Work in progress.

Draft submitted to:

The Political Studies Association

British and Comparative Territorial Politics Group

Specialist Group Conference 2008

University of Edinburgh, Scotland

10-11 January 2008

Broadcasting Policies for Scotland.

Robert Tatham.

Draft – not for citation
Comments welcome.

Robert Tatham

Tatham@univ-savoie.fr

Laboratoire LLS,
Université de Savoie,
BP 1104,
73011 CHAMBERY CEDEX,
France.

6th January 2008

Broadcasting Policies for Scotland.

Robert Tatham.

The new SNP government lost little time in raising the question of Scottish broadcasting after the May 2007 elections. There were calls for a dedicated Scottish TV channel, requests for a 'Scottish Six' evening news bulletin and a row over the (small) number of television programmes made 'north of the border' especially compared to the Scottish contribution to BBC licence fee revenue. Such issues highlight the possible influence of broadcasting in the SNP's march towards a referendum on independence.

As far as nation building is concerned, many academics have stressed the role of the printed word in the 'imagining' of nations and the ensuing campaigns for their recognition as fully-fledged nation states. Few studies, however, have considered the role of radio and television in helping to create, reflect or maintain national consciousness. The moment has perhaps come to analyse the Scottish case. We intend to examine the various broadcasting policies adopted or applied in Scotland, with occasional consideration of programmes, programming and audience ratings.

Broadcasting for Scotland has generally (although not always) been organised in the UK context. British broadcasters have thus had to consider their relations with Scotland. Basically, there are three 'geographical' options for the United Kingdom. Broadcasting could be centralised, serving UK-wide interests and binding the British nation together, or broadcasters could differentiate between the home nations and thus focus on Scotland and the Scots. Alternatively, broadcasting could be further decentralised to cover more local interests - and thus celebrate diversity throughout the United Kingdom.

We shall limit ourselves here to traditional, broadcast, analogue radio and television, largely excluding digital, cable, satellite and Internet distribution. We shall chiefly consider stations broadcasting to Scotland (or parts of Scotland) in English and Scottish Gaelic.

We shall focus on three main historical periods. The first part concentrates on the early BBC and the first BBC Scottish services. Then came three ITV stations - Scottish Television in the Central Belt, followed by Border and Grampian. A new kind of broadcasting emerged with Radio Scotland (the offshore pirate of the 1960s), followed by local and national radio stations. The third part will also cover more recent developments, especially Gaelic language broadcasts and current discussions about a Scottish TV channel.

1. The Early BBC and Scotland

There was nothing particularly Scottish about the early days of the 'wireless'. The early impetus for broadcasting services came from a mixture of mainly foreign inventors (such as Marconi), British companies and UK government supervision. The first three radio stations were located in England and were taken over in 1922 by a consortium of radio set manufacturers known as the British Broadcasting Company. The BBC needed a manager – and the board appointed a Scotsman, John Reith, to the top post. Reith had a tough remit – not only to expand the transmitter network and to produce programmes to appeal to the listening public but also satisfy both the BBC's shareholders and the UK authorities.

We shall deal separately here with two themes – firstly Reith's influence at the BBC, then the development of broadcasting for Scotland and conclude with a brief analysis of changes that occurred before, during and after the Second World War.

1.1 Reith of the BBC

John Reith (1889-1971), the son of a minister in the United Free Church of Scotland, grew up in Stonehaven, (now in Aberdeenshire). He went to school in Glasgow and, briefly, in Norfolk. He bitterly regretted that his father refused to pay for any higher education. He worked mainly on Clydeside with short spells of employment in London until he became the first General Manager of the BBC in 1922.

Reith quickly realised the potential of the new medium. He abandoned the BBC's early 'business plan' - to 'simply' provide the programmes that would help sell the shareholder's radio sets – and envisaged a much more ambitious mission. He wanted to expose listeners to the best possible programmes to facilitate social uplift. Reith set out the BBC's goals to educate, inform and entertain, later copied by other broadcasters all around the world.

He also imposed a strict corporate culture and stern morals on his colleagues (although not always on himself). He laid down very strong guidelines on what was desirable, including his idea of the best possible taste, decency and impartiality. He demanded respect for the Sabbath. He stopped practices he felt were ethically wrong including sponsored programmes and information for gamblers. Even humour became a sensitive subject with all religious jokes banned. Only those who obeyed Reith's strong moral code could work for the BBC. Those who strayed from the straight and narrow, even valued top executives, were peremptorily dismissed.

Reith pushed for the BBC to become a truly national public service, free from commercial pressure. The company was duly nationalised in 1927 and became the British Broadcasting Corporation. The BBC operated subject to the conditions laid down in its Royal Charter and Post Office (GPO) licences, with many policy matters largely decided by its Board of Governors. Reith became the first Director-General and continued to wield much power. The BBC attempted to avoid political interference, as it had (with reasonable success and to most people's satisfaction) during the 1926 General Strike. Reith, despite his Scottish background, adopted policies that would reinforce a sense of British national identity, at least at the cultural level. Finally, Reith hoped that the British BBC would speak peace unto other nations. His ideas, sometimes called the 'Reith doctrine', dominated not only the early BBC but also much of broadcasting for at least half a century.

The early BBC thus developed with a Scotsman at the helm. Reith could be considered as 'British' because of his recognition of the 'British' nation (and a career devoted to British and Imperial interests). On the other hand, Reith certainly appears to have been impregnated by his early years in Scotland. Some might claim that many of Reith's ideas – in favour of education, social uplift, a strong social and moral code, a less class-bound society or the nationalisation of the BBC - were in some ways very Scottish. So it seemed to many of his contemporaries, for he is almost systematically described in the literature as an 'austere, Presbyterian Scot' or words to that effect.

What kind of programmes did Reith's BBC provide for Scotland? The next section deals with the early radio stations established by the BBC.

1.2 Early Scottish Radio Stations

One year after taking control of the British airwaves, the BBC added the first Scottish stations to its network. Glasgow opened in March, followed by Aberdeen in October 1923. Scotland, with two local stations, was thus far from neglected. By 1925 most inhabitants of the UK had access to BBC programmes but, due to distance and relief, reception outside the Central Lowlands and eastern coastal districts of Scotland was often difficult, sometimes virtually impossible.

In a general way the BBC was not at all satisfied with its chain of local stations. They were reckoned to be expensive to run. They were criticised for the poor quality of their programmes. Furthermore, local rivalry led to concerns about the damaging effect such competition might have on the BBC's

attempts to educate, inform and lift the population as a whole to new cultural levels. Local stations may have pleased town councils and contributed to civic pride but they did little to meet the desire of broadcasters and politicians to reach as many listeners as possible.

