

Chapter Twenty

Troubled by Violence: Transnational Complexity and the Critique of Masculinity in

Ripper Street

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The title *Ripper Street* (BBC, BBC America, 2012-) creates associations with traditional images of gendered violence – women as sexualized victims, men as perpetrators and heroes.¹ The BBC-BBC America co-produced drama offers these images, and at the same time complicates the associated pleasures by providing a critique which emphasizes the problem that is constituted by traditional, patriarchal masculinities. Set in the aftermath of the Ripper Murders, *Ripper Street* constantly plays with the images associated with sexualized violence, only to draw our attention to the failure to police such crimes. This chapter will provide an analysis of this, by unpeeling the layers of meaning that are produced in *Ripper Street* via a complex mix of genres that are drawn from the US and the UK. It will argue that the drama, on the one hand, presents us with a return of the patriarch through traditional British genres such as period drama and crime drama. On the other hand, *Ripper Street* provides us with a critique of these nostalgic views of masculinities by drawing on the US quality dramas of *Hill Street Blues* (NBC, 1981-1987) and *Deadwood* (HBO, 2004-2006), both of which trouble their traditional genres of crime and western respectively. *Ripper Street* uses such a transnational mix of genres as a result of its particular ontology as a coproduction between the BBC and BBC America, but also in order to complicate traditional notions of masculine heroisms. In particular, it investigates the trauma of violence on men and questions what place they can have in society. The chapter will first give an overview of masculinities in the new millennium before examining the genre complexity of *Ripper Street*.

Masculinity at the Turn of the New Millennium

The literature on the representation of masculinities has grown exponentially since the 1990s, although earlier work exists.² Most of these are focused on representations of masculinities in film, and more specifically Hollywood.³ The work of Cohan,⁴ Spicer,⁵ and Bainbridge and Yates⁶ emphasizes that masculinities are, first of all, culturally and historically specific, and that they are in a constant process of renegotiation which is often perceived to be continuous with a sense of crisis.⁷ In the case of *Ripper Street*, the instability of hegemonic patriarchal masculinity derives its sense of crisis from its situatedness in a particular time and a particular place.

Indeed, *Ripper Street* appeared on British and American screens at a time when the confidence of Britain and America as international economic powerhouses was severely shaken, and the culture of hedonistic return to masculinities, which dominated British culture in the 1990s, came under scrutiny. In Britain, the economic crash of 2008 came at a time when the change in government seemed inevitable as New Labour, originally led by Tony Blair, had been in power for over ten years. The new Conservative government openly subscribed to the international mantra of austerity in order to see through a number of significant public sector cuts. Under the Conservatives, the economy contracted for several quarters, leading to a wider sense of deprivation and crisis. The sense of crisis led to a wider re-evaluation of the Blair years, including the availability of cheap credit, sub-prime mortgages, and an out-of-control financial market which had fuelled a boom and bust economy. In America, the ultra-conservative regime under George W. Bush was replaced by Barack Obama, the first African-American president,⁸ who had campaigned under the banner of hope and change, but soon found his efforts hampered by the power of the Senate and Congress which were largely held by Republicans.

The sense of crisis on both sides of the Atlantic also led to a distancing from the hedonistic, politically incorrect, and quite traditional form of masculinity that had been at the

center of quite a few popular representations in film and television – and beyond – of the 1990s and early 2000s.⁹ In the UK in particular, the “new lad” occupied the media during the 1990s and early 2000s.¹⁰ This included, amongst others, celebrities such as Jamie Oliver and Liam Gallagher as well as fictional representations such as *Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels* (Guy Ritchie, 1998) and *Coupling* (BBC, 2000-2004). As Imelda Whelehan¹¹ points out, the new lad represents a deliberate rejection of both feminism and the “new man” who espouses political correctness. More importantly, he celebrates and embraces the nostalgic construction of traditional masculinities,¹² even if he does this using an apparently knowing and humorous style.¹³ Within this context, the new lad’s deliberate misbehaving was often excused by pointing to his immaturity, with phrases that emphasized his boyishness.¹⁴ Thus, the return of misogyny and traditional masculine behavior could be excused as a passing phase. As Leon Hunt highlights, the men who participated in the creation of the new lad culture were usually middle-class, but were “in love with working-class masculinity,”¹⁵ which further disguised the inherent power that the construction of the new lad actually facilitated. In other words, the proposition that the new lad is both immature and affiliated to the working classes implies that he is inherently powerless, which suggests that his behavior is essentially harmless. In reality, the proponents of new ladism were everything but.

