyper-awareness of global events:

We hear a lot about the crisis of the modern novel. What this involves, fundamentally, is a change in the mode of narration. It is scarcely any longer possible to tell a straight story sequentially unfolding in time. And this is because we are too aware of what is continually traversing the storyline laterally. That is to say, instead of being aware of a point as an infinitely small part of a straight line, we are aware of it as an infinitely small part of an infinite number of lines, as the centre of a star of lines. Such awareness is the result of our constantly having to take into account the simultaneity and extension of events and possibilities.¹¹¹

This movement towards complexity and simultaneity in the Hollywood narrative suggests a paradigmatic movement from the grid – the omnipresent spatial figure of modernism – towards the distributed network, which as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri have suggested, has become the central organising metaphor of late capitalism. As Hardt and Negri put it, "Today ... we see networks everywhere we look – military organisations, social movements, business formations, migration patterns, communications systems, physiological structures, linguistic relations, neural transmitters, and even personal relationships. It is not that networks were not around before or that the structure of the brain has changed. It is that the network has become a common form that tends to define our ways of understanding the world and acting in it".¹¹²

American Gigolo (1980)

In an interview in 1990, Paul Schrader reflected on the visual style of *American Gigolo* (1980), and noted that the character of the gigolo, Julian Kaye (Richard Gere) encapsulated the narcissistic celebration of fashion, consumerism and greed that would come to define a certain strand of 1980s popular culture. As Schrader saw it, such a character, and the urban culture he represented, had generated the impulse to render a new, hyperstylised Los Angeles on film:

I realized that the character of the gigolo was essentially a character of surfaces; therefore the movie had to be about surfaces, and you had to create a new kind of Los Angeles to reflect this new kind of protagonist. Well, what better way to do this than to bring in outsiders for whom there is no old Los Angeles? So I went to what I called my new Axis powers, from Munich and Milan, and I got the visual style from Armani and Scarfiotti and the music from Giorgio Moroder from Germany. The imposition of these very European sensibilities started to create the kind of new LA I wanted.¹¹³

Yet as I have suggested in this chapter, a new cinematic Los Angeles had been developed throughout the 1970s. As Schrader suggests, *American Gigolo* was heavily influenced by European design, fashion and music. It can also be seen as creating a stylistic blueprint for a certain kind of 1980s aesthetic, representing an intermediate step between New Hollywood and films of the following decade by filmmakers such as Michael Mann and Brian De Palma. *American Gigolo* can therefore be seen to exemplify the process through which the formal innovations of filmmakers such as Antonioni and Altman became increasingly depoliticised, aestheticised and intertwined with the visual language of advertising. If Antonioni had exploded consumer items in *Zabriskie Point*, Schrader's film indulges in product placement, visiting designer outlets on Rodeo Drive such as Juschi, Kurt Geiger, and Armani.

The cinematographer John Bailey described the influence of advertising on the film's visual style: "On *Gigolo* I used hard, contrasty light ... Shadows became a compositional element in that film; I wanted to capture the look of current Italian and French fashion photography".¹¹⁴ A pervasive sense of artificiality was achieved through arbitrary lighting and camera movements and the accentuation of the world as surface. In a juxtaposition not entirely dissimilar to *The Long Goodbye*, Schrader places a version of the protagonist from *Pickpocket* (Robert Bresson, 1959) into late-1970s Los Angeles. Kaye is

like an abstract projection of an advertising archetype: at one moment, Kaye falsely claims to come from Torino (via Nantes); later, he admits: "I come from nowhere". Schrader particularly admired the visual style developed by Bernardo Bertolucci, cinematographer Vittorio Storaro, and set designer Ferdinando Scarfiotti in films such as *The Conformist* (1970) and *Last Tango in Paris* (1972). Indeed, Schrader and Bailey borrowed a number of visual motifs from Storaro. Perhaps most famously, an external light shone through a blind is used to create a set of horizontal lines and shadows, segmenting the space into alternating strips of dark and light. Schrader's comments on the influence of *The Conformist* are worth quoting at length:

The Conformist was a very important film for my generation, because it was a film that reintroduced the concept of high style. Movies used to have high style in the thirties and forties and then gradually, through the fifties and sixties, they became more realistic, less production-designed, and *The Conformist* became a real sort of rallying cry. It's influenced a lot of people – Scorsese, Coppola – to create films of high style, and now it's finally reached its conclusion in things like *Miami Vice*. You can trace *Miami Vice* right the way back to *The Conformist*, because Michael Mann, who's a friend of mine, was very impressed by the work Scarfiotti did on both *Gigolo* and *Scarface*, and that's what he's tried to emulate.¹¹⁵

What remains unacknowledged in Schrader's analysis here is that Bertolucci's "high style" in *The Conformist* was not merely ornamental. Rather, his hyper-aestheticisation of the visual world was intended to correspond to the fascist aestheticisation of politics itself. In this light, Schrader's borrowing of this style begins to seem increasingly problematic. For Fredric Jameson, *The Conformist* is the prototypical nostalgia film, which "seeks to generate images and simulacra of the past ... in a social situation in which genuine historicity or class traditions have become enfeebled". Further, he argues that the nostalgia film should more properly be called the 'nostalgia-deco' film, for we can see in art deco "the formal expression of a certain synthesis between modernisation (and the streamlined machine) and modernism (and stylised forms)". In this respect, the opening sequence of *American Gigolo* is a perfect rendition of the film's technological fetishism. The first two shots are close-ups of a moving black convertible, wheels then tail-light; we then pull out to reveal a view of the sea from the Pacific Coast Highway; finally, we pan round to Julian Kaye (Richard Gere) in the driving seat. This, it suggests, is a self-contained unit: the Mercedes 450SL convertible, Armani suits, and Kaye's immaculately sculpted body are of a piece. Over

the top, Giorgio Moroder's electronic production for Blondie's "Call Me" signals something modern and machine-like combined with the hedonistic, sexual pulse of disco. In total, we are offered a semi-Futurist fantasy of subjective experience becoming conflated with an immaculately designed, technological object at speed, an enveloping, kinetic, sensory event.

Alternative images of Los Angeles: the LA Rebellion

In this chapter, I have focused on Hollywood films predominantly set in the Westside suburbs that represent the city as a series of disconnected, affluent enclaves connected by the detached, interior space of the automobile. However, just as the geographical development of the city was complex and uneven, so the city's cinematic production took several guises. As David E. James has documented, Los Angeles was home to a flourishing underground cinema scene in the 1960s and 1970s that frequently produced images of the city in direct opposition to Hollywood.¹¹⁶ During this period, an alternative image of Los Angeles emerged in the work of the 'LA School' or 'LA Rebellion', a group of African-American independent filmmakers including Charles Burnett, Haile Gerima, Billy Woodberry and Julie Dash. Made entirely autonomously from the city's mainstream industry, their films drew direct inspiration from the political cinema and postcolonial theory that had emerged in Third World cities during the 1960s. The concept of 'films of decolonisation' that Solanas and Getino hailed in the context of Latin America was reworked to address American race and class politics, challenging oppression and what might be understood as 'internal colonisation' within the US itself and the growing consciousness of a putative "Third World in the First World". Though the low budget, sparsely circulated features of the LA Rebellion struggled even to attain theatrical release at the time, let alone wide distribution, they have since become touchstones for an alternative black cinema and influenced subsequent generations of filmmakers. Highly alert to the way that Hollywood and its 'first cinema' epistemology of the city had implicitly excluded ethnic minorities in Los Angeles and their neighbourhoods, these directors sought not only new subject matter but also what Paula Massood has called "an aesthetic appropriate to conditions": a new formal language through which to express the reality of everyday life in settings such as South Central Los Angeles.¹¹⁷ In this way, films such as *Killer of Sheep* (Charles Burnett, 1977) and *Bush Mama* (Haile Gerima, 1978) not only engaged with the politics of representation, rejecting the underlying racism and sexism of Hollywood,

but also apprehended the city through new approaches to the aesthetics of cinematic space.

Whereas Hollywood's LA was predominantly filmed in 2.35:1 widescreen and colour stock, and emphasised (auto)mobility and the ambivalent aesthetic experience of the cityscape, the LA Rebellion films were by necessity low budget and evinced a pared down, unadorned visual style that favoured long takes and foregrounded the experience of duration and the languid temporality of everyday life in areas such as Watts. First exhibited in the year following *Welcome to L.A.*, Charles Burnett's landmark film *Killer of Sheep* creates a cinematic Los Angeles in profound opposition to the affluent Westside milieu of Rudolph's film. Whereas films like *Welcome to L.A.* and *American Gigolo* were obsessively concerned with motion and kinetic experience, the patient, static camera of *Killer of Sheep* constructs a strong sense of stasis, immobility and containment within Watts, which the narrative does not resolve. This sense of confinement speaks to the real disinvestment and isolation of the neighbourhood within Los Angeles. As Reyner Banham explained, Watts had long been a central intersection for the city's multiple railway systems; yet after the demise of the Pacific Electric railway in the 1960s, "no place was more strategically ill-placed for anything, as the freeways with their different priorities threaded across the plains and left Watts always on one side".¹¹⁸

The film carefully observes details of everyday life, from the poetic sequences of the protagonist, Stan, at work in an abattoir, to the recurrent images of children playing among rubble and industrial wastelands which create a striking historical resonance with Italian neorealism and its view of the postwar European city. Like many neorealist films, found objects gain heightened symbolic significance. In one sequence, two men have mended a car engine they hope to sell. They struggle at length to carry it out onto the street and load it onto the back of a pickup. Yet as they move off, the engine falls off the back and smashes. This single image of a discarded, broken industrial object provides a striking visual metaphor for deindustrialisation and a reminder of the uneven development that characterised the growth of Los Angeles.

6. Global Flight Paths

Towards a Transnational Urban Cinema

While globalisation and the restructuring of the world economy were implicit, underlying themes of many of the films discussed in earlier chapters, other works brought such preoccupations to the surface. This section examines two key films, *Alice in the Cities* (Wim Wenders, 1974) and *The Passenger* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1975), both of which begin to problematise categorisation either by nationality or through association with any single city. A quick glance at the production details of *The Passenger*, for example, immediately shows how any straightforward classification is difficult: directed by an Italian, with an international cast, produced with American finance (MGM) and filmed across a number of locations in Europe and North Africa (though not in Italy itself), its coordinates are irresolvably multinational. In *The Passenger* and *Alice in the Cities*, the protagonists travel between a series of cities across different continents, plotting out transnational trajectories that are central to the films' thematic concerns. *The Passenger* moves from the Algerian desert to London, Munich, Barcelona, and finally to rural Spain; *Alice in the Cities* begins in Rockaway Beach in Queens, New York, travelling to downtown Manhattan, across the Atlantic to Amsterdam, and through the (post)industrial landscape of West Germany: Wuppertal, Essen, Duisburg, Oberhausen and Gelsenkirchen. As globalised road movies these are films whose production histories and narrative space trace out international journeys across urban and rural landscapes, equally embodying and representing what the sociologists Scott Lash and John Urry describe as “the development of transnational practices which transcend individual nation-states through generating immense flows of capital, money, goods, services, people, information, technologies, policies, ideas, images and regulations”.¹

Both films are grounded in the tradition of European modernist art cinema that emerged and flourished during the 1950s and 1960s. In countries such as France and Italy, art cinema had been significantly underwritten by dirigiste state agencies, which had provided funding and institutional support to protect national cultures against the threat of Americanisation (or less charitably, cultural imperialism). These were essentially national cinemas, frequently concerned with questions of civic identity and the local experience of modernisation. At the same time, the success of art film could not be assured in domestic markets, placing a vital role on overseas distribu-

tion and positive critical reception at international film festivals. European art cinema had also defined itself in opposition to mainstream cinema, whether Hollywood or domestic popular genres.² Yet by the late 1960s, Hollywood was effectively producing its own art cinema, therefore destabilising the existing dualism between classical Hollywood 'realism' and European modernism. In an early essay for *Monogram*, Thomas Elsaesser drew a tentative analogy between the collapse of the classical Hollywood style and the instability of the American currency (and by extension, American economic hegemony). As he put it, "Signifier and signified, image and idea, have either become stereotyped into fetishist fixations or have totally parted company are freely negotiable and convertible – each drawing meaning from the other, but less and less meaningful in themselves, like international currencies on the stock exchange. The Hollywood style has suffered the same fate as the dollar – one can't draw on it as a reserve anymore".³ By the 1970s, these inherent tensions between the national and the transnational, which had arguably been a facet of postwar art cinema from Italian neorealism onwards, had become intensified and increasing visible in the light of rapid economic and cultural globalisation, an incipient weakening of the national itself within the expanding EEC, and crises in European film industries across the board.⁴ In this chapter, I argue that films such as *The Passenger* and *Alice in the Cities* can be understood as symptomatic expressions of these internal and external pressures. As such, they provide compelling examples of the way that European art cinema responded to the shifting interrelationships between the scales of the urban, the national and the global as well as its own condition of critical self-examination and crisis throughout the decade.

The global road movie and the spatialisation of narrative

In *The Passenger* and *Alice in the Cities*, the central male protagonist is a journalist who experiences a professional and existential crisis. Both are essentially unmotivated heroes whose narrative actions are generated by external events. In *The Passenger*, David Locke (Jack Nicholson) passively accepts the itinerary of a dead man (and former arms dealer), beginning a journey that leads inexorably towards his own demise; while in *Alice in the Cities*, Philip Winter (Rüdiger Vogler) is left to care for a young girl, Alice, to whom he becomes a surrogate father during their search for her family. Their occupation is not coincidental, for it provides a framework for interior and exterior investigation. Antonioni and Wenders use their

characters' critical self-examination and questioning of their profession to establish reflexive, metacinematic reflections on the image, media and the ethics of representation. For Locke, this is precipitated by a political consciousness of the role of the Western journalist in covering (and perhaps inadvertently intervening in) conflict in postcolonial Africa, a theme that permeates the film. In Winter's case, his professional crisis is first related to his sense of dislocation within a commodified American urban sprawl, which he cannot satisfactorily capture in words or images. In each film, narrative becomes increasingly spatialised: place, architecture and landscape are foregrounded, essentially subordinating character, plot and narrative causality. Emphasis is often placed not only on space within individual shots or scenes, but frequently also in the implied relationship between spaces and the movements that join them.

Of course, the episodic, location-shot journey had already been an important narrative format for postwar European cinema, in films from *Paisà* (Roberto Rossellini, 1946) and *La strada* (Federico Fellini, 1954) to *Wild Strawberries* (Ingmar Bergman, 1957) and *Pierrot le fou* (Jean-Luc Godard, 1965). These films' concerns with mobility, memory and identity refracted the widespread experience of migration, exile and displacement that had characterised both the Second World War and the rapid urbanisation of Europe in the decades that followed it. For European cinema, in contrast to the American road movie, 'the road' was often less a signifier of freedom, mobility and the pleasure of wide open spaces than a locus for interior reflection and philosophical introspection. As Wendy Everett puts it, the European road movie is a "fluid and open-ended genre which uses the narrative trajectory of the road as an extended metaphor of quest and discovery through which to approach fundamental concepts of identity", which draws on what she terms the "obsessive concern with memory and identity that dominated European cultural discourse of all kinds in the second half of the century".⁵ The mood of these films later inflected American cinema in the late sixties, when movies such as *Easy Rider* (1969) and *Five Easy Pieces* (1970) fused the interiority of the European road movie with a more specifically American tradition that can be traced back through Kerouac's 1957 novel *On the Road* and *The Searchers* (John Ford, 1956) all the way to Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* (1884). Wenders and Antonioni explicitly incorporated influences from both sides of the Atlantic: while Wenders has often acknowledged his debt to American film, Antonioni had recently finished his own American road movie, *Zabriskie Point*, and his casting of Jack Nicholson also directly referenced New Hollywood. But what differentiates these films of the mid-1970s are their global dimensions, their

evocation of a generalised displacement that goes beyond nostalgia for a lost point of origin, and their emphasis on the process and infrastructure of transport itself. In *The Passenger* and *Alice in the Cities*, the cinematic ‘voyages’ that Gilles Deleuze diagnosed as central to the postwar art film and its actualisation of a crisis in the ‘movement image’ are stretched to their limits, extending across national borders to plot out relationships between cities and regions at a global scale.⁶ Two persistent motifs or narrative structures of postwar cinematic modernism, the investigation and the journey, therefore became interlinked, rescaled and globalised.⁷ In this way, these films were at the cutting edge, tentatively beginning to establish a new symbolic space and cognitive map for the global urban network of the 1970s.

At one level, the international mobility displayed by films of this period, especially thrillers such as *The American Friend* (Wim Wenders, 1977), *The Odessa File* (Ronald Neame, 1974) and *The Day of the Jackal* (Fred Zinnemann, 1973), was a direct reflection of their status as transnational co-productions.⁸ Indeed, many international agreements came with explicit contractual obligations to spend a defined proportion of the production budget or shooting time within a specific country. The expansion of the EEC had also pushed film industries into closer collaboration and lowered national boundaries. This was established by four EEC film directives (1963, 1965, 1968 and 1970), which sought to bring finance, production, distribution and exhibition in line with European economic integration. These widened nationality requirements for subsidies, extended screen quotas to incorporate those of other member states and prohibited restrictions on the movement of films within the common market.⁹ In this light, the tendency to move across national borders was a textual manifestation of economic realities and contractual requirements. As Thomas Guback observed in 1974, commenting on remarks made by the President of the Commission of the European Communities on the nature of European identity, “the major emphasis is not upon *preserving* a variety of cultural heritages, but rather upon drawing up a new one which will be in tune with supranational economic considerations”. Yet in all likelihood, such a transnational cinema would most likely address what Guback called a “new economic European consumer whose needs will be catered to – if not formed – by international companies probably operating with American management and advertising techniques”.¹⁰ This backdrop made it increasingly feasible, even desirable, to make films that engaged with a deeper, more generalised condition of decentredness and spatial uncertainty that characterised the mid-1970s.

While global journeys were hardly new to cinema, films such as *Alice in the Cities* and *The Passenger* foreground and accentuate their transnationalism, placing the act of international travel itself centre stage. Movement becomes slowed down and to some extent problematised; as Gary Arnold observed in his review of *The Passenger* for the *Washington Post*, “the globe-trotting doesn’t convey the sort of pleasure it would in say, a Hitchcock or Stanley Donen or Philippe de Broca movie”.¹¹ While earlier films had often projected glamorous images of international travel, cutting directly from one exotic locale to the next, both *Alice in the Cities* and *The Passenger* emphasise the mundane realities of getting from A to B, with their images of check-in counters, departure lounges and car-hire desks. Extended periods of boredom and waiting, which in neorealism were associated with the economic stasis of postwar European cities, become instead aligned with hubs of global travel; as Robertson puts it in *The Passenger*, “Airports, taxis, hotels – they’re all the same in the end”. Likewise, *Alice in the Cities* inhabits a series of liminal spaces such as motel rooms, airports and motorways; apart from a brief, self-consciously touristic visit to the Empire State Building, *Alice in the Cities* avoids obvious centres of political and financial power.

Both *The Passenger* and *Alice in the Cities* are also implicated in a very specific historical moment through precise dates in 1973 that are revealed within the diegesis. In Wenders’s film, Philip and Alice are stranded by an air-traffic controllers’ strike, which is given an exact date (9 July 1973) by a



Figure 11: The motif of international transit in *Alice in the Cities* (Filmverlag der Autoren, 1974).

lingering shot of a *Der Spiegel* cover story. As the film draws to a close, Philip reads the obituary of John Ford in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, dating the end of the narrative events as 31 August 1973, or shortly after. The story of *The Passenger* occurs just a few days later, with the dates in Locke's borrowed diary leading up to the final, deadly appointment in the Hotel de Gloria on 11 September 1973. This date has acquired retrospective significance as "the other 9/11": the day Salvador Allende's democratically elected socialist government in Chile was toppled by a CIA-sponsored military coup, which as J. Hoberman puts it, symbolises "the decline of romantic Third Worldism".¹² The extreme free-market policies of Augusto Pinochet's regime have since become understood as an important testing ground for neoliberal economics (and a project then much admired by both Reagan, Thatcher and the IMF). In this regard, the fall of Allende symbolised the end of a period during which the New Left often looked to the Third World as offering a new route to socialism, an optimism that was dashed as decolonisation gave way to rapid integration into the global free-market economy. More generally, 1973 was arguably a watershed year for a number of other reasons: the final collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement; the OPEC oil embargo, which dramatically hiked up energy prices and signalled a new relationship between the West and the developing world; and most significantly, a worldwide stock market and property crash that precipitated the deepest and most widespread recession since the 1930s. Above all, the cross-national synchronicity of the economic downturn was a clear sign that national economies would now find it increasingly difficult to insulate themselves from global market forces. For Europe, 1973 also saw the free-market area of the EEC expand to include Denmark, Ireland, and Great Britain (of course, including the major financial centre of the City of London). In this sense, what had been markers of contemporaneity for the films' original audiences retrospectively place these films at a crux point of epochal historical change for Europe and the world.

***Alice in the Cities* (1974): from American sprawl to the European periphery**

Alice in the Cities signals its concern with transit and mobility from the opening frame, a shot of an airliner isolated in the frame against a clear expanse of sky. The camera holds this image for several seconds, before slowly panning down to reveal our coordinates: Beach 67th Street, Rockaway Beach, Queens, New York. This suggests that the aircraft has recently taken

off from John F. Kennedy Airport and is heading out across the Atlantic. However, this image of international mobility is immediately countered with one of stasis: the camera slowly pans across in a long, deliberate take to find Philip Winter sat underneath the boardwalk, looking out at the sea. This oscillation between motion and stillness is central to the film and generates a strong sense of global connection and local disconnection that characterises contemporary globalisation. Philip is a journalist who has been commissioned to write a piece on America for a German magazine. Though the English subtitles render the subject of his article as “the American scene”, the German word *Landschaft* also means *landscape*, a subject of exploration for the film as a whole. As a European film partly made in the United States, *Alice in the Cities* is, like *Zabriskie Point*, in part a film about the relationship between Europe and America, in wider cultural terms as well as more specifically the contrasting nature of the urban landscape. Winter, a clear proxy for (and near-namesake of) Wenders, is filled with both fascination and aversion for America. While he is drawn to what he sees as authentic expressions of American popular culture, especially Hollywood film (John Ford) and African-American music (the Drifters, Chuck Berry), he expresses a strong distaste for commercial media (television and radio) and their reliance on advertising. Furthermore, much of the first section of the film is preoccupied with Winter’s orientation within and understanding of American urbanism.

At the start of the film, Philip is driving deep in an anonymous urban sprawl. A series of extended tracking shots establish a Venturi-esque commercial landscape of billboards, signs, gas stations, water towers and electricity pylons. The first ten minutes are almost entirely without dialogue, foregrounding the visual and spatial over narrative development. This emphasis on the visual is established by Philip’s very first action in the film. After taking a Polaroid of the beach and the sea, he compares what he sees with how it has been reproduced. We cut from Philip’s point of view of the beach to a close up of the photograph, a pattern that is repeated several times in the American section of the film, during which he takes pictures incessantly. As he later explains to his editor, Philip has been unable to write his piece, having difficulty encapsulating the American landscape on the page and turning instead to photography. Yet this desire to capture the material, visible world is consistently frustrated; as he describes, photography cannot reproduce the experiential reality of the urban landscape in front of him (“It never shows what you see”). His attachment to photography as an indexical medium (as he puts it, functioning as a kind of “proof”) is troubled by the inevitable disparity between signifier

and signified: "Waiting for a picture to develop, I'd often feel strangely ill at ease. I could hardly wait to compare the finished picture with reality. But even comparing them wouldn't calm me. The pictures never caught up with reality". The urban sprawl captured in the first section of the film contrasts with the scenes filmed in New York, which is immediately defined as a highly imageable and iconic cityscape, from Shea Stadium to the instantly recognisable silhouette of the skyline. Here, the generic (sub) urban landscape is thrown into relief by the verticality, iconicity and urban centrality of New York City. In particular, the Chrysler Building is used in the background of the majority of the exterior scenes as a visual anchor. The first of the film's missed connections happens at the viewing deck of the Empire State Building, which provides another opportunity to reflect on the city's iconic landmarks (including the Flatiron Building and the World Trade Centre towers) as Alice and Philip take in the views.

Alice in the Cities was made for a relatively low budget (around 250,000 DM) as a co-production between the collective Filmverlag der Autoren and the German public service broadcaster WDR. The film was premiered on German television in March 1974, followed by a domestic theatrical release in May, and screened at the New York Film Festival in October. Lack of funding forced Wenders to shoot on 16mm, which dictated the 4:3 ratio and grainy monochrome (an aesthetic that contrasts sharply with the Los Angeles films discussed in the previous chapter). Throughout, the film uses just one piece of extradiegetic music, a short, melancholy refrain composed and performed by Michael Karoli and Irmin Schmidt of Can. The sparse, minimal arrangement, little more than a few plucked guitar notes and some synthesiser strings, recurs as a motif throughout the film, a downbeat, reflective counterpoint to the diegetic music that emerges from radios and jukeboxes and an important component to the film's sense of aestheticised melancholia (a mode that was arguably central to the New German Cinema as a whole).

In part due to these constrictions, *Alice in the Cities* has a rough, documentary style which evinces an interest in capturing the visible world. For all its scepticism about the limits of representation, it also demonstrates film's ability to grasp contingent historical moments or details, from the extended tracking shot of a boy riding a bicycle, to the footage taken at a Chuck Berry concert. Throughout, the film emphasises trivial, everyday activities – filling up a car with petrol, waiting to board a flight, having a haircut – that are traditionally excised to maintain the narrative economy of mainstream film. Long takes, minimal dialogue and lack of narrative motivation accentuate the duration (and boredom) of these mo-

ments. These banal textures of the everyday are, crucially, often linked to modern, functional and technologically-mediated spaces of transit. These foreground the proliferation of what the French anthropologist Marc Augé later famously described as ‘non-places’ – a particular class of spaces such as malls, airports, motorways, supermarkets that, in their global homogeneity, erode or erase local distinctions of place, history and memory. Central to functioning of the global economy, their anonymity and lack of connection to national/local identity or cultural memory enables a new fluidity and ease of exchange; yet as Augé describes, such ‘non-places’ cannot be “relational, or historical, or concerned with identity”, producing ambivalent responses in individual users.¹³

Though Philip appears profoundly displaced in America, he does not discover home in the European city. Wenders is careful not to contrast the American city shown in the earlier parts of the film with a nostalgic depiction of an older European urbanism; any stable sense of *Gemeinschaft* is missing here in its traditional form. The image developed of the European city is relatively peripheral and assiduously avoids picturesque viewpoints. After returning to Europe, the film’s journey-as-investigation structure moves to the foreground, as Philip and Alice move through the peripheral urban landscape of the Ruhr in search of her grandmother. By this point, the search for Alice’s family becomes closely associated with the cultural memory of place. This lost form of an older, urban-industrial experience is available only through fleeting memories or sense-impressions, best summed up by Alice’s evocative line, “when grandma read to me, the pages rustled as she turned them, because tiny bits of coal came through the window”. The hunt for Alice’s family is also curiously spatialised: unable to find a photograph of her grandmother, they search for her with a photograph of her house. The restructuring of cities and the crisis of property markets is figured through one key scene, during which Alice and Philip drive through an abandoned neighbourhood. An elderly couple explain that the whole area is to be demolished to make way for the industrial conglomerate Krupp to construct a new hospital, though Philip provides the broader economic logic (as he says to Alice, “They don’t produce enough rent”). The film concludes as it began, with an image of transport, this time an aerial shot of a train speeding towards Munich (the spiritual home of the New German Cinema). Though Alice is soon to be reunited with her family, Philip’s piece remains incomplete and his interior journey unfinished. Nevertheless, the ending remains broadly positive: the fractured family and the inability to find ‘home’ cannot be truly resolved, only accepted.

The Passenger: the challenge of the Third World

While *Alice in the Cities* is fundamentally a film about Europe and America, *The Passenger* examines the relationship between Europe and Africa, the First World and the Third World. David Locke is an American journalist working as a foreign correspondent for British television. As the film's screenwriter Mark Peploe has explained, the character of Locke was influenced by his own experiences as a filmmaker in the 1960s, during which time he had worked with the documentarian Allan King in Europe and Latin America.¹⁴ Both Peploe and his co-writer, the structuralist film critic Peter Wollen, had a professional interest in African politics (during an earlier visit to North Africa in 1962, Peploe had stayed at the house of the Moroccan nationalist Mehdi Ben Barka, whose later 'disappearance' in Paris would become the subject of *J'ai vu tuer Ben Barka* (Serge Le Péron, 2005)). Peploe's friends and colleagues had worked on British television programmes *Panorama* and *This Week*, and their concerns about political commitment and the limits to objectivity in documentary filmmaking directly informed elements of Locke's character. In *The Passenger*, these issues are placed within a distinctive mix of generic elements, fusing the European art film with the political thriller, arguably *the* emblematic international genre of the 1970s.

While working in North Africa, Locke discovers the body of an acquaintance, Robertson, in the adjacent hotel room. Assuming the identity of the dead man, he begins to follow the appointments already set in Robertson's diary, an itinerary that leads him first back to London, then to a series of meetings across Europe. But what is not immediately obvious to Locke is that Robertson had been smuggling arms for the nationalist guerrilla movement, the United Liberation Front, the subject of Locke's unfinished film. This both places him in immediate danger and sets up a narrative pretext for the film's road movie structure. By stripping the thriller down to its existential framework, this allows an essentially clichéd genre plot to take on heightened significance. As Garrett Stewart wrote in *Sight and Sound*, "Keeping someone else's appointments even when no one shows is both an absurdist parable of modern dislocation and a psychological allegory of a split and evacuated self".¹⁵ This crisis of identity and agency is frequently expressed as spatial disconnectedness. Peploe's screenplay takes some of the characteristic contrivances of a traditional genre plot and intentionally emphasises the role of coincidence, so that the entire narrative is essentially based on a series of chance encounters (for example, that Locke and Robertson should look so similar in the first place, or that Locke

bumps into the Maria Schneider character in Bloomsbury and again in Barcelona). As if to make sense of the interconnected, transnational urban space the film's locations, it leans back on what Jameson calls "residues" of older narrative formats, absorbing some of the properties associated with the modern city – anonymity, alienation, chance – and projecting them out into a new global space.¹⁶

Like *Alice in the Cities*, *The Passenger* is also frequently concerned with peripheral spaces, even when shot in major cities. As Penelope Gilliatt observed in the *New Yorker*, "Locke is a man racked by the idea of being too distant from the center, which is a major theme of the film's style and content. He feels doomed to live on the outskirts. The picture has a concentration on suburbs which is no accident".¹⁷ As she suggests, cities in the film are frequently established without their usual iconographic reference points. The most readily identifiable image of London in *The Passenger* is of the recently opened Brunswick Centre (Patrick Hodgkinson, 1972), a central London housing and shopping complex near Russell Square, which represented the type of modernist 'megastructure' that *A Clockwork Orange* depicted in an altogether different light. By making Maria Schneider's character an architecture student, the screenplay partially explains both the narrative coincidences and the filmmaker's own predilection for certain types of architecture, such as the Brunswick and Antoni Gaudí's Casso Batlló. However, the film represents the Third World only through recourse to the rural, premodern space of the North African desert, entirely disavowing the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation that was the corollary to Western deindustrialisation.

The Passenger employs what John Orr has referred to as "the power of spatial extension as a continuous image", which applies not only to the film's overall structure but also the formal patterns of individual scenes.¹⁸ For example, shortly after Robertson's death, Locke is replacing the dead man's passport photograph with his own. As he does so, he is listening to a recording of a conversation between the two of them. Locke looks up, and to the left; the camera slowly pans across to follow the direction of his gaze. In one smooth take, the camera moves towards the open window, to reveal the uncanny image of both Robertson and Locke on the balcony, looking out into the desert. Here, a single, fluid shot encompasses present and flashback, subjective and objective points of view, spatialising narrative time into a single unbroken movement in space. This was achieved by using a newly developed Mitchell camera with a variable shutter, which cinematographer Luciano Tovoli to move from interior to exterior scenes without cutting.¹⁹ Similarly, in the celebrated final sequence, a seven-minute

tracking shot leaves Locke lying on his bed in the Hotel de Gloria, moves smoothly through the bars of the window, and takes a leisurely trip around the square before returning to find Locke's dead body. This sequence was achieved using innovative stabilisation techniques similar to those applied in the manufacture of the Steadicam (which would not be commercially available until a year or so later). Here, technological innovations enabled a new complexity of spatial organisation within the shot – and thematically and stylistically, allowed for the heightened importance of space over narrative drive.²⁰

Like *Alice in the Cities*, which used a metacinematic enquiry on the status of the image to reflect on different types of urban space, *The Passenger* also internally stages an encounter or confrontation between different modes of cinematic representation. In the first instance, this is evident in the clash or cross-pollination between the essentially Anglo-American genre form of the thriller and Antonioni's abstract formal style and leisurely pacing which are more naturally identified with European art cinema. This is redoubled by the casting, which brings together Jack Nicholson, a key figure in the New Hollywood, with Maria Schneider, who had recently gained notoriety alongside Marlon Brando in *Last Tango in Paris* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1972). However, this duality is then significantly modified by the introduction of an implicit third term: the challenge of a politicised Third World cinema, above all figured by a symbolic moment where one of the African interviewees turns the camera's gaze back at a startled Locke. The film is also preoccupied with the interrelationship between fiction and documentary, which is most clearly evident in the film-within-the-film, Locke's unfinished television documentary about the civil war in Chad that we see in fragments as his BBC colleagues and wife try to piece it together after his apparent death. In one sequence, we are shown startling real-life footage of man being executed by firing squad in Nigeria, an incursion of the traumatic 'real' into the fictional world of the film. Like *Alice in the Cities*, *The Passenger* generates a fascination with the ability of film to document the real alongside a profound scepticism about the inherent limits of representation, and particularly, of existing cinematic conventions.

European cinema in the 1970s

Though by no means representative of the dominant feature film output of Europe in the decade, films such as *Alice in the Cities* and *The Passenger* were nevertheless emblematic of a small, yet significant emergent trend in

European filmmaking. Pushing at the boundaries of the nation state and the representational matrix of national cinemas, these films began to trace a new transnational mobility that mirrored the rapid integration of the world economy. Through their reflections on the limits of European cinema, their abiding interest in 'non-spaces' and peripheries, and their pervasive melancholy atmosphere, *Alice in the Cities* and *The Passenger* began to generate a new cognitive-affective map for the global urban network in the 1970s. Created and released during the mid-decade slump, these films projected a tangible sensation of recession and a profound uncertainty about the years to come. While they implicitly engaged with the heightened international mobility transforming the world economic system, these films largely avoided depicting the global cities that were fast emerging as its nerve centres. Rather than celebrate motion and fluidity, they accentuated blockage, stasis, and displacement without nostalgia. As in the films discussed in the earlier chapters on the American Rust Belt, their protagonists find themselves in situations defined by spatial boundaries and external forces that are not easily rationalised. And like those films, while their use of cinematic space evinces an essentially cartographic impulse – the desire to record and comprehend space – the precise relationship between the cities and landscapes they draw into relation with each other remains opaque for both protagonists and audience.

For Wenders in particular, the trans-urban journey would become a recurring trope. For example, his 1977 thriller *The American Friend* switches rapidly and disconcertingly between New York, Hamburg and Paris, producing what Michael Covino described as “a powerful sense of geographical dislocation”.²¹ A few years later, shortly after the completion of *Paris, Texas* (1984), Wenders sketched out his next project: “It’s a film about a woman chasing a guy and being chased in turn by two men from airport to airport; probably Tokyo, Hong Kong, Rome, the US. A thriller with the most varied locations you can imagine”.²² The completed picture, *Until the End of the World* (1991), was filmed in no fewer than 15 separate cities across four different continents. From another perspective, such cinematic globetrotting also reflected the increasingly globalised distribution and reception of ‘art cinema’ itself, which has long operated through a transnational network of film festivals and boutique exhibitors in cosmopolitan urban centres. The inter-urban format has, of course, also more recently found expression in the contemporary global thriller, of which the *Bourne* franchise is perhaps the most visible manifestation.

In the chapters that follow, I examine different facets of the crisis of the seventies as it played out across a variety of European cities and film

industries. As local institutional and economic frameworks remained strong, these chapters are ordered by nation state (Britain, France, Italy and West Germany). Nevertheless, the movement towards globalisation and transnationalism discussed in this section remained a decentring and destabilising tendency throughout the decade and underscores the discussion of films in the chapters to come.

7. London

The Crisis of Modernism and the End of Utopia

The British film industry: recession and real estate

In the early 1970s, the British architectural critic Reyner Banham described what he saw as a significant, if counterintuitive, affinity between London and Los Angeles that had developed over the previous decade. As he put it, “Obviously there is something going on between the two cities”. Despite their “wild differences”, London and LA were alike in many ways, not least their “composite, villagey structure”.²³ In the final instance, the connections between their respective art scenes were made possible by the prosaic realities of airline timetables, to which Banham attributed a special, almost mystical significance. For Banham, the affordability and frequency of London-LA flights was enabling a new kind of inter-urban cultural compression. Of the contemporary art scene, he wrote:

London and LA (rather than Paris and San Francisco) are its European and American Terminals. If you decide to bug out of London for the States and decide to skip New York, you might well go on to LA, because you'll get there about the same time in the afternoon by local clocks. And if you decide to bug out of California for Europe, your direct polar flight will make its first touchdown at London. One of the greatest affinities between the art scenes of London and Los Angeles is simply this: that they are at opposite ends of a jumbo-jet commuter shuttle that an increasing number of artists can afford to ride.²⁴

For the motion picture industry, such a transatlantic connection was already an enduring feature of the relationship between the US and the UK, with money, expertise and talent flowing in both directions. As Hollywood's strategic base in Europe, London was not only a bridgehead for distribution in European markets but had also become an increasingly important destination for runaway production. The vibrant cultural scene in the mid-1960s provided a further incentive to shoot in and around the capital, with international directors such as Michelangelo Antonioni, Roman Polanski and Francois Truffaut drawn by the attractions of what *Time* magazine had popularised internationally as “Swinging London”.²⁵ American investment reached its zenith in 1969, with almost 90% of production capital deriving

from US sources.²⁶ This accounted for around three-quarters of the total American investment in European film, and contrasted wildly with France, for example, where the comparable figure was only 20%.²⁷ However, if the British film industry had been a willing beneficiary of American runaway production, then it was accordingly the first to feel the shockwaves of Hollywood's financial crisis. The predicament of the American film industry in 1969 had immediate knock-on effects in London, where investment by the Hollywood majors dropped from £31.3 million in 1968 to just £2.9 million by 1974.²⁸ Further, the devaluation of the dollar in 1971 increased the relative cost of American foreign investment, with producers increasingly seeking cheap locations on home turf rather than abroad. In this way, the flight of American capital from British film production was a direct corollary of the sharp rise in location shooting in New York and other American cities outlined in earlier chapters.

Though the British film industry often seems to have been in a perennial state of crisis and critical self-examination throughout its history, the 1970s are marked out as a particular period of decline in critical accounts of the decade.²⁹ As Alexander Walker later remarked, British cinema of the period "looked like the country itself: it had a residual energy, but in the main was feeling dull, drained, debilitated, infected by a run-down feeling becoming characteristic of British life".³⁰ Industry figures reinforced this sensation. Audience numbers in the seventies continued to decline: annual admissions had dropped from an all-time postwar high of 1.6 billion in 1945 down to just 193m in 1970, falling further to 116m in 1975 and 101m in 1980.³¹ While the broad contours of the crisis were shared by other European nations – diminishing audiences, declining revenues, the increasing competition of television – other factors were more specific to the British context. In particular, American economic and cultural hegemony remained an especially acute problem for British cinema, where the domestic market was more severely undercut by Hollywood product than in other European countries.³² As I will return to below, the British film industry was also less well protected by state funding than its continental counterparts, making it more vulnerable to cyclical downturns and variability in levels of international investment.

The withdrawal of American capital had a direct impact on the number of films in production, which halved over the course of the decade.³³ This had damaging consequences for the major British production facilities, which remained concentrated in suburban London at Shepperton, Pinewood, and Elstree/Borehamwood.³⁴ As part of its general restructuring strategy, MGM liquidised most of its overseas assets including the 117-acre studio complex

at Borehamwood. Sold in 1970 for \$4.3m, this was demolished and the land subsequently redeveloped for housing.³⁵ MGM retained investment in EMI's facilities at nearby Elstree until November 1973, when its sudden withdrawal prompted a swift reduction in capacity: staff levels dropped from 161 to just 48 (a fraction of its previous levels, which had numbered as high as 500).³⁶

Aside from direct US investment, the fate of the London studios also became closely intertwined with wider trends in the British economy. The Conservative Party under Edward Heath had come to power in 1970 on the back of a free-market manifesto, but were later forced into retreat by the trade unions, a confrontation that would be more decisively played out in the 1980s. However, deregulation of the financial sector was partially carried out by Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber in 1971, leading to what the press dubbed the 'Barber Boom', a period of intensive financial speculation and an overheating property market.³⁷ The effects of this new climate were particularly evident in the case of Shepperton Studios and its parent company, British Lion Films. Production at Shepperton was declining, with numbers falling from 27 in 1969 to just seven films in 1971; by the following year, Shepperton was losing £12,000 a week in overheads.³⁸ However, its land, buildings and equipment represented a valuable investment opportunity, and British Lion was duly acquired in 1972 by John Bentley and his company Barclay Securities. Bentley was gaining notoriety as an "industrial reorganiser", or to put it less charitably, an asset-stripper.³⁹ As the *Economist* put it, "some people think of Mr. Bentley as typical of a new breed of City financial entrepreneurs who are using the stock market, and the avidity of the institutions for property, to reduce industrial and productive enterprises to a heap of cash".⁴⁰

Bentley was attracted to British Lion not only for its subsidiaries in posters (Mills and Allen) and cinema advertising (Pearl & Dean) but also the redevelopment opportunities presented by Shepperton itself: 60 acres of prime land in London's stockbroker belt with a potential value of over £4 million.⁴¹ From a business perspective, the increasing efficiency and popularity of location shooting had made such fixed assets seem increasingly obsolete. An *Economist* editorial put it succinctly: "Most sensible people (which does not include the film union) realise that studios are not only unnecessary but an actual drag on the film industry's overheads. Shepperton is not needed; films can be made in the streets, which look more like streets than studio streets anyway".⁴² While the unions and management discussed plans for downsizing Shepperton, Bentley was himself subject to a surprise takeover by another financial conglomerate, Vavasour, an even more ruthless advocate of corporate restructuring. Shortly thereafter, Vavasour incurred

massive losses in the stock market crash of 1973. The future of British Lion and Shepperton hung in the balance. Though total closure was a distinct possibility, the final agreement saw 20 of the total 60 acres retained as studio facilities, and staff numbers reduced from 300 to 76.⁴³

Faced with studio closures, downsizing and unemployment, the film and television unions called for a shake-up of government intervention in the industry.⁴⁴ State support for British film had changed little over the previous 10 to 15 years. A screen quota of 30% helped to ensure exhibition space for films classified as British, although after entry to the EEC in 1973 this was widened to encompass films from all European member states. Production funding remained commercially focused rather than artistically motivated, a position encouraged by Heath's government, under which Culture Secretary Nicholas Ridley – a key player in the Selsdon Group, an extreme free-market faction of the Conservative party – even advocated removing state support entirely. This was a view supported by the *Economist*, which argued that “the new task of the National Film Funding Council should be to aid British film production by working with the City and the American companies, and to become more commercial in its outlook”.⁴⁵ Production finance was administered through the British Film Fund Agency, which drew its revenues from the Eady levy, a 6% tax on cinema admissions. Unlike France, where state funding was allocated to foster commercially risky art film productions, the BFFA redistributed its takings solely on the basis of box office success. Thus, by awarding the highest proportion of state subsidy to mainstream hits, British film funding arrangements had largely regressive effects, often rewarding notionally ‘British’ subsidiaries of the Hollywood studios with substantial payouts.

Financing for art film production emerged only gradually in the seventies through the auspices of the British Film Institute Production Board, though funding levels remained woefully small, and for the most part only covered shorts and featurettes. Nevertheless, the Production Board played a substantial development role, funding early works by Tony Scott, Terence Davies and Bill Douglas, as well as the first feature by a black British director, *Pressure* (Horace Ové, 1975).⁴⁶ Debates on central government intervention continued throughout the decade, with Prime Minister Harold Wilson taking charge of a working party on the film industry in 1975.⁴⁷ However, no decisive action was taken and these issues remained unresolved throughout the seventies. As Peter Wollen has convincingly argued, this failure to find new models for funding and distribution was a decisive contributory factor behind the absence of an autonomous British art cinema during the sixties and seventies.⁴⁸

Economics and urbanism in seventies London

This crisis in the film industry was, of course, only a constituent part of a wider downturn in the British economy, with the debates surrounding state support for the film industry mirroring much wider, tectonic shifts in the role of the state in society at large. In common with the other Western industrialised nations, Britain's economic growth slowed down in the early 1970s, though the depth of the downturn was underlined by its relatively poor economic performance in the postwar period as a whole. Unlike Italy or Germany, for example, Britain had not undergone the same rapid industrial expansion in the postwar decades: during the period 1950-1973, annual growth in GDP averaged only 3%, in comparison to the booming industrial economies of Japan (9.7%), West Germany (6%), and France (5.1%).⁴⁹

While short-lived, the cultural efflorescence of fashion, music, art and cinema in 'Swinging London' heralded the rise of a postindustrial economy and a new reliance on the production of images and signs. Industrial production was already on the way out.⁵⁰ The seventies saw a sharp drop in manufacturing employment in the capital, falling by 42%; by mid-decade, 70% of London's jobs were in the service sector.⁵¹ At the symbolic centre of this shift was the declining Port of London, previously the trading centre at the heart of the empire. Facing the irresolvable problem posed by containerisation and the competition of deepwater ports, a strategic decision was taken to decommission the East End docks that were now effectively obsolete. This rapid drop in the trade of material goods was counterbalanced by the massive expansion of financial services and the consolidation of London's position as a tier one 'global city'.

The seventies also marked a decisive transitional phase between a relatively stable, cross-party consensus on Keynesian macro-economic management and the neoliberal free-market policies enacted by the Thatcher government after 1979.⁵² Though not fully realised until the 1980s, these changes began to take effect in the early 1970s; in this respect, the Heath government can now be seen as a kind of dress rehearsal for the neoliberal transformations of the decade to come. As I have argued, Anthony Barber's deregulation of the City prefigured the so-called 'Big Bang' of 1986. But as *Daily Telegraph* columnist Christopher Booker recounted, Barber's relaxation of credit restrictions did not achieve their intended regenerative effects on the economy. Instead, the whirlwind of financial speculation pushed Britain into a moment of "collective fantasy", whereby "the City and the media appeared to be hypnotised by the belief that money could be conjured out of nothing".⁵³

Only a tiny proportion of this non-existent 'new money' went into industrial investment. A much greater amount poured into property, of all kinds, with the entirely predictable result (since twice as much money was now chasing virtually the same quantity of assets) that property values soared. House prices doubled in eighteen months, the boom in commercial property was so great that it became a 'bubble', into which the pension funds, banks, 'fringe' banks and insurance companies poured cash with a recklessness never seen in Britain before.⁵⁴

This atmosphere is registered by a key scene from Lindsay Anderson's *O Lucky Man!* (1973), a prescient satire on rampant entrepreneurialism. Michael (Malcolm McDowell) and Patricia (Helen Mirren) are having a champagne breakfast on a rooftop near Euston station. Travis gazes out towards the cityscape and muses: "London. The biggest money market in the world. Did you know that? Ten thousand million pounds a day turnover. Ten thousand millions a day! And there's a thousand ways of making it, you know. It's just a question of picking the right one". Travis is transfixed by the Miesian curtain wall of the Euston Tower (1970). "How much is a building like that worth?" he wonders. Patricia replies: "The ground rent is £800,000 a year. It cost ten times that to build, and every three months, its value increases by 20%". She kisses him, but he can't keep his eyes off the tower, which the camera zooms towards repeatedly; Travis is enraptured by the mysterious potential of the building to produce profit as if from nowhere.

Shortly after this scene, a recently dismissed employee hurls himself from the window of the Euston Tower, an image that anticipated the depths of the impending crash. The short-lived financial bubble of the Barber Boom was followed by a massive slump in 1973-1974 with punishing inflation and rising unemployment ensuing. By mid-decade, the aftershocks of worldwide recession had pushed Britain to the brink of economic collapse. In May 1975, the *Wall Street Journal* advised investors to pull out of sterling with the famous headline: "Goodbye Britain", and in 1976 James Callaghan was forced to take the unprecedented step of requesting an emergency loan from the IMF. The ensuing restructuring package forced Callaghan and Chancellor Denis Healey into making unwelcome compromises on public spending that prefigured the policies of the Thatcher government and its more concerted efforts to withdraw state support from key sections of the economy and society.

The turn against state planning in economic policy was prefigured by a shift in planning practices that was ideologically related, if in complex and often unexpected ways. As I have explained in previous chapters, a

widespread, international critique of the functionalist architecture and urban renewal paradigm was gaining momentum throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In Britain, this was largely manifested as a delayed reaction to the postwar reconstruction and slum-clearance programmes that had led to a proliferation of large-scale public housing projects and transformed the face of its major cities. The greater part of these developments were heavily influenced by Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse* (Radiant City) concept for high-density tower blocks in green, open space.⁵⁵ Many housing estates were designed by local authority architects to standardised, off-the-peg plans, taking advantage of new developments in prefabricated building systems to reduce costs and construction time. Rebuilding accelerated through the 1950s and 1960s, and as a result of pledges made by Harold Wilson's Labour government, the years 1966-1972 saw the highest level of state-sponsored construction activity.⁵⁶ This building boom continued until the 1973-1974 recession sent the architectural profession and construction industry into freefall.⁵⁷

Two London high-rises came to symbolise the shift of public opinion against the modern movement: Ronan Point and Centre Point. The former was a newly built East London tower block that partially collapsed, killing three and injuring several more, after a gas explosion on 16 May 1968 (coincidentally, as the Parisian *événements* were in full flow). This left a serious question mark over the future of systems building in mass housing projects.⁵⁸ Richard Seifert's Centre Point, a high-rise office development on the corner of Tottenham Court Road and Oxford Street, had remained unused for six years after its completion in 1966, drawing widespread criticism in the national media. The developer Harry Hyams had intentionally left the office space empty, a strategy which maintained the notional value of the building against falling rental prices and saved huge amounts in capital gains tax.⁵⁹ Though this financial chicanery was perhaps hard for the public to grasp, it nevertheless clearly defined the extent to which corporate interests viewed office development projects as primarily financial investments above any consideration of their interaction with the surrounding urban environment.

British cinema: beyond the kitchen sink

While events such as the three-day week of 1974 and the Winter of Discontent in 1978-1979 remain important historical markers of the decade, they were scarcely depicted in British film.⁶⁰ A recent BFI volume on seventies

British cinema lamentably records that *Carry On at Your Convenience* (1971) contains the decade's most direct representation of trade unionism.⁶¹ In some respects, this signalled the extent to which television had taken up the social realist tradition of British cinema, with directors such as Ken Loach moving away from film, where funding was more commercially directed, towards the BBC and later Channel 4. Nevertheless, filmmakers engaging with British urban locations in the 1970s inevitably had to deal with the legacy of the social realist or 'kitchen sink' cycle of the late 1950s and 1960s, and the influence of films such as *Room at the Top* (Jack Clayton, 1959) and *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (Karel Reisz, 1960).

In *Walls Have Feelings*, Katherine Shonfield argues that a parallel exists between the films of this British 'New Wave' and the Brutalist tendency in British architecture.⁶² Just as Brutalist architects such as Alison and Peter Smithson espoused a formal purity drawn from Mies and Le Corbusier in contrast to older architectural traditions (including what Shonfield refers to as "picturesque" manifestations of modernism), so the stripped-down realist aesthetics of the British New Wave could be contrasted with Ealing comedies or Gainsborough melodrama. The ethical qualities of this unvarnished, monochromatic rendering of everyday life could then be seen to have close associations with the rough, untreated surfaces of Brutalism. As Shonfield argues, both parties intended to draw connections "between brutal, raw, uncovered aesthetic characteristics, and an intention of moral exposure".⁶³ However, in other respects, the outlook of these realist directors was far from modernist. As Peter Wollen has argued, a genuinely innovative British New Wave could have had developed closer ties with London's Pop Art scene and, in particular, with the Independent Group: an influential collective of artists, architects, writers and curators that included the Smithsons, Reyner Banham, the critic Lawrence Alloway and the artists Richard Hamilton and Eduardo Paolozzi.

Instead, the allegiances of the British 'New Wave' were placed with what Wollen dismisses as the "provincial little Englandism" of the Angry Young Men, whose work "fetishized the second-rate literature of regionalists, realists and reactionaries".⁶⁴ In this regard, their work reflected a British literary establishment unable to deal with the challenge of contemporary consumer culture. As J.G. Ballard later opined, British literature found no counterpart to the optimistic celebration of American industrial design, advertising and consumer culture found in the Independent Group's *This Is Tomorrow* exhibition (Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1956). As he put it, "This was a world of cars, offices, highways, airlines and supermarkets that we actually lived in, but which was completely missing from almost all serious fiction".

Both the conventional realist novel and European modernist literature had largely avoided the realities of everyday life in the postwar world; as he observed, “No one in a novel by Virginia Woolf ever filled up the petrol tank of her car. No one in Sartre or Thomas Mann ever paid for a haircut”.⁶⁵

In thrall to the literary models that Ballard describes, the ‘New Wave’ directors not only lacked modernist formal experimentation, but appeared equally uninterested in modernity as a subject matter. The ‘kitchen sink’ films of the fifties and sixties generally avoid the modernisation of the postwar British city, setting their action in traditional terraced housing. Modernist architecture was duly under-represented in British cinema until the end of the sixties. Two exceptions were Antonioni’s *Blow Up* (1966), which opened with a jeep circling round the Economist Plaza (Alison and Peter Smithson, 1964) in Mayfair, and Ken Loach’s *Poor Cow* (1967), which set key scenes on the Winstanley Estate in Battersea. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was in two science fiction films that modernist architecture played a central role. Francois Truffaut’s *Fahrenheit 451* (1967) constructs the future city from Roehampton’s Alton West estate, described by Peter Hall as “the most complete homage to – and the only true realisation of – *La Ville Radieuse* in the world”.⁶⁶ As I will explore further below, Stanley Kubrick’s *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) uses a variety of modernist architectural locations to create its dystopian vision of near-future London. Whereas in the 1940s and 1950s, documentary cinema had helped to produce a public consensus on the progressive effects of reconstruction and slum clearance, by the early 1970s, this optimistic mood had been replaced by a dystopian projection of an authoritarian future.⁶⁷

In this chapter, I focus in detail on two films: *Leo the Last* (John Boorman, 1970) and *A Clockwork Orange* (Stanley Kubrick, 1971). Both develop distinctive rhetorical positions on the politics of urban space that intersect with an emerging transformation in approaches to planning. In Boorman’s Brechtian satire, class consciousness in a West London ‘slum’ area leads to a revolutionary strike against capitalist relations of ownership and rent. Yet underpinning this vision is the notion of micropolitical, community action against the top-down vision of the planner. *A Clockwork Orange* works within a similar discursive context, but replaces radical optimism with a nihilist ambivalence towards modernist architecture and the role of the state in society.

Slum clearance and grassroots struggle: *Leo the Last* (1970)

John Boorman began his career as a documentary filmmaker at BBC Bristol, moving into features with *Catch Us If You Can* in 1965. He played a key

role in bringing a European formalist sensibility to the American urban crime genre in *Point Blank* (1967), one of the inaugural films of the New Hollywood period. After completing a further picture with Lee Marvin, *Hell in the Pacific* (1968), Boorman returned to London to make *Leo the Last* with the support of American producers Robert Chartoff and Irwin Winkler. Filming took place in late 1969, mostly on location in a couple of condemned terraces just west of Ladbroke Grove. These streets and a wider area comprising some 28 acres were later demolished as part of a slum-clearance programme shortly after filming on *Leo* wrapped, making room for the Westway arterial route and a modernist council estate, Lancaster West, which rehoused 37,000 people at a cost of £20m.⁶⁸ The film therefore bears the direct imprint of the urban redevelopment process: the empty, decaying Georgian terraces not only provided a cheap alternative to studio production, but also allowed Boorman to explore the aesthetic possibilities of blurring boundaries between location and set.⁶⁹

The action of *Leo the Last* takes place entirely within the limits of this Ladbroke Grove cul-de-sac, not far from Powis Square in Notting Hill, where James Fox went into hiding in *Performance* (Nicolas Roeg and Donald Cammell, 1970). Adapted from “The Prince”, a short play by George Tabori, the film centres on Marcello Mastroianni’s Leo, an exiled aristocrat returning to his late father’s West London mansion from an unnamed European principality. Though the interiors of Leo’s mansion are plush, the surrounding neighbourhood is crushingly poor and now predominantly populated by recent immigrants from the Caribbean. Leo’s initial curiosity about his new neighbours deepens into fascination and closer involvement with the community. To his dismay, he makes the discovery that he is the owner of the tenement buildings, and therefore technically the landlord: could he unwittingly be implicated in their exploitation? Ultimately, this newfound political consciousness drives him to initiate a small-scale urban revolt against property ownership, renouncing his status as landlord and returning the street to the tenants. The film’s narrative of urban revolution culminates in the destruction of the building, an effect Boorman and his crew achieved by literally exploding the condemned terrace.⁷⁰

Boorman’s use of empty terraces enables the film to occupy a space on the threshold between city and set, the real and the fabricated. The architecture manifests a distinctive material quality in its solidity, detail, and accumulated dilapidation that would be difficult to engineer with similar authenticity in a set. Yet, at the same time, the empty buildings could be manipulated to a degree that would have not been possible on an occupied street. In *Leo the Last*, the street’s colours were altered to an almost

monochromatic scheme. Just as Antonioni had previously done in *Red Desert* and *Blow Up*, Boorman physically coloured the landscape, daubing the pavement and the facades of the terraces with black paint.⁷¹ While black and white figured heavily in the design, all intermediate colours were meticulously removed, even from actors' costumes. By operating with this restricted palette, Boorman and cinematographer Peter Suschitzky were able to create a surreal urban landscape, denaturing and defamiliarising the British social realist context.

This expressionistic use of colour is just one of the ways in which the film departs from the conventional representation of space in both classical Hollywood and British social realist traditions. *Leo the Last* is a stylistic mélange incorporating influences from Fellini, Brecht, surrealism, silent film, avant-garde music and street theatre.⁷² Boorman clearly articulated this rejection of realism in an interview with *Positif* critic Michel Ciment:

I'm no longer satisfied with the notion of picking up a camera and filming in the streets. The public has seen too many things in the cinema, even more on television: it's become blasé. I've no desire now to see New York's shops on the screen. I've seen New York; and even if there can be something very beautiful about the sun setting at the end of the street, it no longer holds any surprise for me. It can only get in the way of the story. The cinema would appear to be going in two directions: in the one case, *cinéma vérité*; in the other, abstraction or allegory.⁷³

Boorman's comments here can be read as a diagnosis of an emergent post-modernity, suggesting that the saturation of images in film, television, and news media had produced a new kind of blasé spectator for whom realism was an increasingly bankrupt strategy. His remarks point to a central dilemma or problematic faced by art cinema in the 1970s. A politically-committed cinema would need to have some sort of documentary function, particularly a direct connection with real (urban) locations and everyday life; yet it needed to do so in ways that departed from conventional notions of realism, which was doubly compromised, both by the unproblematised relationship between spectator and text inherent in classical cinema and by the omnipresence of news media.

In working through these contradictions, *Leo the Last* anticipates many of the concerns of 1970s film theory in its turn away from realism towards Brechtian techniques and a reflexive exploration of spectatorship.⁷⁴ In this regard, the soundtrack is another major element in the film's formal experimentation. A multi-layered, musical composition of non-diegetic

voices floats in and out of the mix, sometimes commenting directly on the action, occasionally questioning or estranging it (“What kind of movie is this anyway?”), and periodically providing oblique references and quotations. In one early sequence, the members of Leo’s household are introduced one at a time by Boorman’s own voice-over. Boorman noted the influence of avant-garde composer Lucio Berio, and explicitly commented on the Brechtian intent of the soundtrack: “I wanted the audience to be aware they were watching a movie and that the moviemakers were playfully commenting on their own work. I conceived of it as a series of layers. This, of course, flies in the face of what movies do best, which is to suck you in, manipulate your emotions and hold you in the grip of an illusion”.⁷⁵

By containing the action within two or three unnamed streets, Boorman allows the diegetic space of the film to take on wider symbolic or allegorical resonance. Whilst for the informed viewer it is precisely located as West London both architecturally and linguistically, it is also curiously artificial and dreamlike. Indeed, restricting action to the cul-de-sac not only provides unity of place but also generates a suffocating, claustrophobic sense of containment that has precursors in surrealist films such as Luis Bunuel’s *The Exterminating Angel* (1962). One potential limitation of the confined setting and parable-like quality of the narrative is its sense of dislocation from wider urban or global processes, and in common with *A Clockwork Orange* and other films of the period, it does not show a panoramic cityscape by means of which protagonists (or spectators) are able to situate themselves.⁷⁶

The screenplay drew inspiration from Boorman’s personal experiences in West London, as well as the notorious London slum landlord Peter Rachman, whose involvement in a series of property scandals in the 1960s created the media term “Rachmanism” for the exploitation of tenants. In particular, the character Laszlo closely resembles Rachman.⁷⁷ Laszlo holds clandestine meetings in the mansion’s basement for ‘Saragossa’, a group of exiles eager to reinstate Leo in his position as monarch. They are armed, as Laszlo puts it, “in case of revolution”. The subtending opposition in the film is not urban-suburban but something more European and colonial; the end of empire is a suppressed theme here, though it is never overtly explored. Boorman argued at the time that the film’s major preoccupation is not race but class: “Poverty is more important than race in *Leo the Last*”.⁷⁸ However, race is clearly not coincidental: racial discrimination in housing had only become illegal as a result of the second Race Relations Act 1968 (brought in by Harold Wilson’s government). Notting Hill had been the focal point for inter-racial violence in London, with conflict first erupting in race riots in 1958 and recurring sporadically throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The

perceived reputation of the area as a flashpoint for racial conflict was also widely thought to have influenced its subsequent redevelopment.

The relationship between Leo and the neighbourhood is set up by several early sequences in which he watches the street from his window. In their stylised, caricatured simplicity these scenes recall silent film, though the central reference here is clearly *Rear Window* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1954). A series of telephoto zooms embody Leo's searching gaze, which scans across the street, through windows, and across rooftops. If these are initially motivated by his predilection for bird-watching, then the pretext is soon allowed to drop away, the pleasures of viewing providing their own impetus. However, this detail has the additional function of accentuating the sense of an 'ethnographic' dimension to Leo's implied gaze, a notion furthered by the bongo drums on the soundtrack, which mock Leo's position as a colonial or ethnographic spectator and satirise the scientific objectivity of realism. Leo's ethnographic gaze is not restricted to the working class, but also encapsulates his own social stratum. In particular, this is exemplified by an obscenely decadent dinner party at Leo's mansion that shows grotesque close-ups of guests mercilessly devouring chicken legs.

As Leo's gaze scans the scene, he revels first in the disorganised vitality of the working-class street. Directly opposite, his eyeglass centres on a tenement block that, like one of Balzac's Parisian *immeubles*, appears to hold all of urban life in microcosm. Leo's first non-avian subjects of interest turn out to be a local girl, Salambo, and her boyfriend Roscoe. He follows them back to her apartment, where the family sit at the dining table. Upstairs, Jasper McLaren, pimp and rent-collector, makes his rounds; below, the Polish pawnbroker, Kowalski, lecherously follows women on the street. The cinematic screen is reflexively doubled as framed visual experience of the urban environment. As Leo watches, his mistress (Billie Whitelaw) waits distractedly for him in bed; like Jeff in *Rear Window*, voyeurism appears to displace sexual desire. But whereas Jeff's gaze is drawn into the domestic interior, leading to the development of an inter-marital murder mystery, Leo's enigma is political and spatial.

As he watches, Leo begins to question the underlying social organisation of the street. One key sequence visually plots out the circulation of commodities and the relations of exchange. Salambo's younger brother sells his roller skates to Kowalski, bringing the cash back to the family table. The mother uses the cash to pay the rent to McLaren, who passes it to Laszlo. The roller skates are bought by Laszlo using the same money. Commodities circulate, cash is exchanged; money and material wealth appear to move inexorably upwards. But what set of social relations is concealed

behind these transactions? Leo's involvement in the street can be seen to follow a slightly schematic path from liberal to radical positions. His initial response to the family's poverty is welfare, or rather redistribution through philanthropic means. But Leo's gift to the starving family, a lavish hamper of groceries, unwittingly leads to tragedy; presumably unused to such rich fare, the father gorges himself and succumbs to a heart attack shortly after. Charity, Leo is led to believe, cannot be enough: ultimately, only a radical structural change will remove the underlying conditions of exploitation. Leo's path of understanding thus moves from voyeuristic, ethnographic analysis of the community from a distance, to philanthropic intervention, and from there to class consciousness and revolutionary action.

In the final reel, the film turns to what the *New York Times* aptly referred to as "guerrilla theatre": backed up by Roscoe, "a real man of the people", Leo leads the tenants to the barricades in a revolt against property rights (fig. 12).⁷⁹ This is resisted by Laszlo and Saragossa, who are besieged in the mansion. The revolutionary sequences of the film represent a kind of composite narrativisation or transcoding of real urban political actions present in the public consciousness at the time. The most geographically exact of these were the riots that had periodically shaken Notting Hill and its environs since the 1950s. But the image of these riots – which were largely without concerted political direction – are here powerfully inflected with the images of the barricades of 1968, in Paris and elsewhere. Further, as Manuel Castells has argued, the 1960s and 1970s saw the rise of grassroots political intervention across cities in Europe and the United States.⁸⁰ A significant amount of this direct action confronted urban issues, as was the case in the rent strikes that hit British cities after the Fair Housing Act of 1972. More generally, the images of unrest in *Leo the Last* prefigure the protests and strikes that would become a defining image of Britain in the seventies. Shortly after the film's UK release in June 1970, dockers began a series of strikes that were a precursor to widespread trade union action across the public sector and nationalised industries (miners, dockers, refuse workers) that would force the Heath government to announce a three-day week following the energy crisis of 1973 and ultimately removed the Conservatives from power the following year.⁸¹

However, while these images of grassroots political action resonated with the mass protests and industrial unrest of the period, the urban struggle depicted by *Leo the Last* was more localised. In *Leo the Last*, the tenants take the building by force, and by doing so, destroy it. Like another politically radical (and commercially unsuccessful) film of the same year, *Zabriskie Point*, Boorman's film ends with a spectacular act of architectural



Figure 12: Leo and Roscoe lead the street revolution in *Leo the Last* (MGM, 1970).

destruction, which likewise shows multiple viewpoints of an exploding building. In Boorman's film the target is not corporate modernism but rather an architecture symbolising encrusted class hierarchies, yet the impetus is similar: radical social change must entail reshaping the built environment. In *Leo the Last*, the catharsis of the destructive moment is followed by a moment of reflective optimism: what kind of social structure might follow this ground zero? Ultimately, the film presents its stance on a firmly localised, micro-political level, affirming grassroots community action. At the close, Roscoe prompts Leo: "You didn't change the world, did you?", to which Leo replies: "No, but we changed our street".