The dominant pre-war trend was thus centralisation, encouraged by the terms of the GPO licence, which stipulated that radio programmes should be made available to as much of the population as possible in return for the BBC's monopoly status. The local transmitters were thus linked (1923) by landlines which enabled quality productions to be networked. The better programmes were invariably made in London, where the best facilities and many of the most talented potential broadcasters were naturally to be found. London influence was further reinforced by the 'National Programme', launched in 1926, and again produced in the capital. By 1930 local radio had been virtually eliminated and the BBC had become largely metropolitan.

Decentralisation was, theoretically, to be achieved by a new 'Regional Programme'. The first station was set up in 1930 - to serve London and the Home Counties! Four others were planned across the UK, including one for Scotland, which went on air in 1932. These regional stations operated much of the time simply as a second network. Opt-outs required authorisation, which was only granted if a region could promise to produce a similar programme, of equally good quality, in the house style. Furthermore the BBC tightly controlled operations, funding and staffing. Most of the regional differences were thus considered superficial or artificially contrived. The new regional programmes were widely accepted, although a handful of towns regretted the demise of popular local stations.

Reith was probably less receptive to demands for, say, broadcasting to Glasgow, Edinburgh or Aberdeen, than many Englishmen would have been. Reith was not hostile, however, to the production of some Scottish programmes. Unlike Northern Ireland or Wales, Scotland was officially recognised as a ‘national region’ from the beginning. Recognition of Scotland’s status contrasts with Reith’s unrelenting opposition to the creation of a Welsh regional service through much of the 1930s, in spite of regular protests from listeners in Wales and the West Country who campaigned for programmes in a language they could understand. Apart from England, Scotland thus fared better than the other ‘home nations’.

Scottish Gaelic programmes were introduced, but with great timidity. Gaelic was first broadcast at the end of 1923 - ten months after Welsh had been heard on air. The Mod was first covered in 1928, the first Gaelic play was broadcast in 1933, Gaelic lessons in 1934 and a *Ceilidh* in 1937. A (first) ‘Gaelic Assistant’ had been appointed in 1935, the year in which the BBC advertised for no less than nine bilingual announcers to work on its forthcoming regional service for Wales.

There were surprisingly few complaints. There are several possible explanations for this apparently relatively satisfied audience. Firstly, radio was a magical new medium, which enabled families to listen to the news, follow a major sports event or enjoy a top London concert from the comfort of their own homes. Many simply marvelled at the new technology or basked in the delight of listening to far-off places. This was a pleasure that everyone could enjoy, at a time when people knew their place in society and owed deference to their superiors. If the BBC's offerings were too solemn, then light music or up-to-the-minute sports results were available from 'Continental' stations (such as Radio Luxembourg) or from the Irish station at Athlone (officially renamed Radio Eireann in 1937).

UK broadcasting policy was also cleverly presented as a British triumph, reflecting British values. The non-commercial BBC guaranteed fair-play and respect for minorities at a time when press barons competed for influence or profit. A 'sole broadcasting body' avoided the competitive 'chaos' that was said to afflict the American airwaves. The fact that most Britons had no experience of radio in the United States (or anywhere else) simply gave the argument more force.

Finally, several writers have noted that this was one of the times when British identity was strong. British patriotism had been reinforced by the 'Great' War, which had drawn men and women together to fight or share hopes for a brighter future. Three big parties dominated political life throughout Great

Britain and national debate was increasingly polarised along class lines. Trade Unions had also organised throughout Britain. Lastly, the national rail (and ferry) networks effectively linked the regions, made travel easier and efficiently supplied produce and products throughout the realm. Radio, logically, was just another new, British national phenomenon, at a time when other industries were also consolidating across the UK.

Committees reviewed broadcasting policy approximately every decade. The Ullswater Committee of 1936 suggested increasing regional output, but there were, by then, other worries. War was looming and transmitters and resources were needed for overseas services in an effort to counter Fascist propaganda, to explain British policies to other nations or to inform British citizens around the world.

1.3 Change, 1936-49

The pre-war broadcasting scene, carefully nurtured by BBC bosses over almost two decades, was soon to undergo dramatic change. Three warrant particular attention here: the opening of BBC television (1936), John Reith's resignation (1938) and World War Two (1939-45).

Another Scot, John Logie Baird (1888-1946) is often credited with having invented television. Baird came from Argyll and was educated in Glasgow. He experimented with television and showed the world a rather murky, 30 line, black and white TV picture in London in 1924. Reith never saw any interest in television, but Baird deftly promoted his invention and the authorities forced the BBC to carry Baird's experimental transmissions from 1929 onwards. Baird's equipment appeared to work well enough for a public service to be organised in 1936. However, Baird's 240 line mechanical system was abandoned after only two months trial - in favour of the more sophisticated 405 line electronic system demonstrated by Marconi-EMI. The infant BBC Television Service never reached beyond the Home Counties and closed on the outbreak of hostilities. Television would almost replace the 'wireless' in the 1950s and early 60s.

In 1938 John Reith, feeling 'bored', 'restless' and 'understretched', resigned and joined Imperial Airways. He was succeeded at the BBC by another Scottish Presbyterian, William Ogilvie, a former Professor of Politics at Edinburgh University. Ogilvie subtly changed BBC policies by paying attention to audience research and allowing more light entertainment. These were troubled times and the new Director-General made less of an impression than his somewhat arrogant predecessor. Ogilvie was forced to resign in 1942.

Meanwhile the BBC had been forced to merge all its domestic services in 1939-40. It was hoped that synchronising the transmitters would prevent enemy aircraft from using them as navigation aids on bombing raids. A new 'Home Service' thus replaced the National and the decentralised stations. The Scottish Regional programme, like the others, was closed. There were two consequences. Firstly, there was much concern that this single, sometimes rather austere BBC service might be poor for British morale. Alarming reports filtered home of troops stationed in France who much preferred to listen to the music and entertainment purveyed by Radio International (formerly Radio Normandy, the commercial station) rather than the more tedious offerings of the BBC. Ogilvie actually crossed the Channel to see for himself and, partly as a result, the BBC set up its 'Forces Programme'. (This became the Light Programme after the war and later Radio 2.) The BBC thus began to move away from Reith's desire to impose a daily dose of 'good' programmes on the unsuspecting public to today's generic system which enables listeners to tune in to the programming of their choice. The other problem was how to inform Gaels (and Welsh speakers). Scottish Gaelic was granted five minutes a week on the UK-wide Home Service (and half an hour per week on a regional frequency). Gaelic gained a higher profile but English monoglots tended to turn off the radio at such times.

