

Bridging the Gap

The Representation of Solidarity in the Music of *Pride* (2014)

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Abstract

Many scholars have attempted to uncover the ways in which music can promote solidarity. This thesis aims to contribute to this debate, but does so from the angle of film music studies, incorporating audiovisual theory with a focus on trans-diegetic music and music with otherwise ambiguous sources. Through a case study of two scenes from the film *Pride* (dir. Matthew Warchus, 2014), I intend to add to not only our understanding of trans-diegetic music in cinema, but also to how film music can convey solidarity, crucially connecting the study of formal audiovisual concepts with social and political themes. As the film centres on a Welsh mining community during the 1984-85 UK miners' strike, and a London gay and lesbian group supporting them financially, *Pride* is particularly suitable for examining how solidary bridges are built across differences of gender, sexuality, and class. Building on a framework based on Sally J. Scholz's theory of solidarity, a hermeneutic analysis of the film's scenes featuring the labour movement song 'Bread and Roses' and Bronski Beat's 'Why?' reveals how historical context, musical parameters, lyrics and audiovisual relations all contribute to representing solidarity in film. Trans-diegesis and music with an ambiguous source, especially, manage to communicate this solidarity towards the film's audience, exposing the political possibilities of such techniques. While Scholz's coherent division of solidarities into types such as 'social' and 'political' provides a clearly structured basis for analysing solidarity, my analysis of *Pride* reveals that strict categories are insufficient for describing complex expressions of solidarity. My thesis is then also a call for further research into frameworks for analysing solidarity in music and musical multimedia.

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Introduction

The film *Pride* (2014) tells the real-life story of the bond between a small Welsh miners' community and the London-based support group Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners (LGSM) during the 1984-85 miners' strike in the United Kingdom. The strike's goal was to prevent pit closures leaving many miners unemployed. As the strike lasted for nearly one year and the striking miners were without income for this time, groups like LGSM formed to financially support miners' families.¹ Solidarity thus emerges as a key theme in this historical moment, as well as the film.

In this thesis, I investigate how the notion of solidarity is conveyed in *Pride*, especially through its use of music. To accomplish this, I consider theoretical conceptions of what solidarity is, apply these to the film, and examine how the film's music communicates a message of solidarity. The film contains three main types of music: the original soundtrack by Christopher Nightingale; popular music, mostly from the 1980s; and labour movement songs. The latter two are the focus of my thesis, because as pre-existing songs their historical contexts majorly inform the film's message.²

Studying the music of a film about lesbian, gay and working class people requires an interdisciplinary framework involving film studies and different musicological disciplines, including the sociology of music, popular musicology and queer musicology (although I do not use 'queer', but 'gay' and 'lesbian' to describe the people portrayed in *Pride*, to match their self-identification). Furthermore, focussing on solidarity necessitates insights from political and social philosophy. The need for interdisciplinarity, both in methodology and theoretical framework, is expressed in many recent texts in music scholarship.³ To maintain focus, however, two concepts are central to my thesis: solidarity on the political and theoretical side, and (trans-)diegesis on the formal and analytical side.

¹ For an account of the real-life government policies the film depicts, see Diarmaid Kelliher, 'Solidarity and Sexuality: Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners 1984-5', *History Workshop Journal* 77, no. 1 (Spring 2014), 241-242; Michael Bailey and Simon Popple, 'The 1984/85 Miners' Strike: Re-claiming Cultural Heritage', in *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*, ed. Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel and Gary Campbell (London: Routledge, 2011), 21-22.

² Phil Powrie and Robynn Stilwell, 'Introduction', in *Changing Tunes: The Use of Pre-existing Music in Film*, ed. Phil Powrie and Robynn Stilwell (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), xiv-xv, xix.

³ See, for example, Doris Leibetseder, *Queer Tracks: Subversive Strategies in Rock and Pop Music*, trans. Rebecca Carbery (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 12-13; Ian Inglis, 'Introduction', in *Popular Music and Film* (London: Wallflower, 2003), 3-4; Marek Korczynski, Michael Pickering and Emma Robertson, *Rhythms of Labour: Music at Work in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 9.

Philosopher Sally J. Scholz notes that, in its most basic form, solidarity is ‘some form of unity [...] that mediates between the individual and the community and entails positive moral duties.’⁴ Several scholars have explored how music communicates solidarity: it constructs and expresses collective identities (unity), illuminates people’s ideas and values (positive moral duties), and lets us hear those different from us as equal, while both groups retain their individuality (mediation between individual and community).⁵ In any event, considering specific social and performance contexts is crucial to studying how music expresses solidarity: different contexts engender different meanings.⁶

In this thesis, that context is an audiovisual one, whose interplay between what is heard and what is seen on screen requires its own theoretical concepts to understand. Here, I focus on trans-diegetic music, music that ‘either begins as diegetic source music and then becomes part of an extra-diegetic (or non-diegetic) soundtrack or score, or, vice versa, when the extra-diegetic becomes diegetic.’⁷ Crossing the ‘fantastical gap’ between non-diegetic and diegetic, according to Robynn Stilwell, is always rich with meaning.⁸ *Pride* frequently employs both trans-diegesis and the fantastical gap, and I argue that these function to connect the film’s characters not just across temporal and spatial distances, as Aaron Hunter notes, but across distances in identity and community: trans-diegetic music can symbolise solidarity.⁹

As such, my thesis addresses two gaps in academic literature. Firstly, I aim to add to the understanding of trans-diegetic music’s functions and meanings in films about solidarity or other political subjects. Hunter noted in 2012 that trans-diegesis was underexplored, and I feel that, at least in cinema, this is still the case.¹⁰ Looking through the lens of solidarity

⁴ Sally J. Scholz, *Political Solidarity* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 5.