Though played in a revolutionary key, the film's demand for city dwellers' rights to shape the development of their own neighbourhoods was indicative of a broader-based ideological shift that had gained momentum on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, *Leo the Last* displays striking thematic and structural similarities to *The Landlord* (Hal Ashby, 1970), which I have discussed in my earlier chapter on New York. This correspondence was noted in a brief joint review by Penelope Gilliatt in the *New Yorker*, who dismissed them as "two poor films about real estate", adding that they "jump onto some bandwagon of treating contemporary subjects in a way that gives ease and style to liberal fantasies of shame".⁸² Nevertheless, that two films "about real estate" should appear in the same week of 1970 attests to the widespread diffusion of urban issues into popular culture across national contexts. Both films are therefore products of a specific historical moment when the turn against demolition and functionalist renewal might be harnessed for radical left-wing alternatives. In differing ways, *Leo the*

Last and *The Landlord* envisaged a future marked by greater community participation in neighbourhood development. Yet the radical redistribution of ownership and the landlords' renunciation of property rights imagined by these films was clearly at odds with the realities of urban change on the ground, where piecemeal change by private homeowners led the way.

In the long run, the turn away from large-scale urban renewal had mixed effects. From one perspective, the new emphasis on conservation and refurbishment halted the often brutal destruction of the city's architectural heritage and erasure of traditional community structures. Yet, while many of the most vocal critiques of the urban renewal bulldozer were on the left, in Britain as in the US, the radical alternatives gestured at by *Leo the Last* and *The Landlord* dissolved in a more generalised swing towards the political right and neoliberal agendas. In the decades to come, the decline of mass urban political movements left a vacuum in which the logic of the free market reigned supreme. Perhaps counter to their intentions, the frequently left-leaning middle-class professionals who patiently restored London's declining terraces in the sixties and seventies were arguably at the spearhead of later, inherently regressive waves of gentrification fuelled by booming property prices and a new fashion for inner-city living. And counter to the imaginary reconciliations across class and race offered by *Leo the Last* and *The Landlord*, signs of prosperity and neighbourhood vitality all too frequently masked an increasing lack of real social and ethnic diversity.

If gentrification was not frequently visible onscreen in London films of the seventies, there were some exceptions. Whereas *Leo the Last* corresponded closely to *The Landlord*, John Schlesinger's *Sunday, Bloody Sunday* (1971) has strong resonances with another New York film from the same year, *Desperate Characters*, in its exploration of middle-class urban anxiety. The screenplay was written by the *New Yorker's* Penelope Gilliatt, who may have had her own depiction of the city in mind when critiquing Boorman and Ashby. The film shows London in the midst of an economic crisis, which was shortly to materialise in reality, and focuses on the intertwined sex lives of three characters: Daniel Hirsch (Peter Finch), a Jewish doctor; Alex Greville (Glenda Jackson), a recruitment consultant; and Bob Elkin (Murray Head), an avant-garde artist who produces beautiful, but essentially empty, kinetic sculptures. Most contemporary reviewers focused closely on its taboo-breaking depiction of a bisexual love triangle, but the film also mapped out a new type of middle-class urban lifestyle of which open sexuality was only a constituent part. As Alexander Walker wrote, "The film's characters resemble the capital city they inhabit: apprehensive people undergoing a state of change, uncertain of the next move".⁸³

The film's domestic interiors often make visible a new aesthetic common to middle-class gentrifiers in refurbished terraces, frequently contrasting the stripped-down style and bare stone walls of Alex's apartment with the heavy furnishings of her parents' home. As Jonathan Raban describes in *Soft City* (1974), in many ways a key text for understanding 1970s London, such an apparently "styleless" design was a specific feature of the city's new class composition. For Raban, affecting this absence of style disavowed the relationship of the professional-managerial class with the emerging postindustrial city:

Yet this changed face bears all the hallmarks of a style in its most showy connotations: it has led to the involuntary displacement of a poorer class, it has added to the vast inflation of the property market, it has been at the core of the cyclone of new ancillary industries which manufacture and distribute all the details of a concrete cosmology – the furniture, the décor, the small scrupulous restaurants, the little foreign cars, the bookshops, the delicatessens, the baby-boutiques.⁸⁴

Thus, alongside the critical self-examination and anxiety of its central characters, the film also reveals a new social and technological landscape, symbolised in the recurring motif of the telephone exchange, Bob's kinetic sculptures (which might be avant-garde art or merely executive toys), and in Ron Geesin's minimalist electronic soundtrack.

The crisis of modernism and the end of utopia: *A Clockwork Orange* (1971)

Though change was in the air, the fate of the area used for filming *Leo the Last* was already sealed, and the blighted terraces soon made way for a new housing estate, Lancaster West. But these modernist redevelopment schemes, which dominate the mise-en-scène of Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), were effectively the last of their kind. As I have outlined above, the seventies were a key transitional period during which the postwar consensus on the role of state intervention in architecture and planning began to unravel. As the top-down view of the planner became critiqued from different sides of the political spectrum, the 'utopian', left-wing impulses of the modern movement also began to fade. Perhaps no film symbolised this turn in public policy and the end of the utopian ideals of modernism more than *A Clockwork Orange*. Despite the film's intentionally

ambivalent political stance, close attention to its use of architectural space demonstrates revealing affinities with contemporary critiques of modernism both in architectural theory and public discourse.

Following its release in 1971, Kubrick's film quickly became a *bête noire* for the conservative establishment and the focal point for reactionary arguments on the effects of screen violence and the role of censorship.⁸⁵ Indeed, the film gained a notoriety in public debates rarely achieved by British films.⁸⁶ For example, by April 1972 the iconic silhouette of Alex and his droogs in a concrete underpass could be used to head up a *Guardian* article on violence in inner-city public housing without any reference to the film itself.⁸⁷ This one image, deftly connecting modernist architectural space, youth culture and casual violence, demonstrated that film had already become a shorthand for urban malaise and, in particular, the perceived failure of postwar urban planning to reshape the built environment towards progressive ends. As Kubrick affirmed in an interview with Michel Ciment, the film can be seen to revolve around the question of free will: "Do we lose our humanity if we are deprived of the choice between good and evil? Do we become, as the title suggests, a *Clockwork Orange*?" For Kubrick, the film "explores the difficulty of reconciling the conflict between individual freedom and social order", and does so specifically in terms of the relationship between the state and the individual:

Certainly one of the most challenging and difficult social problems we face today is, how can the State maintain the necessary degree of control over society without becoming repressive, and how can it achieve this in the face of an increasingly impatient electorate who are beginning to regard legal and political solutions as too slow? The State sees the spectre looming ahead of terrorism and anarchy, and this increases the risk of its over-reaction and a reduction in our freedom.⁸⁸

In this section, I will address the ways in which these preoccupations are mobilised through the use of specific locations and architectural motifs. In particular, Kubrick utilises three modernist architectural settings: the Thamesmead housing development in South East London, the new campus at Brunel University, and *Skybreak*, an exurban designer home built by Norman Foster's Team 4. As I will elucidate below, each of these locations carries symbolic significance and can be seen to embody a specific notion of modernist architectural space.

The key events of the film follow a fairly schematic pattern. Alex and his gang commit several acts of exhilarating, mindless violence, ultimately

leading to the rape and death of two women. Following his imprisonment, Alex opts for a radical course of behavioural re-conditioning – the ‘Ludovico treatment’ – which reprograms his violent impulses, leaving him incapable of further offences. His aversion to violence is, perhaps not coincidentally, matched by a distaste for his beloved Beethoven. Released back into society, he is confronted by each of his surviving victims in sequence: the tramp from the underpass, his former gang-members, now policemen, and finally the liberal writer, whose sympathy quickly turns to malice. Following Alex’s suicide attempt, public opinion swings against the treatment. Finding it politically expedient to take up his cause, the same politician reverses his law-and-order rhetoric, and orders a counter-treatment.

However, any attempt to read the film as a simplistic morality tale is ultimately defeated by the ambivalence of the ending and the exhaustion of satisfactory positions from which to read the text. Left- and right-wing politics are roughly embodied by the liberal writer and the politician, yet both are shown as hopelessly compromised figures, switching their allegiances when required. It is therefore unsurprising that critical opinions have remained divided on the film’s politics. For example, James Naremore has argued that the film displays a close affinity to Adorno and Horkheimer’s Frankfurt School pessimism – ultimately “offering little more than aestheticism as a defence against modernity”.⁸⁹ Alternatively, Fredric Jameson critiqued it as a “reactionary” and “anti-political” film, which seeks to “make a didactic point about the boredom and intolerability of an achieved Utopia”.⁹⁰ However, the film’s broadly libertarian, anti-establishment thrust is given a particular spin by its use of modernist architecture.

The film was shot entirely on location, with the exception of a few interiors, such as the scenes at the Korova Milk Bar (for which a set was constructed at Hawk Films in Borehamwood). Location scouting took place in June and July of 1970. The first stage involved intensive research in contemporary architecture and design magazines including *Architectural Design*, *The Architects’ Journal*, *Architectural Review*, *Domus*, and *Interior Design*, as Kubrick explained:

We wanted to find modern and interesting architecture, and it seemed that the best way to do this was to buy 10 years of back issues of two or three architectural magazines. I spent two weeks going through them with John Barry, the production designer, and we filed and cross-referenced all the interesting photographs that we found. This proved to be a much more effective approach than just having a couple of location scouts driving around London. As it worked out, most of the interesting

locations we finally chose originated from this sifting through architectural magazines.⁹¹

These clippings effectively constitute an extensive survey of contemporary British architecture circa 1970, containing almost all the major modernist developments in housing, offices, public buildings and infrastructure from the preceding years.⁹² However, the role of the magazines and architectural photography in this process deserves more attention. As Richard Williams argues, there had been a representational shift in the architectural magazines themselves in the late 1960s. Firstly, architecture was becoming more closely associated with wider social processes, exemplified by a 1968 series in *Architectural Design* on “supposedly non-architectural subjects such as education, democracy and urban protest”.⁹³ Secondly, the aesthetic presentation of architecture began to change along with dominant opinions on the Modern Movement. Kubrick drew particular inspiration from a series in *Architectural Review* titled “Manplan” that ran in 1969 and 1970. This series investigated the “state of the nation” in architecture and planning and represented a departure in terms of the magazine’s visual presentation, commissioning photojournalists Patrick Ward, Ian Berry and Tony Ray Jones to undertake a survey of modernist architecture across Britain.⁹⁴ As Robert Elwall describes, “The photographs they produced were very different from those that habitually adorned the magazine. Instead of approvingly dramatic renditions of unpopulated buildings under sunny skies made with large format cameras, Manplan’s photographers contributed harsh, grainy images shot on 35mm film that were thronged with people experiencing the harsh realities of a dystopian world”.⁹⁵ Stephen Gardiner summed up the effects in a contemporary review for *The Observer*: “Looking through these photographs of beastly and brutal buildings, these lonely towers, these huge faceless structures (none of which seem to have any connection with the qualities that it is usual to find in architecture) could any of us – seriously, honestly, imagine for a moment being able to make a home in one of them?”⁹⁶

In light of this, the locations in the film can be said to have been mediated through the architectural press and, in particular, through architectural photography. The second stage of location scouting involved taking an extensive amount of large-format black-and-white photographs of possible locations. Of those that did not make it into the film, the most prominent are perhaps the concrete spaces surrounding the National Film Theatre on the South Bank, and the construction site for the Westway – a short distance from the condemned terraces in *Leo the Last*.⁹⁷ The origin of each

scene in these geometrically composed, semi-abstract still photographs is reflected in some of the film's persistent spatial motifs, which play on the disjunction between the simultaneous flatness and depth of the image.⁹⁸ This is most evident in the repeated technique of opening a scene in close-up, before slowly and steadily zooming out to reveal a static tableau. This runs counter to the traditional Hollywood editing schema, which characteristically moves in from an establishing shot into closer framings of the human body and face. This emphasis on the depth of the image as a perspectival construction is also evident in the hallway to the writer's house, one of the few sets constructed for the film. Here, almost all elements of the *mise-en-scène* work to overemphasise the sensation of *trompe l'oeuil* perspective, from the black-and-white chequered flooring and beams moving back towards the vanishing point, to the mirrors lining the interior. As Vincent Canby noted in the *New York Times*, the entire film is saturated with shots that use wide-angle lenses, which characteristically "distort space relationships within scenes, so that the disconnection between people and environment becomes an actual, literal fact".⁹⁹

Like Boorman, Kubrick also noted his growing dissatisfaction with realism: "Telling a story realistically is such a slowpoke and ponderous way to proceed, and it doesn't fulfil the psychic needs that people have ... We sense that there's more to life and to the universe than realism can possibly deal with".¹⁰⁰ Yet, at the same time, Kubrick made use of technological advances developed specifically for documentary-inspired approaches to the urban environment: impressed by the cinematography on *Medium Cool* (1968), Kubrick borrowed a camera that Haskell Wexler had used to shoot on the Chicago streets under low light conditions. As Thomas Elsaesser has argued, Kubrick's productions took on a specific utility for Warner Bros., operating as a kind of offshore research and development unit, with each film testing out technical innovations and developing new genre prototypes for Hollywood.¹⁰¹ For example, the sustained zoom shots that constitute one of the stylistic hallmarks of *A Clockwork Orange* were achieved using a 20:1 zoom lens that had been developed by the Cinema Products Corporation on Kubrick's behalf.¹⁰²

That the film explored characteristically British concerns was something perhaps more immediately obvious to American reviewers, such as the *New York Times*'s Vincent Canby, who contrasted the "essentially British nightmare" of *A Clockwork Orange* to the American *2001*; for Canby, the film explored the "state of mind created by a weary kind of socialism".¹⁰³ The Thamesmead estate and the Brunel campus both exemplify what Kenneth Frampton dubbed the "architecture of the welfare state", representing

state intervention in education and housing, respectively.¹⁰⁴ The exteriors for Alex's family home (the fictional address is Municipal Flatblock 18a, Linear North) were filmed at the Thamesmead housing estate in South East London. Thamesmead was constructed in the late 1960s to rehouse tenants displaced by slum clearance, one of a series of high-profile, large-scale modernist construction projects that were completed around London in the 1970s, including Robin Hood Gardens (Alison and Peter Smithson), the Trellick Tower (Erno Goldfinger, 1973), SOAS and the Institute of Education (both Denys Lasdun and Partners, 1973 and 1976, respectively).¹⁰⁵ The *Architects' Journal* wrote of Thamesmead that it had "proved a test bed for new ideas about urban organisation".¹⁰⁶

Whereas in *Leo the Last*, the street represented a focal point for community life and political organisation, *A Clockwork Orange* heralds the 'death of the street'. The street, which in *Leo the Last* contains the possibility for revolutionary collectivity, has disappeared (or perhaps, like a political prisoner, has 'been disappeared'). Whereas in *Leo*, grassroots political organisation present the opportunity for change, collective action in *A Clockwork Orange* is only figured as nihilistic violence. Action is organised a series of liminal, interstitial spaces – walkways, stairwells, tunnels, lifts, courtyards – that had replaced the traditional public space of the street. The city is segmented and zoned; the bourgeoisie live apart from the city itself, which is now the subject of something like Herbert Marcuse's notion of "total administration".¹⁰⁷

The scenes at the Ludovico treatment centre, where Alex undergoes his behavioural reprogramming, were filmed at the Brunel University campus at Uxbridge (fig. 13). Brunel University was one of a number of new educational institutions constructed as part of the expansion in higher education during the 1960s. Seven new universities were built (Warwick, York, East Anglia, Sussex, Kent, Lancaster and Essex) alongside three technical institutions (Brunel, Bath, Surrey). An entire issue of *The Architectural Review* was dedicated to the new universities in April 1970.¹⁰⁸ As the editorial argued, universities had become thought of "not only as isolated complexes but as examples which could demonstrate solutions to certain generic architectural problems".¹⁰⁹ The new universities signified an attempt to reshape the education system to the needs of an impending 'postindustrial' knowledge economy and were accordingly presented as laboratories for modelling new configurations of urban design. *The Architectural Review* even went so far as to suggest that the modernist university campus had become the paradigmatic urban structure of the late twentieth century, approvingly quoting art historian Joseph Rykwert:



Figure 13: Brunel University's Brutalist campus as the architecture of authoritarianism in *A Clockwork Orange* (Warner Bros, 1971).

[H]istorical epochs might almost be classified by the kind of building which is the archetype or paradigm depending on which was you are looking – to all that gets built in the age. That is what the temple was in ancient Greece; the city in general to republican, the baths alone to imperial, Rome; the cathedral to the Middle Ages; the palace to the seventeenth century – and so on, until you come to the block of flats in the period 1920-1940. And for us, now, it is the university.¹¹⁰

As Stefan Muthesius explains, by the 1960s, “utopianist campus design” had become a “globalised architectural and planning movement”.¹¹¹ In common with peripheral housing developments such as Thamesmead, the new campus universities were characteristically built apart from the city, rather than redeveloping sites within existing urban areas, and represented attempts to redesign the city *ex novo*.

Furthermore, Thamesmead and Brunel are both notable examples of what Reyner Banham identified as “megastructures”: architectural projects on a grand scale, in which the overall structure takes precedence over individual components. Banham traces the tradition back within the history of modernism to Le Corbusier’s blueprint for Fort L’Empereur in Algiers. In its most radical and utopian form, it was present in the pop avant-gardism of Archigram’s plugin machines. The significance of the megastructure at the end of the 1960s was that it represented the grandest, most developed attempt to reconcile architecture and urbanism – to develop a design for a total urban environment, and in doing so, directly intervene in social processes. By the end of the 1960s, the megastructure symbolised the “end

of utopia”, becoming signifiers of the perceived authoritarian tendencies of centralised state planning.¹¹² As Banham points out, the megastructures stood at the limit of architectural modernism and became synonymous with its crisis in the late 1960s: “For the two decades of its maximum potency it was also, probably, the hinge of a crisis in architectural thinking that may also prove to have been the terminal crisis of ‘Modern’ architecture as we have known it”.¹¹³ Writing in the early 1970s, the Italian architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri developed a similar critique. As he argued, this attempt to ameliorate the effects of capitalism through design alone was bound to fail. Such intervention in the capitalist relations of production could not hope to transform those relations through architecture. As he put it, the ideology of the plan became subsumed by the interests of capital: “Megastructure, deserted by the avant-garde, was left to the despised Establishment as a conventional method for maximising the returns from urban redevelopment”.¹¹⁴ For Banham, Thamesmead was the ultimate excess of megastructural design: “the ultimate tombstone of the institutionalised and run-down concept of megastructure must be the largest and most terminal monster of them all: Thamesmead”.¹¹⁵

In *A Clockwork Orange*, the architecture of the welfare state is therefore symbolically aligned with the Ludovico process and its image of the state “re-programming” the individual. In this way, the film mobilises notions of architectural determinism that played a significant role in critical interventions during the 1960s and 1970s. As Miles Glendinning and Stefan Muthesius note, architectural determinism shifted at the end of the 1960s from being a positive element of planning discourse – design could shape social behaviour to progressive ends – to become a major part of the critique of modernism.¹¹⁶ Perhaps paradoxically, critical accounts of modernist architecture alleged not only that bad design produced undesirable effects – as in Oscar Newman’s *Defensible Space* – but also that such attempts at architectural “social engineering” were misguided and semi-authoritarian.

Broadly left-oriented urbanists were also turning against modernist planning principles, if for different reasons. For example, in an influential collective editorial for *New Society*, a group of leading architects, theorists and planners (Peter Hall, Reyner Banham, Cedric Price, Paul Barker) proposed the end of planning and the rise of what they dubbed “Non-Plan”. Subtitled “an experiment in freedom”, the piece took its inspiration from the American low-rise sprawl that Reyner Banham had encountered in Los Angeles:

Development would be more scattered and less geometrically tidy than our present planners would like. It would be low-density – the apotheosis

of exurbia. There would be more out-of-town shopping centres and drive in cinemas, and Non-Plan would let them zoom to considerable size by the end of the century. With the aesthetic brakes off, strip development would spread along the main roads on the American model. Much of this will serve the needs of a mobile society: eating places, drinking places, petrol stations, supermarkets. It would not look like a planner's dream, but it would work.¹¹⁷

The editorial continues its assault on centralised planning: "The notion that the planner has the right to say what is 'right' is really an extraordinary hangover from the days of collectivism in left-wing thought, which has long ago be abandoned elsewhere".¹¹⁸

This critique of modernism, both popular and academic, was multi-faceted and often brought together unlikely political bedfellows. Postmodernist, conservationist and environmentalist positions might easily be conflated with those more firmly on the political right. Nevertheless, through the symbolic link between modernist architecture, town planning and state intervention more generally, the attack on modernism was, intentionally or not, related to theoretical attacks on the Keynesian welfare state more generally. In this respect, the libertarian (and potentially countercultural) anti-authoritarianism of *A Clockwork Orange* could easily be read as anti-statism and thus unwittingly in tune with the new right that would emerge as a powerful force from the mid-1970s. For Thatcher, Reagan and their advisers, theoretical attacks on collectivism and state-directed planning became extremely influential in their assault on the state. Though originally published in the 1940s, Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* became influential on both sides of the Atlantic. For Hayek, centralised planned economies inevitably limited individual freedom and democratic principles, and ultimately paved the path to totalitarianism. This conflation of economic freedom with democracy and personal liberty was developed by the economist Milton Friedman, whose *Capitalism and Freedom* became a key text in the development of neoliberal economics.¹¹⁹

Unable to transform the capitalist relations of production, modernist architecture retreated into enclaves, represented in Kubrick's film by the house of the writer, Mr. Alexander ('HOME'). The interiors were filmed at Skybreak, a designer house built by Norman Foster for Team 4. Skybreak represents a one-off design in the age of mass-reproduction, designed by an architectural auteur, in opposition to the anonymous system-built housing of the council estate. The location is exurban, apart from and rejecting the city. This retreat of architecture from a social role is also one mirrored by

the relationship of highly ambiguous role of artistic objects within the film, particularly Pop Art. As the art critic Robert Hughes noted in *Time* magazine, “The impression, a very deliberate one, is of culture objects cut loose from any power to communicate, or even to be noticed. There is no reality to which they connect”.¹²⁰ As Hughes noted, *A Clockwork Orange* forwards the notion that “art has no ethical purpose ... Art serves, instead, to promote ecstatic consciousness”.¹²¹ The film’s locations develop a split between consumer spaces – in the Korova Milk Bar, the record shop (filmed at the Chelsea Drugstore) and present in the proliferation of Pop Art within the mise-en-scène – and the institutional spaces of the prison, the hospital and the Ludovico facility.

The authoritarianism of modernist architecture is amplified by lingering aerial shots of Wandsworth Prison that precede Alex’s incarceration. These not only emphasise the prison’s panopticon design but juxtapose it with the high-rise towers of the nearby Fitzhugh estate. This implied connection between architectural modernism and the disciplinary institutions of the state is one reprised in Sidney Lumet’s *The Offence* (1973). Shot entirely in the new town of Bracknell, it emphasises the totally planned environment of the new town and associates it with psychosis and violence – both that of a child murderer, but also of a corrupt policeman (Sean Connery) who beats and kills a suspect in the interview room. Much of the film takes place in the modernist interiors of a police station, though these were in fact filmed at Bracknell library. As in *A Clockwork Orange*, there is a telling Foucauldian slippage between architectural types whereby a university can double as a prison or a library as a police station.¹²²

Whereas American films such as *The Conversation*, *Zabriskie Point* and *The Parallax View* aligned modernist architecture with the expansion of corporate capitalism, *A Clockwork Orange* and other British films of the period connected modernism firmly to a dystopian vision of the state. However, despite the apparent specificity of the architectural and political debates circling the film, its projection of urban violence and the failure of planning had international resonances. Though Kubrick had worked and lived almost exclusively in the United Kingdom since 1962, he nevertheless made clear connections between the subject of *A Clockwork Orange* and the American urban crisis when speaking to American journalists. In an interview for the *New York Times*, Kubrick described the potential for authoritarianism that might yet emerge from such unrest. As he put it, “New York City, for example, is the sort of place where people feel very unsafe. Nearly everyone seems to know someone who’s been mugged. All you have to do is add to that a little bit of economic disappointment, and

the increasingly trendy view that politics are a waste of time and problems have to be solved instantly, and I could see very serious social unrest in the United States which would probably be resolved by a very authoritarian government".¹²³ Elsewhere, it was clear that *A Clockwork Orange* had created an internationally recognised image of violent criminality in the urban periphery. For example, a 1973 article in the centre-left Parisian magazine *Nouvel Observateur* titled "Les Banlieues de la Peur" (The Suburbs of Fear) summed up the anxieties of the French bourgeoisie about crime in the outer suburbs. The journalist René Backman warned that social problems in Paris could soon challenge those of New York or London, citing Kubrick's film as shorthand for urban malaise: "Does Alex, the hero of *A Clockwork Orange*, walk here with his droogs in Bobigny and Clamart, searching his 'rassoodock' to think what to do with the evening?"¹²⁴ The following chapter outlines how such concerns about modernist architecture and the role of the state in urban planning also made a significant impact on the artistic and intellectual culture of Paris in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Coda: British cinema at the turn of the 1980s

The British film industry finished the decade much as it had started it. During the Winter of Discontent of 1978-1979, the epicentre of British film exhibition, Leicester Square, found itself a makeshift rubbish dump during a refuse workers' strike. The Leicester Square Theatre, then showing the appropriately apocalyptic *Damien: Omen II*, looked out over a square submerged under several feet of black bags. The press echoed the atmosphere of doom, with *The Times* gloomily proclaiming in December 1980 that "the British film industry is at the point of death".¹²⁵ As the American magazine *Cineaste* put it, "By the end of 1980, it seemed that all that remained to be done for the British film industry was to stage a burial at sea, and hope that its survivors could make it to the nearest oil rig".¹²⁶ However, in the years to come, British cinema found two paths for renewal. In lucrative films such as *Chariots of Fire* (Hugh Hudson, 1981), British cinema renewed its pact with Hollywood and successfully mined a global market for nostalgia and heritage. Towards the end of the seventies, the London studios had also begun to revive as offshore production facilities for Hollywood, with sections of *Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977) shot at Elstree and *Superman* (Richard Donner, 1978) at Pinewood.¹²⁷ More broadly, British directors Alan Parker, Adrian Lyne and Ridley Scott would play an important role in forging a new eighties aesthetic that grew out of synergies between cinema and

advertising. Conversely, the development of new funding sources (the new television station, Channel 4, foremost among them) provided a lifeline to progressive filmmakers who rallied around their antipathy to the Thatcher government and its divisive vision of British society.

At the threshold of the new decade, two films captured the mood: the bleak road movie *Radio On* (Christopher Petit, 1979) and the gangster picture *The Long Good Friday* (John Mackenzie, 1980). Much like the melancholic journeys of *The Passenger* and *Alice in the Cities*, *Radio On* is a dedramatised road trip where architecture, landscape, light and weather play a heightened role. The evident kinship with films such as *Alice in the Cities* and *Kings of the Road* (Wenders, 1976) was a direct one: produced in conjunction with Wenders and his collective Filmverlag der Autoren and shot in black and white by the cinematographer Robby Müller, the stylistic imprint of the New German Cinema was clear to see. Setting out from West London, the protagonist Robert (David Beames) drives through the bleak landscape of late seventies Britain towards Bristol to investigate the recent death of his brother. Petit has since described the semi-documentary impulse of the film and his desire to record what he called the “vestiges of English modernism” evident in the “Ballardian” landscape of tower blocks that the camera scans alongside the Westway.¹²⁸ Crucially, the decline of architectural modernism and its utopian potential is played off against the futurism of the soundtrack, which pulls together British post-punk, Berlin-era David Bowie (especially the Conny Plank-inspired “Heroes”), and most significantly, the electronic experimentation of Kraftwerk, whose melancholy *Radioactivity* album scores much of the film. The material decline and banality of the landscape is estranged by the insistent modernism of this soundtrack, which suggests that the music scene was far better equipped to deal with the crisis of the seventies and the advent of the postindustrial than British cinema at this particular conjuncture. Establishing connections beyond the insularity of British film and the social realist tradition, Petit drew together modernist influences from literature (J.G. Ballard), European cinema (Antonioni and Wenders) and music to produce a possible route forward for a new British art cinema. But *Radio On* stands alone and remains, as Geoffrey Nowell-Smith dubbed it at the time, “a film without a cinema”.¹²⁹

If *Radio On* channelled the downbeat atmosphere at the end of the decade, John Mackenzie’s *The Long Good Friday* was tuned in to a new zeitgeist. While Petit had intentionally focused on the residue of the modernist project, *The Long Good Friday* made clear what was at stake in the ideological break with postwar urban planning and the turn towards the free market. In Barry Keeffe’s astute screenplay, East End mob boss Harold

Shand is leading the redevelopment of the London docklands. By the release of the film in November 1980, the process that began in 1967 with the closure of the East India Docks was all but completed (the last set of inner docks, Royal Victoria, Royal Albert and George V, shut down in 1981), opening up 5,000 acres for reconstruction. As Shand puts it in his grandstanding speech, “No other city has in its centre such an opportunity for profitable progress; acre after acre and mile after mile of land for future developments”. As his yacht sails down the Thames, Tower Bridge symbolically framed in the background, Shand woos his American investors with visions of Britain as “a leading European state”, repositioning London for a postindustrial, post-imperial future.

While the film imagines the docklands remade as a casino and leisure complex, the reality of its reconfiguration came into focus a couple of years later, with the establishment of the London Docklands Development Corporation and the designation of the area as an ‘Enterprise Zone’. Tax incentives and deregulated planning encouraged investors to build a new financial centre at Canary Wharf, while miles of riverside warehouses were remade as luxury flats. Where the state had emphatically withdrawn from intervention in public housing and significant aspects of social planning, public subsidies were nevertheless directed towards other kinds of grand projects with a wholly different kind of beneficiary. As a cinematic icon, Harold Shand became an emblematic figure for Thatcher’s “enterprise culture”, though the film also suggests that his nostalgia for traditional East End community principles was equally at odds with the new status quo. Such contradictions would be more fully played out in the decade to come, though few subsequent British films managed to balance implicit political critique and commercial savvy so effectively.

8. Paris

Urban Revolutions: Film and Urban Theory after 1968

At the turn of the 1970s, Henri Lefebvre published *La Révolution urbaine*, a pivotal if often cryptic and allusive text that helped to set a new path for urban theory in the decades to come. His title had two interrelated meanings. In the first instance, the “urban revolution” was analogous to the “industrial revolution”: an epochal, historical shift in the mode of production, whereby *urbanisation* was supplanting *industrialisation* as the motor driving capitalism. At the same time, the notion of an “urban revolution” could hardly be prevented from resonating with the protests, strikes and uprisings that had hit Paris and many other cities around the globe in the previous years.¹ In this chapter, I examine the ways in which cinema in Paris intersected with these dialectically interrelated processes of modernisation and urban political struggle. As the *nouvelle vague* and its image of the city dissipated in the late sixties, left-wing filmmakers began to produce more directly politicised works that engaged with the material redevelopment and symbolic restructuring of the city. Conversely, popular cinema of the era capitalised on the new modernist landscapes of Paris as a transnational genre marker, implicitly repositioning the capital as a global cinematic city for the postindustrial future.

The redevelopment of Paris

Paris has long been a privileged site for the retrospective theorisation of modernity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a substantial volume of scholarship drawing on the insights of Walter Benjamin and his analyses of urban culture in the “capital of the nineteenth century”.² However, having survived the Second World War comparatively intact in comparison to the devastation suffered by London and Berlin, the material landscape of Paris remained relatively unmarked by architectural modernism until the mid-twentieth century. In 1925, Le Corbusier’s infamous *Plan Voisin* had advocated the demolition of much of the historic city and its replacement with a series of high-rise towers set in open parkland. While the plan was, of course, flatly rejected at the time, Corbusian principles nevertheless returned to dominate the architecture of French urban renewal in the 1960s, during which time Paris experienced some of the

most rapid and widespread changes to its physical fabric since the era of Haussmann.³ In 1972, a reporter from *Time* magazine described the extent of the city's transformation:

All over the city, from St. Cloud to Montparnasse, from Place D'Italie to Belleville, there are signs of building, burrowing and bulldozing. Some 60 new skyscrapers puncture a skyline once graced mainly by domes and spires; one cluster of tall buildings even crowds the Eiffel Tower. A superhighway cuts along the quai on the Right Bank of the Seine where Utrillo once painted his cityscapes while patient fishermen waited for the carp to bite. The Place Vendôme, Place de la Madeleine and the Avenue Foch have been gouged to accommodate layer on layer of cars in subterranean parking garages. It all adds up ... to Paris's biggest urban renewal since the 1850s, when Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann tore up much of the medieval town and started creating his city of symmetry, parks and long vistas.⁴

Furthermore, rapid expansion at the periphery was beginning to decentre the historic core in demographic, economic and even iconographic terms. By the early 1980s, the urban sociologist Manuel Castells could claim that "Paris is not Paris anymore". As he explained, less than 16% of the urban region's 9.5 million dwellers lived inside the administrative limits of the historic inner city, with the majority inhabiting a suburban landscape dominated by mass housing projects or *grands ensembles*, "an image that since the 1960s has become as characteristic of Paris as the Eiffel Tower".⁵

Such rapid transformations in the built environment and cultural landscape of the city were one significant, if often underplayed, factor behind the famous events of May 1968. Though its causes and effects have been widely debated, the famous eruption of protest signalled a crisis in the postwar economic and political consensus, with student unrest on the streets of the capital catalysing an eleven-day general strike that almost toppled the government of Charles de Gaulle. The focal points of the protests and strikes were both global and local, from American imperialism in Southeast Asia to the expansion of consumer capitalism and its implication in the Paris region through state-directed urban planning and redevelopment schemes. At a popular level, it crystallised a growing dissatisfaction with the social inequities that had intensified during the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of the Fifth Republic.⁶ As Colin Jones writes of the events of May, "their most effective influence was as a semi-subliminal, delayed-

action critique of the values of modernisation, which was to reverberate durably in the mentalities of Parisians”.⁷

In this chapter, I will argue that in the years following 1968, a series of films engaged closely with the shifting material, economic and political landscape of the city. Breaking with the dominant image of Paris in the fifties and sixties, many post-*nouvelle vague* films offered critical counter-images to the traditional cinematic city of iconic landmarks, historic monuments and beaux-arts architecture. In plotting out new cinematic terrain – the landscape of urban renewal, the rapidly expanding *banlieues*, the new financial centre at La Défense – these films enacted a symbolic reorganisation of the relationship between the centre and the periphery. In this chapter, I place cinema in the context of emerging theoretical critiques of urbanism in the work of Henri Lefebvre and Manuel Castells and discuss how for left-oriented directors such as Jean-Luc Godard, Jean-Pierre Gorin, Claude Faraldo and Marco Ferreri, cinema became a critical tool for examining the city as a space of political and ideological contestation. Conversely, the crime films or *policiers* of the era were also closely attuned to shifts in the built environment and productive capacities of Paris. These films produced ambivalent representations of the new modernist landscape that while outwardly negative, also implicitly celebrated the rise of the postindustrial economy and worked to reposition Paris as a new kind of cinematic city.

The cinematic city after the New Wave

Paris has, of course, a celebrated legacy of representation across the arts and played a central role in the development of cinema since its inception at the end of the nineteenth century. However, as Éric Rohmer was later to point out, until the 1950s the real streets and architecture of Paris had been less well documented on screen than might have been supposed.⁸ Many of the most memorable cinematic representations of the city, such as *Hôtel du Nord* (Marcel Carne, 1938), had been almost entirely studio constructions even when steeped in Parisian authenticity and atmosphere. Hollywood's frequent runaway excursions to Paris, such as *Funny Face* (Stanley Donen, 1957), were naturally more touristic in flavour and tended to present the city as an enchanted playground of picture-postcard icons from the Eiffel Tower to the Sacré-Coeur. But during the 1950s, a more direct interaction with the quotidian realities of the city was established by a series of gritty crime films including *Touchez pas au grisbi* (Jacques Becker, 1954), *Du Rififi chez les hommes* (Jules Dassin, 1955), and *Bob le flambeur* (Jean-Pierre Melville, 1956).

These films paved the way for a more radical shift at the end of the 1950s, when the *nouvelle vague* directors adopted location shooting as a central feature of their modus operandi. Though assisted by advances in lightweight cameras and faster film stock, filmmakers such as Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut and Jacques Rivette saw taking to the street as a matter of ideology as much as technology or economics. For these directors, filming on location was a central component of their assault on the *tradition de qualité* in French cinema. As the cultural and intellectual nerve centre of the New Wave directors, Paris was very often the inspiration and central location for their films. In pictures from *À bout de souffle* (Jean-Luc Godard, 1959) and *Paris nous appartient* (Jacques Rivette, 1960) to *Chronique d'un été* (Jean Rouch, 1961) and *Le joli mai* (Chris Marker, 1962), Paris was a central organising presence, architectural backdrop and psychological landscape without which the New Wave would have been almost unthinkable.⁹

New Wave films mapped out a distinctive geography of central Paris and its *arrondissements*, focusing on historic streets and *quartiers* such as (but not limited to) the Champs-Élysées (not coincidentally, location of the *Cahiers du Cinéma* office), Saint-Germain, Montparnasse and Montmartre. While their aesthetic approach to filming urban space was often strikingly original and defamiliarising, these films nevertheless tended to evoke a romantic ideal of inner Paris and its dynamic qualities of urban centrality. New Wave Paris is frequently a vibrant, human-scale city of creativity, encounter and simultaneity that echoes its description in Lefebvre's writings. The central city was therefore celebrated as a cinematic space at precisely the moment when it began to come under threat from redevelopment and restructuring.

In New Wave cinema, the image of the urban core generally remained what Castells dubs the "ludic nucleus" – the city as playground, and ultimately, for all its contradictions, a place imbued with liberating potential.¹⁰ The iconic centre was never far away. For example, *Les quatre cents coups* opens with a series of travelling shots filmed from a car moving through the traditional boulevards of central Paris. The Eiffel Tower, visible in the background of each shot, is the implicit centre of the frame, even when momentarily obscured. Every image is thereby anchored by the tower, which functions as a kind of master signifier, a metonym not only for Paris but also a particular type of urban centrality. Each shot travels closer and closer, until eventually we reach it, the camera gazing upwards at the tower. We circle, and finally move away into the distance. While the opening credits of *Zazie dans le métro* (Louis Malle, 1960) and *Paris nous appartient* (Jacques Rivette, 1960) both offered glimpses of modernist housing blocks,

bidonvilles, and industrial zones from the vantage point of a train window, these nevertheless remained journeys back towards the centre, which is implicitly reaffirmed in opposition to what lies beyond.

However, another image of Paris began to emerge in French cinema from the mid-1960s onwards. As the city's development stepped up in intensity, films increasingly began to register the central city as a space under threat, and question whether the rapid expansion of the anonymous and abstract space of the urban periphery was challenging the quality and nature of Paris itself. For example, Godard's *Alphaville* (1965) transformed the modernist cityscape into a comic-book science-fiction dystopia.¹¹ Another landmark film, Jacques Tati's *Playtime* (1967) provided a comedic counterpart to Godard's totalitarian fantasy, constructing an imaginary modernist Paris in which history is absent, visible only in the rearview mirror of the reflective glass-and-steel surfaces of "Tativille".¹² In contrast to the centrality offered by the *nouvelle vague*, films of the 1970s such as *Série noire* (Alain Corneau, 1979) appeared to relish their images of Paris as a decentred, anonymous "any-space-whatever", to use Gilles Deleuze's term.¹³ For example, Corneau's film opens with Patrick Dewaere dancing alone in a desolate, rain-sodden wasteland in Créteil, to a backdrop of towers and cranes. No orientation within the city is given; the urban centre is absent. As films such as *Série noire* demonstrate, French cinema in the late 1960s and 1970s began to chart new cinematic terrain: the new urban realities of peripheral public housing, modernist tower blocks, the landscapes of urban decay and renewal, and the recently-constructed financial district at La Défense (begun in 1958). Cinematic Paris had begun to shift its centre of gravity. Moving from the iconic and the monumental to the abstract anonymity of the urban periphery and the global architecture of La Défense, films of this period evinced a variety of complex (and sometimes ambivalent) political positions to urban redevelopment that will be discussed throughout this chapter.

As I have suggested, this emerging transformation of cinematic Paris was closely related to widespread change in the built environment. Just as the state played an important role in financing French cinema in the postwar period, planning was also heavily directed from the centre. During the 1960s, the French state poured enormous amounts of investment into the expansion, reconstruction and infrastructural reorganisation of the capital. In the absence of a directly elected mayor, central government had almost unmediated control over planning and development through the Préfet de la Région Parisienne and two agencies, IAURP and APUR.¹⁴ As in many other European cities, postwar urban development in Paris occurred in a reverse pattern to that of the United States. Whereas the American middle

class deserted the declining inner cities for the suburbs, the obverse was true in Paris, where working-class public housing was concentrated on the periphery of the city. Public housing projects were primarily constructed in the outer suburbs or *banlieues*, where vast amounts of system-built tower blocks or HLMs (*habitation à loyer modéré*) were organised into *grands ensembles* of 8,000 to 10,000 units with populations of 30,000 to 40,000 each.¹⁵ The largest of these, Sarcelles, rapidly became journalistic shorthand for the new developments in the media, with the buzzword “*la Sarcellite*” denoting a new type of urban malaise allegedly caused by life on the *grands ensembles*.¹⁶

Godard’s *Deux ou trois choses que je sais d’elle* (1967) was (alongside *Playtime*) one of the first films to directly acknowledge and discuss these widespread transformations in the urban environment. Part fiction film, part sociological essay, *Deux ou trois choses* was primarily shot on a newly constructed modernist housing project at La Corneuve, a suburb northeast of Paris. The film’s analytical dissection of everyday life in the new housing projects revealed a shift of focus for the cinematic representation of Paris and its rapidly expanding periphery, demonstrating a close interest in their changing physical landscapes. Furthermore, it revealed a newly politicised consciousness of urban space that was arguably far more sophisticated than the Orwellian dystopia of Godard’s earlier film, *Alphaville*. The politics of urban development is central to *Deux ou trois choses* right from its opening frames. The first sound we hear is the roar of a bulldozer. The film cuts to silence and, disjunctively, a scene of a construction site – which we later discover to be a section of the *périphérique* (1958-1973), a vast six-lane ring road that circled the city and came to demarcate the boundary between inner Paris and the wider urban region. A whispered voice-over intones: “On August 19th, an act was published concerning the governmental organisation of the Paris region. Two days later, Paul Delouvrier was appointed prefect of the Paris region which, according to the official communiqué, now became a new and distinct administrative unit”. This cryptic declaration referred to a new twelve-year plan for the expansion and redevelopment of Paris, the Schéma Directeur d’Aménagement et d’Urbanisme de la Région de Paris (SDAURP), which was unveiled in 1967. Anticipating population growth in the Paris region from 9 million in 1965 to 14 million by the year 2000, the *schéma directeur* proposed the construction of 140,000 new dwellings a year, including nine new satellite towns.¹⁷ Expansion along the Seine and Marne valleys would be enabled by a new mass transit system, the RER (1969-1977). Though the economic downturn in the mid-1970s resulted in some modifications, the majority of the plan was fulfilled. Five satellite

towns were built at Cergy-Pontoise, Marne-la-Vallée, Evry, Melun-Sénart and St. Quentin-en-Yvelines, and many other suburbs were expanded or restructured. The *schéma directeur* exerted a wide international influence, admired and imitated by town planners globally; the team involved later participated in similar urban regional plans for Buenos Aires, Cairo, Tunis, and Beirut.¹⁸

But redevelopment was by no means restricted to the periphery. A number of highly contested projects altered the historic fabric of the city throughout the 1960s and 1970s. An expressway was constructed along the right bank of the Seine, though further plans for a similar project on the left bank were later scrapped by President Giscard-d'Estaing under pressure from public protests. A series of tall buildings punctured the traditional skyline, from the Tour Maine-Montparnasse (1973) to the office complex at Front-de-Seine, a cluster of twenty office towers in the 15th arrondissement that reached heights of 120 metres.¹⁹ Slum-clearance programmes were carried out in areas such as Riquet, Hauts de Belleville and Avenue d'Italie in the 13th arrondissement.²⁰ As I will explain in further detail below, the historic market at Les Halles was demolished and replaced by a shopping complex and transport hub. Though such urban renewal projects were necessarily sanctioned by the state and its planning agencies, at the micro-level private capital often provided the greater share of investment. The majority of schemes were delivered by semi-autonomous, publicly backed companies known as SEMs (Société Anonyme d'Economie Mixte). These operated with the assistance of planning legislation that demarcated ZACs (Zone d'Aménagement Concerté), which provided the SEM with legal powers of expropriation and demolition. The state therefore underwrote massive public-private developments that ultimately worked to the advantage of financial investors.²¹ Furthermore, the enormous windfall profits that accrued to the private sector were frequently the result of institutional corruption; as Kristin Ross puts it, the 1960s and 1970s saw "the most massively corrupt era of financial speculation and destruction of the old quarters since the great real estate speculations and land grab of the Second Empire".²²

Urban theory and 1968

This widespread revision of the city's historical landscape and the central role of urban planning policy in capitalist development provided the impetus for a radical rethinking of the basis of urban sociology and related

disciplines. Much of the new urban studies originated from the Université de Paris X at Nanterre, where the recently built campus was not only the location for an academic revolution (and an emblematic modernist campus design) but also arguably the crucible in which the events of May were forged. The unrest that paralysed Paris in May '68 is widely accepted to have escalated from protests at the Nanterre campus two months earlier. In reaction to the arrest of anti-Vietnam war demonstrators, students occupied the administration building at Nanterre on March 22. As a containment strategy, the entire campus was closed on 2 May, a tactic which pushed the protestors back from the periphery to the centre of the city, where alongside students from other colleges, they occupied the courtyard at the Sorbonne and the streets of the Latin Quarter.²³ Henri Lefebvre later claimed that it was not a coincidence that May had its roots at Nanterre. Rather, he suggested, the location of the campus itself had provided the students of Paris X with a newly politicised consciousness of urban space. As Lefebvre explained, the modernist university architecture stood cheek-by-jowl with urban deprivation: "Right now it contains misery, shantytowns, excavations for an express subway line, low-income housing projects for workers, industrial enterprises. This is a desolate and strange landscape".²⁴

This image of uneven development at Nanterre found cinematic expression in Godard's *La Chinoise* (1967), a film which anticipated the events of the following year and contributed to a broader understanding of the city as a political space. In a key sequence, the camera pans slowly across a landscape similar to that described by Lefebvre: we see agricultural land, shacks, low-rise industrial development, construction sites and finally the Nanterre campus itself. Anne Wiazemsky narrates:

What made me discover Marxism? At first, Nanterre bored me, because it was surrounded by slums. Then, little by little, I found philosophy suited a workers' suburb ... In the mornings I met the Algerian children and the mechanics from Simca ... we stopped in the same cafés, we were at the same station together, had the same rain and nearly the same work. That's where I understood the three basic inequalities of capitalism, and especially of the Gaullist regime in France. No difference in intellectual and manual work, between the city and the country – I see those here all the time – and third, between farming and industry.

In this moment, the specific spatial context of Nanterre is presented as central to the protagonist's political awakening. The insights here are closely aligned with Lefebvre's thought at this time, especially in the invocation of

a politicised philosophy and the breakdown of boundaries between urban and rural in the process of modernisation.

As I have outlined, it was in the wake of 1968 and the crisis of the French state that new Marxist perspectives on urban sociology, planning and geography came to the fore in Paris. A significant proportion of this work emerged from the Department of Sociology at Paris X (an all-star faculty that included Lefebvre, Castells, Touraine, Michel Crozier, and Jean Baudrillard) and centred around the newly-established journal *Espaces et Sociétés*, first published in November 1970. In common with the beginnings of a “New Left geography” elsewhere – particularly the work of David Harvey in Baltimore – these writers sought, in differing ways, to reconceptualise urban space through the application of a Marxist framework and, equally, to revitalise Marxist thought through spatial methodologies.²⁵ As Castells put it, their aim was to “construct a new problematic which could be an alternative to the urban ideology of the technocracy”.²⁶ The inaugural issue of *Espaces et Sociétés* contained an article by Lefebvre entitled “Reflections on the Politics of Space”, in which he outlined some of the central theoretical points that he would expand upon in *The Production of Space* (1974), explicitly linking them to French urban planning in the 1960s. His primary target was the technocratic, positivist approach to urbanism that dominated French planning policy. In the dominant view of this so-called “science of space”, space was viewed as an objective and neutral object.²⁷ But, Lefebvre argued, “now it appears that space is political. Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic”.²⁸

For Lefebvre, France in the 1960s had become a compelling case study for how a highly centralised, bureaucratic state collaborated with private capital to rework the city. As Stephen Ward neatly summarises, “These new approaches squarely challenged post-1945 Western social democratic understandings of the state under capitalism. They saw the state not as a barometer of collectivist sentiment or benevolent corrector of the inequities of the market, but rather as a major facilitator of capitalist accumulation and the reproduction of labour”.²⁹ The city became a key arena for the reproduction of capitalism, which needed an interventionist state and the ideology of urbanism to further its interests. Yet this had the inevitable effect of politicising planning, which became a central target for critique and action in the post-68 conjuncture.

However, linking urban theory of this period to cinema has its challenges. Lefebvre and Castells had little, if anything, direct to say about film, though they nevertheless acknowledged the importance of cultural and discursive aspects of the city in their political critique. For Castells, whose early work

spliced urban sociology with an Althusserian understanding of ideology, the city was a “symbolic structure” as well as a material space. As he wrote in *The Urban Question*, “at the ideological level ... a ‘city’ is not only a functional ensemble capable of controlling its own expansion; it is also a ‘symbolic structure’, an ensemble of signs, which makes possible a bridge between society and space and which links nature and culture”.³⁰ While Lefebvre had a long-standing interest in cultural forms, cinema was one of his own “blind fields” (an idea he had described in *The Urban Revolution*), despite being the most clearly spatial of the mass arts and an obvious vehicle for an ideological critique of urbanism. Yet, as I have outlined in the introduction, his emphasis on varying forms of ‘representation’ in his spatial triad left open the possibility that his work might have applications for film studies, despite his own lack of interest in this area. As the examples of *Deux ou trois choses* and *La Chinoise* make clear, Parisian filmmakers of the era frequently engaged with the city along similar critical lines to Lefebvre. Here, I wish to argue that while there is little or no evidence of direct involvement between filmmakers and these theorists, placing seventies cinema alongside the contemporary development of urban theory introduces a new perspective through which to understand its politics and aesthetics. In this section, I revisit *Tout va bien* (Godard and Gorin, 1972), *Themroc* (Claude Faraldo, 1973) and *Touche pas à la femme blanche* (Marco Ferreri, 1973). Examining their engagement with urban redevelopment, I argue that these films generated critical interventions on urbanism that worked alongside theory in wider debates on the city during the period.

***Tout va bien* (1972) and *Themroc* (1973): film as spatial critique**

Jean-Luc Godard was perhaps the most politically aware of the (post-)*nouvelle vague* directors and certainly the most attuned to the urban questions of the time. Though his interest in the city had developed throughout the sixties, the events of 1968 marked a watershed for Godard, much as they had for many of his contemporaries. Though the depth and longevity of its impact have been widely debated, May 1968 had immediate effects on French cinema and precipitated a substantial turn to the political left in some, if not all, quarters of the film industry. This was most visible at an industrial level with the establishment of the film union, *Etats Généraux du Cinéma*, and at a discursive level, on the pages of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, which adopted an increasingly hardline, Maoist political stance.³¹ Godard was equally radicalised, and his work over the subsequent three or four years with the Dziga Vertov

collective rejected both the financial constraints and artistic conventions of mainstream feature filmmaking. *Tout va bien* (1972), made in collaboration with Dziga Vertov Group member Jean-Pierre Gorin, represented Godard's return to the narrative feature film. It was due to be financed by Paramount, signalling a rapprochement between Godard and the mainstream and a new strategy for broadcasting his ideas. However, the studio withdrew following Godard's severe motorcycle crash in June 1971, which placed him out of action and left Gorin to complete much of the film single-handedly.³² Nevertheless, the presence of stars Jane Fonda and Yves Montand secured necessary funding elsewhere, a point that is reiterated in the opening sequence of the film and its images of cheques being signed for various elements of the production.

In contemporary interviews, Godard and Gorin directly contrasted their film to Marin Karmitz's *Coup pour coup* (1972), which depicted a strike in a French textile factory using real employees in place of actors.³³ In their widely varying treatment of similar themes, the two films have been taken by critics such as Jill Forbes as emblematic of realist versus modernist codes of representation, Karmitz's vérité aesthetics contrasted with the Brechtian strategies of *Tout va bien*.³⁴ Godard criticised Karmitz for assuming that it would be productive simply to give the workers a voice, without taking into account the film's own position within wider structures of media and representation. For Karmitz, Godard's films were elitist, and alienated precisely the mass audience for whom they might be most useful. Yet, as Godard and Gorin saw it, the perceived divide between fiction and documentary was essentially bourgeois; instead, they endeavoured to produce what they termed "materialist fictions".³⁵ As they explained, the events of 1968 had precipitated a need for an aesthetic "return to zero", an impulse to repudiate the traditional elements of film grammar: "If we were doing a movie at the time of the May-June events, our way of being related to ordinary people, the so-called masses, was to go back to zero, to a zero point of movie making – not to pan, or track, or zoom any more".³⁶ Yet this approach soon seemed out of step with the complexities of the political situation: "Now we discover that these ordinary people, these real people, are moving, they are inventing new forms of struggle against the way they are oppressed ... So we can't use the steady shot any more. We have to invent a new way of making a tracking shot".³⁷ In *Tout va bien*, Godard and Gorin developed innovative and self-reflexive ways of presenting screen space in order to destabilise it and remove its social transparency. In particular, two striking set pieces used the extended lateral tracking shot developed in films such as *Weekend* (Godard, 1968) to explore the everyday spatialities of the factory and the hypermarket.

Insofar as its narrative can be conventionally described, *Tout va bien* depicts a wildcat strike at a sausage factory in an unnamed suburb of Paris. Two media workers – Yves Montand, a former filmmaker now directing TV commercials, and Jane Fonda, a journalist – get caught up in the action while reporting on the strike. Rather than stage a realistic representation of industrial unrest, Godard and Gorin used a massive open-sided set, which allowed the camera to track laterally between rooms without cutting. This construction was most likely inspired by Jacques Tati's *Playtime* (1967) and the Jerry Lewis comedy *The Ladies Man* (1961), both of which used the comic potential of such a set to produce simultaneity and dramatic irony. In the strike sequences of *Tout va bien*, the camera tracks slowly to the right, showing us a transparent side-view of the building and the occupants of each of its rooms. This architectural cross-section allows for a simultaneous presentation of the workers, the management and the media. As Godard and Gorin put it, "it shows the three social forces in the same physical space".³⁸ In the first instance, this operates as a kind of Brechtian distancing effect, highlighting the essential artificiality and theatricality of the set. Further, it allows the film to cut between scenes without fragmenting time and functions as a kind of architectural solution for presenting social structures, juxtaposing different groups or classes in a spatial arrangement rather than sequentially through montage. The constant motion of the camera – tracking first right, and then left again as it reaches the limit of the set – is contrasted with the static framing of the interviews, which are given directly to camera in aggressively frontal compositions.

In contrast to the emphatically manufactured nature of the factory set, the second set-piece takes place in a hypermarket (a vast branch of Carrefour). As Godard and Gorin suggested, the film is bookended by these two symbolic social spaces – the factory (production) and the hypermarket (consumption).³⁹ The artificiality associated with the earlier tracking shot is here transposed into the pre-existing location of the store. In this way, their critique of the distinction between documentary and fiction is realised by problematising the division between location and set, the found and the manufactured. In an unbroken, nine-minute take, the camera tracks laterally from a position behind the cashiers, perpendicular to the aisles. The movement is non-human and slightly arbitrary. This constant motion combined with the structure of the store itself creates an ongoing process of framing and reframing, centring and decentering, that makes the visual field both continuous and fragmented. This is accentuated by the star presence of Jane Fonda, who slips in and out of the shot as the camera moves.

Within the wider scene, mini-events develop. The French Communist Party (PCF) have set up a stall where they are hawking cut-price books, when a group of activists rush in and begin to loot the store. The combination of a highly stylised and formally obtrusive camera movement with the extraordinary level of detail and complexity of the scene generates both fascination with and estrangement from this everyday panorama. As Godard and Gorin saw it, “Film is a way to disconnect the normal links of the reality we’re subjected to ... The angle is a cut through reality, like a boat in the sea. In terms of society, this is what a revolution is, the making of a new cut, a new way of going through reality”.⁴⁰ Brian Henderson has argued that this emphasis on planimetric space rather than depth-of-field constituted a “non-bourgeois tracking shot”.⁴¹ Like the realist conventions of the nineteenth-century novel, “composition-in-depth projects a bourgeois world infinitely deep, rich, complex, ambiguous, mysterious”.⁴² In contrast, Godard’s flat compositions, particularly those achieved by lateral tracking shots, produced a demystifying, deconstructive effect: “Godard’s flat frames collapse this world into two-dimensional actuality; thus reversion to a cinema of one-plane is a demystification, an assault on the bourgeois world view and self-image”.⁴³

The hypermarket represents a paradigmatic space of the decentralised metropolitan region and stands in direct opposition to the historic market at Les Halles (discussed further below) and the dynamic urban centrality it represented. Jean Baudrillard suggested in his 1981 essay “Hypermarket and Hypercommodity” that

the hypermarket ... is what gives rise to metro areas, whereas the traditional market was in the heart of a city, a place where the city and country came to rub elbows. The hypermarket is the expression of a whole lifestyle in which not only the country but the town as well have disappeared to make room for ‘the metro area’ – a completely delimited functional urban zoning, of which the hypermarket is the equivalent, the micromodel, on the level of consumption.⁴⁴

As the film ends, the voice-over comments: “We’ll just say that he and she have started to think of themselves in a historical context”. We begin another lateral track across strips of rainy, desolate, low-rise industrial land, while snippets of Stone and Charden’s 1972 hit “Il y a du soleil sur la France” play ironically in the background. Despite the film’s final injunction to think historically, this last tracking shot also reminds us of the critical spatial dimension to the film’s political determination.

Though less obviously political than *Tout va bien*, *Themroc* (Claude Faraldo, 1973) mobilises a similarly Lefebvrian critique of everyday life and its spatiality. Michel Piccoli plays the titular Parisian everyman, an industrial worker living in another unnamed suburb of Paris, who undergoes a breakdown – or perhaps more accurately, a moment of liberation – and becomes a kind of modern caveman. The early sequences of *Themroc* establish the insistent daily rhythms of the industrial worker (*métro-boulo-dodo* (underground, work, sleep)). The area around the family home is clearly undergoing reconstruction, with modernist tower blocks rising around demolition zones. All the citizens of Paris speak in gibberish; the film rejects language. Faraldo therefore draws not only on silent film and Jacques Tati but also the “theatre of the absurd” and its notions of the breakdown of language.⁴⁵ *Themroc* himself degrades communication further into a series of grunts and yelps. This linguistic primitivism is mirrored by a deliberately rough aesthetic. As Faraldo explained, this drew on his understanding of ‘imperfect’ cinema as culturally anathema to middle-class notions of taste and quality: “As far as the cinema’s concerned, I hate perfection and I hate beauty ... because they’re intimidating for the people who’ve never had access to Culture with a capital C”.⁴⁶ Faraldo, who had spent a decade working as an unskilled labourer, also attacked films such as *Coup pour coup*. His aim was not to glorify the nobility of the worker, nor normalise the bargaining process of labour disputes, but to attack the notion of work itself. As Faraldo explained, “I think it’s important to undermine the work ethic. Work isn’t moral, it’s degrading. And I wanted to show this in *Themroc*, because most artists who talk about workers tend to talk for them, and to be so demagogic about it that the workers end up being the real vehicles of bourgeois morality”.⁴⁷

Themroc destroys the exterior wall of his apartment with a sledgehammer, making it visible to the street. The private life of the family is opened up obscenely onto the public space of the street, from which the shocked neighbours cannot help noticing that he has shacked up with his sister. The destruction of architecture is again figured as an attack on a mode of social organisation. Here, domestic space is violently broken apart, and with it, the family unit, sexual propriety and social taboos. *Themroc* then proceeds to throw his possessions out onto the street, from the family crockery to the emblematic consumer commodity, the television. Through the absence of linguistic meaning, *Themroc*’s individual breakdown is impossible to interiorise psychologically, and is clearly intended to map onto a wider social field. The street is slowly infected by *Themroc*’s primitive, libidinal rhythms. A final montage sequence is coupled with the animalistic, orgiastic cries from the street, cutting between commuters on the Métro, close-ups of

Themroc's face, recurring shots of modernist tower blocks, the destruction of the car, condemned housing and semi-demolished buildings. The final image of the film is of a brick wall with patterned holes through which several arms are grasping for release.

Released in 1973, *Themroc* was first screened in the year that construction of the *grands ensembles* was essentially discontinued. As Castells explains, the *grands ensembles* "overwhelmed the horizon, submerging the romantic images of Paris, and forging a new, tough generation of metropolitan dwellers. Then, one day in the Spring of 1973, like the dinosaurs, they suddenly disappeared".⁴⁸ Thus, like the films discussed in the previous chapter, *Themroc's* anti-urbanist animus needs to be framed within a wider shift against state-directed planning and modernist architecture. *Themroc's* rough aesthetic avoids the kind of aestheticisation of modernist architecture found in Kubrick's film and attempts to place redevelopment within a wider sense of the reproduction of social life. However, while the film's rejection of language enables a kind of primitive, surrealist humour, it also fundamentally restricts its engagement with the contemporary city. Like *Leo the Last*, it works through a destructive impulse – here, that abstract capitalist space must be destroyed before it can be reclaimed – but ultimately, the complexity of its political critique is limited.

The battle for Les Halles and the right to the city: *Touche pas à la femme blanche* (1973)

Other films addressed specific redevelopment projects more directly. Whereas *Tout va bien* and *Themroc* were largely concerned with the urban periphery, Marco Ferreri's *Touche pas à la femme blanche* (1973) addressed the subject of redevelopment in the symbolic core of the city. Like several of the films examined in this book, Ferreri's film took advantage of the landscape of urban renewal as a production resource. A surreal revisionist Western, Ferreri's film transposed the Battle of Little Bighorn to an absurdly anachronistic modern-day Paris. Custer's last stand is played out in the *grand trou*, a vast hole left by the demolition of the historic market at Les Halles. A French-Italian co-production, the film starred Marcello Mastroianni as a preening, vainglorious General George Custer alongside Michel Piccoli as Buffalo Bill. The film begins with close-ups of the frescoes on the interior of the dome of the Bourse de Commerce, adjacent to the site. Dedicated to intercontinental trade, they display mythic images of the American West that the film draws on to develop an effective, if subtle,

allegorical relationship to contemporary Paris. By adapting the plot of *Fort Apache* (John Ford, 1948) and relocating it to the modern day city, Ferreri made literal the notion of the ‘urban Western’ that was being applied metaphorically by contemporary critics to American films such as *Coogan’s Bluff* (Don Siegel, 1968) and *Dirty Harry* (Don Siegel, 1971).⁴⁹

Here, the cavalry represent the city planners and the police; the ‘Indians’ the local working-class Parisians. The Indians are to be relocated to the ‘reserves’ – for which we can read the *grands ensembles* – to make way for the railroad. A number of motifs from the American frontier of the 1870s are mapped onto Paris of the 1970s: the growth of industrial capitalism and its thirst for territorial expansion; the violent displacement of populations; and the notion of Manifest Destiny, roughly equated to the technocratic ideology of urbanism. The film was itself inspired by the space of the *trou*, which Ferreri described as

A fin-de-siècle set in the process of destruction ... It reminds me of the arena where slaves were killed, around which an empire was destroying itself and rebuilding itself. A shifting setting for an eternal story. Houses and buildings are knocked down and replaced by skyscrapers. The landscape changes, but the struggle of the oppressors against the oppressed remains the same; it is immutable ... Can anybody say that the essential elements of the western are not to be found in any modern city? Don’t we find at any corner of the streets the soldiers of the Seventh Cavalry?⁵⁰

The vast empty space of the *trou* represented a void at the symbolic centre of the capital. As the American architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable explained, it was also “a traumatic hole, because it replaces an intensely special kind of place – in this vast nothingness was the vital, chaotic, colourful food market romanticised by generations of Parisians and visitors nourished on its legendary midnight onion soup and the sense-filling sights and sounds of functional urban theater”.⁵¹ Les Halles was perhaps the most contested of all the urban renewal projects in this period, becoming a *cause célèbre* that linked together protesters from every part of the political spectrum. For many, the market at Les Halles represented the apotheosis of urban life in all its complex and unpredictable vitality. Its destruction has been defined in hyperbolic terms by architectural historian Louis Chevalier as “the surgical removal of the heart of the city” – the centrepiece of what he called the “assassination of Paris”.⁵²

If, as Peter Hall puts it, “The history of Paris has been one of constant struggle between the forces of exuberant, chaotic, often sordid everyday life

and the forces of centralised, despotic order”, then Les Halles characterised the perennial interplay between these opposing tendencies.⁵³ In its long history, Les Halles has long been what Rosemary Wakeman calls “a site of modernity”, its periodic transformations producing multiple layers of meaning and memory.⁵⁴ Alongside the famous market, the area held diverse retail outlets, cafés, restaurants, and a residential population of around 25,000.⁵⁵ By the 1960s, the wholesale market had been deemed inappropriate for the highly congested city centre. The *quartier’s* notoriety as an insalubrious, overcrowded red-light district made it a prime target for redevelopment. Consequently, an area covering 43 hectares was cleared for demolition and the wholesale market relocated to Rungis, south of Paris, between 1969 and 1972.⁵⁶ The area of the original market became a focal point for urban social movements at the turn of the decade, and the process surrounding its redevelopment was discussed in painstaking detail in the local press.⁵⁷

With the co-operation of the SEM, Ferreri was able to co-ordinate a scene in which Buffalo Bill’s cannons appear to destroy the pavilions of the market. These images of the demolition of Victor Baltard’s cast-iron and steel pavilions, themselves emblematic structures of nineteenth-century modernity, signify a phase-shift in the development of capitalist urbanisation. As ever, these images of architectural obliteration that pervade 1970s film capture what Joseph Schumpeter called the waves of ‘creative destruction’ that characterise the processes of urban development.⁵⁸ The nineteenth-century market space became replaced with an updated vision of the urban centre; as Rosemary Wakeman puts it, “Les Halles would evolve into a nerve centre of late modern capitalist relations, the nexus of a metropolitan region fed by a web of streamlined highways and distribution centres”.⁵⁹

Touche pas à la femme blanche undoubtedly lacks subtlety in its political metaphors. Ferreri casts his net a little wide, appearing unable to decide whether his focus is urban renewal, or if the real target should be American imperialism and the war in Southeast Asia. Yet, as Michael James Miller puts it, “Ferreri’s satirical reinterpretation of the Battle of Little Big Horn is thinly disguised Marxist urban sociology”.⁶⁰ The battle for Les Halles – refigured by the film as the last stand against the cavalry – was the battle for what Lefebvre called the “right to the city”.⁶¹ For Lefebvre, the right to the city was equivalent to the right to the urban centre and especially its potential as a “place of encounter”. As a “cry and demand”, the right to the city was not envisioned as a return to traditional European urbanism nor mere visiting rights for the displaced, but rather “a transformed and renewed right to urban life” and to participation in the city as something like a collective artwork. Though not actualised in its current form, the virtual possibility

of the city as a place of non-alienated experience, ensemble and collective action must be upheld. At that particular historical moment, this type of space equated to the urban centre; as he argued, a leftist critique of urban space must insist that “centralisation is a constituent of urban life, that if there is not centralisation, there is no longer urban life, that the destruction of the urban centres threatens the very essence of urban living”.⁶²

The notion of the right to the city was strongly influenced by the centrifugal displacement of working-class populations from central Paris and the onslaught of capitalist “abstract space” that threatened to stamp out the radical, liberating potential of urban life. The social and demographic shifts effected by the urban renewal programme and the massive expansion beyond the *périphérique* meant that a long-standing antagonism between East and West became essentially superseded by a new opposition between the centre and the periphery. According to Kristin Ross, this restructuring of Paris resulted in a significant spatial redistribution of the city’s class composition. Between 1954 and 1974, the city had seen what Ross calls “a profound reworking of the social boundaries of the city”, with the number of workers living in the city declining by 44%, while the professional-managerial class had increased by 51%.⁶³ Les Halles was therefore a symbolic battle in a much larger war.