At first glance, *Ripper Street*’s narrative of a team of three men banding together in a society that reduces women to housewives or prostitutes seems to continue some of the themes established by new ladism. These are men who don’t (yet) know better, who bend the law in a celebration of traditional masculinity. As such, *Ripper Street* shares some commonality with *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006-2007) which engages knowingly and humorously with conventions of the British cop show. In particular, as James Chapman points out, “the characterization of the decidedly non-politically correct Gene Hunt [...] represents nothing if not a throw-back to the hard-drinking, straight-talking manner of Jack

Regan [from *The Sweeney* (ITV, 1975-1978)].”¹⁶ But *Ripper Street* differs significantly from *Life on Mars*, in that it rarely includes a humorous element. Thus, where *Life on Mars* celebrated the return of traditional masculinities, *Ripper Street* presents them at work, only, as I will show, to undermine them. It does that in a way that is unique to television and its long-form serialized narratives.¹⁷ Such serialization has often been understood as evidence for a drama’s attempt to engage a specific – highly educated, professional, middle-class – audience which values the narrative complexity and literariness of such apparently “quality” dramas.¹⁸ As Jeffrey Sconce highlights, such a “cumulative” narrative allows for the development of “nuances of plot and character as a series matures over several seasons.”¹⁹ In *Ripper Street*, this goes beyond nuances, but instead emphasizes that character needs to be gradually revealed in “moments of affect,” as Robin Nelson²⁰ proposes. In these moments, the narrative of the episode slows down completely in order to reveal the complex emotional world of a character which becomes the focus point of the larger, serial narrative. In other words, in the “cumulative” of “serialized” series, the serial narrative is no longer linear, but instead offers moments of intense emotional engagement – for the viewer as well as the characters on screen – that allow a patchwork of character knowledge to emerge. In the following I will show how this revelation of character and the connected critique of traditional masculinities are deeply embedded in the use of a multitude of genres in *Ripper Street*.

Genre Complexity in *Ripper Street*

As a co-production made by Tiger Aspects for the BBC and BBC America, *Ripper Street* meshes a number of genres that appeal to audiences on both sides of the Atlantic. The period drama, for example, is perceived as quintessentially British, and enjoys significant success in the US because it provides an image of a unique Englishness that is bound up in the past.²¹

Two channels have contributed to the success of period drama in the US, namely PBS, which

dedicates its regular, and prestigious, *Masterpiece Theatre* slot to it, and A&E which in the 1990s in particular developed a unique brand that drew on British period drama.²² In contrast to PBS and A&E, however, BBC America has focused on a more modern image of Britain, which celebrates the “Cool Britannia” of the Blair years.²³ As a result, *Ripper Street* betrays a knowingness about its own conventions and challenges some of these by using a more scruffy aesthetic that is deliberately juxtaposed to the sumptuousness normally associated with period drama.²⁴ As John Ellis indicates, in part this is derived from its engagement with steampunk, which merges the nostalgia for the Victorian past with a deep-seated belief in scientific progress.²⁵ Thus, the London and the science that we see, though presented as progressive for its time, is also looked at through the lens of superior knowledge of the present. As a result, the Victorian age as a whole appears as backward and (relatively) primitive. In addition, the use of conventions from the Western,²⁶ and some from those of crime drama, contribute to the image looking decidedly less sumptuous than in other British exports on American screens.

As a period drama, *Ripper Street* at first sight seems to subscribe to a nostalgic view of the past.²⁷ Belen Vidal²⁸ highlights, however, that neither period drama nor the heritage film are inherently nostalgic. Rather, they might allow for a critique of understandings of past traditions, including gender roles. In order to offer such a critique, however, period drama needs to reconstruct traditional notions of gender. In the case of *Ripper Street* this seems particularly apparent, since the Ripper Murders themselves represent gendered violence that relies on well-established dichotomies of femininity (as housewife, prostitute, or victim) on the one hand and the normalization of violent masculinity on the other.