⁵ Felicity Laurence, ‘Introduction’, in *Music and Solidarity: Questions of Universality, Consciousness, and Connection*, ed. Felicity Laurence and Olivier Urbain (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 4-6, 10; Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 161.

⁶ Laurence, ‘Introduction’, 3; Allan Moore, ‘Conclusion’, in *The Routledge History of Social Protest in Popular Music*, ed. Jonathan C. Friedman (New York: Routledge, 2013), 389, 392; Korczynski, Pickering and Robertson, *Rhythms of Labour*, 5-6.

⁷ Aaron Hunter, ‘When Is the Now in the Here and There? Trans-Diegetic Music in Hal Ashby’s *Coming Home*’, *Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media* 3 (Summer 2012): 1, <http://www.alphavillejournal.com/Issue%203/HTML/ArticleHunter.html>. The page numbers I cite throughout this thesis refer to the PDF downloadable at this web address.

⁸ Robynn Stilwell, ‘The Fantastical Gap Between Diegetic and Nondiegetic’, in *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema*, ed. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer, Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 186.

⁹ Hunter, ‘When Is the Now’, 2, 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2. The study of trans-diegesis in videogames is more developed. See, for example, Kristine Jørgensen, ‘On Transdiegetic Sounds in Computer Games’, *Northern Lights: Film & Media Studies Yearbook* 5, no. 1 (September 2007): 105-117; Andra Ivănescu, ‘Temporal Anomalies: Alternative Pasts and Alternative Futures’,

allows me to discover new possibilities for trans-diegetic music. Although (trans-)diegesis and the fantastical gap are the focus of my analysis, I include musical parameters such as vocal delivery and lyrics. This hermeneutical approach allows for a detailed and nuanced understanding of music.¹¹ Focussing purely on diegesis obscures the layers of meaning these parameters add to the film and how they affect the audience's experiences, including my own, which Michel Chion indicates is crucial to audiovisual analysis.¹²

Secondly, this study contributes to understanding the link between (film) music and solidarity, which also illuminates the social relevance of my research. Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison assert that music from earlier political movements informs new ones; similarly, insights from heritage studies argue that working through working-class heritage is crucial to forging contemporary (political) identities.¹³ The heritage of the 1984-85 strike could particularly inform present-day (working-class) movements.¹⁴ Investigating its (musical) representation in *Pride* could then reveal how a solidarity movement from the 1980s can still inform contemporary politics. Additionally, the focus on a gay and lesbian solidarity movement and associated music adds to the comprehension of queerness in film music and the critical perspective it offers.¹⁵ I adopt this critical perspective towards film music to reveal film music's political implications, not solely its formal aspects.

Before I analyse how solidarity is expressed in *Pride*'s music, my first chapter investigates what solidarity is and what kind of solidarity is emphasised in *Pride*. Scholz distinguishes different types of solidarity, and I argue that *Pride* overall exhibits a combination of two such types: social (motivated by the shared characteristics in a community) and political (motivated by a desire for social change). Chapters two and three engage with the question of how pre-existing labour movement songs and 1980s synthpop represent solidarity in *Pride*. They feature close readings of two scenes from the film, respectively the 'Bread and Roses' scene in the miners' hall, featuring the eponymous song,

in *Popular Music in the Nostalgia Video Game: The Way It Never Sounded*, Palgrave Studies in Audio-Visual Culture, ed. K. J. Donnelly (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 109-143.

¹¹ Stan Hawkins, *Queerness in Pop Music: Aesthetics, Gender Norms, and Temporality*, Routledge Studies in Popular Music 10 (New York: Routledge, 2016), 2.

¹² Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 186.

¹³ Eyerman and Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*, 28-29; Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel and Gary Campbell, 'Introduction: Class Still Matters', in *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*, ed. Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel and Gary Campbell (London: Routledge, 2011), 1, 4, 12-13.

¹⁴ Bailey and Popple, 'The 1984/85 Miners' Strike', 23, 25, 30.

¹⁵ Jack Curtis Dubowsky, *Intersecting Film, Music, and Queerness*, Palgrave Studies in Audio-Visual Culture, ed. K. J. Donnelly (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 2.

and the ‘Pits and Perverts’ benefit concert scene, featuring Bronski Beat’s ‘Why?’.¹⁶ These scenes engage with trans-diegesis and the fantastical gap in a significant way, and represent two types of music used often in the film. While I do not have space to discuss all of the film’s music in this thesis, these scenes are representative of the film’s musical signature, and as detailed case studies provide deeper understanding of the use of (trans-diegetic) film music for communicating solidarity.¹⁷ Both chapters trace the historical contexts of their respective songs, their musical parameters and audiovisual relations not only to reveal what kind of solidarity is present in the scenes and how, but also to reflect critically on the film’s overall theme as well as Scholz’s typology of solidarities. Ultimately, this thesis intends to illustrate how film music can not only bridge the fantastical gap, but also the gaps between different groups in society, signifying solidarity.

¹⁶ Both of these scenes are available to watch on YouTube: “‘Bread and Roses’ from Pride’, Joe Taylor, video, 3:08, December 27, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNQs6gSOkeU>; ‘Bronski Beat singing Why Pride 2014’, xarolastra, video, 1:43, November 3, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nXWBijH5cAw&t=6s>.

