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Film Policy in Practice:

A case study of Scottish Screen's funding schemes

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Ana Luísa Siqueira de Moraes

BSc (Hons), MSc

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Glasgow Faculty of Arts and Humanities Centre for Cultural Policy
Research Department of Theatre Film and Television Studies

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Abstract

This thesis examines cultural policy for film in Scotland, from 1997 to 2010. It explores the extent to which the industry is shaped by film policy strategies and through the agency of public funding bodies. It reflects on how Scottish Screen, Scotland's former screen agency, articulated its role as a national institution concerned with both commercial and cultural remits, with the conflicting interests of different industry groups. The study examines how the agency developed funding schemes to fulfil policy directives during a tumultuous period in Scottish cultural policy history, following the establishment of the Scottish Parliament with the Scotland Act 1998 and preceding the Independence Referendum Act 2013. In order to investigate how policy has shaped the development of a national film industry, a further two case studies are explored. These are Tartan Shorts, Scotland's former flagship short film scheme, and the Audience Development Fund, Scotland's first project based film exhibition scheme. The first study explores the planning, implementation and evaluation of the scheme as part of the agency's talent development strategy. The outcomes of this study show the potential impact of funding methods aimed at developing and retaining Scottish filmmaking talent. Thereafter, the Scottish exhibition sector is discussed; a formerly unexplored field within film policy discussions and academic debate. It outlines Scottish Screen's legacy to current film exhibition funding practices and the practical mechanisms the agency utilised to foster Scottish audiences.

By mapping the historical and political terrain, the research analyses the specificity of Scotland within the UK context and explores areas in which short-term, context-driven policies become problematic. The work concludes by presenting the advantages and issues caused by film funding practices, advocating what is needed for the film industry in Scotland today with suggestions for long-term and cohesive policy development.

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Author's Declaration

This thesis represents the original work of Ana Luísa Siqueira de Moraes unless explicitly stated otherwise in the text. The research upon which it is based was carried out at the University of Glasgow from January 2012 until December 2015, under the supervision of Professor Raymond Boyle and Professor Gillian Doyle.

Definitions

The term, 'National' refers to Scotland while 'UK-wide' designates the UK framework. UK-wide funding refers to public bodies responsible for all UK regions and nations, such as the Arts Council for great Britain (ACGB), Uk film Council (UKFC), the British Film Institute (BFI) and the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). National funding refers to organisations responsible for allocating public money within Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and England, such as the Scottish Film Council (SFC), the Scottish Film Production Fund (SFPF), Scottish Screen, the Arts Council England (ACE), Scottish Arts Council (SAC), Creative Scotland, Creative England, Northern Ireland Screen and the Film Agency for Wales. Regional or Local funding refers to cultural bodies operating below national level, such as the Regional Development Agencies, Regional Screen Scotland (RSS), Glasgow Film Fund (GFF), the Regional Screen Agencies, Highlands and Islands Arts Ltd (HI-Arts) and Regional Screen Scotland.

From 1999-2007, the government of Scotland was termed the Scottish Executive. In 2007, this term was changed to the Scottish Government. The terms Executive and Government are used interchangeably throughout this work to reflect these changes. 'Parliament' assumes discussion of the Scottish Parliament unless stated otherwise.

For the purposes of this thesis, 'Scottish film' is defined as productions which received funding support from a Scottish funding body (SFC, SFPF, Glasgow Film Fund, BBC Scottish Screen, Creative Scotland), and/or films with a 'Scottish' subject matter, shot in Scotland and promoted by the national funding bodies. A British 'film' often refers to independent films funded by a majority of UK (rather than US) sources, and produced without financing or distribution from a major US movie studio, as opposed to the BFI's current definition[1].

The term 'funding scheme' or 'film scheme' refers to a designated amount of public funding allocated to a specific area or objective. It is characterised by set guidelines, specified criteria and a dedicated application form. 'Schemes' are often advertised under a chosen title that reflects its central objectives. In this thesis it is used interchangeably with the term

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[1] According to the BFI guidelines, 'British Film' is officially defined as such if it passes the 'test'cultural, From having the dialogue in the English language and being set in the UK to using British locations, director, cast, writer, composer and producer. A film must score 18 points out of a possible 35 to pass. (BFI, 2015)

'Fund' unless otherwise stated. It differs from the general amount of money an organisation internally decides to allocate to its many areas of operation and investment.

'Exhibitors' refers to cinemas (multiplex or art-house) and film festivals (of any size). It does not include film societies, clubs, film and video workshops or broadcasters. It encompasses cinema programmers, festival artistic directors and curators of special film seasons. The rise of online film platforms, cinema-on-demand and Video on Demand (VOD) sits outside the timeframe of this thesis and therefore is not included in the definition of the term. 'Exhibition' refers to the public screening of a film to a paying audience, save for a few exceptions such as free open-air screenings as part of a film festival programme.

A full list of acronyms and abbreviations are provided in the glossary. The primary concern of this thesis is with film policy in Scotland from 1997 to 2010, with reference to other periods and the wider European perspective only as it is immediately relevant to the study.

Introduction

> I think it would be lovely if the government had enough focus on the film industry to actually create policy. I think the only time, genuinely, that the government pushed it - is when it was pushed by the sector or people within the agencies. Maybe that is completely understandable, but you look at what the government has got to do, and the government's much more interested in employment and tourism and housing and things like that . . . I think the film sector is too far out on a limb, as far as they're concerned. I think it's wrong, I don't think it's out on a limb at all, I think it's absolutely core.
>
> (Barbara McKissack, Producer and former BBC Head of Drama in Scotland. Personal Interview, June 2013)

> I think there is a Scottish Film Industry, but that it is as fickle and changeable as it is possible to be. It is not solid and robust. It is like a limping man who has good days and bad days. Sometimes the limp makes him look like he's running and sometimes like he's falling, but it's still a limp. The reason I think is that we do not yet have something that we can really call self-sustainable.
>
> (Morag McKinnon, Film Director. Personal Interview, June 2013)

> The demands would change from one minister, or one civil servant to the next. None of it was prioritised, and in terms of general policy it was not particularly thoughtful.
>
> (Steve McIntyre, Former Scottish Screen CEO. Personal Interview, May 2013)

This thesis examines Scottish cultural policy for film from 1997 to 2010. It aims to identify and explore how the film industry is shaped by film policy and individuals at public funding bodies. As illustrated from the above quotes, there is a still a sense among both practitioners and funders that there the film industry in Scotland has suffered from long-standing neglect. They point to a lack of coherence and continuous indifference from both the UK and Scottish governments, as well as from the film sector as a whole, through their failure in working cohesively to the benefit of all concerned parties. Such issues have persisted in both the UK and Scottish film industries since the introduction of state support for film production and exhibition.

This thesis is a study of Scotland's most prominent film funding institution and how it was perceived by the industry it was set up to support. It asks the question: how did Scottish Screen interpret its goals and arrive at a sense of mission? The central objective of this research is to offer new interpretations of film policy in Scotland, from the perspective of involved parties and to add to the existing theoretical frameworks on cultural policy practice in the context of film funding and national industries.

This research begins by establishing that to date, existing scholarly research on the planning, implementation and evaluation of film policy lacks focus on institutional practices. In particular, the existing body of work refrains from empirical studies of funding schemes enabled by cultural bodies. Scant attention has been given to talent development and exhibition initiatives, specially within the Scottish context. In the research that is dedicated to Scottish film and cultural policy, little has been made of the specific position of Scottish Screen as a significant agent between governments in Scotland and the film industry as whole. In order to examine how the agency attempted to incorporate new cultural policy remits into specific funding mechanisms, two case studies are explored: First, a study of Scotland's flagship short film funding scheme, Tartan Shorts, realised in partnership with BBC Scotland. The case study aims to answer: how did Tartan Shorts reflect in a commitment to production policy in Scotland? Second, following an overview of exhibition support at Scottish Screen and its predecessor, a study of the agency's Audience Development Fund is conducted, in order to address the question: How did audience development schemes reflect a commitment to exhibition?

The contentions that emerge from film policy objectives and film industry practices are at the centre of this work and are considered more fully throughout. This research is driven firstly by the limited focus of existing research into the film industry in Scotland, which is predominantly framed by debates of national identity and studies into the social and economic impact of film subsidy, both within academia and in the cultural sector. It develops existing knowledge further, to explore and articulate the numerous differences between the film industry's operation and film policy mandates. It is centred on the decade preceding the formation of Creative Scotland and the closure of the UK Film Council in 2010. The most recent changes to the sector are incorporated in the overall critical analysis, but are beyond the scope of this study.

Thesis Outline

This thesis has set out to examine the role cultural policy plays in the film industry. By focusing on a particular institution at a particular time period in Scotland, it begins by asking, how did Scottish Screen fulfil government's cultural policy? This primary research question immediately opens up many related lines of enquiry. One of these threads is concerned in

the first instance with what constitutes film policy. What does policy mean for the film industry? How is it interpreted and practiced by different stakeholders? How do policy aims and objectives align with the needs of filmmakers, exhibitors and audiences? How is it shaped by public institutions and individuals?

Another theme picks up from this, to examine the role, purposes and effects of Scottish Screen, as the mediating institution responsible for allocating public funds to the various groups that form the film industry. How did Scottish Screen arrive at its sense of mission? How did the agency understand its function within the cultural sector? To what extent did it fulfil its aims and objectives? Who were the key individuals and influences that shaped its strategy? What mechanisms did it use to implement policy? How did the agency relate to funding recipients?

A further line of enquiry asks why the British and Scottish film industries seem to be in perpetual 'crisis', doomed to repeat the mistakes of previous institutions? How have those responsible for enacting policy considered previous policy implementation outcomes? How have they attempted to evaluate them? To what extent have political and economic frameworks played a role in the type of legacy left by former policy strategies?

Yet another question is raised by the examination of cultural policy for film: the role of governments, institutions and individuals in the policymaking process. Who uses policy? How is creative industries policy translated into practice? And does national policy serve a purpose in current film industry practices? These questions emerged following a review of academic literature as well as from the analysis of outcomes of cultural policy documents and funding organisations' strategies, sector audits, parliamentary reviews and debates. The later tending to continuously make similar recommendations with limited progress in the long term. Questions also arose from the industry itself, from the demands of producers lobbying groups and the frustration of industry professionals at the state of the industry in the UK, and Scotland, noted through early interviews, press coverage and related published documents.

A comparative study of UK, regional or national institutions is beyond the scope of this study. Instead this thesis takes as its starting point a wide view of the UK film industry and policy, followed by a review of the sector in Scotland. Chapter One provides na account of the histoy of the UK and Scotland's film policy, drawing a contextual analysis of key

developements in the field. This first chapter is supported by a visual account of developments in Scotland set out in the Appendices.

The review of literature presented in Chapter Two synthesises scholarly work relevant to this study. It charts the development of UK and predominantly Scottish film policy, noting gaps in the field and the dominance of certain problematic tendencies and assumptions. More recent scholarly thinking on film policy in practice is then consulted and integrated, rather than juxtaposed, with theories of cultural policy, then, with the aim of developing a more holistic approach to the study of film policy and Scottish cultural institutions, scholarly writings on the creative industries and national cinema are integrated with the aforementioned work.

Chapter Three details the diverse methods utilised in the course of this research. In order to effectively study multiple stages relating to different areas of the supply chain, a range of documents are consulted (including funding applications, interview transcripts, newspaper articles and minutes of board meetings) and a mixed method approach adopted. The underlying reasons behind the implemented approach, along with the benefits and limitations of the methods selected, are laid out in this chapter. As well as personal interviews, this research makes significant use of grey literature, particularly internal documents (i.e. minutes of board meetings, draft strategies) and annual reports, strategies and consultations. The author's professional experience of working in Scottish film organisations, and particularly through working at EIFF's Industry and Talent Development Department since 2008, has also contributed to the fieldwork of this research. It has facilitated access to key individuals in senior positions, allowed informal conversations with filmmakers and funders as well as given a unique interaction during interviews, where the author (also the interviewer) was both an academic researcher and an industry professional. This has also facilitated the sourcing of particular documents, no longer available for public consultation.

Chapter Four, contextualises the origins and developments of Scottish Screen as a means of interrogating the agency's practices, how it attempted to address its policy-set aims and objectives and examining what led the agency to develop a sense of mission (or lack thereof) throughout its thirteen years of operation. The study of the policy considerations which led to the formation of the new body are integrated with information gathered from first hand interviews with former CEOs, Senior Executives and Heads of Department. Chapter Four closes with an analysis of institutional practices underpinning Scottish Screen and the efforts

invested by stakeholders in shaping it, with a view to discover their effect and how were they perceived by the industry.

Chapter Five provides an overview of Scottish Screen's production and talent development initiatives, taking Tartan Shorts as case study. It questions the extent of Scottish Screen's commitment to talent development and the production sector through an exploration of the origins to the enduring legacy of the scheme, which ran from 1993-2006. The origins of Tartan Shorts are studied, and a critique of its implementation and evaluation practices are provided. In the course of analysis, key differences between short-term initiatives and long-term strategies are scrutinised against the unintended consequences of funding allocation. Given the emphasis placed thus far on the need to research the film industry more cohesively it perhaps seems contrary to begin with a discussion of short film production. However, Tartan Shorts stood out precisely for its integrated approach to industry concerns, including the interests of broadcasters, distributors, exhibitors and audiences as part of the scheme's framework. In doing so, the case study provides a useful context for the remaining chapters of this thesis.

Chapter Six explores the long-standing relationship between public funding bodies and film exhibitors. It draws particular attention to Scottish Screen's commitment to developing audiences beyond traditional core revenue funding for the Regional Film Theatres (RFTs). The Audience Development Fund (2007-2010) reflects this, as it centres on the allocation of modest, project-based funding towards grassroots initiatives, niche programming and alternative exhibition platforms. The chapter closes with a discussion of the function and purpose of the traditional regular revenue funding in comparison to project-based funding. These are set against Scottish Screen's policy objectives, which were themselves established within the creative industries model promoted by the Scottish and UK government from 1998 to present.

The Conclusion extends analysis of Scottish Screen's gatekeeper role by considering the long term effect of its funding mechanisms. It explores how the agency articulated fleeting policy directives and the vested interest of the industry. The reasons behind this, and the impact of the rule-governed approach to film policy in Scotland more generally, are addressed at the close of this thesis, which considers the suitability of the creative industries approach to film. Throughout this research, points of interest regarding the intended

outcomes and eventual role of Scottish film policy arise. The Conclusion returns to these ideas and discusses them in the context of UK film policy more generally.