Regional versions of the Home Service were revived in 1945, but the emphasis then was even more firmly on national stations - the Light Programme (1945), the more highbrow Third Network (1946) and the expansion of the 'BBC Television Service' beyond London and the Home Counties (1949

onwards). This gave the British public a choice between two distinctive radio services during the day and a third (plus the new television pictures) in the evenings.

The UK-wide approach made even more sense after the war. The British were perhaps more united than ever before. Politics was by then a simpler, largely two-party affair. Most people throughout the UK wanted to end the scourges of poverty and unemployment and 'regional' issues were judged less important.

Broadcasting for Scotland (at least until 1957) was thus largely British in scope and centrally managed. Governments, however, were seldom involved in decision making and the BBC was given relative freedom to operate within the framework established by its Royal Charter and the licences granted by the Post Office. Many policy decisions were thus taken by the BBC itself. Scots certainly participated actively, with a trio in leading positions: the public service ideals of the BBC owed much to John Reith, John Logie Baird was the great television pioneer and the BBC began to reconcile its ideals with audience demand under William Ogilvie. British broadcasting in the early days was thus something of an Anglo-Scottish endeavour.

To what extent did these services meet Scottish needs? Scottish broadcasts were mainly heard on the 'Regional Programme' before the war and the 'Scottish Home Service' in the post-war years. Programme content north of the border, however, was often limited to opt outs featuring ballads or Scottish dance music, occasionally introduced by a presenter with a non-standard accent and even more rarely in Gaelic. The audience seemed relatively satisfied and alternatives to the BBC, whether Nazi propaganda (e.g. Radio Caledonia) or foreign entertainment stations, attracted relatively few listeners in Scotland.

The legacy of this era is perhaps richer than many imagine. Firstly, these policies gave the BBC a little extra credibility as a Corporation that apparently respected something of the diverse cultures of the UK. This undoubtedly encouraged the BBC to decentralise more later on. Secondly, the present day BBC stations serving the national regions are often direct descendants of the original BBC radio and television opt outs. Thirdly, some aspects of current broadcasting, from accents to on-screen identities, either date back to this heritage or developed in opposition to the London bias of the early BBC. Finally, designing a regional structure led to the interesting concept of the 'national region', an expression which neatly sums up their status as both regions of the UK and at the same time nations in their own right.

2. Television in Scotland

The BBC may have become a model, the public service *par excellence*, but at home there was also a sense of unease. The members of the Beveridge Committee (1949) criticised the 'Londonization' of the Corporation. To palliate, they recommended (amongst other measures) that there should always be a BBC Governor with 'special knowledge' of Scotland. There was also concern over the 'brute force' of its monopoly. One member, Selwyn Lloyd, went further and called for a second, independent television channel in a minority report.

Post-war policy often tended to focus on supply and politicians wanted to make more services available throughout the land. The BBC's main priority was to expand coverage of the Television Service beyond the Home Counties. Limited resources forced the Corporation to focus on providing a national service to as much of the UK as possible, both to keep costs down and to maximise television licence revenue. BBC transmissions to the Scottish Central Belt began in 1952, to the 'North East' of Scotland in 1954 and were extended to the Moray Firth area in 1957.

By then the BBC faced competition. The next sections will examine how the ITV regional network came about, its extension to Scotland and the current Scottish television scene.

2.1 Independent Television (ITV)

After 1951 the Conservative government was in favour of free enterprise, competition and a larger private sector. A new television channel would meet all their wishes, without really upsetting the post war consensus. The story of the campaign for Independent Television (ITV) is well known. The project was both skilfully promoted by a well-organised pressure group and strongly opposed by many of the forces of the land. Lord Reith, for example, reacted violently in the House of Lords. He railed against the introduction of 'sponsored programmes', likening them to bubonic plague. His emphasis on sponsorship spoilt his argument, although his speech did subsequently influence arrangements for ITV.

The government made four proposals to reassure public opinion. Firstly, the commercial broadcasters would be regulated by an Independent Television Authority (ITA), set up by Act of Parliament. Like BBC Governors, the members of the Authority represented different sections of the UK public (including a Member for Scotland). The ITA, secondly, would not be purely commercial, but would have much the same public service duties as the BBC. Thirdly, partly as a sop to Reith's objections, sponsorship would be banned. That meant that spot advertising became ITV's main source of revenue. Finally, the new service would be regional with programme companies obliged to reflect the taste and outlook of their areas. The sale of advertising time would force the new broadcasters to respond to their audiences. The new system would, it was hoped, imitate the best of the Reithian BBC and yet avoid the Corporation's arrogance, centralisation and London bias.

That said, ITV started 'down South', moulding the new network in unforeseen ways. The ITA initially launched the self-financing service in the major markets - London, the Midlands and the North of England - to maximise revenue. Three of the four first programme contractors established their headquarters in London. Advertising revenue did not cover costs in the early days and the near-bankrupt companies were forced to save money by exchanging their programmes. The ITV network was thus born out of necessity.

Unexpectedly, the first challenge to the BBC monopoly in Scotland came not from ITV, but from a group of nationalists in 1956. Viewers in Perth were no doubt surprised when the news was interrupted with advice to stay tuned after the BBC Television Service closed down for the night. Sure enough, after the national anthem, a clandestine broadcast began with the words "This is Radio Free Scotland proclaiming to the nation that the fight for independence is on in earnest". The station was also heard on the television sound channel in Glasgow, in Ayrshire and later on 262 metres medium wave. The SNP, at that time denied party political broadcasts, supported the illegal station. At least a couple of future SNP leaders were said to be involved. It is reported that sporadic transmissions from the roving transmitter continued until 1965 but the station is more famous for having existed than for what may have been said over the air! The SNP was granted a party political broadcast soon afterwards, limited to five minutes on the radio and five on television, the latter broadcast simultaneously on all Scottish transmitters (BBC and ITV).

2.2 The **Scottish Television Companies: STV, Border and Grampian.**

Scotland was at the forefront of the second phase of ITV development. This owed much to Canadian Roy Thomson, the new proprietor of the *Scotsman* newspaper. Thomson was convinced that commercial television could succeed in Scotland and persuaded the ITA to build a transmitting station in the Central Lowlands. One of his companies was subsequently awarded the contract and commenced broadcasting in 1957.