¹⁷ Dubowsky, ‘Introduction’, 2; Hunter, ‘When Is the Now’, 2; Stilwell, ‘The Fantastical Gap’, 185.

Chapter 1: Solidarities Forever

Different authors suggest different definitions of solidarity: diverse groups fighting for a common goal, day-to-day activism in the form of protesting and campaigning, or individuals recognising and supporting the needs of others.¹⁸ Philosopher Sally J. Scholz has unified various conceptions of solidarity in a coherent theory, based on (critiques of) several preceding theories of solidarity. Her work is particularly useful for my analysis, because it accounts for a broad range of social relations often called ‘solidarity’, but distinguishes them from ‘camaraderie’ and ‘sympathy’, providing a narrower definition of the term through pointing out three characteristics all solidarities have in common.¹⁹ This chapter details these characteristics and how they occur in two of Scholz’s types of solidarity (social and political). Then, I apply her theory to *Pride* and compare it with historical examples of solidarity exhibited by LGSM and other gay and lesbian movements, to uncover the film’s interpretation and representation of solidarity.

Scholz explains that a first characteristic of all solidarities is that they mediate between the community and the individual: members of the solidary group are allowed autonomy and uniqueness, but are part of a collective. Secondly, solidarity describes a kind of unity: something connects the members of the solidary group. Thirdly, solidarity involves positive moral obligations, such as cooperation or social activism.²⁰

What distinguishes different types of solidarity, according to Scholz, is how they logically connect these three characteristics. In social solidarity, the group’s unity, its members already forming a community, leads to moral obligations. The members’ interdependence and shared experiences determine the group’s solidarity; established social codes constitute their moral obligations. Notably, social solidarity is not chosen: membership of the group automatically entails adhering to its moral obligations.²¹ Political solidarity, by contrast, is not based on community, but on the commitment individuals make to a cause. It is explicitly aimed at abolishing a specific kind of injustice, oppression, or social vulnerability,

¹⁸ Diarmaid Kelliher, ‘Solidarity and Sexuality: Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners 1984-5’, *History Workshop Journal* 77, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 248; Emily K. Hobson, *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 8-9; Felicity Laurence, ‘Introduction’, in *Music and Solidarity: Questions of Universality, Consciousness, and Connection*, ed. Felicity Laurence and Olivier Urbain (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 5.

¹⁹ Sally J. Scholz, *Political Solidarity* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 6-11, 16, 46-48.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 18-19, 58.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

and presents a vision of liberation or equality in the future. From these moral obligations a social bond may then spring.²²

The different types of solidarity are distinguishable, but Scholz notes that because they are similar, one type of solidarity might merge with or transform into another.²³ I argue this is exactly the case in *Pride*, where social and political solidarity intermingle. The solidary group in *Pride* consists of two, initially separate, socially solidary groups. The Welsh mining village of Onllwyn already forms a community, having shared experiences of life in a mining village, and its members have no choice but to adhere to its social codes. In the film, this is clearly exhibited by the gendered division of labour: men work in the mines and women run the household.²⁴ This shows the interdependence of the socially solidary group's members. The London gay and lesbian community in the film also forms a socially solidary group. While less interdependent and more diverse in terms of background, its members have shared experiences, have no choice being gay or lesbian, and adhere to certain social codes as well: in the film, they accept each other no matter their differences (closeted or out, modest or flamboyant, et cetera).²⁵

These two different social groups come together in political solidarity. First, the British government's intention to close mining pits caused the residents of Onllwyn to be not only socially, but also politically solidary with each other. In *Pride*, individuals from the village choose to commit to the strike in their own ways: the miners stand on the picket line, their wives form a committee securing financial support.²⁶ Although their political solidarity is closely related to their social bonds – essentially, they try to protect their way of life according to their pre-existing social codes – it is distinctly political, as they aim to combat the social vulnerability of unemployment and unfair treatment by the government.²⁷

Then, by committing to supporting the miners, LGSM becomes part of the politically solidary group, even though they do not suffer the exact same unjust conditions. The motivation to make this commitment, however, is based on the groups' similarities. Both in the film and in real life, LGSM felt a moral obligation to help the miners because they had

²² Ibid., 34-36.

²³ Ibid., 39.

²⁴ See, for example, 'Int. Sian's kitchen. Evening', *Pride*, directed by Matthew Warchus (2014; Ghent: Lumière, 2015), DVD, starting at 0:21:18; 'Ext. Hospital garden. Late afternoon', starting at 1:35:32.

²⁵ See, for example, 'Int. Gay's the Word bookshop. Evening', starting at 0:07:30.

²⁶ See, for example, 'Int. Sian's kitchen. Evening', *Pride*, DVD, starting at 0:21:18.