This introduction has outlined the parameters for this research, explained the context in which it was undertaken, and outlined the scale and structure of the thesis. The following chapter will examine and review the historical, social and political frameworks that have contributed to the study of cultural and film policy both in the UK and in Scotland. It is hoped that the research presented here goes some way towards furthering film policy research and practice, particularly by addressing prominent gaps and problematic tendencies within the field. These gaps and inclinations are outlined in the chapter that follows.

Chapter 1. Film Policy and the Industry

This research focuses on the period between 1997 to 2010, which emcompass the operational years of Scottish Screen and the UK Film Council. Methodological reasons for this time framework include the proliferation of film funding schemes following the introduction of the National Lottery Fund for film in 1992, the rise of digital fimmaking and the introduction of tax break for films in 2007.

Nevertheless, the historical and political framework that led to the development of the major national and regional film agencies of the 2000s, their policies and schemes, were integrally a result of developments of previous government's directives and institutional practices. For this reason, this Chapter will set the context for understanding historical policy and institutional developments in the UK and Scottish film industries.

Film Policy in the UK

The earliest government initiatives in support of British film were created as a reaction to the sharp decrease in UK feature film production . The UK government's preoccupation with the future of British film - in face of a hegemonic American presence in the sector - resulted in the first government act aimed at enhancing the domestic box office share of British films: the Cinematograph Act of 1927, which led to a quota system where iniatially 5% of the total number of films shown in theatres had to be defined as 'British' (rising to 20% in 1936) . However, the unintended result of this overtly protectionist policy was that many of the so called 'quota quickies'. These were produced by American companies which chose to set up a foothold in Britain in order to avoid restriction on US imports. The result was a large scale American investment in the British film industry (Glancy, 1999:57). The Act therefore, ignited a series of protectionist measures which were implemented in the years to follow (including a rise in the quota ratios). Such policies were at the first and foremost, introduced with the primary nationalistic aim of safeguarding British Film and culture (Street, 2009:13).

Following the introduction of the quota system, the period that followed witnessed an increasing rate of cinema admissions and number of screenings up to the 1950s. Nevertheless, the box office share secured by British films remained significantly inferior (averaging 10%-15%) to that of American film (70%-80%s until the present day. The

exhibitor's quota policy was repeatedly renewed and increased until 1948, reaching a 45% rate that year (Dickinson and Street, 1985; Baillieu and Goodchild, 2002).

The 1949 Cinematograph Film Production Act let to the creation of the National Film Finance Corporation (NFFC). Its main purpose was to provide and manage subsidy to British film, with an emphasis on production. It was shortly followed by the 1950 Eady Levy[2], proposed in 1949 by then president of the Board of Trade, Harold Wilson. The levy offered the highest rewards to the most commercially successful films. These tended to be US productions aimed at the British audiences, which further complicated the definition of American funded film as 'British'. Despite the increase in production due to the introduction of the levy, the US were the largest beneficiaries: 'Britain was already Hollywood's biggest overseas customer, but as long as the Eady levy was in operation the profit-making potential of British runaways in the British market itself increased exponentially' (Stubbs: 2009:7).

Therefore, as the value of the Eady Levy was determined by cinema admissions, its benefits decreased with the decline in cinema-going from the mid- 1950s onwards. As a result, the levy did not foster emerging filmmakers, 'as producers received a proportion of the fund in relation to the box office success of a film, the fund tended to pay out to the more successful filmmakers rather than those most in need' (Magor and Schlesinger, 2009:8). Nevertheless, the Eady Levy was the first public funding mechanism that instead of providing one-off grants to producers, aimed to develop a long-term strategy to develop the UK industry.

From the 1950s onwards, the advent of television and video in British homes had a visible effect on cinema admissions, which reached their lowest in the mid-eighties. The industry now found an additional, often more prosperous revenue source for film in video and television, where 'within a few years video rental generated over four times as much revenue as total UK box office receipts' (McCosker, 1998:3).

However, a more significant shift in UK government policy for film can be traced back to the early 1980s. As well as technological and social changes, the policies implemented by the UK Conservative governments (1979-1997) were key catalyst for change within the British film Industry. The industrial and commercial rhetoric that took place during the free

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[2] The levy was on a proportion of cinemas tickets' prices, where 50% went to exhibitors and the other half was paid to British film producers. These proceeding, although not obligatorily until 1957, were then to be reinvested in British film productions.

trade politics of Thatcher's government, led to the abolishment of the Eady Levy, the quota system and the NFFC in the early 80s. These cuts considerably reduced the sources of public funds, leaving only the privately funded British Screen, formed in 1985. The new company, a private investment made up of Granada, Channel 4, Rank and Canon was historically often considered more 'successful' in terms of film production than previous funding bodies and initiatives. Taking into account the company's limited budget of £1.5 million, it achieved a recoupment rate of almost 50% and had a stake in forty-five films during its nearly fourteen years of operation (Caterer, 2011b). Although the company failed to become self-sufficient, as originally intended by policymakers, British Screen's relationship with distributors and exhibitors, including Channel 4 and the BBC provide a valuable historical model for researching newly established film funding institutions.

Two key factors dictated the direction and shape of film policy from the 1990s onwards: first, the introduction of the National Lottery Fund for film significantly affected both UK and Scottish funding bodies. Second, the election of Tony Blair's New Labour government in 1997, followed by the positive result of a devolution referendum in September 1997 which resulted in the Scotland Act 1998, and provided the basis for creating the Scottish Parliament in July 1999.

The National Lottery Fund, was developed under John Major's government in 1992. The Lottery Fund was originally designed to raise money for heritage, the arts, sport and charities. Its revenue was intended to be an additional source to the existing funding streams, rather than their replacement (National Lottery etc. Act, 1993). James Caterer has carried out comprehensive research which covers the period since the National Lottery Fund introduction, the development of the Arts Councils through to the formation of the UKFC (2004, 2008, 2011a, 2011b). In his works, Caterer argued that the National Lottery Fund, was the first step towards a multitude of funding schemes that were to be introduced post-2000.

On the public funding initiatives of the 1990s, film critic, Alexander Walker argues that American distributors were the ones who benefited the most from the UK National Lottery box-office 'successes': US studios were the ones in the position to offer the better deals to British filmmakers, collecting their share of takings on the rare occasion the film achieves significant box office figures. The situation was similar in Scotland, where despite more than three million pounds having been allocated to five feature films, and despite the hype

that followed a handful of box office hits, namely *Braveheart* (1995)*, Rob Roy* (1995)*, Trainspotting* (1996), only *The Winter Guest* (1997) recouped any cash back, as reported by *The Evening News* (1998). As a reflection of Caterer's argument, these reactions from academia, the press and industry were not surprising, as 'films which have passed through the gateways of public funding carry residual traces of this journey upon them' (2011b: 127) - what the author identified as the National Lottery's 'cultural burden', unable to comprise its commercial and cultural remits.

Although a study of any era will reveal changes in the nature of institutions, from 1997-2010 the screen industries experienced more scrutiny of this process than ever before, not only due to changes in government and increased availability of public funds, but also due to the cataclysmic emergence of digital technology. The latter not only led to a sharp increase in the number of completed films but also propelled policymakers and institutions into rethinking existing policies and practices. A full account of the latter is not the central aim of this thesis, but should be taken into account as a significant factor that influenced filmmakers' expectations during the period in focus.

Following the introduction of National Lottery Fund, Scottish Screen and the UK Film Council were formed following a series of government reviews and new. The entrepreneurialism the new funding bodies promoted were founded on the now predominant creative industries discourse. These changes were the catalysts which led to a series of funding schemes being made available to the film industry.

Histroical studies of UK film policy are rarely all-encompassing and most often, are limited in its regional implications and cultural reach. The change from 'British' film studies to regional film policy followed historical shifts in academic studies of national cinema, as Newsinger, argued:

> The 'redefinition of "British cinema" is a reaction to two broad and interlinked processes: the repositioning of the British state in relation to globalisation and transnational processes on the one hand; and on the other political devolution, the erosion of centralisation in cultural production, and multiculturalismo (Newsinger, 2009:19).

Dickinson and Harvey noted the concept of national culture had 'become increasingly contested both as the global film industry has developed and as definitions of "culture" have changed' (2005: 420). As policy and cultural institutions were formalised, it became evident

there was a need for academic studies and government policy to address the UK film industry as one made up of several regions and nations, with distinct cultures and individual needs.

In practice, this distinction became increasingly relevant from the early 2000s onwards, as following the creation of the UKFC, 'Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland all argued for and won the retention of their own separate film agencies, rendering the UK-wide remit of the Council a little uncertain (Dickinson and Harvey, 2005: 423). In order to address the aforementioned gaps in the field of film policy research and with the aim to make a significant contribution to cultural policy studies, the next section will focus on Scottish film funding institutions and the development of Scottish film policy.

Film Policy in Scotland

Duncan Petrie's study of Scottish institutions in *Screening Scotland* served to contextualise the period immediately preceding this research, where he noted 'in the early 1980s Scottish cinema was more or less equated with the films of Bill Forsyth. But the situation' has changed dramatically' since then (Petrie, 2000:172). Politically, this situation changed after the National Heritage Act 1985 enabled the Secretary of State, as opposed to the Scottish Educational Department, to make grants to arts organisations, a more appropriate and direct way to fund the SFC firmly expanding, albeit also blurring, functional remits of public funding for film in Scotland. An account of the key changes that took place in Scotland's historical developments in film policy and industry can be illustrated by a summary of key facts in Appendix C (p195).

For the most part, existing scholarly literature points to a consensus that there was little or no Scottish film industry, before the establishment of the Scottish Film Production Fund (SFPF) in the late 1980s, am argument supported by Blain (2009) and Petrie (2000). In 1982, the Scottish Film Council (SFC) had secured a grant from the Scottish Education Department to establish the Scottish Film Production Fund. The new body was established by combining the Education Department's fund with financial support from the Scottish Arts Council Film Committee, first set up in in 1980, for the first time making £80,000 available for film production (Hibberd, 2009:91). This funding was increased by the support of broadcasters throughout the decade , which instigated the production of some of the early 1990s 'box office successes' of Scotland-based films: *Shallow Grave* (1994), *Rob Roy* (1995), *Braveheart* (1995), *Trainspotting* (1995), as pointed out by producer Andrea

Calderwood (1996). Hibberd's thesis argued 'the Production Fund was predominantly concerned with film as culture, and took a lofty approach toward 'industry-led initiatives' which it saw as being inherently less worthy of public funding (Lockerbie, 1990: 172)' (2009:91). However, this was a period followed by an increase in investment from UK broadcasters and US studios bringing large scale productions to Scotland, allowing for a Scottish production 'boom' in the late 1990s.

Whilst Michael Chanan argued the UK film industry had been suffering a 'chronic crisis' (2003:8) since the 1920s, Jonathan Murray argued that although there was no industry per se, in Scotland until the 1990s, 'by 2000, Scottish cinema was materially "there" in the eyes of interested parties, to a degree that it had not been less than ten years previous' (2006:5). If that's so, Scottish cinema was quick to catch up and by 2014, many of those working in the filmmaking industry in Scotland believed it was at "something of a crisis point." (Ferguson, 2015:1). Robin MacPherson however, argued that in Scotland 'a feeling of crisis is nothing new' and the industry has faced similar structural issues to the UK, the difference being it had concentrated in London for most of the 20th century and 'only grim determination by filmmakers aided by sporadic public policy saw the beginnings of an industry in Scotland with sponsored documentaries in the 1950s leading to the first tentative public investment in feature film in the 1980s' (MacPherson, 2015b).

At a UK level, 1995 saw the Secretary of State for Heritage, Stephen Dorrell (Conservative), set up an advisory committee to explore the lack of private investment in the British film industry, which was seen as an enduring problem and one of the main obstacles to its growth. The finance committee was led by banker Sir Peter Middleton and gained significant attention from the press and government officials at the time. Scotland was soon to follow suit, propelled by the recent success of Hollywood productions such as *Braveheart* (1995) and *Rob Roy* (1995). In the following year, the need for a coherent Scottish film policy was debated at length in the House of Commons[3]. MPs started by pointing out this was 'the first occasion in a very long time on which the industry has been debated here in a Scottish context'(HC Deb 1996, c909). Scottish MPs recognised how the recent growth in interest in the film industry was largely a result of recent Hollywood productions set in Scotland, reflecting the concern of many in the industry that 'when all the razzmatazz [had] died down

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[3] HC Deb 30 Jan 1996 cc909-916, Film Industry (Scotland) - The debate was mostly lead by MP for Perth and Kinross, Ms Roseanna Cunningham (SNP) and Minister of State (Scottish Office) Lord Douglas-Hamilton (Scottish Conservatives)

and the Hollywood caravan has moved on, the indigenous industry will be no further forward' (HC Deb 1996, c909). They reinforced the need to 'move away from the boom and bust scenario' calling for strategy that would seek sustainable levels of production. They also raised the issue of film culture and national identity:

> The industry is not just about jobs. Film is just one of the ways in which any society and culture find its own expression. That involves not just making films that are based on one's history or are about present-day experiences in a country, or features that are self-referential; it can also extend to the viewpoints through which other issues are seen and through which we view the rest of the world. It is important that we get the opportunity to do that as well. (HC Deb 1996, c910)

The Parliamentary debate resonated with arguments often pointed out by industry and policymakers across the 1990s and 2000s. Nevertheless, it went on to reduce the challenges facing the film industry in Scotland as simply 'to produce quality films with a distinctive Scottish feel, which are commercially successful, such as Local Hero' (HC Deb 1996c c913).

The majority of arguments presented at this particular parliamentary debate were to be representative of later criticisms of Scottish film policy, Scottish Screen and the industry itself. Similar disagreements continued to arise from within the new agency and amidst the filmmaking community. Comparative arguments were once again raised nearly twenty years later, as observed in the 2015 discussions at the Scottish Parliament— 'Twenty years ago, Scotland was the biggest production cluster outside of the south-east of England. Now it is probably fourth or fifth' (Producer Iain Smith, SP M EET 21 January 2015 para.43). In arguments that echoed the 1995 debate, the Committee also heard that the Scottish film industry was 'lagging behind its UK and international competitors in terms of funding' (SP M EET 21 January 2015 para.43). These similarities stressed the need for a more comprehensive understanding of what happened in the twenty years that went by, specifically looking at commonly held assumption and misconceptions among industry and policymakers on the role and influence of Scottish Screen.