Ripper Street goes further than that, however: it also establishes the traditional patriarch at the helm of his crew. Inspector Edmund Reid (Matthew Macfadyen), crucially, is haunted by his personal position as a father. In the first season this is revealed gradually to us as we come

to understand that he and his daughter were caught up in a boat accident since when his daughter has been missing. Reid clings to the thought that she might still be alive. The trauma of the event has left physical scars which we are shown twice in the first three episodes: in Episode 1, "I Need Light," Reid changes his clothes at his home while his wife watches. His body is covered in scar tissue that makes Reid visibly, but not audibly, wince as he takes off his shirt. That his wife observes this is no accident: it allows us to also see her emotions which are a complex mix of empathy and sympathy. As Nelson²⁹ highlights, such reactions from surrounding characters express the revelation of character: what we learn about Reid, here, is not just that he is scarred, but that he has learned to carry this pain which would overwhelm others. As a result, Reid's character is marked by emotional and physical strengths, as well as integrity. In "The King Came Calling" (1.3), a similar scene shows us Reid with an Inspector of the City Police at the river. Again, Reid takes his shirt off, this time without betraying any emotion, whilst the camera first catches the scar tissue in close up, and then the reaction of the other police officer who notices, is shocked, but then also hides his emotion. Such a sequence of shots and emotional reactions remind us of the fact that Victorian masculinity was supposedly marked by an (at least public) silencing of emotion,³⁰ a fact that at this point seems to inspire admiration rather than censure.

Ripper Street, then, presents us with a traumatized patriarch, but one who is nevertheless, at least at first, presented as admirable. The casting of Matthew Macfadyen, who has in the past played primarily heroic, if troubled, and likeable characters (*Spooks* (BBC, 2002-2011), *Pride and Prejudice* (Joe Wright, 2005)), contributes to this. Increasingly, however, Reid is shown to not just fail, but to be deeply fallible: he has affairs with two women, he makes use of heroin in order to get information from a suspect and by doing so jeopardizes several investigations, and he causes his wife's mental breakdown when he finally admits to the fact that his daughter must be dead. His relationships to women in particular reveal the flaws of

his character. None of his relationships seems particularly warm and our first visit to his house makes evident that he and his wife are practically estranged. His first affair with orphanage mistress Deborah Goren (Lucy Cohu) seems driven by his need for redemption from a maternal figure, rather than by lust or love. Finally, his moral corruption is revealed in his relationship to the first female councilor, Jane Cobden (Leanne Best), who acts as moral guide to the viewer throughout the second season. In the final episode of the second season (“Our Betrayal, Part 2”), Cobden is there to witness Reid’s call for Sergeant Drake (Jerome Flynn) to kill his enemy in the boxing ring. Her shock and instant flight on hearing Reid scream “kill him” make visible that even in this “lawless town,” murder by the police remains unacceptable. Unlike other dramas, such as *Breaking Bad* (AMC, 2008-2013) which suggests the gradual corruption of an essentially good man, *Ripper Street* seems to imply Reid’s inherent moral corruption. It does this by revealing his character gradually through the moments of affect and by doing so offering more and more insight into his character. In that respect, too, the drama follows the example of Victorian masculinity which presented a non-descript public persona whilst hiding personal emotions and turbulences from others.

The series achieves this complex depiction of masculinity also because it draws on a number of tropes from different subgenres of crime drama. On the one hand, the regular shots of police bobbies in their uniform draw attention to nostalgic images of a time when policing still seemed morally clear cut; particularly images of bobbies wearing their helmets draw on similarities with *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC, 1955-1976). As Susan Sydney-Smith highlights, the image of Dixon walking the beat remains firmly embedded in the popular imagination as a myth that presents an example of the “‘olden days’, a mythical time during which everything seems – and in televisual terms, literally was – more black and white.”³¹ She indicates how this connects to relatively recent police scandals which had highlighted, amongst others, the institutional racism within the police. Within this context the past is

evoked in order to present a counterpoint to a more troubled present. Thus, the play with the mythical past could be understood as retrogressive. However, the return of the bobby in *Ripper Street* functions precisely as a reminder of the fallacy of such a myth; it presents a comment on this nostalgic view as the image of the bobby in full uniform usually goes along with a representation of their struggle to actually keep order. Rather than presenting the British police as competent, therefore, they are shown fighting against superior forces, be that vigilante police in “In My Protection” (1.2), or a skilled kung fu fighter in “Pure as the Driven” (2.1).