Scottish Television (STV) proved an enormous success. Firstly, the company had no difficulty producing far more than the 90 minutes of programmes made per week in Scotland by the BBC! The mix of successful ITV network shows and local output (news, weather, sports reports and commercials as well as programmes) proved highly attractive to Scottish viewers. The station created an entirely

different atmosphere thanks to appearances by Scottish entertainers, presenters speaking in local accents and the frequent appearance of the STV logo incorporating the Scottish flag. The BBC with its London shows, 'Oxford' English and highbrow programmes began to lose viewers. Roy Thomson likened his franchise to an authorisation to 'print money'. ITV was attracting 70% of UK viewers by the end of the decade.

The BBC felt obliged to react and introduced a 'regional' dimension to BBC television (1957). Scotland (like Northern Ireland and Wales) became a 'national region' whilst England was divided into ten areas. Each broadcast its own news and some opt out programmes. Some highly successful network shows have also been made in the regional production centres. Famous Scottish programmes have included Hogmanay specials, the original *Dr Finlay's Casebook* (1962-71) loosely based on A.J. Cronin's *Country Doctor*, Peter Watkins's award-winning docudrama *Culloden* (1964) and *Monarch of the Glen* (2000-5). All have attracted vast audiences across the UK, although they have not always entirely satisfied the critics.

The ITA then embarked on a third phase of development to serve the rest of the United Kingdom. The remaining areas were more rural, with fewer, less affluent inhabitants and appeared less attractive commercially. The ITA nevertheless emphasised the regional nature of its channel, insisting that franchisees would not only have to make programmes in and for their areas, but would also have to locate their head offices, studios, outside broadcast teams and airtime sales operations in their regions.

The Uplands sandwiched between the North of England and the Central Lowlands of Scotland were coveted by powerful neighbours but the ITA preferred to appoint a new contractor, Border Television of Carlisle. The company commenced operations in 1961. Transmissions from Cumbria also reached the Isle of Man and the Borders eventually became a tri-national TV area serving English, Scottish and Manx viewers.

The final addition to ITV in Scotland was Grampian Television. The station began broadcasting to the North East of Scotland in 1961 from studios in Aberdeen. Its initial area overlapped considerably with Scottish Television, especially on Tayside, and the company struggled at first. Extra transmitters were added later and Grampian became the ITV contractor for the 'North of Scotland' (1975), including some Gaelic speaking areas of the North West.

ITV, despite its regional foundations, has always had many of the characteristics of a national network. As far as programmes are concerned the 'majors' have monopolised production, operating from studios in London, Birmingham, Manchester and, later, Leeds. Scottish schedules have thus always been full of programmes made in England. Most of the smaller companies make their own programmes for local transmission. STV's *Scotsport*, for example is the longest running programme on ITV. Few Scottish programmes have been networked. One notable exception is *Taggart*, the popular police detective series, first aired in 1983. STV also revived *Dr Finlay* (1993), but in a post-war guise.

2.3 The Scottish Television Scene

Television thus provided more opportunities for Scots to become involved in broadcasting, whether by working for the Scottish television companies or in the BBC's Scottish studios. ITV also modified the power balance, with some of the decisions taken by bodies meeting in London (the ITA, the ITV network, both with their Scottish representatives) and some decision making further delegated to the programme contractors in their markets. Scotland, with its two and a half regions, was arguably better provided for than all the other 'national regions', apart from England.

Official policies on bilingualism have varied. Both UK regulators and broadcasters were slow to realise the importance of the Celtic languages. Gaelic and Welsh were heard on television as early as 1952, but the languages were not given at all the same status. Lobbying had been required to secure a place for Welsh on the airwaves but there was no similar battle for Gaelic. The only Gaelic heard that year was part of the Grand Concert of the National Mod of *An Comunn Gàidhealach*. The first Gaelic

television programme was perhaps *Ceòl nan Gàidheal* (Music of the Gael) in 1962 but it was presented in English! Current affairs in Gaelic (*Bonn Comhraidh*) had to wait until 1970. Gaelic only featured regularly once ITV reached the Highlands and Western Isles in 1975. Grampian, the company serving the Gaelic speaking heartland emerged as the predominant Gaelic programme maker although STV also broadcasts in Gaelic for the benefit of Gaels who live or work on Clydeside. Scottish Gaelic has, however, fared better than Irish and Manx, which have seldom been used on television.

The ITV regional system was hugely successful - all parts of the network generated mass audiences and attracted healthy national, regional or local advertising. It was also an extremely expensive channel to run, with 16 companies and an authority to finance. This left little revenue for other broadcast media. With the exception of the Welsh Channel S4C, subsequent TV stations were set up for the whole of the UK. Little attention to the regions was paid by BBC Two (1964), Channel Four (1982), Breakfast Television (1983) or Five (1997).

The two Scottish television companies have fared reasonably well over the years. The 'English' (and 'Welsh') ITV stations, including Border, have all merged and are now known collectively as ITV-1 whilst the two main Scottish contractors are still independent, albeit as parts of the Scottish Media Group (SMG) of companies. They have presented themselves on air as 'STV Central' and 'STV North' since 2006. STV is still the most watched station in Scotland, broadcasting to 3.4 million viewers. It remains to be seen whether the STV stations can preserve their independence. There have been merger talks on three occasions with Ulster TV (UTV) but the two firms have not been able to agree.

Scottish stations also have a reasonable record as programme makers. The STV Central studios produce over 1,000 hours of programmes a year, STV North makes a further 400 hours and both companies also make and broadcast programmes in Gaelic. This compares favourably with the 869 hours that emanated from BBC Scotland, of which 83 hours were in Gaelic and 240 hours were networked across the UK

The next round of developments came initially from a new breed of radio station. The consequences and ramifications were to fundamentally change broadcasting over four decades, with colossal impact on Scotland.

3. Multichannel Scotland

UK broadcasting in the early 1960s was organised in a very simple way – the BBC sound broadcasting monopoly, the television duopoly (the BBC and ITV) with one programme contractor in each Scottish region. Competition, from RTE in the Irish Republic or Radio Luxembourg in the evenings, hardly reached Scotland.