In 1998, UK and Scottish governments announced that cultural policy was to be a 'devolved matter' at the soon to be formed Scottish Parliament (Scotland Act 1998). Expectedly, culture was 'high on the agenda at the start of devolution, helping to shape a national identity with a wave of confidence and optimism . . . evidenced by a major Scottish Executive consultation on a national approach for culture in 1999' (Orr, 2008:310). At the same time, the wider UK saw new directions in policy development, which supported the creative

industries model of economic and cultural value, stated in the Creative Industries Mapping Documents (DCMS, 1998 and 2001). However, as Lu noted 'the cultural policies of the Scottish Executive in its earlier years had little mention of their economic value . . . The cultural policies at the time were focused on the social value of the arts, and particularly their role in education' (2015:86). The changes in the remit of the organisation are also reflected on the composition of its board members (Appendix D, p201), from being largely made up of film insudtry professionals to being formed mostly of businnes experts and finacnial advisors. It would not take long after the hype of devolution for Scotland's cultural policy to start mirroring the model proposed by the DCMS. As argued by Hibberd (2007) and Orr (2008), changes towards a more instrumental approach to the creative industries in Scotland became evident after the First Minister, Jack McConnell's St Andrew's Day speech of 2003, which put Scottish culture at the forefront of the national agenda (McConnell, 2003). The speech was seen as 'the influence of New Labour's focus on the creative industries, as creativity and culture were championed for their ability to "set the country on a course for economic, social and cultural renewal"' (Hibberd, 2007:110). Soon after a Cultural Commission was set up by the Scottish Executive to undertake a review of the nation's cultural sectors in 2004, resulting in the comprehensive Cultural Commission report of 2005 and the publication of the Draft Culture (Scotland) Bill for consultation in 2006, which put forward the setup of Creative Scotland, to take over the functions of Scottish Screen and SAC.

At a policy level, to an extent these developments mirrored the New Labour 'creative industries' reforms in the UK. The Scottish Devolution Act had allowed Scottish filmmakers to relinquish any perceived responsibility to defend Scottish national identity, which might have been the case previously. This idea was questioned by Sarah Street (2009), who argued devolution actually led to a desire to regard Scottish cinema as operating independently of European and British developments (Street, 2009:141). Such changes allowed for a larger number of Scottish co-productions in the early 2000s (Murray, 2012), all leading to the rise of 'New Scottish Cinema' (Petrie, 2000). In terms of industry developments, Petrie provided his own view of related events of the 1990s onwards:

> To paraphrase Colin Welland[4], Scotland spent the late 1990s announcing to others its national cinema was on to the international commercial scene in a substantive, sustainable fashion. By contrast, the country has spent much of the 2000s worrying

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[4] Colin Welland is a British actor and screenwriter. He won the Academy Award for Best Original Screenplay for his script for *Chariots of Fire* (1981)

the intense sense of forward motion experienced in the years just before the millennium was nothing more than collective self-delusion (Petrie, 2007:79)

After the SNP formed a minority government in 2007, Orr argued, Scotland 'moved away from enshrining entitlements within cultural policy in favour of cross-cutting outcomes, and a move towards instrumentalism . . . implementing a focused economically driven model (2008:312)'. In terms of the early impact of devolution on film, Murray argued 'the first term of Devolution was one in which most local politicians insisted on seeing Scottish cinema most wholly as an area of industrial activity, one minimally defined by issues of economic development and entrepreneurship' (2006b: 68). Later, following the troublesome setting up and early years of Creative Scotland, Petrie judged the effect of devolution on film policy to signify, in practice 'a profound indifference, [which left] the fate of the new Scottish cinema to the market place and turning their attention to other issues' (2014:228). In comparison to government and industry-level discussion, academic debate on the role of political changes in shaping Scottish film itself has been extensive, particularly after devolution, with authors positing often conflicting arguments, as it shall be discussed in the following chapter.

Similarly to the UKFC, the commercial and cultural dual role of Scottish Screen, present in early corporate plans and cultural strategies, was often questioned by sceptical industry professionals and the national press. This was often understood to be characteristic of the creative industries model, both by academics and filmmakers alike. Yet, as it shall be discussed in the next Chapter, there was still a marked difference in the case of Scotland in comparison to England, where 'It is clear for Scottish Screen nationhood makes a difference, as the English regional film bodies are not charged with this national cultural remit' (Hibberd, 2009: 97). This research set out to expand on existing cultural policy theory, in particular UK and Scottish film policy. It builds on the argument that, 'UK film policy, for all its apparent industrial hard-headedness, has typically possessed implicit cultural underpinnings (Hill, 2004:33) by applying it to Scottish Screen, where the cultural remit of film policy could still be felt through the agency's funding practices, despite the commercial overtones of its mission.

 The following chapter adresses how these key issues were dealt by the existing academic literature, both in relation to the UK and Scottish film industries. It aims to build the theoretical framework from which the following chapters are developed, by also highlighting significant gaps in the existing scholarly body of work.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

> I have referred . . . to the problems of the film industry. This is really an inadequate description, because film making is an art as well. In the film industry you have a unique combination of commerce and creative talent. In the present circumstances, one just cannot do without the other. Filmmaking is such an expensive operation that the artist, the writer and the director need the resources of big business; and business in its turn cannot fill its studios or its cinemas without the work of the creative artist. This marriage is often an uneasy one, and I am quite sure that both parties would sometimes prefer to arrange a dissolution or a divorce.
>
> (Lord Willis, HL Deb 2 Feb 1966)

The research discussed in this chapter is drawn from a variety of fields within cultural policy and British cinema studies. It therefore incorporates aspects of arts, humanities and social sciences scholarship. It has been necessary to carefully select areas of established research most relevant to this study when considering a lack of academic literature addressing the planning, development and implementation of film funding schemes for film in the UK, and particularly, Scotland.

The wider question this research aims to answer is how did Scottish Screen fulfil the Scottish government's cultural policy? Following a review of existing literature, subsequent questions emerged: how did Scottish Screen interpret its goals and arrive at a sense of mission? How did funding schemes reflect in a commitment to production and exhibition policy in Scotland? These questions are drawn from the literature reviewed in this chapter, which have identified a gap in the existing body of academic research: there is persistent a lack of studies which investigate how individuals working in the film industry and within government bodies perceive cultural policy and set out to implement it within cultural institutions. This is particularly the case when considering the Scottish cultural and political contexts.

This chapter looks at how scholarly literature addresses UK and Scottish film policy within emerging political, economic and social frameworks. It concludes by highlighting the works within the existing body of research which sought to emphasise the need for policymakers and film professionals to engage in a more cohesive approach when developing and implementing film funding strategies. Ultimately, it aims to make a significant contribution to the sustainability and viability of a national film industry in Scotland, with implications for the wider UK.

The observations drawn from existing literature indicate a continuous use of mismatched approaches to funding initiatives and policy delivery against disparate government and industry frameworks.

Studying British Film Policy

> Scant attention has been paid to the complex politics underlying and affecting the implementation of film policy. Very few know and understand the background strategies inherent in the policy process. That is because film policy generally receives little sustained public attention. It is . . . a sporadic object of major policy intervention.
>
> (Magor and Schlesinger, 2009: 299)

A recurring issue encountered through the literature review was the overlapping careers of academics, professionals and policymakers within the UK film industry and more prominently, within the Scottish context. A number of works central to the understanding of UK/Scottish film policy were conducted by professionals who have often been involved in more than one (or several) of the following: film production, sales and distribution, exhibition, film festivals, academia, trade press, film criticism, public funding bodies, awards panels, education, skills training and government advisory boards.

On one hand, this meant the analysis and relevance of some of their academic works had to be carefully considered due to the authors' contribution to the field, considering their unique individual perspectives, with the aim to avoid overseeing any bias their work might present. On the other hand, this was an advantage when authors succeeded in bringing together the central themes and ideas of cultural policy theory to contextualise and problematise industry practices, allowing for a considerable insight into specific aspects of the field.

Second, the defining qualities of 'British' or 'Scottish' films are not the key aim of this research despite its relationship to the main research questions. The focus is instead in the study of institutions and the relationship between UK film policy and its industry. When referring to key data from industry reports and trade press, this research attributes the

definition of British or Scottish film as defined by the BFI or Creative Scotland[5]; when otherwise, this is clearly stated in the analysis.

Key to my understanding in devising a framework for UK and Scottish film policy research have been the work of, among others, James Caterer (2004, 2008, 2011a, 2011b), Margaret Dickinson (1985, 2005), John Hill (1994, 1996, 2004, 2012), Julian Petley (2002, 2004), Duncan Petrie (2000, 2007, 2009), Jonathan Murray (2007, 2012, 2015), Robin Macpherson (2009, 2015), Philip Schlesinger (2004, 2009a) and Sarah Street (1985, 2009) due to their consideration of industry practices and their continuous revision of their own work to date, in accordance with the turbulent policy environment. An influential concept for structuring the study of film policy is outlined by John Hill's 2004 article, where he highlights the three fundamental motives which justify film policy development: the social, industrial and the cultural frameworks. These are the remits through which film policy and their subsequent funding schemes are justified within the evolving contemporary political agendas. These are legitimised when they are attributed an intrinsic, instrumental or institutional value, an argument also put forward by John Holden (2004, 2006). As frequently observed in both UK and Scottish governments and institutions' annual reports, sector audits and annual reviews, such values are often ascribed to prospective funding schemes at their formulation stage, in accordance with the prevailing cultural policy discourse. The development of the research questions was therefore built upon the investigation of literature addressing structural issues within UK and Scottish film policy. As noted in John Adams' (2011) study of the UKFC , Michelle Pierson article on the BFI Experimental Film Fund (2005) and James Caterer's 2011 book *The People's Pictures,* the obstacles encountered by the industry are often noted to be disconnected from their contemporary political discourse.

This research establishes a link between the strategies of funding organisations (via the schemes and initiatives they created) and their impact on the film industry and national film. Its intended outcomes serve to explore a more comprehensive understanding of the efficacy and influence of funding mechanisms in the long-term and across different sectors. It aims to address a gap in the existing literature and to assist cultural funding bodies by providing

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[5] As of the time of writing: for funding purposes a film needs to pass the BFI Cultural Test points system to be classified as British (BFI, 2015). In Scotland, filmmakers should be based in Scotland or working with writing and directing talent based in Scotland. Where all of the key creative talent are based outside Scotland, even if the project is set in Scotland or based on Scottish underlying material, no public funding will be granted (Creative Scotland, 2015).

a comprehensive, cohesive approach to the analysis of funding schemes, encompassing talent and audience development as part of production and exhibition respectively.

The 'Crisis' of the British Film Industry

> Production, distribution and exhibition are out of sync with each other, and the injection of public funds has had counter-intentional effects. And since it is very difficult to imagine anyone would have designed such a counter-productive system deliberately, the question arises, what went wrong?
>
> (Chanan, 2003:10)

The central argument to come out of the selected academic literature, contemporary press articles and policy documents is the inability of the UK and Scottish film funding bodies to develop a self-sustainable industry, able to minimise risk to financiers, distributors and exhibitors competing with Hollywood. From protectionist to commercial justifications, government film policy has struggled to keep up with increasingly conflicting economic and cultural discourses. On this matter Adams (2011) and Caterer (2011b) argue that box office success and international performance remained the primary base for policy developments. The result is a lack of political debate and lack of understanding of the structural and internal conflicts within the institutions, an argument also posited by Blomkamp (2011), on her study of the New Zealand Film Commission. Michael Chanan's arguments brought forward compelling ideas relating to the 'chronic crisis' of British cinemas, where the author points out the problem of distribution and the market's distortion by an 'imbalance of interests' (2003:10). More importantly, he stresses the lack of a unified government approach to subsidising a national film industry, as noted in his quote above. This argument is similarly examined in this thesis through the study of industry and policy practices.

Academic literature on UK film policy has attempted to address specific faults pertinent to the film industry. These works look at justifications and possible solutions to the industry's long-term unsustainability and limited share of the domestic box office. Whilst authors such as Michael Chanan (2003) and Henning and Alpar (2005) deal largely with the practical need to address distribution and exhibition in favour of the sustainability of the industry, John Hill brings up the concept of cultural capital:

> The opening-up of access to a wider range of films (through improved distribution and education initiatives) should not be expected to carry the full burden of a social purpose it is not necessarily capable of fulfilling. (Hill, 2004: 38)

Hill later developed his argument by looking at the UKFC Distribution and Exhibition strategy, which was partly defended on the grounds it would contribute to an economically healthier distribution and exhibition sector in the UK, as 'the cultivation of media-literate audiences is seen to have a long-term benefit for the economic viability of the film industry'. (2004:38)

The research discussed here addresses the underlying, structural issues of the British film industry, where its characteristic 'chronic crisis' is often attributed to failed attempts to implement a long-term policy for production, distribution and exhibition. Other works (Higson, 2000; Friedman, 2006; Hill 1999; Murphy 2000, 2009; Street, 2009) provide a comprehensive overview of the evolution of British film legislation and its supported films. They have informed this research as to the basis for understanding the policy making framework in the UK and Scotland, from the 1980s to 2010, forming an overview of the process and its outcome in the long-term.

Through an overview of the literature it became evident that there are several conflicting academic and industry-led arguments over the success and failures of former film financing bodies, subsidies, schemes and initiatives. A number of authors criticise the closure of the National Film Financing Corporation (NFFC) and the Eady Levy in 1985, as it was followed by the lowest level of UK feature film productions since the 1930s (Dickinson and Harvey, 2005; Hill, 1999, 2012). Several arguments also attempted to question the effectiveness of such subsidies; Caterer (2011b) chooses to compare the early National Lottery funded films to those subsidised by the former NFFC, Eady Levy and in particular British Screen, expanding on the historical approach of Magor and Schlesinger, who argued that 'UK film policy should be understood as the outcome of contending political, economic and cultural forces and – at the same time – as the product of a long history of state intervention' (2009: 29). Caterer brought attention to the commonalities between the objectives of post-World War II government film funding schemes and those of the post 1992 National Lottery funded schemes. By doing so, Caterer emphasised Chanan's (2003) argument of there being a structural, internal issue being endemic to the British industry, rather than ascribing cause to the achievements or shortfalls of particular governments.