<insert figure 1>

Caption: “The bobby defending the police against a group of vigilantes in “In My Protection” (Episode 1:2).

The theme of the *problem* of policing is further developed by drawing on aesthetic tropes that are known from “quality” crime dramas such as *The Wire* (HBO, 2002-2008), *Southland* (NBC, 2009, TNT, 2010-2013), and *Hill Street Blues*. The latter has attracted some academic attention as the predecessor of the two former, but also as one of the first series to emphasize “(program) quality [...] over (viewer) quantity.”³² While Caren Deming focuses her discussion on the series’ narrative complexity and the prevalence of melodrama in what she describes is essentially a “modernist text,”³³ she also draws attention to stylistic elements that contribute to the discourse of complexity. In particular, she stresses that

the density of the action is matched by the dense visual and aural texture and overall naturalism of style. The naturalism is achieved through harsh lighting, tightly-shot, crowded sets, handheld camera work, and thick, ambient sound.³⁴

It is these stylistic elements, rather than the complex narrative structure, that *Ripper Street* borrows from *Hill Street Blues*.³⁵

Unlike *Hill Street Blues*, the BBC drama does not use handheld camera work, but its editing, particularly in moments focusing on violence in crowded places, is often rapid, giving the scenes a similar sense of immediacy. More importantly, the predominant use of sepia colors for costumes and to light night-time scenes, when daytime scenes often use high contrast lighting, creates a sense of realism as it reflects the limited color palette of Victorian photography and printing. In addition, the series uses an extremely complex aural design in which different sounds – from ambient ones of a city at work to a multitude of voices – overlap, making it sometimes difficult to follow the dialogue and creating again a sense of immediacy. As a result, *Ripper Street* presents policing as something that engages with a complex environment, in which what happens cannot always be assessed as the chaos of action and sound undermines the police's (and the viewers') ability to gain an overview. In that respect, it draws directly on the example of *Hill Street Blues* which had similarly drawn attention to the difficulty that policing in an inner city presents.

Whilst the discourse of the difficulty of policing dominates the narrative via the use of generic elements borrowed from both traditional British police series and American quality crime drama, the series nevertheless also offers a possible solution to this problem which it locates in science. In this respect, *Ripper Street* continues discourses well established in forensic science dramas on both sides of the Atlantic (e.g. *Silent Witness* (BBC, since 1996), *Bones* (Fox, since 2005), and *NCIS* (CBS, since 2003)). In particular, it draws on aesthetic elements of the most popular of these, namely *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (CBS, since 2000).³⁶ In the first series, several episodes stage the autopsy and examination scenes in ways that are similar to those of *CSI*: in the “King Came Calling” (Episode 3), for example, images of blood flowing into a bowl under the autopsy table, shots of a visibly disturbed rookie policeman, and detailed verbal explanation of what Captain Jackson will do to the body in the process of the autopsy emphasize the body gore that made *CSI* stand out from its

contemporaries. *Ripper Street* also makes use of extensive editing to condense the time that it takes to investigate evidence in the lab, perhaps most notably in “The Good of this City” (1:4) which adds an element of stylishness to the scene. Overall, *Ripper Street* betrays a stylistic awareness that is not dissimilar to *CSI*, and connects to the postmodern pastiche of stylistic borrowing from different genres. Unlike the other stylistic borrowings which are clearly used to develop a self-reflexive critique of policing and masculinity, here, the representation of rational science seems to suggest a way out of the problem of policing: it is in science that the answers lay.

Science itself is deeply intertwined with notions of masculinity, and forensic medicine even more so. Mary Jacobus *et al.*³⁷ emphasize that science has since Francis Bacon’s time become associated with the masculine while its object is presented as feminine. In the context of nineteenth-century medical science, women’s bodies were often used to teach and investigate aspects of life and death, whilst the male scientist was perceived as disembodied.³⁸ In that respect, nineteenth-century science mirrors the interest of Victorian art and literature in the female body. As Elisabeth Bronfen highlights, women’s death in nineteenth-century literature functioned as a sacrifice to re-stabilize a society in crisis:

Over her dead body, cultural norms are reconfirmed or secured, whether because the sacrifice of the virtuous, innocent woman serves as a social critique and transformation or because a sacrifice of the dangerous woman re-establishes an order that was momentarily suspended due to her presence.³⁹

In addition, the female body can be used by male writers (and scientists) to grapple with the problem of their own mortality by displacing it on a body that is perceived as other.