²⁷ For the specific differences between injustice, oppression and social vulnerability, see Scholz, *Political Solidarity*, 55.

experienced police and media harassment themselves.²⁸ Thus, the connections between the miners and LGSM also rest on a type of social solidarity. As is characteristic of political solidarity, the social bonds between the miners and LGSM strengthen further due to their cooperation. For example, in the film, miner's wife Sian shows her friendship by taking care of LGSM member Gethin, who has been hospitalised following a homophobic physical assault.²⁹

Pride depicts the cooperation between LGSM and the Welsh miners as overwhelmingly positive. Aside from the unity and positive moral duties engendered by their solidarity, the trips LGSM took to Onllwyn seemingly transformed social life there. Where the community's social codes took precedence over the individual at first, as is common in socially solidary groups, LGSM's influence caused the members of the community to have more autonomy than before.³⁰ For example, the end scene title cards tell us Sian renounces a life of housekeeping by going to university and into politics.³¹ In real life, LGSM's members noted increased tolerance towards gays and lesbians in the mining communities they supported.³²

However, LGSM also downplayed important issues to further their own cause. Both in the film and in real life, women criticised the organisation for dismissing women's issues, causing the breakaway group Lesbians Against Pit Closures to form.³³ Aside from this, class issues were a complicated matter in LGSM historically. While some gays and lesbians' working-class identity was crucial in their motivation to support the miners, and class similarity was used to establish solidarity, class did not cover all oppressions and individualities. The word 'community' was more useful in this respect, both to describe the mining villages and the gay and lesbian population.³⁴ The film exaggerates this by focussing on the individual communities – Onllwyn and LGSM – rather than considering their specific struggles in a larger framework of class oppression. By ignoring potentially divisive gender and class issues, the film emphasises similarity as a motivator for solidarity. Although the film addresses both mining communities' and gay and lesbian issues, it thus compromises the type of political solidarity historically practised by gay and lesbian activists, where

²⁸ 'Int. Gay's the Word bookshop. Evening', *Pride*, DVD, starting at 0:07:30; Kelliher, 'Solidarity and Sexuality', 248-251.

²⁹ 'Int. St. Thomas's Hospital. Day', *Pride*, DVD, starting at 1:34:25.

³⁰ Scholz, *Political Solidarity*, 41.

³¹ 'Ext. Gay Pride protest march. Day', *Pride*, DVD, starting at 1:46:30.

³² Kelliher, 'Solidarity and Sexuality', 248-250.

³³ Kelliher, 247; 'Int. Onllwyn Miner's Welfare Hall. Afternoon', *Pride*, DVD, starting at 0:48:07.

³⁴ Kelliher, 'Solidarity and Sexuality', 249, 251-252.

intersectionality plays a large role: seemingly discrete systems of oppression are considered interlinked, and therefore must be fought simultaneously to achieve social change for all.³⁵

³⁵ Hobson, *Lavender and Red*, 2-5, 8-9.

Chapter 2: ‘Bread and Roses’ and Solidarity in Labour Movement Songs

In her essay on the protest value of ‘Bread and Roses’, Gwen Moore notes the poignancy of the song’s performance in *Pride*. While she mentions that this scene demonstrates solidarity, she omits any detailed explanation of how this works.³⁶ This chapter intends to give that explanation. I first describe the song’s historical context, which profoundly influences the meaning of its performance in *Pride*. I uncover this meaning according to four of the scene’s elements: lyrics, music, audiovisual relations, and representations of gender. The three main characteristics of solidarity – mediation between individual and community, unity, and positive moral obligations – guide this analysis and show how this scene displays a mix of social and political solidarity.

In 1911, James Oppenheim published his poem ‘Bread and Roses’ (Appendix 1). It is closely associated with the 1912 textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, where thousands of workers protested a reduction of their weekly wage equal to the cost of a few loaves of bread.³⁷ Historian Mark W. Robbins demonstrates, however, that the Lawrence strikers not only expressed a need for basic sustenance, but also respect and dignity.³⁸ This illuminates the connotative meaning of ‘bread *and* roses’: relief from unjust conditions involves securing survival as well as the right to dignity, art and love.³⁹

The Lawrence strike’s success was largely due to cooperation between women of different migratory backgrounds, exemplifying inter-ethnic, political solidarity.⁴⁰ Although the historical accuracy of the slogan’s connection to the Lawrence strike is contested, the constructed association with this strike clings to the slogan’s meaning.⁴¹ ‘Bread and roses’ is therefore also associated with the specific struggles of women and immigrants as workers and citizens, and their inclusion into the labour movement.⁴² Rose Schneiderman’s use of the slogan as the title of her 1912 lectures arguing for women’s suffrage and Mimi Fariña’s

³⁶ Gwen Moore, “‘Bread and Roses’: A Song of Social Protest or Hollowed Out Resistance?”, in *Songs of Social Protest: International Perspectives*, ed. Aileen Dillane, Martin J Power, Eoin Devereux and Amanda Haynes (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 385-386.

³⁷ Robert J. S. Ross, ‘Bread and Roses: Women Workers and the Struggle for Dignity and Respect’, *WorkingUSA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 16, no. 1 (March 2013): 59-60, 63-64.

³⁸ Mark W. Robbins, ‘Bread, Roses, and Other Possibilities: The 1912 Lawrence Textile Strike in Historical Memory’, *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 40, no. 1/2 (Summer 2012): 108-111.

³⁹ Moore, “‘Bread and Roses’”, 375.

⁴⁰ Robbins, ‘Bread, Roses, and Other Possibilities’, 112-114.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 108-110; Ross, ‘Bread and Roses’, 64.