The central issue identified so far is not simply the perceived waste of public money on films that never reach completion or are released to the public. It is rather the lack of reinvestment

in the industry itself that could result from a long-term approach to subsidy. The volatile and unpredictable nature of filmmaking anticipates few of the films funded for development reaching the production and distribution stages, in itself an area of the industry that has historically received little to no public support when compared to production funding. As indicated Walker, soon after the 1998 film policy review:

> Our filmmakers start off as losers because they have no distributors they can call their own. Production is traditionally where the losses are made . . . But the Lottery funding has gone into production - and most of the millions . . . have been wasted on films proven neither to be art nor box-office. (Walker, 1998: 1)

Similarly to Caterer and Chanan's arguments, this research also notes how the perpetual 'crisis' of the UK industry is also reflected in Scotland, and its context discussed at length throughout this thesis. In support of Caterer's arguments, MacPherson points out how 'the crisis in Scottish film is older than most people who work in it', setting the historical background to address this research's aims:

> As far back as 1958 Scotland's Sir Alexander King then Scotland's film exhibition baron . . . quipped that 'for the last few months we have been having our annual crisis.' (*Glasgow Herald*, 22/11/58). As then the barriers to growing Scottish film today are deep rooted and intertwined with both commercial pressures and public policy. (MacPherson, 2015b)

The Scottish scenario draws close comparisons to the UK context, particularly in terms of industry's relationship to public funders. In order to explore what allows for structural issues to persist, cultural policy researchers tends to examine UK government subsidies and initiatives through a set of economic, cultural and political structures, which then serve as a valuable framework for future comparison and analysis of current and emerging policy (Caterer, 2011b; Holden, 2006; Orr, 2008; Petley, 1992; Schlesinger, 2009a, 2009b). The political, or rather instrumental reasoning for enacting film policy from the early 1930s to the 1970s had been consistently protectionist measures operating under a political framework which dictated a level of anti-Americanism and hence anti-Hollywood supremacy, as argued by Dickinson and Street (1985) and John Hill (1996). Through the 1980s to the present day, the protectionist discourse became less strident, as the economic argument of market competitiveness, took centre stage both in policy documents and academic literature.

The shift in academic and political discourse, from a protectionist take, to one centred in commercial competitiveness and cultural value, originated from the rise of 'mass culture' which led to the use of the term 'cultural industries'(in Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005). Academically, this was seen as the culmination of the commodification of 'Art' (Pratt 2005: 32; McGuigan, 2004). The rise of the term 'creative industries' (replacing 'The Arts') did not take place until after World War II, with first attempts to address 'cultural policy' – both through definition and framework - not appearing until Augustin Girard's paper for UNESCO in 1982. The notion and subsequent discussion of the idea of culture as an industry, one to be subjected to public policy regulation and subsidy did not receive significant academic focus until the early 1990s, with Bianchini and Parkinson work on cultural policy. Early discussions tended to be centred on the economic incentives – urban regeneration and the creation of cultural clusters (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Pratt, 2004) – which were to eventually become the drive behind the development of cultural policies for the creative industries. This debate led to issues over the definitions and functions of the creative industries, what they could encompass, how in practice, boundaries were set and what purpose they served (O'Connor, 2010; Cunningham, 2002, 2006; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). Prominent in this research is the UK's government's understanding and handling of cultural industries either for its economic or cultural value in forming and preserving the nation's identity (Garnhan, 2005; Pratt, 1997, 2001, 2004; Oakley, 2004, 2006), as understood by the various interested parties.

Issues brought by a creative industries discourse permeate current cultural policy debates, government film funding strategies and cultural institutions schemes' development. The process by which funding bodies, through schemes, interpret the mandates of creative industries' policies is a central part of the analysis throughout this research. This literature review has established that the film industry in the UK has been suffering a perpetual 'crisis' (Chanan, 2003), fuelled, in part, by the continuous threat posed by the US market and their studio majors (Kim 2003, Blair & Rainnie, 2000, Petley, 2004 and Morawetz et al 2007).

However, it also became evident that the UK film industry's competitive disadvantage rested in its lack of cohesive internal structure and dedicated support for the exhibition and distribution sectors, both at a government and institutional level (Caterer 2011b; Henning & Alpar 2005; Macnab 1994, 2000, 2012). This review has so far highlighted the efforts of academics in analysing and evaluating film funding schemes (Adams, 2011; Blomkamp, 2011; Steele, 2004; Pierson, 2005). As a result it has also stressed the need for an alternative

approach to researching the purpose, efficacy and legacy of film funding policy. By making use of two investigative case studies, this research aims to address existing gaps in the industry. The next section will focus on scholarly work aimed at specific cultural funding bodies in the UK and beyond, in order to situate this research's case studies within existing film policy theory.

Film Institutions and Their Funding Schemes

> Some would say that cultural value is inherently unquantifiable, but government has to make specific spending decisions so, pragmatically, a figure must be struck. . . . In the first place it must be decided, qualitatively, what the 'value' is that should be measured.
>
> (Steele, 2004:16)

After establishing the existing academic theories that support the notion of a perpetual 'crisis' of the British film industry, this research now turns to a discussion of how film policy was shaped into funding schemes. It looks at the extent to which funding initiatives served as a mechanism that allowed cultural institutions to distribute public money. The development of this research's findings were informed by previous work on relevant cultural institutions, and by studies of film funding schemes and initiatives.

Having also established that there are few and limited scholarly works which address the role of UK film institutions and funding schemes in implementing cultural policy, it was necessary to expand the literature review beyond the UK. Therefore, in relation to Scandinavian film subsidy and its key institutions Olof Hedling, noted: 'as film support continues to play a prominent part in European film production matters, the shaping and design of these mechanisms, consequently, must be further investigated, discussed and developed.' (2013a: 102). These mechanisms, as Díóg O'Connell also pointed out in relation to Irish Cinema, is how policy is 'put into practice' (2011: 64). Building on key ideas developed by these authors, this research also uses case studies of funding mechanisms developed by a national funding body to address the central question of this thesis.

In a similar timeframe to this research's case study of Scottish Screen (1997-2010), O'Connell focused his study (1994-2009) of the Irish Film Board during a period which saw the political 'flourishing' of creative industries' policies. As with this research, O'Connell's work called for further film production research as opposed to national representation

analysis, proposing to shed a light on how 'policy impacts into practice' (2011: 62). His work emphasised the role of individuals (especially CEOs) in shaping institutional policy in public organisations, where the funding body was 'closely connected to its stakeholders' and where 'the small size of the film community [means] these types of policy changes . . . have a greater direct impact' (2011:63). Similarly to Lynne Hibberd's (2009) and Linda Hutcheson's (2013) doctoral research, O'Connell's paper also indicated that the national press played an over inflated role in cultural policy development (2011: 65), where journalistic coverage factored in more often than institutional performance indicators on public support decisions. Hutcheson's research used a case study of *Red Road* (2006), an Advance Party film, to exemplify how the press coverage of the film influenced funding strategy for production schemes. This research adds to previous studies by also exploring how the Scottish press operated within a complex web of relations, mediating the space between audiences (as the 'taxpayer'), industry (as funded filmmakers) and funders (as funding agencies and government), considering its role has been rarely addressed within cultural and film policy studies.

There is a limited number of studies which consider funding schemes as central to case studies in cultural policy for film. Often they concentrate on particular initiatives in the English regions in contrast to London-centric cases (Redfern, 2005; Newsinger, 2009; Caterer 2004, 2008, 2011a) or focus on the evaluation of schemes through economic performance indicators (Steele, 2004; Northern Alliance, 2009). Few authors offer a comprehensive approach to the evaluation of funding schemes alongside policy development, government discourse, cultural and technological industry developments, although their focus tends to be on cultural production and practice over policy interpretation and implementation (Adams, 2011; Caterer, 2011b; Pierson, 2005). Others offer an insightful account of both policy formulation and film production (Blomkamp, 2011; Newsinger, 2010; 2012b), however criticism of existing practices occasionally overshadowed original scholarly conclusions. Academic critique of Scottish film industry initiatives, since further Scottish devolution was instituted in 1998, has been narrower, frequently lost among the predominant discourses of nation and identity in Scottish film (Martin-Jones, 2009a; Murray, 2012, 2015; Petrie, 2000). The scarcity and limited scope of academic literature on Scottish film policy, make a case for this research to focus attention on Scottish Screen policies and funding schemes in its own right, without losing sight of UK-wide developments in the field.

Research on film funding schemes, institutions and the role of individuals stood out and are particularly relevant to this thesis. Caterer's 2004 article, for example provided a detailed overview of National Lottery funding through two different institutions and funding streams as a case study, using the film *Stella Does Tricks* (1996), the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) and the Arts Council of England (ACE). Later Caterer followed with a paper which compared two funding schemes, the Group Production Plan of the early 1950s and the National Lottery Franchise Scheme of the late 1990s, where he concludes that historical precedent played an 'insufficient role in British film policy discourse' (2011a: 94), seeing that public funding institutions failed to recognise the mistakes of their predecessors. These studies were particularly informative for this research as they explicitly critiqued regional versus UK funding initiatives from the perspective of financiers and producers.

Both Michele Pierson (2005) and Christophe Dupin (2003) provided similar analyses of how a funding scheme may or may not contribute to shaping the industry in the long-term, noting their strengths, weakness and the vulnerability of long-term film policy to external factors. Dupin chose to highlight the long-term legacy of the BFI Experimental Film Fund scheme against its key objectives:

> If the Fund is to be assessed according to one of its main briefs, which was to discover new talents, then one must recognize the Fund's rather impressive results. Of the 50 or so film-makers supported by the Fund, 35 had never made a film before. As for their subsequent careers, at least 32 went on to work in a variety of jobs in the British (and occasionally overseas) film and television industries, where most of them continued their innovative work in art cinema or pioneering television programmes and documentaries (Dupin, 2003: 88).

Pierson discussed the institutional, political, cultural and individual roles which shaped the BFI Experimental Film Fund (1952-1966). The author then used this case study to provide an alternative structure for evaluating funding schemes, where 'the significance of this scheme for the present day . . . is that it highlights the potential limitations of national funding schemes for the development of a metaculture of experiment' (2005:71). Beyond the role of schemes the author also identified a 'structuring tension' at the institutional level within the BFI, between its obligations to national film culture and the need to maintain the Fund sustainability at an international level:

> [F]unding-driven initiatives to stimulate artistic innovation and experiment are unlikely to produce the social networks necessary for generating any kind of self-sustaining practice (Pierson, 2005:87).

Pierson's and Dupin's analysis of the BFI Experimental Film Fund as part of a wider institutional and political landscape are valuable to prospective studies of production, exhibition and talent development focused initiatives beyond the BFI. They serve as a comparative example to the study of Scottish funding schemes, discussed through this research.

Ian Goode (2011) presented a complementary analysis of film policy in practice by looking at Orkney's Rural Cinema Scheme in the post-World War II period. His findings are of interest to this research as he chose to focus on film exhibition and audiences in Scotland, although Goode's discussion of the cultural policy and institutional context is limited. Instead, Goode pointed to the wider political context, noting how the scheme 'emerged out of the youth-orientated and paternalistic initiatives of state education policy and [how] the cultural legacies of world war were especially significant in Orkney' (2011:27). Similarly to Pierson (2005) and Caterer (2008), Goode emphasised the role of the individual, (in this case, Education Committee member Alex Doloughan) in providing a mediating role between a scheme envisaging an 'educationalist cinema of improvement cultivated by institutional policy' (2011:28) and a programme addressing the need for 'entertainment and pleasure' for audiences. Goode's analysis of the scheme touched on the political and geographical particularities of Orkney in relationship to the mainland, however, it lacks a more thorough discussion of the government and policy context in Scotland (and UK-wide).

This research uses Scottish Screen's funding schemes as case studies to illustrate the mechanisms by which the institutions decided to put policy into practice, similarly to research carried out by Sara Strandvad, who used the New Danish Screen scheme – focused on innovation in filmmaking – to discuss the role of the film consultant and the development of film policy at the Danish Film Institute. Strandvad claimed the scheme had become a 'brand for Danish film as good as "Dogma" ' and '[it had] come to symbolize a furtherance of the wave of success and is seen as an autonomous offspring from the Dogma wave . . . converted into a high priority topic in the negotiations of the Danish film policy' (2009:110). As shown through this thesis' case study of Tartan Shorts, this was also to be the case in Scotland, on a smaller scale.

Boyle's (2015) and Kelly's (2015) research on the UKFC also used the organisation's funding schemes to illustrate how the institutions' funding strategy evolved over its years

of operation. Outside the UK Blomkamp (2009, 2012) examined the practices of the New Zealand Film Commission's funding schemes to examine the agency's discourses that were used to justify the allocation public funds to New Zealand filmmakers, in particular in relation to funding schemes. In addition, this research was also informed by Ingvild Bjerkeland's case study, which focused on the relationship between the Norwegian Film Institute and the country's then recently established regional agencies. It lasgely focused on the shift from 'cultural idealism' to an increased focus on instrumental objectives as means of legitimation (2015:126). Bjerkeland's work provided an insightful comparison between central and regional public subsidy for film in early 2000s Europe, with served as a comparison point to this research's cases studies.

Existing research has tended to focus on a particular context, often in isolation or with disregard to the role of individuas and institutional practices. The earlier works of Lewis and Marris (1991), Headland and Relph (1991) and Pratten and Deakin (2000) provided an overview of UK film funding schemes and cultural policy, mainly focusing on political and economic contexts. Pratten and Deakin emphasised the importance of a better understanding and evaluation of the contextual frameworks which shape funding initiatives. They supported the need to include a contextual analysis to the study of cultural policy - an approach adopted by this research:

> [P]olicies and strategies can be formulated with the objective of restructuring those institutional characteristics which have traditionally inhibited the development of the UK industry. It is important to appreciate that to proceed with such a programme, and to understand how policy can make a difference, requires detailed understanding of the context within which policies are to operate (Pratten & Deakin, 2000:50).