This cosy state of affairs was unexpectedly shattered at Easter 1964 when Radio Caroline was launched from an old ferry boat anchored in the Thames Estuary, followed by a sister ship moored in the Irish Sea. Caroline was an all day music network financed by advertising. Radio Caroline was also fun, attracted millions of listeners, and made money. The pirates questioned the whole ethos of traditional broadcasting, challenged the BBC and the Establishment and introduced free enterprise and competition to the airwaves. The loopholes in the law exploited by the Caroline organisation theoretically enabled almost anyone to procure a radio ship and commence broadcasts. The state-sponsored monopolies were threatened - as was London domination of the media scene. About twenty offshore stations followed in Caroline's wake. One was Radio Scotland, which started broadcasting from its anchorage in the Firth of Forth at the end of 1965. Other new radio stations followed.

The new stations for Scotland fall into three groups – the pirates, the more recently authorised local, regional and national radio stations and Gaelic language broadcasters.

3.1 (Offshore) Radio Scotland, 1965-7.

Radio Scotland innovated in many ways. It was the first broadcaster that could claim to be 'Scottish' and the first to devote considerable time to Scottish content.

Radio Scotland could claim to be a truly Scottish venture. The shareholders were mainly Scottish. The managers were drawn largely from the world of Scottish entertainment or media, especially former staff from D.C. Thomson, the Dundee newspaper and magazine group. Tommy Shields, the Managing Director, had once worked for Roy Thomson, owner of STV and *The Scotsman* newspaper. Shields would probably be described as a nationalist today. (Like Reith before him, he had a puritanical streak and was remembered for banning records he did not like!) Even the radio ship, the MV *Comet*, was proudly described as 'Clyde-built'!

There had been optimistic plans for a genuinely Scottish service with 40% local content and an emphasis on Scottish news and Scottish music. Unfortunately the station was delayed and went on air in a rush, without adequate funding, technical expertise or even proper equipment. These initial problems forced Radio Scotland to opt for a simpler format, imitating its sisters to the south by pumping out the usual pirate programming - 'Top 40' pop, DJ patter, customised jingles and local commercials. In other ways Radio Scotland differed. The station added a smattering of Scottish dance music and played Scottish and Irish ballads. There was a daily show called the *One O'Clock Gang*, previously aired on Scottish TV, and a nightly *Ceilidh*. Few native Scots had radio experience, so many presenters were recruited from 'down south'. The station's best known broadcasters, however, such as the actor Stuart Henry and former journalist Richard Park, were Scottish born and bred. Radio Scotland's programming was thus a mixture of typical 'pirate' fare together with a distinctive Scottish flavour.

The station created a fair amount of excitement. The DJs projected an enthusiastic, optimistic, resolutely modern image - the opposite of the fusty BBC, the voice of London, broadcasting in southern educated English. An NOP survey estimated that Radio Scotland had an audience of some 2.5 million listeners a week by February 1966.

Harold Wilson's Labour government did not condone such activities and made plans to scupper the pirates. Some Scottish MPs and many of Radio Scotland's listeners campaigned in favour of retaining the station, using two main arguments. Some of the listeners lived outside areas served by the BBC and would thus be deprived of all British sound broadcasting if and when Radio Scotland was forced to shut down. Secondly, most observers agreed that the pirates had overwhelmingly proved that there were other types of programming that could attract large audiences. There was latent demand not only for various types of music station but also services targeting particular areas, whether local or national. A dedicated Scottish service seemed long overdue and the BBC patently did not cater for all tastes or needs. In desperation, Radio Scotland's owners offered to donate their station to the state to avoid closure. The government declined the offer, the anti-pirate legislation (the 'Marine Offences Act') was passed and Radio Scotland was duly forced to leave the air. A bagpipe lament ended transmissions on 14 August 1967. The close down broke many hearts, though several DJs used their time on board as a launch pad to greater things. Roger Gale became a (Conservative) MP whilst Stuart Henry joined Radio 1, the BBC 'popular music service' that was intended to largely replace the pirates.

Radio Scotland was thus an interesting experiment and marked a new stage in the development of broadcasting for Scotland. The 'pirates' produced a great deal more programming in Scotland than the BBC and ITV, all channels combined. They proved that a full-time Scottish service could be achieved, economically and even profitably. The station revealed the potential for Scottish broadcasting, raising awareness of the BBC's poor performance in particular and of some of the limits of UK-wide services in general. The SNP had shown some interest in the station but the Conservative Party was more influenced in the medium term. There was talk of free enterprise and privatisation, themes that were taken up by a couple of students from St Andrews and publicised in their free market pamphlets. Such

thinking dominated the new breed of Conservatives who rose to power in 1970 (and especially in 1979).

Radio was only one of the problems the politicians faced. With hindsight it is easy to pinpoint the 1960s as a transition period between a previously strong British identity and growing nationalism in the home nations. Steady economic decline in Scotland, despite regional development policies, cast doubts on the merits of the politicians' post-war consensus. Pride in being British weakened as Britain lost its industrial lead and colonies became independent. Memories of imperial greatness and wartime unity were fading. Winnie Ewing was elected to Parliament for the SNP in 1967 but the big political parties only slowly realised that the nationalist vote was not just a protest movement but a long term phenomenon,.

3.2 Local and National Radio for Scotland

The Conservatives won the 1970 elections (with unexpected help from a resuscitated Radio Caroline). They immediately set about implementing their election pledge to authorise commercial radio. The result was Independent Local Radio (ILR), closely modelled on ITV (without the networking) and regulated by the same body, renamed the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA). London was still the natural choice for the first two stations (1973) but the third, Radio Clyde, opened in Glasgow at the end of that year. Radio Clyde was something of a successor to the pirates and, at the same time, both Glaswegian and, in some respects, very Scottish.

The choice of Glasgow was not so much a sop to awakening Scottish nationalist sentiment as hard-headed business sense at the UK level. Large conurbations - like Clydeside - would enable the new service to be offered quickly, to as many people as possible, at the lowest cost - just as the Conservative government wished. Furthermore, the IBA had to finance its operations itself. It thus needed to launch the potentially most profitable stations first, to maximise revenue and fund future expansion. Finally, a northerly location enabled the same frequency to be shared with other stations further south.

Radio Clyde was a real 'community' station as envisaged at the time, with local shareholders, staff and programmes. Members of other consortia that had applied for the franchise joined the company, which thus included a very wide range of investors from both business and civic life. Fifteen individuals bought shares, as did six local newspapers, the Clydesdale Bank and Scottish Television. Other backers included a university, a church, charities, a trade union, the Automobile Association (AA) and seven Co-operative societies. The team was led by Managing Director Jimmy Gordon, a local man who became a much-respected figure in the world of British radio. Most of the staff were recruited from the area. One or two had learnt their trade as pirates on Radio Scotland but hardly any had BBC experience.