⁴² Ross, ‘Bread and Roses’, 61, 63, 66.

setting of Oppenheim's poem to music in 1974 further cemented the connection between the slogan and women's experiences.⁴³

All of these historical contexts and meanings carry over into the rendition of Fariña's song in *Pride*. The scene in question takes place in the miners' hall. After LGSM organiser Mark Ashton makes a speech promising the miners a big event to continue their support, with subsequent applause and cheering, the shot shows an unnamed miner's wife singing the first verse of 'Bread and Roses' a cappella. The hall's other attendees are silent, listening to her in reverence. During the second verse, a wide shot shows the other Welsh women gradually joining her, some in harmonising voices. A non-diegetic accompaniment of brass instruments swells. The Welsh men as well as a non-diegetic snare drum and clash cymbals join in the third verse. The fourth stanza of Oppenheim's poem is left out, presumably for time-saving reasons.⁴⁴

This scene's representation of solidarity emerges first in the song's text: the lyrics are narrated from the perspective of women fighting for basic rights ('bread') and 'small art and love and beauty' ('roses'). In the film's context, the bread signifies the financial support, the roses the positive change and friendship LGSM brings to Onllwyn. 'Bread and Roses' thus stands for two different moral obligations, but pleads for pursuing these goals simultaneously in solidary efforts. The lyrics explicitly mention 'we battle, too, for men'. Thus, the song calls for lightening the burden on not just working-class women, but also working-class men. The vision of a future where *all* workers are rid of unjust conditions ('our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes') denotes political solidarity.

Furthermore, the 'we' in the lyrics points to a sense of unity in the song, enhanced by its musical and performance characteristics.⁴⁵ The 2/4 time, along with its mostly stepwise melody and accessible harmony, makes it easy to sing along, evoking protest marches where protesters learn a song by ear and join in.⁴⁶ Collective singing is an important aspect of protest songs. It helps to establish a collective identity and serves 'to remind participants of their place in a "movement" and also to locate them within a long-standing tradition of struggle and protest.'⁴⁷ As a ritual, or 'an action which dramatizes and re-enacts the shared

⁴³ Ibid., 64-65; Moore, "'Bread and Roses'", 373, 382.

⁴⁴ 'Int. Onllwyn miner's welfare hall. Night. Later', *Pride*, directed by Matthew Warchus (2014; Ghent: Lumière, 2015), DVD, starting at 0:51:50. This scene is also available on YouTube: "'Bread and Roses" from Pride', Joe Taylor, video, 3:08, December 27, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNQs6gSOkeU>.

⁴⁵ Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2-3.

⁴⁶ Moore, "'Bread and Roses'", 382.

⁴⁷ Eyerman and Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*, 35.

mythology of a social group', it can thus express social solidarity, or add a social dimension to politically solidary groups.⁴⁸ To include LGSM in this ritual means to include them in this social group, even as an audience.⁴⁹ LGSM's silence does not signify reluctance from their side, or exclusion from the miners' side. Rather, the song is dedicated to LGSM as an expression of gratitude: it is a gift, a declaration of reciprocity. The fact that choral singing is considered a cornerstone of Welsh identity and tradition only strengthens the poignancy of this gift, of including the previously alien gays and lesbians into the Onllwyn community.⁵⁰

While collective singing displays unity, the harmonies appearing in the second verse and close-up shots of individuals alternating with wide shots of the crowd seem to convey the mediation between community and individual present in solidarities. Because one cannot tell who sings which line, due to the homorhythmic texture, the harmonies almost seem to appear out of thin air. Combined with the non-diegetic instrumental accompaniment also beginning in the second verse, the source of the scene's sound becomes ambiguous: the fantastical gap is crossed.

'When that boundary between diegetic and nondiegetic is traversed, it does always *mean*,' Robynn Stilwell articulates.⁵¹ One common function of traversing this fantastical gap, she writes, is binding the audience to the film's characters through providing a glimpse into a characters' inner thoughts and feelings.⁵² Furthermore, she indicates that 'when the music takes the foreground, it can, literally and metaphorically, seem to spill out over/from behind the screen and envelop the audience, creating a particularly intense connection.'⁵³ The music in this scene is definitely foregrounded, and the ambiguous status of the harmonising voices and the non-diegetic instrumental accompaniment amplify the foregrounding's effect: perhaps these harmonies and instruments are inside the characters' heads (metadiegetic), or express what they are feeling, and the spectator is now granted permission to hear or feel it too.⁵⁴ The brass and percussion accompaniment recall a colliery band, another icon of mining communities, and therefore, like choral singing, serve as a pillar of Welsh identity in which

⁴⁸ Ibid., 36.

⁴⁹ Marek Korczynski, Michael Pickering and Emma Robertson, *Rhythms of Labour: Music at Work in Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 87-88, 103.

⁵⁰ Rachelle Louise Barlow, 'The "Land of Song": Gender and Identity in Welsh Choral Music, 1872-1918' (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2015), 224, 256.

⁵¹ Robynn Stilwell, 'The Fantastical Gap Between Diegetic and Nondiegetic', in *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema*, ed. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer and Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 186; emphasis in original.

⁵² Ibid., 191-193.

⁵³ Ibid., 197.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 194.

the audience is privileged to be included.⁵⁵ The song spreading from a single singer to a group of people, to instrumental accompaniment, from diegetic to ambiguous or non-diegetic, expresses an expansion of social belonging *and* of commitment to the ideals stated in the song. Eventually, not just the Welsh women, but also the Welsh men, LGSM, and even the film's audience are gathered into a social-political solidarity. From the commitment LGSM have made to the miners' cause, a social bond with the miners springs; but it gains significance exactly because this social bond involves inclusion in traditions of the already established, exclusive social solidarity between the residents of Onllwyn.