In order to study the *institutional* context within which film schemes were developed, this thesis uses CEO's tenures as a key points of reference to devise the studied organisation's 'phases' of strategical development, This approach is similar to Dupin's study of the origins of the BFI and the Experimental Film Fund (2003), O'Connell work on the Irish Film Board and screenwriting initiatives (2011, 2014) and Lisa Kelly's article on the UKFC (2015) and the organisation's management of its key funding streams. Dupin's, Kelly's and O'Connell's findings stressed how individual characters and personal interests played a disproportionate role in shaping publicly funded institutions in small nations. Outside the UK, Christopher Mathieu research on the Danish Film Institute (DFI) also considered the

entrepreneurial agency of the CEO from a creative industries perspective, where he highlighted:

> [T]here is a set of actors recessed beyond the credits, title-pages and by-lines of creative products who profoundly influence the operation and occasionally the transformation of creative industries. These institutional entrepreneurs transform the infrastructure of creative industries (Mathieu, 2006: 243).

Mathieu's argued that a particular CEO transformed the *function* of the DFI in the Danish film industry to the extent 'where the actual role and degree of penetration of the DFI . . . changed' as the CEO helped in 'reducing the power of previously more autonomous groups and positions' (2006: 244). The authors quoted here frequently mentioned the personalities and drive of directors, senior staff or CEOs as central to the direction taken in policy implementation and strategy formation. This was also noted for example, in Dupin's frequent references to Denis Forman's and Michael Bacon's influence in shaping film policy with the BFI:

> The producer Michael Balcon appeared to be the perfect chairman for that committee . . . he was also considered a spokesman for 'independent' producers, and he saw the support to new filmmaking talents as an essential condition for the survival of the British film industry (Dupin, 2003:81)
> .
>
> [Forman] brought in a new generation of film enthusiasts who were to lead the way towards a more modern approach to the film medium. With their support, Forman elaborated between the summers of 1949 and 1950 the embryo of an integral and nationwide strategy towards the development of a film culture in Britain (Dupin, 2006:47).

Caterer's work also expanded on the role of institutions and individuals in shaping the policy implementation process, through the case of the National Lottery Fund. Here the author highlighted that 'we can observe that the patterns of institutional and personal influence which exist in the public arts funding sector provide a means of tracing the connections between political ideologies and cultural artefacts.'(2008:159). He pointed to the significant role of individuals in shaping institutional and political contexts using as an example the different roles played by John Grierson and Michael Balcon both within the BFI and in the film industry as a whole. A similar argument was raised by Magor and Schlesinger, who noted 'expertise – especially that mobilised through the use of film industry figures – has shaped the debate and secured policy outcomes' (2009:314). Building on existing studies, it

becomes clear that the individual personalities, career backgrounds, influence and interests of CEOs at Scottish screen are to be considered an integral part of policy implementation and the development of funding schemes at the agency. This approach provides a logical structure for the study of cultural institutions aiming to understand key shifts in policy and strategy. Thus, it is also applied to this research for the study of Scottish Screen, looking at the role of each of the agency's CEOs. In order to do so, the key institutional developments discussed in Chapter Four's can be illustrated through a timeline in Appendix C (p.195), which is colour-coded according to the each CEO's directorship.

However, in contrast to studies where CEOs' tenures and leadership styles are central to the research objectives (Alvarez, 2014), this thesis looks instead at the complex relationship between CEOs, civil servants, board members and filmmakers when developing and implementing a funding policy strategy, It builds on Kelly's argument in the context of the UKFC:

> [W]hat emerged were contrasting perspectives of how those within the organisation viewed the UKFC and the opinions of the wider filmmaking community . . . as a unified body, the UKFC performed the dual role of providing strategic leadership for the industry, while also acting as a Lottery distributor investing in projects, schemes and initiatives (2015:10).

In addition to the study of the literature on film policy and funding schemes, a review of existing work also highlghted the scarcity of studies focused on the evaluation of policy itself (Blomkamp, 2011; MacPherson, 2009; Steele, 2004). Ruth Towse's work reflected the difficulties in evaluating cultural policy and public institutions within the arts sector, again using its conflicting economic and cultural remits (1994: 143-50). Graeme Evans built on Towse's argument, referring specifically to public funding institutions:

> Arts organisations that are reliant upon grant-aid do not sit comfortably or wholly in either the not-for-profit sector, in public services, nor in commercial entertainment, but they incorporate aspects of all three and exhibit policy and management tensions inevitably arise from these varying cultures and expectations (Evans, 2000:260)

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Whilst this research does not exclusively focus on the evaluation of film policy and its funding schemes, it does question the practices used by Scottish Screen when planning to create, continue or abolish a particular scheme. Therefore, it choses to focus on the extent to which such decisions and the lack of thorough evaluation processes affected the implementation of long-term funding strategy.

Taking into account the scholarly literature on film policy and funding schemes, John Hill summarised how the conflicting aims of such schemes and UK film policy lie on 'the low levels of "legitimization" of film as an art within British culture' which therefore results in what the author described as a 'bent towards the cultivation of film as a vehicle for information, instruction and the construction of citizenship, rather than as an end, or valued cultural good, in itself ' (2004:33). Hill's arguments indicate there is a need for research to explore alternative avenues for film policy to take an integrated and coherent approach to all aspects and discourses implicit in the nurturing of a national film industry.

A limited number of scholarly papers have attempted to review the strategies of arts institutions beyond film, their policies and funding schemes. Most relevant to this research are the works of Jones and Galloway on Scottish Opera (2010, 2011) and Rebecca Robinson's thesis (2009) on the National Theatre of Scotland. Jones and Galloway's arguments are relevant to the aims of this research as they evaluate the funding outcomes of Scottish Opera since its foundation, while looking at key institutional and political changes. Jones and Galloway's paper provides a particular focus on the change from a 'double-arm's length' funding system (from the ACGB to SAC or Scottish Office, then to Scottish Opera) to direct government funding post -1997. Their paper highlights the special case of opera funding in Scotland, the considerable independence of the organisation and hence the limited authority of the SAC, which led the authors to conclude that 'while fulfilling its "upwards" accountability to government the SAC was also aware of its "outwards" accountability to the wider arts community' (2011:241). Their case study reflects a similar position to Scottish Screen and the filmmaking community while at the same time it underlines the contrasts between a traditional arts form and the specificity of film. In her thesis, Rebecca Robinson presents a different case, for a more recent institution which emerged after Scottish devolution. In Robinson's view 'direct government funding can pose a threat to artistic freedom in a way arm's length funding is specifically designed to prevent' (2009:55). Robinson argues that the government cultural strategy which led to the creation of the National Theatre of Scotland was founded on the idea of Scotland having a distinctive national identity. Her criticism of direct government funding is a useful counterpoint to the study of Scottish Screen, as the only NDPB for film during its operational years.

Both articles are also valuable to this research as they provide an analysis and evaluation of public funding policies in distinctive institutional (Galloway and Jones) and political

(Robinson) contexts providing alternative frameworks of evaluation for Scottish film policy and its main funding agency.

Reflecting back from early UK protectionist and educational subsidies, to the Department of National Heritage grants through to the DCMS and the free market policies under the New Labour, academic debate on film policy is evidently fluid and continuous research is vital to the better understanding of cultural funding (Blomkamp, 2012; Doyle et al 2015; Hill, 2012; Kelly, 2015; Newsinger, 2012b; Redfern, 2007; Steele, 2015). Lastly, after considering the analysis of the scholarly literature on UK film policy, this chapter will now consider the implications of previous research to the central questions of this thesis, by turning to the study of Scottish film policy.

The Case in Scotland

> Think of what we could achieve here in Scotland with the support of a dedicated Screen agency, a long-term film strategy, capable experienced staff and some real investment in our company infrastructure and sector. The return to the nation from a number of film and television companies could be spectacular. Scotland's indigenous producers are the country's global messengers and our films and dramas are how we project our Scottish culture around the world.
>
> (Arabella Page-Croft[6], producer, 2015)

The existing academic literature on Scottish cinema and industry can be categorised into three distinct fields, with areas of crossover. These comprise: more prominently, discussions over Scottish identity and screen representation followed by, small nation cinema and transnational cinemas analyses and, although comparatively less extensive, studies on the development of a film industry in Scotland. Publications such as the 2009 anthology, *Scottish Cinema Now,* edited by Murray, Farley and Stoneman, attempted to re-assess and invigorate these traditional areas of academic interest. In turn, Duncan Petrie's *Screening Scotland* is seen as a preceding companion piece, where the author also explored experimental Scottish cinema, Scottish television and the formation of a 'New Scottish Cinema'.

This thesis builds on scholarly studies on the Scottish film industry and its institutions; it draws from arguments posited by textual analysis studies (Bruce, 1996; Dick, 1994; Hardy,

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[6] Arabella Page-Croft is the co-founders of Black Camel Pictures, the Scottish production company behind *Sunshine on Leith* (2013)

1990; McArthur, 1982; Murray 2001, 2012, 2015; Petrie, 2004; Meir, 2014) and research centred on Scottish national identity (Edensor, 1997; Martin-Jones, 2009; Meech and Kilburn, 1992; Meir, 2010; Sillars and Macdonald, 2008; Sillars, 2009) in order to better address the key research question. Nevertheless, this research is concerned with the role of film policy in shaping the film industry - identified as a notable gap in the existing body of scholarly work - rather than the already extensive analyses of national identity and screen representation. In complement to institutional studies, this thesis is also informed by a number of authors who also contributed to the development of cultural and film policy studies in the context of small nations, most prominently, Mette Hjort's *Cinema and Nation*, Robin MacPherson's body of work since 2010 and Sarah Neely's contribution to *The Media In Scotland*. Their approach to the definitions and debates over the 'nationality' of Scottish films has served to inform my understanding of the Scottish film industry's development in parallel to the UK industry. Building on justifications also quoted in Linda Hutcheson's doctoral thesis (2013), this research argues it is necessary for scholars to investigate aspects often overlooked within Scottish film studies, and indeed film studies as a whole. This research also seeks to offer new approaches to researching Scottish film: one willing to investigate the role of cultural policy and film funding bodies, funding strategies, policy implementation and analysis, support for talent and audience development, exhibition, distribution and media education - in parallel to and as part of a UK cultural policy for film, however still concerned with its Scottish specificity.

This thesis was developed based on initial analysis of academic research concerned with cultural policy in Scotland, the film industry and public funding institutions. This analysis contributed to the formulation of this research's central questions, first: how did Scottish Screen fulfil government's cultural policy? Second, how did Scottish Screen interpret its goals and arrive at sense of mission? Third, how did funding schemes reflect in a commitment to film production and exhibition? It is therefore necessary to first establish the existent arguments that informed the author's understanding of the film industry in Scotland and the funding mechanisms that put policy into practice.

The Scottish Industry, Film Policy and Institutions

> The cultural devolution has already taken place forms the bedrock of the new political government . . . it will be a while before we can think in terms of Scotland having a discrete film policy. We're certainly not going to get any special tax breaks yet. Scotland is still considered a region, not a small country like Ireland.

John Archer, Scottish Producer[7] (in Spencer, 1999)

In reference to the political context which shaped the establishment of Scotland's first dedicated screen agency, Scottish Screen, Schlesinger noted how the idea of the 'creative economy' had been 'rapidly adopted in Scotland under the Labour-Lib Dem coalitions . . . from 1999-2007, following the advent of the New Labour government in the UK in 1997' (2009:135). He added, in respect to film policy, that although culture became an area of 'devolved' policy under the Scottish Executive, after 2007 the Scottish National Party's (SNP) government had shown instead 'a profound continuity of policy ideas in Scotland, and . . . their deep dependency on thinking fashioned in London' (2009:136).

Building on Schlesinger's (2004) conclusions, Murray (2006b) argued that after 1997 there was a conflict of interests between devolution and cultural remits in Scotland. Murray also questioned the Scottish Executive for what he judged to be an industry-led definition of Scottish cinema. Murray identified the so called Scottish cinema 'boom' of the late 1990s as responsible for leading policymakers to think of the film industry as primarily a source of wealth, tourism and job creation. The author defended the idea that Scottish film culture and industry are interdependent rather than mutually exclusive. Murray argued that the success of Scottish films ought not to be measured simply by how much money their production brings to the country, but also by their cultural value:

> [cinema] also self-consciously encourage[s] a diverse range of visual styles within which creative personnel tell film stories . . . The subject matter of these narratives, from the local individual to collective experience should be equally varied. [By doing so] we contribute the on-going self- examination and consequent progressive evolution of Scottish Society and Culture (Murray, 2006b:60).

Murray argued that the contribution of Scottish devolution to the development of a national cinema had actually been 'negligible', as 'political ignorance and expedience' ensured the period that followed saw little that was new, with Scotland mostly being promoted as an advantageous location rather than a culturally rich nation (2006b:62). He criticised the omission of Scottish film culture in the Scottish Executive's National Culture Strategy document (Scottish Executive, 2000), concluding that Scottish cinema should be a public forum which examines the national community it represents, and subsequently 'reforms

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[7] Archer was also Scottish Screen's first CEO and at the time of writing is Chair of the Independent Producers of Scotland.

itself', as they are only 'healthy precisely to the extent they are politically disputatious' (2006b:68).

Sarah Street acknowledged Murray's argument to an extent, pointing instead to the transnationality or even 'post-nationality' (2009:140) of Scottish cinema after 1997, one where the 'global and the local' were interrelated, and appealed to a diverse audience. She added 'clearly, a distinguishing characteristic of post 1990 Scottish cinema is that like Scotland itself it does not fit easily into any single national category' (2009:141). Providing an alternative approach to Scottish film research, Street argued the widely adopted 'nationalistic terminology' had strategic importance in film policy debates. It served to identify the need for cinema to be diverse yet reflective of issues important to local areas with specific concerns. She concludes by explaining the notion of New Scottish Cinema as a transnational entity which existed in a pan-European context but nevertheless maintained its specificity. This argument has been supported by Brown (2011) and later, on a revision of his earlier work, identified by Murray (2012) in the light of the critical success of the 2000's Scottish/Denmark co-productions which resulted in the Advance Party[8] collaboration (Hjort, 2013; Macpherson, 2010; Hutcheson, 2013).