Though Ferreri’s celebrates the victory of the Indians against the cavalry, in reality the battle was indeed won by the ‘railroad’, with a major part of the redevelopment taken up by a vast new station at the intersection of the métro and the recently constructed RER. However, the urban social movements catalysed by the battle for Les Halles did win a partial victory in the long run. The year of the film’s release also saw the election of President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing (1974-1981), whose administration demonstrated a marked shift in attitudes towards redevelopment and the historic built environment. That Giscard d’Estaing espoused more conservative views on urban issues than his two predecessors chimed with a wider sea change in public policy in the mid-1970s. Widespread critiques of modernist architecture and planning occurred in tandem with the turn towards notions of heritage, conservation and environmentalism.⁶⁴ The legal framework provided by André Malraux’s 1962 Act was now utilised for the designation of conservation areas (*secteur sauvegardé*) and redevelopment projects increasingly turned to the influence of older architectural traditions.

The redevelopment process for Les Halles stalled several times in the mid-1970s. An open design competition attracted over 600 entries, spanning virtually every tendency in world architecture. The panel notably included critical voices such as Roland Barthes and even Lefebvre himself, who judged

the designs alongside internationally renowned architects such as Bruno Zevi and Phillip Johnson.⁶⁵ As Luciana Miotto put it in *Architectural Design*, “it was practically the first time in France that a battle ‘for architecture’ had been pursued to the point of becoming a ‘world event’”.⁶⁶ After a protracted decision-making process, the area was finally rebuilt to a composite plan, incorporating a park, the aforementioned transport hub, and a vast shopping centre. A new flagship cultural complex, the Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges-Pompidou, was built on the edge of the redevelopment zone, quickly becoming the symbolic centre of the newly reconstructed Paris. Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano's controversial design for a “living urban machine” famously placed the pipes, air-conditioning, and escalators on the exterior, leaving the interior floors as a completely fluid exhibition space, freeing form from function.⁶⁷ As part of a symbolic rebranding of Paris, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs commissioned Roberto Rossellini and Nestor Almendros to film a promotional television documentary for the centre.

La Défense and the *policier*: *Peur sur la ville* (1975) and *Buffet froid* (1979)

While the films I have discussed above were explicitly left-wing in their political orientation, an altogether more ambivalent relationship to the new architectural cityscape of the periphery became visible in the popular genre of the *policier*. As the director Alain Corneau put it, the *policier* established “an urban radiography of the 1970s”.⁶⁸ In this final section, I will focus on two films filmed in and around the new financial district at La Défense in the mid-to-late 1970s: *Peur sur la ville* (Henri Verneuil, 1975) and *Buffet froid* (Bertrand Blier, 1979).

Like London, Paris underwent rapid deindustrialisation during the 1970s, realigning its economy towards the service sector. By the end of the decade, tertiary sector employment in Paris constituted 67% of the labour market. To manage this transition, the De Gaulle administration constructed a new financial services centre at La Défense, around three miles to the west of the Arc de Triomphe. The original plans envisioned the construction of some 16 million square feet of office space providing employment for 100,000 workers and new corporate headquarters for multinationals such as IBM, Mobil, Fiat and Rank Xerox. Its location intentionally extended a visual perspective that connected the Louvre, the Place de l'Étoile, the Place de la Concorde and the Arc de Triomphe along a ten-mile east-west axis.

Its significance was therefore at once economic and symbolic, as Castells argued: “The signifying of France’s new greatness and the confirmation of the choice of Paris as a place of residence of the headquarters of large, European-scale companies seem to combine to make Paris a show-case both of a certain prosperity and of a strong capacity for state initiative at the level of environmental improvement, consecrating Paris’s position as business centre and cultural sender for the whole of Europe”.⁶⁹

This new corporate architecture takes centre stage in the opening scenes of *Peur sur la ville* (Henri Verneuil, 1975). Following a brief scene in which a woman in an upmarket Parisian high-rise apartment is menaced by an unexpected telephone call, the film’s credit sequence presents an extended establishing montage of the city at night. Here, Paris has become Manhattanised: the architecture given the most emphasis is the glass-and-steel International Style modernism of the new financial district and its environs. Urban space is envisioned as a series of Miesian curtain-walled towers crisscrossed with expressways through which cars flow at high speed. The Eiffel Tower and Arc de Triomphe are barely visible, reduced to distant signs. The insistent rhythmic pulse and dissonant, fractured tones of Ennio Morricone’s score enhance our sensation of anxiety. Two things are strikingly absent from this vision of Paris: the traditional beaux-arts architecture of Boulevard Haussmann, and the human figure. Like the opening sequence to Don Siegel’s *Madigan* (1968), it rewrites the urban crime environment as modernist techno-noir: this is not the Paris of Marcel Carné, or even of Jean-Pierre Melville, but a modern, high-rise city to compete cinematically with New York or San Francisco.⁷⁰

This opening sequence gestures towards a totalising, panoptic view of the city that is prefigured in the nineteenth-century panorama. As Bernard Comment suggests, the panorama often exhibited attributes of the sublime, such as fear, darkness, and immensity.⁷¹ Drawing on this legacy, this sequence exemplifies a central ambivalence project by the film, between the modernist *noir* city – urban panorama as technological sublime – and the branded city, producing the sensation that these are, nevertheless, celebratory images of a remodelled, contemporary Paris. As in the Italian *gialli*, crime is implicitly associated with images of modernisation and affluence. In particular, crimes with specifically non-economic, psychosexual motivation are strongly attached to the reified commodity culture and lifestyle of the bourgeoisie: modernist architecture, expensive furniture, designer labels. Yet the film also functions as a tour guide for modern Paris, connecting together images of heritage with those of an emerging world financial centre.

The film follows two narrative strands that are not wholly reconciled with each other. In the primary strand, Inspector Letellier (Jean-Paul Belmondo) is on the trail of Minos, a serial killer not dissimilar to Scorpio in *Dirty Harry*. The secondary narrative thread is preoccupied with the pursuit of Marcucci, a bank robber responsible for the death of Letellier's partner. Yet to a great degree plot only serves as a pretext to connect together a series of spectacular set-pieces and stunts across the city. A series of chases reintegrate the modernist city – La Défense and Hautes-sur-Seine – with the traditional iconic landmarks of the historic centre such as the Galeries Lafayette and the Pont de Bir-Hakeim. An extended sequence at the at the newly-opened métro station at Auber – then the largest underground station in the world – led Richard Eder to wonder in the *New York Times*, “perhaps it is an advertisement for the new high-speed Paris subways”.⁷² This implicit celebration of technocratic Paris is partially countered by images of a marginal, underground city, which is brought up by the discovery of a cellar crammed full of African immigrants, though this is not returned to or resolved within the film.

Buffet froid (Bertrand Blier, 1979) also utilised the modernist architecture at La Défense and Créteil. Blier's film, a black comedy or absurdist *policier*, can be seen to draw on established avant-garde tropes of urban alienation and fragmentation, and integrate them with elements from the crime genre. The film opens with a series of minimalist, geometrically composed shots of the new métro terminal at La Défense, an abstract world of clean lines and intense neon strip-lights. The station appears entirely deserted, the only sound provided by the insistent rhythm of the escalator. Alphonse Tram (Gerard Depardieu) descends onto the empty platform, and sits next to the only other inhabitant (an uncredited Michel Serrault). After a short, surreal exchange, in which Tram expresses his impulse to randomly attack a stranger on the underground, Serrault jumps on a departing train. We cut to Tram walking through a subway tunnel, though it is entirely unclear whether we are still at La Défense or at another destination entirely. Tram discovers Serrault with a knife – apparently Tram's knife – sticking out of his belly. This strange, dreamlike narrative ellipsis, in which the both the viewer and Tram himself appear to be uncertain as to the sequence and causal logic of these events, sets the tone for the rest for the film.

Tram lives in a new apartment block at Créteil, one of the massively expanded satellite towns that figured in the decentralised plan for the urban region. The Parisian neighbourhood of poetic realism has disappeared, replaced by a functionalist, abstract space. Tram and his wife are, it

appears, the only tenants. A number of sequences place the actors in a vast, empty plaza beneath the high-rise apartment block. In a piece on the new Paris, Ada Louise Huxtable described this plaza and its “asinuous paving pattern that suggests an uncomfortably undulating sea” – “the combination of the plaza’s desertlike expanse and its isolated monuments makes a Kafka or de Chirico alliance”.⁷³ Similarly, she noted that “in the most extreme cases, the architecture of La Défense was able to evoke Magritte or Frank Stella in their poetic surrealism and colourful hard-edged abstraction”.⁷⁴ These visual qualities are utilised by *Buffet froid* in numerous exteriors where the characters are isolated in a depopulated urban space. These are what Norman Mailer called “the empty landscapes of psychosis”, yet such psychological depth is unavailable here.⁷⁵ The characters are intentionally flattened, often variations on noir archetypes. A central motif is the disappearance of the modern crowd, even in a mass-transit system or a high-density residential housing project. The film takes place in a depopulated city, a series of empty, technological spaces, which in their very interchangeability prefigure the ‘non-places’ diagnosed by Marc Augé in the early 1990s.⁷⁶

The film’s narrative proceeds through a number of disjointed, surrealist set-pieces. For example, a sick woman is seduced, and consequently cured by a paramedic; Inspector Morvandieu is strapped to a bed and forced to “endure” a performance by a string quartet. As contemporary critics suggested, the film bears the strong influence of Luis Buñuel and avant-garde theatre – especially the work of Alfred Jarry and Eugène Ionesco. Stylistic echoes of the more rationalist tendencies of modernism are also visible in the geometrical abstraction of the frame and Blier’s use of empty space. *Buffet froid* exhibits a number of tendencies often identified with the modernist (or surrealist) text: fragmentation, narrative discontinuities and a disconnection of causality, the instability of genre archetypes, or genre motifs freed from the system in which they produce meaning, disturbances in temporality, and lack of narrative closure. *Buffet froid* likewise mobilises many of the concerns of the modernist avant-garde vis-à-vis the metropolis – the anguish and alienation of the modern city, the fragmentation of the subject under industrial capitalism – and in a prototypical postmodernist way, stylises, compresses and depoliticises them. Urban alienation is played as deadpan farce; as the ‘killer’ (Jean Carmet) puts it: “The concrete is driving us crazy! The empty lots! The inhuman world around us! The monstrous, soulless city!”

Blier’s film operates the type of “double-coding” identified by Charles Jencks as characteristic of postmodernist architecture. As Jencks argued,

such buildings operated on two parallel levels of signification directed simultaneously towards two distinct audiences, integrating high and popular culture, modern and historic forms.⁷⁷ In *Buffet froid*, a weakened set of avant-garde or modernist tendencies are put into play with elements of popular film, particularly the *policier* and the star presence of Depardieu. The class-consciousness of Buñuel's satire is absent, supplanted by a visual stylisation that prefigures the *cinéma du look* of the 1980s.⁷⁸ Indeed, as David Berry has argued, the métro became an important motif in the years following *Buffet froid*, most often mobilised as a subterranean 'underworld' – "a focus of reversed values, both social and moral, paradoxically a new source of creativity in films like *Diva* (Jean-Jacques Beineix, 1981) and *Subway* (Luc Besson, 1985) which revel in the subversive aspects of the postmodern city, characterised by its juxtaposition of disparate elements and where a formerly utopian coherent surface has been displaced underground".⁷⁹

Whereas *Themroc* suggested a possible, anarchistic utopia emerging from the rejection of social conventions – the breakdown of language, of private and public space, the family, patriarchal authority – and of aesthetic conventions (opposing itself to both the well-crafted film and the workers' cinema), *Buffet froid* retains no sense of a world outside the paranoid circularity of the narrative. For Carmet's character, his compulsion to kill lonely women is explained as the only way to reconnect with nature: "as they die, it's like hearing a bird making a little sound, it's like walking in a wood". The three protagonists flee the city to a wood-frame house in the forest, moving from city to country, night-time to daylight, confined interiors to expansive open space. There is no journey – they are transported from the city as if an imaginary, utopian other space – yet not only does the rural provide no respite from the from the nightmarish, neon-lit city, but the geometrical style that characterises the urban sequences is also reproduced in these rural scenes. The actors are framed in wide-shots, with slow zooms in or out emphasising the geometry of the composition. The application of this formal abstraction, which had been clearly associated with the functional modernism of the métro, is a symbolic reminder that, as Lefebvre argued at the time, there remained no reserve of natural space that was not in some way implicitly or explicitly marked by the abstracting forces of capitalist development.⁸⁰ This is re-emphasised when the vast natural space of the lake is cut into by the violent neon-red of the end credit text, returning us back to the métro tunnel of the opening shots.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have traced the ways in which Parisian cinema of the late 1960s and 1970s engaged with the mass redevelopment and expansion of the city and the struggles these changes engendered in theory and practice. I have argued that shifts evident in the cinematic representation of Paris over time, especially in the different emphasis placed on the centre versus the periphery of the city and the use of modernist architecture as *mise-en-scène*, can be usefully understood in conjunction with contemporary urban theory (especially the work of Henri Lefebvre). While the New Wave cinema of the early 1960s often presented central Paris as an exemplary place of urban encounter, simultaneity and possibility (albeit a highly gendered and frequently class-specific one), an image that resonated with the more utopian aspects of May '68, many films of the 1970s focused on the potential traumatic loss of the central city and its positive qualities of 'urbanness' and on the decentred, abstract landscape of the periphery and what Deleuze called the "any-space-whatever". While the concerns were undoubtedly similar to those displayed in British films such as *Leo the Last* and *A Clockwork Orange*, the French films evinced a closer connection to related movements in politics and theory emerging in Paris at the same time.

In Godard and Gorin's *Tout va bien*, the open-sided set and the insistence of the lateral tracking shot worked to defamiliarise space and remove its social transparency. By placing this flattened, lateral aesthetic in different geographies of the city, the film was able to situate the factory and the hypermarket within a wider cognitive map of consumption and production. The political critique offered by *Tout va bien* was therefore both historical and spatial. Drawing on the legacy of surrealism, *Themroc* could also be understood as a critique of abstract space and everyday life in the city. By removing language and focusing on primitive, bodily rhythms, it countered the space and time of the abstract city with more human aspects of dwelling. While these films largely took place in anonymous peripheral locations, *Touche pas à la femme blanche* focused on the struggle for the urban centre itself and evoked Lefebvre's claim for the "right to the city" – here, above all, figured by the destruction of the quintessential modern space of Les Halles.

Conversely, the representation of modernist Paris in the *policier* reveals it as a more ambiguous and potentially conservative genre. Though *Peur sur la ville* evoked an anxious and crime-ridden metropolis, it also mobilised sublime viewpoints of the city as a globalised, postindustrial space. In opposition to the strikingly abstract architectural space offered by the

opening sequence, key action sequences of the film evoke a more traditional and touristic image of the city, which is continuously reintegrated with the periphery. The fractured and decentred city projected by the films of the late 60s and early 1970s was therefore partially restored. At the end of the decade, the black comedy *Buffet froid* drew together aspects of *policier* and the art film, demonstrating how the essentially postmodern collapse of 'high' and 'low' cultural forms had implications for the representation of the city. The blank satire of *Buffet froid* shows how urban alienation can become commodified and aesthetic responses to the modernised city all but emptied out of their political charge and meaning. Yet, in its insistent image of the urban periphery and the expansion of the 'urban' far beyond the city limits, it was nevertheless also symptomatic of sweeping changes to the built form and symbolic meaning of Paris itself.

9. Rome and Milan

The *Anni di Piombo* and the Politics of Space

On 12 December 1969, the bombing of the Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura in Milan's Piazza Fontana set the stage for a decade of political tension and widespread social unrest for Italy and its cities. Economic stagnation, high inflation, urban fiscal crisis, widespread industrial action and waves of terrorism from left- and right-wing extremists cast a shadow over a decade commonly remembered in Italy as the *anni di piombo* (literally 'years of lead'). However, the turbulence of the decade nevertheless provided fertile ground for cinematic explorations of the political and social landscape. This chapter analyses a series of films that are commonly identified with the Italian political cinema genre, referred to in Italy as *cinema politico* or *cinema di impegno civile*, which flourished during adverse conditions for the film industry in the 1970s. Peter Bondanella suggests that *cinema politico* should be considered a distinctive *filone*, which as he explains is "literally a 'thread', here a metaphorical one that runs through many directors, many genres, and a number of decades in Italian film history".¹ The most internationally recognised directors associated with this cycle of films were undoubtedly Francesco Rosi and Elio Petri, whose respective films *Il caso mattei* and *La classe operaia va in paradiso* shared the Grand Prix at Cannes in 1972. The genre remained a significant presence on screens in Italy and globally during the decade, including films such as *Lettera aperta a un giornale della sera* (Francesco Maselli, 1970), *Il conformista* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1970), *Indagine su un cittadino al di sopra di ogni sospetto* (Petri, 1970), *Sbatti il mostro in prima pagina* (Marco Bellocchio, 1972), *Mimi metallurgico ferito nell'onore* (Lina Wertmüller, 1972), *Il sospetto* (Maselli, 1975) and *Cadaveri eccellenti* (Rosi, 1976).

This cycle of political filmmaking in the seventies is best understood as a genre hybrid that frequently combined aspects of the Italian art cinema with popular generic elements from American thrillers and police procedurals as well as the more specifically Italian genres of *gialli* (a horror/thriller hybrid) and *polizieschi* (violent police/crime films). The crisis of the film industry during the seventies widened the gap between relatively high budget, 'quality' film production for international export and a large volume of undemanding, cheaply made genre and exploitation pictures for domestic audiences. The political thriller therefore occupied an intermediate position, frequently absorbing aspects of popular genres while keeping an eye

on the international art house audience. As in many other national contexts during the 1970s, the thriller became an important vehicle for negotiating contemporary political themes.

What was in many ways a rich period for Italian popular genres emerged from a moment of intense crisis for the industry. As in Britain, the film studios were particularly affected by the decline of American financing following Hollywood's economic crisis in 1969-1971. Cinecittà incurred losses as foreign production capital withdrew from what had been known in the fifties and sixties as 'Hollywood on the Tiber'.² While the devaluation of the US dollar in 1971 had made overseas investment less profitable for the Hollywood studios, Italy's own dismal economic situation also had a serious impact on the film industry.³ Spiralling inflation caused overheads and salaries to multiply, while the labour disputes endemic to the country as a whole also had a negative influence on overseas investment.⁴ By the mid-1970s, state controls on credit and foreign exchange were squeezing film production, while loan interest rates were running at over 25%.⁵ Audience figures had been declining steadily since their postwar high in 1955, but after 1973 they began to drop precipitously. Ticket sales nearly halved in the second half of the 1970s, falling from 514m in 1975 to 276m in 1979.⁶ These pressures were amplified by the rising challenge of television, particularly following the dissolution of the state monopoly and the introduction of commercial channels in 1976.⁷

Though production numbers remained relatively high, the overall composition of film production had changed, both in terms of finance and content. In 1964, a total of 290 films were produced in Italy, of which 155 were international co-productions. By 1977, only 23 of a total of 165 films were co-productions.⁸ As Peter Lev has argued, from the late 1960s the industry began to make a transition away from runaway production and co-production deals towards the more characteristically transnational co-ordinates of the "Euro-American art film", whereby notionally Italian films such as *Last Tango in Paris* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1972) could be filmed abroad with a predominantly international cast, crew and finance.⁹ One important producer, Dino di Laurentiis, even left Italy permanently, selling his production centre in suburban Rome to property developers and setting up an international office in New York.¹⁰ The *cinema politico* must be understood within this transnational context, split between working through specifically national material while simultaneously appealing to a global audience for whom Italian politics must have seemed labyrinthine at best.

While Rome remained the heart of Italian film production, the seventies saw the expansion of significant regional nodes in cities such as Milan,

Naples and Venice. In particular, Milan became an increasingly popular location for genre filmmaking. As John Foot notes, the industrial cityscape of Milan's periphery proved an appropriately bleak and modern backdrop for a new crop of police procedurals and gangster films.¹¹ This image of the city became a recurring genre formula, providing the organising structure and tagline for titles such as *Milano calibro 9* (Fernando di Leo, 1972), *Milano rovente* (Umberto Lenzi, 1973) and *Milano trema – la polizia vuole giustizia* (Sergio Martino, 1973). Such a notion of the Italian urban environment as inherently violent became widespread, as indicated by the four films *Milano violenta* (Mario Caiano, 1976), *Napoli violenta* (Umberto Lenzi, 1976), and *Roma violenta* (Marino Girolami, 1975), and their transnational counterpart *Città violenta* (Sergio Sollima, 1970), a Charles Bronson picture shot in San Francisco and New Orleans. While distinct from the *polizieschi*, the *cinema politico* operated against this backdrop, where urban crisis was a frequently depicted (if rarely addressed or contextualised) element of Italian genre film.

Space and the *Cinema Politico*

In this chapter, I argue that urban political struggle, civic corruption and uneven development were essential concerns for the Italian *cinema politico*, which often reworked and repackaged explicitly political content within the boundaries of popular genre. These films were produced during a moment of exceptional crisis for Italy, its film industries and its urban institutions. They can be best understood as products of a distinctive conjuncture in which the social and political role of architecture and the built environment was being radically called into question. Just as in France, such issues of space, urbanism and architecture were of central importance to theoretical discourse and political activism in seventies Italy and found expression in a number of the era's films.

Such close interconnections between architecture and cinema can be traced back at least as far as the 1940s and 1950s when, as Mark Shiel has argued, there were significant parallels between neorealist cinema and contemporary architectural debates.¹² Just as neorealist films rejected the aesthetics and ethics of pre-war Italian cinema, so neorealist buildings repudiated the characteristic aesthetics of fascist architecture, whether rationalist modernism or monumental neo-classicism. Neorealism in architecture, best exemplified by Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi's Rome housing project Quartiere Tiburtino (1950-1954), drew on vernacular

traditions in Italian architecture, especially those of the *mezzogiorno*, and frequently sought to intervene in the social conditions of working-class neighbourhoods. In the immediate postwar years, hopes were pinned on the ability of government housing agency INA-Casa to solve the postwar housing crisis, which had been a strong thematic concern for now-canonical neorealist films such as *Ladri di biciclette* (Vittoria De Sica, 1948). As Shiel explains,

As much as in Italian cinema, the late 1940s and 1950s became a period of conflict and debate over the future of the Italian city. Where in cinema conflict raged between neorealism and profit-oriented filmmaking as popular entertainment, in relation to the city conflict raged between leftist and free-market models of urban development. The former prioritised social housing, environmental manageability and ethical architecture, while the latter prioritised industrial rebuilding, corporate expansion and a rapid return to economic profitability.¹³

The social and political commitment promised by the first phase of neorealism in both cinema and architecture was short lived. Nevertheless, as one conception of neorealist cinema dissipated in the 1950s, new directions were being explored by directors such as Rossellini, Antonioni and Fellini. While their films were frequently set in urban environments, their representation of the city began to infuse elements of neorealism with visual abstraction and reflexive meditations on the cinematic gaze. Though the relationship between economic change and culture should not be oversimplified, it is nevertheless striking that the peak years of Italy's postwar 'economic miracle', 1958-1961, coincided with the high-water mark of the Italian art cinema, with the release of landmark films *La dolce vita* (Fellini, 1960), *L'Avventura* (Antonioni, 1960) and *Rocco and His Brothers* (Visconti, 1960). As Angelo Restivo has convincingly argued, this cinema was profoundly shaped by the inevitable collision between the "aesthetic of reality" forged by neorealism and new modes of visual and spatial experience ushered in by modernisation, urbanisation and technological change.¹⁴

However, the neorealist concern with urban social issues never wholly dissolved. It was clearly present, for example, in Pasolini's *Accatone* (1961) and *Mamma Roma* (1962), and in Francesco Rosi's *Le mani sulla città* (1963), a biting attack on municipal corruption and building speculation in Naples. From the images of Rome's peripheral slums or *borgate* in Pasolini's films, to the depiction of a collapsing tenement block in *Le mani sulla città*, the failure of INA-Casa to resolve the issue of housing was all too evident. Other

filmmakers pursued more explicitly revolutionary and internationalist ideals. Most famously, Gillo Pontecorvo's *Battle of Algiers* (1966) dramatically hitched elements of neorealist technique to radical anti-colonial politics. Like Rosi's film, *Battle of Algiers* also placed the city centre stage: Pontecorvo's film is alive to how urban space can become an instrument of power, exclusion and containment, a territory marked out by surveillance, borders and checkpoints; and how in the right circumstances that space might be reclaimed and its properties turned against the occupying forces. The film had a powerful influence on the politicised 'Third Cinema' that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s, bringing into focus a long-standing relationship between Italian cinema and the non-aligned nations of the Third World, where neorealist principles were often embraced on both practical and ethical grounds.¹⁵

Radical politics and the *anni di piombo*

Significant elements of Italy's crisis in the 1970s can be traced back to the nation's rapid industrial expansion during the previous decades. As Paul Ginsborg put it, "no sooner had Italy become one of the great industrial nations of the world than she found herself exposed to the icy winds of recession. The almost simultaneous occurrence of these two elements – transformation and crisis – had the most profound effect on the history of the republic".¹⁶ Italy had transformed from being a predominantly rural economy in 1945 into an industrial powerhouse by the early 1960s. Between 1953 and 1963, Italian GDP grew at an average of 5.6% per annum, with manufacturing expanding at an average of 8.2 – the most rapid rate of expansion in Europe and second only to Japan internationally. This rapid growth in productivity was fuelled by waves of northward migration from rural Southern areas such as Sicily and Calabria to Rome and the 'industrial triangle' of Milan, Turin and Genoa. This massive population shift, during which a total of around six million left the land for the cities, had profound effects on the structure of Italian cities and everyday life.¹⁷ As Sidney Tarrow describes, Italian cities were largely unprepared for the process of transition they were to undergo during the years of the boom: "Urban infrastructure, a modern civic tradition, even the technical tools for handling rapid real estate development without corruption were lacking, in the face of the settlement of waves of people not prepared for the pressures of modern urban life".¹⁸ The years of the 'economic miracle' were followed by a deep, structural crisis in the Fordist model in the 1970s and the consequent

emergence of new types of post-Fordist industrial growth in specific areas such as Emilio-Romagna.¹⁹ This rapid pace of change led Giuliano Amato to proclaim: “We Italians are in transit from the past to the future of industrial capitalism without having lived through its present”.²⁰

As industrial productivity reached its maximum capacity in the early 1960s, capital investment began to transfer from manufacturing into the construction sector.²¹ A largely unregulated building boom ensued, with new housing developments rising in the peripheries of major cities. Nevertheless, there remained serious shortages in affordable housing: in 1966, the average housing shortage per 1,000 people was 40.8, as compared to 13.1 in Britain and 17.8 in West Germany.²² State housing construction, managed by INA-Casa (1949) and later Gescal (1963) remained low in comparative terms. As Vittorio Gregotti commented in 1973, “The chronic shortage of low-cost housing (mostly in the hands of public enterprise) has gradually increased during the last few years while private enterprise has gone on fulfilling the call for luxury housing over and above economic saturation point”.²³ Publicly funded construction dropped from 25% of the total in 1951 to 6% by 1968, and just 2% in 1973.²⁴ Thus, as Dennis P. Doordan argues, the intervention of public investment had not succeeded in improving the fundamental problems of Italian cities:

The leadership of INA-Casa was unable – or unwilling – to tackle a critical problem that had plagued Italian cities since the late nineteenth century: the unsatisfactory relationship between historic town centers and the new neighborhoods of the urban periphery. By the late 1960s it was painfully clear to all interested parties that even the most prominent figures of the modern movement in Italy could exercise very little real and effective control over the political and economic development of the built environment.²⁵

Accommodation shortages and substandard housing remained endemic in the major cities. Contemporary reports suggested that in Turin, over 100,000 people were living in shacks and, in some cases, even sleeping in disused railway carriages.²⁶ This became a key contributory factor to the sustained strikes at Fiat during 1969 and 1970.²⁷ This was not restricted to the industrial north: in mid-1970s Rome, 650,000 people were living in illegally constructed housing and over 100,000 in shanty towns, which taken together amounted to around a quarter of the city's population.²⁸ Thirty years after the inception of neorealism, films such as *Brutti, sporchi e cattivi* (Ettore Scola, 1976) could still be set in shantytowns on the edge of the Italian capital.

These issues catalysed direct political action on the streets of Italian cities from the late 1960s, when the combination of student and workers' movements created what Robert Lumley describes as a "crisis of hegemony" for the Italian state and its institutions.²⁹ The Italian student movements first gathered momentum in 1967, with a series of protests and campus occupations. Students seized control of campuses at the University of Trento and Università Cattolica in Milan. Architecture faculties were particularly radicalised, with confrontations occurring at the Architectural Institute in Venice (IAUV) and famously in Rome at the "Battle of Valle Giulia", where students clashed with police at the architectural school in March 1968. The 14th Milan Triennale, 30 May 1968 (held at the Palazzo dell'Arte) also became a focal point for political protest. These events were followed shortly by waves of strike action in the factories. During the 'hot autumn' (*autunno caldo*) of 1969, around 5.5 million workers went out on strike, with major flashpoints at Fiat in Turin, and in Milan, where workers besieged Gio Ponti's Pirelli Tower, the most visible manifestation of International Style modernism in Italy. Unlike the relatively short-lived events of May in Paris, industrial unrest continued throughout the 1970s at comparatively high levels by European standards. A contemporary US policy document suggested that "for every 100 days of work lost due to strikes in Italy, there corresponded 9 in England, 4.3 in France, 0.4 in Germany, and 0.2 in Holland",³⁰ with some 6.1 million workers on strike in 1973.³¹

Another distinctive characteristic of these struggles was the extent to which they were organised outside traditional union structures and established collective bargaining procedures. Disgruntled with the perceived collaborationism of the trades unions and even the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI), new extra-parliamentary workers' organisations emerged around the theoretical ideas of workerism (*operaismo*) and the autonomy of the working class (*autonomia operaia*). The theoretical basis of *operaismo* emerged in the 1960s with the journals *Quaderni Rossi*, *Classe Operaia*, and *Contropiano*, and was later developed in *Potere Operaio* and *Lotta Continua*, in the writings of Raniero Panzieri, Mario Tronti, Antonio Negri and Giovanni Arrighi.³² Broadly speaking, these thinkers were involved in recasting the theoretical heritage of Marx and Gramsci to take account of new contingencies in the development of capitalism. The innovative conceptual move of *operaismo* was to place the worker at the centre of capitalist development, with the historic crises and transitions of capital understood not as the inevitable product of the system's internal contradictions, but as effects of the class struggle itself.³³

The Centre-Left coalition of the 1960s provided the possibility for architects and planners to pursue a reformist, social democratic agenda for the design of the built environment. As Mary Louise Lobsinger describes, “Architects enthusiastically seized upon the real and imagined potential of the political turn to reform, interpreting it broadly and somewhat idealistically as the means to correct uneven social and economic development within the Italian city”.³⁴ The political unrest of the late 1960s reflected a breakdown in the ideological foundations of this model, as Gloria Blanchino explains: “thus was shattered the idea that a factory can also be a place where the families of workers gravitate and are organized; thus also was shattered the idea of a positive capitalism, capable of respecting the dimension of territory and its culture”.³⁵ In opposition to this notion of the factory-as-community, Marxist theorists built upon Mario Tronti’s notion of the ‘social factory’. For Tronti and others, one of the key characteristics of the intensified ‘neocapitalism’ of the 1960s was that the reproduction of labour power took on an increasingly ‘socialized’ character, extending itself into the fabric of everyday life, outside the temporal and spatial boundaries of the workplace. As the economic shocks of the 1970s and the militant action of the workers’ movements forced the restructuring of capital, it was precisely these ‘immaterial’ aspects of the labour process that would become central to a new, post-Fordist hegemony. In a series of pamphlets, Antonio Negri began to describe this transformation of the “social body of the working class” – from the Fordist “mass-worker” (*operaio massa*) towards the hegemony of the post-Fordist, “socialized worker” (*operaio sociale*).³⁶ New strategies appeared in the urban political movements, such as rent strikes, the re-appropriation of unused housing, and the practice of *autoriduzione* (collective bargaining for reductions on anything from public transport to utility bills). Later, Negri reaffirmed the central importance of the global city in this transformation:

At the beginning of the seventies we started observing a metropolis invaded by skyscrapers and globalisation ... Alberto Magnaghi and his comrades published a formidable journal, *Quaderni del Territorio*, that showed, more convincingly in each issue, how capital was investing the city and transforming each street into a productive flux of commodities. The factory was then extended onto society: this much was evident. But it also became clear that this productive investment of the city radically modified class struggle.³⁷

From the late 1960s, significant critiques of modernism began to emerge in Italian architectural history and theory. One of the most distinctive

voices was that of the Milanese architect Aldo Rossi, whose *L'Architettura della Città* (1966) is now widely accepted as one of the most influential appraisals of modernism of the period to derive from inside the architectural profession.³⁸ Unlike some of the more polemical postmodernists, Rossi's style was literary and contemplative. He criticised what he saw as the "naïve functionalism" that underwrote much of modernist architecture, placing emphasis instead on the historical legacy of the urban landscape. Architecture should be situated within a wider conception of the city as a "collective artifact".³⁹ As he put it, "One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory".⁴⁰ Rossi called for an architectural practice that demonstrated more awareness of the wider urban context and a greater sensitivity to the existing physical fabric of the city; for Rossi, architects and planners should be more closely attuned to the morphological changes in the built environment over time.

Though Rossi was a member of the PCI, his theoretical work was not explicitly politicised. This contrasted with the work of Manfredo Tafuri, who headed the new architectural history unit at IAUUV from 1968.⁴¹ His writings drew on Frankfurt School Marxism to mount a critique of architectural ideology and the complicity of modernism with capitalism. As Gail Day puts it, "It is clear that the intellectual collaborations for which IUAV became known ... were forged in the intense atmosphere of debates, practical and theoretical, around *Contropiano* and local political activity, at the juncture of intellectual enquiry and revolutionary militancy".⁴² Cinema of this period therefore emerges from a discursive context in which architecture, politics and cultural criticism were deeply interwoven. For example, we might consider the Marxist journal *Contropiano: Materiali Marxistici* (1969-1971).⁴³ The inaugural issue contained articles on political and economic theory by Antonio Negri and Mario Tronti; a Marxist critique of modernist architecture by Francesco dal Co, which would be followed by another trailblazing piece by Manfredo Tafuri in the following issue⁴⁴; and articles on the politics of cinema and literature by Alberto Abruzzese and Alberto Asor Rosa, respectively.⁴⁵

In *The Project of Autonomy*, Pier Vittorio Aureli argues that significant intellectual interconnections can be drawn between the key thinkers of *autonomia* and the radical architectural theory of the period. As Aureli puts it, for the journal *Contropiano* "it was time to abandon the emphasis on the critique of ideology for a theory of power, one focused not only on politics but also on culture at the level of philosophy and especially of architecture and the city".⁴⁶ Architects also began a critical examination

of their own role in the urban development process. Partly as a result of a slump in the construction industry, many young architects turned away from producing realizable building projects towards 'paper architecture'. In effect, Florentine architecture studios like Superstudio and Archizoom had become producers of radical theory, using the techniques of architecture and Pop Art to interrogate the politics of space and the social function of architecture under capitalism.⁴⁷ As Bernard Tschumi has explained, these groups produced "counterdesign": projects that created what he terms "subversive analyses of space".⁴⁸ As Archizoom founder Andrea Branzi asserted in a 1972 piece for *Casabella*, "the architectural avant-garde is no longer concerned with designing a 'better city' to contrast with today's in a keen cultural conflict. It is busy performing another operation – protesting against the ideology of the bourgeois city, denouncing its mystifying role and re-establishing urban planning as a structure available for a different use, and not as an instrument of social figuration and induction of values".⁴⁹

While Branzi's group did so through satirical, ambivalent projects such as 'No-Stop City' – from which it is difficult to ascertain whether the new informational city is critiqued or celebrated – others were more directly polemical. For example, Gruppo Strum appropriated the popular Italian format of the *fotoromanzo*, producing a series of didactic photomontages on urban social problems. Three issues were produced: "The Struggle for Housing", "Utopia", and "The Mediatory City". These were initially distributed at a 1972 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York titled "Italy the New Domestic Landscape", before being reprinted in *Casabella*.⁵⁰ While the photomontages were deliberately simplistic, stylised narratives about housing shortages and workers' organisations, they were accompanied by theoretical text that openly critiqued Gescal and IACP for their inability to resolve the housing crisis and called for direct, self-organised action as a necessary response to perceived corruption in these public bodies. In one article, they detail a number of strategies, from rent strikes to the collective appropriation of housing. They also recounted a series of struggles across Italian cities in the early 1970s, from Rome and Milan to Florence, Bologna, and Turin.⁵¹ As they put it, "New political spaces must be created and defended ... for a different city resulting from a continuous revolutionary process".⁵²

Similar issues were confronted by Ettore Scola's film *Trevico-Torino* (*viaggio nel Fiat-Nam*) (1973). Though Scola is more widely known for his light comedies, in *Trevico-Torino* he combined documentary and social realism in his portrayal of a migrant worker, Fortunato (Paolo Turco), who moves from a small town in Campania to the Fiat plant in Turin, where he

becomes involved with the extraparliamentary left. The screenplay was written by the *L'Unita* journalist Diego Novelli, who became the mayor of the city two years later in 1975 at the helm of a PCI-PSI coalition. One of a number of films to suggest the pervasive influence of global political issues in Italian cities, *Trevico-Torino* drew a connection between political resistance in the factories and streets of Turin and the anti-Vietnam war protests in the United States. For example, this was also central to Pasolini's "La Sequenza del Fiore di Carta" segment of *Amore e rabbia* (1969), which superimposed violent footage of the war in Southeast Asia over the top of a scene in which Ninetto Davoli wanders through the streets of Rome holding a bunch of flowers.

This relationship between the global and the local was also central to *Open Letter to the Evening News* (Francesco Maselli, 1970), which explored the dilemma of a bourgeois intellectual circle in Rome confronted with a situation that tests the limits of their political commitment. The protagonists approximate Maselli's own milieu – writers, academics, and artists – and some are thinly fictionalised versions of the actors that portray them. As a characteristically drawn-out and argumentative social gathering draws towards a close in the small hours of the morning, the group are called by PCI daily *Paese Sera* for their comment on the latest events in Vietnam. Assuming that it will not be published, they collectively compose a provocative open letter in which they propose to take up arms in Southeast Asia as a "culture brigade". In due course, their letter is picked up and reprinted by larger publications such as *L'Espresso*, bringing the group an unexpected notoriety and forcing a series of ethical and political dilemmas about the global and the local, questioning what role an intellectual avant-garde might have to play beyond their immediate urban context.

Shot with three cameras in a rough, hand-held style, the documentary-style footage was edited and reconstructed over eighteen months. Maselli and cinematographer Gerardo Patrizi deliberately opted to shoot on 16mm reversal stock and overexpose the film by three stops. As in many of the Hollywood films of the period, this realist hand-held aesthetic is partially destabilised by a level of visual abstraction, in this case generated by the processing technique. Maselli described his wish to produce a "fundamental whiteness which permeates the frame".⁵³ While the imperfection of the cinematography was intended to "give a sense of newsreel footage", the overexposure worked to "create a feverish feeling. These Communists in crisis – these intellectuals, some millionaires, but still inside the party, inside its workings – I wanted to show them as ghosts, with little physical consistency, with a sort of strangeness, between a fever and a ghost story".⁵⁴

In a similar fashion to John Schlesinger's *Sunday, Bloody Sunday* (1971), the middle-class are represented as self-critical, browbeaten and paranoid, recording and replaying images of themselves and their unhappy sexual lives on film.

Appropriately for a film about politics as intellectual discourse, the action takes place predominantly in a series of apartments, though they can be seen to contrast, for example, with the slick, nouveau riche apartments that figure heavily in the *gialli* of the same period, or with the sumptuous baroque detail of those in other contemporary Italian films such as *Illustrious Corpses* (Francesco Rosi, 1976). Here, interiors are minimally decorated, with exposed brickwork and concrete, adorned with postindustrial signifiers such as metal chains and tools. Alongside the avant-garde sculptures, designer furniture and lighting, are a number of electronic devices that permeate the mise-en-scène: a reel-to-reel tape recorder, an answering machine, and an early CCTV set-up, which one of the circle uses to bug his own apartment, later ruefully replaying footage of his partner's infidelities. These technologies of reproduction – shorn of their more natural role as props in a crime narrative – still retain some of the symbolic force that Fredric Jameson assigns them in the American conspiracy film. As Stephen Paul Miller asserts, “surveillance and self-surveillance were dominant traits, or tropes, of seventies culture”.⁵⁵ Though Miller is primarily concerned with the United States, it is clear from these sequences that this holds true for other national contexts, with the self-surveillance in *Open Letter* doubling the film's own narcissistic, critical self-examination of the director's own social circle.

Whereas *Open Letter to the Evening News* dealt with bourgeois political commitment, Elio Petri's *The Working Class Goes to Heaven* (1972) portrayed the workers' movements in Milan. In the film, Gian Maria Volonte plays Lulu Massa, an assembly-line worker at a Milanese factory. At the opening of the film, Massa is a self-proclaimed Stakhanovite, used by management as the exemplary image of the worker. After losing a finger in an industrial accident, Massa becomes radicalised, becoming instead a mascot for the far-left groups that assemble each morning at the factory gates. Set in Milan, though actually filmed in nearby Novara, the action is confined to three main sites: the plant itself, split between the factory floor and the gates, a place of political assembly; Massa's home, perennially lit by the hypnotic blue light of his television set; and the mental hospital, where Massa visits an old workmate, Militina.⁵⁶ This confinement or containment expressed by these limited locations not only mirrors Massa's inability to map his own struggle onto a wider political space, but also begins to diagram the circuits of production and consumption that interconnect these locations. Unlike

Rosi, for example, whose work characteristically aims for a sociological 'objectivity', Petri examines these relationships in psychoanalytic terms. As *Time* magazine aptly put it, "It is Petri's thesis that the industrial state can be located somewhere between depersonalisation and psychosis".⁵⁷

Massa's hyper-productivity is first figured as a sublimation of sexual desire. As he works, he repeats the mantra "*un pezzo, un culo*" (one piece, one ass), his productivity at the machine apparently inversely proportional to his sexual appetite at home with his partner. Following his radicalisation, Massa encourages the workers not just to strike against the imposition of speed-up and piecework, but to refuse work entirely. The film dramatises a crisis of political subjectivity and representation, or what Perry Anderson has described as "the cancellation of political alternatives" that characterises the post-1968 conjuncture.⁵⁸ As Negri put it, the defining political dilemma of the 1970s would become "the problem of how to arrive at models of democratic representation in a context in which the social modes of production are being transformed".⁵⁹ As the film suggests, grassroots movements in the factories had started to organise outside of the union structures, and also modify the nature of their demands.

The *cine-inchieste* and the politics of space: *The Mattei Affair* (Francesco Rosi, 1972) and *Illustrious Corpses* (Francesco Rosi, 1976)

Both *The Mattei Affair* (1972) and *Illustrious Corpses* (1976) are structured around Rosi's notion of the *cine-inchieste* or cinematic investigation, a framework he first developed in the early 1960s with *Salvatore Giuliano* (1961) and *Hands over the City* (1963). Rosi began his career as an assistant to Luchino Visconti on *La terra trema* (1948), and his subsequent films retained many elements of postwar neorealism, such as location shooting, use of non-professional actors, and socially-committed subject matter. As he recalled, this first period of neorealism was soon followed by a second, critical phase:

In the beginning, neorealism involved only the attempt to be a witness to reality, with no critical perspective, just a desire to record reality. But this was not enough. After a while, neorealism had become fashionable, it was just another mode – you had a predetermined format and all you had to do was put all the neorealist gimmicks into this format. I refused this schematicism [sic] because it was merely rhetoric and my personal solution was for my investigative research to provide the narrative structure for my films.⁶⁰

Here, Rosi describes how, like many of the other directors associated with neorealism, he moved away from what he as a restrictive conception of a realism towards a more open, experimental (and modernist) framework for filmmaking. But rather than visual abstraction, Rosi's method for complicating the relationship to the real was the investigation, which would become an important format through which the Italian political cinema could represent the shifting political terrain of the 1970s. As *Cineaste* critics Gary Crowdus and Dan Georgakas opine, Rosi's films provide "a scale model to understand power relationships".⁶¹ The two films in this section implement their investigative structure at a different textual level: in *The Mattei Affair*, the investigation provides the framework for the film itself; in *Illustrious Corpses*, it is reproduced within the more familiar genre framework of the police procedural.

The Mattei Affair explores the mysterious circumstances surrounding the death of the Italian industrialist, Enrico Mattei. It applies the investigative, procedural form to the numerous, conflicting narratives about Mattei's death, and in doing so, examines the contradictions of the Italian economic miracle. In 1953, Mattei had been made head of the state oil and gas monopoly ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi). In the following years, Mattei expanded ENI into something resembling a state-owned multinational conglomerate. As Roger Greenspun put it in the *New York Times*, "In the time between the end of World War II and his death in 1962, Enrico Mattei put together an industrial service complex that was at the very least instrumental in shaping Italy's postwar economic boom".⁶² ENI later branched out from oil and gas production into rubber, plastics, iron, and atomic energy; by the turn of the 1960s, the corporation was valued at \$2 billion, with ENI-branded filling stations, a chain of bars and restaurants, and even a stake in a daily newspaper, *Il Giorno*.⁶³

Rosi's method is not to present a conspiracy theory so much as to layer different types of evidence, which ultimately suggest that the historical narrative around Mattei's death remains impossible to complete satisfactorily. It might be seen as a postmodernist biopic, both in its rejection of psychological depth or interiority with respect to its central subject and its radical scepticism about the final availability of historical truth and the ability of narrative to represent it adequately. The film is composed of a mosaic of fragmentary, heterogeneous elements: dramatic reconstructions, interviews and news reports. The opening sequences of the film reconstruct the circumstances surrounding Mattei's death in an airplane crash at Bascape, near Milan, 27 October 1962, at the height of the Cuban Missile Crisis. The film's complex flashback structure allows Rosi to interweave the historical

narrative of postwar Italy into the present of the 1970s, moving across three periods of time: the narrative of Mattei's life and the development of ENI, from 1946 to 1962; the immediate aftermath and investigation of the crash in 1962; and sequences set in the 1970s, in which the director appears himself, investigating the disappearance of his associate, the journalist Mauro de Mauro. Though much of the film appears, at least superficially, to resemble a traditional biopic, the sequences which follow Rosi's two contemporary investigations – the first, a reconsideration of the evidence surrounding Mattei's death; the second, into the disappearance of de Mauro – insert the film into an unfolding present. The narration of history then appears as an unfinished discourse in the process of articulation, rather than a total whole enunciated in the perfect tense.

The Mattei Affair avoids the traditional dynamics of the biopic. There are no childhood scenes or formative, rites-of-passage experiences. Rather, the film is presented as a dossier, almost entirely exterior. This apparent disinterest in Mattei as an individual personality *per se* focuses the film more closely on Mattei's emblematic status. As a public figure, Mattei can be seen to embody a number of apparent contradictions central to the development of postwar Italy. From one perspective, Mattei and ENI represented the perfect collusion between the state and monopoly capital in what Italian theorists were beginning to describe as 'neocapitalism'. As *Harper's* put it, Mattei had become "the symbol of a vigorous new state socialism".⁶⁴ However, from a global standpoint, ENI operated a radical foreign policy in its working relationship with developing countries. As the film describes, it was Mattei's openly stated policy that oil-producing nations should challenge the hegemony of the major oil companies – in Mattei's now-famous coinage, "the Seven Sisters".⁶⁵ Mattei brokered a number of deals between ENI and Third World countries such as Libya and Algeria, offering a 50/50 profit split rather than the usual 75/25 established by British and American oil companies. As Mattei suggests in the film, Italy had become a post-colonial nation earlier than Britain or France, which allowed it to develop a unique status as an intermediary between the developed and developing world. In this respect, ENI's relationship to the Third World was mirrored by Italy's cinematic relationship to these non-aligned nations.⁶⁶

Premiered at the Cannes festival in 1972, *The Mattei Affair* was released worldwide during 1973, the year in which the OPEC crisis focused global attention on the geopolitics of oil. Perhaps more than any other Italian film of the period, *The Mattei Affair* demonstrated how the boom was embedded within a set of global processes and interrelationships. Apart from a brief sequence in Milan's Piazza del Duomo, the Italian city appears only in the

guise of two recent modernist office complexes built by ENI at EUR in Rome, and at San Donato on the outskirts of Milan.⁶⁷ The development at the latter location, popularly known as Metanopoli (Methane City), was constructed during the late 1950s, comprising research laboratories, residential blocks, and a set of flagship glass-and-steel towers (Nizzoli and Oliveri, 1955-1958). A company town set apart from the central city, Metanopoli exemplifies the paternalistic urbanism of *la nuova dimensione* that was central to the development of Italian corporations like Olivetti.

Following the initial reconstruction of the air crash, this architecture is presented in a sequence which develops a series of motifs and connections that structure the film. The first shot presents the ENI headquarters at night, the glass-and-steel curtain wall visible only as a series of blue vertical lines against the darkness. A rectangle of neon light flickers on in the top right hand corner. As several more windows light up, we hear overlapping telephone calls in multiple languages, the light from the windows casting an abstract, geometrical pattern across the frame. We cut to a tighter close-up, and then to a flickering wall of black-and-white television sets. Here, the sound and editing draws connections between the visual abstraction of the curtain wall architecture and global media and communication networks. Sequences from Mattei's life waver on and off in stark, blue-grey monochrome. We then cut to a third grid pattern: a series of *Time* and *Life* magazines on the wall in their New York offices.

The film was shot across a series of global locations, tracing out the networks of production and consumption of the multinational corporation: Sicily, New York, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Milan. The aerial sequences filmed at Abadan – before its destruction in the Iran-Iraq wars, the largest oil refinery in the world – are a global counterpart to the ENI refinery at Ravenna that provided the stunning visual centrepiece to Michelangelo Antonioni's *Red Desert* (1964). In addition to its forays into urban development, ENI also produced a number of films, commissioning a number of notable left-wing filmmakers to produce public relations documentaries such as *Italy Is Not a Poor Country* (Joris Ivens, 1960), *The Oil Road* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1967), and *An Energy Story* (Gillo Pontecorvo, 1984). Bertolucci's involvement with ENI began at an early age, as his father, the poet Attilio Bertolucci, had been the editor of the corporation's magazine *Il Gatto Selvatico*. In 1966, the company proposed that Bernardo helm a documentary project following the journey of oil from its origin in Iran, shipping through the Suez Canal, and across the Mediterranean to Italy. As the director later explained, this had a lasting effect on his films: "Today I am still grateful for that job, as it triggered within me the pleasure of travelling. It was my

first real journey: I discovered that other cultures existed and I immediately fell in love with them. This feeling has been with me ever since, in China, the Sahara, India ... and has been a fundamental element of my artistic production".⁶⁸ He related these experiences to Pasolini's images of the *borgate*: "Somehow there was a connection between these images and the attention Pasolini devoted to rag-proletarians when exploring the Rome suburbs ... The equation was: underdeveloped countries are the same as Rome suburbs".⁶⁹

Such a relationship between the Italian city and underdeveloped areas of the Third World (and Italy's own *mezzogiorno*) was, as Michel Ciment suggests, a central concern of *The Mattei Affair*. As Ciment puts it, "among the host of topics he could have examined, he chose underdevelopment, expanding for the first time in his work to a global level".⁷⁰ The counterpoint to the Third World imagery is most clearly articulated in a number of later sequences that focus on the ENI Headquarters (Bacigalupo and Ratti, 1962). Its International Style curtain wall, still a relatively new architectural style in Italian cities, was at the time of its construction the largest glazed surface in Italy. As Ciment has argued, for Rosi

film is not only a commentary on modern objects, it adopts the form of the objects. Who has shown more powerfully ... this world of polished, shiny surfaces, glass buildings and their lighted windows, airplanes, helicopters and cars, telephones and hallways, the bustling of Teletype machines and screens? The film echoes the pure form of the machinery it depicts: the juxtaposition of different structures, sensitivity to diverse proportions ... There is some Mies van der Rohe in Rosi, and the Mattei affair could be the Seagram Building of modern film.⁷¹

This particular variation of the International Style evoked by Rosi's cinematography was, as the architectural historian Reinhold Martin argues, not merely an architectural aesthetic. Visible in the work of Mies, Eero Saarinen, Eliot Noyes, SOM and many anonymous corporate reinterpretations, it reflected a profound convergence between the disciplines of architecture and business management in firms such as IBM and General Motors. As Martin argues, "This network reaches outside of the city and ultimately across the globe, proliferating in lines of transportation and communication that also constitute the space of a new symbolic".⁷² As I have argued in earlier chapters, these Miesian aesthetics became an integral part of the formal language of the political thriller across global urban contexts, creating its own 'International Style' of cinematic space. In the 1970s, the political

thriller developed into a mobile, adaptable, polyvalent genre format, as useful in Egypt or Uruguay as in Paris or New York for examining the shifting nature of contemporary power, its technological and spatial form. In these films, architectural modernism – in particular, the reflective curtain wall, and the figure of the endlessly extendible, flexible grid – became used for a variety of metonymic purposes in addition to their own important connotative functions, expressing notions of abstraction, structure and complexity that are difficult to attain through the language of classical *mise-en-scène*.

While *The Mattei Affair* drew connections between this corporate modernist space and its global network, the central concern of *Illustrious Corpses* is the relationship between different parts of Italy, not only between the affluent North and the underdeveloped South, but between different layers of historical urban space. As Angelo Restivo argues: “the spaces of Italy provide a unique vantage point for the investigation of postmodern geographies, insofar as Italian space is subject simultaneously to the deformations of the new ‘global space’ and to the ‘inertia’ of an urban space overloaded with traces of the past”.⁷³ The film follows Amerigo Rogas (Lino Ventura), a detective brought in from Rome to investigate the murder of a judge in Sicily. Shortly after this initial death, two more judges are killed in a similar style in neighbouring towns. Initially, Rogas assumes a non-political motive, and investigates a number of suspects who were the victims of judicial error. Foremost is a chemist, Cres, the victim of a miscarriage of justice, who Rogas suspects may be taking revenge on the judges who presided over his case. Yet as he is drawn in further, Rogas uncovers what he believes to be a conspiracy: the initial murders carried out by Cres have been continued for political ends. The plot is often opaque, using ellipsis to imply further levels of intrigue. One central yet unresolved subplot involves real estate speculation in Southern cities – questioning, if not fleshing out, how the development of the built environment and the construction industry were implicated in structures of power. Visually, these scenes of half-finished modernist apartment blocks contribute to a visual or spatial evocation of the inscrutability of such relationships. This is then reiterated in a scene in which Rogas attends a high-society party. Momentarily catching a glimpse of his suspect reflected in a mirror, Rogas strains for a closer view; yet an imperfection in the surface of the mirror has distorted the image, obscuring the man’s face and his identity. Each one of the photographs he discovers has had the man’s face carefully excised, which provides a chilling symbol of the enigma (and ultimate unrepresentability) of power itself. As in *The Parallax View*, *mise-en-scène* provides a way of signifying structures of



Figure 14: Real estate development becomes implicated in the political conspiracy of *Illustrious Corpses* (Produzioni Europee Associati/United Artists, 1976).

power spatially without relying on an individual representative. Here, the lavish interior of the apartment is adorned with enormous maps of the world, cartographic imagery that hints at a web of power relations spreading out beyond Italy and the limits of the nation state.

As his investigation continues Rogas becomes individually implicated within the plot. He is invited by the Security Minister to join the police's anti-subversive division, responsible for the monitoring and repression of militant groups. They are monitoring a far-left extra-parliamentary organisation, Group Z. It is now widely accepted that far-right organisations within Italy aimed to operate a 'strategy of tension', whereby political violence would polarise public opinion and help to legitimise authoritarian solutions. Modernism is closely associated with this authoritarian politics through the geometrical, neon-lit interiors of the police station. The police surveillance room – a counterpart to similar spaces in American films from *The Anderson Tapes* to *The Taking of Pelham 123* – is dominated by stark black-and-white grids. A series of workers in lab coats operate various pieces of electronic monitoring and surveillance equipment, through which they review and record activity across the city.

The series of 'illustrious corpses' in the opening sequence at the Capuchin Catacombs in Palermo not only prefigure the dead bodies that a scattered throughout the film, but also point to a symbolic relationship that it explores between sedimented layers of historical space. As the architect Michael Sorkin explains in the introduction to his book of the same name, the term 'illustrious corpses' refers to *Cadavre Exquis*,

“the famous collaborative folded paper game beloved of the surrealists”.⁷⁴ However, its significance runs deeper, the term acting not only as “the greatest portmanteau metaphor for modern culture ever” but also “a perfect image of the city: our greatest, most out of control collective artifact”.⁷⁵ This notion of the city as a collective artifact invokes the work of Aldo Rossi. Rossi rejected both the modern movement’s ‘naïve functionalism’ (“form follows function”) and ‘natural’ or organic concepts of space, instead emphasising both the structural, socially-produced nature of urban space and the personal, psychological experiences of the city that constitute its being.⁷⁶ For Rossi, the city embodies the “collective memory”, and – perhaps like cinema – the city is seen as the formal expression of the relationship between the individual and the collective consciousness. Both structure and ruin, the city is the manifestation of collective social production, and yet is loaded with personal memories, desires and traces of the past.

The film was based on Leonardo Sciascia’s novel, *Il Contesto* (The Context), which to Rosi “seemed a kind of summa of the issues addressed in my previous films”.⁷⁷ Sciascia’s novel takes place in an unnamed, imaginary country which, though it inevitably bears close resemblance to Italy, remains non-specific. In the film, the setting is unmistakably Italy, though Rosi retains a slightly abstract sense of place throughout. Rosi has explained that his intention was to avoid the overfamiliarity of classical, historic Rome, while at the same time, steering clear of overt references to the modernist architecture of the fascist era.⁷⁸ In place of iconic buildings, we are given predominantly indistinct locations. In losing their specificity and becoming abstract, they are instead presented as what Aldo Rossi describes as architectural *types*: the public housing block; the classical piazza, the modernist interior of the police station, and so on.⁷⁹ In the South, the action is staged in a series of cities and towns, from Naples and Palermo, to Lecce, Siculiana, and Agrigento. As Rosi put it, “I had to address Italy, but rather a metaphysical interpretation of Italy, so I constructed an ideal geography of Italy from different places”.⁸⁰ This is particularly evident in one sequence in a town square which, as Rosi noted, “was composed of pure spaces, pure volumes, like in the metaphysical paintings of De Chirico”.⁸¹ The Italian critic Francesco Bolzoni has argued that the scenes in Sicily represent an intentional stylistic evocation of underdevelopment that “immerses the idle character in the warmth and light of a Sicily contemplated from a distance, visually almost a quotation of Visconti, evoking unproductive time, the times of inertia and waiting imposed on the Third World”.⁸²

Rosi’s films of the 1970s used the format of the ‘cine-investigation’ to direct enquiries into the state of 1970s Italy. These enquiries were, of course,

also genre entertainment, and were necessarily subject to the restrictions that imposes. The connections plotted out by their narrative space and mise-en-scène operate as imperfect models or maps of power relationships. Frequently, explicitly cartographic and architectural imagery is used to draw connections, for example, between Italy's economic miracle and the geopolitics of the Cold War, or the apparent prosperity of the industrial north versus the enforced underdevelopment of the rural south. Like many of the films analysed in this book, and especially the transnational journeys of chapter six, the spatial dynamics of these movies are best understood as occupying the intersection of the global and local. While attempting to appeal to both domestic and international audiences, they also elaborated cinematic cities where the apparent obviousness of city space, and of genre narrative patterns, are undermined by both traces of the past and extensions into the global.

The turmoil of the 1970s generated an enduring cycle of political filmmaking as well as fertile debates and struggles on the nature of the city and capitalism itself. However, as the Italian political cinema dispersed into global art cinema, and many Italian radical architects retreated from production into reflection and criticism, new models of urbanism were emerging on the periphery of Milan, from synergies between deregulated construction and commercial media. The rise of Silvio Berlusconi's business empire began with the construction of an enormous housing development, Milano II (1970-1979), in the suburb of Segrate. As John Foot describes, Milano II was self-consciously modelled on American exurbia, built to "enclose the residents within a model of wealth, a non-urban environment and space", using its own private cable company, Telemilano (1974), to propagate a new urban lifestyle set apart from 'Milano violenta'. While the Italian film industry continued to decline in the 1980s, along with the tradition of political filmmaking described in this chapter, the growth of cable television provided both a business model and a visual culture that would fully depart from the leftist legacy of neorealism and later come to define the Italian city in the age of neoliberalism.

10. Frankfurt, Cologne and Berlin

New German Cinema and the Urban Public Sphere

In chapter six, I discussed Wim Wenders's *Alice in the Cities* (1974) as an exemplary case of the emerging transnational inter-urban movie and a product of the increasing globalisation of art cinema. However, though the film was shot on location in the United States, the Netherlands and West Germany, and first found success at international film festivals, its origins were firmly associated with the cinematic and critical phenomenon of the New German Cinema. This movement, closely associated with directors such as Wenders, Werner Herzog, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Alexander Kluge and Margarethe von Trotta, paradoxically rose to prominence under the adverse conditions of urban and economic crisis in the seventies. Indeed, whereas film industries in Britain, France and Italy suffered during the decade, West German cinema – or at least one specific section of it – reached an unprecedented level of acclaim and international recognition. This chapter argues that the New German Cinema (henceforth NGC) was successful not *despite* but *because* of the country's crisis in the seventies. A product of both global pressures and more distinctive national conditions, the NGC reflected both a need to reposition West Germany internationally as well as an attempt to encourage a more specifically urban public sphere through which the crisis could be mediated. Across three key films, filmed in Frankfurt, Cologne and Berlin, I examine a number of thematic preoccupations and formal strategies through which the crisis of postwar urbanism and West Germany's nascent transition to flexible, post-Fordist modes of capitalism became visible.¹ In doing so, I wish to argue that questions of urban space and political subjectivity not only left their imprint on the decade's films but also that the NGC itself occupies an important position within this transformation of social space and 'public experience'.²

The origins of New German Cinema

As the financial and institutional background to the NGC has been well documented elsewhere, I will only briefly summarise the key points here before suggesting some ways in which it can be related to the urban and economic restructuring of the 1970s.³ Film production remained a notable exception to the wider regeneration of the West German economy dur-

ing the 1950s and 1960s, a period of rapid industrial expansion and urban modernisation popularly known as the *Wirtschaftswunder*.⁴ Alexander Kluge summed up the problem in 1962: “West German film is in a crisis: its intellectual content was never more lacking, but today its economic status is equally threatened. This is happening at a time when in France and Italy, in Poland and Czechoslovakia, but also in many other countries, film has assumed a new artistic and political importance”.⁵ Citing the examples of politically engaged filmmakers such as Francesco Rosi and Andrzej Wajda, Kluge called for a non-commercially oriented cinema that could “embrace social documentation, political questions, educational concerns, and filmic innovations”.⁶ These comments were an elaboration on the famous Oberhausen manifesto, a short polemical statement presented to the Oberhausen Film Festival in 1962 by twenty-six filmmakers. In the wake of Oberhausen, a number of institutional developments in the 1960s paved the way for a renaissance in German filmmaking. While the collective manifesto heralded the emergence of a new film culture and the seeds of a revitalised national cinema, it was the establishment of two public funding bodies, the Kuratorium Junger Deutscher Film (1965) and the Film Development Board (Filmförderungsanstalt or FFA) (1968) that consolidated the mechanisms by which that cinema might surface. Film schools were also established at Berlin (1966) and Munich (1967), as well as the Ulm Institut für Filmgestaltung (1966), which, in Kluge’s words, was to be “the theoretical department of the New German Cinema”, explicitly drawing inspiration from two Weimar-era models, the Bauhaus and the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research.⁷

The first year of Kuratorium funding produced critically acclaimed features such as *Abschied von Gestern* (Alexander Kluge, 1966) and *Der junge Törless* (Volker Schlöndorff, 1966). However, the majority of funding was still economically-oriented, retrospectively rewarding commercially successful films with monies drawn from an admissions levy. Further refinements to the subsidy laws established a more secure base for art film, though finance still generally relied on subjective judgements of quality bestowed by panels of industry professionals. The global success of NGC did not occur until the 1970s, with directors such as Werner Herzog, Rainer Werner Fassbinder and Wim Wenders gaining international plaudits. This was catalysed by two crucial developments in funding and distribution in the early 1970s: the creation of Filmverlag der Autoren, and the Television Framework Agreement. The former was a collectively owned production and distribution company established by thirteen filmmakers (including Wenders and Fassbinder) in 1971. It marked a radical departure in the

management of production, distribution and film rights, allowing the directors to make deals directly with TV stations and establish a degree of independence from the monopoly of American distribution companies. The Television Framework Agreement of 1974 secured a deal between the major public broadcast networks and the FFA, guaranteeing 34 million DM for feature film production between 1974-1978.⁸ The agreement also stipulated that films would be screened in the cinema for a minimum of two years before their television premiere.⁹ Thus, as Jan Dawson noted, television had begun to occupy the uncomfortable dual role of the solution *and* the problem, “benefactor” and “victorious competitor”. As she puts it, “by 1971, television – in its multiple roles of producer, co-producer, commissioning body and exhibitor – had already become an inescapable factor in every film-maker’s calculations”.¹⁰

The NGC was therefore made possible by a new set of relationships between independent filmmakers and a number of state funding bodies and media institutions. In response to lobbying from filmmakers and industry representatives, the state stepped in to subsidise film production, though it did so not through a monopolised state industry but by introducing a flexible model whereby films meeting certain definitions of ‘quality’ would be granted funding by a number of public bodies. Thus, while NGC was in some ways diametrically opposed to American cinema of the seventies, where the ‘Hollywood Renaissance’ was shaped by the logic of capital restructuring, it also displayed certain similarities with it. Like their counterparts in seventies Hollywood, independent directors and producers in Germany tendered bids for financing individual projects or packages, though the sources of funding were characteristically public rather than private, and the selection processes more openly cultural and less commercial in orientation. Julia Knight notes that this subsidy system fostered an “artisanal mode of production” and what she describes as the “development of a small, team-based ‘cottage industry’”.¹¹ Though the majority of funding streams were ultimately derived from the state, this emphasis on artisanal or craft practice within filmmaking was consonant with a wider turn to specialised, small-scale manufacturing that was beginning to emerge in specific innovative industrial complexes across Europe and the United States.¹² Alexander Kluge also spoke of his filmmaking practice as if it embodied a rupture in capitalist production, emphasising that the NGC was “characterized by a mode of production that we pursue as if capitalism were beginning anew, as if one could use the methods of 1800s in the era of big business”.¹³ For Kluge, the new “auteurs” were first and foremost “independent artisans”.¹⁴ As he put it, “This is the *Kino der Autoren*: the Nagra tape recorder, an Arriflex,

your own cutting table, a knowledge of bookkeeping and the idea that this was a process of enlightenment".¹⁵

The West German film and media industries developed around Munich in the decades following World War II and the dismantling of the Nazi film industry at UFA (Berlin). This was part of a wider pattern of urban-regional industrial growth and change in West Germany, which intensified during the 1970s. The heavily industrialised Rhine-Ruhr region experienced de-industrialisation during the decade, while reindustrialisation in high-tech industries such as electronics and aerospace occurred in the previously rural southern *Länder* of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg.¹⁶ To an extent, this mirrored the US Rust Belt to Sun Belt shift; as the *Economist* remarked in a 1972 editorial, Bavaria was fast becoming "the nearest thing in Germany to the booming bits of California".¹⁷ Just as the Weimar cinema of Murnau and Lang was rooted in the paradigmatic early-twentieth-century metropolis, Berlin, the NGC can be understood as the precursor to an emerging post-Fordist culture industry, embedded in the expanding high-tech circuits of production in the Bavaria/Baden-Württemberg industrial agglomeration.¹⁸ Subsidies for German filmmakers thus implicitly supported urban development objectives and helped to maintain profitable studio and post-production facilities for international co-productions. For example, big budget Hollywood features such as *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory* (Mel Stuart, 1971) and *Cross of Iron* (Sam Peckinpah, 1977) were filmed in Munich studios to take advantage of tax shelters and relatively low labour costs.