Ripper Street complicates this by drawing deliberate attention to the body of its scientist. Captain Homer Jackson (Adam Rothenberg) is presented as the most dandy-ish of the three characters who indulges in sexual pleasures and attracts women easily. In addition, he is often

seen using his own body as an object of study, particularly in order to test substances that he cannot identify through text books. Overall, he is shown to be the most flawed of the characters, with a potentially criminal past and living off his wife's brothel, which he also uses. More importantly, perhaps, his solution to problems is often to run or pull his revolver which highlights his inability to offer more complex solutions. This becomes particularly apparent, again, in his relationship to a woman: his wife rejects him when, after a short honeymoon period in the second season, she realizes her inability to escape the patriarchal pressures of society. Jackson's attempts to rekindle her love for him all flounder and he becomes the lovesick fool who populates the margins of the narrative. Thus, while *Ripper Street* does not necessarily question science itself, it does recognize that it might lie in deeply problematic hands. In the case of Jackson, the problem stems from his hedonistic, and at points misogynist, behavior which resembles that of the 1990s' lad. But science can more generally become flawed when it is used by the wrong men. This is made explicit in the many stories that focus on science, and which emphasize that science can be used for both good and evil (see, for example, "The Good of this City" (1:4), "Dynamite and a Woman" (2:4)). As a result, the series introduces an element of doubt to the use of forensic science. What the inclusion of stylistic elements from *CSI* makes visible, then, is that the success of policing hinges on the quality of men which make use of it. We have already seen that the men that form the main investigative trio are perceived as deeply flawed. But *Ripper Street* goes beyond even the gradual revelation of apparently respectable characters as morally corrupt and hints to the problem that masculinity itself poses. It does that by using stylistic elements that it borrows from the post-9/11 Western, and more specifically the critically acclaimed *Deadwood*.

The sepia colors that pervade everything in *Ripper Street* also mark the color palette of the HBO-western. Moreover, it draws on a similar cluttered and claustrophobic imagery as

Deadwood for its external scenes, while locating much of its action inside pubs or bars and brothels. While these stylistic elements clearly set the tone, the presence of Jackson, as lone gunslinger, further points to *Ripper Street*'s generic borrowing from the Western. *Deadwood* itself mixes a number of subgenres together, drawing on the stylistic devices of the classical Western and the Spaghetti Western. As David Drysdale⁴⁰ argues, this draws out elements of the different subgenres which can, as a result, be critiqued within a larger critical examination of America's relationship to the "war on terror." One such element is the exaggerated violence of the hero in the Spaghetti Western (and indeed in *Deadwood*). *Ripper Street* too exaggerates the use of violence, casting Sergeant Drake primarily in the role of willing henchman who can beat a man to death if Reid wants him to. In most episodes, the use of violence seems to be celebrated as it restores the power of a deeply beleaguered police. But one episode, "The Weight of One Man" (1: 5), makes it clear that violence is deeply troubling, and it does that by exploring the character of Drake.

Drake has experienced war and is famous as a result of fighting his way back to the British Army when he was abandoned behind enemy lines. In the episode we see Drake gradually becoming more and more violent, including to his colleague and friend Captain Jackson. Standing next to each other in a pub as Jackson rambles on about a case of robberies, Drake suddenly breaks his whisky glass with one hand, then grabs Jackson by the throat and throws him against the wall. The camera then follows him outside, where the image of the grey outside world is slowed down and suddenly interrupted with fast-cut images of men being shot. These images appear and disappear so quickly that they can hardly be grasped by the viewer. However, they clearly visualize the suppressed trauma Drake deals with in this episode. The same trauma is played through again when Drake kills the band of robbers and arrests their leader. This time, the episode reveals more to allow the viewer to more fully understand just how violent the experience was. Violence, then, as a key element of

traditional, hegemonic masculinities, is presented as traumatizing, and as such contributes to the problems men face.⁴¹

Conclusion

Overall, then, *Ripper Street* presents men whose specific form of masculinity contributes to their problems: Reid's role as patriarch places him in a position of traumatizing failure, Jackson's masculine body undermines the rational science of his profession, and Drake's connection to violence leaves him vulnerable and traumatized. Thus *Ripper Street* does not return men, over the body of women, into the disembodied space of traditional hegemonic masculinity and dominance, as the title seems to suggest. Rather, it constructs traditional masculinities in order to uncover their flaws and the problems that they cause. It achieves this critique of masculinity not just via the complex and transnational mix of genres and the foregrounding of the men's bodies; instead, *Ripper Street* achieves this through the gradual revelation of character in moments of affect. In addition, the series' continuous storylines allow for the juxtaposition of different conceptualizations of masculinities that enables *Ripper Street* to question if the crisis in society – its deep-seated sense of unhappiness – is not precisely derived from traditional gender roles.