Radio Clyde introduced ‘ILR programming’, a stream of middle of the road, pop and rock music, interspersed with regular news bulletins, weather forecasts and traffic news reports. Presenters ran two, three or four hour segments sometimes inviting participation from listeners who phoned in. More specialised programmes were broadcast in the evenings, with an emphasis on sport on Saturdays and a networked chart show on Sundays. The station thus produced all but two hours a week of its output - that is more than the combined production of all other broadcasters in Scotland at the time. All programmes were transmitted on both AM (medium wave), then at the height of its popularity, and duplicated (‘simulcast’) on the FM band, seen as the future home of high quality, interference free sound broadcasting.

Some Radio Clyde staff had a near missionary zeal to create a new image for Clydeside in those days when Glasgow invariably made the headlines because of ‘bad news’ – declining industries, industrial disputes or social problems. According to staff (quoted by Baron, 1975), Radio Clyde stressed a heady mix of local pride ("Glaswegians think of Glasgow as the centre of the world"), a heartfelt mission to "draw the attention of the rest of the country to the West", and a strong national identity ("this station is for Scots and Scotland"). Radio Clyde was an immediate success, with more than half the

population of its service area listening every day, 70% during the week. The station proved attractive to advertisers and became profitable after only six months on air.

A second Scottish ILR station was launched in Edinburgh in 1975. Radio Forth had a wide variety of shareholders (but fewer than Radio Clyde) and close links with the local music scene. Radio Forth has never achieved the stunning penetration levels of stations closer to the 'Celtic Fringe' but has nevertheless been highly successful. It soon attracted (1980) as many listeners as Radio 1 (48% weekly reach), more than Radio 2 and twice as many as BBC Radio Scotland (24%).

The BBC changed its policy on regional radio at this time, partly to cling onto some of its frequencies which would otherwise have been assigned to the new commercial stations. Funding had proved difficult for BBC local stations in England and the Corporation simply could not afford to establish local radio throughout the UK. The day after Radio Clyde was launched, the BBC rebranded its Scottish service. Its Radio 4 opt out, successor to the Scottish regional service, thus became 'BBC Radio Scotland' on 1 January 1974.

BBC Radio Scotland was originally considered 'very English' but gradually developed into a respected Scottish national station. The critics, for example, have praised the station for giving a Scottish view of the world. The service has certainly built up very respectable audience figures. Some, however, felt that national stations ignored regional, social and cultural diversity. This was particularly true in Scotland with the enormous differences between, say, the Western Isles, the Borders, the Shetlands, the Highlands and the Lowlands. The BBC relented a little and the Labour government, ideologically opposed to commercial radio, began to authorise BBC 'community' opt out stations during the 1970s.

The BBC further re-assessed its Scottish strategy in the light of the Annan Committee's Report (1976) and the success of ILR. The BBC would have liked to match the independent sector's local coverage but the Home Office (then responsible for broadcasting) was reluctant to allow such duplication. In the end the BBC left the cities and big towns to ILR and moved into areas that might not support a commercial station. By the mid-1980s the BBC had small operations in Aberdeen, Inverness, Stornoway, the Orkneys and Shetlands with Selkirk and Dumfries added a little later. These BBC transmitters usually relayed BBC Radio Scotland most of the time with extremely limited opt-outs catering for their localities. The system was rather complicated, with programmes sometimes carried by one transmitter, sometimes broadcast on several.

The IBA, meanwhile, prioritised several Scottish towns and cities. A 'twin' station, Radio Tay, was opened in 1980 to serve Dundee and Perth, both on the outskirts of the Radio Forth area. It did not survive as a separate entity, merging with its neighbour in 1986, but still broadcasts its own programmes. Further stations were launched in 1981-2: NorthSound serving Aberdeen, West Sound for Ayr and Moray Firth Radio (MFR) further north. Scottish coverage was thus patchy. The Central Belt was served by no less than four, partly overlapping stations with two more on the north eastern coast. Bullish Scottish business interests had encouraged the IBA to authorise separate stations for Inverness and Ayr, two more than had been expected. The final ILR stations opened in the South West and the Borders in 1990.

The listeners were generally appreciative, but the high cost, heavily regulated ILR model prevented radio companies from making a reasonable return on their investment. This had several consequences. Firstly, ILR was not extended to the rest of the Scotland, leaving vast swathes of the country without local radio. Secondly, it encouraged those who did have a vision of local broadcasting to ignore the law. Land-based pirate stations proved that another style of local radio was possible, popular and even profitable. There were several pirates in the cities and unauthorised stations even in remote areas (such as the Shetlands). The IBA relented a little and authorised its stations to split frequencies, offering one service on medium wave (AM) and another on FM. Glasgow led the way, with Clyde 1 and Clyde 2, and the larger city stations (Edinburgh, Dundee/Perth, Aberdeen and Ayr) followed suit through the 1990s. Meanwhile, Independent National Radio (Classic FM, Talk Radio, Virgin Radio) had also

come to the UK. Much lighter regulation was later introduced across the independent radio sector, first by the Radio Authority and then by Ofcom.

Today the nearly 40 local and regional stations in Scotland can be classified according to ownership. Approximately half the stations have been taken over by British or international groups. Even so, most of them are still managed locally and almost all their programming is locally originated (except for sustaining services in the 'wee' hours). The other local radio stations in Scotland are locally owned and run. More stations have been authorised and are expected on air soon.

3.3 Gaelic on the Air

Gaelic enthusiasts felt that their language was being neglected but, unlike the Welsh, did not lobby intensively for greater provision for Gaelic on air. Many are convinced that this was partly because television did not reach the Gaelic speaking areas of the Highlands and Western Isles until the 1960s or 70s. It was not a question of the English language vs. Gaelic - there was simply no television at all. Even as the transmitters strode through the glens, however, the pro-Gaelic broadcasting campaign remained extremely low key. Wales obtained a national, Welsh language radio station in 1977, but Gaels had to wait. The Gaelic output from Inverness (Radio Highland) and Stornoway (Radio nan Eilean) was finally merged in 1985 to create an embryonic, unified Gaelic service, called BBC Radio nan Gàidheal. The station, with its longer broadcasting hours and much greater range of programmes, was no mere opt-out.