Through this innovative, decentralised reconfiguration of production as a post-Fordist network rather than a bureaucratic monopoly, the NGC allowed small-scale filmmaking to flourish in the 1970s. However, despite gaining critical success on the international art-house circuit, only six out of some three hundred films classified as NGC made it into the box office top 50 in West Germany.¹⁹ To an extent, this reflected Hollywood's dominance: for example, in 1976, German films accounted for only 10% of the domestic box office.²⁰ But as Eric Rentschler has argued, the very notion of the NGC as a distinctive movement was inseparable from its international reception, particularly in the United States.²¹ John E. Davidson takes this analysis a stage further, arguing that NGC played a significant role in repositioning Germany and German national identity on the global stage. As he explains:

the rise of NGC took place in a world that existed in a state of neocolonialism in which the West constantly attempted to reshape, maintain, and further the domination it once held through physical power, a process in

which intellectual discourse played an important and yet ambivalent role ... When set in a neocolonial framework, NGC can be seen as consistently involved in re-creating an “othered” German identity in order to integrate Germany into the West more fully and resolidify the West in the face of continuing crisis.²²

This idea of the NGC as an export product can also be contextualised within a wider retooling of German manufacturing for global markets. As Margit Mayer argues, the restructuring of West German industrial production in the 1970s had the key strategic aim of gaining competitive advantage for manufacturing exports in the shifting world market.²³ A fundamental tension therefore existed between the dual roles of NGC as a product for international export, and as the potential locus for a more specifically national or urban public sphere. At the same time as NGC was winning prizes overseas, it also began to operate as a discursive space in which the fissures of contemporary German society – and particularly, the issues of urban life – could be renegotiated. This was evident in grassroots film culture as well as in government policy; as Sabine Hake has argued, “sharing basic beliefs with the political elites about the possibility of social change and the importance of critical debate, New German Cinema in some ways functioned as an integral part of SPD cultural policy”.²⁴

While Munich remained the base for the majority of filmmakers, studios and production facilities, NGC was characteristically mobile in terms of its filming locations, extending across rural and urban locations in the BRD, and from the late 1970s, cities and regions began to offer subsidies to compete for investment in a similar manner to the municipal and regional film agencies I have described in the United States.²⁵ In stark contrast to the pastoral Heimatfilme of the 1950s, urban settings and contemporary political themes were a significant characteristic of NGC, representing a range of cities from Hamburg in *The American Friend* (Wenders, 1977) to Frankfurt in *Mother Küster's Trip to Heaven* (Fassbinder, 1975) and *Der stärke Ferdinand* (Kluge, 1976); Munich in *Katzelmacher* (Fassbinder, 1969), *Angst essen Seele auf* (Fassbinder, 1974), and *Messer in Kopf* (Reinhardt Hauff, 1978) to Cologne in *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* (Schlöndorff and von Trotta, 1975) and Berlin in *Liebe Mutter, mir geht es gut* (Christian Ziewer, 1972), *Die Allseitig reduzierte Persönlichkeit – Redupers* (Helke Sander, 1977) and *Die dritte Generation* (Fassbinder, 1979).²⁶

Just as in France and Italy, the economic boom tailed off in the late 1960s and early 1970s before the onset of global recession in 1973-1974.²⁷ This economic downturn was matched by wider cultural and constitutional

crises during the decade, of which the urban political violence and media spectacle of the Red Army Faction was perhaps the most internationally visible index. But whereas the modernist art cinema of Italian directors such as Antonioni and Pasolini directly coincided with the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation of the economic miracle, NGC emerged at a later conjuncture, becoming successful at the very moment when the foundations of postwar urbanism were coming directly and violently into question.²⁸

Following the Second World War, West Germany had embarked on a massive reconstruction project to repair the extensive bomb damage to urban areas. Aerial bombing had devastated some 199 German cities, including 41 major urban centres, with the proportion of buildings destroyed ranging from 50 to 100%.²⁹ Marshall Plan funding and crucial fiscal reforms steered the German economy into a phase of rapid modernisation and regeneration. Berlin's capital city functions were decentralised and dispersed to other cities across West Germany: political institutions to Bonn, financial services to Frankfurt, and entertainment, fashion, and electronics to Munich. Urban redevelopment largely proceeded with updated models of the modernist social housing developed by architects and planners such as Ernst May and Bruno Taut in the 1920s. In the late 1950s and 1960s, development was particularly concentrated on peripheral housing projects outside urban centres, with *Trabantenstädte* (satellite towns) constructed at locations such as Frankfurt-Nordweststadt, Munich-Perlach and Dusseldorf-Garath.³⁰ Elsewhere, inner-city areas were reorganised by slum-clearance and modernisation programmes, perhaps the most influential of which centred around the 1957 Interbau in Berlin, where architecture was placed centre stage in the ideological conflict between East and West Germany. Focused on the reconstruction of the Hansaviertel, a residential quarter adjacent to the Tiergarten, the competition attracted internationally renowned architects including Alvar Aalto, Oscar Niemeyer, Walter Gropius and Egon Eiermann. A showcase for modernist architecture and urban design as an expression of capitalism and democratic principles, the Interbau competition was placed in direct opposition – both ideological and aesthetic – to the redevelopment around the Stalinallee in East Berlin.³¹

Following the example of Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), critiques of postwar urbanism began to appear at the beginning of the 1970s, focusing on the trends towards decentralisation and suburbanisation commonly known as the *autogerechte Stadt* (automobile city) and the concomitant decline of the inner city. Among the most famous of these was Alexander Mitscherlich's *Our Inhospitable Cities: An Incitement to Unrest* (1971), though similar arguments were made in volumes such

as *Architecture as Ideology* (1970) and *Capitalist City Construction* (1970).³² Similar themes were also examined in contemporary gallery exhibits such as the architect Josef Lehmbruck's "Profitopolis, or Mankind Needs Another Kind of City" (Neue Sammlung, Munich, 1971), which attacked the property speculation and free-market imperatives shaping major cities such as Munich and Frankfurt.³³ Redevelopment processes intensified in the early 1970s. As Margit Mayer argues, "crisis management ... required a concomitant *societal* restructuring: domestic policies from the Urban Development Act 1971 to the Federal Spatial Zoning Program have been geared to make production structures more flexible."³⁴

This redevelopment of the West German city fuelled a number of urban political movements rooted in the radical politics and intellectual discourse of the New Left. Urban space in the 1970s became both a catalyst and a stage for direct political action, with protest movements organising themselves around zones marked out for redevelopment. Particularly intense struggle centred on the demolition of residential areas in so-called "clear-cut renewal" schemes in neighbourhoods such as Frankfurt-Westend, Hannover-Linden, and Kreuzberg, West Berlin. For example, the planned demolition of 84% of the housing stock in the Kottbusser Tor area of Kreuzberg sparked off several years of intense conflict between activists, developers and police between 1977-1982.³⁵ The 1970s also saw the emergence of a new phenomenon in West German cities: the urban terrorists who were, in the words of Italian journalist Rossana Rossanda, the "unwanted children" of the New Left.³⁶ These groups not only struck at the heart of urban infrastructure, but were media-savvy provocateurs, drawing a line from the surrealist anarchism of the Situationist International to the global terrorist organisations of the twenty-first century.³⁷

In recognition of the decentralised, polycentric nature of West Germany's urban network and cinematic production, this chapter discusses three key films set in Frankfurt, Cologne and Berlin, respectively: *In Gefahr und größter Not bringt der Mittelweg den Tod* (In Danger and Distress, the Middle Way Brings Certain Death) (Alexander Kluge and Edgar Reitz, 1974); *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* (The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum) (Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta, 1975); and *Die dritte Generation* (The Third Generation) (Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1979). Each film operates a distinctive aesthetic strategy through which it explores its relationship to the 'public sphere' and the phenomenon of urban political violence: the essay film *In Danger and Distress* investigates the *Häuserkampf* in Frankfurt, fusing documentary and fiction to interrogate the representation of public and private events; *Katharina Blum* adapts Heinrich Böll's polemical fable

into a political thriller; and *The Third Generation* fictionalises the kidnapping of Hans-Martin Schleyer in the form of a black comedy.³⁸

Frankfurt and the Häuserkampf: *In Gefahr und größter Not bringt der Mittelweg den Tod* (1974)

Filmed over ten days in February 1974, *In Danger and Distress, the Middle Way Brings Certain Death* offers a portrait of Frankfurt am Main in the flux of urban restructuring. A heterogeneous mix of documentary reportage, interviews and dramatic scenes, the film is best understood within the generic framework of the essay film. As Nora Alter has argued, the origins of the essay film can be traced back to the cluster of avant-garde works and documentaries in the 1920s that took the city as their principal focus, such as *Rien que les heures* (Alberto Cavalcanti, 1926), *Berlin: Die Symphonie der Großstadt* (Walter Ruttmann, 1927) and *À propos de Nice* (Jean Vigo, 1930). The format would become particularly important to the Left Bank group in Paris, especially in the work of Chris Marker. Later in the 1960s, it took on a newly politicised form, best exemplified by Godard's *Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle* (1967), which I discuss in my earlier chapter on Paris, and a number of other films in urban centres globally, such as the Third Cinema blueprint *Hour of the Furnaces* (Solanas and Getino, 1968). The format's revival at the end of the sixties was not coincidental. As Nora Alter explains, "Theorists of the essay have argued from the onset that the genre manifests itself in moments of crisis – political and representational. The function of the essay is not therapy or healing the wounds produced by the upheavals of the day, but crisis diagnosis enabling and encouraging future social and cultural transformations".³⁹

The characteristic properties of the essay film make it especially appropriate for the exploration of the city. Like big cities, essays tend to be heterogeneous, fragmented and complex. Associative and often non-linear, essay films accentuate digression, the aesthetics of collage and material heterogeneity, often pulling together different kinds of footage and archival material that evoke history and memory. By using a polyphonic arrangement of voices and perspectives, they frequently engage with the fundamental multiplicity of urban culture. Furthermore, as Tim Corrigan has argued, the essay film is especially concerned with the relationship between the subjective and personal on the one hand, and on the other, what he terms "public experience" – a key concern for Alexander Kluge and arguably a defining aspect of urban life. For Corrigan, essay films mediate between the personal and the collective. This is often figured through shifts in scale

that help us to associate everyday experience with social structure and the notion of the public sphere.

More explicitly than many other types of filmmaking, the essay film also offers not merely representation but also something approaching theory itself. As Miriam Hansen has suggested, *In Danger and Distress* might be considered as an implicit companion piece to the book *The Public Sphere and Experience*, published by Kluge and his colleague Oskar Negt in 1972. Building on Frankfurt School critical theory and explicitly reacting to Jürgen Habermas, they questioned the role of what they term the “bourgeois public sphere” in the organisation and production of experience, and began to theorise a potential counter public sphere, a notion that also animated Kluge’s filmmaking and public interventions in German film culture.⁴⁰ For Kluge and Negt, the public sphere not only referred to what they described as “specific institutions, agencies, practices” but also something broader – what they called a “general social horizon of experience”. Their critique frequently focused on the false distinctions produced by the bourgeois public sphere. As they elaborated, “Federal elections, Olympic ceremonies, the actions of a commando unit, a theatre premiere – all are considered public events. Other events of overwhelming public significance, such as childrearing, factory work and watching television within one’s own four walls, are considered private. The real social experiences of human beings, produced in everyday life and work, cut across such divisions”. As they saw it, the restructuring of capitalist production and urban space was necessarily augmented by a transition in the nature of public experience. For Kluge and Negt, working in the Frankfurt School tradition of Adorno, Horkheimer, and particularly, Walter Benjamin, “the development of capitalism also revolutionised habits, cultural patterns, personality structure, the senses, human characteristics and consciousness”.⁴¹ In this sense, their theoretical argument also invoked the transition towards increasingly ‘immaterial’ aspects of labour and the expansion of capital accumulation beyond the traditional scope of the workplace and the time limits of the working day.⁴² As Kluge and Negt put it, “realms hitherto autonomous are integrated directly into the profit maximising process and the use values, information and ideology produced by these realms are employed specifically as a means of stabilizing the ruling system”.⁴³

In Kluge and Reitz’s film, the notion of the public sphere is made concrete through its realisation in one specific urban setting, Frankfurt, itself home to critical theory at the Frankfurt School and latterly the nerve centre of the West German banking sector. When the film was made in the early 1970s, the city was undergoing rapid redevelopment and experiencing widespread

social tension. As the film begins, the camera follows a young woman, Inge Maier (Dagmar Bödderich), as she hurries through a deserted squat in the Westend district. As she stops at a locked door, we zoom in to some graffiti, which announces the title of the film: "In Danger and in Deep Distress, the Middle Way Brings Certain Death". We cut to images of Frankfurt's redevelopment. An extended montage sequence depicts an ongoing construction boom juxtaposed, to ironic effect, with the brooding strains of Siegfried's funeral march from Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*. This choice of scoring has several resonances. In the first instance, it directly evokes the legacy of the Third Reich, at that time receding into the past but still a ghostly presence in West Germany's industrial and financial elite (a theme reprised in Kluge's later film *Germany in Autumn*). Yet it also suggests *Götterdämmerung* in its sense of a cataclysmic downfall, evoking a city and potentially a whole society in crisis. The events captured by the film take place in early 1974, during the depths of the world economic slump. During the course of the downturn, multiple banks failed – famously including the German bank Herstatt in 1974 – and the speculative construction boom of the early 1970s was stopped in its tracks. At this specific moment, it is unclear whether the half-completed buildings might yet remain unfinished.

Moreover, Frankfurt was itself mired in an urban crisis and an identity crisis, with *Die Zeit* noting that the city's nickname of *Bankfurt* was fast transforming into *Krankfurt* or possibly even *Angstfurt*. The city was condemned as "a concrete metropolis, riot capital, and criminal stronghold" and dubbed "the sinister city with a cold heart". This oscillation between the city of finance and the evocation of the 'sick city' and the 'fear city' mirrored similar discourse in New York City during the 1970s. The opening montage of Kluge and Reitz's film signals a city in transition, of giant cranes and half-finished towers, which will later be countered with images of battles between the police and protestors. The camera cuts from labourers on the streets to the gleaming citadels of global capitalism: the Eurotower, Deutsche Bank, the United States Trade Center. Here, Kluge and Reitz explicitly draw on the tradition of the city symphony, building a bridge from the 1920s avant-garde to the New German Cinema of the seventies.⁴⁴

These images of construction are mirrored by the film's final scenes of demolition, placing the film's multiple themes under the master narrative of redevelopment. The film is composed of four intertwined parts that are signalled by title cards at the outset, but which constantly overlap and merge throughout the film. There are two notionally 'fictional' sections, telling the story of Inge Maier, a sex worker who steals from her clients, and

Rita Müller-Eisert (Jutta Winkelmann), a secret agent from East Germany charged with the task of recording “West German reality”. The other two sections are documentary in character. The first, titled “The Language of Public Events”, records a series of meetings, interviews, speeches, and cultural events, while the second records the forced eviction of two squats in the Westend district of the city (at Schumannstraße and Bockenheimer Landstraße).

Through the interplay of these sections, the film makes connections between the expansion of the financial district and the restructuring of residential space. As Frankfurt consolidated its position as one of Europe’s key financial centres, increased need for office space pushed the central business district westwards into previously residential areas, leading to a property boom and what commentators referred to (mirroring San Francisco) as the ‘Manhattanisation’ of its skyline.⁴⁵ An emerging global city and node of international finance, Frankfurt was not only the location for the Bundesbank but also the headquarters for three of the largest German banks (Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, and Commerzbank).⁴⁶ However, the Westend district became a pressure point for resistance against redevelopment – an unsurprising turn of events given that the area had become the centre of the city’s leftwing ‘Sponti’ scene, which included Daniel Cohn-Bendit among its number and had close links to the intellectual debates surrounding autonomist Marxism.⁴⁷ As in Italy, social struggle had extended beyond the traditional sites of antagonism between capital and labour, from the workplace across the social space of the city. In Frankfurt, this resulted in what would become known as the *Häuserkampf* (housing war): a series of protests and violent confrontations between the police and squatters occupying the condemned buildings on Schumannstraße and Bockenheimer Landstraße. As Klaus Walter explains, the squatters had developed a “collective living experiment”, occupying a large building in the Westend alongside families of Italian immigrants.⁴⁸ Walter recalls,

It was among its splendid late 19th-century townhouses that the mid-70s *Häuserkampf* raged in fierce streetfights. Squatting, militant, left-wing radicals tried to oppose the systematic destruction of housing space by speculators, and for a couple of short seasons the bourgeois quarter, with red and black flags flying from every third house, resembled a temporary anarcho-communist free zone.⁴⁹

But rather than straightforwardly document these scenes, Kluge and Reitz’s strategy is to destabilise documentary and fictional regimes of knowledge

through their combination and interaction. As Kluge argued, “Fiction is mimetic, imitative, because it’s hiding behind non-fiction; and I think these are two sides of the same thing. Which is why I always try to mix these two things – not simply for the sake of mixing them, but rather to create in any film the maximum possible tensions between fiction and non-fiction”.⁵⁰ Kluge suggests that his documentary footage of Frankfurt’s redevelopment must be placed within a series of relationships, images and narratives. As Kluge put it, “the film does not produce statements, but *proportions*”;⁵¹ its method of communication is not direct, but associational. Kluge and Reitz draw together an assemblage of heterogeneous fragments of fiction, documentary, interviews, voice-over, music, quotations, drawings, and film clips. The spy Rita also indirectly evokes Kluge’s investigative notion of realism; as she puts it, “I am investigating West German reality with microphones and cameras. I’m convinced that the secrets are to be found here, rather than in government espionage”. Yet her investigations are both too poetic – as her boss reprimands her, “feelings don’t count, facts do” – and simultaneously too theoretical (she hastily scrawls down the formulae at an astrophysics conference).

Using a similar technique to *Medium Cool*, Kluge and Reitz film the actress playing Inge Maier in the documentary sequences of the street battles. Her presence in the frame is a reminder both of the constructed nature of the documentary image and the radical historical contingency of the footage that finds itself bound up within the fiction film and the realities of its production process. As Kluge recalled, “Between the withdrawing student groups and the police reordering themselves on the battlefield, she hurries across the intersection. She shows the presence, the strong power even, of the ‘public sphere of cinema’ in the midst of contemporary history”.⁵² For Kluge, “mixing of forms” was the “only method which permits radical changes in perspective”.⁵³ This switching between the conventions or discourses of documentary and fiction is a more overt and self-conscious articulation of a trait visible in a number of films of the seventies, all of which incorporate identifiably documentary footage of the city into the body of a fiction film.⁵⁴

Aside from the street conflict in Westend, the footage used in the film depicts a series of public events, including a football match, a court hearing about the arrests of activists from the squats, a concert given by a police choir, strikers marching, the spring conference of the Astrophysics society, a meeting of young entrepreneurs, and arguments between Communist Party members and student radicals, who accuse them of colluding with the police. *In Danger and Distress* also makes significant use of the city’s

annual carnival (*Fasching*) as a backdrop, a tactic shared by Schlöndorff and von Trotta's *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* and Fassbinder's *The Third Generation*. In each of these films, using the motif or *topos* of carnival has a number of symbolic resonances. In the first instance, the presence of carnival underlines the notion of the city as public space or public sphere. Mikhail Bakhtin described the medieval carnival as a "ritual spectacle" that "celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions".⁵⁵ In this context, carnival therefore suggests a residue of an earlier, essentially utopian moment of collectivity. But in the late twentieth century, it had, as Robert Stam suggests, "degenerated into the ossified repetition of perennial rituals".⁵⁶ Stam further suggests that in the contemporary world, such a concept of the public sphere has been displaced by various electronic visual media, noting that "the mass-media constantly offer the simulacra of carnival-style festivity".⁵⁷

Filmmakers such as Kluge faced the problem of investigating shifts in public experience within formats associated with (and deeply implicated in) the mass media and the bourgeois public sphere. Kluge and Reitz's insistent mixing of documentary and fictional modes of representation can therefore be seen as a strategy to produce a politically-aware cinema that was not reducible to conventional representational forms. Because straightforward, newsreel-style documentation of the events had become essentially discredited, increasingly complex and self-reflexive strategies were necessary. In this way, the film reflects on the ways in which scenes such as the Westend protests were already to some degree representational, and complicates the act of filming by placing the footage within a complex textual performance. Through its complex interplay of fiction and non-fiction, public and private, *In Danger and Distress* suggests how the essay film's close relationship to public experience is often manifested at times of crisis and change for the city, and how new filmmaking practices would be needed to create a potential counter public sphere through cinema. As a small-scale, low-budget film with relatively restricted distribution, *In Danger and Distress* was emblematic of the era's more locally-focused cinematic production. In contrast, the next section discusses how similar concerns about public experience in the city and urban political violence were articulated in larger scale, more internationally focused films.

The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum (1975) and *The Third Generation* (1979)

If *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* was one of the few West German films of the seventies to be commercially successful at the domestic box office, this was perhaps due to its ability to reconcile such urgent, contemporary themes with the narrative drive and stylistic patterns of a Hollywood thriller. The film was based on Heinrich Böll's short novel, which fictionalised his own experiences of victimisation by Axel Springer's right-wing tabloid *Bild-Zeitung*. The film's theme of collusion between the media and the police in curtailing individual liberties was a pressing issue in West Germany during the 1970s. Following the outbreak of violence by the Red Army Faction and other paramilitary radical groups, a series of repressive legislative measures were passed by SPD governments led by Willy Brandt (1969-1974) and later Helmut Schmidt (1974-1982). In particular, the infamous *Radikalenerlaß* of January 1972 openly discriminated against those with "radical" backgrounds working in public sector positions including those in education and public broadcasting. Increasingly repressive police measures and new types of information processing and control were also speedily introduced to combat the perceived threat of terrorism.⁵⁸

In the film, Katharina (Angela Winkler) is a housemaid for a successful professional couple, the Blornas. It is carnival time in Cologne, and Katharina is at a fancy dress party; she dances with a man, Ludwig (Jürgen Proch), and takes him back to her apartment. The next morning her apartment is raided by the anti-terrorist unit. To Katharina's dismay, Ludwig is a high-profile terrorist suspect; her uncharacteristic moment of passion has opened her life up to scrutiny by two men representing the intertwined institutions of the police and the media: the detective, Beizmenne (Mario Adorf) and the journalist Werner Tötges (Dieter Laser). Piece by piece, her privacy and dignity are broken down by her two male antagonists: her private life and personal space are invaded, her family victimised, and her sexual propriety questioned. The film climaxes with a moment of redemptive violence against Tötges, fulfilling the circular movement implied by Böll's subtitle: "How Violence Develops and Where It Can Lead".

If terrorism remains resolutely offscreen, it operates as a structuring absence on proceedings. Though it is suggested at the end that Ludwig may not have been a terrorist after all, his guilt or innocence is ultimately of no real consequence to the plot. The political thrust of the film is rather to forward the notion that repressive measures produce violence as a structural effect.

As Böll saw it, violence and media representation had developed a fatal symbiotic relationship that could be traced back to police brutality in 1967:

The active resort to violence, conscious violence ... did not come until after the shooting of Ohnesorg and the attempt on Dutschke. The other contributing factor was – and one cannot emphasize this often enough – the sensation mongering of the Springer Press, especially in Berlin where it controls the market and intimidates those markets it doesn't control. Perhaps one day a group of researchers will retrace the step-by-step, day-by-day development of this press violence and counter-violence.⁵⁹

Schlöndorff has explained that the film was intended as a direct political intervention into the contemporary situation in West Germany: "*Katharina Blum* was produced in the middle of the action, in the heat of the moment. We were using film as a weapon. It was very polemical, part of a larger political struggle, and one didn't quite know where the film stopped and real life began".⁶⁰ As I have suggested in earlier chapters, the thriller genre became a vehicle for political themes on an international scale. As a genre form, it rested on the fault line of one of the central debates or paradoxes of political modernism and the politics of representation. The dilemma was clearly set out by Jean-Louis Comolli and Jean Narboni in their *Cahiers du Cinéma* manifesto, "Cinema/Ideology/Criticism" (1969).⁶¹ For Comolli and Narboni, films with explicitly political content but conventional form were to be attacked as politically naïve, for such films could not be seen to "effectively criticize the ideological system in which they are embedded because they unquestioningly adopt its language and imagery".⁶² In contrast, Comolli and Narboni demarcated another category of films in which "the content is not explicitly political, but in some way becomes so through the criticism practised on it through its form".⁶³ Their potential ideal therefore occupied the middle ground, fusing political content with radical formal innovation. In practice, filmmakers such as Costa-Gavras used a relatively transparent, realist style in order to reach mass audiences and communicate unambiguous political messages. However, the representational system itself, an increasingly important concern for cultural criticism in the 1960s and 1970s, often remained at best unproblematised if not implicitly reaffirmed. As I have argued above, filmmakers such as Kluge saw this as a pressing problem in their work, but the results became increasingly complex and ambiguous and had difficulty communicating with mass audiences.

However, if many of the international political thrillers of the 1970s are commonly seen to occupy Comolli and Narboni's first category, the relation-

ship between form and content in them is frequently more complex than it might first appear. In particular, their use of architectural space as mise-en-scène and pervasive abstract motifs in cinematography become tools for representing complex causality within what are essentially straightforward, linear narratives. Stylistic abstraction, frequently achieved via architectural motifs, functions as a shorthand for abstraction in a political or philosophical sense. So, while *Katharina Blum* has been critiqued for individualising its political concerns, I wish to suggest that its use of cinematic space works against this tendency and adds a level of political complexity to the film, even if it remains outwardly classical in narrative orientation.⁶⁴ Of course, Hollywood filmmakers were themselves dealing with similar issues at this time, and the shared stylistic patterns of *Katharina Blum* and films such as *The Parallax View* suggests that both belong to an emerging, global post-classical cinema that integrated elements of European film with Hollywood genres.

The director of photography, Jost Vacano, has described how *Katharina Blum*'s contemporary theme dictated that the cinematography should be essentially unstylised and "documentary" in approach.⁶⁵ However, this must be balanced against Schlöndorff's suggestion that the film should look "slightly abstract", a "dehumanizing universe" of metal surfaces, neon lighting, blank walls and anonymous office space.⁶⁶ As Vincent Canby put it in the *New York Times*, it is a film "that looks as if it had been made out of steel".⁶⁷ Throughout the film, Katharina is moved between her apartment and a series of institutional spaces. The modern, high-tech police cells were deliberately chosen to replicate the new high-security unit at Stammheim where the key members of RAF were imprisoned. Further, Schlöndorff suggests, the Stammheim regime of "sensorial deprivation" also influenced the film's mise-en-scène, in which the colours become increasingly limited and muted as the film progresses – a range of neon-lit greys and greens – and the walls stripped of ornamentation.⁶⁸ As Vacano notes, this restricted palette intentionally contrasts with the bright colours of the carnival sequences. This type of visual style also appeared in other films associated with the New German Cinema, such as Reinhardt Hauff's psychological thriller *Knife in the Head* (1978). In Hauff's film, Munich is represented as a futuristic, neo-noir city of concrete and glass. Bruno Ganz plays Berthold Hoffman, an eminent biogeneticist shot by in the head by a policeman during a political demonstration. Suffering from amnesia, Hoffman finds himself trapped in the endless deep space and neon-lit corridors of Munich's Klinikum Grosshadern hospital, whose high-tech aluminium exterior also strongly recalls Stammheim prison.

As Schlöndorff recalls, the open-plan office space of the police station in *Katharina Blum* was a deliberate choice, and one that did not reflect current trends in German office design. As Frank Duffy has explained, European office space in this period characteristically followed what he calls Social Democratic planning principles. In explicit opposition to the Taylorist office – in cinematic terms, *The Crowd* (King Vidor, 1928) or *The Apartment* (Billy Wilder, 1960) – the trend in post-fascist Northern Europe tended towards “highly cellular office buildings in which the dominant idea was less the facilitation of communication than the protection of the rights of individual workers”.⁶⁹ Thus in the West German context, the apparently “democratic” open plan office also symbolises an intrusion into individual rights. Its deliberately American orientation also prefigures the most famous cinematic open plan office of the 1970s: Pakula’s recreation of the *Washington Post* newsroom in *All the President’s Men* (1976), where the neon-lit deep space becomes a metaphor for the searching light of the liberal media. But whereas Pakula’s film presented the press as the faithful watchdog to liberal democratic institutions, Schlöndorff and von Trotta’s polemical attack on the ‘yellow’ press suggests how the discourses of transparency and freedom of speech might be mobilised for repressive ends; at Tötges’s funeral, his death is ironically construed as “an attack on press freedom”.

The open organisation of the police station office space operates within a wider set of visual motifs in the film of transparency, opacity and visibility. In one sequence, Katharina gazes out from her apartment window at a panoramic view of the city below. Like Sartre’s figure of the man at the keyhole, she is disturbed from her position of visual mastery and pleasure by the realisation that she in turn is being watched.⁷⁰ Lester Friedman has argued that “to visually express this invasion into the personal lives of private citizens, Schlöndorff and von Trotta weave a complex pattern of images throughout the film based on the recurring motifs of glass and mirrors”.⁷¹ Friedman traces a correspondence back to German Expressionism, where glass and mirrors were used to produce sensations of anxiety and terror. However, transparent surfaces have an additional resonance within the context of postwar German architecture. As Deborah Ascher Barnstone has argued, transparency in architectural form became a persistent spatial metaphor for democracy during the postwar period.⁷² In *Katharina Blum*, this ideology of transparency becomes problematic: the obverse of democratic “visibility” is revealed to be surveillance and panopticism, and Katharina is contained or trapped within a series of reflective and transparent surfaces.

The interiors and exteriors for Katharina's apartment were filmed at the Uni-Center (Werner Ingendaay, 1973), then the largest residential building in Europe.⁷³ In the film, it embodies the furthest development of the high-rise apartment block, mixing anonymity and conformity with a measure of aspirational affluence. Though it only remains a minor line in the film, the novel explains in more depth that Katharina is fascinated by a diagram of the building that Frau Blorna, her employer and architect of the building, hangs in her room:

I had a diagram of the entire heating, ventilation, plumbing, and cable systems of "Elegant Riverside Residences" hanging in my bedroom. It showed the heating ducts in red, the ventilation ducts in blue, the cables in green, and the plumbing in yellow. This diagram fascinated Katharina to such a degree – and you know what a person she is for order and planning, in fact she's positively brilliant at it – that she would stand in front of it for a long time and keep asking me about the relationships and significance of this "abstract painting" as she called it.⁷⁴

Frau Blorna adds that "these modern apartment blocks required totally different methods of surveillance from the old-fashioned apartment buildings".⁷⁵ The sequence in which Katharina's apartment is raided opens with an extended shot of the grim edifice of the apartment block at dawn. The camera slowly pans downwards, to reveal the undeveloped earth of a building site in the foreground, and then moves to the right to reveal a team of armed police behind an advertising hoarding. As the policemen advance along the exterior of her building, the camera is placed so as to simultaneously present Katharina eating breakfast in her dressing gown on the left-hand side of the frame. The Hitchcockian suspense of these two simultaneous developing scenes also accentuates the impact of the violent incursion of the police into the domestic sphere. She is strip-searched, and her possessions scrutinised and analysed for potential terrorist significance. This brutal invasion of private space is then redoubled later, when Katharina ransacks her own apartment; as in the New York films discussed earlier, the auto-destruction of domestic space symbolises the externalisation of a mental breakdown.

If carnival is initially identified with Katharina and her friends, this is later reversed; in one scene at the police station, Katharina is awaiting further questioning. Underlined by Hans Werner Henze's dissonant score, she slowly opens a door, rather implausibly left unlocked, revealing a room full of undercover police agents changing into carnival costumes. This

transformation is then shifted another time in *The Third Generation*, when it is the terrorist cell that uses carnival costumes as cover for their kidnapping plot. For both films, urban political violence is a central theme. By the 1970s, outbreaks of violent political struggle had become characteristic of late-capitalist, democratic societies of the First world as much as those of the Third world.⁷⁶ A major driving force behind this phenomenon was the continuing war in Vietnam, which galvanised international political movements and forged connections between spatially and ideologically disparate groups across global urban centres. Organisations such as the RAF and the Weathermen explicitly signalled their intention to move the front-line of the anti-imperialist struggle back from the periphery to the core, effectively “bringing the war home”.⁷⁷

The urban crisis itself was also a decisive contributory factor. At the close of the 1960s, a *Time* magazine article proclaimed the urban crisis a global phenomenon: “Last week, Secretary General U Thant reported to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations that the city – everywhere in the world – is a failure”.⁷⁸ One year later, another article described the worldwide expansion in urban political violence: “The terrorist activity is worldwide, and most of it is carried out by a new type in the history of political warfare: the urban guerrilla”.⁷⁹ As Bernard Tschumi argued in his 1972 essay “The Environmental Trigger”, the urban crisis sparked outbreaks of resistance – both violent and non-violent – that were catalysed by various forms of social injustice (unemployment, rent exploitation, deteriorating housing, poor living conditions) and made strategically expedient by the concentration of infrastructure and communication networks in urban centres. As Tschumi argued:

The concentration of power and the complexity of urban networks make cities most vulnerable to revolutionary activities ... The rural realm disappears, the pace of industrial expansion slows, the city becomes the centre of conflicts: such conclusions have been drawn already less spontaneously by political activists, who, rather than following pre-established rural models such as Ché Guevara’s ill-fated Bolivian rural guerrilla warfare, centre their activities in urban areas. The predominantly urban German situation led Rotee Armee Faktion guerrillas to attempt to exploit the latent conflicts that the urban structure contains.⁸⁰

As the *Time* magazine article explained to the American public, the new urban guerrillas attempted to “short-circuit” the traditional concept of a revolution based on a mass movement: “the very vulnerability of the modern

industrial world allows the urban terrorist to skip the painstaking, step-by-step process of organising a mass revolutionary movement and then taking disruptive action".⁸¹ Terrorist acts also became increasingly performative and media-oriented, producing indelible images such as the footage of airliners exploding at Dawson's Field, Jordan, in the Black September of 1970. As Bommi Bauman, a key member of the Berlin-based June 2nd Movement put it, "We figured out particularly how the press in Berlin would react to an action, how they would interpret the thing, and our strategy was planned with that in mind".⁸² Thomas Elsaesser has argued that the RAF's actions constituted a kind of "guerrilla urbanism"⁸³ operating precisely on the fault line between the city as theatrical space (connoted here by the residue of carnival) and one colonised and transformed by various forms of media (present in *Katharina Blum* but more fully realised in Fassbinder's *Third Generation*): "Was the RAF the last (violent) snapshot of a political culture of the street – ambiguously coded in both right- and left-wing terms – that was trying to uphold essentially 'democratic' principles of the forum and the agora, or was it already operating in the space of the spectacle it seemed to attack, but could not but help to usher in, finally?"⁸⁴ As he suggests, part of the legacy of the RAF may be that they "were not only part of the more general transformation of the civic realm and the public sphere, but actually played a leading role in making the changes visible".⁸⁵

The German terrorist movements were directly influenced by a number of global examples, each of which found cinematic representation: the Tupamaros in Uruguay, enshrined on celluloid by *State of Siege* (Costa-Gavras, 1972); the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, filmed by Godard in *Ici et ailleurs* (1976); and the Black Panthers in the United States, documented in *Black Panther* (San Francisco Newsreel, 1969). Two pamphlets by journalist-turned-revolutionary Ulrike Meinhof explicitly drew on Carlos Marighella's *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* (1969) to stake out a place for the urban revolutionary in Western Europe: "The Concept of the Urban Guerrilla" (1971), "The Urban Guerrilla and Class Struggle" (1972). The RAF began by targeting department stores, a symbol of the consumer affluence of the economic boom. As Donatella della Porta argues, West Germany and Italy both underwent intense industrial expansion in the 1950s and 1960s, followed by economic and social turbulence in the 1970s as the contradictions and inequities of postwar urbanism became impossible to contain.⁸⁶ In both countries a transition occurred during the 1970s from mass movements such as SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund) in West Germany and Lotta Continua in Italy to increasingly violent, autonomous vanguard movements such as the RAF and the Brigade Rosse.



Figure 15: Panorama of Berlin from the Europa Center reveals multiple layers of historical development in *The Third Generation* (Filmverlag der Autoren, 1979).

Though terrorism was a recurring theme in a number of seventies films, *The Third Generation* (1979) was the first West German film to represent a terrorist cell directly. The film is a barbed satire on politically naïve bourgeois radicals, now at two levels' remove from the wider social movements from which they developed. In a 1978 interview, Fassbinder suggested that the overriding theme of *The Third Generation* was the inability of the media to “confront reality”.⁸⁷ In this failure of representation, he saw the possible breakdown of West German democracy; in its inability to articulate “this specifically West German reality” to the individual citizen, the media had prevented “a real democracy” from arising, “one not democratic in name only and one in which the phenomenon of an almost inexplicable escalation of violence would never have been able to arise”.⁸⁸ In this respect, he praised the success of three recent films, one of which he co-directed: *Germany in Autumn* (1978), *The Second Awakening of Christa Klages* (von Trotta, 1977) and *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum*. For Fassbinder, these three films which “in different ways confront the reality of the Federal Republic of Germany here and today”.⁸⁹

The film opens with an elevated, panoramic shot of the wintry Berlin cityscape (fig. 15). Directly in front of the camera we see the iconic, half-destroyed tower of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, alongside its modern replacement, an architectural landmark that Andrew Webber describes as “one of the most effective mnemotopes of the city’s history of

destruction".⁹⁰ Equally important to this shot is its implicit viewpoint. As Fassbinder's collaborator Juliane Lorenz recalls, this sequence was filmed from the 15th floor of the Europa Center, an enormous shopping mall and office complex on the Kurfürstendamm. The heart of West Berlin's redevelopment in the 1960s, *Der Spiegel* called it "a City in the City"⁹¹; above all, it symbolised the sector's economic and ideological orientation towards American consumer capitalism.⁹² Like the opening sequence to *The Conversation*, this elevated perspective presents the city as a political space, and also like Coppola's film, its thematic concern with the technological mediation of public space is clear from outset. The camera zooms slowly back, revealing computer monitors, a television screen and a video recorder, and pans round to show the office. This single extended take folds together Berlin's postwar history, its ruins and modernist reconstruction, and the legacy of fascism and the *Wirtschaftswunder* on the material landscape, showing co-existing types of space and moments of development. Further, it symbolises the ways in which the new information and communication technologies were beginning to reorder the subjective experience of the city. This is intensified by the densely layered soundtrack, combining a thudding heartbeat, fragments of sound, samples, speech, and distant musical motifs; lurid green computer-generated intertitles flash on and off. The film itself, it is suggested, belongs fully inside this new "informational city".⁹³

The office belongs to P.J. Lurz (Eddie Constantine), head of a computer company. As we are soon to find out, the market for computers has momentarily bottomed out. Lurz provides the exposition while on a phone call to Houston, Texas: "We seem to be going through an anti-data processing phase. A sort of media campaign, you know. Anyway, Bonn isn't putting in any orders for computers at the moment. There's been absolutely no new terrorist activity recently – it doesn't help our sales pitch". The central conceit of the film is summed up by a hysterical 'joke' suggested by the police chief, Gerhard Gast (Hark Bohm): "I recently had a dream that capitalism invented terrorism to force the state to protect it better". By elaborating on this conspiracy theory, Fassbinder exploits its potential as a kind of satirical device. The film follows a cell of terrorists who are unwittingly co-opted by the industrialist Lurz as part of a strategy to reinvigorate the market for high-tech security equipment. The film questions the role of political violence in the development of new types of information systems and technologies of control. Fassbinder confirmed that this was a pressing concern at the time; as he put it, "How can we preserve individuality in a totally organised society, in a system that will soon be using computers to store information on each of our habits and

preferences?"⁹⁴ The counterterrorist operations of the West German police had relied on new types of information processing orchestrated by Horst Herold.⁹⁵ As Stefan Aust explains, Herold restructured the West German Federal Investigation Office (Bundeskriminalamt or BKA) in the image of the American FBI, establishing new methods of criminal investigation using new data processing techniques. As Aust recalls:

Herold's data processing provided, for the first time, a system which simultaneously fulfilled two of a detective's dreams: the collection of as much information as possible, and the ability to fit the individual components together in the minimum time. In 1979, a review of the system ... listed thirty-seven data files containing 4.7 million names and some 3,100 organisations.⁹⁶

Bourgeois, politically naïve and anti-intellectual, Fassbinder's terrorists view radicalism as a lifestyle choice; as one of them puts it: "Dear God, I'd give anything to take part in some guerrilla training like that ... it's one of the last great adventures left to us". As Fassbinder explained, this represented the "third generation" of terrorists:

The first generation was that of '68. Idealists, who thought they could change the world with words and demonstrations in the street. The second generation, the Baader Meinhof groups, moved from legality to the armed struggle and total illegality. The third generation is today's, who just indulges in action without thinking, without either ideology or politics, and who, probably without knowing it, are like puppets whose wires are pulled by others.⁹⁷

The film was initially assigned money by the Berlin Senate, but backing was withdrawn during pre-production when the contentious and politically risky subject matter became clear.⁹⁸ The film was produced on an extremely low budget, and Fassbinder and Lorenz found themselves unable to secure permits for location work on several occasions.⁹⁹ A number of sequences were filmed in a derelict building on the Reichpietschufer – some thirty years after *Germany Year Zero*, the ruins of postwar Berlin were still providing filmmakers with cheap locations.¹⁰⁰ Following the opening sequence, the first two-thirds of the film largely takes place in a series of claustrophobic interiors. Fassbinder makes full use of the distinctive layout of the pre-war Berlin apartments and their characteristic "Berliner Zimmer", which as Andrew Webber explains was

“a peculiar space within the archetypal Berlin apartment: a room that is also a hallway, only ever between rooms, a space of transition as much of habitation, and one occupied by nostalgia”.¹⁰¹ Every interior sequence is composed as a series of transitions between different levels of deep space, framing and obstructing the protagonists through doors and down hallways. The characteristic shot is a long take, with the camera remaining emphatically static for the majority of the time, rejecting the opportunity to cut into the space and develop closer emotional or identificatory links with the characters.

In this way, *The Third Generation* develops a formal space quite distinct from the international thriller style of *Katharina Blum*. Another central element to this is the way in which sound design destabilises visual space. The apartment interiors are constantly disrupted by disjunctive, multi-layered sonic textures which usually appear to be diegetically sourced in one piece of reproductive technology or another. A television is in almost every scene, providing an extra layer of images and sounds and representing another system of visual representation and media communication that exists within almost every shot, either sonically or visually. As Juliane Lorenz explained, “Television had to be everywhere as a code or a means of identification. It was a figurative representation of the hysteria which they had partly created themselves”. The news heard on the television sets was recorded on videotape by Fassbinder, often the night before shooting.¹⁰² Broadcast media have penetrated all types of social space: we hear fragments of news reports, historical documentaries, cinema, wildlife programmes and pornography. Yet the content is almost always slightly obscured, offering fragments rather than historical exposition. Media here do not directly *communicate*: we are presented with a more diffuse sense of the media than the tabloid press in *Katharina Blum*, which plays a more traditional and readily identifiable function. In one uncharacteristically audible section, the student radical leader Rudi Dutschke appears in a television interview, pronouncing that “the way society is structured produces violence”.

However, this is only one of many quotations in the film, from the misunderstood fragment of Schopenhauer the radicals use as a pass-phrase (“the world as will and representation”) to the obscene graffiti that Fassbinder uses to mark up the beginning of each of the film’s chapters. Fassbinder’s representation of the city is therefore excessively textual and mediated. In this respect, Timothy Corrigan has designated Fassbinder’s work as a critical postmodernist practice. As he argues, while they appear to reproduce “endlessly simulated textualities”, films such as *The Third Generation* are simultaneously grounded in “the material specificity of place” – effectively,

their “overabundant exploitation of textuality” itself becomes “a historical marker of the dense relations of time and place”.¹⁰³ As Gerhard Gast looks out of Lurz’s office at night at a mass traffic intersection below, he opines that it recalls an image from Andrei Tarkovsky’s *Solaris* (1972). One of many intertextual references in the film – from the video recorder playing *Le diable probablement* (Robert Bresson, 1977) to Eddie Constantine himself – the ‘quotation’ here is to the extended sequence in *Solaris* during which the protagonist drives through the postwar urban fabric of Tokyo on a series of concrete freeways and underpasses. This signals Fassbinder’s intent to project Berlin through a paranoid, science-fiction filter. It also suggests that Tarkovsky’s sound experiments for that film may have been an influence. Towards the end of the driving sequence, the soundtrack of ambient noise builds to a head, augmented by radio frequencies, as Stephen Barber describes: “Towards the end of the sequence the soundscape accumulates to a jarring level, and the image fractures suddenly; from its linear journey across the city’s visual carapace, it suddenly ascends to a static viewpoint far above the concentrated grid of seething motorway junctions, framing them in such a way that the two principal arteries traverse one another in an ‘X’, as though marking a summary cancellation of the coruscating surface”.¹⁰⁴ The film ends with one final media event: Lurz is taken hostage, his ransom message rehearsed over and over for the camera (in an obvious echo of the Hans-Martin Schleyer and Aldo Moro cases): “My name is P.J. Lurz. Today is Tuesday 27 February 1979, the last day of carnival madness. I’m being held prisoner in the name of the people, for the good of the people”. This downbeat ending, which places the idea of filmmaking firmly inside the perpetual carnival of the media, presented a crisis of political agency, where radical politics was only available as a representational, performative action disconnected from mass movements.

The three films discussed in this chapter trace out different aspects of the New German Cinema and its engagement with the urban and political crises of the 1970s. Each film demonstrates, in differing ways, how the renaissance in West German filmmaking enabled a close engagement with the urban landscape and especially the nature of the city as a heavily mediated public sphere. The thematic connection between the three films is most clearly visible in the repeated motif of carnival, which becomes a recurring figure for the dissolution of collective action into performative spectacle. The films work through these ideas via distinctive modes of filmmaking. For Kluge and Reitz, the low-budget, small-scale essay film provided a useful format for investigating the restructuring of Frankfurt and the elaboration of a potential counter-public sphere. Like other contemporary films such as

Medium Cool, *In Despair and Deep Distress*, *the Middle Way Brings Certain Death* fused documentary footage of urban crisis with fictional material to complicate its own relationship to the unfolding events. *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* was also preoccupied with the media and issues of privacy and publicity, placing these within a more accessible and internationally marketable genre framework. Rather than accentuating its specificity, Cologne is largely used for the abstract and relatively anonymous nature of its modern architecture. Both exterior and interior locations are deployed to generate formal motifs of visibility, opacity and transparency. At the end of 1970s, *The Third Generation* was emblematic of a more despairing and nihilistic response to the era's political struggles. In Fassbinder's film, Cold War Berlin is depicted as an 'informational city', a rewired mediascape where radical politics has already collapsed into simulation.

Conclusion

Throughout this book, I have traced the ways in which the urban and economic crises of the seventies catalysed change in American and European cinema. While film industries became closely bound up in broader shifts in the productive capacities of cities, the decade's films participated in discourses and narratives about the meaning and function of urban space and city living. Though both cinema and urban space are subject to gradual, cumulative processes of change over time, their histories are also crucially marked by moments of crisis and discontinuity. This book has endeavoured to work through the implications of a parallel crisis for cinema and cities in the seventies, arguing that this moment of uncertainty and reconfiguration brought them together in new ways. Drawing on insights from David Harvey, who emphasises how crises in capitalism are resolved, at least temporarily, by spatial reorganisation and restructuring, I have argued that these dynamics shaped the development of seventies filmmaking, and that after the postindustrial turn experienced by many cities in the decade, cinema has taken on an intensified role in economic regeneration and the projection of urban life in the public imagination. The seventies was a decade defined by ideological and conceptual shifts as much as by the physical rebuilding of city space – a period in which established precepts in planning, architecture, economics and business organisation were called into question and began to be replaced. Throughout, I have sought to understand how these changes reverberated through the decade's cinema. These issues have been explored in an explicitly spatial fashion. My intention has therefore been to assert that our understanding of film history can be enriched by thinking geographically or spatially, whether applied to the political economy of film industries, patterns of aesthetic change, or the spaces mapped out by individual films. This book analyses work from a variety of international film cultures, and like the protagonists of *Alice and the Cities* and *The Passenger*, it traces out a transnational journey across multiple urban, regional and national geographies. In this respect, the various case studies offered here have highlighted some of the divergent trajectories taken by cities and filmmakers in the seventies, as well as vital areas of similarity and continuity. In this concluding section, I will recap some of the key arguments in the book and reflect on some of the reverberations of this historical moment in the present day.

American cinema of the seventies has often been discussed in the context of the more general cultural and political upheavals of the era,

especially through the frames of Watergate and Vietnam, but the specific relationship of New Hollywood to the urban crisis and the emergence of the postindustrial city has received far less attention. The first four chapters of this book sought to address these questions and open up this area for further research and debate. In my opening chapter, I outlined how the studio system entered into a period of crisis that paralleled that of the American inner city. On both fronts, the crisis was best seen as a symptom of a broader transition – importantly, one which brought the city and the film industry together in novel configurations. There were, of course, many determinants behind the emergence of the New Hollywood. Its first phase, often referred to as the ‘Hollywood Renaissance’, was a product of industrial and social instability and a corresponding sense of uncertainty over audience demands, representational codes and ideological values. Though the film industry had been restructuring since the onset of vertical integration in the late 1940s, the crisis of 1969–1971 was nevertheless experienced as a traumatic rupture. As I have argued, both the crisis and the ensuing reorganisation of the business had significant geographical dynamics that have previously been downplayed in accounts of the era.

Location shooting was at the centre of these changes. In short, the accelerated move towards package financing and outsourcing production to independent firms favoured location shooting over studio work. With the studios’ financial problems keeping budgets low in the early 1970s, and audiences demanding more authenticity, location shooting solved multiple problems at once. Cutting back studio production allowed the studios to realise more value from their real estate assets, a move that had been occurring throughout the 1960s, while technological advances meant that for the first time, working on location was generally more cost effective than staying on the backlot. The purpose of the ‘studio’ itself was also in the process of redefinition, moving away from manufacturing towards an emphasis on finance, distribution and marketing. Like other business sectors Hollywood was, in the words of economists Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, crossing the ‘second industrial divide’ into a new paradigm characterised by subcontracting, interactions between networks of small firms, and products aimed at niche markets.¹ Location shooting was central to the political economy of this emerging model, offering flexibility, mobility and efficiency (qualities later given an aesthetic corollary via the Steadicam, as I argued in chapter two). Thus, to adapt a term from Harvey, the “spatial fix” that emerged from the crisis increasingly unmoored the process of filming from fixed sites, allowing production companies to seek out novel and authentic backdrops, cheaper labour and decreased regulation.

Crucially, Hollywood's less centralised business model and heightened interest in location shooting also appeared to offer solutions to the crises faced by America's cities. Many municipal governments seized on the chance to compete for location shooting, seeing filming as both an opportunity to drive forward postindustrial, culture-led economic growth and as a potential avenue of place marketing and city branding. New Hollywood's flexible business practices were well suited to the emerging entrepreneurial city, where culture was increasingly seen as a cornerstone of economic revival and the image of the city itself was the subject of ideological struggle. These developing contacts between Hollywood and the postindustrial city are best thought of as symbiotic, mutually reinforcing tendencies. The film office or film bureau, operating at state or city level, was important in managing this relationship. Though New York, for example, had looked to encourage filmmaking in earlier decades, the late 1960s and 1970s was a key moment in the development of the film office. We might now see it as an archetypal agency of the neoliberal city, where making cities 'film friendly' was often synonymous with being 'business friendly', encouraging deregulation and tax incentives alongside streamlined bureaucracy and industry liaison. At the same time, the function of cinema in projecting images of the city on the national and international stage was beginning to be understood by city governments, though there was often a disconnect between their intentions and the ambiguous or even straightforwardly negative images of the city that filmmakers produced. Yet, as I have argued in chapter three, this was a complex issue, and representations of the city in crisis could become marketable in themselves, or otherwise take on somewhat unexpected and contradictory political meanings.

It has been my intention here to show that these relationships between cinema and the city in the 1970s embodied the early stages of trends that would later coalesce into the discourses around gentrification, the cultural economy and the 'creative city' that have been so influential in the 1990s and 2000s. Often drawing on Richard Florida's concept of the 'creative class', cities of all types now place extremely high value on the importance of culture in drawing investment and creating jobs – that is to say, thriving cultural environments are seen as precursors to economic growth and regeneration rather than the other way round.² Indeed, in 2013 Mayor Michael Bloomberg announced a new initiative building on the 'Made in New York' stamp, which explicitly broadened it into a wider strategy for growth in digital technologies and related industries in the city. This suggests that the work begun by the film office in the 1960s developed an influential brand that placed media and entertainment at the centre of the

city's economic strategy. Such agencies have only become more influential in the functioning of the film industry in the intervening years, and the hypermobility and flexibility of location shooting remains central to the political economy of Hollywood, which now seeks tax breaks, cheap labour and other incentives on a truly global scale. Indeed, recent reports in the trade press suggest that especially since the financial crisis of 2008, runaway production remains a hot topic in Hollywood (as *Variety* puts it, "Hollywood Continues to Flee California at Alarming Rate").³

The turn towards urban filmmaking in the seventies also had a number of effects on the content and form of movies. Seventies cinema was, for the most part, characterised by a rougher, grittier quality and a greater degree of authenticity and perceived realism than in much of the studio-era output. Though stylistic change is always complex and overdetermined, much of this aesthetic pointed towards a need to ground film in the reality of the urban environment. As I have argued throughout, the decade's cinema displayed an especially close affinity with cities, their social life, buildings, textures and surfaces, displaying what Siegfried Kracauer memorably described in an earlier period as cinema's "susceptibility to the street".⁴ This was, of course, partly due to working more on location and to shifts in camera technologies and film stock. But the process of location shooting itself was also important in creating new practices. The rise of location shooting throughout the fifties and sixties had already generated new methods, but this became magnified in the seventies, when directors and cinematographers brought in new influences from television, documentary and exploitation film. Shooting on the streets of the city, far from the entrenched practices of studio filmmaking, therefore helped to push Hollywood film away from classical conventions and develop new aesthetics (for example, the widespread use of zoom and telephoto lenses, which are especially useful for working on location). In many films of the era, urban and architectural settings played a heightened role in the *mise-en-scène* and in some cases, weakened or disturbed the narrative drive that classical film had privileged.

Filming the city was also central for directors seeking to capture the *zeitgeist* of sixties and seventies America. In movies such as *The King of Marvin Gardens* and *The Long Goodbye*, the city became an important part of the New Hollywood deconstruction of Old Hollywood genres and ideological values. The city in crisis was both a physical, material space which characters inhabited and symbolic object of cultural critique. But at the same time as filmmakers outwardly criticised aspects of the city – for example, as abstract and alienating, the centre of corruption, moral depravity and violence, or the focus of a new consumer culture – they often

absorbed cities' inherent energy and vitality and found visual inspiration in their urban landscapes. However, addressing the representation of the city and films' political meanings required a closer, fine-grained approach that I have explored through individual case studies.

One effect of the decentralising tendencies of New Hollywood was that new types of urban environment became visible on screen. This was especially evident in the so-called Rust Belt, a rough designation for the cities in the Northeast and Midwest that were hardest hit by industrial and economic decline. However, while location filming from Hollywood may have brought temporary benefits to local economies, it often did little to foster sustainable film industries. But the films did have tangible effects in projecting lasting images of these cities (and their relative states of decline or renewal) into the public imagination. While Atlantic City was not a classic example of Rust Belt deindustrialisation, its status as an entertainment centre and tourist resort in the first half of the twentieth century linked it closely to the related fortunes of classical Hollywood. In *The King of Marvin Gardens* and *Atlantic City*, it became an allegorical landscape that the filmmakers used to explore ideas about the American Dream and individual success in a time of economic downturn. In particular, Rafelson's film brings into focus how Elsaesser's notions of the 'pathos of failure' and the dedramatised narrative could be related to a crisis in urban space and cognitive mapping. Whereas numerous films of the early seventies evoked decay, stasis and immobility, later films captured an emerging zeitgeist through a different affective register. The key film in linking these changes to the urban environment was *Rocky*. In the first half of the film, the decline of the city is closely aligned with the deindustrialised urban landscape and masculinity in crisis. But the film revises that vision of crisis and decline with a projection of urban revitalisation, realised through the regenerated body of its male protagonist. The famous training scenes, which are lent their spatial fluidity and euphoric rush by the new technology of the Steadicam, became a metaphor for individualist, neoliberal solutions to the urban crisis. The celebrated statue of Rocky Balboa at the Philadelphia Art Museum remains a testament to the character's effectiveness as an enduring symbol for the city's regeneration in the public imaginary.

Whereas Philadelphia took a symbolic step towards a qualified revival of its fortunes, Detroit has remained a symbol for urban failure (at the time of writing, the city is bankrupt and has been placed under the administration of unelected officials). Rebranded the 'Renaissance City' in the late seventies, it was clearly nothing of the sort. Despite the city's problems, a number of films were shot on location during the decade, with *Blue Collar*

providing a critical portrait of the auto industry and the crisis of the Fordist model. But despite its leftist leanings, *Blue Collar* was structurally unable to contain its contradictions within a Hollywood genre framework, and ended up in the regressive position of painting the unions as the bad guys. In the long run, Hollywood runaways did little to help the struggling city. Though there are many reasons why Detroit has continued to stagnate while Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have become success stories, the ability of cities to attract filmmaking and successfully reimagine themselves on screen nevertheless reflects broader relationships between culture and economics in the postindustrial era. *Rocky* defined Philadelphia as down-to-earth locus of white ethnic identity and postindustrial masculinity, a comeback city getting up after its knockout punch. Conversely, Detroit has frequently been forced to capitalise on its landscapes of decline in dystopian pictures such as *RoboCop* (Paul Verhoeven, 1987), a much misunderstood satire on neoliberal restructuring. Nevertheless, recent films have taken a different tack, especially a series of thoughtful documentaries such as *Detropia* (Heidi Ewing and Rachel Grady, 2008) that have brought Detroit's problems into public consciousness worldwide. Elsewhere, there has been a sharp increase in location shooting in the Rust Belt, driven in part by aggressive tax breaks, with successful films such as *Silver Linings Playbook* (David O. Russell, 2012), *The Company Men* (John Wells, 2010) and *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* (Stephen Chbosky, 2012) shot in Philadelphia, Boston and Pittsburgh, respectively.

New York City was also nominally part of the Rust Belt in the seventies, but it had at least two striking advantages: its unparalleled cultural heritage and its world-class financial sector. Nevertheless, the seventies was a traumatic decade for the city as it faced a plethora of urban social problems that were compounded by a widespread perception of the city as profoundly unsafe and potentially ungovernable. Its fiscal crisis and near bankruptcy in mid-decade was an important ideological battleground for ideas about neoliberalism and austerity economics that resonate strongly with the political landscape after 2008. The city's film renaissance in the seventies had many contributory factors, among the most significant of which were the tendency towards decentralisation in Hollywood and the concomitant rise of the city's pathbreaking film office, the Mayor's Office of Film, Theater and Broadcasting. MOFTB provided a blueprint for film bureaus in the US and round the world in the years and decades to come. However, while John Lindsay explicitly linked location shooting to his concept of the 'Fun City', the representation of the city in the era's films frequently projected nothing of the kind.

Two key cycles of films illuminated different aspects of this scenario. A series of films operated around residential spaces (apartments, tenements, brownstones) as the centre of their narrative development. These films, such as *The Landlord* and *Desperate Characters*, began to chart the process of gentrification and the changing class and race composition of specific neighbourhoods (especially in Brooklyn). Frequently returning to motifs of outside and inside, public and private, these films projected an anxiety about the dividing line between the domestic interior and the street, a divide which was often racially polarised. Arguably aimed at a re-energised middle-class urban audience, films of the early 1970s worked through anxieties about gentrification to ambivalent effects.⁵ By mid-decade, such complexities were partially resolved in favour of more straightforwardly dystopian projections of the urban fortress, though these were often comic too – as in *Little Murders* or *The Prisoner of Second Avenue*. But as the city's public relations campaigns such as I ♥ New York swung into action, another set of films revised and rehabilitated the city as a safe space for the middle class – for example, *Manhattan*, *Kramer vs. Kramer* and *An Unmarried Woman*. While the city was restructuring internally, it was also repositioning itself globally, especially through the expanding banking and financial services sector. Another set of films, broadly based around heist narratives, plotted out a different set of concerns about surveillance, city management and the nature of the dollar itself.

From the early 1980s, many films continued to project dystopian visions of New York. These were unlike the urban crisis films of the early and mid-1970s, which frequently represented the crisis as traumatic and difficult, a painful symptom of the wider social malaise commonly figured by Watergate and Vietnam. In the changed cultural and political context of the Reaganite 1980s, dystopian New York had become codified or clichéd – often repeating a stock set of images of the 'urban jungle' that was usually contained within quite specific danger zones, such as the African-American South Bronx. Alongside this, gentrification and loft living became more common themes, though SoHo might still cause yuppies to have identity crises – for example, in *After Hours* (Martin Scorsese, 1985). Wall Street and its entrepreneurial culture became a model for revived individualist success stories, as in *Working Girl* (Mike Nichols, 1988) or *The Secret of My Success* (Herbert Ross, 1987), while *Ghostbusters* (Ivan Reitman, 1984) symbolically exorcised the spectres of seventies-era crisis and made the city safe terrain for family adventure movies.

Like New York, San Francisco was also successful in navigating its postindustrial turn, but its relationship to Hollywood developed in different

ways. Closer to Los Angeles, physically beautiful and less visibly stricken by crisis, San Francisco provided urban backdrops that were distinctive and novel, yet familiar and plausible. The newly Manhattanised skyline helped boost the city as a cinematic alternative to New York, especially for crime films. Hollywood frequently used San Francisco as a generic urban backdrop, though specific movies played directly on its specific reputation as a countercultural centre (this was the case in *Dirty Harry*, where the left-wing city worked as a counterpoint to film's libertarian anti-hero). However, the case of Francis Ford Coppola and American Zoetrope illuminated a different aspect to San Francisco, showing how the city fostered a new relationship between independents and the majors. Working in postindustrial warehouse space with high-tech equipment, Coppola, Lucas and their collaborators pioneered the semi-autonomous interaction of Hollywood and independent firms that would later lead from Zoetrope and THX to Industrial Light and Magic and Pixar. *The Conversation* was implicitly a film about both the city's redevelopment and the renegotiation of power between talent and management. Critiquing modernist urbanism at a moment when it was being replaced by 'urban design', *The Conversation* replaced the gaze of the planner with the editor's gaze – a replication of the post-Fordist logic of production and consumption that the film heralded. As an industrial allegory, the film projected the tension between the majors and the independents and helped set up San Francisco as a kind of discursive space for maintaining that balance, a role that the city retains in the present.