Notes

1. Karen Boyle, *Media and Violence: Gendering the Debates* (London: Sage, 2005).
2. See for example Donald Spoto, *Camerado: Hollywood and the American Man* (New York: New American Library, 1978), and Michael Malone, *Heroes of Eros: Male Sexuality in the Movies* (New York: Dutton, 1978).

3. Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Hark, eds., *Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema* (New York, Routledge: 1993); Pat Kirkham and Janet Thumin, eds., *You Tarzan: Masculinity, Movies, and Men* (New York: St Martin's, 1993); Peter Lehman, ed., *Masculinity: Bodies, Movies, Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Yvonne Tasker, *Spectacular Bodies: Gender, Genre and the Action Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Susan Jeffords, *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Thomas Shary, ed., *Millennial Masculinity: Men in Contemporary American Cinema* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013).

4. Steven Cohan, *Masked Men: Masculinity and the Movies in the Fifties* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

5. Andrew Spicer, *Typical Men. The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2001).

6. Caroline Bainbridge and Candida Yates, "Cinematic Symptoms of Masculinity in Transition: Memory, History and Mythology in Contemporary Film," *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 10, no. 3 (2006): 299-318.

7. Lehman, adapting a psychoanalytical approach, indicates how this sense of crisis in film connects to representations of the male body as bearer of the penis-phallus which for men presents both a source of empowerment and alienation from their own bodies. Such an approach, however, can too easily assume that the sense of crisis is disconnected from its historical place. Peter Lehman, *Running Scared: Masculinity and the Representation of the Male Body* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2007), 39.

8. Thomas Shary, "Introduction," in *Millennial Masculinity: Men in Contemporary American Cinema*, ed. Thomas Shary (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013), 3.

9. Spicer, *Typical Men*, 192; Aaron Taylor, "Adam Sandler, an Apologia: Anger, Arrested Adolescence, *Amour Fou*," in *Millennial Masculinity: Men in Contemporary*

American Cinema, ed. Thomas Shary (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013), 19-51; Rebecca Feasey, *Masculinity and Popular Television* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008); Carlen Lavigne, "Two Men and a Moustache: Masculinity, Nostalgia and Bromance in *The Good Guys*," *Journal of Popular Television* 1, no. 1 (2013), 69-81.

10. Joanne Hollows, "Oliver's Twist: Leisure, Labour and Domestic Masculinity in *The Naked Chef*," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 6, no. 2 (2003): 229-248.

11. Imelda Whelehan, *Overloaded: Popular Culture and the Future of Feminism* (London: Women's Press, 2000).

12. Leon Hunt, *British Low Culture: From Safari Suits to Sexploitation* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 1998), 6.

13. Hollows, "Oliver's Twist," 233.

14. Hunt, *British Low Culture*, 8.

15. Hunt, *British Low Culture*, 7.

16. James Chapman, "Not 'Another Bloody Cop Show': *Life on Mars* and British Television Drama," *Film International* 7, no. 2 (2009): 12-13. See also Elaine Swan, "'You Make Me Feel Like a Woman': Therapeutic Cultures and the Contagion of Femininity," *Gender, Work and Organization* 15, no. 1 (2008): 88-107.

17. Jane Feuer, "Genre Study and Television," in *Channels of Discourse, Reassembled: Television and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. Robert C. Allan (London: Routledge, 1992), 154.

18. Robert J. Thompson, *Television's Second Golden Age: From Hill Street Blues to ER* (New York: Continuum, 1996); Trisha Dunleavy, *Television Drama: Form, Agency, Innovation* (London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

19. Jeffrey Sconce, "What If? Charting Television's New Textual Boundaries," in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2004), 98.