Radio nan Gàidheal has developed over the years into a national Gaelic language service. Transmissions on a dedicated FM frequency began around the Moray Firth and in the Western Highlands and Islands in 1993. Several developments occurred in 1996. Extra government funds were made available and the radio station was then merged with BBC Gaelic TV operations and the Gaelic education service (to create the *Craoladh nan Gàidheal* organisation). Radio operations were extended that year to the Central Belt and Aberdeen, making 45 hours of Gaelic language output a week available to 90% of Gaelic speakers. Radio nan Gàidheal has continued to expand, and now broadcasts from 2 until 11 p.m. every weekday together with a full weekend schedule. Programming is varied, presenting music, drama, sports commentaries, conversation, outside broadcasts, Gaelic lessons, children's shows and regular news. Some of the output is also available in the form of podcasts and the service is regularly streamed on the Internet. The 'BBC Alba' website today plays an important role in promoting both the language and the station.

At this time, incidentally, a Gaelic speaking Scot reached the top of the BBC. Alasdair Milne, a previous Controller of BBC Scotland, became Director–General of the BBC in 1982. Alasdair Milne likes to portray himself as the last great Director-General in the Reithian tradition, but his period of office was marred by a series of disputes, mainly with Conservative politicians who thought the BBC was too left wing. Alasdair Milne was put under intense pressure to resign by the Board of Governors and stepped down in 1987.

Meanwhile Gaelic enthusiasts looked enviously to Wales where *Sianel 4 Cymru* (S4C), the all-Welsh TV channel, opened in 1982. The Gaels of Scotland asked for similar support for their language. Analysts suggest that the moderately successful outcome of their requests owed much to the support of George Younger (1931-2003), who wanted to do something to help the Gaelic community. George Younger was MP for Ayr (1964–1992), held several top positions in the Conservative Party and was one of Mrs Thatcher's staunch supporters. This probably enabled him to circumvent her legendary aversion to creating extra regulatory bodies and increasing public funding. As Secretary of State for Scotland (1979-86) and a cabinet member (1979-1989), he was well-placed to act in favour of Gaelic television.

Gaelic-language broadcasting has been helped since then by three Acts of Parliament, two committees and the new Gaelic Media Service (GMS). First the 1990 Broadcasting Act established a Gaelic Television Fund, administered by a Gaelic Television Committee (*Comataidh Telebhisein Gàidhlig*). The Committee members were appointed by the Independent Television Commission (ITC) which had

replaced the IBA. The committee sponsored training and audience research but its main objective was to fund more Gaelic television programmes. Approximately half its £9 million budget was paid to independent producers, the other half being shared between the BBC, Grampian and STV. Grampian was required to broadcast in Gaelic for nearly an hour a day and STV for half an hour, both companies exchanging further programmes. Around 300 hours of Gaelic TV programmes were thus made per year and Glasgow and Stornoway have emerged as the main production centres.

Television programmes in Gaelic have been surprisingly successful with, however, one major criticism. On the negative side, Gaelic programmes are systematically sub-titled in Scotland, a practice that many native speakers and learners find distracting. On the other hand, audiences for Gaelic programmes are sometimes enormous. The *Marchair* soap, for example, has attracted up to 450,000 viewers, many times the total number of Gaelic speakers! Such success has encouraged nationalists to call for a real Scottish TV channel, pointing out that BBC Scotland and the ITV stations together only broadcast some 80 minutes of Scottish news and information per day.

The 1996 Broadcasting Act extended funding to Gaelic language radio. The funding body became the 'Gaelic Broadcasting Committee' (*Comataidh Craolaidh Gàidhlig,* CCG) in 1997. The first Gaelic language TV channel was established in 1999, but as a private initiative. TeleG broadcasts from premises in Stornoway for one hour (between 6 and 7 every evening) on Digital Freeview. Programmes are devoted to Scottish music, documentaries and a host of other subjects. The service is operated by SDN, now a subsidiary of ITV plc.

Gaels still felt neglected on the airwaves. In 2000 a 'Gaelic Broadcasting Task Force' was established, chaired by Alasdair Milne (the former top BBC executive). The group's report recommended the establishment of a Gaelic Broadcasting Authority to run a new digital Gaelic television channel. The 2003 Communications Act continued with the incremental approach. The Act created the Gaelic Media Service (*Seirbheis nam Meadhanan Gàidhlig*), also based in Stornoway, which took over the activities of the previous committees but with extended powers. Firstly, the Gaelic Media Service (GMS) can make, commission and schedule programmes. It is expected to enhance the range and quality of Gaelic programmes and ensure that high-quality programmes in Gaelic are broadcast at appropriate viewing times. Secondly it has a consultative role in relation to Gaelic programmes on digital television. More important, it also has the authority to seek a broadcast licence and can thus participate directly in the establishment of the forthcoming Gaelic-language television service. As far as programme costs are concerned, the Scottish Government (formerly the Executive) provides £8.5 million a year. GMS can thus help finance about 160 hours of new television programmes a year (in addition to Gaelic language programmes funded by STV and the BBC). The service has also acquired extensive archives.

The launch of the dedicated, digital television service for Scotland is expected soon. Partners include BBC Scotland and the Scottish Government as well as GMS. The new service, the GMS has announced (on its website), will 'combine television, radio and online, offering Gaelic speakers, learners and all who have an interest in the language access to a wide variety of programmes and resources distributed via a range of broadcast platforms'. The total cost has been estimated at between £16 and £17 million. There has been a mixed reaction to the project, judged in some quarters to be too expensive, parochial or inward looking. GMS responds that it has a vision of a sustainable Gaelic media service that is vibrant, comprehensive, cost-effective, contemporary, and reflective of the finest quality of public service broadcasting. 'Broadcasting, especially television', it feels, 'plays an important role in supporting the Gaelic language'. (GMS website, 2007) The channel's remit may be extended to include coverage of debates in the Scottish Parliament (using pictures and sound supplied by the BBC).

Conclusion

Finally, how has Scotland fared? To what extent have Scottish radio and television services been organised to help create, reflect or maintain Scottish national consciousness? Is Scotland just a media

province of the UK or can Scotland be considered a distinctive 'national region', differentiated by its own broadcast media? Are Scottish listeners and viewers reasonably satisfied?

In many respects Scotland is well and truly part of the UK-wide media scene. Responsibility for broadcasting has not been devolved and Westminster retains ultimate control. Most of the major broadcast media cover the whole of the United Kingdom and are London based. Audience surveys show that most Scots watch channels that have hardly anything Scottish about them, including BBC Two, Channel Four, Five and Sky. Scots also listen massively to British stations such as BBC Radios 1 to 5, Classic FM and Virgin Radio.