Despite the rise of these regional production hubs, Los Angeles was still the undisputed centre of the motion picture industry. Nevertheless, it had to compete more aggressively to keep location shooting at home, launching PR campaigns and reaching out to Nixon and California Governor Ronald Reagan for assistance. The city itself was defined by uneven development: whereas areas like South Central had declined, others were highly prosperous, particular the Westside suburbs. Los Angeles would become the centre of a new paradigm in geography in the following decades, but the notion that the city harboured a distinctive and in some ways radically new urban experience had already been explored in the late sixties and early seventies by writers and architects such as Reyner Banham and Robert Venturi/Denise Scott Brown. Likewise, filmmakers looked for new ways to capture the audiovisual experience of the city – an urban space defined by automobility, motion, perceptual flatness and reflective surfaces. Whereas New York films were generally realist, grounded and 'gritty', focusing on the material decline of the built environment, Los Angeles cinematography was often hazy, using flashed film stock, filters and zoom lenses to distort space.

Drawing on the influence of LA architecture and Pop Art, reflective surfaces also became a recurring visual trope during the decade. This increasing stylisation of cinematic Los Angeles can be traced through the seventies, demonstrating a path from the politicised angle of *Zabriskie Point* through to *American Gigolo*, which also displayed European influences but revised them in ambiguous ways. This aesthetic emerging in seventies Los Angeles later became important in 1980s Sun Belt films such as *Scarface* (Brian De Palma, 1983), *To Live and Die in L.A.* (William Friedkin, 1985) and *Manhunter* (Michael Mann, 1986).

In the eighties, much of the realism and grittiness so closely associated with seventies Hollywood dissipated. Many of the decade's most popular films rejected contemporary settings entirely in favour of escapist fantasy and science fiction spectacle – a trend that accelerated from the late seventies with *Star Wars* (1977) and continued with films such as *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (Steven Spielberg, 1981). Whereas the inner city remained a defining presence in the seventies, suburbia dominated the cinematic landscape of the eighties in films such as *E.T. the Extra Terrestrial* (Steven Spielberg, 1982), *Risky Business* (Paul Brickman, 1983), *Karate Kid* (John G. Avildsen, 1984), and *Back to the Future* (Robert Zemeckis, 1985). Spearheaded by quintessential Sun Belt suburbanites Spielberg and Lucas, eighties Hollywood gravitated towards banal yet comforting images that reflected the importance of suburbia to the white, middle-class family audience that the films chiefly sought to address. In many ways, independent cinema picked up the mantle of the Hollywood Renaissance, though a large proportion of commercially successful independent filmmaking in the US has tended to be aimed at a relatively homogeneous bourgeois taste culture.

In the second half of the book, I turned my attention to European cinema and cities. As these chapters dealt with whole national cinemas over a necessarily limited space, they focused selectively on particular strands of filmmaking and their engagement with the city. The relationships between the film industry and the postindustrial city were at this stage less clearly articulated than they were in America, although the film office and the entrepreneurial turn was in full evidence by the 1990s. Compared to America, the presence of the state had greater visibility in both film production and urban development, and films of the era frequently had a much more directly politicised angle on their subject matter than was desirable or possible across the Atlantic. In chapter six, I opened my discussion of European film with two emblematic movies, *The Passenger* and *Alice in the Cities*, which reworked the format of the road movie for the era of globalisation. Yet rather than celebrate international travel and cross-border mobility, these films

both accentuated moments of waiting, blockage and stasis that evoked the economic downturn of 1973-1974. These films were symptomatic of more general trends in European film industries and particularly the nature of 'art cinema'. As the production, distribution and reception of art cinema became increasingly globalised, its distinctively national character became harder to define. Was art cinema the domain of state sponsored national cultures, or did it occupy a more transient, liminal space suggested by the films of Antonioni and Wenders? This remained an open question during the seventies, but the internationalism and deep sense of melancholy that pervaded both films was a constant backdrop to the European cinema of the period. The films' city hopping also began to trace out a kind of globalised cognitive map, though the relationships between cities was opaque and allegorical rather than well defined.

London's film industry was hardest hit by the shock waves of the Hollywood crisis. Chapter seven outlined some of the ways in which this played out for the British film industry and its predominantly London-based studios. Two films made early in the decade with US finance closely engaged with the redevelopment of the city. Though *Leo the Last* and *A Clockwork Orange* were disparate films, both were ideologically aligned with a sea change in approaches to British urban planning. By evoking a neighbourhood revolt in an Afro-Caribbean area of West London, *Leo the Last* channelled growing anger at bureaucratic, centralised control of urban renewal schemes. Evoking micro-political, street level action rather than mass movements, its scenes of urban revolt were relatively easy to co-opt into more acceptable discourses about community action and conservation. Conversely, *A Clockwork Orange* depicted modernism as part of a dystopian, state-planned future where the modernist aestheticisation of everyday life leads to nihilistic violence. The film's political stance was intentionally ambivalent, though its recurring use of extremely specific pieces of modernist architecture forcefully aligned functionalism with state power and Foucauldian institutions. The utopian, left-wing dream of modernism was dead, but what would take its place? The turn against modernism that these two films participated in was multifaceted and politically various, but by the end of the decade, a newly energised conservative agenda had become dominant. State-planned renewal was replaced with state-subsidised private redevelopment, as in the Docklands – a notion captured by *The Long Good Friday* and its prescient allegorical conflation of Thatcherism and free-market gangsterism. In recent years, the connection between filmmaking and redevelopment has once more been a frequent topic in the press. The semi-derelict spaces of two emblematic modernist

council estates in South London, the Heygate and the Aylesbury, have been used extensively for location shooting in the long caesura between the eviction of tenants and the estates' demolition as part of a particularly aggressive private redevelopment scheme.⁶ Across the city more generally, filming is now managed by the strategic agency Film London. Like all major European cities, London now competes for location shooting in a way that was pioneered by New York and San Francisco back in the seventies.

Compared to Britain, French cinema was much more directly politicised and had long been supported by state institutions. Just as seventies British cinema had to revise or reject the legacy of the 'kitchen sink' cycle, filmmakers in Paris reworked the New Wave image of the city. As the massive, state coordinated redevelopment of the Paris region took hold in the late 1950s and 1960s, the New Wave had largely projected a nostalgic view of the threatened inner city and its specifically urban qualities. After the New Wave, filmmakers began to challenge modernist Paris and particularly the expansion of the city's periphery in a much more direct way. In critiquing the ideology of redevelopment, a number of French films of the period displayed striking similarities to currents in the work of Paris-based sociologists and philosophers, most notably Henri Lefebvre and Manuel Castells. Films such *Tout va bien* and *Themroc* found new ways of presenting cinematic space in order to critique its social transparency, just as Lefebvre and Castells sought to unmask the ideology of urban renewal and the traditional understanding of social space as an 'empty container'. In Marco Ferreri's *Touche pas a la femme blanche*, Lefebvre's notion of the 'right to the city' was projected as a struggle for the urban centre itself, here symbolised by the destruction of the historic market at Les Halles. But where these films in the early 1970s were directly political in their intent, the *policiers* of the second half of the decade used the new architecture of Paris in more ambivalent ways. Like crime films of the same period in New York and San Francisco, *Peur sur la ville* presented an outwardly dystopian vision of the city as crime-ridden, unsafe and rife with psychosexual tension, yet through its display of the city's new financial district, simultaneously celebrated the city's new postindustrial identity and middle-class elite. In subsequent years, the urban periphery became an increasingly important narrative space for French cinema. In the mid-1990s, a cluster of films including *La Haine* (Matthieu Kassowitz, 1995), *Bye-Bye* (Karim Dridi, 1995) and *Etat des lieux* (Jean-Francois Richet, 1995) brought the racial tensions and social marginality of life beyond the *périphérique* to prominence nationally and internationally.

Italy's crisis in the 1970s was arguably deeper and more fundamental than any of the other nations discussed. The social and political malaise of the

decade began with the bombing of the Piazza Fontana and the mass strikes in 1969 and led up to the kidnapping and assassination of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro by the Brigate Rosse in 1978. Nevertheless, the city was a focal point for political interventions in both theory and practice. The crises of the decade played an influential role in the cycle of films dubbed the *cinema politico*, which occupied an intermediate position between the international art cinema and Italian popular genres. In particular, Francesco Rosi's *cine inchieste* or cinematic investigations provided a cinematic format for working through political themes in accessible genre formats. His films *Il caso Mattei* and *Cadaveri eccellenti* drew connections between Milan and Rome, the underdevelopment of the Italian south and the geopolitics of the Cold War, and further demonstrated how the format of the thriller provided cinematographic and architectural tropes that were useful for negotiating the shifting terrain of the seventies.

The crises experienced by European film industries were partly caused by Hollywood's difficulties, especially in the cases of Britain and Italy, and partly more local factors. The varying levels of success experienced by individual national cinemas in the seventies depended on their ability to reconfigure production and distribution, find a profitable relationship with television, revise the relationship between the film industry and the state, and adapt to the conditions of globalisation. New German Cinema arguably managed to do all these, configuring a regionalised and decentralised funding model that could allow small scale, neo-artisanal filmmaking as well as accommodate Hollywood runaways. The identity of the New German Cinema was split, however, between its dual functions as an international export and as a potential urban public sphere. This notion of the public sphere was a recurring theme in films of the period, which engaged with the city and political violence as a media spectacle. Three in particular illustrate different ways of approaching these ideas through different production strategies: *In Gefahr and größter Not, Bringt der Mittelweg den Tod*, *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* and *Die dritte Generation*. Where Kluge's essay film interrogated the concept of the public sphere in the context of Frankfurt's restructuring, Schlöndorff and von Trotta's popular thriller addressed the questionable role of the media in representing terrorism. Finally, Fassbinder's acerbic but essentially nihilistic take on the 'third generation' of urban terrorists posed all mass political action and collective agency as essentially subsumed by media spectacle.

Returning to the notion of cognitive mapping, we can understand Jameson's concept as both applicable to the work carried out by films and their viewers, and equally as a kind of critical operation. As such, this book

has plotted out key coordinates, nodes and zones on the cognitive map of seventies cinema in America and Europe. In placing these case studies in parallel, it has been my intention to venture beyond the framework of the nation state and frame seventies cinema at the intersection of the global and the local. Indeed, while national contexts remain significant, since around 1968 it has become increasingly important to understand cinema and urban cultures through the lens of the global and the urban in order to fully grasp the dynamics of globalisation and transnational exchange.

In this book, I have argued that cities and film industries in America and Western Europe faced synchronised crises in the seventies that were in many ways the result of broader global pressures. These crises played out differently in local contexts, where each film culture drew on and reformulated different traditions of urban representation in their recent history (for example, classical Hollywood and film noir in the US, neorealism in Italy, the kitchen sink film in Britain). Though the events of 1968-1969 and the world recession of the mid-1970s were roughly simultaneous, the fallout from these crises were experienced unevenly and developed in distinctive ways. Social democratic traditions held out for some time in France and Germany, for example, making the transition to neoliberalism and entrepreneurialism far more pronounced in the United States by the turn of the 1980s than it was in Europe, Britain aside. However, despite local specificities, there are striking areas of similarity between these national contexts. Watching *The Landlord* alongside *Leo the Last*, *The Conversation* with *The Third Generation* or *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* next to *Klute* brings into focus significant areas of overlap in terms of themes, tropes and genres. As I have demonstrated, numerous films on both sides of the Atlantic took the redevelopment and remaking of the city as a central focus, shooting on location in empty and blighted spaces, using modernist architecture as *mise-en-scène*, and challenging notions of the modernist city from varying ideological perspectives. Across national boundaries, elements of cinematic style frequently coalesced into a distinctive visual aesthetic and mood. Patterns and motifs reverberated across the decade's cinema: pervasive use of the zoom lens, the compression and distortion of space, the negative areas of the widescreen image, the empty and demolished spaces of the declining city, the abstract qualities of plate glass architecture and the curtain wall, the monochrome flicker of the CCTV monitor and the uneasy tones of electronic soundtracks. This was not merely cinematic style but affective engagement; as Stephen Farber wrote of *The Conversation*, these films captured what it *felt* like to live through this period of "disillusionment and full-scale social disintegration".⁷

Placing European and American cinema in parallel in this way helps to frame the relationship between America and Europe without reducing it to a narrative of European invention and American co-optation. Many American films displayed strong influences from European film – for example, *The King of Marvin Gardens*, *The Landlord*, *Klute*, *The Conversation*, *Welcome to L.A.* and *American Gigolo*. But at the same time, European film increasingly borrowed from American genres, a movement easily visible in *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* and *Excellent Cadavers*, for example. Filmmakers such as Antonioni, Kubrick, Boorman and Schlesinger travelled in both directions. However, without seeking to reject these important patterns of influence, it is possible to see filmmakers on both sides of the Atlantic as operating in parallel, responding to similar cultural influences, economic pressures, technological possibilities and shifting working practices.

As a sustained period of urban crisis and economic recession, the seventies has many parallels with the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008, which has had a deep impact for both cities and film industries across the United States and the European Union. This global financial crisis, which followed a collapse in property markets and ‘subprime’ lending in the United States, initially seemed to challenge the neoliberal economic and political paradigms that first materialised in the 1970s. It is, of course, too early to fully assess what the lasting effects of the crisis have been, though cities have been subject to new logics of restructuring and change and will doubtless continue to be over the years to come. Certainly, one immediate effect has been to push the idea of economic cycles and crises in capitalism into the mainstream political agenda.⁸ Furthermore, critics have begun to question what role cinema – or other visual narrative media – may have to play in such periods of social upheaval. For example, in March 2009, the *New York Times* film critic A.O. Scott identified what he saw as an emergent “neo-neorealist” tendency in American independent film. Scott explicitly connected this to the prevailing political and economic climate, asking: “What kind of movies do we need now?” As he put it, “It’s a question that seems to arise almost automatically in times of crisis” – noting that “a new set of worries and fears has crystallised in recent months – lost jobs and homes, corroded values and vanished credit”.⁹

Against this backdrop, Scott identified a new realist sensibility in American independent filmmaking in counterpoint to the dominant tendency of Hollywood cinema. For example, Kelly Reichardt’s *Wendy and Lucy* – released in December 2008, shortly after the peak of the banking crisis – followed a young homeless woman (Michelle Williams) travelling across the small towns of the Pacific Northwest. Its slow, observant style

paid close attention to territory which the novelist Jonathan Raban evocatively described as “an allegorical landscape of economic and emotional recession; a world starved of credit, jobs, futures, sunlight, words, and social bonds”.¹⁰ Scott also pointed to the work of the New York-based filmmaker Ramin Bahrani, whose recent films have “explored corners of the city rarely acknowledged by Hollywood”.¹¹ Elsewhere, such issues have also impinged on more mainstream films such as the George Clooney vehicle *Up in the Air* (Jason Reitman, 2009), which explores some of the social effects of ruthless corporate restructuring across a network of cities in the United States from Detroit and St. Louis to Omaha and Las Vegas. Across the Atlantic, low-budget filmmaking has also enabled a renewed emphasis on social realism and an engagement with the socially marginal, postindustrial spaces of European cities, in films such as *Fish Tank* (Andrea Arnold, 2008), *Dernier maquis* (Rabah Ameur-Zaimeche, 2008), *Gomorra* (Matteo Garrone, 2008) and *Soul Kitchen* (Fatih Akin, 2009). However, the lasting impact of this current crisis for cities and their visual and narrative representation is yet to be played out; ultimately, it may only be fully assessed when this moment itself moves into the rearview mirror of history.

Notes

Introduction

1. Vincent Canby, "Real Events of '68 Seen in *Medium Cool*", *New York Times*, August 28 1969, 46.
2. Sharon Zukin, "Space and Symbols in an Age of Decline", in Anthony D. King (ed.), *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 43.
3. Ibid.
4. I do not wish to explicitly take issue with the notion of national cinema here nor question its continuing relevance as a theoretical or historiographical framework. Rather, I am suggesting that its primary focus has, naturally, not been urban. For example, much of the existing literature on American cinema of the 1970s is dominated by references to the Vietnam War and the Watergate Scandal – immensely important events for American culture, but ones which have displaced many other concerns such as deindustrialisation and globalisation. See, for example, Robin Wood, *Hollywood from Vietnam to Reagan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Timothy Corrigan, *A Cinema without Walls: Movies and Culture after Vietnam* (London: Routledge, 1992).
5. However, it should be emphasised that some of these processes were only inchoate during this period. They were undoubtedly experienced (and became visible) in specific cities in different ways and at different times. The chronology is slightly different in each country, and as I will suggest, these processes or symptoms were experienced in distinctive local ways that will be detailed in each individual chapter. 'Space-time compression' is defined in David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).
6. Sassen writes that "the decade of the 1970s was the crucial period when some of the new forms of geographic dispersal and internationalisation, in the making since the mid-1960s, became fully evident". Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1991), 20.
7. While container shipping and computerisation helped to integrate newly industrialising nations in Asia, South America and Africa into the global manufacturing network, a "new international division of labour" opened up new markets for Western capitalist economies at the same time as it drove deindustrialisation in their core industrial cities.
8. For a consideration of the decade as a unit of historical periodisation, see Jason Scott Smith, "The Strange History of the Decade: Modernity, Nostalgia, and the Perils of Periodization", *Journal of Social History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (Winter 1998): 263-285.

9. Judith Stein, *Pivotal Decade: How the United States Traded Factories for Finance in the Seventies* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010); Niall Ferguson, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela and Daniel J. Sargent (eds), *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective* (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).
10. The Bretton Woods accord had linked the dollar directly to the price of gold and held other currencies at fixed exchange rates, maintaining stability in national markets and placing the United States at the epicentre of the global economy. By the turn of the 1970s, the United States was faced with rising inflation, a balance of payments deficit, and a build-up of funds in the Eurodollar market. To avert a potential currency crisis, the Nixon administration unpegged the dollar from the gold standard, imposed a 90-day wage and price freeze, and suspended the system of fixed exchange rates. The decline of Bretton Woods ushered in a new era of international capital mobility and heightened volatility in the global financial system. While the post-Bretton Woods monetary arrangements stimulated the growth of international financial centres such as London and New York, they also undermined the fiscal powers of national banks and exposed cities to the fluctuations of international property markets.
11. Samuel Rosenberg, *American Economic Development since 1945: Growth, Decline and Rejuvenation* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). For a contemporary account, see "Changing the World's Money", *Time*, October 4 1971. Fordist-Keynesian refers to the dominant industrial, economic and social model of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s in the United States and Western Europe. First defined by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, Fordism refers to the organisational and managerial system for mass manufacturing developed by the Ford Motor Company in the early twentieth century. It was characterised by the standardisation of production and the application of Frederick W. Taylor's techniques of 'scientific management' to divide assembly line production into a series of routine, unskilled tasks. Fordism also stimulated mass consumption and minimised labour unrest by paying workers a relatively high wage. During the postwar decades, Fordism was combined with the macro-economic policies of the British economist John Maynard Keynes (Keynesianism), which prescribed a high level of state intervention in the economy to ensure fiscal stability and maintain levels of employment and consumer demand.
12. George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1987); Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker (eds), *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
13. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (London: Penguin, 2005), 81-82.

14. Manuel Castells, "The Wild City", in L.S. Bourne, ed., *Internal Structure of the City: Readings on Urban Form, Growth, and Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). Castells's piece was originally published in 1976.
15. 'Legitimation Crisis' is a reference to Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, trans. Thomas McCarthy (London: Heinemann Educational, 1976).
16. Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, 2003), 159.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (eds), *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe* (Malden, MA and Oxford, Blackwell: 2002), ix.
19. David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 144-145.
20. The crisis of the 1970s generated renewed interest in theories of crisis. For example, the Italian historian Giovanni Arrighi wrote that "The history of capitalism shows us that the periodic recurrence of crises is not a function of the working class's strength or combativity, of 'mistakes' in economic management, or even of 'parasitism' in society. The tendency towards crisis is indissolubly linked to the existence of capitalism itself". Arrighi, "Towards a Theory of Capitalist Crisis", *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 111 (September-October 1978): 3.
21. David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 83.
22. Harvey, *The Urban Experience*, 83.
23. In chapter one, I will suggest that this notion of the 'spatial fix' can be usefully applied to understand how the major studios reorganised their production strategies during the 1970s – divesting themselves of 'fixed capital' in favour of mobile and flexible production techniques.
24. Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).
25. See Soja, *Postmetropolis*; Ash Amin (ed.), *Post-Fordism: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*; Allen J. Scott, *Social Economy of the Metropolis: Cognitive-Cultural Capitalism and the Global Resurgence of Cities* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). For a useful summary of different theoretical perspectives on urban restructuring, see Thomas A. Hutton, *The New Economy of the Inner City: Restructuring, Regeneration and Dislocation in the Twenty-First Century Metropolis* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2008).
26. Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (London: Radius, 1988). See also Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996).
27. Allen J. Scott, *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Image-Producing Industries* (London: Sage, 2000); Scott, *Social Economy of the Metropolis*.

28. See Peter Hall, *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Innovation, and Urban Order* (London: Phoenix, 1999); Sharon Zukin, *The Culture of Cities* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995); Scott Lash and John Urry, *Economies of Signs and Space* (London: Sage, 1994).
29. Peter Wollen, "Delirious Projections", *Sight and Sound*, vol. 2, no. 4 (August 1992), 25.
30. Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 62.
31. There are notable exceptions – for example, Carlo Rotella's lengthy chapter about *The French Connection*, cinematic 'grittiness' and the postindustrial city in *Good with Their Hands: Boxers, Bluesmen, and Other Characters from the Rust Belt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002). See also Stanley Corkin, *Starring New York: Filming the Grime and Glamour of the Long 1970s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
32. See, for example, David B. Clarke (ed.), *The Cinematic City* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (eds), *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context* (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001); Emma Wilson and Andrew Webber (eds), *Cities in Transition: The Moving Image and the Metropolis* (London: Wallflower, 2008); Wendy Everett and Axel Goodbody (eds), *Revisiting Space: Space and Place in European Cinema* (Oxford and New York: Peter Lang, 2005); Myrto Kostantarakos (ed.), *Spaces in European Cinema* (Exeter: Intellect, 2000); Linda Krause and Patrice Petro (eds), *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture and Urbanism in a Digital Age* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003); Paula Massood, *Black City Cinema: African-American Experiences in Film* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003); Nezar AlSayyad, *Cinematic Urbanism: A History of the Modern from Reel to Real* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).
33. Edward Dimendberg, *Film Noir and the Spaces of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004); Mark Shiel, *Hollywood Cinema and the Real Los Angeles* (London: Reaktion, 2012); Pamela Robertson Wojcik, *The Apartment Plot: Urban Living in American Film and Popular Culture, 1945 to 1975* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2010); Yomi Braester, *Painting the City Red: Chinese Cinema and the Urban Contract* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2010); Charlotte Brunsdon, *London in Cinema: The Cinematic City after 1945* (London: BFI, 2007); Corkin, *Starring New York*. The excellent books on New York by Wojcik and Corkin were published after the majority of the research and writing was completed for the current volume.
34. This began to shift in the second half of the decade, beginning with Steve Neale's useful editorial on 'New Hollywood' in 1976, which responded to recent essays by Robin Wood and Thomas Elsaesser in *Movie and Monogram*,

- respectively. Steve Neale, "Film Culture: 'New Hollywood Cinema'", *Screen*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1976): 117-122.
35. David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985); Miriam Hansen, "Benjamin, Cinema and Experience: "The Blue Flower in the Land of Technology"", *New German Critique*, no. 40, special issue on Weimar film theory (Winter 1987): 179-224; see also other articles in *New German Critique*, no. 40.
 36. Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker (eds), *Early Cinema: Space-Frame-Narrative* (London: BFI, 1990); Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz (eds), *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Tom Gunning, "From Kaleidoscope to the X-Ray: Urban Spectatorship, Poe, Benjamin and Traffic in Souls (1913)", *Wide Angle*, vol. 19, no. 4 (1999): 25-63.
 37. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990); Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Giuliana Bruno, *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
 38. Charney and Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, 1.
 39. Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism", *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 146 (July-August 1984).
 40. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*; Michael Dear, *The Postmodern Urban Condition* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999).
 41. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 308-323; Giuliana Bruno, "Ramble City: Postmodernism and *Blade Runner*", *October*, vol. 41 (Summer 1987): 61-74.
 42. Rob Shields, "A Guide to Urban Representation and What to Do about It: Alternative Traditions of Urban Theory", in Anthony D. King (ed.), *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 227. Emphasis in the original.
 43. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).
 44. Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 53-82.
 45. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38.
 46. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38-39. "Spaces of Representation" is sometimes translated as "representational spaces".
 47. Soja, *Thirdspace*, 69.
 48. Lefebvre wrote little on film, and on those occasions he did, he tended to dismiss it as part of an undifferentiated mass of visual representation. For example, in *The Production of Space*, he criticised visual media such as film, photography and advertising for reinforcing the ideological "transparency"

- of space. As he put it, the “optical and visual world ... fetishizes abstraction and imposes it as the norm. It detaches the pure form from its impure content – from lived time, everyday time, and from bodies with their opacity and solidity, their warmth, their life and their death” (96-97). It is not clear whether he saw any critical potential in cinema – whether in the avant-garde of the 1920s and 1930s, or in the *nouvelle vague*. Nevertheless, his writings provide useful openings for theorising space and representation.
49. Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (New York: Oppositions, 1984); Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002).
 50. Robert Hughes, “Doing Their Own Thing”, *Time*, January 8 1979.
 51. Charles Jencks, *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1987), 9. Jencks has subsequently admitted that he fabricated the exact time. See Charles Jencks, *Critical Modernism: Where Is Post-Modernism Going?* (Chichester: John Wiley, 2007), 18-19. However, it is worth noting that the demolition was widely received as symbolising the end of modernism and that this was not Jencks’s sole invention. For example, see Wolf von Eckardt, “City of Future Dies in Housing Project Blast”, *Los Angeles Times*, July 16 1972, K1; Ada Louise Huxtable, “A Prescription for Disaster”, *New York Times*, November 5 1972, D23.
 52. Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press, 2001); Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977).
 53. The critique of modernism was also reinforced by the growing importance of environmental movement in the seventies, which drew inspiration from works such as Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962) and became strengthened by the OPEC crisis and the influential Club of Rome publication *The Limits to Growth* (1972). See Donella H. Meadows, Dennis L. Meadows, Jørgen Randers and William W. Behrens III, *The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome’s Project on the Predicament of Mankind* (London: Pan Books, 1974).
 54. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1992), 2.
 55. Fredric Jameson, *Signatures of the Visible* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 74. The essay “Class and Allegory in Contemporary Mass Culture: *Dog Day Afternoon* as a Political Film” was previously published in *College English*, vol. 38, no. 8 (April 1977): 843-859.
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. It is somewhat of a misattribution on Jameson’s part, however, as the precise term “cognitive mapping” does not appear in Kevin Lynch’s *The Image of the City*, though it is clear that his research operates around such principles.
 58. Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), 1.

59. Ibid., 1.
 60. Fredric Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System* (London: BFI, 1995).

1. Mapping New Hollywood

1. David A. Cook, *Lost Illusions: American Cinema in the Shadow of Watergate and Vietnam, 1970-1979* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 9.
2. Abel Green, "Mad, Mod, Moody, Miserable – That Sums up Year of 1970", *Variety*, January 6 1971, 1, 52, 54.
3. On the two phases of New Hollywood, see Geoff King, *New Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Thomas Elsaesser, *The Persistence of Hollywood* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Derek Nystrom, "The New Hollywood", in Cynthia Lucia, Roy Grundmann, Art Simon (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell History of American Film* (Blackwell, 2012), vol. 3, 409-434.
4. The key articles on the turn to flexible specialisation are as follows: Susan Christopherson and Michael Storper, "The City as Studio, the World as Back Lot: The Impact of Vertical Disintegration on the Location of the Motion Picture Industry", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 4 (1986): 305-320; Michael Storper and Susan Christopherson, "Flexible Specialisation and Regional Industrial Agglomerations: The Case of the US Motion Picture Industry", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 77, no. 1 (1987): 104-117; Susan Christopherson and Michael Storper, "The Effects of Flexible Specialisation on Industrial Politics and the Labor Market: The Motion Picture Industry", *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol. 24, no. 3 (April 1989), 331-347. See also Allen J. Scott, *On Hollywood: The Place, The Industry* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005).
5. Though the primary account of post-classical Hollywood as a post-Fordist production regime was developed by economic geographers, scholars in film studies have tended to despatialise their analysis. For example, in his otherwise useful recounting of the debates about post-Fordism and Hollywood, Murray Smith tellingly refers to Michael Storper and Susan Christopherson as 'sociologists' and retains none of the spatial dimensions of their work. See Murray Smith, "Theses on the philosophy of Hollywood history", in Steve Neale and Murray Smith (eds), *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 3-20.
6. Stefan Kanfer, "The Shock of Freedom in Films", *Time*, December 8 1967.
7. Ibid.
8. Aubrey Solomon, *Twentieth Century Fox: A Corporate and Financial History* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1988), 162.
9. Solomon, *Twentieth Century Fox*, 167.

10. John Izod, *Hollywood and the Box Office, 1895-1986* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Press, 1988), 173-174.
11. The *Washington Post* reported the Hollywood crisis was compounded by the general economic climate: "the present tight money situation in the United States has aggravated the crisis". See "Crisis in Hollywood", *Washington Post*, November 30 1969, 112.
12. Solomon, *Twentieth Century Fox*, 170.
13. See Bernard F. Dick, *Engulfed: The Death of Paramount Pictures and the Birth of Corporate Hollywood* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001); Peter Bart, *Fade Out: The Calamitous Final Days of MGM* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1990); Dennis McDougal, *The Last Mogul: Lew Wasserman, MCA, and the Hidden History of Hollywood* (New York: Crown, 1998); Steven Bach, *Final Cut: Dreams and Disaster in the Making of Heaven's Gate* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988); Solomon, *Twentieth Century Fox*.
14. "Hollywood: Myth, Fact, and Trouble", *Newsweek*, June 30 1969.
15. Earl C. Gottschalk Jr., "The Hatchet Man: How Aubrey is Reviving MGM by Cutting out the Fat and Nostalgia", *Wall Street Journal*, October 23 1970, 1.
16. "Another 50 out at MGM Studio: Dead until May; Shun 'Staff' in Future", *Variety*, January 20 1971, 4.
17. Gene Arneel, "Radical Knife on Fox Costs", *Variety*, August 5 1970, 3.
18. Columbia and Warners merged studio facilities at Burbank, a move announced in 1971 and accomplished in 1972. See Robert E. Wood, "Warner's, Columbia to Merge Studio Facilities: Films Will Still Operate Separately at Site in Burbank", *Los Angeles Times*, June 4 1971, E13; "Columbia Moves to Burbank Building", *Box Office*, August 28 1972, 4.
19. "The Day the Dream Factory Woke Up", *Life*, February 27 1970, 41.
20. "Said's Cinemobile", *Variety Daily*, July 25 1967.
21. An article in the *Wall Street Journal* provides a sense of this shift, reporting that "today 95% of all films made by US producers are shot principally on locations far from the sound stages of Hollywood, as compared with only 49% as recently as 1968". Earl C. Gottschalk, "Goodbye Hollywood: More Movie Makers Do Filming in Sticks for Realism, Savings", *Wall Street Journal*, July 25 1972.
22. *Wall Street Journal*, July 25 1972.
23. Mel Gussow, "Third Movie May Be Shifted from Production Here", *New York Times*, September 2 1971, 40.
24. Christopherson and Storper, "The City as Studio, the World as Back Lot".
25. Gene Siskel, "Filmed in Chicago", *Chicago Tribune*, Oct 14 1973.
26. Phyllis Funke, "How You Gonna Keep 'Em Down in Hollywood Once You've Seen the Sticks?", *New York Times*, September 22, 1974, 135.
27. The development of the Mayor's Office was widely covered in the media. See, for example, Felix Kessler, "New York City Gets Rave Notices for Bid to Lure Filmmakers", *Wall Street Journal*, March 10 1967; McCandlish Phillips,

- “City Is Successful as It Courts Moviemakers”, *New York Times*, August 15 1968, 39. See chapter three for more detail.
28. Charles Schreger, “States’ Right to a Hunk of Hollywood”, *Los Angeles Times*, March 21 1980, G1. See also *Variety Weekly*, February 4 1976; *Box Office*, February 9 1976.
 29. Gene Siskel, “Roll ‘Em! Chicago Sets the Scene for Today’s Film Action”, *Chicago Tribune*, December 5 1976.
 30. David Harvey, “From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism”, *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, vol. 71, no. 1 (1989): 3-17.
 31. Miriam Greenberg, *Branding New York: How a City in Crisis Was Sold to the World* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008); Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, Eleonore Kofman and Catherine Kevin (eds), *Branding Cities: Cosmopolitanism, Parochialism, and Social Change* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009); Anne M. Cronin and Kevin Hetherington (eds), *Consuming the Entrepreneurial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).
 32. See Carl Abbott, *The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Bernard L. Weinstein and Robert E. Firestine, *Regional Growth and Decline in the United States: The Rise of the Sunbelt and the Decline of the Northeast* (New York: Praeger, 1978); David C. Perry and Alfred J. Watkins (eds), *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1977). See also Jon Nordheimer, “Area Spans Southern Half of Country: Sunbelt Leads Nation in Population Growth”, *New York Times*, February 9 1976, 1; Wayne King, “Federal Funds Pour into Sunbelt States”, *New York Times*, February 9, 1976, 24; Roy Reed, “Sunbelt Still Stronghold of Conservatism in U.S.”, *New York Times*, February 10 1976, 1. See also “The Rise of the Sunbelt”, *Wall Street Journal*, October 5 1976; Gurney Breckenfeld, “Business Loves the Sunbelt”, *Fortune* (June 1977), 133-146; Nicholas Lemann, “Searching for the Sunbelt”, *Harper’s*, vol. 264, no. 1581 (February 1982): 14-19; “Americans go West – and South”, *Economist*, February 28 1976, 39.
 33. Kirkpatrick Sale, *Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1975).
 34. Weinstein and Firestine, *Regional Growth and Decline in the United States*, 65.
 35. Schreger, “States’ Right to a Hunk of Hollywood”.
 36. Figures for *The Gauntlet* are from *Variety Daily*, June 12 1978. Figures for *Black Sunday* are from Christopher Drew, “Moviemakers Bring Southerners Money, Jobs and Discomfort”, *Wall Street Journal*, August 27 1976, 1.
 37. DVD extra for *Rebel without a Cause* (Warner Brothers, 2005).
 38. Gene D. Phillips and Rodney Hill (eds), *Francis Ford Coppola: Interviews* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 147.

39. Vincent Canby, "New York's Woes Are Good Box Office", *New York Times*, November 10 1974, 141.
40. Ibid.
41. Thomas Elsaesser, "The Pathos of Failure: American Films in the 70s", *Monogram*, no. 6 (1975): 13-19.
42. See Barry Langford, *Post-Classical Hollywood: Film Industry, Style and Ideology since 1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).
43. Mark Shiel, "Banal and Magnificent Space in *Electra Glide in Blue* (1973), or An Allegory of the Nixon Era", *Cinema Journal*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Winter 2007), 91.
44. "Downtown Is Looking Up", *Time*, July 5 1976. See also T.D. Allman, "The Urban Crisis Leaves Town", *Harper's* (December 1978): 41-56.

2. Atlantic City, Philadelphia and Detroit

1. Elsaesser, *The Persistence of Hollywood*, 232.
2. Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 108-109.
3. On IATSE concessions, see Derek Nystrom, "Hard Hats and Movie Brats: Auteursism and the Class Politics of the New Hollywood", *Cinema Journal*, vol. 43, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 21.
4. Andrew Schaefer, "The Movement Inside: BBS Films and the Cultural Left in the New Hollywood", in Van Gosse and Richard Moser (eds), *The World the Sixties Made: Politics and Culture in Recent America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 114-137.
5. Bob Rafelson, DVD commentary for *The King of Marvin Gardens* (Criterion Collection DVD, 2010).
6. "Atlantic City 'Loans' Public Edifices", *Variety*, 15 December 1971, 7.
7. Bryant Simon, "Segregated Fantasies: Race, Public Space, and the Life and Death of the Movie Business in Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1945-2000", in Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott (eds), *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 64-87.
8. John McPhee, "The Search for Marvin Gardens", *New Yorker*, September 9 1972, 48.
9. Thomas Elsaesser, "The Pathos of Failure: American Films in the 70s: Notes on the Unmotivated Hero", in Thomas Elsaesser, Alexander Horvath and Noel King (eds), *The Last Great American Picture Show: New Hollywood Cinema in the 1970s* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2004), 279-292.
10. Elsaesser, 282.
11. Philip E. Orbanes, *Monopoly: The World's Most Famous Game – And How It Got That Way* (Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2006); Calvin Trillin, "Monopoly and History", *New Yorker*, February 13 1978, 90-96.
12. Bob Rafelson, "Le Monopoly est une métaphore très évidente du rêve américain..." *Cinema 73* (June 1973): 116-119. Translation is mine.

13. See, for example, Julie Graham, Katherine Gibson, Ronald Horvath, Don M. Shakow, "Restructuring in U.S. Manufacturing: The Decline of Monopoly Capitalism", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 78, no. 3 (1988): 473-490.
14. Franco Moretti, *The Atlas of the European Novel, 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1999).
15. Jameson, *Postmodernism*.
16. See Fredric Jameson, "Cognitive Mapping", in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).
17. Fredric Jameson, *Jameson on Jameson: Conversations on Cultural Marxism*, edited by Ian Buchanan (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 159.
18. *Postmodernism*, 38-45.
19. John Russell Taylor, "Staying Vulnerable: An Interview with Bob Rafelson", *Sight and Sound*, vol. 45, no. 4 (Autumn 1976): 203-204.
20. Foster Hirsch, "I Know I Shouldn't Like It, But..." *New York Times*, November 5 1972, D13.
21. Rafelson, "Le Monopoly est une métaphore très évidente du rêve américain...", 118.
22. Anna Maria Tatò, "Entretien avec Bob Rafelson", *Positif* 206 (May 1978), 30.
23. *Ibid.*, 203.
24. Jay Boyer, *Bob Rafelson: Hollywood Maverick* (New York and London: Twayne, 1996), 55.
25. McPhee, 62.
26. Bryant Simon, *Boardwalk of Dreams: Atlantic City and the Fate of Urban America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 82.
27. *Ibid.*, 13-14.
28. *Ibid.*, 16.
29. Rafelson, "Le Monopoly est une métaphore très évidente du rêve américain...", 116-119. My translation.
30. Michiko Kakutani, "Louis Malle's Fascination with Life's Turning Points", *New York Times*, June 28 1981.
31. Vincent Canby, "Atlantic City – Louis Malle Ghost Story", *New York Times*, April 3 1981.
32. Louis Malle, *Malle on Malle*, ed. Philip French (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), 128.
33. *Ibid.*, 127.
34. Canadian tax shelter laws had been changed in 1978 causing a boom in film production.
35. Malle, *Malle on Malle*, 127.
36. Thomas S. Hines, "Atlantic City: What Happens When Gambling Is Used as a Tool for Urban Renewal", *AIA Journal*, November 1982, 34.
37. Charles H. Marcianite, "Legal Casinos? Business Says Yes, the Church No", *New York Times*, May 2 1976, New Jersey Weekly Section, 37.

38. George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes, *The Atlantic City Gamble* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1983), 114.
39. Martin Waldron, "Casinos Bring Atlantic City Woes", *New York Times*, May 8 1977, 1.
40. Donald Janson, "Atlantic City: The Human Cost of Progress", *New York Times*, November 26 1978, New Jersey Weekly Section, 1.
41. Sternlieb and Hughes, *The Atlantic City Gamble*, 191.
42. Jencks, *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*, 9.
43. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Atlantic City: Analyzing an Urban Phenomenon", *New York Times*, September 21 1980, D29.
44. Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*.
45. Thomas S. Hines, "Learning from Atlantic City: Thomas S. Hines interviews Robert Venturi and Steven Izenour", *AIA Journal*, November 1982, 46. Venturi added rather characteristically that the casino architecture in Atlantic City wasn't "vulgar enough".
46. *Ibid.*, 46.
47. Huxtable, "Atlantic City".
48. James F. Clarity, "People of Atlantic City Wonder What the Wheel's Turn Will Bring", *New York Times*, May 19 1978, New Jersey Section, 18.
49. Walter Benjamin, *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire*, trans. Howard Eiland, Edmund Jephcott, Rodney Livingston, and Harry Zohn (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 44.
50. *Ibid.*, 193.
51. Here I am using the titles of two books: Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968); Susan Strange, *Casino Capitalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).
52. "Jackpot", *The Economist*, December 25 1976, 87.
53. Harry Magdoff and Paul M. Sweezy, *The Deepening Crisis of U.S. Capitalism* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1981), 22.
54. Susan Strange, *Casino Capitalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 3. Walter Benjamin also cites a remarkably similar passage from Paul Lafargue in 1906: "Modern economic development as a whole tends more and more to transform capitalist society into a giant international gambling house, where the bourgeois wins and loses capital in consequence of events which remain unknown to him". See Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 497.
55. Leonard Silk, "How Carter Can Stop Inflation", *New York Times*, Sunday magazine, June 18 1978, 4.
56. Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 2.
57. Desmond Ryan, "New Film Office Brings to Region a Bonanza and a Milestone", *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 20 1992. See also Paul Swann, "From

- Workshop to Backlot: The Greater Philadelphia Film Office”, in Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (eds), *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 88-98.
58. *Rocky* grossed \$117,235,247 in the United States and \$225 million worldwide. Sheldon Hall and Steve Neale, *Epics, Spectacles and Blockbusters: A Hollywood History* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 214.
 59. Robert P. Inman, “Anatomy of a Fiscal Crisis”, *Business Review* (September/October 1983): 15-22; “Now Philadelphia’s Broke”, *Economist*, May 29 1976, 42.
 60. James F. Clarity, “In Philadelphia, Pride in the City Grows”, *New York Times*, July 4 1977, 32.
 61. Andrew Feffer, “Show Down in Center City: Staging Redevelopment and Citizenship in Bicentennial Philadelphia, 1974-1977”, *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 30, no. 6 (September 2004): 792.
 62. Clarity, “In Philadelphia, Pride in the City Grows”.
 63. Paul R. Levy and Roman A. Cybriwsky, “The Hidden Dimensions of Culture and Class: Philadelphia”, in Shirley Bradway Laska and Daphne Spain (eds), *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), 140.
 64. On the development of the Steadicam, see Serena Ferrara, *Steadicam: Techniques and Aesthetics* (Oxford: Focal Press, 2000).
 65. On the introduction of CinemaScope and the historiographical questions around film technology, see John Belton, “CinemaScope and Historical Methodology”, *Cinema Journal*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Autumn 1988), 22-44. Charles Eidsvik has also written about the function of the Steadicam as part of a broader defensive strategy against video in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As he put it in the late 1980s, “The sum of the technical shifts in the last decade has been to increase the possibilities of location film-making and to free filmmakers from some logistical and financial production hassles”. Charles Eidsvik, “Machines of the Invisible: Changes in Film Technology in the Age of Video”, *Film Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Winter 1988-1989): 22.
 66. Ted Churchill, “Steadicam: An Operator’s Perspective”, *American Cinematographer*, vol. 64, no. 4 (April 1983): 115.
 67. The boxing scenes were filmed later in Los Angeles. James Crabe, “The Photography of ‘Rocky’”, *American Cinematographer*, vol. 58, no. 2 (February 1977), 184-185, 205, 221.
 68. John M. Wilson, “Location Hunters Seek Sites for Sore Eyes”, *Los Angeles Times*, November 28 1976.
 69. On Troma, see Bill Landis, “Tromatized”, *Film Comment*, vol. 22, no. 4 (July 1986): 77-80.
 70. G. Michael Dobbs, “Inside Troma Films: Thirty Years in Low Budget Movies”, *The Journal Bravo*, May 29 2003, <http://www.troma.com/tromapress/journalbravo/2003-05-29/index.html>.
 71. Brown discusses the development of the Steadicam and his Philadelphia test films in Bryan Bierman, “Q&A: Steadicam Inventor and Rocky Cinema-

tographer Garrett Brown”, <http://citypaper.net/article.php?Q-A-Steadicam-inventor-and-Rocky-cinematographer-Garrett-Brown-12242>.

72. Churchill, “Steadicam”.
73. Ed DiGiulio, “Steadicam-35: A Revolutionary New Concept in Camera Stabilisation”, *American Cinematographer*, vol. 57, no. 7 (July 4 1976): 786-787, 802.
74. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), xi. The crisis of the classical Hollywood action image that Deleuze describes might be understood as a breakdown in the presentation of screen space, the seeds of which were sown by the devastation of the European city in the Second World War, threading through European art cinema towards a more general crisis of spatial representation in the late 1960s and 1970s. The “movement image” was in part a description of how classical Hollywood film had developed into a highly codified spatial system, through which rational agents were able to unproblematically operate across a series of well-defined social spaces. Towards the close of the first volume, Deleuze describes the “origins of the crisis”, emphasising the spatial underpinnings of the fault-line which emerges across this “sensory motor” schema:

[T]he sensory-motor action or situation has been replaced by the stroll, the voyage, and the continual return journey ... It has become urban voyage, and has become detached from the active and affective structure that supported it, directed it, gave it even vague directions ... This is in fact the clearest aspect of the modern voyage. It happens in any-space-whatever – marshalling yard, disused warehouse, the undifferentiated fabric of the city – in opposition to action which most often unfolded in the qualified space-time of the old realism. As Cassavetes says, it is a question of undoing space, as well as the story, the plot, or the action.

Though this notion of the “any-space-whatever” was most readily applicable to images of the devastated European city in Italian neorealism, Deleuze hints through his brief references to the New Hollywood that it also has some purchase for describing the landscapes of urban decay and deindustrialisation that appeared in the 1960s and 1970s.

75. *Box Office*, December 20 1976. Cited in inlay card for DVD release (MGM, 2004).
76. See Jeffrey Richards, “Frank Capra and the Cinema of Populism”, in Bill Nichols (ed.), *Movies and Methods: An Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 65-77.
77. Leger Grindon, “Body and Soul: The Structure of Meaning in the Boxing Film”, *Cinema Journal*, vol. 35, no. 4 (Summer 1996): 66.
78. Edward C. Banfield, *The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970).
79. See Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 13; Irving Kristol, “Sense and Nonsense in Urban Policy”, *Wall Street Journal*, December 21 1977.

80. Peter Biskind and Barbara Ehrenreich, "Machismo and Hollywood's Working Class", in Peter Biskind, *Gods and Monsters* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), 53-74.
81. Robert A. Beauregard, "City Profile: Philadelphia", *Cities*, no. 6 (November 1989): 300.
82. Al Auster and Leonard Quart, "The Working Class Goes to Hollywood", *Cineaste*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Fall 1978): 4.
83. See, for example, *Scarecrow* (Jerry Schatzberg, 1973) and *The Betsy* (Daniel Petrie, 1978).
84. See "Detroit Riot Passes Watts as History's Most Damaging", *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 27 1967; "Detroit Is Swept by Rioting and Fires; Romney Calls in Guard; 700 Arrested", *New York Times*, July 24 1967, 1.
85. "Cities: The Fire This Time", *Time*, August 4 1967.
86. William K. Stevens, "Detroit: Cyclical Swings Pack a Punch", *New York Times*, January 6 1974, 155.
87. Michael J. Piore and Charles F. Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 243. See also Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class* (London and New York: Verso, 2007).
88. "The Cities: A Financial Last Hurrah?", *Time*, June 9 1975.
89. William K. Stevens, "Detroit in Recession Reflects Fear and Strength", *New York Times*, December 30 1974, 53.
90. See Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Richard Child Hill, "Crisis in the Motor City: The Politics of Economic Development in Detroit", in Susan S. Fainstein, Norman I. Fainstein, Richard Child Hill, Dennis R. Judd and Michael Peter Smith, *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment* (New York and London: Longman, 1986), 80-125.
91. Patrick Schumacher and Christian Rogner, "After Ford", in Georgia Daskalakis, Charles Waldheim and Jason Young (eds), *Stalking Detroit* (Barcelona: ACTAR, 2001), 48.
92. Kevin Jackson (ed.), *Schrader on Schrader and Other Writings* (London: Faber and Faber, 2004), 141.
93. Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying: A Study in Urban Revolution* (London: Redwords, 1998), 43. Originally published in 1975.
94. Ibid.
95. Magdoff and Sweezy, *The Deepening Crisis of U.S. Capitalism*, 135.
96. *Variety*, February 8 1978.
97. Stevens, "Detroit in Recession Reflects Fear and Strength".
98. John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 272.
99. Dan Georgakas and Lenny Rubinstein (eds), *The Cineaste Interviews: On the Art and Politics of the Cinema* (Chicago: Lake View Press, 1983), 206.

100. Gregg Kilday, "Union Heist in Detroit", *Los Angeles Times*, June 22 1977.
101. Andrew Sarris, "Blue Collar", *Village Voice*, February 27 1978. Both Terry Curtis Fox and Andrew Sarris cite the films of Abraham Polonsky as precursors to *Blue Collar*.
102. *Hollywood Reporter*, February 8 1978.
103. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "Review: Blue Collar", *Saturday Review*, April 15 1978.
104. "Blue Collar: Detroit Moviegoers Have Their Say", *Cineaste*, vol. 8, no. 4 (Summer 1978), 28-31.
105. John G. Watson, "The Far Left Looks at Blue Collar", *Los Angeles Times*, March 25 1978.
106. Ibid.
107. Jean-Louis Comolli and Jean Narboni, "Cinema/Ideology/Criticism", trans. Susan Bennett, *Screen*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1971): 27-31.

3. New York City

1. As Martin Shefter puts it, "If, as Walter Benjamin said, the capital of the nineteenth century was Paris, then the capital of the American Century surely was New York". Martin Shefter, "New York's National and International Influence", in Martin Shefter (ed.), *Capital of the American Century: The National and International Influence of New York City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993), 1.
2. A report conducted by the Mayor's Committee on Cultural Policy in 1974 estimated cultural industries to contribute \$3 billion to the economy of New York, of which around \$60 million was attributed to film production and around the same again to theatrical exhibition. See "Culture Means Money, City Told in Report", *New York Times*, October 16 1974.
3. For a general overview of New York in the movies, see James Sanders, *Cel-luloid Skyline: New York and the Movies* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); James Sanders (ed.), *Scenes from the City: Filmmaking in New York, 1966-2006* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006). See also Murray Pomerance (ed.), *City That Never Sleeps: New York and the Filmic Imagination* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2007).
4. Though the famous opening sequence of *The Naked City* went to great lengths to let the audience know that the film was shot on location, this only underlines the extent to which this was exceptional at the time, rather than the norm. Had it been business as usual, the claim to documentary veracity would have been redundant.
5. Robert B. Frederick, "NY Filmmaking Nightmare: I've Had it, Sez Delbert Mann", *Variety*, April 21 1965, 1.
6. See "New York: The Big Set", *Newsweek*, May 29 1967; Terence Smith, "Filmmakers Will Find a Haven in New York", *New York Times*, June 1 1966, 40; "Transit Authority Describes Film Aid", *New York Times*, October 29, 1966; Felix Kessler, "New York City Gets Rave Notices for Bid to Lure Filmmakers",

- Wall Street Journal*, March 10 1967; Phillips, "City Is Successful as It Courts Moviemakers", 39.
7. Christine Conrad, "Moviemaking in New York City" (Letter to Editor), *New York Times*, Sunday magazine, September 19 1971, 70. Christine Conrad was at that time the Executive Coordinator of the Mayor's Office of Motion Pictures and Television.
 8. Vincent Cannato, *The Ungovernable City: John Lindsay and His Struggle to Save New York* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).
 9. Vincent Canby, "Labor Cost Comparisons Irk Film Unions Here", *New York Times*, July 27 1966, 44.
 10. Vincent Canby, "Lindsay Proposes Movie Cost Cuts", *New York Times*, January 25 1967, 36; Vincent Canby, "12 Unions Here Agree to Relax Rules for Local Film Production", *New York Times*, March 15 1967, 53. Though a deal was struck in 1967, disputes and negotiations continued into the early 1970s, particularly with the studio mechanics union, Local 52, the city's largest and most powerful craft guild. See Mel Gussow, "Filmmaking Talks at an Impasse Here", *New York Times*, September 14 1971, 46; Mel Gussow, "Major Film Union Here Accepts Pact", *New York Times*, November 11 1971, 60.
 11. James Sanders, "Adventure Playground: John V. Lindsay and the Transformation of Modern New York", *Places Design Observer*, May 4 2010, <http://places.designobserver.com/entry.html?entry=13338>.
 12. Figures provided by the Mayor's Office of Film, Theatre & Broadcasting, City of New York. Note that these numbers correspond to the year in which a film was produced rather than to its release, and that underground features filmed without permits are obviously excluded from the count.
 13. *Ibid.*
 14. Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) figures, cited by Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 492.
 15. See James L. Baughman, "Take Me Away from Manhattan: New York City and American Mass Culture, 1930-1990", in Martin Shefter (ed.), *Capital of the American Century: The National and International Influence of New York City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993), 117-143.
 16. For example, Italian producer Dino De Laurentiis moved his entire operation to New York in the early 1970s. See Deidre Carmody, "De Laurentiis to Shift His Base Here", *New York Times*, July 25 1973, 36.
 17. *Serpico* was filmed in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx, but not Staten Island.
 18. Conrad, "Moviemaking in New York City".
 19. See Phillips, "City Is Successful as It Courts Moviemakers", 39.
 20. Vincent Canby, "Mayor Renews Filming Pledge", *New York Times*, May 17 1966, 53.
 21. "Lindsay System Should End Old Habit of Each NY Department Censoring Scripts", *Variety*, May 25 1966.
 22. Canby, "New York's Woes Are Good Box Office".

23. See *New York*, December 29 1975, especially Mark Jacobson, "New York, You Oughta Be in Pictures"; John Mariani, "The Greatest Movie Set Ever"; Ellen Stern, "How to Make a Movie in New York".
24. New York City Planning Commission, *Plan for New York City, 1969: A Proposal* (1969).
25. Ibid.
26. Matthew P. Drennan, "The Decline and Rise of the New York Economy", in John H. Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells (eds), *Dual City: Restructuring New York* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), 26.
27. William K. Tabb, *The Long Default: New York City and the Urban Fiscal Crisis* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1982), 9.
28. Ibid., 9.
29. Jason Epstein, "The Last Days of New York", in Roger E. Alcaly and David Mermelstein (eds), *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities: Essays on the Political Economy of Urban America with Special Reference to New York* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 62.
30. "Offices and Men", *Economist*, 24 March 1973, 10.
31. Congressional Budget Office, "New York City's Fiscal Problem", in Roger E. Alcaly and David Mermelstein (eds), *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities: Essays on the Political Economy of Urban America with Special Reference to New York* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 289. See also Roger Beardwood, "The Southern Roots of Urban Crisis", *Fortune* (August 1968): 80-88.
32. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Adding up the Score", *New York Times*, January 20 1974, 124; Peter Blake, "The Town That Lindsay Built", *New York*, December 10 1973, 70-73.
33. See Ada Louise Huxtable, "Downtown New York Begins to Undergo Radical Transformation", *New York Times*, March 27 1967, 35.
34. Dennis Duggan, "Skyscrapers in NY Looking for Tenants", *Washington Post*, December 27 1975, B5.
35. Roger Starr, *The Rise and Fall of New York City* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).
36. William Claiborne, "Day of Reckoning: Largess Haunts New York City", *Washington Post*, May 25 1975, 1.
37. Robert Fitch, *The Assassination of New York* (London and New York: Verso, 1993). See also M.J. Rossant, "How Rockefeller Destroyed New York", *Harper's* (January 1976): 62-74.
38. William K. Tabb, "The New York Fiscal Crisis", *Review of Business*, June 22 1992.
39. Israel Shenker, "18 Urban Experts Advise, Castigate and Console the City on Its Problems", *New York Times*, 30 July 1975, 35.
40. Ibid.
41. For general overviews of the fiscal crisis, see William K. Tabb, *The Long Default: New York City and the Urban Fiscal Crisis* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1982); David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Martin Shefter, *Political Crisis/*

- Fiscal Crisis: The Collapse and Revival of New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Roger Starr, *The Rise and Fall of New York City* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).
42. Epstein, "The Last Days of New York", 63.
 43. "How to Save New York", *Time*, 20 October 1975.
 44. Tabb, *The Long Default*, 88.
 45. Andy Logan, "Around City Hall: Afloat", *New Yorker*, January 5 1976, 58.
 46. Greenberg, *Branding New York*.
 47. Robin Wood, *Hollywood from Vietnam to Reagan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
 48. Sharon Zukin, "The City as a Landscape of Power", in Leslie Budd and Sam Whimster (eds), *Global Finance and Urban Living: A Study of Metropolitan Change* (London: Routledge, 1992).
 49. On the narrative of decline, see Robert Beauregard, *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of US Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
 50. Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (London: Routledge, 1996), 38.
 51. The apartment as a genre device in American cinema has been recently elaborated on by Pamela Robertson Wojick in *The Apartment Plot: Urban Living in American Film and Popular Culture, 1945 to 1975* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2010).
 52. J. Hoberman, "The Slums of Park Slope", *Village Voice*, September 11 2007.
 53. See, for example, articles in contemporary press such as Nan Ickeringill, "In Brooklyn, Brownstones with Their Budgets", *New York Times*, February 14 1970, Real Estate, 30; Steven R. Weisman, "Banks Relaxing Brownstone Ban", *New York Times*, June 6 1971, Brooklyn/Queens/Long Island, 82; Charles Lockwood, "Brownstoners Fair Attended by 2,000", *New York Times*, October 28 1973, 120. For further detail on gentrification in the 1970s, see Suleiman Osman, "The Decade of the Neighborhood", in Bruce J. Schulman and Julian E. Zelizer (eds), *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press 2008), 106-127.
 54. Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Vintage, 1975).
 55. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (London: Penguin, 1972).
 56. Paul Goldberger, "Why City Is Switching from Master Plan to 'Miniplan'", *New York Times*, June 27 1974, 47.
 57. Neil Smith, "Gentrification and Uneven Development", *Economic Geography*, vol. 58, no. 2 (1982): 139-155.
 58. Zukin, *Loft Living*.
 59. William Wolf, "Pearl Bailey Back in Films in 'Landlord'", *Los Angeles Times*, July 6 1969, L1.
 60. Ibid.

61. George Todd, "Pearl Bailey Making Move in Boro Park Slope Area", *New York Amsterdam News*, June 21 1969, 28.
62. Janet Watson, "The Landlord: Facts and Fantasies", *City Free Press*, vol. 1, no. 5, November 30 1970.
63. On African-American film in the 1970s and the 'blaxploitation' genre, see Paula J. Massood, *Black City Cinema: African American Urban Experiences in Film* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003); Ed Guerrero, *The African American Image in Film* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).
64. *Variety* noted that community relations on the shoot for *The Landlord* were exemplary in comparison to *Cotton Comes to Harlem*. See *Variety*, June 24 1969.
65. Lindsay Patterson, "In Harlem: A James Bond with Soul?" *New York Times*, June 15 1969, 15.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London and New York: Verso, 1983).
69. Vincent Canby, "Film: Desperate Couple", *New York Times*, 23 September 1971, 74.
70. Benjamin, *The Writer of Modern Life*, 38.
71. Tom Gunning, "The Exterior as Intérieur: Benjamin's Optical Detective", *boundary 2*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2003): 105-130.
72. Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings, Volume 1, 1913-1926*, edited by Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1996), 446. An alternative translation is given in the Penguin edition of *One-Way Street*: "a certain type of crime fiction that sets the horror of the habitation at its dynamic core". Walter Benjamin, *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. J.A. Underwood (London: Penguin, 2009), 50.
73. *Klute in New York: A Background for Suspense* (Warner Bros., 1971).
74. This was also explored in a number of other films of the period, such as *Rosemary's Baby* (Roman Polanski, 1968), *Diary of a Mad Housewife* (Frank Perry, 1970), and *Up the Sandbox* (Irvin Kershner, 1972).
75. *Klute in New York*.
76. Ibid..
77. Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, ed. and trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
78. Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic*, 52.
79. Personal notebooks of Alan J. Pakula, in the Alan J. Pakula Collection, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, CA.
80. On the articulation of space in melodrama, see Thomas Elsaesser, "Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama", *Monogram*, no. 4 (1972): 2-15.

81. See Charles Jencks, *The New Moderns: From Late to Neo-modernism* (London: Academy Editions, 1990).
82. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Sometimes We Do It Right", *New York Times*, March 31 1968, D33.
83. Cited in Robert A.M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, David Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995), 180.
84. Michel Ciment, "Entretien avec Alan J. Pakula", *Positif* (March 1972): 32-38.
85. Roger Greenspun, "Klute: A Thriller with Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland", *New York Times*, June 24 1971, 35.
86. Colin MacCabe, "Realism and the Cinema: Notes on Some Brechtian The- ses", *Screen*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Summer 1974): 7-27.
87. In this chapter, I have intentionally chosen not to focus on *Taxi Driver* in favour of films that are less well known. It is clear, however, that the connections between fractured subjective states and apartment space are also of relevance to Scorsese's film.
88. Stephanie Harrington, "Life in the Imaginary City", *Harper's* (December 1975): 38.
89. *Ibid.*, 40.
90. Greenberg, *Branding New York*, 9.
91. Edward Ranzal, "Publicity Is Said to Bar Better Credit for City", *New York Times*, February 10 1971, 86.
92. Greenberg, *Branding New York*, 11-12.
93. *Kramer vs. Kramer* topped the domestic box office for 1978 and garnered five Academy Awards; *Annie Hall* won four Academy Awards; *Manhattan* was nominated for two Academy Awards; *An Unmarried Woman* was nominated for three Academy Awards.
94. John H. Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells, "Introduction", in John H. Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells (eds), *Dual City: Restructuring New York* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), 9.
95. See Mark Shiel, "A Nostalgia for Modernity: New York, Los Angeles, and American Cinema in the 1970s", in Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (eds), *Screening the City* (London: Verso, 2003), 160-179.
96. Woody Allen interviewed by Natalie Gittelson, "The Maturing of Woody Allen", *New York Times*, Sunday magazine, April 22 1979, 1-8.
97. Todd Gitlin and Carol S. Wolman, "An Unmarried Woman", *Film Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1 (Fall 1978): 55-58.
98. Charlotte Brunson and Jane Clarke, "A Subject for the Seventies", *Screen*, vol. 23, nos. 3-4 (September/October 1982): 25-26. See also Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", in Philip Rosen (ed.), *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology: A Film Theory Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 198-209.
99. Zukin, "The City as a Landscape of Power". See also Zukin, *Loft Living*; Jim Stratton, *Pioneering in the Urban Wilderness* (New York: Urizen Books, 1977);

- Peter Hellman, "SoHo: Artists' Bohemia Imperiled", *New York*, August 24 1970.
100. Brunsdon and Clarke, "A Subject for the Seventies", 25-26.
 101. This contrasted with other representations of the American family during this period – for example, Steven Spielberg's quintessentially suburban films – or conversely, the disintegration of the American family that underscored the horror of *The Shining* (Stanley Kubrick, 1980).
 102. Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 293-294. See also Stanley Cavell, *The Pursuits of Happiness: The Hollywood Comedy of Remarriage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).
 103. Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2008), 16-25.
 104. Ibid.
 105. Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic*, 14.
 106. For example, the top five bestselling novels of the 1970s were *The Godfather*, *The Exorcist*, *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, *Love Story*, and *Jaws*.
 107. John Sutherland, *Best Sellers: Popular Fiction of the 1970s* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 225.
 108. See Michael Seidel, "Gulliver's Travels and the Contracts of Fiction", in John Richetti (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 72-89.
 109. Sidney Lumet, *Making Movies* (London: Bloomsbury, 1995), 78.
 110. "Photographing *The French Connection*", *American Cinematographer*, vol. 53, no. 2 (February 1972): 161.
 111. William Friedkin, director's commentary for *The French Connection* (20th Century Fox DVD, 2003).
 112. Ibid.
 113. Sutherland, *Best Sellers*, 231.
 114. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1991), 205-207.
 115. On ABNY, see "The Business Spark", *New York Times*, February 12, 1971; Michael Sterne, "Plan Offered to Make City Boom Again", *New York Times*, February 19 1976.
 116. John Darnton, "Theater of the Observed", *New York Times*, September 30 1973.
 117. Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space: People and Design in the Violent City* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).
 118. Ibid., 4.
 119. Ibid., 3.
 120. Ibid., 12.
 121. Graham MacPhee, *Architecture of the Visible* (London: Continuum, 2002).
 122. Whereas the paranoid ego relies on delusions of grandeur to construct its sense of place within the social totality – i.e., "I *must* be at the centre of this narrative" – then *The Anderson Tapes* represents something slightly differ-

- ent: a ceaseless indexing machine which is quite indifferent to any authentic identity or self.
123. Cannato, *The Ungovernable City*, 78-93.
 124. Production notes for *The Taking of Pelham 123*.
 125. Jennifer S. Light, *From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).
 126. Cannato, *The Ungovernable City*.
 127. Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989), 182.
 128. Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity*, 25.
 129. Moretti, *The Atlas of the European Novel*, 108.
 130. Mackenzie Wark, *Virtual Geography* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 200.
 131. Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 181-197. Jameson draws on Walter Benn Michaels, *The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism: American Literature at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Marc Shell, *The Economy of Literature* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Jean-Joseph Goux, *The Coiners of Language*, trans. Jennifer Curtiss-Gage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).
 132. Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 21.
 133. Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).
 134. The relationship to Kubrick is not incidental, for Eliot Noyes's office worked on set design for 2001.
 135. Richard Schickel, "Fiscal Fizzle", *Time*, December 21 1981.
 136. These were the US National Bank of San Diego and the Franklin National Bank of New York. See Magdoff and Sweezy, *The Deepening Crisis of U.S. Capitalism*, 8.
 137. Harry Magdoff and Paul M. Sweezy, *The End of Prosperity: The American Economy in the 1970s* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1977), 33.
 138. Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic*.
 139. Janet Maslin, "Kris Kristofferson and Jane Fonda in 'Rollover'", *New York Times*, December 11 1981.
 140. Interview with Alan J. Pakula and Bruce Gilbert, *London Free Press*, November 27 1981.
 141. Script synopsis for *Rollover*, in the Alan J. Pakula Collection, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, CA.
 142. Stephen J. Sansweet, "Jane Fonda Delivers a Message With Films Like 'Rollover', a Tale of Financial Collapse", *Wall Street Journal*, December 10 1981, 33.
 143. Ibid.
 144. Personal notebooks of Alan J. Pakula.

145. Jane D'Arista, "Background on Banking", Memorandum to Alan Pakula and David Shaber, in the Alan J. Pakula Collection, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, CA.
146. For example, see "A Message from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia", *Fortune* (July 1977); L.J. Davis, "Hostages for the Chase Manhattan", *Penthouse*, vol. 12, issue 4, no. 136 (December 1980): 76-82, 128, 152-154, 174; "How the Euromarket Fends of Global Financial Disaster", *Fortune*, September 24 1979.
147. "Arab Banks Grow: A Tool to Control the World's Capital", *Business Week*, October 6 1980.
148. In the unstable economic climate of the 1970s, senior bankers such as Citibank's Walter Wriston had calculated that nation states were less likely to default on their loans than individual corporations. As he famously put it, "a country does not go bankrupt". See David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); A.F. Ehrbar, "The IMF Lays Down the Law", *Fortune*, July 1977.
149. Alan J. Pakula, Development Notes for *Rollover*, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, CA.
150. D'Arista, "Background on Banking".
151. Alan J. Pakula, "Lichtenstein, Legends and Leviathan", *Monthly Film Bulletin*, vol. 49, no. 584 (September 1982).
152. Ibid.
153. Schickel, "Fiscal Fizzle".
154. Pakula, "Lichtenstein, Legends and Leviathan".
155. Pauline Kael, "The Current Cinema: Urban Gothic", *New Yorker*, October 30 1971, 113-116.