Petrie argued that in respect of Scottish Cinema's identity, Scottish cinema could be better understood in terms of a 'devolved British cinema rather than full independence' (2000:166). Murray commented on both Higson's (2000) and Hill's (1999) contrasting views, where the first perceived it purely in national terms while the latter, took the 'Britishness' of such films for granted (2001:79). He identified how both authors failed to recognise 'challenges posed by emergent national cinemas within the British state-formation' and continued by stating 'Higson's position argued for a "post-national" conception of British cinema' (Murray, 2001:86). In this Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish film cultures have claimed 'national' status as a political strategy for generating funds and creating production infrastructures which envisaged their cultural and commercial priorities. Murray's work raised the issue of a lack of a satisfactory definition of 'Scottishness' and 'national' identity at neither an academic nor a policy level. He added, in reference to Hill's argument, that Scottish cinema was conceived 'as a relatively untheorized "Other", not only in terms of its industrial and

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[8] The Advance Party initiative, started by Lars von Trier (Zentropa Films) with Gillian Berrie (Sigma Films). It required the filmmakers to follow a selection of characters and narrative rules established by Thomas Anders Jensen and Lone Scherfig. All the films were to be set in Scotland. Characters would appear in three films but could alternate from leading roles to supporting presences - rules similar to those laid down by Von Trier's Dogma 95 group. (Hunter, 2008).

institutional structures but equally in terms of its historical development and the constructions of national identities' (Murray, 2001:85).

In 2009, Duncan Petrie reassessed his seminal work on Scottish film policy, *Screening Scotland* (2000). He questioned the developments taken place in the Scottish film industry since 1998, such as the emergence of local filmmaking talent and the engagement of new Scottish cinema with the cultural specificity of a changing nation. His conclusions aligned with Murray's, who identified that 'cinema is devolving itself away from the notion that it must automatically be framed and understood within any framework of national specificity at all' (2007:90). The key argument being that despite the limited number of features produced since 1998, the Scottish cinematic output is connected to further international structures and to UK funding, 'a devolved entity within and dependent on the UK industry' (Petrie, 2009:161).

Petrie argued that within a creative industries discourse, the value of culture was primarily seen in commercial terms, as reflected in the cultural policy strategies of the 2000s, where the author pointed out to a 'disquieting lack of engagement with questions of culture among Scottish politicians' (2009:165). He used Scottish Screen's 2006-2009 Corporate Plan as an example to illustrate how any institutional commitment to Scottish national cinema 'seems to have evaporated' (2009:166), in a corporate plan where the institution's priorities had been rebranded to accommodate the proposed new body, Creative Scotland. The author compared these new policies to those of other small nations' cinema (New Zealand and Denmark) which had managed to maintain a national culture and artistic value element in their policies.

Petrie concluded by arguing support for low and micro budget filmmaking was the only way forward if Scottish film policy was to meet both its cultural and economic demands. He based his argument on the idea that policymakers should not use a 'reductive conception' where solely subsidised or commercial entities were to be valid. Lastly, he identified the role a new institution and policy approach was to have in the national film industry: 'we have reached another moment of transition' (2009:167) with the arrival of Creative Scotland, when 'filmmakers, policymakers and intellectuals [should] protect the achievements of the last 10 years' (2009:167), hence advocating the value of small national cinema.

At the same transitional period of Scottish film policy, MacPherson concluded 'perhaps it is finally time to accept that for the foreseeable future there is no prospect of a commercially

viable, unsubsidised cinema in the UK, far less Scotland' (2009:337). The author was later more optimistic in reference to film policy developments for the exhibition and education sectors, here complementing Murray (2007) and Adams (2011), arguing that a possible solution to incongruent new policies lies in a better joined up strategy:

> The leading players involved in audience development, film education/skills and 'specialized' exhibition in Scotland (organisations like GFT, Filmhouse/CMI, DCA, Regional Screen Scotland, access centres and the film and media academies) are showing real signs of a joined-up approach to making the full range of film, film understanding and film skills as widely available as possible (MacPherson, 2014).

The works of MacPherson (2009, 2010), Petrie, (2000, 2009), Murray, (2006a, 2009, 2015), Dick (1990) and McArthur (1982) together provide the cornerstones to understanding key aspects of the Scottish film industry. Others, including Neely (2008), Bruce, (1996), Martin-Jones (2009a), Street (2009) and Brown (2011) provided a valuable discussion of national culture and what can be defined as a Scottish film within recent debates about transnationality. Academic work addressing concepts of nation and transnationality facilitated the development of a framework for film policy in Scotland, most significantly the works of Street (2009), Hjort et al (2000), Brown (2011) and Murray (2012, 2015).

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Petrie's seminal contribution to the study of the Scottish film industry and government policy in *Screening Scotland* is often deemed overly optimistic, as it followed the international success of Scottish features in the late 1990s. However, his work formed a basis for the understanding of the topic (Street, 2009:137) and provided an original contribution to the study of Scottish film insitutions. In this work, Petrie also highlighted Colin McArthur's 1993 comments on the national film agencies, where, 'at the heart of McArthur's critique lies the accusation that the policies of the Scottish screen agencies have embraced an economic conception of film as primarily a commodity while neglecting cultural considerations' (Petrie, 2000:183) which, 'have . . . been unequipped to think of alternatives to the industrial model or to recognise the problems relating to national culture and identity that the industrial model might create' (McArthur, 1993:31).

Petrie concluded *Screening Scotland* by suggesting the issues encountered by the industry so far were to be addressed by the recently proposed Scottish Screen agency. In hindsight, as Simon Brown, Jonathan Murray, and Sarah Street suggested, the developments in Scottish cinema from 2000 to 2010 were more modest than those of the late 1990s and less than perhaps originally anticipated. More significant for this research are Winford's (2002) arguments that the key issues of Scottish film policy are not simply down to the

contradictions inherent in the new creative industries policies. They are linked to deeper structural issues; a result of flawed policy implementation and fragile institutions.

With the formation of Scottish Screen, Winford questioned how the Scottish executive could be convinced that an institution 'which sits at the interface between industry and culture' was to have the potential to construct a coherent overview and targeted strategies to control 'the diverse forces which fuel or impede the development of filmmaking in Scotland' (2002:3). As evidenced through the literature discussed here, and highlighted on Arabella Page-Croft's quote at the start of this section, this has been a consistent failure on the part of cultural bodies and film agencies, up to the present day, the reasons for which, are to be discussed in this research's findings.

Conclusion

Following the 2014 Scottish referendum and the intensification of independence debates together with the consolidation of new formats of exhibition and distribution, an increasing number of academics set out to review UK and Scottish film policy (Petrie, 2014; MacPherson, 2015b Scottish Regional Arts bodies; Steele, 2015). In relation to UK film policy, Steele pointed out:

> Policy regimes get locked in place and locked in people's minds, and there is a tendency to think a particular approach, once in operation for a number of years, is stable and secure and in some sense "right". But the world changes constantly, undermining some policy solutions while throwing up new challenges (Steele, 2015: 78).

Petrie returned to his discussion of film policy and Scottish institutions, this time providing a direct critique of Creative Scotland and the creative industries discourses in relation to film:

> In addition to the downplaying of film within the overall mix, the encroachment of a creative industries imperative has worked against the backing of the kind of personal (i.e. risky) projects had provided some of the highlights of the new Scottish cinema . . . All of this has meant Scottish filmmakers and their films are playing a less central role in cultural debates than they do in other nations (Petrie, 2014: 229).

Petrie (2014) called for a more 'enlightened cultural policy' and similarly to MacPherson's 2015 article on the long-lasting crisis in Scottish film (2015b), the author consistently made

comparisons to the Danish system of film subsidy and the downfalls of a devolved, rather than independent, film sector.

Despite pointing to domestic market share as a key difference between Scotland and Denmark's film industry, neither authors proceeded to directly address audience development and Exhibition or talent development policy in Scotland (or the UK) or highlight the downfalls of underfunded, or inconsistent avenues of support. The lack of debate surrounding exhibition funding and talent development support highlights underlying issues of public subsidy for film, sometimes returning to the early issues that led to protectionist measures in the 1930s. Rather than a focus on production output and perceived quality, there is a need for further research into the cultural remit of funding bodies in terms of production and exhibition policy combined, where investments in either sector aim towards a coherent, joined-up approach to develop audiences and filmmakers as the cornerstone of a nascente film industry, whose objectives do not simply rely on an increase in the domestic market share of national films or their performance abroad.

This literature review has identified the key existing gaps in academic works and industry-led studies: a lack of scholarly research on film exhibition and audience development as part of cultural policy for film; a limited scope of existing studies on talent development funding and policy; a paucity of academic studies concerning Scottish film policy based on empirical evidence and qualitative data, and particularly, an absence of comprehensive academic research aimed at expanding on cultural policy theory through film policy case studies that look at the institutions and individuals that interpret and shape policy.

Aiming to address these gaps, the first case study examines Scottish Screen commitment to implementing a production policy through talent development practices, rather than investigating feature film's production history. By doing so, it aims to build on the key works of Caterer, Hill, Macpherson, Murray, Newsinger, and Petrie, discussed in this chapter, in order to expand on current academic work on film policy planning, implementation and evaluation, adding to existing knowledge of cultural policy theory.

The second case study focuses on exhibition funding and audience development, where instead of focusing on audience research – something which would require further, dedicated studies of their own – it centres on the steady and structural development of exhibition policy, using empirical evidence to scrutinise funding practices at the SFC and Scottish

Screen. Recent studies (Boyle, 2015; Goode, 2011; Rockett & Rockett, 2011) have examined exhibition-related policy linked to a particular institutional or regional government remits, or in the context of wider political and economic objectives. Drawing on existing work, this research makes an original contribution to research by framing exhibition practices in the context of emerging cultural policy and recent public funding initiatives in Scotland. Both contextualised the issues highlighted in this chapter by comparing how funding initiatives are designed and implemented as part of the institution's long-term cultural policy strategy.

These particular schemes were chosen due to their specific remits which sought to address key issues within Scottish cinema production and audience reception. As noted by Macpherson:

> A key challenge for Scotland is to make sure that the distinctive legislative and administrative context and structures of education, training, exhibition, audience development etc. are understood, respected and engaged with in the development of truly 'Scottish' solutions for Scottish needs (MacPherson, 2012).

Furthermore, by analysing mobilised policy communities that informed Scottish film policy development, this research aims to add to Gray's theory that the instruments utilised by organisations to implement policy are 'subject to empirical investigation, with an expectation that there will be variations both between levels and between individual organisations . . . as a consequence of the different interests, policy concerns and expectations that actors have at differing levels of the organisational universe' (Gray, 2012:11). It also draws on Doyle et al (2015) research on the UKFC to enhance academic and industry's understanding of the political and economic rationale behind the opening and closing of public funding bodies, how does that fit within different registers of discourse within cultural studies and public policy theory.

Lastly, this thesis develops on Townse's (1994) work on arts policy evaluation by discussing qualitative methods that have informally served to inform policymakers and industry professionals.

The next chapter details the methodological approach and methods that underpin the following sections of this thesis. Following the methods chapter, Chapter Four will outline the establishment of Scottish Screen by exploring its development in the context of a

changing political and cultural policy environment. Chapters Five and Six will provide the case studies of two Scottish Screen funding schemes - focusing on how Scottish Screen fulfilled government's cultural policy.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter establishes the methodological and practical approaches used in this research. A multi-method approach combining desk research and fieldwork was used to frame and investigate the main research question, which seeks to answer how Scottish Screen fulfilled government's cultural policy. This combination of methods served to contextualise industry practices within current academic research in cultural and film policy. Desk research consisted of the use of public archives, industry and government reports, and academic material. The fieldwork comprised the examination of two case studies based on expert interviews with key industry and research professionals. Based on the aims and objectives of this research, a case study approach was the most suitable approach to address the thesis' objectives. This choice is supported by authors who have carried out research in the similar fields of arts and cultural policy, most notably Paul Cairney (2012), Melissa Nisbett (2013a), Jane Woddis (2014), David Bell and Kate Oakley (2014) and others who adopted case studies in their doctoral research in similar institutions[9].

This research scrutinises how Scottish Screen fulfilled government's cultural policy, examining how it then arrived at a sense of mission. It also investigates how the agency implemented funding schemes intended to reflect in a commitment to film production and exhibition. These questions are best explored through the methods described and justified in this chapter.

This thesis account of public film funding in the period between 1997-2010 is placed in the context of the history of film policy in the UK and in particular, Scotland. It makes extensive use of primary sources, including original statistical analysis, interviews with contemporary policymakers and film practitioners, and unpublished internal documents from public funding institutions. This thesis also breaks with the precedent set by much of the previous academic work on film policy by focusing on film schemes as case studies, set within a particular institutional context.

 The author has chosen to refrain from a comprehensive study of policy strategies, legislation changes and political remits, in order for the role of the film industry and of funding bodies

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[9] Alvarez, 2014 (Scottish Screen CEOs); Caterer, 2007 (The National Lottery Fund and ACE); Hibberd, 2009 (Scottish Screen and BBC Scotland); Hutcheson 2013 (The Advance Party initiative); Lu, 2015 (Scottish Rural Arts bodies); Newsinger, 2010 (English Regional Screens).

to be foregrounded. In seeking to explore how funding schemes reflected a commitment to film production and exhibition at Scottish Screen, this thesis aims to highlight the actors and institutional practices that allow for cultural policy to enact a change in Scotland's film and cultural output. The emphasis is on the process by which individuals choose certain mechanisms to distribute public funds which deliberately or inadvertently have profound effects in shaping cultural knowledge and identity. Setting the study in the context of a small nation with an especially close-knit circuit of film and art professionals further emphasises the interconnectedness of cultural policy and film practice.

The previous chapter introduced theoretical and situational components of this thesis, both cultural and political. Despite a wide range of subject matters, a number of the works mentioned in the literature review used similar approaches and methods, encompassing a critical and historical examination of funding bodies, a contextual analysis of cultural policy frameworks and an empirical examination of industry and government reports. As Emma Blomkamp argued, the prevailing literature often accentuates the dichotomies within cultural policy objectives, which can lead to the oversimplification of complex positions and especially, processes within film policy implementation (2011:343). Thus, as indicated in the literature review, there is a lack of research into the intricate combination of cultural, political and industrial discourses which permeate film policy and public funding institutions.

One of the objectives of this thesis is to understand how public film funding bodies use and interpret conflicting and short-termist cultural policy for subsidising the film sector. It highlights issues which arise from the planning, implementation and the lack of consistent evaluation of film funding schemes.

The multiple political, cultural and social frames found in the discourses and remits of policymakers from government institutions to industry professionals require a multi method approach to research. This chapter therefore, discusses the selection, justification and weighing of methods in the light of existing academic research and takes into consideration the industry's own evaluations through internal and published reports.