Compared to the solidarity expressed in the film overall, the focus on (Welsh) women's identity is striking. That the first verses of 'Bread and Roses' in *Pride* are performed exclusively by women reinforces the song's historical connection to (working-class) women's issues, and asserts that women and working-class women's issues were important in the 1984-85 miners' strike.⁵⁶ Like in Lawrence decades earlier, women bridged the gap between disparate groups: between different immigrant groups, or between the Welsh mining community and gays and lesbians. This highlighting of women's contributions to organised activism contrasts the dismissive or even ridiculing attitude the film's gay male characters have towards lesbians' need for addressing women's issues within LGSM.⁵⁷ This scene therefore expresses a more intersectional view of solidarity than the whole film might let on, considering the movements for women's, gay and lesbian, and workers' rights as intimately connected.

The fact that choral singing as an icon of Welsh nationhood remains explicitly tied to *men's* choirs, even though women's choirs developed alongside them, makes the collective singing by the Onllwyn women even more significant.⁵⁸ Congruent with Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison's theory of tradition in social movements, as well as theories from heritage studies, reworking the invented tradition of the maleness of Welsh choirs thus informs the new social movement: the scene's power derives not only from its connection to the rich histories of collective singing in previous labour movements, but also from subverting the gendered expectations around Welsh choral singing, emphasising the importance of (Welsh)

⁵⁵ Michael Bailey and Simon Popple, 'The 1984/85 Miners' Strike: Re-claiming Cultural Heritage', in *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*, ed. Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel and Gary Campbell (London: Routledge, 2011), 29; Keith Polk et. al., 'Band (i)', in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001-2020), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40774>.

⁵⁶ Moore, "'Bread and Roses'", 382-384.

⁵⁷ 'Int. Onllwyn Miner's Welfare Hall. Afternoon', *Pride*, DVD, starting at 0:48:07.

⁵⁸ Barlow, 'The "Land of Song"', 256, 278-279.

women's issues in the 1984-85 strike.⁵⁹ Welsh women having their voices heard, then, allows them a way to transgress expected norms, and their audience – both internal and external to the film – to recognise their position, struggles and power as fellow human beings.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Barlow, 147; Eyerman and Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*, 28-29; Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel and Gary Campbell, 'Introduction: Class Still Matters', in *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*, ed. Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel and Gary Campbell (London: Routledge, 2011), 1, 4, 12-13.

⁶⁰ Laurence, 'Introduction', 6; Korczynski, Pickering and Robertson, *Rhythms of Labour*, 105, 130.

Chapter 3: ‘Why?’ and Solidarity in Synthpop

This chapter explores the layers of meaning Bronski Beat’s ‘Why?’ adds to *Pride*. Ronald Rodman argues that popular music in film relies on intramusical elements as well as the audience’s knowledge of styles and their social connotations to construct meaning.⁶¹

Therefore, I first consider the historical origins and connotations of the synthpop genre. An analysis of the scene’s musical characteristics (especially falsetto), audiovisual relations and song lyrics then reveals how this scene exhibits social solidarity that is given political content. Again, the three main characteristics of solidarity – mediation between individual and community, unity, and positive moral obligations – are central to this analysis.

Musicologist Judith Peraino describes the musical characteristics of synthpop from the late 1970s as follows: sharp and rigid yet danceable rhythms, clear melodies and arpeggios played on synthesisers and deadpan or soulless vocals.⁶² Additionally, synthpop artists had strong, often androgynous visual identities. The genre thus shows a visual continuity with glam rock as artists perform ambiguous genders and sexualities, but a musical discontinuity with it and other rock genres as it prefers synthesisers over guitars.⁶³

Synthesisers counter the hypermasculine sexuality and authenticity often valued in rock music: unlike guitars, they poorly facilitate phallic imitation and seem to require little effort to play, leading to a fear of machines replacing musicians and displacing the importance granted to (rock) musicians’ physical hard work. Furthermore, synthpop generally rejected the egocentric, soloistic tendencies of rock.⁶⁴ While punk music also rejected the cult of narcissism and complexity in rock music, it articulated its own ideas of macho masculinity in its ‘pursuit of ugliness and retro-primitive guitar playing’, from which synthpop also diverges.⁶⁵ Consequently, Peraino argues, synthpop and synthesisers came to symbolise deviation from the norm, especially from binary genders and heterosexuality, propelled by the idea of humans fusing with machines and thus being liberated from gender and sexuality.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Ronald Rodman, ‘The Popular Song as Leitmotif in 1990s Film’, in *Changing Tunes: The Use of Pre-existing Music in Film*, ed. Phil Powrie and Robynn Stilwell (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 123-124, 129.

⁶² Judith Peraino, ‘Synthesizing Difference: The Queer Circuits of Early Synthpop’, in *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*, ed. Olivia Bloechl, Melanie Lowe and Jeffrey Kallberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 288.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 292-293, 305.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 297, 302, 305-306, 293n13.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 292, 207.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 308, 311-314; see also Stan Hawkins, ‘On Male Queering in Mainstream Pop’, in *Queering the Popular Pitch*, ed. Sheila Whiteley and Jennifer Rycenga (New York: Routledge, 2006), 281-282.