4. San Francisco

1. See "Alioto Wants Frisco Filming", *Variety*, January 5 1974, 8; See "Tapping S.F. Film Potential", *Los Angeles Times*, April 30 1967; Mel Gussow, "Movies Leaving Hollywood Behind", *New York Times*, May 27 1970, 36; Gerald Nachmans, "Coast's Bay Area Is Lure for Filmmakers", *New York Times*, August 12 1971, 28; Philip Hager, "Background for Films? Often It's San Francisco", *Los Angeles Times*, December 9 1973.
2. Bill Steif, "Statistics Cut Fancy Figures as Goldwyn Suit Resumes in Frisco", *Variety*, September 18 1957, 16.
3. Michael Goodwin and Naomi Wise, *On the Edge: The Life and Times of Francis Coppola* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1989), 98-99.
4. "San Francisco Manual for Filmmakers", *Back Stage*, July 5 1974, 24.
5. *Dirty Harry* was followed by four sequels: *Magnum Force* (Ted Post, 1973), *The Enforcer* (James Fargo, 1976), *Sudden Impact* (Clint Eastwood, 1983) and *The Dead Pool* (Buddy Van Horn, 1988). Sidney Poitier also reprised his role as detective Virgil Tibbs in *The Organization* (Don Medford, 1971).

6. Other examples include *Freebie and the Bean* (Richard Rush, 1974) and *High Anxiety* (Mel Brooks, 1977).
7. See "Inferno Ires High-Rise Builders", *Variety Daily*, June 28 1974; "Industry Moves to Mitigate Inferno", *Los Angeles Times*, December 4 1974: "[T]he office building industry is gearing up for a national educational campaign to counteract fears raised by *The Towering Inferno*".
8. David Gosling with Maria Cristina Gosling, *The Evolution of American Urban Design: A Chronological Anthology* (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2003).
9. See R. Varkki George, "A Procedural Explanation for Contemporary Urban Design", *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1997): 143-161; Richard Hu, "Urban Design in Downtown San Francisco: A Paradigm Shift?", presented at the 15th International Planning History Society Conference, São Paulo, Brazil, 15-18 July 2012; Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Tridib Banerjee, "The Negotiated Plaza: Design and Development of Corporate Open Space in Downtown Los Angeles and San Francisco", *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1993): 1-12.
10. The best general account of San Francisco's postwar redevelopment is Chester Hartman with Sarah Carnochan, *City for Sale: The Transformation of San Francisco* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002). See also John H. Mollenkopf, *The Contested City* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983); Brian J. Godfrey, "Urban Development and Redevelopment in San Francisco", *The Geographical Review*, vol. 87, no. 3 (July 1997): 309-333; Manuel Castells, "City and Culture: The San Francisco Experience", in Manuel Castells, *The Castells Reader on Cities and Social Theory*, ed. Ida Susser (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 130-252; Susan S. Fainstein, Norman I. Fainstein, P. Jefferson Armistead, "San Francisco: Urban Transformation and the Local State", in Susan S. Fainstein, Norman I. Fainstein, Richard Child Hill, Dennis R. Judd and Michael Peter Smith, *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment* (New York and London: Longman, 1986), 202-244.
11. Bruce Brugmann, Greggar Sletteland, *The Ultimate Highrise: San Francisco's Mad Rush Toward the Sky* (San Francisco: San Francisco Bay Guardian, 1971). See also "Skylines vs. Skyscrapers", *Time*, March 8 1971; "Feeling Runs High on San Francisco Skyline", *Los Angeles Times*, May 25 1969.
12. Kevin Lynch, *Managing the Sense of a Region* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980).
13. Kenneth Halpern, *Downtown USA: Urban Design in Nine American Cities* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1978).
14. George, "A Procedural Explanation for Contemporary Urban Design".
15. Michael Schumacher, *Francis Ford Coppola: A Filmmaker's Life* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1999), 72.
16. "Hollywood: Myth, Fact, and Trouble", *Newsweek*, June 30 1969.
17. Jon Lewis, "If History Has Taught Us Anything ... Francis Coppola, Paramount Studios, and *The Godfather Parts I, II and III*", in Nick Browne (ed.),

- Francis Ford Coppola's The Godfather Trilogy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 23-56.
18. Dick, *Engulfed*, 154-158.
 19. Schumacher, *Francis Ford Coppola*.
 20. Hutton, *The New Economy of the Inner City*, 179. For an early account of the Yerba Buena Project, see Chester Hartman, *Yerba Buena: Land Grab and Community Resistance in San Francisco* (San Francisco, CA: Glide Publications, 1974).
 21. Coppola was also making direct interventions into San Francisco's architectural heritage: in 1972, he purchased and began to restore the historic Sentinel Building, which had been threatened with demolition.
 22. Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity", in Hal Foster (ed.), *Vision and Visuality* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988). On planning and the aerial view, see Anthony Vidler, "Photourbanism: Planning the City from Above and from Below", in Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, *A Companion to the City* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 35-45.
 23. Robert B. Ray, *A Certain Tendency of the Hollywood Cinema, 1930-1980* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 33.
 24. Lawrence Shaffer, "The Conversation", *Film Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Fall 1974): 59.
 25. Francis Ford Coppola, director's commentary for *The Conversation* (Paramount DVD, 2004).
 26. Stephen Paul Miller, *The Seventies Now: Culture as Surveillance* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 2.
 27. "Electronics: Bug Thy Neighbor", *Time*, March 6 1964.
 28. Hall, *Cities in Civilization*.
 29. On Silicon Valley, see *ibid.*, 423-454; Christophe Lécuyer, *Making Silicon Valley: Innovation and the Growth of High Tech, 1930-1970* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2007).
 30. Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class* (London and New York: Verso, 2007); David N. Pellow and Lisa S. Park, *Silicon Valley of Dreams: Environmental Injustice, Immigrant Workers, and the High-Tech Global Economy* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2002).
 31. Ray, *A Certain Tendency of the Hollywood Cinema, 1930-1980*.
 32. Pauline Kael, "The Current Cinema", *New Yorker*, November 12 1973.
 33. Ray, *A Certain Tendency of the Hollywood Cinema*, 303.
 34. Suleiman Osman, *The Invention of Brownstone Brooklyn: Gentrification and the Search for Authenticity in Postwar New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 57.
 35. Tavoularis briefly describes the location selection in Schumacher, *Francis Ford Coppola*, 144.
 36. "Rockefeller West Proposed for S.F. Embarcadero Area", *Los Angeles Times*, February 19 1967.

37. Jameson, "Postmodernism".
38. This reading of Jameson draws on a film made by Edward Soja for the Open University (UK). This collapse between interior and exterior is also implicitly figured in the film through its use of the Embarcadero exterior in several scenes as an interior reception space.
39. David W. Bernstein (ed.), *The San Francisco Tape Music Center: 1960s Counterculture and the Avant-Garde* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), x. Aside from this local influence, *The Conversation* was an early example of the transformation of cinematic soundscapes in 1970s Hollywood.
40. Carl Nolte, "End of Line for San Francisco's Infamous Jack Tar Hotel", *SFGate*, <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/End-of-line-for-S-F-s-infamous-Jack-Tar-Hotel-4992130.php>.
41. In this sense, it points forward to *The Shining* (Stanley Kubrick, 1980) where the hotel is also haunted by the erasure of history.
42. Dimendberg, *Film Noir and the Spaces of Modernity*, 7.
43. Walter Murch, DVD commentary for *The Conversation* (Paramount DVD, 2004).
44. Lofts would only later become popular, for example, in films such as *After Hours* (Martin Scorsese, 1985) and *Desperately Seeking Susan* (Susan Seidelman, 1985) as gentrification moved into a new key in New York neighbourhoods such as SoHo.
45. See Hutton, *The New Economy of the Inner City*.
46. Gerald Nachman, "Coppola of Zoetrope – Older, Wiser, Poorer", *Los Angeles Times*, 7 November 1971.
47. Ibid.
48. "SF Craft Union Gives Coppola Full Control in Return for 55 Hour Week", *Variety*, September 4 1969, 22.
49. Peter Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), 93.
50. Allen J. Scott, "Capitalism and Urbanisation in a New Key? The Cognitive-Cultural Dimension", *Social Forces*, vol. 85, no. 4 (June 2007): 1467.
51. On immaterial labour, see Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 280-303. On immaterial labour in cinema, see Michael Goddard and Benjamin Halligan, "Cinema, the Post-Fordist Worker, and Immaterial Labor: From Post-Hollywood to the European Art Film", *Framework*, vol. 53, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 172-189.
52. Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, 111-112.
53. See Warren Buckland (ed.), *Puzzle Films: Complex Storytelling in Contemporary Cinema* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).
54. VHS was introduced three years later in 1977. Laura Mulvey has written extensively on this new "pensive spectator" in Laura Mulvey, *Death 24 x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion, 2006).

55. See Thomas Elsaesser, "The Mind Game Film", in Warren Buckland (ed.), *Puzzle Films: Complex Storytelling in Contemporary Cinema* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 13-41.
56. Elsaesser, *The Persistence of Hollywood*, 334. See Jerome Christensen, *America's Corporate Art: The Studio Authorship of Hollywood Motion Pictures* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012); J.D. Connor, "The Projections: Allegories of Industrial Crisis in Neoclassical Hollywood", *Representations*, no. 71 (Summer 2000), 48-76.
57. Jerome Christensen, *America's Corporate Art: The Studio Authorship of Hollywood Motion Pictures* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012).
58. *Ibid.*, 7.
59. Goodwin and Wise, *On the Edge*, 99.
60. Jon Lewis, "The Perfect Money Machine: George Lucas, Steven Spielberg and Auteurism in the New Hollywood", *Film International*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 2003): 12-26.
61. Pauline Kael, "The Future of Movies", *New Yorker*, August 5 1974, 43-59.
62. J.D. Connor, "The Biggest Independent Pictures Ever Made – Industrial Reflexivity Today", in Cynthia Lucia, Roy Grundmann and Art Simon (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell History of American Film* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 517-541; Elsaesser, *The Persistence of Hollywood*, 329-340.
63. Derek Nystrom has also established how the discourse of auteurism was often implicitly furthering the interests of the 'professional-managerial class' against organised labour, which illuminates the disjunction between Coppola's own working practices and the film's allegory of independence. Derek Nystrom, *Hard Hats, Rednecks, and Macho Men: Class in 1970s American Cinema* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
64. See, for example, Steve Chagollan, "Bay Area a Respite from the Gray Suits", *Variety*, August 6 2001, 44, 48, 50, 51.
65. Michael Sragow, introduction to Sheerly Avni, *Cinema by the Bay* (New York: George Lucas Books, 2006), 18.
66. Goodwin and Wise, *On the Edge*, 98. For example, see Avni, *Cinema by the Bay*. George Lucas has been actively involved in promoting and to an extent mythologising the role of American Zoetrope and LucasFilm and the development of Bay Area film production more generally. See also the film *A Legacy of Filmmakers: The Early Years of American Zoetrope* (Gary Leva, 2004).
67. Douglas Frantz, *From the Ground Up: The Business of Building in the Age of Money* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
68. Bach, *Final Cut*.
69. *Ibid.*

5. Los Angeles

1. "Producers, Crafts Confer on Crisis: Hollywood Never Worse Off", *Variety*, February 11 1970, 3.
2. "LA's Yorty Calls for Action in Hollywood's Film Industry Letdown", *Back Stage*, December 25 1970; "Yorty Concerned over Film Biz Plight", *Variety*, February 18 1970, 19.
3. "Yorty's Good Intentions, Wrong Facts", *Variety*, March 24 1971, 6.
4. "California May Set Film Commission to Answer Other States", *Variety*, September 29 1971, 26; "Reagan to Nixon: Incentive Tax Plan Imperative for Hollywood Disaster Area", *Variety*, September 15 1971, 1.
5. Screenwriter Alan Trustman described how films were becoming increasingly useful as a type of financial instrument by adopting a model previously developed in real estate markets (another typically volatile and cyclical business environment). Against the uncertain backdrop of the industry in the early 1970s, investors increasingly took advantage of the generous tax shelter arrangements created by the Nixon administration to reduce the inherent risk in financing motion pictures. Tax shelters therefore became a significant component of Hollywood finance throughout the decade, contributing up to 20% of the production outlay between 1972 and 1976. However, as Trustman points out, the film projects that worked most successfully as tax shelters were in fact those that *lost* money. In this respect, tax shelter financing effectively subsidised the creativity of New Hollywood, allowing studios to finance a number of relatively low budget, artistically ambitious features with minimised risk, with the possibility that they might become an unexpected success. See Alan Trustman, "Who Killed Hollywood?", *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 241, no. 1 (January 1978); Cook, *Lost Illusions*, 12; Richard Maltby, *Hollywood Cinema* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 179.
6. Dave Kaufman, "Urge Hollywood to Stem Runaways to Other States by Production Inducements", *Variety*, September 8 1971, 33 and 55.
7. "Aller: Yorty Can't Equal Charms of NY's Lindsay as Chum of Film Biz", *Variety*, November 15 1967.
8. "LA Labor Laments Lindsay Lure", *Variety*, February 15 1967, 11.
9. "Yorty Continues Plugging L.A. as World Film Capital", *Back Stage*, March 31 1967, 13.
10. "One Stop LA Permit Speeds up Location Shooting on Coast", *The Independent Film Journal*, December 23 1971, 8; "One-Stop Gets Permit in Los Angeles for Filming on Public Sites", *Variety*, December 22 1971, 30; "One Call Does It for Hollywood Permit", *Variety*, December 29 1971, 14.
11. "Give Camera Angles Priority Over Zone Rights within L.A.", *Variety*, April 2 1975, 32.
12. This was picked up by contemporary critics. For example, Stanley Kauffman argued in 1977 that besides film noir, the majority of films explicitly

- set in Los Angeles had tended to be films about Hollywood itself, and that this had changed during the 1970s. Stanley Kauffman, "So Long Hollywood! Hello, L.A.!", *The New Republic*, April 2 1977, 22. See also Robert Carringer, "Hollywood's Los Angeles: Two Paradigms", in Charles G. Salas and Michael S. Roth (eds), *Looking for Los Angeles: Architecture, Film, Photography, and the Urban Landscape* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2001).
13. John Pastier, "L.A. Gets the Hollywood Treatment", *Los Angeles Times*, October 15 1973, D1.
 14. Ibid.
 15. "Network narrative" is explained in David Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2008). "The periphery is the centre" is from Charles Jencks, *Heteropolis: Los Angeles, the Riots, and the Strange Beauty of Hetero-Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1993), 34.
 16. Sam Bass Warner Jr., *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 134.
 17. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, 200.
 18. Bill Edwards, "Hit Land Grab Film Cure", *Variety*, March 6 1968, 3; Ray Herbert, "Residents in Hollywood Oppose Renewal Plan", *Los Angeles Times*, March 4 1968, 3.
 19. Jerry Cohen, "Plan Taking Shape to Rescue Hollywood", *Los Angeles Times*, June 19 1977, C1.
 20. John Pastier, "Tall Buildings Help to Revive Pattern of Separate Towns", *Los Angeles Times*, April 5 1970, H1.
 21. Margaret A. Kilgore, "Bonaventure: Reflection of Things to Come", *Los Angeles Times*, November 1976, F1; Art Seidenbaum, "The Portman Prescription", *Los Angeles Times*, June 18 1976, D1. In 1970, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a three-part series on high-rise construction in the city. See John Pastier, "Los Angeles Profile Coming into Scale with City's Size", *Los Angeles Times*, March 22 1970, J1.
 22. Mike Davis, "Urban Renaissance and the Spirit of Postmodernism", *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 151 (May/June 1985): 106-113; Ray Hebert, "Downtown Pulls Foreign Capital to L.A.", *Los Angeles Times*, September 3 1979, A1.
 23. Sam Kaplan, "MCA's Universal City: Life in the Movie Making Tower", *Los Angeles Times*, April 15 1979, K23. See also Dennis McDougal, *The Last Mogul: Lew Wasserman, MCA, and the Hidden History of Hollywood* (New York: Crown, 1998).
 24. Christopherson and Storper, "The City as Studio, the World as Back Lot".
 25. Michael Dear, with J. Dallas Dishman (eds), *From Chicago to LA: Making Sense of Urban Theory* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002). Geographers, planners and writers associated with the LA School include: Ed Soja, Michael Storper, Allen Scott, Rebecca Morales, Dana Cuff, Michael Dear, Mike Davis, and Jennifer Wolch.
 26. Allen J. Scott and Edward J. Soja, "Los Angeles: Capital of the Late Twentieth Century", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 4 (1986): 249.

27. See Michael J. Dear, "Postmodernism and Planning", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 4 (1986): 367-384.
28. See Jameson, *Postmodernism*; Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality*, trans. William Weaver (London: Picador, 1987); Jean Baudrillard, *America*, trans. Chris Turner (London and New York: Verso, 1999); Jencks, *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*.
29. Banham, *Los Angeles*; Tom Wolfe, "Electrographic Architecture", *Architectural Design* (July 1969): 380-382; Tom Wolfe, "I Drove Around Los Angeles and It's Crazy! The Art World Is Upside Down", *Los Angeles Times*, December 1 1968; Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*.
30. Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (London: Verso, 1979).
31. Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 40-41.
32. *Ibid.*, 45.
33. Kazys Varnelis, "Psychogeography and the End of Planning: Reyner Banham's *Los Angeles, the Architecture of Four Ecologies*", http://varnelis.net/articles/banham_psychogeography_and_the_end_of_planning.
34. Edward Dimendberg, "The Kinetic Icon: Reyner Banham on Los Angeles as Mobile Metropolis", *Urban History*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2006): 106-125.
35. Banham, *Los Angeles*, 195-196.
36. John Pastier, "British Examines Four 'Ecologies' of Los Angeles Area", *Los Angeles Times*, June 13 1971, 11.
37. Banham, *Los Angeles*, 4.
38. Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, 116-117.
39. Richard S. Weinstein, "The First American City", in Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja (eds), *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996, 25.
40. Weinstein, "The First American City", 22.
41. Joyce Haber, "Zabriskie Point Rescued by Aubrey", *Los Angeles Times*, December 2 1969, G12.
42. Alexis More, "Antonioni in the Wilderness", *Chicago Tribune*, May 31 1970, I24.
43. Michelangelo Antonioni, *The Architecture of Vision: Writings and Interviews on Cinema*, edited by Carlo di Carlo and Giorgio Tinazzi, trans. Margo Cottino Jones (New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1996), 95.
44. Michelangelo Antonioni, "Purest and Most Brutal", *Los Angeles Times*, July 27 1969, E1. Reprinted from *L'Espresso*. Translation by Atlas Magazine.
45. The electronic sounds in this section of the film were produced by the avant-garde collective Musica Elettronica Viva.
46. Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, 75.
47. *Ibid.*, 8-9.
48. For example, Hollywood directors often placed actors in a line along the same plane of focus.

49. Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* (London: Starword, 1992); David Bordwell, "Intensified Continuity: Visual Style in Contemporary American Film", *Film Quarterly*, vol. 55, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 16-28; Patrick L. Ogle, "Technological and Aesthetic Influences upon the Development of Deep Focus Cinematography in the United States", *Screen*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 45-72.
50. Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002).
51. Christopher Rand, "Profiles: The Ultimate City", *New Yorker*, October 6 1966, 64.
52. It is perhaps an unintended extratextual resonance that Daria Halprin, who so vividly imagines the death of modernist architecture in the film, is the daughter of landscape architect and urban designer Lawrence Halprin, who was involved in creating emblematic postmodern public spaces such as Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco.
53. Peter Lang and William Menking, *Superstudio: Life without Objects* (Milano: Skira, 2003).
54. This is particular evident in the ease by which such material can be co-opted into more commercial forms. For example, this sequence was replicated for a music promo by Spike Jonze and, more recently, became the subject of pastiche for an insurance company's advertising campaign.
55. For example, see Peter Lev, *American Films of the 70s: Conflicting Visions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).
56. Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner, *Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).
57. Development Notes for *The Parallax View*, in the Alan J. Pakula Papers, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, CA.
58. Loren Singer, *The Parallax View* (London: New English Library, 1972).
59. Development Notes for *The Parallax View*.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Richard Thompson, "Mr. Pakula Goes to Washington", *Film Comment*, no. 215 (Sept.-Oct. 1976): 16.
63. Promotional material for *The Parallax View*.
64. Location research for *The Parallax View*, in the Alan J. Pakula Papers, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Los Angeles, CA.
65. Ibid.
66. On space in *North by Northwest*, see Fredric Jameson, "Spatial Systems in *North by Northwest*", in Slavoj Žižek (ed.), *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lacan (but Were Afraid to Ask)* (London and New York: Verso, 2002), 47-72.

67. John Pastier, "Reflective Building Enhances Urban Site by Its Near Absence", *Los Angeles Times*, October 3 1971, 11. Pastier also noted that the building was fast becoming "the most photographed building in Los Angeles".
68. Ibid.
69. Thompson, "Mr. Pakula Goes to Washington", 17.
70. On classical editing see David Bordwell, Janet Staiger and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (London: Routledge, 1991), 1-84.
71. Alexander Walker, "The Parallax View", *Evening Standard*, October 3 1974.
72. This analysis is indebted to Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic. The Parallax View's* interest in the developing area of human resources can be read in tandem with the ideas of management theorist Gary Becker, author of *Human Capital* (1964).
73. Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), 39.
74. Jean-Louis Baudry, "The Apparatus: Metapsychological Approaches to the Impression of Reality in the Cinema", in Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (eds), *Film Theory and Criticism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 773.
75. Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 26.
76. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (London: Continuum, 2004), 266.
77. David Thompson (ed.), *Altman on Altman* (London: Faber, 2006), 76.
78. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London: Pimlico, 1998).
79. The film's central joke is of course that Marlowe, most memorably played by Old Hollywood archetype Humphrey Bogart in *The Big Sleep* (Howard Hawks, 1940), should be portrayed by Elliott Gould, whose insouciant delivery could hardly be more New Hollywood. This split is also figured in the disjunction between Marlowe and the post-1960s social values embodied by the semi-naked women next door, whose interest in yoga, pot, and candle-dipping are signifiers of a countercultural radicalism dispersed into one of many 'lifestyle' options, a theme which Paul Mazursky's swinger comedy *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice* (1969) also developed.
80. Jorge Luis Borges, "Death and the Compass", in *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings* (London: Penguin, 2000), 106-117.
81. Thompson (ed.), *Altman on Altman*, 81.
82. "Determinate Space" is from Thomas Schatz, *Old Hollywood/New Hollywood: Ritual, Art and Industry* (Epping: Bowker, 1983). "Safe" and "unsafe" space is from Richard Maltby, *Hollywood Cinema* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 311-365. Maltby briefly mentions *The Long Goodbye* in this context on 324-325.

83. Edward Lipnick, "Creative Post-Flashing Technique for "The Long Goodbye", *American Cinematographer*, vol. 54, no. 3 (March 1973): 278-281, 334-335, 328-329.
84. Garrett Stewart, "The Long Goodbye from Chinatown", *Film Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 2 (Winter 1974-1975): 25-32.
85. Salt, *Film Style and Technology*, 272.
86. Michael Shedlin and Conrad Hall, "Conrad Hall: An Interview", *Film Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Spring 1971): 6.
87. Julio García Espinosa, "For an Imperfect Cinema", trans. Julianne Burton, *Jump Cut*, no. 20 (1979): 24-26.
88. Shedlin and Hall, "Conrad Hall: An Interview", 10.
89. Vilmos Zsigmond, "A.S.C. Seminar", *Dialogue on Film*, vol. 4, no. 1 (October 1974): 20.
90. Lipnick, "Creative Post-Flashing Technique for "The Long Goodbye", 329.
91. Robert Phillip Kolker, *A Cinema of Loneliness: Penn, Kubrick, Scorsese, Spielberg, Altman* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 342.
92. Cees Nooteboom, "Autopia", in Charles G. Salas and Michael S. Roth (eds), *Looking for Los Angeles: Architecture, Film, Photography, and the Urban Landscape* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2001), 15.
93. Robin Wood, "Smart-Ass and Cutie-Pie: Notes Towards an Evaluation of Altman", *Movie*, no. 21 (Autumn 1975): 9.
94. John Belton, "The Bionic Eye: Zoom Esthetics", *Cineaste*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Winter 1981): 20-27.
95. Esther McCoy, *Case Study Houses, 1945-1962* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1977).
96. Peter Plagens, *Sunshine Muse: Art on the West Coast, 1945-1970* (New York: Praeger, 1974). See also Catherine Grenier (ed.), *Los Angeles 1955-1985: Naissance d'une Capitale Artistique* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2006); See also Peter Plagens, "Seventeen Artists in the Sixties", *Art Journal*, vol. 41, no. 4 (Winter 1981), 375-379.
97. Plagens, *Sunshine Muse*, 122.
98. *Ibid.*, 122. A 1971 exhibition at UCLA titled "Transparency, Reflection, Light, Space" featured the work of Larry Bell, Craig Kauffman, Robert Irwin, John McCracken and Peter Alexander.
99. On Lion's Gate, see Robert Levine, "R. Altman and Co.", *Film Comment* (January/February 1977): 4-13.
100. Michael Henry, "Entretien Avec Alan Rudolph", *Positif*, no. 192 (April 1977), 53. Translation is mine.
101. Jack Kroll, "Welcome to L.A.", *Newsweek*, February 21 1977.
102. Pauline Kael, "Oh, Anomie, I Love You", *New Yorker*, March 21 1977, 113.
103. Stephen Farber, "City of the Future: Papa of the Past", *New West*, March 28 1977.
104. *Variety Daily*, December 30 1975.
105. Kevin Thomas, "Capturing the Drift of L.A.", *Los Angeles Times*, June 1 1977.

106. Guy Flatley, "The Inside Story of 'Welcome to L.A.' Can Now Be Told", *New York Times*, April 22 1977, 68.
107. Joan Didion, *Sentimental Journeys* (London: Flamingo, 1994), 111.
108. Charles Jencks, *Heteropolis: Los Angeles, the Riots, and the Strange Beauty of Hetero-Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1993), 34.
109. David Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2008). On recent Los Angeles filmmaking and the multi-centred narrative, see Hsuan L. Hsu, "Racial Privacy, the LA Ensemble Film, and Paul Haggis' *Crash*", *Film Criticism*, vol. 31, nos. 1-2 (Fall 2006): 132-156.
110. Siegfried Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans., ed. and with an introduction by Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995).
111. John Berger, *The Look of Things* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).
112. Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, 142.
113. Jackson (ed.), *Schrader on Schrader*, 158.
114. John Bailey, "Photographing 1980's Best Picture: 'Ordinary People'", *American Cinematographer*, vol. 62, no. 6 (June 1981): 581.
115. Jackson (ed.), *Schrader on Schrader*, 160.
116. David E. James, *The Most Typical Avant-Garde: History and Geography of Minor Cinemas in Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).
117. Paula J. Massood, "An Aesthetic Appropriate to Conditions: *Killer of Sheep*, (neo)realism, and the Documentary Impulse", *Wide Angle*, vol. 21, no. 4 (October 1999): 20-41.
118. Banham, *Los Angeles*, 155.

6. Global Flight Paths

1. Scott Lash and John Urry, *Economies of Signs and Space* (London: Sage, 1994), 280.
2. See Steve Neale, "Art Cinema as Institution", *Screen*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1980): 11-40; Pierre Sorlin, *European Cinemas, European Societies, 1939-1990* (London: Routledge, 1991).
3. Thomas Elsaesser, "Between Style and Ideology", *Monogram* 3 (1972): 12.
4. Peter Lev analyses some aspects of these developments in *The Euro-American Cinema* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).
5. Wendy Everett, "The European Road Movie, or a Genre Adrift in the Cosmos", *Literature/Film Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2009): 165-175.
6. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London and New York: Continuum, 2002); Deleuze, *Cinema 2*.
7. See András Bálint Kovács, *Screening Modernism: European Art Cinema, 1950-1980* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

8. British transnational co-productions are discussed in Ruth Barton, "When the Chickens Came Home to Roost: British Thrillers of the 1970s", in Robert Shail (ed.), *Seventies British Cinema* (London: BFI/Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 46-55.
9. The Council of Europe organised symposia in Florence (1973), Munich (1974), Athens (1976) and Lisbon (1978) to discuss the design and implementation of an integrated European media policy. The proceedings of the Lisbon conference noted that: "For several years deep concern has been expressed in almost all our countries at the critical situation of the film industry in Europe". In all member countries, economic pressures had prompted an urgent "examination of the state's role vis-à-vis the various forms of cultural expression and the priorities to be adopted for the distribution of funds earmarked by the state for the arts". Joop Voogd, *Cinema and the State: Report of the Committee, and Documents Relating to the Lisbon Symposium of 14-16 June, 1978* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1979), 5.
10. Thomas Guback, "Cultural Identity and Film in the European Economic Community", *Cinema Journal*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Fall 1974), 2-17.
11. Gary Arnold, "The Passenger: Lost in the Desert", *Washington Post*, May 16 1975, B9.
12. J. Hoberman, "The Passenger: An Understated Jack Anchors Antonioni's Leisurely Thriller", *The Village Voice*, 26 October 2005, 144.
13. Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (London and New York: Verso, 1995), 77-78.
14. Mark Peplow, DVD commentary for *The Passenger* (Sony DVD, 2006). Antonioni had also worked as a journalist in Africa in 1939. See Michele Mancini, Alessandro Cappabianca, Ciriaco Tiso and Jobst Grapow, "Conversazione con Michelangelo Antonioni", *Filmcritica*, vol. 26, no. 252 (March 1975): 63.
15. Garrett Stewart, "Exhumed Identity: Antonioni's Passenger to Nowhere", *Sight and Sound*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 36.
16. Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic*, 114-116.
17. Penelope Gilliatt, "The Current Cinema", *New Yorker*, April 14 1975, 118.
18. John Orr, *Cinema and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 97.
19. Peplow, DVD commentary for *The Passenger*.
20. Ted Perry, "Men and Landscapes: Antonioni's 'The Passenger'", *Film Comment* (July/August 1975): 2-8.
21. Michael Covino, "A Worldwide Homesickness", *Film Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 2 (Winter 1977-1978): 16.
22. Don Ranvaud, "Paris, Texas to Sydney, Australia", *Sight and Sound*, vol. 53, no. 4 (October 1984): 247.

7. London

23. Reyner Banham, "Somebody over There Likes Us: A London-L.A. Love Affair", *Los Angeles Times*, June 6 1971, W9.

24. Ibid.
25. "London: The Swinging City", *Time*, 15 April 1966.
26. "Money For Movies", *Economist*, August 9 1969, 56.
27. Ibid.
28. Margaret Dickinson and Sarah Street, *Cinema and State: The Film Industry and the Government, 1927-1984* (London: BFI, 1985), 239.
29. See, for example, Sarah Street, *British National Cinema* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); Shail (ed.), *Seventies British Cinema*; Amy Sargeant, *British Cinema: A Critical and Interpretive History* (London: BFI, 2005); John Walker, *The Once and Future Film* (London: Methuen, 1985).
30. Alexander Walker, *National Heroes: British Cinema in the Seventies and Eighties* (London: Orion, 2005), 15.
31. Eddie Dyja (ed.), *BFI Film and Television Handbook* (London: BFI, 2004).
32. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and Stephen Ricci (eds), *Hollywood and Europe: Economics, Culture, National Identity, 1945-1995* (London: BFI, 1998).
33. Robert Shail, "Introduction: Cinema in the Era of 'Trouble and Strife'", in Robert Shail (ed.), *Seventies British Cinema* (London: Palgrave-MacMillan/BFI, 2008), xiv.
34. Others included Ealing, Twickenham, and Beaconsfield. See Street, *British National Cinema*, 36-38.
35. The closure resulted in the redundancy of over 1,000 employees. See "MGM to Close UK Studio", *The Times*, April 24 1970, 27; "Studio Closure Attacked", *The Guardian*, July 6 1970, 4; Bart, *Fade Out*.
36. "Elstree Workforce to Be Cut from 161 to 48", *The Times*, Jan 31 1975.
37. One of the major changes involved a reduction in the percentages of deposits to be held in liquid assets, rapidly freeing up huge amounts of credit. See "Yes, at Last, Revolution for the City", *The Economist*, 22 May 1971.
38. Walker, *National Heroes*, 120.
39. "Barclay Securities: The Art of Financial Metamorphosis", *The Economist*, November 25 1972, 124.
40. Ibid.
41. "Best for Shepperton", *The Economist*, Oct 21 1972, 108.
42. Ibid.
43. "The Shepperton Story", *The Observer*, November 12 1972, 20; Walker, *National Heroes*.
44. "TV, Film Unions Ask for Mr. Wilson's Aid", *The Times*, December 30 1969; "Government Urged to Stop Closure of Film Studios", *The Times*, July 6 1970; "TUC Tackles Jobless in the Film Industry", *The Times*, November 23 1970.
45. "Developing British Films", *The Economist*, March 8 1969, 56.
46. Christophe Dupin, "The BFI and British Independent Cinema in the 1970s", in Robert Shail (ed.), *Seventies British Cinema* (London: BFI, 2008), 159-174.
47. Derek Harris, "How the Film Industry Could Learn to Love the Prime Minister", *The Times*, July 10 1975, 21.
48. Here I am accepting Wollen's interpretation that the realist cycle of Richardson, Reisz et al. cannot be identified as properly modernist in form,

- ambition, or temperament; in his estimation, a genuine 'new wave' did not appear until the 1980s, in part due to the emergence of Channel Four as a new funding source. Peter Wollen, "The Last New Wave", in *Paris Hollywood: Writings on Film* (London: Verso, 2002), 164-182.
49. Gordon E. Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain since 1900* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 175.
 50. Susan Fainstein, Ian Gordon and Michael Harlow (eds), *Divided Cities: New York and London in the Contemporary World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 57.
 51. Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 2000), 424.
 52. Alwyn W. Turner, *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s* (London: Aurum Press, 2008); Christopher Booker, *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade* (London: Allen Lane, 1980).
 53. Ibid.
 54. Christopher Booker, *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade* (London: Allen Lane, 1980), 108.
 55. Miles Glendinning and Stefan Muthesius, *Tower Block: Modern Public Housing in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).
 56. Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain since 1900*, 159.
 57. Stephen V. Ward, *Planning and Urban Change* (London: Sage, 2004).
 58. "Full Inquiry Ordered into Collapse of Tower Flats", *The Times*, May 17 1968; "Call for Halt on High Flats", *The Times*, May 20 1968.
 59. See Peter Hillmore, "The Logic of Keeping Office Space Empty", *The Guardian*, June 28 1972.
 60. In this respect it is worth emphasising that television had to a large extent taken up the role of 'social realism' in British society, with directors such as Ken Loach moving from cinema where funding was more commercially directed.
 61. Shail (ed.), *Seventies British Cinema*.
 62. Katherine Shonfield, *Walls Have Feelings: Architecture, Film and the City* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).
 63. Ibid., 20.
 64. Peter Wollen, *Paris Hollywood: Writings on Film* (London: Verso, 2002), 164-182.
 65. J.G. Ballard, *Miracles of Life: Shanghai to Shepperton, an Autobiography* (London: Fourth Estate, 2008), 189.
 66. Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 242.
 67. See Leo Enticknap, "Postwar Urban Redevelopment, the British Film Industry, and The Way We Live", in Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (eds), *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 233-243; Steven V. Ward and John R. Gold, "Of Plans and Planners: Documentary Film and the Challenge of the Urban Future", in

- David B. Clarke (ed.), *The Cinematic City* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 59-82.
68. Christopher Booker and Candida Lycett-Green, *Goodbye London: An Illustrated Guide to Threatened Buildings* (London: Fontana, 1973), 20.
 69. John Boorman, *Adventures of a Suburban Boy* (Faber and Faber, 2003), 174-175.
 70. Ibid.
 71. When filming *Blow Up*, Antonioni famously found the grass in Maryon Park not to be green enough, and so painted it with green paint. A similar effect was used in the production of *Il Deserto Rosso*.
 72. The Brechtian influence may have derived directly from the source material, as Boorman noted: "Tabori translated Brecht and was interested in him. Perhaps traces of that influence can be detected in the film". Michel Ciment, *John Boorman*, trans. Gilbert Adair (London: Faber & Faber, 1986), 107.
 73. Ciment, *John Boorman*, 108.
 74. See, for example, Colin MacCabe, "Realism and the Cinema: Notes on Some Brechtian Theses", *Screen*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Summer 1974): 7-27.
 75. Boorman, *Adventures of a Suburban Boy*, 171.
 76. Compare with the characteristic shot of the town from the hill in the kitchen sink films analysed by Andrew Higson in his "Space, Place, Spectacle: Landscape and Townscape in the 'Kitchen Sink' Film", in Andrew Higson (ed.), *Dissolving Views: Key Writings on British Cinema* (London and New York: Cassell, 1996).
 77. Boorman, *Adventures of a Suburban Boy*, 170.
 78. Ciment, *John Boorman*, 112.
 79. Roger Greenspun, "Nascent Liberal Played by Mastroianni in 'Leo'", *New York Times*, May 12 1970, 44.
 80. Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (London: E. Arnold, 1983).
 81. See Alan Hamilton, "Major Ports at Standstill as 24,000 Dockers Stay Out", *The Times*, June 23 1970, 1.
 82. Penelope Gilliatt, "The Current Cinema", *New Yorker*, May 23 1970.
 83. Walker, *National Heroes*, 17.
 84. Jonathan Raban, *Soft City* (London: Flamingo, 1984), 83.
 85. See Walker, *National Heroes*.
 86. For a discussion of the censorship issues surrounding *A Clockwork Orange* in the UK, see Walker, *National Heroes*, 39-50.
 87. Judy Hillman, "Law of the Concrete Jungle", *The Guardian*, April 6 1972.
 88. Michel Ciment, *Kubrick*, trans. Gilbert Adair (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 163.
 89. James Naremore, *On Kubrick* (London: British Film Institute, 2007).
 90. Fredric Jameson, *Signatures of the Visible* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 118.
 91. Penelope Houston, "Tolchocked by Kubrick", *The Times*, 8 Jan 1972.

92. Stanley Kubrick Archive, University of the Arts, London.
93. Richard Williams, "Representing Architecture: The British Architectural Press in the 1960s", *Journal of Design History*, vol. 9, no. 4 (1996): 285.
94. *Architectural Review*, vol. 146, no. 871 (September 1969).
95. Robert Elwall, "The Rise and Demise of Manplan in the Architectural Review", *Culture24*, 26 February 2010. <http://www.culture24.org.uk/art/architecture/art76477>. Robert Elwall is the assistant director of the photography collection at RIBA.
96. Stephen Gardiner, "Housing Horrors", *The Observer*, October 4 1970, 27.
97. Stanley Kubrick Archive, University of the Arts, London.
98. Kubrick had been a still photographer for *Look* magazine before he became a filmmaker. On the influence of his background in photography on his films, see Philippe D. Mather, "Stanley Kubrick: Photography and Film", *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol. 26, no. 2 (June 2006): 203-214.
99. Vincent Canby, "A Clockwork Orange' Dazzles the Senses and Mind", *New York Times*, December 20 1971, 44.
100. Cited in Vincent LoBrutto, "The Old Ultraviolence", *American Cinematographer*, vol. 80, no. 10 (1999): 52-61.
101. Thomas Elsaesser, "Evolutionary Imagineer: Stanley Kubrick's Authorship", *Kinematograph* no. 20 (2004): 137-138.
102. LoBrutto, "The Old Ultraviolence".
103. Canby, "A Clockwork Orange' Dazzles the Senses and Mind".
104. Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).
105. On Thamesmead, see Judy Hillman, "Paradise Botched", *The Guardian*, August 22 1970.
106. *Architect's Journal*, 25 Feb 1970.
107. Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (London: Routledge, 2002).
108. Special issue on "The New Universities", *Architectural Review*, vol. 147 (April 1970).
109. *Ibid.*, 240-241.
110. *Ibid.*, 242.
111. Stefan Muthesius, *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 1.
112. See David Pinder, "In Defence of Utopian Urbanism: Imagining Cities after the 'End of Utopia'", *Geografiska Annaler*, 84B (2002): 229-241.
113. Reyner Banham, *Megastructures: Urban Futures of the Recent Past* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 9.
114. *Ibid.*, 10.
115. *Ibid.*, 190.
116. Glendinning and Muthesius, *Tower Block*.

117. Reyner Banham, Peter Hall, Cedric Price and Paul Barker, "Non-Plan: An Experiment in Freedom", *New Society* (20 March 1969): 438.
118. *Ibid.*, 443.
119. F.A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); Milton Friedman, with the assistance of Rose D. Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
120. Robert Hughes, "The Décor of Tomorrow's Hell", *Time*, 27 December 1971.
121. *Ibid.*
122. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.
123. Craig McGregor, "Nice Boy from the Bronx?", *New York Times*, January 30 1972, D1.
124. René Backman, "Les Banlieues de la Peur", *Nouvel Observateur*, June 18 1973, 38-41.
125. Cited in A.R. Muir, "The British Film Industry: Dead or Alive?", *Cineaste*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1983): 12.
126. *Ibid.*
127. "Back to the Studios?", *Economist*, Sept 3 1977.
128. Chris Petit, DVD commentary for *Radio On* (BFI Films).
129. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, "Radio On", *Screen*, vol. 20, nos. 3-4 (Winter 1979): 30.

8. Paris: Urban Revolutions

1. Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bonono (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
2. Benjamin, *The Writer of Modern Life*. See David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003); Friedberg, *Window Shopping*; Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (London: MIT Press, 1989); Charney and Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*.
3. On urban development in Paris in the 1960s and 1970s see Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*; Anthony Sutcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Norma Evenson, *Paris: A Century of Change, 1878-1978* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1979); H.V. Savitch, *Post-Industrial Cities: Politics and Planning in New York, Paris and London* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).
4. "Building a New Paris", *Time*, July 10 1972.
5. Castells, *The City and the Grassroots*, 75.
6. Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
7. Colin Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), 524-525.
8. Éric Rohmer, "Un Cinéaste dans la Ville: Entretien avec Éric Rohmer", in Thierry Jousse and Thierry Paquot (eds), *La Ville au Cinéma* (Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma, 2005), 19-27.

9. See also, for instance, *Ascenseur pour l'échafaud* (Louis Malle, 1958); *Les quatre cents coups* (François Truffaut, 1959); *Vivre sa vie* (Jean-Luc Godard, 1962); *Cléo de 5 à 7* (Agnès Varda, 1962). It is telling that as the New Wave began to flag in the mid-1960s, it was to the subject of Paris that producer Barbet Schroeder returned with the portmanteau film *Paris vu par ...* (1965), with sections by Chabrol, Rouch, Pollet, Rohmer, Godard and Douchet weaving together narratives across multiple locations.
10. The phrase "ludic nucleus" is from Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).
11. See Chris Darke, *Alphaville* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005).
12. See Laurent Marie, "Jacques Tati's *Playtime* as New Babylon", in Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (eds), *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 254-269; Iain Borden, "Playtime: Tataville and Paris", in Neil Leach (ed.), *The Hieroglyphics of Space: Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 2000), 217-235.
13. On "Any-space-whatever", see Deleuze, *Cinema 2*.
14. The office of mayor had been abolished in 1871 and was not reinstated until 1977, when Jacques Chirac was elected to the post. Institut d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme de la Région Parisienne (IAURP) covered the wider urban region and Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (APUR) the city.
15. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 344.
16. Jones, *Paris*, 517.
17. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 344-347.
18. Stephen V. Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2002).
19. Jones, *Paris*, 516.
20. Evenson, *Paris*.
21. Manuel Castells, *City, Class and Power*, translation supervised by Elizabeth Lebas (London: Macmillan Press, 1978), 53.
22. Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1995), 155.
23. William I. Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent 1945-2002* (London: Profile, 2004), 248-9.
24. Henri Lefebvre, *The Explosion: Marxism and The French Revolution*, trans. Alfred Ehrenfeld (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 104.
25. The term "New Left Geography" is taken from J. Richard Peet, "A New Left Geography", *Antipode*, vol. 1, no. 1 (August 1969): 3-5.
26. Castells, *City, Class and Power*, 10.
27. Henri Lefebvre, "Reflections on the Politics of Space", trans. Michael J. Enders, *Antipode* vol. 8, no. 2 (May 1976): 30. Originally published in *Espaces et Sociétés* (1970).
28. *Ibid.*, 31.
29. Ward, *Planning the Twentieth-Century City*, 237.

30. Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 227. It should be noted here that there were significant theoretical differences between Castells and Lefebvre during this period. Both Castells and David Harvey critiqued Lefebvre for what they saw as his “spatial fetishism” – which elevated the city itself to a level of causality above the traditional Marxian categories of class and labour. However, both Harvey and Castells modified their positions in later publications.
31. See Rémi Fournier Lanzoni, *French Cinema: From Its Beginnings to the Present* (London: Continuum, 2002); Alison Smith, *French Cinema in the 1970s: The Echoes of May* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Alan Williams, *Republic of Images: A History of French Filmmaking* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1992).
32. Colin MacCabe, *Godard: A Portrait of the Artist at 70* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), 232-233.
33. Robert Phillip Kolker, “Angle and Reality: Godard and Gorin in America”, *Sight and Sound*, vol. 42, no. 3 (Summer 1973): 130-133; Jean-Luc Godard, “Pourquoi Tout va Bien: Entretien avec Jean-Luc Godard et Jean-Pierre Gorin”, in Alain Bergala (ed.), *Godard Par Godard* (Paris: Cahiers du Cinema, 1998), 367-375.
34. See Jill Forbes, *The Cinema in France after the New Wave* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 20-33.
35. Godard, “Pourquoi Tout va Bien”.
36. Kolker, “Angle and Reality”, 133.
37. *Ibid.*, 133.
38. *Ibid.*, 131.
39. *Ibid.*, 133.
40. Kolker, “Angle and Reality”.
41. Brian Henderson, “Towards a Non-Bourgeois Camera Style: Part Whole Relations in Godard’s Late Films”, *Film Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 2 (Winter 1971-1972): 2-14.
42. *Ibid.*, 13.
43. *Ibid.*, 13-14.
44. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 77.
45. It should also be noted that Martin Esslin argued that silent film had been a major influence on the movement. See Martin Esslin, *The Theatre of the Absurd* (London and New York: Penguin, 1991). The link to avant-garde theatre in *Themroc* is also reinforced by the presence of several members of the Café de la Gare theatre troupe, including Patrick Dewaere and Miou-Miou. Michel Piccoli had acted in early productions of Beckett and Ionesco in the 1950s. See Jan Dawson, “Themroc”, *Sight and Sound*, vol. 42, no. 3 (Summer 1973), 147.
46. Dawson, “Themroc”, 147.
47. *Ibid.*

48. Castells, *The City and the Grassroots*, 76.
49. On the American crime film and the urban western, see Ray, *A Certain Tendency of the Hollywood Cinema*.
50. Marco Ferreri, "Why Custer at the Les Halles in Paris 1973?", *Framework* 2 (1975: Autumn): 21.
51. Ada Louise Huxtable, "A Promising Scheme for Les Halles", *New York Times*, March 11 1979, D31.
52. Louis Chevalier, *The Assassination of Paris*, trans. David P. Jordan (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
53. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 222.
54. Rosemary Wakeman, "Fascinating Les Halles", *French Politics, Culture and Society*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2007): 46-72.
55. Roger Zetter, "Les Halles: A Case Study of Large Scale Redevelopment in Central Paris", *Town Planning Review*, vol. 46, no. 3 (July 1975): 267.
56. *Ibid.*, 267.
57. For example, André Fermigier wrote a series of columns in *Nouvel Observateur*, collected in André Fermigier, *La Bataille De Paris: Des Halles à la Pyramide – Chroniques D'Urbanisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991).
58. Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).
59. Wakeman, "Fascinating Les Halles", 46.
60. Michael James Miller, *The Representation of Place: Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 2. Urban sociology may also in fact be one of the film's targets – the action is observed, and perhaps sanctioned by, a Professor of Anthropology named Pinkerton; often in modern dress, in one scene he wears a sweatshirt with 'CIA' written on it.
61. Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, trans. and ed. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 147-159.
62. Lefebvre, "Reflections on the Politics of Space", 30-37.
63. Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 151.
64. See Phillippe Poirrier, "Heritage and Cultural Policy in France under the Fifth Republic", *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2003): 215-225.
65. Special issue on Les Halles, *Architectural Design*, nos. 9-10 (1980).
66. Luciana Miotto, "The 1980 Competition: An International Consultation", *Architectural Design*, nos. 9-10 (1980): 18-21.
67. The centre also prompted a torrent of invective from Jean Baudrillard, who called it a "hypermarket of culture", a "machine for emptiness", and a "monument of cultural deterrence". See Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 61-73.
68. David Nicholls, "From Nostalgia to Paranoia", *Sight and Sound*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 99.
69. Castells, *City, Class and Power*, 105.

70. The French crime film has, of course, a long-established history of interaction and cross-fertilisation with Hollywood. It is also worth noting that during the 1970s these urban panoramas are particularly prominent in cities that were re-positioning themselves as global financial centres (see chapters on NYC and San Francisco for details).
71. Bernard Comment, *The Painted Panorama*, trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 80.
72. Richard Eder, "Belmondo Is Sleuth in 'Night Caller'", *New York Times*, November 20 1975, 51. Cf. the opening of a later Belmondo thriller, *Le Marginal* (Jacques Deray, 1983), where the opening sequence plays like an extended love letter to the newly opened high-speed rail link (TGV).
73. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Cold Comfort: The New French Towns", *New York Times*, Sunday magazine, 19 November 1978, 41.
74. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Paris's La Defense Cluster: Coup of Drawing-Board Style", *New York Times*, 11 June 1978, 60.
75. Cited in Vincent Scully, *Modern Architecture and Other Essays*, selected and with an introduction by Neil Levine (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 148.
76. Augé, *Non-Places*.
77. Charles Jencks, *The New Paradigm in Architecture: The Language of Post-modernism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).
78. Susan Hayward, *French National Cinema* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).
79. David Berry, "Underground Cinema: French Visions of the Métro", in Myrto Konstantarakos (ed.), *Spaces in European Cinema* (Exeter: Intellect, 2000), 19.
80. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 30-31. This resonates with Fredric Jameson's assertion that "Postmodernism is what you have when the modernisation process is complete and nature is gone for good". Jameson, *Postmodernism*, ix.

9. Rome and Milan

1. Peter Bondanella, *A History of Italian Cinema* (New York and London: Continuum, 2009), 242.
2. "Hollywood on the Tiber" (*Hollywood sul Tevere*) was a nickname given to the Italian film industry due to the amount of American runaway productions at Cinecittà during the 1950s. See "Cinema: Hollywood on the Tiber", *Time*, August 15 1954; Hank Kaufman and Gene Lerner, *Hollywood sul Tevere* (Milan: Sperling & Kupfer Editori, 1982).
3. On the devaluation of the dollar, see Samuel Rosenberg, *American Economic Development since 1945: Growth, Decline and Rejuvenation* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). On the decline in Hollywood

- runaways, especially in Rome and London, see "Overseas Production Feels Economic Pinch", *Hollywood Reporter*, August 23 1971.
4. William Tuohy, "Italian Films: Old Formulas Tire Patrons", *Los Angeles Times*, 27 December 1976.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Peter Bondanella, *Italian Cinema: From Neorealism to the Present* (New York: Continuum, 2001).
 7. Carlo Celli and Marga Cottino-Jones, *A New Guide to Italian Cinema* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
 8. These figures are taken from Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, *The Companion to Italian Cinema* (London: BFI, 1996). In *Beyond the Subtitle: Remapping European Art Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), Mark Betz notes significant discrepancies between available figures for international co-productions. Nevertheless, the overall pattern established here remains the same.
 9. Peter Lev, *The Euro-American Cinema* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).
 10. Alfred Friendly Jr., "Laurentiis Quits Making Films; Woes Mount for Italian Industry", *New York Times*, January 31 1970.
 11. John Foot, *Milan since the Miracle: City, Culture and Identity* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).
 12. Mark Shiel, *Italian Neorealism: Rebuilding the Cinematic City* (London: Wallflower, 2006). On the relationship between neorealism in architecture and cinema, see also Maristella Casciato, "Neorealism in Italian Architecture", Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (eds), *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2000), 25-53; Bruno Reichlin, "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1)", translated by Antony Shugaar and revised by Branden W. Joseph, *Grey Room*, no. 5 (Fall 2001): 78-101; Bruno Reichlin, "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 2)", translated by Antony Shugaar and revised by Branden W. Joseph, *Grey Room*, no. 6 (Winter 2002): 110-133. Giuliana Bruno has also written extensively on cinema and city spaces in the earlier decades of the twentieth century in *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
 13. Shiel, *Italian Neorealism*, 74-75.
 14. Angelo Restivo, *The Cinema of Economic Miracles: Visuality and Modernization in the Italian Art Film* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).
 15. See Lauro E. Ruberto and Kristi M. Wilson (eds), *Italian Neorealism and Global Cinema* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2007).
 16. Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988* (London: Penguin, 1990).
 17. Ibid.

18. Sidney G. Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 176.
19. Characterised by dense networks of small, specialised firms, the “Third Italy” became widely discussed as a new model of post-Fordist industrial production. See Arnaldo Bagnasco, *Le Tre Italie: La problematica territoriale dello sviluppo italiano* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977); Allen J. Scott, *New Industrial Spaces: Flexible Production Organization and Regional Development in North America and Western Europe* (London: Pion, 1988).
20. Cited in Sidney G. Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 176.
21. The construction industry expanded rapidly during this period, growing at an average of 12.1% between 1951 and 1961. Manfredo Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture, 1944-1985*, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 42.
22. “Strikes for Houses”, *Economist*, November 22 1969, 32-33.
23. Vittorio Gregotti, *Domus*, no. 527 (October 1973): 1-2.
24. Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture*, 98.
25. Dennis P. Doordan, “Changing Agendas: Architecture and Politics in Contemporary Italy”, *Assemblage*, no. 8 (Feb. 1989): 65.
26. “Colombo’s Castles”, *Economist*, December 12 1970, 86.
27. “Strikes for Houses”, *Economist*, November 22 1969, 32-33.
28. Ward, *Planning the Twentieth-Century City*, 287.
29. Robert Lumley, *States of Emergency: Cultures of Revolt in Italy from 1968 to 1978* (London: Verso, 1990).
30. Michael A. Ledeen, *Italy in Crisis* (Washington DC: Washington Papers, 1977), 19.
31. Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*.
32. See Antonio Negri, *Books for Burning: Between Civil War and Democracy in 1970s Italy*, ed. Timothy S. Murphy and trans. Arianna Bove, Ed Emery and Francesca Novello (London and New York: Verso, 2005); Sylvère Lotringer and Christian Marazzi (eds), *Autonomia: Post-Political Politics* (Los Angeles: Semiotexte, 2007); Giovanni Arrighi, “Towards a Theory of Capitalist Crisis”, *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 111 (September/October 1978): 3-24, first published in *Rassegna Comunista*, nos. 2, 3, 4 and 7 (1972-1973). Arrighi discusses his role in the development of autonomist theory in a later interview with David Harvey. See Giovanni Arrighi, “The Winding Paths of Capital: Interview by David Harvey”, *New Left Review*, no. 56 (March/April 2009): 66-67.
33. Autonomia drew both directly and indirectly from the ideas of French post-structuralism, in particular the work of Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, whose attack on centres and hierarchical structures and their accentuation of difference and marginality chimed with the ‘autonomous’ grassroots political movements in Italian cities. See Antonio Negri, *Reflections on Empire*, trans. Ed Emery (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 13.

34. Mary Louise Lobsinger, "Architectural Utopias and *La Nuova Dimensione*: Turin in the 1960s", in Robert Lumley and John Foot (eds), *Italian Cityscapes: Culture and Urban Change in Contemporary Italy* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004), 77.
35. Gloria Blanchini, introduction to Andrea Branzi, *No Stop City: Archizoom Associati* (Orleans: Editions HXX, 2006), 135.
36. Negri, *Books for Burning*.
37. Antonio Negri, "The Multitude and the Metropolis", trans. Arianna Bove, <http://www.generation-online.org/t/metropolis.htm>. Originally published in *Posse*.
38. See Diane Ghirardo, *Architecture after Modernism* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 17-21.
39. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 113.
40. *Ibid.*, 130.
41. Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia.
42. Gail Day, "Strategies in the Metropolitan Merz: Manfredo Tafuri and Italian Workerism", *Radical Philosophy*, no. 133 (September/October 2005): 33.
43. *Contropiano* was edited by Antonio Negri, Massimo Cacciari and Alberto Asor Rosa and was published between 1969 and 1971. *Contropiano* translates as "counterplan".
44. Manfredo Tafuri, "Towards a Critique of Architectural Ideology", trans. Stephen Sartarelli, in K. Michael Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2000), 2-35. See also Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1976); first published as *Progetto e Utopia* (1973). On Tafuri's influence in architectural history, see Titia Rixt Hoekstra, *Building Versus Bildung: Manfredo Tafuri and the Construction of a Historical Discipline* (PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2005). On the relationship between Tafuri and radical politics, see Day, "Strategies in the Metropolitan Merz".
45. *Contropiano: Materiali Marxistici*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1969).
46. Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture within and against Capitalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008), 48. On Manfredo Tafuri and Massimo Cacciari, Gail Day also notes: "It is clear that the intellectual collaborations for which IUAV became known ... were forged in the intense atmosphere of debates, practical and theoretical, around *Contropiano* and local political activity, at the juncture of intellectual enquiry and revolutionary militancy". Day, "Strategies in the Metropolitan Merz", 33.
47. Lang and Menking, *Superstudio*.
48. Bernard Tschumi, "The Environmental Trigger", in James Gowan (ed.), *A Continuing Experiment: Learning and Teaching at the Architectural Association* (London: Architectural Press, 1975), 95. See also Bernard Tschumi,

- Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1996), 2-23.
49. Andrea Branzi, *Casabella*, vol. 364 (April 1972): 37.
 50. These were reproduced as three pullout sections in the same issue and credited to "The Strum Group". *Casabella*, vols 368-369 (August-September 1972): 25-36, 53-63, 81-92.
 51. For example, In Rome, over two thousand people squatted in apartment blocks in Magliana, October 1971. In Milan, seventy families occupied empty houses were evicted by the police, and were temporarily by the architecture faculty in the nearby Milan Politecnico. The Strum Group, "The Struggle for Housing", *Casabella*, vols. 368-369 (August-September 1972), 68-69.
 52. The Strum Group, "The Mediatory City", *Casabella*, vols. 368-369 (August-September 1972), 92.
 53. "Open Letter from a Comrade: Interview with the Director", NoShame DVD.
 54. Ibid.
 55. Miller, *The Seventies Now*, 2.
 56. Foot, *Milan since the Miracle*, 79.
 57. "Cinema: Industrial State", *Time*, June 2 1975.
 58. Perry Anderson, *The Origins of Postmodernity* (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 92.
 59. Antonio Negri, "Beyond Historic Compromise and Terrorism: Reviewing the Experience of Italy in the 1970s", *Le Monde Diplomatique* (August/September 1998).
 60. Georgakas and Rubenstein (eds), *The Cineaste Interviews*, 127.
 61. Ibid., 122.
 62. Roger Greenspun, "Screen: from Italy, 'Mattei Affair'", *New York Times*, 21 May 1973, 40.
 63. On Mattei's career, see Robert Neville, "Italy's New Caesar", *Harper's Magazine* (March 1961): 79-85; "Italy's Industrial Cromwell", *Economist*, November 5 1960, 572-576; "Oil: State within a State", *Time*, July 21 1961.
 64. Robert Neville, "Italy's New Caesar", *Harper's Magazine* (March 1961): 80.
 65. The "Seven Sisters" were the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Royal Dutch Shell, Gulf Oil, Texaco, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Standard Oil Company of New York.
 66. For example, during the 1960s and 1970s a number of filmmakers from North Africa and South America trained at the Centro Sperimentale in Rome.
 67. See Claudio Camponogara, "Metanopoli: The Town of Technicians", *Rassegna*, vol. 19, no. 70 (1997): 54-57.
 68. Laura Barbieri, "The Cinema as Emotion: A Talk with Bernardo Bertolucci", www.eni.it/vintage/sito_cinema/registi_eng/interv_bertolucci_eng.htm.
 69. Barbieri, "The Cinema as Emotion".

70. Michel Ciment, "The Mattei Affair", in Michel Ciment and Laurence Kardish (eds), *Positif 50 Years: Selected Writings from the French Film Journal* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002), 129.
71. *Ibid.*, 134. See also Michel Ciment, *Le Dossier Rosi* (Paris: Éditions Ramsay, 1987).
72. Martin, *The Organizational Complex*, 7.
73. Restivo, *The Cinema of Economic Miracles*, 5.
74. Michael Sorkin, *Exquisite Corpse: Writing on Buildings* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 5.
75. *Ibid.*, 5.
76. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*.
77. Franca Faldini and Goffredo Fofi, *Il Cinema Italiano d'oggi, 1970-1984: raccontato dai suoi protagonisti* (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1984), 276.
78. *Ibid.*, 276.
79. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*.
80. John Boorman and Walter Donohue (eds), *Projections 8: Film-makers on Film-making* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 285.
81. *Ibid.*, 283.
82. Francesco Bolzoni, *Francesco Rosi* (Rome: Edizioni Cinecittà Estero, 1990), 72.

10. Frankfurt, Cologne and Berlin

1. Josef Esser and Joachim Hirsch, "The Crisis of Fordism and the Dimensions of a 'Post-Fordist' Regional and Urban Structure", in Ash Amin (ed.), *Post-Fordism: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
2. The notion of 'public experience' here refers to Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt's *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung* [The Public Sphere and Experience] (1972), which I will expand on below. Alexander Kluge and Oskar Negt, *Public Sphere and Experience: Towards an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, trans. Peter Labanyi, Jamie Owen Daniel and Assenka Oksiloff (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
3. For overviews of the New German Cinema, see Thomas Elsaesser, *New German Cinema: A History* (London: BFI, 1989); Julia Knight, *New German Cinema: Images of a Generation* (London: Wallflower, 2004); Sabine Hake, *German National Cinema* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). On funding, see also Jan Dawson, "A Labyrinth of Subsidies: The Origins of the New German Cinema", *Sight and Sound*, vol. 50, no. 1 (Winter 1980/1981).
4. Lothar Kettenacker, *Germany since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
5. Alexander Kluge, "What Do the Oberhauseners Want?", in Eric Rentschler (ed.), *West German Filmmakers on Film: Visions and Voices* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1988): 10.
6. *Ibid.*

7. Alexander Kluge and Stuart Liebman, "On New German Cinema, Art, Enlightenment, and the Public Sphere: An Interview with Alexander Kluge", *October*, vol. 46 (Autumn 1988): 34.
8. Sheila Johnston and John Ellis, "The Radical Film Funding of ZDF", *Screen*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1982): 60-73; Dawson, "A Labyrinth of Subsidies", 20.
9. Hake, *German National Cinema*, 172.
10. Dawson, "A Labyrinth of Subsidies", 20.
11. Julia Knight, *New German Cinema: Images of a Generation* (London: Wallflower, 2004), 13.
12. See Piore and Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide*.
13. Kluge and Liebman, "On New German Cinema, Art, Enlightenment, and the Public Sphere", 25.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. See Esser and Hirsch, "The Crisis of Fordism and the Dimensions of a 'Post-Fordist' Regional and Urban Structure". For an overview of regional development from the 1960s onwards, see Neil Brenner, "Building 'Euro Regions': Locational Politics and the Political Geography of Neoliberalism in Post-Unification Germany", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 7, no. 4 (2000): 319-345.
17. "Germany Has a California", *Economist*, 23 September 1972.
18. See Harald Bathelt and Armin Gräf, "Internal and External Dynamics of the Munich Film and TV Industry Cluster, and Limitations to Future Growth", *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 40, no. 8 (2008): 1944-1965.
19. Thomas Elsaesser, *New German Cinema: A History* (London: BFI, 1989).
20. Craig R. Whitney, "New German Movie Directors Are Winning Acclaim", *New York Times*, 26 January 1976, 29.
21. Eric Rentschler, "American Friends and New German Cinema: Patterns of Reception", *New German Critique*, nos. 24/25 (Autumn 1981-Winter 1982): 7-35.
22. John E. Davidson, *Deterritorializing the New German Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 8-9. Davidson further explains that "between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s, agreements with nations from South America, Africa, and eastern Asia were struck addressing import quotas, technology sales and training centres based in the FRG" (9).
23. Margit Mayer, "Restructuring and Popular Opposition in West German Cities", in Michael Peter Smith and Joe R. Feagin (eds), *The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 343-363.
24. Hake, *German National Cinema*, 164.
25. Thomas Elsaesser, "German Film Bonanza", *New Statesman*, January 11 1980, 63-65.
26. This is, of course, only intended as a few examples from each city.