This research design was developed to investigate the efficacy and function of film funding policies and their subsequent investment schemes. Due to problems of accessibility, relevance and validity, this work focuses on the period immediately preceding 1997, the year

of the launch of Scottish Screen, until immediately after its merger with the Scottish Arts Council in 2010. Despite these temporal boundaries, there are references to earlier and more recent developments when integral to formulating key arguments that address the research question. This research then examines the institutional and governmental practices of the main body responsible for the screen industries in Scotland at the time, followed by an attempt to scrutinise the agency's planning, implementation and the long-term strategies of its funding schemes.

Quantitative data was also essential to examine Scottish Screen's investment practices over its thirteen years of operation and to explore the long-term impact of funding schemes on the production and exhibition sectors. Thus, a set of quantitative data was necessary to understand the degree of 'success' achieved by schemes in the institutional and industrial contexts.

The results of quantitative analyses are presented in the Appendices and discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six. In Chapter Four, SFC, SFPC and Scottish Screen annual reviews were the main source of secondary data, complemented by information sourced from archived press articles, the BFI/UKFC Statistical Yearbooks, the BFI Film and Television Handbooks and internal reports from relevant organisations kept for consultation (Appendices C-F). Chapter Five's key quantitative study (Appendices G and J) comes from data gathered from numerous online databases, personal webpages and professional inquiries later compiled together by the author to best address the aims of this research. The graphical analyses in Chapter Six (Appendices P-T) were amassed from data available on the former agency's website (http://www.scottishscreen.com) and from the website of public funded organisations.

When conducting policy research, quantitative analysis can document the outcomes in a way that allows for generalisation. However, this method of public policy study says little about the processes which produced the outcomes as argued by Janet Finch, who notes that qualitative research played only a minor role in policy-orientated work, it has had an underused potential, and that it should be developed in relation to policy-orientated research (1986:5). One of the reasons given by Finch is the time scale of research, which often was longer than policymakers were prepared to wait before coming to a decision (1986:139). Other supporting arguments are posited by Clive Gray's most current research, where he argues:

> Cultural policy is difficult to both understand and analyse at the sectoral level, and that meaningful generalisations about the sector are exceedingly difficult to substantiate. The question is raised of whether cultural policy is a case where policy specificity trumps policy generalisability (2015a:2).

Quantitative methods alone are not sufficient to uncover the real differences between policy reports and reality. As Finch indicates, they allow the possibility of an 'excessive concern for technical niceties' (1986:170), which do not necessarily lead to changes in policy. Qualitative methods complement quantitative ones – convincingly, if different methods are used. Finch applied her ideas to the social policy sphere, notably in education. Nevertheless, her assertions are applicable to this research, as the study of cultural policy's practical implementation and strategy formation is at the core of this work.

Qualitative research is also appropriate for this study as it uses an interpretive approach and uses social actors' meanings to understand the phenomena it studies (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011:2). As Alvarez noted on her doctoral research of Scottish Screen, 'qualitative work takes an inductive approach to its subject matter, is highly descriptive and has a strong humanistic component' (2014:60) which justifies the choice to use a number of expert interviews as opposed to a quantitative analysis of the agency's or scheme's performance.

As Finch concluded: 'Qualitative research is particularly suited to studying social processes over time, and there is an obvious application here to the study of policy changes as they are implemented' (1986:169). Such being the context of this research, qualitative methods were preferred over a qualitative approach.

The context of the research reflects a particularly volatile period of transition in the cultural policy landscape, particularly for film policy in Scotland. This research employed a combination of constructivist and critical research methodologies using qualitative methods within a case study framework.

As with any research project, there are limitations to the approach adopted in this thesis. These limitations are discussed in this chapter and again in the Conclusion in relation to the specific methods employed. At present, it is sufficient to note the foremost limitation of this study: the findings are predominantly based on analysis of two Scottish case studies and are therefore not always applicable to the UK or other regions and nations.

That being said, the specificity offered by this research does provide a useful reminder of the dangers involved when making generalised claims about film policy. In this sense, the chosen case studies provide an entry point to critique existing assumptions about cultural policy and institutional practice. These assumptions are also outlined in in this chapter. A second limitation derives from the predominance of qualitative original material over quantitative analyses, predominantly a reflection of the scarcity of film funding data archives and similar documentation available.

A final point to note is that to date, little research has been conducted into individual funding schemes and initiatives much beyond feature film production (although this is still very limited), and this in itself provides good justification for their centrality to this research project.

Researching Film Policy

The primary aim of this research is to understand the processes of cultural policy formation and implementation utilised by film funding bodies, building on existing theories of British and specifically Scottish, film policy history and institutional practice. Therefore, in addition to looking at the academic input in the field, it was essential to gather information about how the different cultural agents within the film industry and academia have criticised film policy changes in a contextual framework.

Much of the preliminary desk research concentrated on discourses of policy formation for developing a national film industry in the UK and Scotland. The early months of this research were spent determining which of the sources were relevant, and to identify the themes of the thesis. These were focused on the practice of policy implementation, interpretation and internal evaluation rather than exclusively theoretical concepts.

Firstly, the analysis of primary sources included newspaper press cuttings (national and Scottish), Scottish Government reviews, annual reports and minutes of board meetings from film bodies, investment guidelines, funding applications and strategic development documents. These were publicly available at the websites of Parliament UK, DCMS, Ofcom, the former SAC and Scottish Screen, Scottish Government, Official Documents (National Archives) and DCMS. The former UKFC and Scottish Screen online pages also store a large

number of relevant documents, some transferred to the updated BFI website (after 2012). Often sources dated before 2000 were only available by request at the National Library of Scotland, The Edinburgh Film Festival and Film Guild Archives and the National Archives of Scotland, especially the internal documents, audits and consultations from the Scottish Office. Others were pieced together from personal archives and libraries, after making initial contact with relevant individuals. These were not catalogued and were often not accounted for by the owner, but were obtained through established contacts or by individual personal request.

The research on cultural policy development, discussed in the previous chapter, encompasses key topic areas: the development of film policies in the UK and Scottish contexts; the development of the creative and cultural policy discourses and the interpretation of policy directives within major funding bodies, carried on by the trade press, Industry professionals and academics. These particular areas were investigated through desk research and some fieldwork activity.

In order to better address the aims of this research, it was also necessary to gain insight into how filmmakers, distributors, exhibitors and funding institutions were affected by and interpretd policy. Empirical research, using largely qualitative methods was used. The practicality and inherent need for this type of research has been previously discussed by David Steele (2004), where he identifies the need for an evidence based policy for a UK Film Strategy as well as Emma Blomkamp's more qualitative critique of short funding schemes within the New Zealand Film Commission. Both studies informed the author's choice in the most suitable methods for conducting this research.

Statistical analysis and quantitative data reviews have long been the favoured method for the evaluation of public support for feature films in the UK (BFI, 2013-2015; Caterer, 2011a and 2011b; Follows, 2015; Macpherson; 2014; Moran, 1996; Steele, 2004). There are no established methods for understanding the extent to which investment schemes fulfil their aims or for assessing the planning involved in public fund allocation strategy. One of the aims of this research is to understand the extent to which policies are used to create, expand, cut down or discontinue various schemes, when there are no systematic method for their evaluation, noted in Steele's and Caterer's body of work. There is also little debate on how the results of each scheme can be assessed and reviewed against government cultural policies and film industry objectives. The lack of performance indicators was an issue raised at the

2012 BFI *Film Forever* strategic plan. Accordingly, this thesis aims to address this sizeable gap in current film policy research literature through qualitative analysis rather than attempting to reduce it to economic and performance indicators.

A few examples of attempts at wider, more in-depth analysis of schemes include the data evaluation of two UKFC monitoring reviews: *Review of short film in the UK and the UK Film Council's Support for Short Film production, 2001-2009* (Northern Alliance, 2009) and *UK Film Council Talent Development Review* (Olsberg, 2009). Both, particularly the former, are fitting evaluations of former funding and development schemes, including rarely disclosed data on the distribution and exhibition of supported projects. Structurally, this research attempted an approach comparable to the qualitative evaluation of the UKFC *Talent Development Review* (Olsberg, 2009) in its first case study, on the Tartan Short film scheme. Where it differs from the aforementioned UKFC reports is in its constructivist approach and qualitative research methods and in its contextualisation of the scheme, aligned with and as a result of evolving cultural policy discourses that are shaped by the individual voices that make up the film industry.

This research also foregrounds a neglected aspect of the study of the British - specifically the Scottish - film industry: the public investment into the distribution and exhibition of domestic films. Related studies were commissioned by Scottish Screen and the UKFC (KPMG, 2002; Inglis et al, 2005; BFI/UKFC, 2005), however they were centred on the economic impact of regional cinemas, and the accessibility and reach of specialised film. They focused on a instrumental analysis of public subsidy in the exhibition sector against strategic aims. Adding to the work of Chanan (2003), Caterer (2011b) and Macpherson (2011), this research argues that public investment in exhibition and production should not be measured by the number of completed films alone. Academic authors and policymakers who attempted to address the issue, however, have failed to provide an alternative approach to public funding, as discussed in Chapter Two.

 Hence, the case studies in this research adopt a qualitative method based on personal interviews to understand the objectives and outcomes of cultural policy implementation against schemes development and industry expectations.

Case Studies

Case Studies allow for an insightful and comprehensive exploration of studied public institutions. The advantages and limitations of the methods used in this thesis are now discussed. The process of selecting the case studies first consisted of the choice of institution, Scottish Screen. The decision to use this organisation's funding schemes was due to specific, as well as circumstantial factors, including location and ease of access to archival material; existent relationship with potential interviewees; its well-defined timeframe of operation which facilitated research by setting up a particular time period for investigation and the close-knit nature of industry professionals in a small nation. Subsequently, the choice of schemes as case studies were based on their original aims and objectives, their longevity and legacy.

Choosing two 'schemes' instead of funding streams more generally allowed for a more disciplined and targeted study of funding mechanisms: there were set boundaries in place, such as amount funding available, guidelines and criteria for applicants, number of projects to be selected, set deadlines, intended outcomes and anticipated limitations.

Tartan Shorts, the first case study, was chosen primarily due to its longevity and also due to industry professionals' familiarity and enduring 'fondness' of the scheme - known to the author through her previous professional experience. Secondly, the scheme had an unusually comprehensive set of aims and objectives, targeted not only at film production but also talent development, distribution, marketing and exhibition. Therefore, the study of Tartan Shorts allows for a more effective and cohesive approach to understanding the Scottish Screen's commitment to the production sector.

The Audience Development Fund, the second case study, serves as an illustrative example of the changing in investment structure towards the exhibition sector in Scotland since the late 1990s. It was the first formal, regular scheme of its kind and despite various updated versions under different funding bodies, it has endured to date[10]. The self-sustained continuation or expansion of a number of projects originally funded by the scheme (known to the author prior to this research) also facilitated a discussion with individuals directly involved with or who had benefited from the scheme.

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[10] Film Hub Scotland has launched a 'Audience Development Programme' in Autumn 2015, with very similar guidelines and investment amounts to its original 2007 incarnation.
http://filmhubscotland.com/opportunities/funding/audience-development-programme/

This case study aims to look beyond audience development and seeks to explore how institutional practices reflected in the agency's changing commitment to the exhibition sector in response to policy development. Both case studies allow this research to focus on either audience development or talent development and the 'role' they played in the establishment of forthcoming schemes and overall policy strategy development.

The case studies illustrate that there are dominant discursive elements in debates over public funding with respect to Scottish film which have permeated the critical history of UK film and cultural policy. The structuring of the thesis around two case studies has, to an extent, determined the relevance of certain forms of cinema and film financing over others, as discussed in the previous chapter. The choice of case studies was deliberately suggestive of the sometimes elusive connections between film policy theory and industrial or government practices.

As previously observed, several academic works concerning cultural policy research have chosen to make use of case studies within their methodology (Bell & Oakley, 2014; Woddis, 2005, 2014). Not only as a means to better illustrate the research findings, but as Robert Stake points out, 'to catch the complexity of a single case' (2001:xi), where 'we want to appreciate the uniqueness and complexity of its embeddedness and interaction with its contexts' (2001:16). This research investigates a field within cultural policy studies, film policy, which is exceedingly unpredictable and dependant on a vast number of variants that affect its outcomes. The erratic nature of a film's success in itself renders the use of case studies invaluable to the research into public funding schemes. Earlier studies contribute to Stake's argument, and as Howard Freeman and Clarence Sherwood point out case studies provide the insights required to bring the problem into focus and develop a framework for study: 'analytical skills of policymakers are limited . . . and illustrative narratives can emphasise the meaningfulness of findings and inferences' (1970:98).

Freeman and Sherwood are complemented by Robert Yin's view, who notes that 'the major rationale for using [the case study] method is when your investigation must cover both a particular *phenomenon* and the *context* within which the phenomenon is occurring' (1993:31).

In other words, the selected case studies in this research can only be representative of the particular set of approaches, methods and strategies generated by the institutional, political

and social contexts in which they are set. Zaidah Zainal also supports Yin's argument and advocates the use of case studies where it serves to explore, illustrate, explain, or justify the discussion of research objectives. Zainal's argument contributed to the choice of case studies for this research as she deems it an effective research method for studies of public policy and public funding:

> There were studies conducted to ascertain whether particular government programmes were efficient or whether the goals of a particular programme were reached. In other examples, such as in education, evaluative applications were conducted to assess the effectiveness of educational programmes and initiatives. In these types of study, limiting to only quantitative method would obscure some of the important data that need to be uncovered (Zainal:2007:4).
> .

However, as Yin pointed out, there are also arguments against the use of case studies, the most common being the possibility of a lack of rigour from the researcher, resulting in 'equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions' (1984:21). Yin also noted case studies do not generate enough evidence to provide scientific generalisation as they are based on small sample sizes and a limited number of subjects. He argued that setting clear parameters and objectives for the research can counterbalance such disadvantages (1984:25). Such drawbacks are complemented by Sherwood and Freeman's study, who point out the 'dramatic quality' of case studies can potentially obscure their general limited applicability, where they can be used more often as 'a tool of persuasion than objective research' due to their highly subjective nature (1970:99).

However, the aims of this research do not allow for suitable generalisations as its objective is to analyse funding schemes in different and subjective spatial, temporal and political contexts. Therefore the evidence to be gathered from the use of case studies is adequate for contributing to the achievement of the research objectives.

Also, contrary to Yin, Bent Flyvbjerg (2006) has attempted to address what he calls 'misunderstandings' about the disadvantages of case study research. He points out that the generalisability of case studies can be increased by the strategic selection of cases. He argues that if the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem, which is the case in this research, a random sample may not be the most appropriate strategy. He supports the choice of 'atypical or extreme cases' as they 'often reveal more information [as] they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation

studied' (2006:229) and therefore it is more appropriate to select a few cases chosen for their validity.