The history and connotations of synthpop heavily inform the meaning of the ‘Pits and Perverts’ scene, named after the benefit concert LGSM organised to raise more money for the Onllwyn community as well as awareness for the miners’ cause. In the film, LGSM organiser Mark Ashton welcomes the crowd. As he raises his fist into the air, a shot from the stage shows him from behind. Near the end of this shot, Bronski Beat’s ‘Why?’ kicks in. A moment later, the image changes to Jimmy Somerville from Bronski Beat singing the song at the concert. This is a classic example of trans-diegesis, and ‘Why?’ is just one of the many pop songs the film treats in this way.⁶⁷ After Somerville’s opening notes, the camera turns to shots of the crowd in multicoloured lighting, where all different sorts of people are dancing. The music diminishes in volume to accommodate two short dialogues involving both gay and straight flirtations on the dancefloor. Then, the music’s volume grows as the crowd shots return. Finally, a shot facing the stage from the cheering crowd’s perspective shows a blurred-out Somerville crying out his final note.⁶⁸

Musically, ‘Why?’ conforms to many elements of synthpop: the song is based on a danceable, unrelenting groove with synthesised arpeggios and melodies. However, the vocals of the song do not match Peraino’s description of synthpop: the delivery is not deadpan or soulless at all, as Somerville sings the lyrics in a passionate falsetto. This is characteristic of later, 1980s synthpop artists, who – unlike their 1970s predecessors – often actually were gay and did not need to convey their sexuality through robotic androgyny.⁶⁹ I argue that Somerville’s falsetto actually further enriches the connotations and liberating possibilities of synthpop as a rejection of hypermasculine rock and punk and gender and sexuality norms.

The meaning of falsetto in popular music is somewhat contested. Peraino mentions that by the late 1970s male falsetto was normalised, especially for African-American singers: instead of effeminacy, it was associated with (heterosexual) romantic love and emotional sincerity. However, falsetto can acquire a ‘drag’ quality, transferring feminine qualities onto a male body. This was especially the case with disco singer Sylvester, blazing a trail for 1980s artists by deviating from many racial, sexual and gender norms. His music deliberately opposed the macho identity that had come to dominate gay communities in the late 1970s, by

⁶⁷ Aaron Hunter, ‘When Is the Now in the Here and There? Trans-Diegetic Music in Hal Ashby’s Coming Home’, *Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media* 3 (Summer 2012): 1, <http://www.alphavillejournal.com/Issue%203/HTML/ArticleHunter.html>.

⁶⁸ ‘Int. Electric Ballroom. Camden. Night’, *Pride*, directed by Matthew Warchus (2014; Ghent: Lumière, 2015), DVD, starting at 1:09:37. This scene is also available on YouTube: ‘Bronski Beat singing Why Pride 2014’, xarolastra, video, 1:43, November 3, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nXWBijH5cAw&t=6s>.

⁶⁹ Peraino, ‘Synthesizing Difference’, 313.

reclaiming elements of femininity for gay men through falsetto.⁷⁰ Anne-Lise François goes further and asserts that Sylvester used falsetto as a gender-bending device: since it does not sound like a man's full voice or a woman's voice at the same pitch, it is estranged from gender and from the body. This disembodiment creates an open atmosphere in which people can be vulnerable towards each other, as differences between them – for example of gender or sexuality – become inconsequential.⁷¹ Similarly, Somerville's falsetto can be read as a deliberate opposition of the hypermasculine gender norms of rock and punk music, as well as reclaiming the humanity left behind by earlier robotic, soulless synthpop vocals. It asserts that variations in gender and sexuality are a valid part of human life, rather than anomalies to be eradicated. Consequently, the concert space becomes more inclusive, as the differences between genders and sexualities, between people, are de-emphasised. This matches musicologist Stan Hawkins' observation that queer pop music is able to make its listeners question their own sense of self and sexuality and envision a utopia where constrictive norms are left behind. The unrelenting, danceable beat of 'Why?' strengthens this effect: the dancefloor becomes a space where the experience of communal dancing frees people from societal constraints, bringing the self closer to others.⁷² This is visually represented in the colourful, quickly alternating shots of different people dancing together.

One striking moment of the scene further enhances the bond between the concert's attendees. When the song starts, before Somerville is shown singing, the sound's source is uncertain: it could be non-diegetic; Mark could be singing (as he is still in the shot); or the music could be playing over the speakers. Only when the shot changes do we realise that the music is performed on stage diegetically. This moment of trans-diegesis further wrenches the voice loose from the body: at least for a second, it falls into a 'fantastical gap' where the voice belongs to no body in particular. Therefore, it could be anyone's voice, a voice speaking for or spoken by everyone in the concert space. This trans-diegetic moment, then, serves not to connect characters across time and space, as Hunter theorises, but to connect characters across distances in identity and community. Hunter also mentions that trans-diegetic music serves to bridge the gap between film and audience, as it is unclear for a moment if the music sounds within the film world or outside it.⁷³ Indeed, as in the 'Bread and

⁷⁰ Judith Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to Hedwig* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 180-181, 184, 186, 189, 193.

⁷¹ Anne-Lise François, 'Fakin' It/Makin' It: Falsetto's Bid for Transcendence in 1970s Disco Highs', *Perspectives of New Music* 33, no. 1/2 (Winter – Summer 1995): 443, 445-447.

⁷² Stan Hawkins, *Queerness in Pop Music: Aesthetics, Gender Norms, and Temporality*, *Routledge Studies in Popular Music* 10 (New York: Routledge, 2016), 9, 13, 16, 18, 34, 36, 57.

⁷³ Hunter, 'When Is the Now', 2, 6, 9.