27. Average annual growth of GNP dropped from 8% in the 1950s to 5% during the 1960s, falling to just 1.7% during the first half of the 1970s. Mayer, "Restructuring and Popular Opposition in West German Cities", 345.
28. Restivo, *The Cinema of Economic Miracles*.
29. Deborah Ascher Barnstone, *The Transparent State: Architecture and Politics in Postwar Germany* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2005), 27.
30. Axel Schildt, "Urban Reconstruction and Urban Development in Germany after 1945", in Friedrich Lenger (ed.), *Towards an Urban Nation: Germany since 1780* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002).
31. See Francesca Rogier, "The Monumentality of Rhetoric: The Will to Rebuild in Postwar Berlin", in Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (eds), *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2000), 165-189; Roland Strobel, "Before the Wall Came Tumbling Down: Urban Planning Paradigm Shifts in a Divided Berlin", *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 48, no. 1 (September 1994): 25-37.
32. Alexander Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte: Anstiftung zum Umfrieden* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971); Heide Bernt, Alfred Lorenzer and Klaus Horn, *Architektur als Ideologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971); Hans G. Helms and Jörn Janssen, *Kapitalistischer Städtebau* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1971).
33. See "Das Elend der Städte", *Die Zeit*, 14 January 1972.
34. Mayer, "Restructuring and Popular Opposition in West German Cities", 348.
35. Roger Karapin, *Protest Politics in Germany: Movements on the Left and the Right since the 1960s* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).
36. Cited in Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 23.
37. On the connections between the Situationist International and the RAF, see Charity Scribner, "Buildings on Fire: The Situationist International and the Red Army Faction", *Grey Room*, no. 26 (Winter 2007): 30-55.
38. Hans-Martin Schleyer was an industrialist kidnapped and later murdered by the Red Army Faction in 1977.
39. Nora M. Alter, "Translating the Essay into Film and Installation", *Journal of Visual Culture*, vol 6(1), 2007: 51.
40. Alexander Kluge, Thomas Y. Levin and Miriam B. Hansen, "On Film and the Public Sphere", *New German Critique*, no. 24-25 (Autumn 1981-Winter 1982): 206-220; Kluge and Negt, *Public Sphere and Experience*.
41. Cited in Eberhard Knödler-Bunte, "The Proletarian Public Sphere and Political Organisation: An Analysis of Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge's *The Public Sphere and Experience*", *New German Critique*, no. 4 (Winter 1975): 61.
42. See Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 254-256; Jason Read, *The Micro-Politics*

- of Capital: Marx and the Prehistory of the Present* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).
43. Cited in Knödler-Bunte, "The Proletarian Public Sphere and Political Organisation", 64.
 44. This montage sequence also draws on Kluge's first short film *Brutalität in Stein* (1961), which examined the architectural legacy of the Third Reich through footage of the vast abandoned buildings at Nuremberg.
 45. Joe Hajdu, "Postwar Development and Planning of West German Cities", in Trevor Wild (ed.), *Urban and Rural Change in West Germany* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 22.
 46. Richard L. Merritt, "The Lost Center: Dispersing Berlin's Capital City Functions, 1945-1978", in Michael C. Romanos (ed.), *Western European Cities in Crisis* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1979), 185-202. See also Roger Keil and Klaus Ronneberger, "The Globalisation of Frankfurt am Main: Core, Periphery, and Social Conflict", in Neil Brenner and Roger Keil (eds), *The Global Cities Reader* (London: Routledge, 2005), 288-295.
 47. Daniel Cohn-Bendit had become a well-known figure in student politics during the May 1968 events in Paris. See Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker (eds), *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Sabine Dirke, *All Power to the Imagination!: The West German Counterculture from the Student Movement to the Greens* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).
 48. Margit Mayer, "Social Movements in European Cities: Transitions from the 1970s to the 1990s", in Arnaldo Bagnasco and Patrick le Galès (eds), *Cities in Contemporary Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 133. For a contemporary account, see "'Spontis' und 'Chinesen' lenkten die Schlacht", *Der Spiegel*, March 4 1974, 26-29.
 49. Klaus Walter, "Rebel Rebel: Joschka Fischer and 25 Years of German Counterculture", *Frieze*, no. 45, March-April 1999.
 50. Jan Dawson, "Alexander Kluge Interview", *Film Comment* (November/December 1974), 54.
 51. Alexander Kluge cited in Fredric Jameson, "On Negt and Kluge", *October*, vol. 46 (Autumn 1988): 152.
 52. Alexander Kluge, "Direct Contact between Reality and Fiction", liner notes for *In Gefahr und größter Not bringt der Mittelweg den Tod* (Edition Filmmuseum DVD, 2007).
 53. Kluge, Levin and Hansen, "On Film and the Public Sphere", 215.
 54. Though the question of the ontological difference between documentary and fiction images is a complex one, I refer here to films that incorporate footage the spectator can reasonably identify as unstaged 'documentary' events into a fictional framework.
 55. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 10.

56. Robert Stam, *Subversive Pleasures: Bakhtin, Cultural Criticism, and Film* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 90.
57. *Ibid.*, 92.
58. Rob Burns and Wilfried van der Will, *Protest and Democracy in West Germany: Extra-Parliamentary Opposition and the Democratic Agenda* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).
59. Heinrich Böll, "Voice from the Underground", *Konkret*, February 1976. Reprinted as a statement appending Bommi Bauman, *Terror or Love?*, trans. Helene Ellenbogen and Wayne Parker (London: John Calder, 1979), 2-3.
60. Volker Schlöndorff and Gary Crowdus, "Coming to Terms with the German Past: An Interview with Volker Schlöndorff", *Cineaste*, vol. 26, no. 2 (March 2001): 18-23.
61. Comolli and Narboni, "Cinema/Ideology/Criticism".
62. *Ibid.*, 32.
63. *Ibid.*, 32.
64. For a critique of the film's personalisation of the political, see Jack Zipes, "The Political Dimensions of *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum*", *New German Critique*, no. 12 (Autumn 1977): 75-84.
65. Interview with Jost Vacano (Criterion Collection DVD, 2003).
66. Interview with Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta (Criterion Collection DVD, 2003).
67. Vincent Canby, "Cold, Bright 'Katharina Blum' Is at Festival", *New York Times*, 20 December 1975, 41.
68. Interview with Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta.
69. Frank Duffy, "The Life and Death of the Urban Office", in Ricky Burdett and Deyan Sudjic (eds), *The Endless City* (London and New York: Phaidon, 2007), 333.
70. Jean Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes (London: Routledge, 1995), 277.
71. Lester D. Friedman, "Cinematic Techniques in *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum*", *Literature/Film Quarterly*, vol. 7, no. 3 (1979): 247.
72. Barnstone, *The Transparent State*.
73. Coincidentally, RAF member Siegfried Hausner later rented a flat there while plotting the kidnapping of Hanns Martin Schleyer.
74. Heinrich Böll, *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum, or: How Violence Develops and Where It Can Lead*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (London: Minerva, 1993), 87.
75. *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum*, 88.
76. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1994); Eric Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries* (London: Abacus, 2007).
77. Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2004).
78. "A Failure Everywhere", *Time*, September 12 1969.

79. "The City as a Battlefield: A Global Concern", *Time*, November 2 1970. See also "Die Guerilla kämpft aus dem Hinterhalt", *Der Spiegel*, May 29 1972.
80. Tschumi, "The Environmental Trigger", 89-99.
81. "The City as a Battlefield".
82. Bauman, *Terror or Love?*, 28.
83. Thomas Elsaesser, "Antigone Agonistes: Urban Guerrilla or Guerrilla Urbanism? The Red Army Faction, *Germany in Autumn* and *Death Game*", in Joan Copjec and Michael Sorkin (eds), *Giving Ground: The Politics of Propinquity* (London: Verso, 1999), 267-302.
84. *Ibid.*, 292.
85. *Ibid.*, 285.
86. Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 16.
87. Eric Rentschler (ed.), *West German Filmmakers on Film: Visions and Voices* (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1988), 135.
88. *Ibid.*, 135.
89. *Ibid.*, 136.
90. Andrew Webber, *Berlin in the Twentieth Century: A Cultural Topography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 56.
91. "Europa Center: City in der City", *Der Spiegel*, April 7 1965.
92. On the redevelopment of West Berlin in the 1960s, see Josef Paul Kleihues, Jan Gerd Becker-Schwering and Paul Kahlfeldt, *Bauen in Berlin 1900-2000* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2000); Ronald Taylor, *Berlin and Its Culture: A Historical Portrait* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
93. The phrase "informational city" is from Manuel Castells, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).
94. Rainer Werner Fassbinder and Hella Schlumberger, "I've Changed Along with the Characters in My Films': An Interview with Rainer Werner Fassbinder", *Performing Arts Journal*, vol. 14, no. 2 (May 1992): 3. Originally published in the German edition of *Playboy* (April 1978).
95. See "Komissar Computer", *Der Spiegel*, June 28 1971.
96. Stefan Aust, *The Baader-Meinhof Complex*, trans. Anthea Bell (London: Bodley Head, 2008), 134.
97. Cited in Thomas Elsaesser, *Fassbinder's Germany: History, Identity, Subject* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 38.
98. Interview with Juliane Lorenz (Criterion DVD, 2006).
99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.*
101. Webber, *Berlin in the Twentieth Century*, 18.
102. Interview with Juliane Lorenz.

103. Timothy Corrigan, "The Temporality of Place, Postmodernism and the Fassbinder Texts", *New German Critique*, no. 63 (Autumn 1994): 140.
104. Stephen Barber, *Projected Cities* (London: Reaktion, 2002), 109.

Conclusion

1. Piore and Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide*.
2. Richard Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
3. Dave McNary, "Hollywood Continues to Flee California at Alarming Rate", *Variety*, March 5 2014.
4. Kracauer, *Theory of Film*, 62.
5. Derek Nystrom has shown how the New Hollywood was firmly aimed at the professional-managerial class, though further research about the spatial context of such audiences and their relationship to gentrification would be valuable. See Derek Nystrom, "Hard Hats and Movie Brats: Auteurism and the Class Politics of the New Hollywood", *Cinema Journal*, vol. 43, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 21.
6. Peter Walker, "South London's Heygate Estate Mourned by Locals – and Hollywood", *Guardian*, September 3 2010.
7. Stephen Farber, "A Nightmare World with No Secrets", *New York Times*, May 12 1974, 13.
8. For example, the *Times* journalist Anatole Kaletsky writes in his recent book that "capitalism is not a static set of institutions, but an evolutionary system that reinvents and reinvigorates itself through crises", adding that "the world will now have to recognise that financial cycles, occasional banking crises, and self-reinforcing economic slumps are natural and recurring features of any market system". Anatole Kaletsky, *Capitalism 4.0: The Birth of a New Economy* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 3 and 9.
9. A.O. Scott, "Neo-Neorealism", *New York Times*, March 17 2009.
10. Jonathan Raban, "Metronatural America", *The New York Review of Books*, 26 March 2009.
11. Scott, "Neo-Neorealism".

Films and Television Programmes Cited in the Text

- À Bout de Souffle* (Jean-Luc Godard, 1959)
A Clockwork Orange (Stanley Kubrick, 1971)
À propos de Nice (Jean Vigo, 1930)
A Safe Place (Henry Jaglom, 1971)
Abschied von Gestern (Alexander Kluge, 1966)
Accatone (Pasolini, 1961)
After Hours (Martin Scorsese, 1985)
Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore (Martin Scorsese, 1974)
All in the Family (CBS, 1971-1979)
All the President's Men (Alan J. Pakula, 1976)
Alphaville (Jean-Luc Godard, 1965)
American Gigolo (Paul Schrader, 1980)
An American in Paris (Vincente Minelli, 1951)
An Unmarried Woman (Paul Mazursky, 1978)
Angst essen Seele auf (Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1974)
Annie Hall (Woody Allen, 1977)
Apocalypse Now (Francis Ford Coppola, 1979)
Atlantic City (Louis Malle, 1980)
- Back to the Future* (Robert Zemeckis, 1985)
Bank Shot (Gower Champion, 1974)
Berlin: Die Symphonie der Großstadt (Walter Ruttmann, 1927)
Bicycle Thieves (Vittorio de Sica, 1948)
Black Caesar (Larry Cohen, 1973)
Black Sunday (John Frankenheimer, 1977)
Blade Runner (Ridley Scott, 1982)
Blow Up (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1966)
Blue Collar (Paul Schrader, 1978)
Blume in Love (Paul Mazursky, 1973)
Boardwalk Empire (HBO, 2010-)
Bob le flambeur (Jean-Pierre Melville, 1956)
Bonnie and Clyde (Arthur Penn, 1967)
Bound for Glory (Hal Ashby, 1976)
Brewster McCloud (Robert Altman, 1970)
Buffet froid (Bertrand Blier, 1979)

Bullitt (Peter Yates, 1968)

Bush Mama (Haile Gerima, 1978)

California Split (Robert Altman, 1974)

Carry On at Your Convenience (Gerald Thomas, 1971)

Chariots of Fire (Hugh Hudson, 1981)

Charley Varrick (Don Siegel, 1973)

Chinatown (Roman Polanski, 1974)

Chronique d'un été (Jean Rouch, 1961)

Città violenta (Sergio Sollima, 1970)

Close Encounters of the Third Kind (Steven Spielberg, 1977)

Cops and Robbers (Aram Avakian, 1974)

Cotton Comes to Harlem (Ossie Davis, 1971)

Coup pour coup (Marin Karmitz, 1972)

Cross of Iron (Sam Peckinpah, 1977)

Darling Lili (Blake Edwards, 1970)

Deliverance (John Boorman, 1972)

Der junge Törless (Volker Schlöndorff, 1966)

Der stärke Ferdinand (Alexander Kluge, 1976)

Dernier maquis (Rabah Ameur-Zaimeche, 2008)

Desperate Characters (Frank Gilroy, 1971)

Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle (Jean-Luc Godard, 1967)

Die Allseitig reduzierte Persönlichkeit – Redupers (Helke Sander, 1977)

Die dritte Generation (Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1979)

Dirty Harry (Don Siegel, 1971)

Doc (CBS, 1975-1976)

Doctor Dolittle (Richard Fleischer, 1967)

Dog Day Afternoon (Sidney Lumet, 1975)

Du Rififi chez les hommes (Jules Dassin, 1955)

E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial (Steven Spielberg, 1982)

Easy Rider (Dennis Hopper, 1969)

Escape from New York (John Carpenter, 1981)

F.I.S.T. (Norman Jewison, 1978)

Fahrenheit 451 (Francois Truffaut, 1967)

Falling Down (Joel Schumacher, 1993)

Fat City (John Huston, 1972)

Finally Got the News (Stewart Bird, Rene Lichtman and Peter Gessner, 1970)

- Fish Tank* (Andrea Arnold, 2008)
Five Easy Pieces (Bob Rafelson, 1970)
Fog City Mavericks (Gary Leva, 2007)
Force of Evil (Abraham Polonsky, 1948)
Fort Apache, the Bronx (Daniel Petrie, 1981)
Foul Play (Colin Higgins, 1978)
Funny Face (Stanley Donen, 1957)
Futureworld (Richard T. Heffron, 1976)
- Ghostbusters* (Ivan Reitman, 1984)
Gimme Shelter (Albert and David Maysles, 1970)
Gomorrah (Matteo Garrone, 2008)
- Hands over the City* (Francesco Rosi, 1963)
Heaven's Gate (Michael Cimino, 1980)
Hello, Dolly! (Gene Kelly, 1969)
High Anxiety (Mel Brooks, 1977)
Hôtel du Nord (Marcel Carne, 1938)
Hour of the Furnaces (Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, 1968)
- Illustrious Corpses* (Francesco Rosi, 1976)
Indagine su un cittadino al di sopra di ogni sospetto (Elio Petri, 1970)
In Gefahr und größter Not bringt der Mittelweg den Tod (Alexander Kluge and Edgar Reitz, 1974)
Invasion of the Body Snatchers (Philip Kaufman, 1978)
- Jaws* (Steven Spielberg, 1975)
- Karate Kid* (John G. Avildsen, 1984)
Katzelmacher (Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1969)
Killer of Sheep (Charles Burnett, 1977)
Klute (Alan J. Pakula, 1971)
Kojak (CBS, 1973-1978)
Kramer vs. Kramer (Robert Benton, 1978)
- L'Avventura* (Antonioni, 1960)
L'Eclisse (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1962)
La Chinoise (Jean-Luc Godard, 1967)
La dolce vita (Fellini, 1960)
La notte (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1961)

- Last Tango in Paris* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1972)
Le joli mai (Chris Marker, 1962).
Le marginal (Jacques Deray, 1983)
Leo the Last (John Boorman, 1970)
Les quatre cents coups (Francois Truffaut, 1959)
Liebe Mutter, mir geht es gut (Christian Ziewer, 1972)
Lions Love (Agnès Varda, 1969)
Little Murders (Alan Arkin, 1971)
Logan's Run (Michael Anderson, 1976)
Love and Anger (Marco Bellocchio, Bernardo Bertolucci, Jean-Luc Godard,
 Pier Paolo Pasolini, Carlo Lizzani, 1969)
- Madigan* (Don Siegel, 1968)
Manhattan (Woody Allen, 1978)
Manhunter (Michael Mann, 1986)
Marathon Man (John Schlesinger, 1976)
Maude (CBS, 1972-1978)
McCabe and Mrs. Miller (Robert Altman, 1971)
Mean Streets (Martin Scorsese, 1973)
Medium Cool (Haskell Wexler, 1969)
Messer in Kopf (Reinhardt Hauff, 1978)
Midnight Cowboy (John Schlesinger, 1969)
Milan calibro 9 (Fernando di Leo, 1972)
Milan rovente (Umberto Lenzi, 1973)
Milano trema – la polizia vuole giustizia (Sergio Martino, 1973)
Milano violenta (Mario Caiano, 1976)
Mister Buddwing (Delbert Mann, 1966)
Model Shop (Jacques Demy, 1969)
Mother Küster's Trip to Heaven (Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1975)
- Napoli violenta* (Umberto Lenzi, 1976)
Nashville (Robert Altman, 1975)
Network (Sidney Lumet, 1976)
News from Home (Chantal Akerman, 1977)
Night Moves (Arthur Penn, 1975)
Norma Rae (Martin Ritt, 1979)
- O Lucky Man!* (Lindsay Anderson, 1973)
On the Waterfront (Elia Kazan, 1954)
Open Letter to the Evening News (Francesco Maselli, 1970)

- Paris nous appartient* (Jacques Rivette, 1960)
Performance (Nicolas Roeg and Donald Cammell, 1970)
Petulia (Richard Lester, 1968)
Peur sur la ville (Henri Verneuil, 1975)
Play It Again, Sam (Herbert Ross, 1972)
Playtime (Jacques Tati, 1967)
Point Blank (John Boorman, 1967)
Poor Cow (Ken Loach, 1967)
Pressure (Horace Ové, 1975)
Prince of the City (Sidney Lumet, 1981)
- Radio On* (Christopher Petit, 1979)
Raiders of the Lost Ark (Steven Spielberg, 1981)
Rear Window (Alfred Hitchcock, 1954)
Rebel without a Cause (Nicholas Ray, 1955)
Red Desert (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1964)
Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles (BBC, 1972)
Rien que les heures (Alberto Cavalcanti, 1926)
Risky Business (Paul Brickman, 1983)
Rocco and His Brothers (Luchino Visconti, 1960)
Rollover (Alan J. Pakula, 1981)
Roma (Federico Fellini, 1972)
Roma violenta (Marino Girolami, 1975)
Room at the Top (Jack Clayton, 1959)
- Salvatore Giuliano* (Francesco Rosi, 1961)
Saturday Night and Sunday Morning (Karel Reisz, 1960)
Saturday Night Fever (John Badham, 1977)
Scarecrow (Jerry Schatzberg, 1973)
Scarface (Brian De Palma, 1983)
Série noire (Alain Corneau, 1979)
Serpico (Sidney Lumet, 1973)
Shaft (Gordon Parks Sr., 1971)
Shampoo (Hal Ashby, 1975)
Skyjacked (John Guillermin, 1972)
Soul Kitchen (Fatih Akin, 2009)
Special Delivery (Paul Wendkos, 1976)
Star (Robert Wise, 1968)
Star Wars (George Lucas, 1977)
Straw Dogs (Sam Peckinpah, 1971)

- Sunday, Bloody Sunday* (John Schlesinger, 1971)
Super Fly (Gordon Parks Jr., 1972)
Superman (Richard Donner, 1978)
- Taxi Driver* (Martin Scorsese, 1976)
The American Friend (Wim Wenders, 1977)
The Anderson Tapes (Sidney Lumet, 1971)
The Apartment (Billy Wilder, 1960)
The Battle of Algiers (Gillo Pontecorvo, 1966)
The Bonfire of the Vanities (Brian de Palma, 1990)
The Brink's Job (William Friedkin, 1978)
The Champ (Franco Zeffirelli, 1979)
The Conformist (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1970)
The Conversation (Francis Ford Coppola, 1974)
The Day of the Jackal (Fred Zinnemann, 1973)
The Deer Hunter (Michael Cimino, 1978)
The Fall (Peter Whitehead, 1968)
The French Connection (William Friedkin, 1971)
The Friends of Eddie Coyle (Peter Yates, 1973)
The Gambler (Karel Reisz, 1974)
The Gauntlet (Clint Eastwood, 1976)
The Getaway (Sam Peckinpah, 1972)
The Godfather (Francis Ford Coppola, 1972)
The Graduate (Mike Nichols, 1967)
The Greatest (Tom Gries and Monte Hellman, 1977)
The Hot Rock (Peter Yates, 1972)
The Jeffersons (CBS, 1975-1985)
The King of Marvin Gardens (Bob Rafelson, 1972)
The Landlord (Hal Ashby, 1970)
The Last Detail (Hal Ashby, 1973)
The Last Picture Show (Peter Bogdanovich, 1971)
The Laughing Policeman (Stuart Rosenberg, 1973)
The Line-Up (Don Siegel, 1958)
The Long Good Friday (John Mackenzie, 1980)
The Long Goodbye (Robert Altman, 1973)
The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum (Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta, 1975)
The Mattei Affair (Francesco Rosi, 1972)
The Naked City (Jules Dassin, 1948)
The Night They Raided Minsky's (William Friedkin, 1968)

- The Odessa File* (Ronald Neame, 1974)
The Out-of-Towners (Arthur Hiller, 1970)
The Outfit (John Flynn, 1973)
The Panic in Needle Park (Jerry Schatzberg, 1971)
The Parallax View (Alan J. Pakula, 1975)
The Passenger (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1975)
The Philadelphia Story (George Cukor, 1940)
The Prisoner of Second Avenue (Melvin Frank, 1975)
The Rain People (Francis Ford Coppola, 1969)
The Secret of My Success (Herbert Ross, 1987)
The Sugarland Express (Steven Spielberg, 1974)
The Taking of Pelham 123 (Joseph Sargent, 1974)
The Texas Chainsaw Massacre (Tobe Hooper, 1974)
The Towering Inferno (John Guillermin and Irwin Allen, 1974)
The Warriors (Walter Hill, 1979)
The Working Class Goes to Heaven (Elio Petri, 1972)
Themroc (Claude Faraldo, 1973)
They Call Me Mr. Tibbs! (Gordon Douglas, 1970)
Three Days of the Condor (Sydney Pollack, 1975)
THX 1138 (George Lucas, 1971)
To Live and Die in L.A. (William Friedkin, 1985)
Touche pas à la femme blanche (Marco Ferreri, 1973)
Touchez pas au grisbi (Jacques Becker, 1954)
Tout va bien (Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin, 1972)
Trading Places (John Landis, 1983)
Trevico-Torino (viaggio nel Fiat-Nam) (Ettore Scola, 1973)
Two Lane Blacktop (Monte Hellman, 1971)
- Un homme et une femme* (Claude Lelouch, 1966)
Up in the Air (Jason Reitman, 2009)
- Vertigo* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1958)
- Wall Street* (Oliver Stone, 1987)
Wavelength (Michael Snow, 1967)
Welcome to L.A. (Alan Rudolph, 1976)
Wendy and Lucy (Kelly Reichardt, 2008)
What's Up, Doc? (Peter Bogdanovich, 1972)
Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory (Mel Stuart, 1971)
Wings of Desire (Wim Wenders, 1987)

Working Girl (Mike Nichols, 1988)

You're a Big Boy Now (Francis Ford Coppola, 1967)

Zabriskie Point (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1970)

Zazie dans le métro (Louis Malle, 1960)

References

Books

- Abbott, Carl. *The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.
- Adorno, Theodor W., and Max Horkheimer. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Translated by John Cumming. London: Verso, 1979.
- Alcaly, Roger E., and David Mermelstein. *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities: Essays on the Political Economy of Urban America with Special Reference to New York*. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.
- AlSayyad, Nezar. *Cinematic Urbanism: A History of the Modern from Reel to Real*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Amin, Ash, ed. *Post-Fordism: A Reader*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995.
- Antonioni, Michelangelo. *The Architecture of Vision: Writings and Interviews on Cinema*. Edited by Carlo di Carlo and Giorgio Tinazzi, and translated by Margo Cottino Jones. New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1996.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. *The Long Twentieth Century*. London and New York: Verso, 2010.
- Augé, Marc. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. Translated by John Howe. New York and London: Verso, 1995.
- Aureli, Pier Vittorio. *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture within and against Capitalism*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008.
- Aust, Stefan. *The Baader-Meinhof Complex*. Translated by Anthea Bell. London: Bodley Head, 2008.
- Avila, Eric. *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2004.
- Avni, Sheerly. *Cinema by the Bay*. New York: George Lucas Books, 2006.
- Bach, Steven. *Final Cut: Dreams and Disaster in the Making of Heaven's Gate*. London: Faber and Faber, 1988.
- Bagnasco, Arnaldo. *Le Tre Italie: La problematica territoriale dello sviluppo italiano*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977.
- Bagnasco, Arnaldo, and Patrick le Galès, eds. *Cities in Contemporary Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Ballard, J.G. *Miracles of Life: Shanghai to Shepperton, an Autobiography*. London: Fourth Estate, 2008.
- Banfield, Edward C. *The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970.
- Banham, Reyner. *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies*. Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press, 2001.
- Banham, Reyner. *Megastructures: Urban Futures of the Recent Past*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- Baran, Paul A., and Paul M. Sweezy. *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.
- Barber, Stephen. *Projected Cities*. London: Reaktion, 2002.

- Barnstone, Deborah Ascher. *The Transparent State: Architecture and Politics in Postwar Germany*. Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Bart, Peter. *Fade Out: The Calamitous Final Days of MGM*. London: Simon & Schuster, 1990.
- Barthes, Roland. *Image-Music-Text*. Translated by Stephen Heath. London: Fontana, 1977.
- Barton, Ruth. "When the Chickens Came Home to Roost: British Thrillers of the 1970s". In *Seventies British Cinema*, edited by Robert Shail, 46-55. London: BFI/Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *America*. Translated by Chris Turner. London and New York: Verso, 1999.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Translated by Sheila Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Baudry, Jean-Louis. "The Apparatus: Metapsychological Approaches to the Impression of Reality in the Cinema". In *Film Theory and Criticism*, edited by Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, 760-777. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Baughman, James L. "Take Me Away from Manhattan: New York City and American Mass Culture, 1930-1990". *Capital of the American Century: The National and International Influence of New York City*, edited by Martin Shefter, 117-143. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993.
- Bauman, Bommi. *Terror or Love?* Translated by Helene Ellenbogen and Wayne Parker. London: John Calder, 1979.
- Beauregard, Robert. *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of US Cities*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Beauregard, Robert A., ed. *Atop the Urban Hierarchy*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1989.
- Becker, Gary S. *Human Capital: Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*. Translated by Harry Zohn. London: Pimlico, 1999.
- Benjamin, Walter. *One-Way Street and Other Writings*. Translated by J.A. Underwood. London: Penguin, 2009.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Selected Writings, Volume 1, 1913-1926*. Edited by Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1996.
- Benjamin, Walter. *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire*. Translated by Howard Eiland, Edmund Jephcott, Rodney Livingstone and Harry Zohn. Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Bergala, Alain, ed. *Godard Par Godard*. Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma, 1998.
- Berger, John. *The Look of Things*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.
- Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. London and New York: Verso, 1983.
- Bernstein, David W., ed. *The San Francisco Tape Music Center: 1960s Counterculture and the Avant-Garde*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008.
- Bernt, Heide, Alfred Lorenzer, Klaus Horn. *Architektur als Ideologie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971.
- Betz, Mark. *Beyond the Subtitle: Remapping European Art Cinema*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.
- Biskind, Peter. *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*. London: Bloomsbury, 1998.
- Biskind, Peter. *Gods and Monsters*. London: Bloomsbury, 2004.
- Bluestone, Barry, and Bennett Harrison. *The Deindustrialization of America*. New York: Basic Books, 1982.
- Bolzoni, Francesco. *Francesco Rosi*. Rome: Edizioni Cinemittà Estero, 1990.
- Bondanella, Peter. *Italian Cinema: From Neorealism to the Present*. New York: Continuum, 2001.
- Booker, Christopher. *The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade*. London: Allen Lane, 1980.

- Booker, Christopher, and Candida Lycett-Green, *Goodbye London: An Illustrated Guide to Threatened Buildings*. London: Fontana, 1973.
- Boorman, John. *Adventures of a Suburban Boy*. Faber and Faber, 2003.
- Boorman, John, and Walter Donohue, eds. *Projections 8: Film-makers on Film-making*. London: Faber and Faber, 1998.
- Borden, Iain. "Playtime: Tataville and Paris". In *The Hieroglyphics of Space: Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis*, edited by Neil Leach, 217-235. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Bordwell, David. *Poetics of Cinema*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Bordwell, David, Janet Staiger and Kristin Thompson. *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Borges, Jorge Luis. *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*. London: Penguin, 2000.
- Boyer, Jay. *Bob Rafelson: Hollywood Maverick*. New York and London: Twayne, 1996.
- Braester, Yomi. *Painting the City Red: Chinese Cinema and the Urban Contract*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Branzi, Andrea. *No Stop City: Archizoom Associati*. Orleans: Editions HXX, 2006.
- Brenner, Neil, and Nik Theodore, eds. *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Brenner, Neil, and Roger Keil, eds. *The Global Cities Reader*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Brenner, Robert. *The Economics of Global Turbulence*. London and New York: Verso, 2006.
- Bridge, Gary, and Sophie Watson, eds. *A Companion to the City*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
- Browne, Nick, ed. *Francis Ford Coppola's The Godfather Trilogy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Brugmann, Bruce, and Greggar Sletteland, *The Ultimate Highrise: San Francisco's Mad Rush Toward the Sky*. San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Bay Guardian, 1971.
- Bruno, Giuliana. *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Brunson, Charlotte. *London in Cinema: The Cinematic City since 1945*. London: BFI, 2007.
- Buckland, Warren, ed. *Puzzle Films: Complex Storytelling in Contemporary Cinema*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. London: MIT Press, 1989.
- Budd, Leslie, and Sam Whimster, eds. *Global Finance and Urban Living: A Study of Metropolitan Change*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Burdett, Ricky, and Deyan Sudjic, eds. *The Endless City*. London and New York: Phaidon, 2007.
- Burns, Rob, and Wilfried van der Will. *Protest and Democracy in West Germany: Extra-Parliamentary Opposition and the Democratic Agenda*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988.
- Cannato, Vincent. *The Ungovernable City: John Lindsay and His Struggle to Save New York*. New York: Basic Books, 2003.
- Caro, Robert. *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*. New York: Vintage, 1975.
- Carringer, Robert. "Hollywood's Los Angeles: Two Paradigms". In *Looking for Los Angeles: Architecture, Film, Photography, and the Urban Landscape*, edited by Charles G. Salas and Michael S. Roth. Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2001.
- Castells, Manuel. *The Castells Reader on Cities and Social Theory*. Edited by Ida Susser. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002.
- Castells, Manuel. *The City and the Grassroots: a Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. London: E. Arnold, 1983.

- Castells, Manuel. *City, Class and Power*. Translation supervised by Elizabeth Lebas. London: Macmillan Press, 1978.
- Castells, Manuel. *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Castells, Manuel. *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. London: Edward Arnold, 1977.
- Castells, Manuel. "The Wild City". In *Internal Structure of the City: Readings on Urban Form, Growth, and Policy*, edited by L.S. Bourne, 573-584. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Cavell, Stanley. *The Pursuits of Happiness: The Hollywood Comedy of Remarriage*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Celli, Carlo, and Marga Cottino-Jones. *A New Guide to Italian Cinema*. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Charney, Leo, and Vanessa Schwartz, eds. *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.
- Cherry, Gordon E. *Town Planning in Britain since 1900*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- Chevalier, Louis. *The Assassination of Paris*. Translated by David P. Jordan. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Chion, Michel. *The Voice in Cinema*. Edited and translated by Claudia Gorbman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Christensen, Jerome. *America's Corporate Art: The Studio Authorship of Hollywood Motion Pictures*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.
- Ciment, Michel. *John Boorman*. Translated by Gilbert Adair. London: Faber & Faber, 1986.
- Ciment, Michel. *Kubrick*. Translated by Gilbert Adair. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984.
- Ciment, Michel, and Laurence Kardish, eds. *Positif 50 Years: Selected Writings from the French Film Journal*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002.
- Clarke, David B., ed. *The Cinematic City*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Comment, Bernard. *The Painted Panorama*. Translated by Anne-Marie Glasheen. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.
- Connor, J.D. "The Biggest Independent Pictures Ever Made – Industrial Reflexivity Today". In *The Wiley-Blackwell History of American Film*, edited by Cynthia Lucia, Roy Grundmann and Art Simon, 517-541. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Cook, David A. *Lost Illusions: American Cinema in the Shadow of Watergate and Vietnam, 1970-1979*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.
- Copjec, Joan, and Michael Sorkin, eds. *Giving Ground: The Politics of Proximity*. London: Verso, 1999.
- Corkin, Stanley. *Starring New York: Filming the Grime and Glamour of the Long 1970s*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Corrigan, Timothy. *A Cinema without Walls: Movies and Culture after Vietnam*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Cowie, Jefferson, and Joseph Heathcote. *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.
- Cronin, Anne M., and Kevin Hetherington, eds. *Consuming the Entrepreneurial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle*. New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Darke, Chris. *Alphaville*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005.

- Davidson, John E. *Deterritorializing the New German Cinema*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. London: Pimlico, 1998.
- Davis, Mike. *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class*. London and New York: Verso, 2007.
- Dear, Michael. *The Postmodern Urban Condition*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999.
- Dear, Michael, with J. Dallas Dishman, eds. *From Chicago to LA: Making Sense of Urban Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002.
- Deleuze, Gilles. *Cinema 1: The Movement Image*. Translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam. London: Continuum, 2002.
- Deleuze, Gilles. *Cinema 2: The Time Image*. Translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Deleuze Gilles, and Felix Guattari. *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane. London: Continuum, 2004.
- Della Porta, Donatella. *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Deutsche, Rosalyn. *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996.
- Dick, Bernard F. *Engulfed: The Death of Paramount Pictures and the Birth of Corporate Hollywood*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001.
- Dickinson, Margaret, and Sarah Street. *Cinema and State: The Film Industry and the Government, 1927-1984*. London: BFI, 1985.
- Didion, Joan. *Sentimental Journeys*. London: Flamingo, 1994.
- Dimendberg, Edward. *Film Noir and the Spaces of Modernity*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Dirke, Sabine. *All Power to the Imagination!: The West German Counterculture from the Student Movement to the Greens*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Donald, Stephanie Hemelryk, Eleonore Kofman and Catherine Kevin, eds. *Branding Cities: Cosmopolitanism, Parochialism, and Social Change*. New York and London: Routledge, 2009.
- Drennan, Matthew P. "The Decline and Rise of the New York Economy". In *Dual City: Restructuring New York*, edited by John H. Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991.
- Duffy, Frank. "The Life and Death of the Urban Office". In *The Endless City*, edited by Ricky Burdett and Deyan Sudjic. London and New York: Phaidon, 2007.
- Dupin, Christophe. "The BFI and British Independent Cinema in the 1970s". In *Seventies British Cinema*, edited by Robert Shail, 159-174. London: BFI, 2008.
- Dyja, Eddie, ed. *BFI Film and Television Handbook*. London: BFI, 2004.
- Eco, Umberto. *Travels in Hyperreality*. Translated by William Weaver. London: Picador, 1987.
- Edgerton, Gary. "The Film Bureau Phenomenon in America". In *Current Research on Film: Audiences, Economics, and Law, Volume 2*, edited by Bruce Austin. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1986.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "Antigone Agonistes: Urban Guerrilla or Guerrilla Urbanism? The Red Army Faction, Germany in Autumn and Death Game". In *Giving Ground: The Politics of Proximity*, edited by Joan Copjec and Michael Sorkin, 267-302. London: Verso, 1999.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. *Fassbinder's Germany: History, Identity, Subject*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. *New German Cinema: A History*. London: BFI, 1989.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "The Pathos of Failure: American Films in the 70s: Notes on the Unmotivated Hero". In *The Last Great American Picture Show: New Hollywood Cinema in the 1970s*, edited

- by Thomas Elsaesser, Alexander Horvath and Noel King, 279-292. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2004.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. *The Persistence of Hollywood*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Elsaesser, Thomas, Alexander Horvath and Noel King, eds. *The Last Great American Picture Show: New Hollywood Cinema in the 1970s*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2004.
- Elsaesser, Thomas, and Adam Barker, eds. *Early Cinema: Space-Frame-Narrative*. London: BFI, 1990.
- Enticknap, Leo. "Postwar Urban Redevelopment, the British Film Industry, and The Way We Live". In *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*, edited by Mark Shiell and Tony Fitzmaurice, 233-243. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Epstein, Jason. "The Last Days of New York". In *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities: Essays on the Political Economy of Urban America with Special Reference to New York*, edited by Roger E. Alcalá and David Mermelstein, 59-76. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.
- Esser, Josef, and Joachim Hirsch. "The Crisis of Fordism and the Dimensions of a 'Post-Fordist' Regional and Urban Structure". In *Post-Fordism: A Reader*, edited by Ash Amin. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.
- Esslin, Martin. *The Theatre of the Absurd*. London and New York: Penguin, 1991.
- Evenson, Norma. *Paris: A Century of Change: 1878-1978*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Everett, Wendy, and Axel Goodbody, eds. *Revisiting Space: Space and Place in European Cinema*. Oxford and New York: Peter Lang, 2005.
- Fainstein, Susan, Ian Gordon and Michael Harloe. *Divided Cities: New York and London in the Contemporary World*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Fainstein, Susan S., Norman I. Fainstein and P. Jefferson Armistead. "San Francisco: Urban Transformation and the Local State". In *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment*, edited by Susan S. Fainstein, Norman I. Fainstein, Richard Child Hill, Dennis R. Judd and Michael Peter Smith, 202-244. New York and London: Longman, 1986.
- Fainstein, Susan S., Norman I. Fainstein, Richard Child Hill, Dennis R. Judd and Michael Peter Smith, eds. *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment*. New York and London: Longman, 1986.
- Faldini, Franca, and Goffredo Fofi. *Il Cinema Italiano d'oggi, 1970-1984: raccontato dai suoi protagonisti*. Milan: A. Mondadori, 1984.
- Ferguson, Niall, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela and Daniel J. Sargent, eds. *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*. Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Fermigier, André. *La Bataille De Paris: Des Halles à la Pyramide – Chroniques D'Urbanisme*. Paris: Gallimard, 1991.
- Ferrara, Serena. *Steddicam: Techniques and Aesthetics*. Oxford: Focal Press, 2000.
- Fink, Carol, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, eds. *1968: The World Transformed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Fitch, Robert. *The Assassination of New York*. London and New York: Verso, 1993.
- Florida, Richard. *Cities and the Creative Class*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Foot, John. *Milan since the Miracle: City, Culture, Identity*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.
- Forbes, Jill. *The Cinema in France after the New Wave*. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- Foster, Hal, ed. *Vision and Visuality*. Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. London: Penguin, 1991.

- Frampton, Kenneth. *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.
- Frantz, Douglas. *From the Ground Up: The Business of Building in the Age of Money*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Friedberg, Anne. *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993.
- Friedman, Milton, with the assistance of Rose D. Friedman. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Frisby, David. *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985.
- Georgakas, Dan, and Lenny Rubinstein, eds. *The Cineaste Interviews: On the Art and Politics of the Cinema*. Chicago: Lake View Press, 1983.
- Georgakas, Dan, and Marvin Surkin. *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying. A Study in Urban Revolution*. London: Redwords, 1998.
- Ghirardo, Diane. *Architecture after Modernism*. London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2008.
- Ginsborg, Paul. *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988*. London: Penguin, 1990.
- Glendinning, Miles, and Stefan Muthesius. *Tower Block: Modern Public Housing in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Godard, Jean-Luc. "Pourquoi Tout va Bien: Entretien avec Jean-Luc Godard et Jean-Pierre Gorin". In *Godard Par Godard*, edited by Alain Bergala, 367-375. Paris: Cahiers du Cinema, 1998.
- Goldhagen, Sarah Williams and Réjean Legault, eds. *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2000.
- Goodwin, Michael, and Naomi Wise. *On the Edge: The Life and Times of Francis Coppola*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1989.
- Gosling, David, with Maria Cristina Gosling. *The Evolution of American Urban Design: A Chronological Anthology*. Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2003.
- Gosse, Van, and Richard Moser, eds. *The World the Sixties Made: Politics and Culture in Recent America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003.
- Goux, Jean-Joseph. *The Coiners of Language*. Translated by Jennifer Curtiss-Gage. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Gowan, James, ed. *A Continuing Experiment: Learning and Teaching at the Architectural Association*. London: Architectural Press, 1975.
- Greenberg, Miriam. *Branding New York: How a City in Crisis Was Sold to the World*. New York and London: Routledge, 2008.
- Grenier, Catherine, ed. *Los Angeles 1955-1985: Naissance d'une Capitale Artistique*. Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2006.
- Guerrero, Ed. *The African American Image in Film*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *Legitimation Crisis*. Translated by Thomas McCarthy. London: Heinemann Educational, 1976.
- Hajdu, Joe. "Postwar Development and Planning of West German Cities". In *Urban and Rural Change in West Germany*, edited by Trevor Wild. London: Croom Helm, 1983.
- Hake, Sabine. *German National Cinema*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Hall, Peter. *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Innovation, and Urban Order*. London: Phoenix, 1999.

- Hall, Peter. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Hall, Sheldon, and Steve Neale. *Epics, Spectacles and Blockbusters: A Hollywood History*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2010.
- Halpern, Kenneth. *Downtown USA: Urban Design in Nine American Cities*. New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1978.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. London: Penguin, 2005.
- Hartman, Chester. *Yerba Buena: Land Grab and Community Resistance in San Francisco*. San Francisco, CA: Glide Publications, 1974.
- Hartman, Chester, with Sarah Carnochan. *City for Sale: The Transformation of San Francisco*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Harvey, David. *The Limits to Capital*. London and New York: Verso, 2006.
- Harvey, David. *Paris: Capital of Modernity*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.
- Harvey, David. *Social Justice and the City*. London: Edward Arnold, 1973.
- Harvey, David. *The Urban Experience*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Hayek, F.A. *The Road to Serfdom*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Hays, K. Michael, ed. *Architecture Theory since 1968*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2000.
- Hayward, Susan. *French National Cinema*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Helms, Hans G., and Jörn Janssen. *Kapitalistischer Städtebau*. Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1971.
- Higson, Andrew, ed. *Dissolving Views: Key Writings on British Cinema*. London and New York: Cassell, 1996.
- Hill, Richard Child. "Crisis in the Motor City: The Politics of Economic Development in Detroit". In *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment*, edited by Susan S. Fainstein, Norman I. Fainstein, Richard Child Hill, Dennis R. Judd and Michael Peter Smith, 80-125. New York and London: Longman, 1986.
- Hitchcock, William I. *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent 1945-2002*. London: Profile, 2004.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. London: Abacus, 1994.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Revolutionaries*. London: Abacus, 2007.
- Hoestra, Titia Rixt. *Building versus Bildung: Manfredo Tafuri and the Construction of a Historical Discipline* PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen 2005.
- Hutton, Thomas A. *The New Economy of the Inner City: Restructuring, Regeneration, and Dislocation in the Twenty-First Century Metropolis*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Izod, John. *Hollywood and the Box Office, 1895-1986*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Press, 1988.
- Jackson, Kevin, ed. *Schrader on Schrader and Other Writings*. London: Faber and Faber, 2004.
- Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. London: Penguin, 1972.

- James, David E. *The Most Typical Avant-Garde: History and Geography of Minor Cinemas in Los Angeles*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.
- Jameson, Fredric. "Cognitive Mapping". In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern, 1983-1998*. London and New York: Verso, 1998.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System*. London: BFI, 1995.
- Jameson, Fredric. *Jameson on Jameson: Conversations on Cultural Marxism*. Edited by Ian Buchanan. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1992.
- Jameson, Fredric. *Signatures of the Visible*. New York and London: Routledge, 2007.
- Jameson, Fredric. "Spatial Systems in North by Northwest". In *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Lacan, but Were Afraid to Ask*, edited by Slavoj Žižek, 47-72. London and New York: Verso, 2002.
- Jay, Martin. "Scopic Regimes of Modernity". In *Vision and Visuality*, edited by Hal Foster. Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988.
- Jencks, Charles. *Critical Modernism: Where Is Post-modernism Going?* Chichester: John Wiley, 2007.
- Jencks, Charles. *Heteropolis: Los Angeles, the Riots, and the Strange Beauty of Hetero-Architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 1993.
- Jencks, Charles. *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 1987.
- Jencks, Charles. *The New Moderns: From Late to Neo-modernism*. London: Academy Editions, 1990.
- Jones, Colin. *Paris: Biography of a City*. London: Allen Lane, 2004.
- Jousse, Thierry, and Thierry Paquot, eds. *La Ville au Cinéma*. Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma, 2005.
- Kaletsky, Anatole. *Capitalism 4.0: The Birth of a New Economy*. London: Bloomsbury, 2010.
- Karapin, Roger. *Protest Politics in Germany: Movements on the Left and the Right since the 1960s*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.
- Katsiaficas, George. *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1987.
- Kaufman, Hank, and Gene Lerner. *Hollywood sul Tevere*. Milan: Sperling & Kupfer Editori, 1982.
- Keil, Roger, and Klaus Ronneberger. "The Globalisation of Frankfurt am Main: Core, Periphery, and Social Conflict". In *The Global Cities Reader*, edited by Neil Brenner and Roger Keil, 288-295. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Kettenacker, Lothar. *Germany since 1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- King, Anthony D., ed. *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st Century*. Basingstone: Macmillan, 1995.
- King, Geoff. *New Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Kleihues, Josef Paul, Jan Gerd Becker-Schwering and Paul Kahlfeldt. *Bauen in Berlin 1900-2000*. Berlin: Nicolai, 2000.
- Kluge, Alexander, and Oskar Negt. *Public Sphere and Experience: Towards an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*. Translated by Peter Labanyi, Jamie Owen Daniel and Assenka Oksiloff. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Knight, Julia. *New German Cinema: Images of a Generation*. London: Wallflower, 2004.
- Kolker, Robert Philip. *A Cinema of Loneliness: Penn, Kubrick, Coppola, Scorsese, Altman*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

- Kostantarakos, Myrto, ed. *Spaces in European Cinema*. Exeter: Intellect, 2000.
- Kovács, András Bálint. *Screening Modernism: European Art Cinema, 1950-1980*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Kracauer, Siegfried. *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*. Translated, edited and with an introduction by Thomas Y. Levin. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Kracauer, Siegfried. *Theory of Film*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Krause, Linda, and Patrice Petro, eds. *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture and Urbanism in a Digital Age*. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Ladd, Brian. *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Lang, Peter, and William Menking. *Superstudio: Life without Objects*. Milano: Skira, 2003.
- Langford, Barry. *Post-Classical Hollywood: Film Industry, Style and Ideology since 1945*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.
- Lanzoni, Rémi Fournier. *French Cinema: From Its Beginnings to the Present*. London: Continuum, 2002.
- Lash, Scott, and John Urry. *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage, 1994.
- Laska, Shirley Bradway, and Daphne Spain, eds. *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1980.
- Leach, Neil, ed. *The Hieroglyphics of Space: Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Lécuyer, Christophe. *Making Silicon Valley: Innovation and the Growth of High Tech, 1930-1970*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2007.
- Ledeer, Michael A. *Italy in Crisis*. Washington DC: Washington Papers, 1977.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Explosion: Marxism and the French Revolution*. Translated by Alfred Ehrenfeld. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1969.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Key Writings*. Edited by Stuart Elden, Elizabeth Lebas and Eleonore Kofman. New York and London: Continuum, 2003.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Urban Revolution*. Translated by Robert Bonono. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- Lenger, Friedrich, ed. *Towards an Urban Nation: Germany since 1780*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002.
- Lev, Peter. *American Films of the 70s: Conflicting Visions*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000.
- Lev, Peter. *The Euro-American Cinema*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.
- Levy, Paul R., and Roman A. Cybriwsky. "The Hidden Dimensions of Culture and Class: Philadelphia". In *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation*, edited by Shirley Bradway Laska and Daphne Spain, 138-155. New York: Pergamon Press, 1980.
- Lewis, Jon. "If History Has Taught Us Anything ... Francis Coppola, Paramount Studios, and *The Godfather Parts I, II and III*". In *Francis Ford Coppola's The Godfather Trilogy*, edited by Nick Browne, 23-56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Lewis, Jon, ed. *The New American Cinema*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Light, Jennifer S. *From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Lobsinger, Mary Louise. "Architectural Utopias and *La Nuova Dimensione*: Turin in the 1960s". In *Italian Cityscapes: Culture and Urban Change in Contemporary Italy*, edited by Robert Lumley and John Foot. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004.

- Logan, John R., and Harvey L. Molotch. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987.
- Lotringer, Sylvère, and Christian Marazzi, eds. *Autonomia: Post-Political Politics*. Los Angeles: Semiotexte, 2007.
- Lucia, Cynthia, Roy Grundmann and Art Simon, eds. *The Wiley-Blackwell History of American Film*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Lumet, Sidney. *Making Movies*. London: Bloomsbury, 1995.
- Lumley, Robert. *States of Emergency: Cultures of Revolt in Italy from 1968 to 1978*. London: Verso, 1990.
- Lumley, Robert, and John Foot, eds. *Italian Cityscapes: Culture and Urban Change in Contemporary Italy*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004.
- Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960.
- Lynch, Kevin. *Managing the Sense of a Region*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980.
- MacCabe, Colin. *Godard: A Portrait of the Artist at 70*. London: Bloomsbury, 2003.
- MacPhee, Graham. *Architecture of the Visible*. London: Continuum, 2002.
- Magdoff, Harry, and Paul M. Sweezy. *The Deepening Crisis of U.S. Capitalism*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1981.
- Magdoff, Harry, and Paul M. Sweezy. *The End of Prosperity: The American Economy in the 1970s*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1977.
- Malle, Louis. *Malle on Malle*. Edited by Philip French. London: Faber and Faber, 1993.
- Maltby, Richard. *Hollywood Cinema*. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
- Marcuse, Herbert. *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Marie, Laurent. "Jacques Tati's *Playtime* as New Babylon". In *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*, edited by Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice, 254-269. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Martin, Reinhold. *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.
- Massood, Paula. *Black City Cinema: African-American Experiences in Film*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003.
- Mayer, Margit. "Restructuring and Popular Opposition in West German Cities". In *The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics*, edited by Michael Peter Smith and Joe R. Feagin. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- McCoy, Esther. *Case Study Houses, 1945-1962*. Los Angeles, CA: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1977.
- McDougal, Dennis. *The Last Mogul: Lew Wasserman, MCA, and the Hidden History of Hollywood*. New York: Crown, 1998.
- Meadows, Donella H., Dennis L. Meadows, Jørgen Randers and William W. Behrens III. *The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*. London: Pan Books, 1974.
- Merritt, Richard L. "The Lost Center: Dispersing Berlin's Capital City Functions, 1945-1978". In *Western European Cities in Crisis*, edited by Michael C. Romanos, 185-202. Lexington MA: Lexington Books, 1979.
- Michaels, Walter Benn. *The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism: American Literature at the Turn of the Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Miller, Michael James. *The Representation of Place: Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003.

- Miller, Stephen Paul. *The Seventies Now: Culture as Surveillance*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Mitscherlich, Alexander. *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte: Anstiftung zum Umfrieden*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971.
- Mollenkopf, John H. *The Contested City*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Mollenkopf, John H., and Manuel Castells, eds. *Dual City: Restructuring New York*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991.
- Moretti, Franco. *The Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900*. London: Verso, 1999.
- Mulvey, Laura. *Death 24 x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image*. London: Reaktion, 2006.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema". In *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology: A Film Theory Reader*, edited by Philip Rosen, 198-209. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Muthesius, Stefan. *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Naremore, James. *On Kubrick*. London: British Film Institute, 2007.
- Neale, Steve, and Murray Smith, eds. *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Negri, Antonio. *Books for Burning: Between Civil War and Democracy in 1970s Italy*. Edited by Timothy S. Murphy and translated by Arianna Bove, Ed Emery and Francesca Novello. London and New York: Verso, 2005.
- Negri, Antonio. *Reflections on Empire*. Translated by Ed Emery. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008.
- Nelson, Cary, and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- New York City Planning Commission. *Plan for New York City, 1969: A Proposal*. New York, 1969.
- Newman, Oscar. *Defensible Space: People and Design in the Violent City*. New York: Macmillan, 1972.
- Nichols, Bill, ed. *Movies and Methods: An Anthology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Noteboom, Cees. "Autopia". In *Looking for Los Angeles: Architecture, Film, Photography, and the Urban Landscape*, edited by Charles G. Salas and Michael S. Roth. Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2001.
- Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey. *The Companion to Italian Cinema*. London: BFI, 1996.
- Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey, and Stephen Ricci, eds. *Hollywood and Europe: Economics, Culture, National Identity, 1945-1995*. London: BFI, 1998.
- Nystrom, Derek. *Hard Hats, Rednecks, and Macho Men: Class in 1970s American Cinema*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Nystrom, Derek. "The New Hollywood". In *The Wiley-Blackwell History of American Film*, edited by Cynthia Lucia, Roy Grundmann and Art Simon, vol. 3, 409-434. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Orbanes, Philip E. *Monopoly: The World's Most Famous Game – And How It Got That Way*. Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2006.
- Orr, John. *Cinema and Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.
- Osman, Suleiman. "The Decade of the Neighborhood". In *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s*, edited by Bruce J. Schulman and Julian E. Zelizer, 106-127. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press 2008.
- Osman, Suleiman. *The Invention of Brownstone Brooklyn: Gentrification and the Search for Authenticity in Postwar New York*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

- Pellow, David N., and Lisa S. Park. *Silicon Valley of Dreams: Environmental Injustice, Immigrant Workers, and the High-Tech Global Economy*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2002.
- Perry, David C., and Alfred J. Watkins, eds. *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1977.
- Phillips, Gene D., and Rodney Hill, eds. *Francis Ford Coppola: Interviews*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004.
- Piore, Michael J., and Charles F. Sabel. *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Plagens, Peter. *Sunshine Muse: Art on the West Coast, 1945-1970*. New York: Praeger, 1974.
- Pomerance, Murray, ed. *City That Never Sleeps: New York and the Filmic Imagination*. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2007.
- Porter, Roy. *London: A Social History*. London: Penguin, 2000.
- Raban, Jonathan. *Soft City*. London: Flamingo, 1984.
- Ray, Robert B. *A Certain Tendency of the Hollywood Cinema, 1930-1980*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Rentschler, Eric, ed. *West German Filmmakers on Film: Visions and Voices*. New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1988.
- Restivo, Angelo. *The Cinema of Economic Miracles: Visuality and Modernization in the Italian Art Film*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Richards, Jeffrey. "Frank Capra and the Cinema of Populism". In *Movies and Methods: An Anthology*, edited by Bill Nichols, 65-77. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Rogier, Francesca. "The Monumentality of Rhetoric: The Will to Rebuild in Postwar Berlin". In *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, edited by Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, 165-189. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2000.
- Romanos, Michael C. *Western European Cities in Crisis*. Lexington MA: Lexington Books, 1979.
- Rosenberg, Samuel. *American Economic Development since 1945: Growth, Decline and Rejuvenation*. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Ross, Kristin. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1995.
- Ross, Kristin. *May '68 and Its Afterlives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Rossi, Aldo. *The Architecture of the City*. Translated by Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman. New York: Oppositions, 1984.
- Rotella, Carlo. *Good with Their Hands: Boxers, Bluesmen, and Other Characters from the Rust Belt*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.
- Ruberto, Lauro E., and Kristi M. Wilson, eds. *Italian Neorealism and Global Cinema*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2007.
- Ryan, Michael, and Douglas Kellner. *Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Salas, Charles G., and Michael S. Roth. *Looking for Los Angeles: Architecture, Film, Photography, and the Urban Landscape*. Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2001.
- Sale, Kirkpatrick. *Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment*. New York: Random House, 1975.
- Salt, Barry. *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis*. London: Starword, 1992.
- Sanders, James. *Celluloid Skyline: New York and the Movies*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

- Sanders, James, ed. *Scenes from the City: Filmmaking in New York, 1966-2006*. New York: Rizzoli, 2006.
- Sargeant, Amy. *British Cinema: A Critical and Interpretive History*. London: BFI, 2005.
- Sartre, Jean Paul. *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*. Translated by Hazel E. Barnes. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Savitch, H.V. *Post-Industrial Cities: Politics and Planning in New York, Paris and London*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Schaefer, Andrew. "The Movement Inside: BBS Films and the Cultural Left in the New Hollywood". In *The World the Sixties Made: Politics and Culture in Recent America*, edited by Van Gosse and Richard Moser, 114-137. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003.
- Schatz, Thomas. *Old Hollywood/New Hollywood: Ritual, Art and Industry*. Epping: Bowker, 1983.
- Schildt, Axel. "Urban Reconstruction and Urban Development in Germany after 1945". In *Towards an Urban Nation: Germany since 1780*, edited by Friedrich Lenger. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002.
- Schulman, Bruce J., and Julian E. Zelizer. *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press 2008.
- Schumacher, Michael. *Francis Ford Coppola: A Filmmaker's Life*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 1999.
- Schumacher, Patrik, and Christian Rogner. "After Ford". In *Stalking Detroit*, edited by Georgia Daskalakis, Charles Waldheim and Jason Young, 48-56. Barcelona: ACTAR, 2001.
- Schumpeter, Joseph. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1976.
- Scott, Allen J. *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Image-Producing Industries*. London: Sage, 2000.
- Scott, Allen J. *New Industrial Spaces: Flexible Production Organization and Regional Development in North America and Western Europe*. London: Pion, 1988.
- Scott, Allen J. *On Hollywood: The Place, the Industry*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Scott, Allen J. *Social Economy of the Metropolis: Cognitive-Cultural Capitalism and the Global Resurgence of Cities*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Scott, Allen J., and Edward W. Soja. *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996.
- Scott, Allen J., and Michael Storper, *Production, Work, Territory: The Geographical Anatomy of Industrial Capitalism*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1986.
- Scully, Vincent. *Modern Architecture and Other Essays*. Selected and with an introduction by Neil Levine. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Seidel, Michael. "Gulliver's Travels and the Contracts of Fiction". In *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth Century Novel*, edited by John Richetti, 72-89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Sergi, Gianluca. *The Dolby Era: Film Sound in Contemporary Hollywood*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Shail, Robert, ed. *Seventies British Cinema*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan/BFI, 2008.
- Shefter, Martin. *Political Crisis/Fiscal Crisis: The Collapse and Revival of New York City*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Shefter, Martin, ed. *Capital of the American Century: The National and International Influence of New York City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993.

- Shell, Marc. *The Economy of Literature*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Shiel, Mark. *Hollywood Cinema and the Real Los Angeles*. London: Reaktion, 2012.
- Shiel, Mark. *Italian Neorealism: Rebuilding the Cinematic City*. London: Wallflower, 2006.
- Shiel, Mark. "A Nostalgia for Modernity: New York, Los Angeles, and American Cinema in the 1970s". In *Screening the City*, edited by Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice, 160-179. London: Verso, 2003.
- Shiel, Mark, and Tony Fitzmaurice, eds. *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001.
- Shiel, Mark, and Tony Fitzmaurice, eds. *Screening the City*. London and New York: Verso, 2003.
- Shields, Rob. "A Guide to Urban Representation and What to Do About It: Alternative Traditions of Urban Theory". In *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st Century*, edited by Anthony D. King, 227-252. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.
- Shonfield, Katherine. *Walls Have Feelings: Architecture, Film and the City*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Simon, Bryant. *Boardwalk of Dreams: Atlantic City and the Fate of Urban America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Simon, Bryant. "Segregated Fantasies: Race, Public Space, and the Life and Death of the Movie Business in Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1945-2000". In *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization*, edited by Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott, 64-87. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Singer, Loren. *The Parallax View*. London: New English Library, 1972.
- Smith, Alison. *French Cinema in the 1970s: The Echoes of May*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Smith, Michael Peter, and Joe R. Feagin, eds. *The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- Smith, Murray. "Theses on the Philosophy of Hollywood History". In *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema*, edited by Steve Neale and Murray Smith, 3-20. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Smith, Neil. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Soja, Edward W. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London and New York: Verso, 2003.
- Soja, Edward W. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- Soja, Edward W., and Allen J. Scott, eds. *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996.
- Solomon, Aubrey. *Twentieth Century Fox: A Corporate and Financial History*. Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1988.
- Sorkin, Michael. *Exquisite Corpse: Writing on Buildings*. London and New York: Verso, 1991.
- Sorlin, Pierre. *European Cinemas, European Societies, 1939-1990*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Stam, Robert. *Subversive Pleasures: Bakhtin, Cultural Criticism, and Film*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Starr, Roger. *The Rise and Fall of New York City*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.
- Stein, Judith. *Pivotal Decade: How the United States Traded Factories for Finance in the Seventies*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010.

- Stern, Robert A.M., Thomas Mellins and David Fishman. *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995.
- Sternlieb, George, and James W. Hughes, *The Atlantic City Gamble*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Strange, Susan. *Casino Capitalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Stratton, Jim. *Pioneering in the Urban Wilderness*. New York: Urizen Books, 1977.
- Street, Sarah. *British National Cinema*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Sugrue, Thomas J. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Sutcliffe, Anthony. *Paris: An Architectural History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Sutherland, John. *Best Sellers: Popular Fiction of the 1970s*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Swann, Paul. "From Workshop to Backlot: The Greater Philadelphia Film Office". In *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*, edited by Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice, 88-98. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Tabb, William K. *The Long Default: New York City and the Urban Fiscal Crisis*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1982.
- Tabb, William K., and Larry Sawers, eds. *Marxism and the Metropolis: New Perspectives in Urban Political Economy*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Tafuri, Manfredo. *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*. Translated by Barbara Luigia La Penta. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1976.
- Tafuri, Manfredo. *History of Italian Architecture, 1944-1985*. Translated by Jessica Levine. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989.
- Tafuri, Manfredo. "Towards a Critique of Architectural Ideology". Translated by Stephen Sartarelli. In *Architecture Theory since 1968*, edited by K. Michael Hays, 2-35. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2000.
- Tarrow, Sidney G. *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.
- Taylor, Ronald. *Berlin and Its Culture: A Historical Portrait*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Thompson, David, ed. *Altman on Altman*. London: Faber, 2006.
- Tschumi, Bernard. *Architecture and Disjunction*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1996.
- Tschumi, Bernard. "The Environmental Trigger". In *A Continuing Experiment: Learning and Teaching at the Architectural Association*, edited by James Gowan, 89-99. London: Architectural Press, 1975.
- Turner, Alwyn W. *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*. London: Aurum Press, 2008.
- Varon, Jeremy. *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2004.
- Venturi, Robert. *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002.
- Venturi, Robert, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour. *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977.
- Vidler, Anthony. "Photourbanism: Planning the City from Above and from Below". In *A Companion to the City*, edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 35-45. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
- Voogd, Joop. *Cinema and the State: Report of the Committee, and Documents Relating to the Lisbon Symposium of 14-16 June, 1978*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1979.

- Walker, Alexander. *National Heroes: British Cinema in the Seventies and Eighties*. London: Orion, 2005.
- Walker, John. *The Once and Future Film*. London: Methuen, 1985.
- Ward, Stephen V. *Planning and Urban Change*. London: Sage, 2004.
- Ward, Stephen V. *Planning the Twentieth-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2002.
- Ward, Stephen V., and John R. Gold. "Of Plans and Planners: Documentary Film and the Challenge of the Urban Future". In *The Cinematic City*, edited by David B. Clarke, 59-82. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Wark, Mackenzie. *Virtual Geography*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Warner, Sam Bass Jr. *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City*. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.
- Webber, Andrew. *Berlin in the Twentieth Century: A Cultural Topography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Weinstein, Bernard L. and Robert E. Firestone. *Regional Growth and Decline in the United States: The Rise of the Sunbelt and the Decline of the Northeast*. New York: Praeger, 1978.
- Weinstein, Richard. "The First American City". In *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, edited by Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja. Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press, 1996.
- Wild, Trevor, ed. *Urban and Rural Change in West Germany*. London: Croom Helm, 1983.
- Williams, Alan. *Republic of Images: A History of French Filmmaking*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Wilson, Emma, and Andrew Webber, eds. *Cities in Transition: The Moving Image and the Metropolis*. London: Wallflower, 2008.
- Wojick, Pamela Robertson. *The Apartment Plot: Urban Living in American Film and Popular Culture, 1945 to 1975*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Wollen, Peter. *Paris Hollywood: Writings on Film*. London: Verso, 2002.
- Wood, Robin. *Hollywood from Vietnam to Reagan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London: Verso, 1989.
- Zukin, Sharon. "The City as a Landscape of Power". In *Global Finance and Urban Living: A Study of Metropolitan Change*, edited by Leslie Budd and Sam Whimster. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Zukin, Sharon. *The Cultures of Cities*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995.
- Zukin, Sharon. *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.
- Zukin, Sharon. "Space and Symbols in an Age of Decline". In *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st Century*, edited by Anthony D. King, 43-59. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.

Periodicals

- Allman, T.D. "The Urban Crisis Leaves Town". *Harper's* (December 1978): 41-56.
- American Cinematographer*. "Photographing The French Connection". Vol. 53, no. 2 (February 1972): 158-161, 184-185, 211, 213-219.
- Antonioni, Michelangelo. "Purest and Most Brutal". *Los Angeles Times*, July 27 1969, E1.

- Architectural Design*. Special Issue on Les Halles. Nos. 9-10, 1980.
- Architectural Review*. "The New Universities" (Special Edition). Vol. 147 (April 1970).
- Arneel, Gene. "Radical Knife on Fox Costs". *Variety*, August 5 1970, 3.
- Arnold, Gary. "The Passenger: Lost in the Desert". *Washington Post*, May 16 1975, B9.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. "Towards a Theory of Capitalist Crisis". *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 111 (September-October 1978): 3-24.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. "The Winding Paths of Capital: Interview by David Harvey". *New Left Review*, no. 56 (March/April 2009): 61-94.
- Auster, Al, and Leonard Quart, "The Working Class Goes to Hollywood". *Cineaste*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Fall 1978): 4-13.
- Back Stage*, "LA's Yorty Calls for Action in Hollywood's Film Industry Letdown". December 25 1970.
- Back Stage*, "San Francisco Manual for Filmmakers". July 5 1974, 24.
- Back Stage*, "Yorty Continues Plugging L.A. as World Film Capital". March 31 1967, 13.
- Backman, René. "Les Banlieues de la Peur". *Nouvel Observateur*, June 18 1973, 38-41.
- Bailey, John. "Photographing 1980's Best Picture: 'Ordinary People'". *American Cinematographer*, vol. 62, no. 6 (June 1981): 560-563, 576-578, 581-583, 619-620.
- Banham, Reyner, Peter Hall, Cedric Price and Paul Barker. "Non-Plan: An Experiment in Freedom". *New Society*, 20 March 1969, 435-443.
- Banham, Reyner. "Somebody over There Likes Us: A London-L.A. Love Affair". *Los Angeles Times*, June 6 1971, W9.
- Barbieri, Laura. "The Cinema as Emotion: A Talk with Bernardo Bertolucci". www.eni.it/vintage/sito_cinema/registi_eng/interv_bertolucci_eng.htm.
- Bathelt, Harald, and Armin Graf. "Internal and External Dynamics of the Munich Film and TV Industry Cluster, and Limitations to Future Growth". *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 40, no. 8 (2008): 1944-1965.
- Beardwood, Roger. "The Southern Roots of Urban Crisis". *Fortune* (August 1968): 80-88.
- Beauregard, Robert A. "City Profile: Philadelphia". *Cities*, no. 6 (November 1989): 300-308.
- Belton, John. "CinemaScope and Historical Methodology". *Cinema Journal*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Autumn 1988): 22-44.
- Belton, John. "The Bionic Eye: Zoom Esthetics". *Cineaste*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Winter 1981): 20-27.
- Bierman, Bryan. "Q&A: Steadicam Inventor and *Rocky* Cinematographer Garrett Brown". <http://citypaper.net/article.php?Q-A-Steadicam-inventor-and-Rocky-cinematographer-Garrett-Brown-12242>.
- Blake, Peter. "The Town That Lindsay Built". *New York*, December 10 1973, 70-73.
- Bordwell, David. "Intensified Continuity: Visual Style in Contemporary American Film". *Film Quarterly*, vol. 55, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 16-28.
- Box Office*, "Columbia Moves to Burbank Building". August 28 1972, 4.
- Branzi, Andrea. *Casabella*, vol. 364 (April 1972): 37.
- Breckenfeld, Gurney. "Business Loves the Sunbelt". *Fortune* (June 1977): 133-146.
- Brenner, Neil. "Building 'Euro Regions': Locational Politics and the Political Geography of Neoliberalism in Post-Unification Germany". *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 7, no. 4 (2000): 319-345.
- Bruno, Giuliana. "Ramble City: Postmodernism and *Blade Runner*". *October*, vol. 41 (Summer 1987): 61-74.
- Brunsdon, Charlotte, and Jane Clarke. "A Subject for the Seventies". *Screen*, vol. 23, nos. 3-4 (September/October 1982): 20-29.