There have been complaints, especially concerning content. UK channels sometimes cover the wrong sport (e.g. cricket), the wrong match (e.g. the English football team) or give precedence not to Scottish news or interests but to events taking place in London. In particular there have been calls for a 'Scottish Six', a programme that could present national and international news from a Scottish perspective, every evening at 6 p.m. Some Scots moan about the prevalence of received pronunciation (RP) and the lack of Scottish accents. Occasional requests for more use of Doric, Lallans or other dialects on air, or programmes devoted to bagpipes or ballads, apparently meet with little approval. Complaints there may be, but few Scots have voiced enormous frustration with UK programmes and Scottish broadcasting has seldom been a major political issue, at least until 2007.

It is difficult to prove that the potential for Scottish broadcasting has been crushed, even if pirate stations have been forced to close and the ITV and ILR stations were often stifled by overbearing UK regulators. It is possible that a different sense of Scottish identity might have developed if Scots had been given more leeway. However, when most European states centralised broadcasting after the Second World War, the UK bucked the trend. Scotland has thus enjoyed the benefits of a measure of decentralised television (since 1957), local radio (starting in 1973) and its own national radio (from 1974 onwards). Furthermore, many Scots – from John Reith to Alasdair Milne - have participated fully in the development of British broadcasting, often moulding the UK media scene in very Scottish ways.

The opposite view would be to contend that Scotland's own broadcasting services have really differentiated the country from the rest of the UK. Scotland does indeed have its own channels. A trio of commercial television stations has operated for over 40 years. There are also several major radio stations, including Glasgow-based Radio Clyde (1973), BBC Radio Scotland (1974) and the Gaelic language BBC Radio nan Gàidheal (1985), which is now virtually a national station. A measure of the impact of these Scottish stations is the whinging by some commentators about a Western Lowland bias, amplified by the recent concentration of Scottish media on Pacific Quay in Glasgow. (The new studio centres are home to BBC Scotland, STV and Radio Clyde.) Any such bias would be partly compensated for by stations in other parts of the country. Half the local radio stations in Scotland are still locally owned – which is something of an achievement in these days of mergers, acquisitions and globalisation. The other local stations tend to be locally managed and still produce almost all their output themselves. These Scottish services have the opportunity to present a distinctive Scottish view of the world. They attract respectable audiences, contributing to Scottish national consciousness at home and projecting a Scottish image when programmes are broadcast in the rest of the UK or abroad.

Finally some might conclude that Scotland has a dual identity, both Scottish and British. Two major television channels, BBC One and STV illustrate this. Their distinctiveness is based on various Scottish features including locally made programmes, logos and a Scottish on-air identification. STV keeps its name and refuses to adopt the ITV-1 brand used by all the companies to the south. Both channels provide opt outs - the BBC throughout Scotland and the independent companies in their regions. Even if many BBC Scotland and STV programmes come from the UK networks, Scottish viewers still benefits from both decentralised and regional services.

The BBC itself is an interesting example of this dual identity. First and foremost, the BBC has claimed to unite the nation, traditionally the British nation. At the same time the BBC has decentralised to

serve Scotland. The BBC's main contributions to Scottish consciousness are probably its two Scottish national radio services supplemented by opt-out programmes on television and radio plus the 'BBC Alba' website. Future prospects look good. The BBC has recently spent £188 m on brand new, state of the art premises at Pacific Quay in Glasgow. The Corporation now aims to make 9% of its network programmes north of the border, fractionally more than the proportion of Scots in the total UK population. The BBC, despite its headquarters in London, is one of the broadcasters that pays the most attention to Scotland and also one of the major players in the struggle to save the Gaelic language and culture. The BBC thus has a dual role: it is a British broadcaster that has massively increased its Scottish operations over the years.

The 'Independent' sector also sits astride the border. Scottish companies have successfully invested elsewhere. An example is the Scottish Media Group, the STV parent company, which also owns Virgin Radio, the British station. The British and European markets thus offer opportunities to develop and diversify in different directions – Scottish firms expanding south of the border whilst other companies move northwards into Scotland.

To many outsiders, the low profile of Gaelic comes as a surprise, especially compared to Wales or the Irish Republic, where the other national language has been subtly used to bolster identity. The development of programmes or services in Gaelic seems extremely slow. BBC Radio nan Gàidheal has nevertheless steadily increased the amount of Gaelic broadcast – to over 50 hours per week - and is accessible to the majority of the Scottish population. Furthermore, a couple of radio stations in the Western Isles are bilingual. Other 'nations without states' (including the Basque Country, Bavaria, Catalonia, Flanders, Slovakia, Wallonia and even the Soviet and Yugoslav Republics) established their own TV channels years ago. Gaels, however, are still waiting for a full-time television channel, 25 years after S4C was launched in Wales (1982). Broadcasting policy seems to confirm observations that Scottish Gaelic is considered a relatively minor Scottish identifier. This may change if Tele G expands its hours or when the promised dedicated channel comes on air. Gaelic enthusiasts are not really satisfied although the language is heard more on air than ever before.

The launch of a Scottish channel comes at a difficult time. Television audiences are beginning to decline as people spend more time in front of their computers, surfing on the Internet or playing video games. There is an already somewhat crowded media environment in which any new service will have to compete for its share of funds and viewers. It will be interesting to see how a Scottish station fares in a multi-channel world.

Some References

Stephen Barnard: *On the Radio - Music Radio in Britain.* Milton Keynes: OUP, 1989.
Mike Baron: *Independent Radio, the Story of Commercial Radio in the United Kingdom.* Lavenham, (Suffolk): Terrence Dalton, 1975.
Asa Briggs: *The BBC – The First Fifty Years*. Oxford University Press, 1985
Robert Chapman: *Selling the Sixties, the Pirates and Pop Music Radio*. London: Routledge, 1992
Paul Harris: *When Pirates Ruled the Waves*. London and Aberdeen: Impulse Publications, (4th edition) 1970.
Stuart Henry & Mike von Joel: *Pirate Radio, Then and Now*. Poole: Blandford Press, 1984.
MRP (compilers): *Radio Scotland*. London: Music Radio Promotions (Offshore Radio Files), 1977.
Mark Pegg: *Broadcasting and Society, 1918-1939*. London: Croom Helm, 1983.
Masden Pirie and Allan Stewart: *Freedom in Exile*, first published (1966) as *Make It Legal*. St Andrews: the Reform Group.
Bernard Sendall: *Independent Television in Britain*

- Volume 1, *Origin and Foundation, 1946-62*. London: Macmillan, 1982.
- Volume 2, *Expansion and Change, 1958-64*. London: Macmillan, 1983.

[End]