Roses' scene, the film's audience is also included in the concert space. Michel Chion notes that diegetic music played through technology, such as amplification – what he calls on-the-air music – ‘can transcend or blur the zones of onscreen, offscreen and diegetic.’⁷⁴ In combination with the foregrounding of music in this scene, as Robynn Stilwell notes, the music seems to spill out from the screen and make the viewer/listener part of the concert crowd.⁷⁵

Relating all of this to solidarity, then, the musical and audiovisual characteristics of ‘Why?’, not least the disembodied, trans-diegetic falsetto, mediate between individual and community and create unity at the same time: on the one hand, every individual is accepted in this scene's space, but differences are made insignificant so that each individual grows closer to one another; on the other, the trans-diegetic, on-the-air voice becomes a singular voice for all, on- and offscreen. These shared, interdependent experiences point to social solidarity.

The positive moral obligations expressed in this scene, however, add a political dimension to this solidarity. The lyrics of ‘Why?’ (Appendix 2) play with the difference between self and other: the beginning of the song clearly denotes an ‘I’ (Somerville), a ‘he’ (his lover), and a ‘you’ (the homophobic oppressor). However, at the end the line ‘you and me together, fighting for our love’ complicates these categories. While it is possible that ‘you’ and ‘I’ are fighting for different loves (hetero- and homosexual, respectively) the use of ‘together’ and the collective pronoun ‘our’ usually signifies a joint interest.⁷⁶ Within the context of the film, it is plausible that the song asks the oppressor to see the other side and join the oppressed in their struggle (or describes that this has happened). As such, the lyrics convey the positive moral obligation of recognising unjust conditions and helping those enduring them, regardless of whether one is part of the oppressed group or not. This is a key theme of the benefit concert and the film in general. The raised fist Mark makes, as a well-known (leftist) sign of solidarity, anchors this theme visually. In sum, the ‘Pits and Perverts’ scene exhibits social solidarity through the trans-diegetic, disembodied falsetto voice and the affective qualities of the dancefloor. This solidary feeling is then given more concrete subject matter through Bronski Beat's lyrics, as well as the general goal of the concert.

⁷⁴ Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 76-77.

⁷⁵ Robynn Stilwell, ‘The Fantastical Gap Between Diegetic and Nondiegetic’, in *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema*, ed. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer and Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 197.

⁷⁶ Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3.

Although individual elements can be assigned one kind of solidarity or another, the scene as a whole does not clearly exhibit a single type of solidarity, just like the ‘Bread and Roses’ scene. While Scholz’s categories may be useful for detailed analysis, applying them practically reveals that they are not strictly divided. Solidarities interact to strengthen each other and create a unique blend, especially in multimedia contexts where different elements contribute different aspects of being in solidarity. There should be space for such unique configurations, and words to describe them, but applying a theory like Scholz’s too strictly misses their individual nuances.

Conclusion

I have shown that *Pride* exhibits a combination of Sally J. Scholz's social and political solidarities, which is reflected in the film's music. In the two case studies I examined, the historical contexts and lyrics often provide a more overt political message, while the musical characteristics and performance contexts convey social solidarity. However, both inform and strengthen one another: the political gives concrete content to the social, while the social imparts affect and passion on the political. Trans-diegesis and other crossings of the fantastical gap, then, serve to connect the film's characters across both social and political distances. Moreover, the ambiguity of the source of the music in the scenes I analysed factually blurs boundaries between on- and offscreen as well. Crossing the fantastical gap thus not merely represents solidarity, but also engages the film's audience in it. Therefore, the music in *Pride* has the possibility to influence our perception of solidarity, communicating that past solidary practices are still relevant to contemporary politics. Notably, the music's formal aspects are not detached from, but further illuminate these political implications.

Although the types of solidarity can be artificially distinguished, such categorisation does not do justice to the unique intertwining of these types of solidarity in *Pride*. While Scholz's theory of solidarity accounts for many different types of social relations, sorting them into discrete categories like 'social' or 'political' hinders a thorough understanding of their nature. My research would have benefitted from a framework critical of such categorisation and tailored to thinking through solidarity in music and musical multimedia. Developing such a framework is crucial for future studies of solidarity in music. Additionally, this would allow for further exploration of the link between trans-diegesis (and other crossings of the fantastical gap) and solidarity, including the possibilities of using aforementioned crossings for engaging the audience in solidarity. Music, including film music, has endless possibilities for expressing political meanings, and ignoring them defeats the purpose of its analysis.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: 'Bread and Roses'

As we come marching, marching, in the beauty of the day,
A million darkened kitchens, a thousand mill-lofts gray
Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses,
For the people hear us singing, 'Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses.'

As we come marching, marching, we battle, too, for men -
For they are women's children and we mother them again.
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes -
Hearts starve as well as bodies: give us Bread, but give us Roses.

As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead
Go crying through our singing their ancient song of Bread;
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew -
Yes, it is Bread we fight for – but we fight for Roses, too.

As we come marching, marching, we bring the Greater Days -
The rising of the women means the rising of the race.
No more the drudge and idler - ten that toil where one reposes -
But a sharing of life's glories: Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses.

Appendix 2: 'Why?'

Tell me why? (x2)

Contempt in your eyes when I turn to kiss his lips
Broken I lie, all my feelings denied, blood on your fist

Can you tell me why? (x4)

You in your false securities tear up my life, condemning me

Name me an illness, call me a sin, never feel guilty, never give in

Tell me why? (x4)

You and me together, fighting for our love (x8)

Contempt in your eyes when I turn to kiss his lips

Broken I lie, all my feelings denied, blood on your fist

Can you tell me why? (x9)