- Business Week*, "Arab Banks Grow: A Tool to Control the World's Capital". October 6 1980.
- Camponogara, Claudio. "Metanopoli. The Town of Technicians". *Rassegna*, vol. 19, no. 70 (1997): 54-57.
- Canby, Vincent. "Atlantic City – Louis Malle Ghost Story". *New York Times*, April 3 1981.
- Canby, Vincent. "'A Clockwork Orange' Dazzles the Senses and Mind". *New York Times*, December 20 1971, 44.
- Canby, Vincent. "Cold, Bright 'Katharina Blum' Is at Festival". *New York Times*, 20 December 1975, 41.
- Canby, Vincent. "Film: Desperate Couple". *New York Times*, 23 September 1971, 74.
- Canby, Vincent. "Labor Cost Comparisons Irk Film Unions Here". *New York Times*, July 27 1966, 44.
- Canby, Vincent. "Lindsay Proposes Movie Cost Cuts". *New York Times*, January 25 1967, 36.
- Canby, Vincent. "Mayor Renews Filming Pledge". *New York Times*, May 17 1966, 53.
- Canby, Vincent. "New York's Woes Are Good Box Office". *New York Times*, November 10 1974, 141.
- Canby, Vincent. "Real Events of 68 Seen in *Medium Cool*". *New York Times*, August 28 1969, 46.
- Canby, Vincent. "12 Unions Here Agree to Relax Rules for Local Film Production". *New York Times*, March 15 1967, 53.
- Carmody, Deidre. "De Laurentiis to Shift His Base Here". *New York Times*, July 25 1973, 36.
- Chagollan, Steve. "Bay Area a Respite from the Gray Suits". *Variety*, August 6 2001, 44, 48, 50, 51.
- Chicago Daily Defender*, "Detroit Riot Passes Watts as History's Most Damaging". July 27 1967.
- Christopher Drew, "Moviemakers Bring Southerners Money, Jobs and Discomfort". *Wall Street Journal*, August 27 1976, 1.
- Christopherson, Susan, and Michael Storper. "City as Studio, the World as Back Lot: The Impact of Vertical Disintegration on the Location of the Motion Picture Industry". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 4 (1986): 305-320.
- Christopherson, Susan, and Michael Storper. "The Effects of Flexible Specialisation on Industrial Politics and the Labor Market: The Motion Picture Industry". *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol. 24, no. 3 (April 1989): 331-347.
- Churchill, Ted. "Steadicam: An Operator's Perspective". *American Cinematographer*, vol. 64, no. 4 (April 1983): 36-39, 113-120.
- Ciment, Michel. "Entretien avec Alan J. Pakula". *Positif* (March 1972): 32-38.
- Cineaste*, "Blue Collar: Detroit Moviegoers Have Their Say". Vol. 8, no. 4 (Summer 1978): 28-31.
- Claiborne, William. "Day of Reckoning: Largess Haunts New York City". *Washington Post*, May 25 1975, 1.
- Clarity, James F. "In Philadelphia, Pride in the City Grows". *New York Times*, July 4 1977, 32.
- Clarity, James F. "People of Atlantic City Wonder What the Wheel's Turn Will Bring". *New York Times*, May 19 1978, New Jersey Section, 18.
- Cohen, Jerry. "Plan Taking Shape to Rescue Hollywood". *Los Angeles Times*, June 19 1977, C1.
- Comolli, Jean-Louis, and Jean Narboni. "Cinema/Ideology/Criticism", translated by Susan Bennett. *Screen*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1971): 27-31.
- Connor, J.D. "The Projections: Allegories of Industrial Crisis in Neoclassical Hollywood". *Representations*, no. 71 (Summer 2000): 48-76.
- Conrad, Christine. "Moviemaking in New York City" (Letter to Editor), *New York Times*, Sunday magazine, September 19 1971, 70.
- Corrigan, Timothy. "The Temporality of Place, Postmodernism and the Fassbinder Texts". *New German Critique*, no. 63 (Autumn 1994): 138-154.
- Covino, Michael. "A Worldwide Homesickness". *Film Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 2 (Winter 1977-1978): 9-19.

- Crabe, James. "The Photography of 'Rocky'". *American Cinematographer*, vol. 58, no. 2 (February 1977): 184-185, 205, 221.
- Darnton, John. "Theater of the Observed". *New York Times*, September 30 1973.
- Davis, L.J. "Hostages for the Chase Manhattan". *Penthouse*, vol. 12, issue 4, no. 136 (December 1980): 76-82, 128, 152-154, 174.
- Davis, Mike. "Urban Renaissance and the Spirit of Postmodernism". *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 151 (May/June 1985): 106-113.
- Dawson, Jan. "A Labyrinth of Subsidies: The Origins of the New German Cinema". *Sight and Sound*, vol. 50, no. 1 (Winter 1980/1981).
- Dawson, Jan. "Themroc". *Sight and Sound*, vol. 42, no. 3 (Summer 1973): 147.
- Day, Gail. "Strategies in the Metropolitan Merz: Manfredo Tafuri and Italian Workerism". *Radical Philosophy*, no. 133 (September/October 2005): 26-38.
- Dear, Michael J. "Postmodernism and Planning". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 4 (1986): 367-384.
- Der Spiegel*. "Die Guerilla kämpft aus dem Hinterhalt". May 29 1972.
- Der Spiegel*. "Europa Center: City in der City". April 7 1965.
- Der Spiegel*. "Komissar Computer". June 28 1971.
- Der Spiegel*. "'Spontis' und 'Chinesen' lenkten die Schlacht". March 4 1974, 26-29.
- Die Zeit*. "Das Elend der Städte". 14 January 1972.
- DiGiulio, Ed. "Steadicam-35: A Revolutionary New Concept in Camera Stabilisation". *American Cinematographer*, vol. 57, no. 7 (July 4 1976): 786-787, 802.
- Dimendberg, Edward. "The Kinetic Icon: Reyner Banham on Los Angeles as Mobile Metropolis". *Urban History*, vol. 33, no.1 (2006): 106-125.
- Dobbs, G. Michael. "Inside Troma Films: Thirty Years in Low Budget Movies". *The Journal Bravo*, May 29 2003, <http://www.troma.com/tromapress/journalbravo/2003-05-29/index.html>.
- Doordan, Dennis P. "Changing Agendas: Architecture and Politics in Contemporary Italy". *Assemblage*, no. 8 (Feb. 1989): 60-77.
- Duggan, Dennis. "Skyscrapers in NY Looking for Tenants". *Washington Post*, December 27 1975, B5.
- Eder, Richard. "Belmondo Is Sleuth in 'Night Caller'". *New York Times*, November 20 1975, 51.
- Edwards, Bill. "Hit Land Grab Film Cure". *Variety*, March 6 1968, 3.
- Ehrbar, A.F. "The IMF Lays Down the Law". *Fortune* (July 1977).
- Eidsvik, Charles. "Machines of the Invisible: Changes in Film Technology in the Age of Video". *Film Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Winter 1988-1989): 18-23.
- Eidsvik, Charles. "The State as Movie Mogul". *Film Comment*, vol. 15, no. 2 (March/April 1979): 60-66.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "Between Style and Ideology". *Monogram* 3 (1972): 4-12.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "Evolutionary Imagineer: Stanley Kubrick's Authorship". *Kinematograph*, no. 20 (2004): 136-147.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "German Film Bonanza". *New Statesman*, January 11 1980, 63-65.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "The Pathos of Failure: American Films in the 70s: Notes on the Unmotivated Hero". *Monogram*, no. 6 (1975): 13-19.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama". *Monogram*, no. 4 (1972): 2-15.
- Elwall, Robert. "The Rise and Demise of Manplan in the Architectural Review". *Culture24*, 26 February 2010. <http://www.culture24.org.uk/art/architecture/art76477>.

- Espinosa, Julio García. "For an Imperfect Cinema". Translated by Julianne Burton. *Jump Cut*, no. 20 (1979): 24-26.
- Everett, Wendy. "The European Road Movie, or a Genre Adrift in the Cosmos". *Literature/Film Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2009): 165-175.
- Farber, Stephen. "City of the Future: Papa of the Past". *New West*, March 28 1977.
- Farber, Stephen. "A Nightmare World with No Secrets", *New York Times*, May 12 1974, 13.
- Fassbinder, Rainer Werner, and Hella Schlumberger. "'I've Changed Along with the Characters in My Films': An Interview with Rainer Werner Fassbinder". *Performing Arts Journal*, vol. 14, no. 2 (May 1992): 1-23.
- Feffer, Andrew. "Show Down in Center City: Staging Redevelopment and Citizenship in Bicentennial Philadelphia, 1974-1977". *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 30, no. 6 (September 2004): 791-825.
- Ferreri, Marco. "Why Custer at the Les Halles in Paris 1973?". *Framework 2* (Autumn 1975): 21.
- Flatley, Guy. "The Inside Story of 'Welcome to L.A.' Can Now Be Told". *New York Times*, April 22 1977, 68.
- Fortune*, "How the Euromarket Fends off Global Financial Disaster". September 24 1979.
- Fortune*, "A Message from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia". July 1977.
- Frederick, Robert B. "NY Filmmaking Nightmare: I've Had it, Sez Delbert Mann". *Variety*, April 21 1965, 1.
- Friedman, Lester D. "Cinematic Techniques in *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum*". *Literature/Film Quarterly*, vol. 7, no. 3 (1979): 247.
- Friendly, Alfred Jr. "Laurentiis Quits Making Films; Woes Mount for Italian Industry". *New York Times*, January 31 1970.
- Funke, Phyllis. "How You Gonna Keep 'em Down in Hollywood Once You've Seen the Sticks?". *New York Times*, September 22 1974.
- Gardiner, Stephen. "Housing Horrors". *The Observer*, October 4 1970, 27.
- George, R. Varkki. "A Procedural Explanation for Contemporary Urban Design". *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1997: 143-161.
- Gilliatt, Penelope. "The Current Cinema". *New Yorker*, April 14 1975, 112-119.
- Gilliatt, Penelope. "The Current Cinema". *New Yorker*, May 23 1970.
- Gitlin, Todd, and Carol S. Wolman, "An Unmarried Woman". *Film Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1 (Fall 1978): 55-58.
- Gittelsohn, Natalie. "The Maturing of Woody Allen". *New York Times*, Sunday magazine, April 22 1979, 1-8.
- Goddard, Michael, and Benjamin Halligan. "Cinema, the Post-Fordist Worker, and Immaterial Labor: From Post-Hollywood to the European Art Film". *Framework*, vol. 53, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 172-189.
- Godfrey, Brian J. "Urban Development and Redevelopment in San Francisco". *The Geographical Review* vol. 87, no. 3 (July 1997): 309-333.
- Goldberger, Paul. "Why City Is Switching from Master Plan to 'Miniplan'". *New York Times*, June 27 1974, 47.
- Gottschalk, Earl C. "Goodbye Hollywood: More Movie Makers Do Filming in Sticks for Realism, Savings". *Wall Street Journal*, July 25 1972, 1.
- Gottschalk, Earl C. "The Hatchet Man: How Aubrey Is Reviving MGM by Cutting Out the Fat and Nostalgia". *Wall Street Journal*, October 23 1970, 1.

- Graham, Julie, Katherine Gibson, Ronald Horvath and Don M. Shakow. "Restructuring in U.S. Manufacturing: The Decline of Monopoly Capitalism". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 78, no. 3 (1988): 473-490.
- Green, Abel. "Mad, Mod, Moody, Miserable – That Sums up Year of 1970". *Variety*, January 6 1971, 1, 52, 54.
- Greenspun, Roger. "Klute: A Thriller with Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland". *New York Times*, June 24 1971, 35.
- Greenspun, Roger. "Nascent Liberal Played by Mastroianni in 'Leo'". *New York Times*, May 12 1970, 44.
- Greenspun, Roger. "Screen: From Italy, 'Mattei Affair'". *New York Times*, 21 May 1973, 40.
- Grindon, Leger. "Body and Soul: The Structure of Meaning in the Boxing Film". *Cinema Journal*, vol. 35, no. 4 (1996): 54-69.
- Guback, Thomas. "Cultural Identity and Film in the European Economic Community". *Cinema Journal*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Fall 1974): 2-17.
- Gunning, Tom. "The Exterior as Intérieur: Benjamin's Optical Detective". *boundary 2*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2003): 105-130.
- Gunning, Tom. "From Kaleidoscope to the X-Ray: Urban Spectatorship, Poe, Benjamin and Traffic in Souls (1913)". *Wide Angle*, vol. 19, no. 4 (1999): 25-63.
- Gussow, Mel. "Filmmaking Talks at an Impasse Here". *New York Times*, September 14 1971, 46.
- Gussow, Mel. "Major Film Union Here Accepts Pact". *New York Times*, November 11 1971, 60.
- Gussow, Mel. "Movies Leaving Hollywood Behind". *New York Times*, May 27 1970, 36.
- Gussow, Mel. "Third Movie May be Shifted from Production Here". *New York Times*, September 2 1971, 40.
- Haber, Joyce. "Zabriskie Point Rescued by Aubrey". *Los Angeles Times*, December 2 1969, G12.
- Hager, Philip. "Background for Films? Often It's San Francisco". *Los Angeles Times*, December 9 1973.
- Hamilton, Alan. "Major Ports at Standstill as 24,000 Dockers Stay Out". *The Times*, June 23 1970, 1.
- Hansen, Miriam. "Benjamin, Cinema and Experience: 'The Blue Flower in the Land of Technology'". *New German Critique*, no. 40 (Winter 1987): 179-224.
- Harrington, Stephanie. "Life in the Imaginary City". *Harper's* (December 1975): 38-40.
- Harris, Derek. "How the Film Industry Could Learn to Love the Prime Minister". *The Times*, July 10 1975, 21.
- Harvey, David. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism". *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, vol. 71, no. 1 (1989): 3-17.
- Hellman, Peter. "SoHo: Artists' Bohemia Imperiled". *New York*, August 24 1970.
- Henderson, Brian. "Towards a Non-Bourgeois Camera Style: Part Whole Relations in Godard's Late Films". *Film Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 2 (Winter 1971-1972): 2-14.
- Henry, Michael. "Entretien Avec Alan Rudolph". *Positif*, no. 192 (April 1977): 46-53.
- Herbert, Ray. "Downtown Pulls Foreign Capital to L.A.". *Los Angeles Times*, September 3 1979, A1.
- Herbert, Ray. "Residents in Hollywood Oppose Renewal Plan". *Los Angeles Times*, March 4 1968, 3.
- Hillman, Judy. "Law of the Concrete Jungle". *The Guardian*, April 6 1972.
- Hillman, Judy. "Paradise Botched". *The Guardian*, August 22 1970.
- Hillmore, Peter. "The Logic of Keeping Office Space Empty". *The Guardian*, June 28 1972.
- Hines, Thomas S. "Atlantic City: What Happens When Gambling Is Used as a Tool for Urban Renewal". *AIA Journal* (November 1982).

- Hines, Thomas S. "Learning from Atlantic City: Thomas S. Hines Interviews Robert Venturi and Steven Izenour". *AIA Journal* (November 1982).
- Hirsch, Foster. "I Know I Shouldn't Like It, But..." *New York Times*, November 5 1972, D13.
- Hoberman, J. "The Passenger: An Understated Jack Anchors Antonioni's Leisurely Thriller". *The Village Voice*, 26 October 2005, 144.
- Hoberman, J. "The Slums of Park Slope". *Village Voice*, 11 September 2007.
- Hollywood Reporter*, "Overseas Production Feels Economic Pinch". August 23 1971.
- Houston, Penelope. "Tolchocked by Kubrick". *The Times*, 8 Jan 1972.
- Hsu, Hsuan L. "Racial Privacy, the LA Ensemble Film, and Paul Haggis' *Crash*". *Film Criticism*, vol. 31, nos. 1-2 (Fall 2006): 132-156.
- Hu, Richard, "Urban Design in Downtown San Francisco: A Paradigm Shift?", presented at the 15th International Planning History Society Conference, São Paulo, Brazil, 15-18 July 2012.
- Hughes, Robert. "The Décor of Tomorrow's Hell". *Time*, December 27 1971.
- Hughes, Robert. "Doing Their Own Thing". *Time*, January 8 1979.
- Huxtable, Ada Louise. "Adding Up the Score". *New York Times*, January 20 1974, 124.
- Huxtable, Ada Louise. "Atlantic City: Analyzing an Urban Phenomenon". *New York Times*, September 21 1980, D29.
- Huxtable, Ada Louise. "Cold Comfort: The New French Towns". *New York Times*, Sunday magazine, 19 November 1978, 41.
- Huxtable, Ada Louise. "Downtown New York Begins to Undergo Radical Transformation". *New York Times*, March 27 1967, 35.
- Huxtable, Ada Louise. "Paris's La Defense Cluster: Coup of Drawing-Board Style". *New York Times*, 11 June 1978, 60.
- Huxtable, Ada Louise. "A Prescription for Disaster". *New York Times*, November 5 1972, D23.
- Huxtable, Ada Louise. "A Promising Scheme for Les Halles". *New York Times*, March 11 1979, D31.
- Huxtable, Ada Louise. "Sometimes We Do It Right". *New York Times*, March 31 1968, D33.
- Ickeringill, Nan. "In Brooklyn, Brownstones with Their Budgets". *New York Times*, February 14 1970, Real Estate, 30.
- Independent Film Journal*, "One Stop LA Permit Speeds up Location Shooting on Coast". December 23 1971, 8.
- Inman, Robert P. "Anatomy of a Fiscal Crisis". *Business Review* (Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia) (September/October 1983): 15-22.
- Jacobson, Mark. "New York, You Oughta Be in Pictures". *New York*, December 29 1975.
- Jameson, Fredric. "Class and Allegory in Contemporary Mass Culture: *Dog Day Afternoon* as a Political Film". *College English*, vol. 38, no. 8 (April 1977): 843-859.
- Jameson, Fredric. "On Negt and Kluge". *October*, vol. 46 (Autumn 1988): 151-177.
- Jameson, Fredric. "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism". *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 146 (July-August 1984).
- Janson, Donald. "Atlantic City: The Human Cost of Progress". *New York Times*, November 26 1978, New Jersey Weekly Section, 1.
- Johnston, Sheila and John Ellis, "The Radical Film Funding of ZDF". *Screen*, vol. 23, no. 1 (1982): 60-73.
- Kael, Pauline. "The Current Cinema: Urban Gothic". *New Yorker*, October 30 1971, 113-116.
- Kael, Pauline. "The Current Cinema". *New Yorker*, November 12 1973.
- Kael, Pauline. "The Future of Movies". *New Yorker*, August 5 1974, 43-59.

- Kael, Pauline. "Oh, Anomie, I Love You". *New Yorker*, March 21 1977, 113.
- Kakutani, Michiko. "Louis Malle's Fascination with Life's Turning Points". *New York Times*, June 28, 1981.
- Kanfer, Stefan. "The Shock of Freedom in Films". *Time*, December 8 1967.
- Kaplan, Sam. "MCA's Universal City: Life in the Movie Making Tower". *Los Angeles Times*, April 15 1979, K23.
- Kauffman, Stanley. "So Long Hollywood! Hello, L.A.!". *The New Republic*, April 2 1977, 22.
- Kaufman, Dave. "Urge Hollywood to Stem Runaways to Other States by Production Inducements". *Variety*, September 8 1971, 33, 55.
- Kessler, Felix. "New York City Gets Rave Notices for Bid to Lure Filmmakers". *Wall Street Journal*, March 10 1967.
- Kilday, Gregg. "Union Heist in Detroit". *Los Angeles Times*, June 22 1977.
- Kilgore, Margaret A. "Bonaventure: Reflection of Things to Come". *Los Angeles Times*, November 1976, F1.
- King, Wayne. "Federal Funds Pour into Sunbelt States". *New York Times*, February 9, 1976, 24.
- Kluge, Alexander, and Stuart Liebman. "On New German Cinema, Art, Enlightenment, and the Public Sphere: An Interview with Alexander Kluge". *October*, vol. 46 (Autumn 1988): 23-59.
- Kluge, Alexander, Thomas Y. Levin and Miriam B. Hansen. "On Film and the Public Sphere". *New German Critique*, no. 24-25 (Autumn 1981-Winter 1982): 206-220.
- Knödler-Bunte, Eberhard. "The Proletarian Public Sphere and Political Organisation: An Analysis of Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge's *The Public Sphere and Experience*". *New German Critique*, no. 4 (Winter 1975): 51-75.
- Kolker, Robert Phillip. "Angle and Reality: Godard and Gorin in America". *Sight and Sound*, vol. 42, no. 3 (Summer 1973): 130-133.
- Kristol, Irving. "Sense and Nonsense in Urban Policy". *Wall Street Journal*, December 21 1977.
- Kroll, Jack. "Welcome to L.A.". *Newsweek*, February 21 1977.
- Landis, Bill. "Tromatized". *Film Comment*, vol. 22, no. 4 (July 1986): 77-80.
- Lefebvre, Henri. "Reflections on the Politics of Space". Translated by Michael J. Enders, *Antipode* vol. 8, no. 2 (May 1976): 30-37.
- Lemann, Nicholas. "Searching for the Sunbelt". *Harper's*, vol. 264, no. 1581 (February 1982): 14-19.
- Levine, Robert. "R. Altman and Co.". *Film Comment* (January/February 1977): 4-13.
- Lewis, Jon. "The Perfect Money Machine: George Lucas, Steven Spielberg and Auteurism in the New Hollywood". *Film International*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 2003): 12-26.
- Life*, "The Day the Dream Factory Woke Up". February 27 1970, 38-41.
- Lipnick, Edward. "Creative Post-Flashing Technique for 'The Long Goodbye'". *American Cinematographer*, vol. 54, no. 2 (March 1973): 278-281, 334-335, 328-329.
- LoBrutto, Vincent. "The Old Ultraviolence". *American Cinematographer*, vol. 80, no. 10 (1999): 52-61.
- Lockwood, Charles. "Brownstoners Fair Attended by 2,000". *New York Times*, 28 October 1973, 120.
- Logan, Andy. "Around City Hall: Afloat". *New Yorker*, January 5 1976, 58.
- London Free Press*, "Interview: Alan J. Pakula and Bruce Gilbert". November 27 1981.
- Los Angeles Times*, "Feeling Runs High on San Francisco Skyline". May 25 1969.
- Los Angeles Times*, "Fouad Puts Film Savvy on Wheels". June 24 1969.
- Los Angeles Times*, "Industry Moves to Mitigate Inferno". Dec 4 1974.
- Los Angeles Times*, "Rockefeller West Proposed for S.F. Embarcadero Area". February 19 1967.
- Los Angeles Times*, "Tapping S.F. Film Potential". April 30 1967.

- Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia, and Tridib Banerjee. "The Negotiated Plaza: Design and Development of Corporate Open Space in Downtown Los Angeles and San Francisco". *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1993): 1-12.
- MacCabe, Colin. "Realism and the Cinema: Notes on Some Brechtian Theses". *Screen*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Summer 1974): 7-27.
- Mancini, Michele, Alessandro Cappabianca, Ciriaco Tiso and Jobst Grapow. "Conversazione con Michelangelo Antonioni". *Filmcritica*, vol. 26, no. 252 (March 1975): 63.
- Marciante, Charles H. "Legal Casinos? Business Says Yes, the Church No". *New York Times*, May 2 1976, New Jersey Weekly Section, 37.
- Mariani, John. "The Greatest Movie Set Ever". *New York*, December 29 1975.
- Maslin, Janet. "Kris Kristofferson and Jane Fonda in 'Roller'". *New York Times*, December 11 1981.
- Massood, Paula J. "An Aesthetic Appropriate to Conditions: *Killer of Sheep*, (Neo)realism, and the Documentary Impulse, *Wide Angle*, vol. 21, no. 4 (October 1999): 20-41.
- Mather, Philippe D. "Stanley Kubrick: Photography and Film". *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol. 26, no. 2 (June 2006): 203-214.
- McGregor, Craig. "Nice Boy from the Bronx?". *New York Times*, January 30 1972, D1.
- McNary, Dave. "Hollywood Continues to Flee California at Alarming Rate". *Variety*, March 5 2014.
- McPhee, John. "The Search for Marvin Gardens". *New Yorker*, September 9 1972, 45-62.
- Miotto, Luciana. "The 1980 Competition: An International Consultation". *Architectural Design*, nos. 9-10 (1980): 18-21.
- More, Alexis. "Antonioni in the Wilderness". *Chicago Tribune*, May 31 1970, I24.
- Muir, A.R. "The British Film Industry: Dead or Alive?". *Cineaste*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1983): 12-15.
- Nachman, Gerald. "Coast's Bay Area Is Lure for Filmmakers". *New York Times*, August 12 1971, 28.
- Nachman, Gerald. "Coppola of Zoetrope – Older, Wiser, Poorer". *Los Angeles Times*, 7 November 1971.
- Neale, Steve. "Art Cinema as Institution". *Screen*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1980): 11-40.
- Neale, Steve. "Film Culture: 'New Hollywood Cinema'". *Screen*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1976): 117-122.
- Negri, Antonio. "Beyond Historic Compromise and Terrorism: Reviewing the Experience of Italy in the 1970s". *Le Monde Diplomatique* (August/September 1998).
- Negri, Antonio. "The Multitude and the Metropolis", translated by Arianna Bove. <http://www.generation-online.org/t/metropolis.htm>.
- Neville, Robert. "Italy's New Caesar". *Harper's Magazine* (March 1961): 79-85.
- New York Times*, "The Business Spark". February 12 1971.
- New York Times*, "Culture Means Money, City Told in Report". October 16 1974.
- New York Times*, "Detroit Is Swept by Rioting and Fires; Romney Calls in Guard; 700 Arrested". July 24 1967, 1.
- New York Times*, "Transit Authority Describes Film Aid". October 29 1966.
- Newsweek*, "Hollywood: Myth, Fact, and Trouble". June 30 1969.
- Newsweek*, "New York: The Big Set". May 29 1967.
- Nicholls, David. "From Nostalgia to Paranoia". *Sight and Sound*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 98-102.
- Nolte, Carl. "End of Line for San Francisco's Infamous Jack Tar Hotel". *SFGate*, <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/End-of-line-for-S-F-s-infamous-Jack-Tar-Hotel-4992130.php>.
- Nordheimer, Jon. "Area Spans Southern Half of Country; Sunbelt Leads Nation in Population Growth". *New York Times*, February 9 1976, 1.
- Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey. "Radio On". *Screen*, vol. 20, nos. 3-4 (Winter 1979): 29-39.

- Nystrom, Derek. "Hard Hats and Movie Brats: Auteurism and the Class Politics of the New Hollywood". *Cinema Journal*, vol. 43, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 18-41.
- Ogle, Patrick L. "Technological and Aesthetic Influences upon the Development of Deep Focus Cinematography in the United States". *Screen*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 45-72.
- Pakula, Alan J. "Lichtenstein, Legends and Leviathan". *Monthly Film Bulletin*, vol. 49, no. 584 (September 1982).
- Pastier, John. "Britisher Examines Four 'Ecologies' of Los Angeles Area". *Los Angeles Times*, June 13 1971, 11.
- Pastier, John. "L.A. Gets the Hollywood Treatment". *Los Angeles Times*, October 15 1973, D1.
- Pastier, John. "Los Angeles Profile Coming into Scale with City's Size". *Los Angeles Times*, March 22 1970, J1.
- Pastier, John. "Plan Taking Shape to Rescue Hollywood". *Los Angeles Times*, June 19 1977, C1.
- Pastier, John. "Reflective Building Enhances Urban Site by its Near Absence". *Los Angeles Times*, October 3 1971, 11.
- Pastier, John. "Tall Buildings Help to Revive Pattern of Separate Towns". *Los Angeles Times*, April 5 1970, H1.
- Patterson, Lindsay. "In Harlem: A James Bond with Soul?". *New York Times*, June 15 1969, 15.
- Peet, J. Richard. "A New Left Geography". *Antipode*, vol. 1, no. 1 (August 1969): 3-5.
- Perry, Ted. "Men and Landscapes: Antonioni's 'The Passenger'". *Film Comment* (July/August 1975): 2-8.
- Phillips, McCandlish. "City Is Successful as it Courts Moviemakers". *New York Times*, August 15 1968, 39.
- Pinder, David. "In Defence of Utopian Urbanism: Imagining Cities after the 'End of Utopia'". *Geografiska Annaler*, 84B (2002): 229-241.
- Plagens, Peter. "Seventeen Artists in the Sixties". *Art Journal*, vol. 41, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 375-379.
- Poirrier, Phillippe. "Heritage and Cultural Policy in France under the Fifth Republic". *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2003): 215-225.
- Raban, Jonathan. "Metronatural America". *The New York Review of Books*, 26 March 2009.
- Rafelson, Bob. "Le Monopoly est une métaphore très évidente du rêve américain...". *Cinema 73* (June 1973): 116-119.
- Rand, Christopher. "Profiles: The Ultimate City". *New Yorker*, October 6 1966, 64.
- Ranvaud, Don. "Paris, Texas to Sydney, Australia". *Sight and Sound*, vol. 53, no. 4 (October 1984): 247-249.
- Ranzal, Edward. "Publicity Is Said to Bar Better Credit for City". *New York Times*, February 10 1971, 86.
- Reed, Roy. "Sunbelt Still Stronghold of Conservatism in U.S.". *New York Times*, February 10 1976, 1.
- Reichlin, Bruno. "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1)". Translated by Antony Shugaar and revised by Branden W. Joseph. *Grey Room*, no. 5 (Fall 2001): 78-101.
- Reichlin, Bruno. "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 2)". Translated by Antony Shugaar and revised by Branden W. Joseph. *Grey Room*, no. 6 (Winter 2002): 110-133.
- Rentschler, Eric. "American Friends and New German Cinema: Patterns of Reception". *New German Critique*, no. 24/25 (Autumn 1981-Winter 1982): 7-35.
- Rossant, M.J. "How Rockefeller Destroyed New York". *Harper's* (January 1976): 62-74.
- Ryan, Desmond. "New Film Office Brings to Region a Bonanza and a Milestone". *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 20 1992.

- Sanders, James. "Adventure Playground: John V. Lindsay and the Transformation of Modern New York". *Places Design Observer*, May 4 2010. <http://places.designobserver.com/entry.html?entry=13338>.
- Sansweet, Stephen J. "Jane Fonda Delivers a Message With Films Like 'Rollover', a Tale of Financial Collapse". *Wall Street Journal*, December 10 1981, 33.
- Sarris, Andrew. "Blue Collar". *Village Voice*, February 27 1978.
- Schickel, Richard. "Fiscal Fizzle". *Time*, December 21 1981.
- Schlesinger, Arthur. "Review: Blue Collar". *Saturday Review*, April 15 1978.
- Schlöndorff, Volker, and Gary Crowds. "Coming to Terms with the German Past: An Interview with Volker Schlöndorff". *Cineaste*, vol. 26, no. 2 (March 2001): 18-23.
- Schreger, Charles. "States' Right to a Hunk of Hollywood". *Los Angeles Times*, March 21 1980, G1.
- Scott, Alan J. "Capitalism and Urbanisation in a New Key? The Cognitive-Cultural Dimension". *Social Forces*, vol. 85, no. 4 (June 2007): 1455-1482.
- Scott, Alan J., and Edward J. Soja. "Los Angeles: Capital of the Late Twentieth Century". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 4 (1986): 249-254.
- Scott, A.O. "Neo-Neorealism". *New York Times*, March 17 2009.
- Scribner, Charity. "Buildings on Fire: The Situationist International and the Red Army Faction". *Grey Room*, no. 26 (Winter 2007): 30-55.
- Seidenbaum, Art. "The Portman Prescription". *Los Angeles Times*, June 18 1976, D1.
- Shaffer, Lawrence. "The Conversation". *Film Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Fall 1974): 54-60.
- Shedlin, Michael and Conrad Hall. "Conrad Hall: An Interview". *Film Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Spring 1971): 2-11.
- Shenker, Israel. "18 Urban Experts Advise, Castigate and Console the City on Its Problems". *New York Times*, 30 July 1975, 35.
- Shiel, Mark. "Banal and Magnificent Space in *Electra Glide in Blue* (1973), or, An Allegory of the Nixon Era". *Cinema Journal*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Winter 2007): 91-116.
- Silk, Leonard. "How Carter Can Stop Inflation". *New York Times*, Sunday magazine, June 18 1978, 4.
- Siskel, Gene. "Filmed in Chicago". *Chicago Tribune*, October 14 1973.
- Siskel, Gene. "Roll 'Em! Chicago Sets the Scene for Today's Film Action". *Chicago Tribune*, December 5 1976.
- Smith, Jason Scott. "The Strange History of the Decade: Modernity, Nostalgia, and the Perils of Periodisation". *Journal of Social History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (Winter 1998): 263-285.
- Smith, Neil. "Gentrification and Uneven Development". *Economic Geography*, vol. 58, no. 2 (April 1982): 139-155.
- Smith, Terence. "Filmmakers Will Find a Haven in New York". *New York Times*, June 1 1966, 40.
- Sourelis, Konstantina, and Elise Young. "Urban Restructuring and the Crisis: A Symposium with Neil Brenner, John Friedmann, Margit Mayer, Allen J. Scott, and Edward W. Soja". *Critical Planning*, vol. 16 (Summer 2009): 35-59.
- Spence, Betty. "Dean Tavoularis: Art Director as Architect". *Los Angeles Times*, October 5 1980.
- Steif, Bill. "Statistics Cut Fancy Figures as Goldwyn Suit Resumes in Frisco". *Variety*, September 18 1957, 16.
- Stern, Ellen. "How to Make a Movie in New York". *New York*, December 29 1975.
- Sterne, Michael. "Plan Offered to Make City Boom Again". *New York Times*, February 19 1976.
- Stevens, William K. "Detroit: Cyclical Swings Pack a Punch". *New York Times*, January 6 1974, 155.
- Stevens, William K. "Detroit in Recession Reflects Fear and Strength". *New York Times*, December 30 1974, 53.
- Stewart, Garrett. "Exhumed Identity: Antonioni's Passenger to Nowhere". *Sight and Sound*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 36-40.

- Stewart, Garrett. "The Long Goodbye from Chinatown". *Film Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 2 (Winter 1974-1975): 25-32.
- Storper, Michael, and Susan Christopherson. "Flexible Specialisation and Regional Industrial Agglomerations: The Case of the US Motion Picture Industry". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 77, no. 1 (1987): 104-117.
- Strobel, Roland. "Before the Wall Came Tumbling Down: Urban Planning Paradigm Shifts in a Divided Berlin". *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 48, no. 1 (September 1994): 25-37.
- Strum Group. "The Struggle for Housing". "Utopia" and "The Mediatory City". *Casabella*, vol. 368-369 (August-September 1972): 25-36; 53-63; 81-92.
- Tabb, William K. "The New York Fiscal Crisis". *Review of Business*, June 22 1992.
- Tatò Maria, Anna. "Entretien avec Bob Rafelson". *Positif*, no. 206 (May 1978): 27-33.
- Taylor, John Russell. "Staying Vulnerable: An Interview with Bob Rafelson". *Sight and Sound*, vol. 45, no. 4 (Autumn 1976): 200-204.
- The Economist*, "Americans Go West – and South". February 28 1976, 39.
- The Economist*, "Back to the Studios?" September 3 1977.
- The Economist*, "Barclay Securities: The Art of Financial Metamorphosis". November 25 1972, 124.
- The Economist*, "Best for Shepperton". Oct 21 1972, 108.
- The Economist*, "Colombo's Castles". December 12 1970, 86.
- The Economist*, "Developing British Films". March 8 1969, 56
- The Economist*, "Germany has a California". 23 September 1972.
- The Economist*, "Italy's Industrial Cromwell". November 5 1960, 572-576.
- The Economist*, "Jackpot". December 25 1976, 87.
- The Economist*, "Money For Movies". August 9 1969, 56.
- The Economist*, "Now Philadelphia's Broke". May 29 1976, 42.
- The Economist*, "Offices and Men". March 24 1973, 10.
- The Economist*, "Strikes for Houses". November 22 1969, 32-33.
- The Economist*, "Yes, at last, revolution for the City". May 22 1971.
- The Guardian*, "Studio Closure Attacked". July 6 1970, 4.
- The Times*, "Call for Halt on High Flats". May 20 1968.
- The Times*, "Elstree Workforce to Be Cut from 161 to 48". January 31 1975.
- The Times*, "Full Inquiry Ordered into Collapse of Tower Flats". May 17 1968.
- The Times*, "Government Urged to Stop Closure of Film Studios". July 6 1970.
- The Times*, "MGM to Close UK Studio". April 24 1970, 27.
- The Times*, "TUC Tackles Jobless in the Film Industry". November 23 1970.
- The Times*, "TV, Film Unions Ask for Mr. Wilson's Aid". December 30 1969.
- Thomas, Kevin. "Capturing the Drift of L.A.". *Los Angeles Times*, June 1 1977.
- Thompson, Richard. "Mr. Pakula Goes to Washington". *Film Comment*, no. 215 (September-October 1976): 12-19.
- Time*, "Building a New Paris". July 10 1972.
- Time*, "Changing the World's Money". October 4 1971.
- Time*, "Cinema: Hollywood on the Tiber". August 15 1954.
- Time*, "Cinema: Industrial State". June 2 1975.
- Time*, "The Cities: A Financial Last Hurrah?". June 9 1975.
- Time*, "Cities: The Fire This Time". August 4 1967.
- Time*, "The City as a Battlefield: A Global Concern". November 2 1970.
- Time*, "Downtown Is Looking Up". July 5 1976.
- Time*, "Electronics: Bug thy Neighbor". March 6 1964.

- Time*, "A Failure Everywhere". September 12 1969.
- Time*, "How to Save New York". October 20 1975.
- Time*, "London: The Swinging City". April 15 1966.
- Time*, "Oil: State within a State". July 21 1961.
- Time*, "Skylines vs. Skyscrapers". March 8 1971.
- Todd, George. "Pearl Bailey Making Move in Boro Park Slope Area". *New York Amsterdam News*, June 21 1969, 28.
- Trillin, Calvin. "Monopoly and History". *New Yorker*, February 13 1978, 90-96.
- Trustman, Alan. "Who Killed Hollywood?". *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 241, no. 1, January 1978.
- Tuohy, William. "Italian Films: Old Formulas Tire Patrons". *Los Angeles Times*, 27 December 1976.
- Variety Daily*, "Inferno Ires High-Rise Builders". June 28 1974.
- Variety Daily*, "Said's Cinemobile". July 25 1967.
- Variety*, "Alioto Wants Frisco Filming". January 5 1974, 8.
- Variety*, "Aller: Yorty Can't Equal Charms of NY's Lindsay as Chum of Film Biz" November 15 1967.
- Variety*, "Another 50 Out at MGM Studio: Dead until May; Shun 'Staff' in Future". January 20 1971, 4.
- Variety*, "Atlantic City 'Loans' Public Edifices". December 15 1971, 7.
- Variety*, "California May Set Film Commission to Answer Other States". September 29 1971, 26.
- Variety*, "Give Camera Angles Priority over Zone Rights within L.A". April 2 1975, 32.
- Variety*, "LA Labor Laments Lindsay Lure". February 15 1967, 11.
- Variety*, "Lindsay System Should End Old Habit of Each NY Department Censoring Scripts". May 25 1966.
- Variety*, "One Call Does It for Hollywood Permit". December 29 1971, 14.
- Variety*, "One-Stop Gets Permit in Los Angeles for Filming on Public Sites". December 22 1971, 30.
- Variety*, "Producers, Crafts Confer on Crisis: Hollywood Never Worse Off". February 11 1970, 3.
- Variety*, "Reagan to Nixon: Incentive Tax Plan Imperative for Hollywood Disaster Area". September 15 1971, 1.
- Variety*, "SF Craft Union Gives Coppola Full Control in Return for 55 Hour Week". September 4 1969, 22.
- Variety*, "Yorty Concerned over Film Biz Plight". February 18 1970, 19.
- Variety*, "Yorty's Good Intentions, Wrong Facts". *Variety*, March 24 1971, 6.
- Varnelis, Kazys. "Psychogeography and the End of Planning: Reyner Banham's *Los Angeles, the Architecture of Four Ecologies*". http://varnelis.net/articles/banham_psychogeography_and_the_end_of_planning.
- Von Eckardt, Wolf. "City of Future Dies in Housing Project Blast". *Los Angeles Times*, July 16 1972, K1.
- Wakeman, Rosemary. "Fascinating Les Halles". *French Politics, Culture and Society*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2007): 46-72.
- Waldron, Martin. "Casinos Bring Atlantic City Woes". *New York Times*, May 8 1977, 1.
- Walker, Alexander. "The Parallax View". *Evening Standard*, October 3 1974.
- Walker, Peter. "South London's Heygate Estate Mourned by Locals – and Hollywood". *Guardian*, September 3 2010.
- Wall Street Journal*, "The Rise of the Sunbelt". October 5 1976.
- Walter, Klaus. "Rebel Rebel: Joschka Fischer and 25 Years of German Counterculture". *Frieze*, no. 45 (March-April 1999).
- Washington Post*, "Crisis in Hollywood". November 30 1969, 112.

- Watson, Janet. "The Landlord: Facts and Fantasies". *CityFree Press*, vol. 1, no. 5, November 30 1970.
- Watson, John G. "The Far Left Looks at Blue Collar". *Los Angeles Times*, March 25 1978.
- Weisman, Steven R. "Banks Relaxing Brownstone Ban". *New York Times*, 6 June 1971, Brooklyn/Queens/Long Island, 82.
- Whitney, Craig R. "New German Movie Directors Are Winning Acclaim". *New York Times*, 26 January 1976, 29.
- Williams, Richard. "Representing Architecture: The British Architectural Press in the 1960s". *Journal of Design History*, vol. 9, no. 4 (1996): 285-296.
- Wilson, John M. "Location Hunters Seek Sites for Sore Eyes". *Los Angeles Times*, November 28 1976.
- Wolf, William. "Pearl Bailey Back in Films in 'Landlord'". *Los Angeles Times*, July 6 1969, L1.
- Wolfe, Tom. "I Drove around Los Angeles and It's Crazy! The Art World Is Upside Down". *Los Angeles Times*, December 1 1968.
- Wolfe, Tom. "Electrographic Architecture". *Architectural Design* (July 1969): 380-382.
- Wollen, Peter. "Delirious Projections". *Sight and Sound*, vol. 2, no. 4 (August 1992): 25.
- Wood, Robert E. "Warner's, Columbia to Merge Studio Facilities: Films Will Still Operate Separately at Site in Burbank". *Los Angeles Times*, June 4 1971, E13.
- Wood, Robin. "Smart-Ass and Cutie-Pie: Notes Towards an Evaluation of Altman." *Movie*, no. 21 (Autumn 1975): 1-17.
- Zetter, Roger. "Les Halles: A Case Study of Large Scale Redevelopment in Central Paris". *Town Planning Review*, vol. 46, no. 3 (July 1975): 267-294.
- Zipes, Jack. "The Political Dimensions of *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum*". *New German Critique*, no. 12 (Autumn 1977): 75-84.
- Zsigmond, Vilmos. "A.S.C. Seminar". *Dialogue on Film*, vol. 4, no. 1 (October 1974): 14-27.

Index

- Alice in the Cities* 11, 191-99, 202-03, 232, 283, 309, 317-18
Alioto, Joseph 129
Allen, Woody 36, 79, 80, 105-06
Alter, Nora 290
Altman, Robert 39, 177-80, 182, 183, 185
American Gigolo 186-88
American Zoetrope 127, 128, 129, 132-35, 143, 144-46, 149-51, 153
An Unmarried Woman 86, 87, 88, 105, 107-08, 125, 315
Anderson Tapes, The 97, 108, 109, 110-15
Anderson, Lindsay 210
Antonioni, Michelangelo 13, 26, 51, 96, 101, 118, 137, 146, 148, 156, 166-70, 172, 174, 183, 186, 191, 192, 193, 200-03, 205, 213, 215, 232, 264, 276, 288, 318, 322
Apartment, The 97-98
architecture
 Brutalism, 212; crisis of modernism, 25-26, 56, 113-14, 131, 141, 170, 211, 228-29, 268-69; casinos, 56-57; curtain wall, 50, 101, 102, 142, 210, 254, 276, 277, 278, 321; grids, 101, 142, 143, 170, 173-74, 185, 276, 278; megastructure, 201, 227-28; modernism as cinematic trope, 96, 101, 118-19, 135, 141-43, 172-73, 180-81, 213, 221-26, 228, 229, 230, 254-57, 276-77; office space, 98, 101-02, 118, 120, 131, 142, 169-70, 174, 211, 241, 299; paper architecture, 170, 270; postmodernism, 22, 26, 142, 160, 256; strip architecture, 161, 164, 167; university campuses, 172, 225-27
Ashby, Hal 62, 88-89, 91-94, 220
Atlantic City 54-59
Atlantic City 46-58
Aubrey, James T. 166
Aureli, Pier Vittorio 269-70
Aust, Stefan 305
Avildsen, John G. 63, 66

Ballard, J.G. 212-13, 232
Banfield, Edward 66
Banham, Reyner 25-26, 161, 162-65, 205, 212, 227-28
Barber, Anthony 207, 209, 210
Barber, Stephen 307
Baudrillard, Jean 118, 160, 247
Bauman, Bommi 302
BBS Productions 45, 133
Beame, Abraham 79, 83, 86, 115
Becker, Gary 174
Belton, John 63, 180
Benjamin, Walter 21, 22, 57, 98-99, 235, 291
Berger, John 185
Berlin 302, 303, 305, 306, 307, 308
Berlusconi, Silvio 281
Bertolucci, Bernardo 172, 187, 276
Biskind, Peter 66, 72, 145,
Blaxploitation cycle 38, 54, 86, 92
Bloomberg, Michael 311
Blue Collar 67-73
Bluhdorn, Charlie 134
Blume in Love 163-64
Böll, Heinrich 296
Booker, Christopher 209-10
Boorman, John 20, 213-16
Bordwell, David 184
Brackman, Jacob 46
Bretton Woods agreement 15, 59, 121, 196, 326n10
British film industry 205-09, 231-32
 crisis in, 206-08; state funding, 208
Branzi, Andrea 270
British Lion Films 207-08
British New Wave 211-14
Brown, Garrett 62, 63
Brunsdon, Charlotte 107-08
Buffet froid 255-57
Bullitt 129
Burnett, Charles 188-89

Callaghan, James 210
Canby, Vincent 9, 41, 54, 80, 95, 225, 298
Castells, Manuel 16, 23, 243, 244
Chandler, Raymond 177, 178
Chicago 9, 36-37, 38
Chinoise, La 242-43
Christensen, Jerome 148
Christopherson, Susan 31, 36, 160
Churchill, Ted 63-64
Ciment, Michel 215, 222, 277
Cinema Politico 261-65
cinematography
 documentary influence on feature film, 111, 202, 225, 232, 271, 293-94, 298; flashing film stock, 158, 178-79; imperfect aesthetic, 179; influence of European film on Hollywood, 51, 101, 111, 172, 183, 186-87; overexposure, 271; shallow depth of field, 168, 183; underexposure, 111; zoom lenses, 95, 136-37, 167, 179, 180, 182, 217, 225, 312, 316; see also: Steadicam
Clockwork Orange, A 118, 201, 213, 221-31, 318;
 location scouting process, 223-24
cognitive mapping 26-28, 49, 50, 161-62
Cologne 296, 300
Columbia Pictures 34, 45, 133
Conformist, The 187
Connor, J.D. 148, 151

- Conrad, Christine 79
 conspiracy films 27, 119, 120, 142, 171, 174-75
Conversation, The 10, 20, 43, 97, 115, 118, 127-28, 130, 133-53, 169, 230, 304, 316, 321, 322
 Cook, David A. 33, 108
 Coppola, Francis Ford 10, 20, 40-41, 79, 93, 127, 128, 130, 132-37, 140, 142-43, 145-46, 148, 150-53, 168, 172, 182, 187, 304, 316. See also: American Zoetrope
Cops and Robbers 110, 117-18
 Corneau, Alain 239, 253
 Corrigan, Timothy 290, 306
- D'Arista, Jane 121
 Davidson, John E. 286-87
 Davis, Mike 22, 159-60
 Dear, Michael 22, 160
 deindustrialisation 11, 14, 15, 39, 60, 68, 82, 158, 189, 209, 253, 286, 313
 Deleuze, Gilles 64, 194, 239, 338n74
Desperate Characters 38, 87, 88, 94-97, 99, 103, 220, 315
 Detroit 67-73, 313-14; 1967 uprising, 67-68
Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle 240, 244, 290
 Didion, Joan 161, 184
 DiGiulio, Ed 64
 Dimendberg, Edward 21, 144, 163
 Directors Company, The 134
Dirty Harry 129, 139-41, 147, 250, 255, 316
Dog Day Afternoon 26, 106, 109, 111, 115
- Ehrenreich, Barbara 66
 Elsaesser, Thomas 22, 41, 45, 47-49, 147-48, 192, 225, 302, 313
 essay film 290-91
 European Economic Community 194, 360ng
- Faraldo, Claude 248
 Farber, Stephen 183, 321
 Fassbinder, Rainer Werner 303-08
 Feffer, Andrew 61
 Feiffer, Jules 103
 feminism 66, 107-08
 Ferreri, Marco 249-52
 film offices 36-37, 60, 77-80, 129, 155-56, 311. See also: location shooting; New Hollywood; and entries for individual cities
 Filmverlag der Autoren 198, 232, 284-85
Finally Got the News 69
 finance capitalism 15, 17, 19, 58-59, 81, 82, 83, 117-24, 207, 209-11
 Fitch, Robert 83
 Fonda, Jane 99, 100, 121, 245, 246
 Foot, John 263, 281
 Ford, Gerald 38, 84
 Fordism 15, 31, 68, 326n11
 Foucault, Michel 113, 371n33
 Frankfurt am Main 290-95
- French Connection, The* 10, 42, 75, 87, 111, 115
 French New Wave 237-39
 Friedman, Milton 17, 84, 229
- gentrification 87-92, 97, 105, 107, 220, 311, 315
 'brownstoning', 89-92
 ghetto riots/uprisings 15, 16, 67-68
 Giddens, Anthony 109, 117
 Gilliat, Penelope 201, 219, 220,
Gimme Shelter 146-47
 Godard, Jean-Luc 240, 242, 244-47
 Gorin, Jean-Pierre 245-47
 Green, Abel 29
 Greenberg, Miriam 85, 104-05
 Gruppo Strum 270
 Guare, John 54-55
 Guback, Thomas 194
- Haggerty, Don 35
 Hake, Sabine 287
 Hall, Conrad 179
 Hall, Peter 162, 213, 228, 250
 Hansen, Miriam 21, 291
 Hardt, Michael 146, 185
 Harrington, Stephanie 104
 Harvey, David 13, 18-19, 22, 37, 309
 Hayek, Friedrich 229
 Heath, Ted 207, 208, 209, 218
 heist films 108-10
 Henderson, Brian 247
 Hines, Thomas S. 55
 Hirsch, Foster 51
 Hoberman, J. 88, 196
 Hollywood (film industry)
 budget inflation, 56; decentralisation of, 30, 32-39, 40-42; industry crisis, 9-10, 29, 30, 31-35, 42, 155-56, 206-07; reconceptualisation of the studio, 34-35; redevelopment of studios, 33-34, 159, 160; restructuring of, 31-39; struggle between creative and management, 149-52; studio authorship, 148; subcontracting, 34-35, 132-134, 310; see also: location shooting, New Hollywood
 Hollywood (place): see Los Angeles
Hot Rock, The 110
 Huxtable, Ada Louise 101, 250, 256
- Illustrious Corpses* 273, 274, 278-81
 immaterial labour 100, 144-47, 268, 291
In Danger and Distress, the Middle Way Brings Certain Death 289-295
 independent production 30, 35, 36, 40, 133, 144-153
 Industrial Light and Magic 138, 150, 153
 industrial reflexivity 147-153
 International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees (IATSE) 45, 145
 inter-urban narratives 191-96, 202-03

- Italian film industry 261-63
 Italian urban development 265-68
 Izenour, Steven 25, 56, 57, 163
- Jacobs, Jane 89-90
 Jaffe, Stanley R. 34
 Jameson, Fredric 22, 26-28, 49, 101, 109, 118, 119, 142, 177, 187, 201, 223
 Jencks, Charles 25, 56, 158, 160, 184, 256
 Johnson, Lyndon 140
- Kael, Pauline 73, 125, 140, 150, 174, 183
 Kanfer, Stefan 32
 Karmitz, Marin 245
 Kaufman, Lloyd 63
 Kellner, Douglas 171
 Kerkorian, Kirk 33, 34, 166
Killer of Sheep 189
King of Marvin Gardens, The 10, 43, 45-54, 133, 312, 313, 322
 Kitchen sink cycle: see British New Wave
 Kluge, Alexander 284, 285, 290-95
Klute 75, 96, 99-103, 142, 172, 321, 322
Knife in the Head 298
 Kovacs, Laszlo 50
 Kracauer, Siegfried 21, 184, 312
 Kubrick, Stanley 222-25
- LA School of urban theory 160
Landlord, The 38, 88-94, 125, 219, 220, 315, 321, 322
 Las Vegas 53, 55, 56, 59, 163
 Lazarow, Joseph 55
 Lefebvre, Henri 23-25, 235, 238, 242-44, 251-52, 257, 319, 329n48
 Lelouch, Claude 168
Leo the Last 10, 20, 94, 213-20, 221, 224, 226, 249, 258, 318, 321
 Lewis, Jerry 246
 Lewis, Jon 134, 150, 153
 Lindsay, John 36, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86, 116, 155, 314
Little Murders 103-04
 location shooting 10, 20, 30
 in African-American neighborhoods, 92;
 in areas of urban renewal, 138, 139, 249; blurred boundaries between location and set, 214, 246; effect on New Hollywood cinema, 40-42, 45, 157; effects on British film studios, 207; as factor in industrial change, 35-38, 310-11; influence of documentary film, 111; municipal advocacy for in Los Angeles, 155-56; municipal advocacy for in San Francisco, 129-30; New York City's drive for, 75-80; in Paris, 238; in Philadelphia, 60; Steadicam as a technology for, 63; see also: film offices; New Hollywood
- London 94, 201, 205-233, 318-19
- film studios, 206-208, 231; as financial centre, 209, 10; as Hollywood production centre, 205-07, 231; industrial decline, 209; racial conflict in, 215-16; Swinging London, 205, 209; urban planning, 210-11, 220, 221-22, 226-30
- Long Good Friday, The* 232-33, 318
Long Goodbye, The 10, 177-81, 182, 183, 186, 312
 Lorenz, Julianne 304, 305, 306
 Los Angeles
 aesthetic experience of, 157-58, 160-65, 166-69, 177, 181, 183, 186-88; art scene and 'LA Look', 181; Case Study Houses, 180-81; Century City, 34, 160, 173; as cinematic subject, 156-57; city government and film industry, 155-56; critical writing on, 160-65; growth and development of, 158-60; LA rebellion, 188-89; and network narrative, 184-85; and postmodernism, 160-65, 167
Lost Honour of Katharina Blum, The 287, 289, 295, 296-300, 303, 306, 308, 320, 321, 322
Love and Anger 115
 Lucas, George 133, 146, 150, 151, 152
 Lucasfilm 138
 Lumet, Sidney 79, 106, 111, 112, 230
 Lynch, Kevin 27, 131, 161-64
- Mackenzie, John 232-33
Madigan 110
 Malle, Louis 54-55
Manhattan 80, 86, 87, 105-06, 315
 Mann, Delbert 77
 Martin, Reinhold 118, 277
 Maselli, Francesco 271
 Maslin, Janet 120
Mattei Affair, The 261, 273-78
 Mattei, Enrico 274-76
 Mazursky, Paul 107, 163
 McPhee, John 46-47
Medium Cool 9, 10, 15, 38, 225, 294, 308
 MGM (Metro Goldwyn Mayer) 33, 34, 60, 92, 133, 166, 191, 206, 207
Midnight Cowboy 9, 10, 80, 86, 166, 168
 Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig 101, 118, 212, 277
 Milan 261, 263, 267, 272, 275, 276, 281
 Miller, Stephen Paul 137, 272
 Monopoly (board game) 48, 51, 52
 Moretti, Franco 49, 117
 modernism 23, 25, 26, 51, 101, 135, 141-43, 168, 170, 172, 185, 194, 212, 221-22, 228-30, 256, 268-69, 278-79, see also architecture, urban planning, postmodernism
- Moses, Robert 89
 Mulvey, Laura 21, 107
 Murch, Walter 133, 142, 143, 144, 146
 Muthesius, Stefan 227, 228

- Negri, Antonio 15, 146, 185, 268, 273
 Negt, Oskar 291
 neoliberalism 17-18, 30, 55, 61, 66, 75, 81-86, 105, 196, 209, 229, 322
 New German Cinema 283-90
 New Hollywood 10, 11, 21, 28, 29-43, 63-64, 75, 86, 127, 132-34, 151-52, 309-317
 genre revisionism, 177; geography of, 31-39;
 'Hollywood Renaissance', 10, 29, 42;
 importance of location shooting to, 40-42;
 'pathos of failure', 47-48; two phases of, 29-30; See also: Hollywood film industry; location shooting; post classical style
 New Left 29, 45, 134, 196, 243, 289
 Newman, Oscar 113-14
 New York City 75-126
 branding and marketing of, 85, 86, 104-06;
 fiscal crisis, 81-85; Mayor's Office of Motion Pictures and Television, 36, 75, 77, 78-80, 155, 314; public image of, 75, 80, 85-87, 104-106; representation on television, 104; revival of film industry, 76-80; see also: gentrification
 Nixon, Richard 15, 17, 61, 85, 121, 140, 155, 175, 316, 326n10

Offence, The 230
O Lucky Man! 210
Open Letter to the Evening News 271-72
 Osman, Suleiman 141

 Pakula, Alan J. 101, 102, 119-24, 171-75, 299
Parallax View, The 27, 118, 142, 157, 170-77, 178, 230, 278, 298
 Paramount Pictures 34, 36, 134
 Paris
 banlieues, 231, 240; as centre for urban theory, 243; events of May 1968, 10, 236-37, 241-43; La Défense, 253-54; Les Halles, 250-53; Nanterre campus, 242-43; redevelopment, 235-36, 239-41, 250-54
Passenger, The 13, 191-96, 200-03
 Pastier, John 157, 163, 173
 Peplow, Mark 200
 Petit, Christopher 232
 Petri, Elio 261, 272-73
Peurs sur la ville 253-55, 258, 319
 Philadelphia 38, 47, 50, 59-61, 64-67
 Plagens, Peter 181
 Pontecorvo, Gillo 265
 postclassical style 50-51, 63-64, 92-93, 96, 101, 111, 136-37, 157, 167-68, 174, 177-81
 new emphasis on space over narrative, 41; see also: cinematography; New Hollywood; Steadicam
 post-Fordism 19, 31, 57, 147, 158, 160, 266, 268, 286, 331n5

 postmodernism 22, 23, 26, 27, 49, 53, 111, 134, 142, 157-58, 160, 162, 176, 215, 229, 256, 257, 259, 269, 278, 306
 Portman, John 26, 43, 72, 142, 159
Prisoner of Second Avenue, The 98-99
 Pruitt Igoe housing project 25, 56, 114
 Puzzle film 147

 Raban, Jonathan 221, 323
Radio On 232
 Rafelson, Bob 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53
Rain People, The 40-41
 Rand, Christopher 169
 Reagan, Ronald 14, 82, 155, 196, 229, 316
Rebel Without a Cause 40
 reflective surfaces 142, 173-74, 181
 Reichardt, Kelly 322
 Reitz, Edgar 292-95
 Rentschler, Eric 286
 Restivo, Angelo 264, 278
 restructuring 17-19
Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles 162-63
 road movie 191, 193-94, 232
 Rockefeller, David 83, 120
 Rockefeller, Nelson 83
Rocky 10, 38, 43, 45, 59-67, 73, 313, 314
 Rohatyn, Felix 84, 121
 Rolling Stones, The 146-47
Rollover 119-24
 Rome 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 271, 277
 Rosi, Francesco 261, 264, 273-77, 280
 Ross, Kristin 241, 252
 Rossi, Aldo 25, 269, 280
 Rudin, Lewis 113
 Rudolph, Alan 181-84
 Ruscha, Ed 164-65
 Rust Belt 13, 30, 38, 39, 60, 68, 82, 313, 314
 Ryan, Michael 171

 Sanders, James 107
 Sanders, Lawrence 110, 112
 San Francisco 20, 37, 77, 127-53, 293, 315-16
 branding, 130; collective memory of, 143-44; high tech and creative industries in, 137-38, 145-46; in New Hollywood film, 129-30; postindustrial spaces in, 144-145; promotion of the film industry, 129-30; redevelopment of, 131, 134, 139, 141-42; as symbol of independence, 151-53; union relations in, 145; urban planning and design, 131-32, 134
 San Francisco Tape Music Center 143
 Sassen, Saskia 13
 Schickel, Richard 119, 123
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. 72
 Schlesinger, John 220
 Schlöndorff, Volker 297, 298, 299
 Schrader, Paul 68, 69, 71-73
 Schumpeter, Joseph 39, 251

- Schwartz, Alexandra 164
 Scola, Ettore 270-71
 Scott Brown, Denise 23, 25-26, 56, 163-64, 167
 Scott, A.O. 322-23
 Scott, Allen J. 20, 145-46, 160
Serpico 79, 111, 117
 Shepperton Studios 206-08
 Shiel, Mark 21, 42, 263-64
 Shields, Rob 24
 Shonfield, Katherine 212
 Siegel, Don 140
 Silicon Valley 138
 Siskel, Gene 36-37
 Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) 101, 159
 Soja, Edward W. 17, 24, 158, 160
 Sorkin, Michael 177, 279
 sound 95, 128, 137, 139, 142-43, 149, 167, 180, 182,
 215-16, 221, 232, 240, 304, 306, 307
 spatial fix 19, 32, 310
 spatial theory 18-19, 23-28, 235, 243-44
 Starr, Roger 83
 Steadicam 62-65
 Storper, Michael 31, 36, 160
Streets of San Francisco, The 130
 Sun Belt 38-39, 170, 172, 317
Sunday, Bloody Sunday 220-21
 Superstudio 170, 270
 surveillance 111-15, 118, 135, 136, 137, 272, 279,
 299, 300
 Sutherland, John 110-12
- Tabb, William 81, 83, 84
 Tafuri, Manfredo 228, 269
Taking of Pelham 123, The 79, 108, 109, 110, 115-17
 terrorism 261, 296, 301-04, 320
 Thatcher, Margaret 196, 209, 229, 232, 233
Themroc 244, 248-49
 Third Cinema 14, 111, 202, 265, 290
Third Generation, The 289, 295, 301, 302, 303-08.
 Third World 14, 15, 82, 122, 188, 196, 200-02, 265,
 275, 277, 280, 301
THX 1138 118, 130, 133, 149,
Touche pas à la femme blanche 20, 244, 249-52,
 258, 319
Tout va bien 244-47, 258, 319
Towering Inferno, The 130
 trade unions 15, 35-36, 63, 68-73, 77, 78, 115, 116,
 145, 155-56, 183, 207, 208, 218, 244, 267
 Tronti, Mario 267, 268, 269
 Trotta, Margarethe von 287, 299
- Tschumi, Bernard 170, 270, 301
 Twentieth Century Fox 33, 34, 129, 160
- United Artists 152
 Universal 33, 34, 72, 160
 urban branding 30, 37, 85, 104-05, 129, 130, 311
 urban crisis 9, 10, 11, 14-17, 18-20, 42, 52, 60, 61,
 66, 67, 80, 86, 104, 106, 125, 140, 230, 292, 301,
 321-33
 urban design 82, 127, 131-32, 134, 135, 136, 316
 urban planning 23-26, 89-91, 113-14, 116, 131-32,
 135, 161, 163, 164, 210-11, 227-230, 233, 239-41,
 242, 243
- Vacano, Jost 298
 Varnelis, Kazys 162-63
 Venturi, Robert 23, 25-26, 56, 163-64, 167, 177,
 197, 316, 336n45
Vertigo 131, 143
 Vietnam War 32, 242, 271, 301, 310, 315, 325n4
 Volonte, Gian Maria 272
- Walker, Alexander 174, 206, 220
 Warner Bros. 33, 34, 40, 78, 119, 133, 225
 Watergate 115, 127, 128, 146, 150, 171, 310, 315,
 325n4
 Webber, Andrew 303
 Weinstein, Richard 165
Welcome to L.A. 181-84
 Wenders, Wim 193, 198, 203, 232, 251, 271, 283,
 284
 West German film industry 283-87
 Wexler, Haskell 9, 225
What's Up, Doc? 129-30
 Wiazemsky, Anne 242
 Willis, Gordon 79, 93, 99, 142
 Wollen, Peter 20, 200, 208, 212
 Wood, Robin 86, 180
- Yablans, Frank 36, 134, 150
 Yamasaki, Minoru 25, 122, 160
 Yorty, Sam 155-56
- Zabriskie Point* 26, 165-70, 174, 175, 186, 193, 197,
 218, 230, 317
 Zanuck, Darryl 34
 Zanuck, Richard 34
 Zsigmond, Vilmos 178-81
 Zukin, Sharon 12, 20, 87, 88, 90