20. Robin Nelson, "The Emergence of Affect in Contemporary TV Drama" (paper presented at the *Identity and Emotions in Contemporary TV Series* conference, Navarra, Spain, October 2013). Nelson does not engage with the feminist understanding of affect that recognizes the phenomenological experience of emotion. See, amongst others, Laura Marks, *The Skin of Film. Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2000); Misha Kavka, *Reality Television, Affect and Intimacy. Reality Matters* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Katharina Lindner, "Questions of Embodied Difference: Film and Queer Phenomenology," *NECSUS, European Journal of Media Studies* 1, no. 2 (2012), available at <http://www.necsus-ejms.org/questions-of-embodied-difference-film-and-queer-phenomenology> (19 March 2014).

21. There is a tendency across the world to conflate Britishness and Englishness in regards to period drama. Period drama is perceived to be quintessentially British, despite the fact that it tends to focus on English, and largely southern English upper-middle-class characters and their servants. See Elke Weissmann, *Transnational Television Drama. Special Relations and Mutual Influences between the US and the UK* (Abingdon, New York: Palgrave Macmillan): 57-62.

22. The most successful drama that A&E co-produced with the BBC during that time was *Pride and Prejudice* (1995).

23. Christine Becker, "From High Culture to Hip Culture: Transforming the BBC into BBC America," in *Anglo-American Media Interactions, 1850-2000*, ed. Joel H. Weiner and Mark Hampton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 275-294.

24. Such sumptuousness is expressed clearly in the titles of dramas such as *Pride and Prejudice* and *Downton Abbey* (ITV, PBS, since 2010). Compare that to the collage-style of *Ripper Street* which uses a postmodern aesthetic and emphasizes how the world of Whitechapel is permeated by the make-shift.

25. John Ellis, "BBC Goes Steampunk: *Ripper Street*, *Peaky Blinders* and the Memorialisation of History," *CSTOnline*, 15 November 2013, <http://cstonline.tv/bbc-goes-steampunk> (19 March 2014).

26. Showrunner Richard Warlow highlights that *Ripper Street* is also a western in the DVD extras of Series 1.

27. Andrew Higson, "Representing the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film," in *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism*, ed. Lester Friedman (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press and UCL Press, 1993), 109-129.

28. Belen Vidal, "Labyrinths of Loss: The Letter as Figure of Desire and Deferral in the Literary Film," in *Journal of European Studies* 36, no. 4 (2006): 418-436.

29. Nelson, "The Emergence of Affect."

30. Stephen Garton, "The Scales of Suffering: Love, Death and Victorian Masculinity," *Social History* 27, no. 1 (2002): 40-58.

31. Susan Sydney-Smith, *Beyond Dixon of Dock Green: Early British Police Series* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 2.

32. Caren J. Deming, "*Hill Street Blues* as Narrative," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2, no. 1 (1985): 2.

33. Deming, "*Hill Street Blues* as Narrative," 2.

34. Deming, "*Hill Street Blues* as Narrative," 8. See also Thompson, *Television's Second Golden Age*.

35. Richard Warlow, "Ripper Street: Policing the Meanest Streets Possible," *BBC Blogs*, 4 January 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/tv/posts/Ripper-Street> (20 January 2014).

36. One of BBC America's previews to the series was indeed entitled "CSI: Victorian Style," available on YouTube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1AWAWxOTv7I> (6 March 2014).

37. Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox Keller, and Sally Shuttleworth, "Introduction," in *Body/Politics. Women and the Discourses of Science*, ed. Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox Keller, and Sally Shuttleworth (New York, London: Routledge, 1990), 1-10.

38. Sue Thornham, "'A Good Body': The Case of/for Feminist Media Studies," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 6, no.1 (2003): 75-94.

39. Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body. Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 181.

40. David Drysdale: "'Laws and Every Other Damn Thing': Authority, Bad Faith, and the Unlikely Success of *Deadwood*" in *Reading Deadwood: A Western to Swear by*, ed. David Lavery (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2006), 133-144.

41. Drake's story arc becomes even more complicated in Series Two in which we witness his descent into depression and subsequent rescue by a woman, Rose, a prostitute turned singer. Where Drake struggles with the legacy of violence and his exploitation first by the army, then by the police, Rose manages to transform herself, indicating yet again how traditional masculinities are shown to be helpless in the face of both the status quo.