In this research, as a production/talent development scheme and a film audience/exhibition scheme were chosen as case studies in order to form a comprehensive understanding of film policy development across different areas of the industry.

Michael Huberman and Matthew Miles suggest that within policy research, the questions that need to be addressed can be divided into the broad categories of contextual, diagnostic, evaluative and strategic, which have important implications for the form and function of the analysis undertaken (2002:307). This approach assisted the line of inquiry adopted in the case studies in this thesis. These included enquires into the factors that generated the creation of particular schemes; the staff and procedures involved in their implementation; the stipulation of application guidelines and reach of schemes. It also emcompasses the means by which policies sought to promote and invest in Scottish filmmakers and audiences; the complications encountered through the development process; the different perceptions of how these were received by the public and the process by which the selected schemes were continued, axed or expanded over its lifespan.

Employing a case study method to address how Scottish Screen fulfilled government's cultural policy was crucial to the understanding of funding mechanisms. Zainal's paper emphasised this argument, by pointing out how unlike quantitative analysis which observes patterns in data at the macro level, 'case studies observe the data at the micro level. They allow for both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data' (2007:4). Quantitative analysis of Scottish Screen's funding schemes was partially present in the institution's early annual reports although it lacked a qualitative evaluation of the overall effectiveness of schemes against their initial objectives.

Finally, as Flyvbjerg argued, research ought to be 'problem driven and not methodology driven in the sense that it employs those methods that for a given problematic, best help answer the research questions at hand' (2006:249). Thus, reinforcing the validity of a case studies method in this research. The following sections discuss the methods utilised in the planning, development and discussion of the case studies in this research.

Desk Research

First, when setting out on the early stages of desk research, it was necessary to limit the field of research to British film policy, and later, Scottish film policy. Although extensive, the existing literature in these two areas appeared to be restricted to numerous publications from a limited number of authors, in contrast to for example, the broader field of 'creative industries'.

Notably, a number of academic authors cited throughout this thesis, have at some point during their careers, worked at large national funding agencies for film (including James Caterer, David Bruce, Duncan Petrie, Eddie Dick, Robin Macpherson, John Hill, as discussed in Chapter Four and Five) which makes the discussion and contextualisation of their work particularly useful, albeit prone to bias, within this research framework.

Certain key academic journals and publications were regularly consulted for the benefit of this research. Social networking websites such as Academia.edu were also a relevant source of unpublished research and upcoming papers. The key journals included, among others, the *Journal of British Cinema and Television, Journal of Media Practice, Film Quarterly, Cinema Journal, International Journal of Cultural Policy, Visual Cultures, Screen and Cultural Trends.* When the option was available, the author subscribed to a mailing list on the academic journal webpage in order to keep up-to-date with new and forthcoming issues. Google Scholar Alerts was utilised in order to receive notifications whenever papers containing key words were published around the world. This was a particularly useful tool, as it included conference reports, book chapters and scholarly reviews. In conjunction with the analysis of academic papers and publications, the limited functionality of the majority of government reports called for a more in depth or quantitative approach to its disclosed data.

In addition to scholarly sources, policy development in the relevant research field was also largely conducted by the analysis of key government and industry reports. This was fundamentally carried out to enhance this research's understanding of the historical development of policies: their planning, consultation and formulation stages, as well as to gather key output data on the film industry performance indicators, from a large set of sources.

The performance indicators presented and discussed in several funding organisations' annual reports (including Scottish Screen, SFC, SFPF, BFI and UKFC) as well as government reviews and inquiries (e.g. the Scottish Parliament Official Reports, the UK Parliament's Hansard) and other National Lottery Fund distribution related documents attempted to establish the key policy aims of the current government, often, but not always, following the recommendations of public consultations or internal reviews.

This research was conducted by looking at film policy developments emerging from significant changes in government directives and funding bodies. Particular focus was given to Scottish Government policy documents and reviews that affected Scottish Screen due to the aims and case studies of this research. This allowed for a more targeted and contextual approach, although DCMS and UKFC papers published during the same timeframe also contributed to the cultural discourse in Scotland.

These sources aimed to inform the author of the political, cultural and economic contexts that resulted in the creation of Scottish Screen in 1997 through its demise in 2010. They also contributed to a close and continuous monitoring of the publicised strategies, financial position, and public perceptions of the organisation as it developed. As pointed out earlier, this understanding was fundamental to the design of the case studies and selection of funding schemes.

The use of archives was necessary for the consultation of documents not readily available online and which needed an individual request. The National Library of Scotland and the BFI Library Archives store a considerable number of useful sources for organisation's reports, meeting minutes, public reviews, external audits, schemes' application guidelines and consultation documents.

Although most of the relevant information kept in the archives refers to the film industry prior to the 2000s, they were still vital documents that informed the author's understanding of more recent film policy implementation. This included discussions on forthcoming schemes and exhibition and distribution strategies under the former Scottish film Council, the Scottish film Production Fund and Tartan Shorts. Both libraries are open to the public and material could be consulted upon request.

The drawback of using such sources is the lack of a description of documents listed at the archives search engines. Therefore, the actual content of documents was only seen upon a physical visit to the libraries. Other archives, such as those held by Creative Scotland (including Scottish Screen's documents}, were accessed informally and a request under the Freedom of Information Act Scotland (2002) was not necessary in this occasion. A lack of consistency in record keeping of public funded film initiatives posed a significant issue to this thesis and contributed to its choice of interviews as the predominant method for fieldwork.

A considerable amount of the material on funding applications, minutes of board meetings and internal memos came from the personal archives of former SFC/Scottish Screen panel members, who 'happened to have kept some aside' from their time at the organisation. When Creative Scotland was asked, in person (Jennifer Armitage, Personal Communication, July 2013), about the access to Scottish Screen records, they were sorry to inform me they also were unsure where the material in question was kept (or whether it existed at all). The majority of documentation that was kept (and catalogued) was related to lottery funding applications for feature film production only, not other schemes.

Trade press articles were used to develop an understanding of the industry professionals and public perceptions of and response to the introduction of new policies, organisational restructurings and the particular schemes. Press publications often provided comprehensive online content, for which regular visits and mailing list subscriptions were helpful when keeping up to date with new film funding developments, particularly in Scotland. Other sources were visited regularly to gather reactions and opinions generated by newly-introduced schemes and initiatives. Blogs run by key industry professionals were also used when gathering information on how members of the industry evaluate key policy changes or strategies, in particular, Robin MacPherson's *The Producers Cut* and Stephen Follows[11] statistics-centred web page. These contributed to the growing of a press archive, aided also by regular searches through the Lexis Nexis and Newsbank online databases. These databases permit keyword searches of English-speaking press cuttings and were particularly useful for retrieving press cuttings relating to the introduction of specific funding schemes.

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[11] Follows is an award-winning writer and producer based at Ealing Studios, who also teaches academic film courses.

Through these methods it was possible to collate an online and paper archive of press cuttings relating to the chosen funding schemes and key film policy developments in Scotland as well as the UK. At times, these were particularly useful sources, as detailed information on the funding schemes creation and closure was not made public via Scottish Screen Annual Reviews or through their website. Therefore, in certain cases, press sources become the only methods through which to gain descriptive information on the schemes.

Industry Reports published after 2005 were largely available online, which avoided the time consuming process of requesting a physical copy. They were however limited in their time frame, with early documents mostly available at library archives only, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. They were essential when looking at laid out government objectives and aims for particular areas of the film Industry. UK and Scottish government reviews of particular public institutions were a particularly useful research tool, as they often provided a detailed, albeit mostly economic evaluation, of the use of available funds.

Other documents such as minutes of meetings, audits, think tanks and annual reports commissioned by or for governmental purposes were also used in this research investigation. These were valuable sources for understanding the grounds that contributed to policy changes and development. It is worth noting that funding schemes were listed as a separate 'funding initiative', rarely reviewed as part of the organisation's achievements and failures.

The reports (Corporate Strategies, Annual reviews) produced by the former UKFC, Scottish Screen, the BFI Research and Statistics Unit, the SFC, both the English and Scottish Arts Council, Creative Scotland and Creative England provided an important source of data for statistical analysis, as well as others as a source of policy strategies documentation (DCMS reviews, Acts of the Scottish Government). Although there are gaps in the information provided through these publications and not all material is readily available for consultation (e.g. some years are missing, others are not available online), they provided a unique source of data generated from within the funding organisations themselves, often as a direct result of newly introduced government policies. Therefore, it provided an insight into policy formation from a government perspective.

The quantitative data presented in the Appendices of this thesis reflects materials consulted on the Scottish Screen website, which was kept online for public consultation after the closure of the agency. These included investment awards from 2007 to 2010, annual reviews

and National Lottery Distribution Fund reports. The website *Got Lottery* (http://gotlottery.uk), an independent database of Lottery fund recipients was also used in the course of this research due to the ease of use of its interface and thorough records of Scottish, Welsh, Northern Irish and English (regional and London based) funding by 'distributing body'. Original research on Tartan Shorts filmmakers was based on a variety of online sources, predominantly IMDb.com, the National Library of Scotland and the Scottish Screen Archive (online). The limitations of this approach are the incomplete and non-official cast and crew information provided online. Therefore, personal websites of filmmakers, distributors pages, press releases and news articles were also used. Data gathering on Scottish Screen investment strands was based on their annual reviews and Lottery Distribution reports. It is worth noting that the allocation of funding, as disclosed in the official financial reports, frequently changed classifications, such as what kind of projects were termed 'educational' and which were placed under 'talent development'. Equally, Scottish Screen's own sources of funding changed according to external forces, such as the shift in allocation of National Lottery Fund, the establishment of the Scottish Government and new BFI, SAC or UKFC funding.

As a result, financial records are often inconsistent in official publications where there are rarely explanatory notes when a fund is merged, renamed or cancelled, which provided an obstacle to the research process.

The continuous review of documentary and academic literature enabled a comprehensive analysis of discourses relating to the development of the UK and Scottish governments' policies on film culture and creativity. In addition to other academic literature, it helped to provide a context in which aspects of social and political histories could be seen as influencing, and being influenced by, public and policy debates. As a result, these sources contributed to the desk research necessary to address the study of Scottish Screen in an evolving political and cultural context.

Although the study of policy documents and industry performance indicators is intrinsic to the construct of the historical, comparative and institutional understandings that constitute the key frameworks for this research, its aims could not be achieved without the use of primary qualitative sources which contextualise and widen the scope for interpretation of film policies through the use of funding schemes, discussed as follows.

Fieldwork: Interviews

Interviews with key players formed a significant source of information throughout this thesis and it was used to gather information to address the research's objectives, to varying extents. They were designed as semi-structured interviews all of which lasted for approximately one hour, and provided greater insight into certain aspects of the workings of Scottish Screen and the Scottsh film industry. They were tailored to the individual and contained mostly open-ended questions that formed the basis of the interview (Appendix A2, p191). Most interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and transcribed into a word processor.

Access to a number of interviewees was facilitated through previously established contacts acquired by the authors own work in the film industry at EIFF's Industry and Talent Development Department since 2007 and at various other film festivals. The author's experience and prior involvement in the industry meant the availability and suitability of a number of interviewees was known in advance, or suitable contacts were already familiar. In addition, senior members of staff at EIFF often facilitated introductions and provided appropriate contacts throughout the course of this research.

In total, twenty-four elite interviews (Appendix A1, p189) were used to gain qualitative data regarding the internal workings and operations of key funding bodies and funded organisations. The author identified key strategic players to shed light on institutional and industry practices, to gain a better understanding on how strategic staff at Scottish Screen (also former SFC and SFPF staff) understood and applied policy changes and to how individuals perceived the effectiveness of funding schemes. The former CEOs of Scottish Screen were the first sought interviewees; all three agreed to participate, as well as the agency's first director (also SFPF former director). Interviews with Scottish Screen's former employees were also carried out in order to gain broader evidence of how film policies were put into practice through carefully prescribed mechanisms that allowed for public money to be allocated to filmmakers and exhibitors. This included key personnel directly involved with the selected schemes - such as BBC Scotland commissioners, Scottish Screen Development Executives, board members and Market Development Officers. Another set of interviewees included filmmakers and exhibitors who were funded by the schemes themselves. They were also interviewed to allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the extent to which schemes were effective in meeting their original objectives. These

were chosen on the basis of accessibility, approachability and relevance. The high profile, well-established Tartan Shorts graduates, for example, did not respond or declined the interview (e.g. Peter Mullan, Lynne Ramsay, David Mackenzie). Tartan Shorts filmmakers who had completed little work subsequently were also not a priority and therefore not contacted. Instead, filmmakers still active in the industry and/or had also been involved with funding panels were prioritised. Producers were favoured over writers and directors due to the nature of their pragmatic, rather than artistic involvement with the shorts, and overall better knowledge of the funding applications. A number of directors initially contacted also immediately forwarded the invitation to their respective producers, confirming initial speculation.

Lastly, a small number of interviewees were selected for their long-lasting involvement with the sector in a multitude of roles, which allowed them to give a wider perspective of the research field.

As Schlesinger et al. noted (2001:1), interviews are a research method particularly suited to the Scottish context. He points out: 'If you inhabit a particularly elite political or cultural world in Scotland, you continuously encounter those within it with a frequency and intensity quite different from the interactions that take place in larger countries with major metropolitan centres'. This scenario fits within within the field of this research, where academics, industry practitioners, funders and government advisers often interchange roles and maintain a close contact through their careers, a context also highlighted by Macpherson's work (2009) as the author himself having being involved in a number of roles in the industry.

As a result, the use of qualitative methods, such as interviews, were the most appropriate method for eliciting the information required, as opposed to employing quantitative methods, such as questionnaires and surveys. The research objectives did not set out to reach acceptable generalisations on film policy, which would be the justification for the use of surveys, for example. The aim was to develop an in-depth knowledge of Scottish Screen's strategies and their interpretation and implementation of funding schemes. Thus, it was essential to gain insight into the meanings that the interviewees constructed from their experience.

This argument is supported by Bogner and Menz (2002) who point out that, in particular cases, the elite interviewee's knowledge and orientations for practices have also a chance to 'become hegemonic' in a specific organisational or functional context. This is applicable to this research in relation to the operational methods of development and implementation of the film schemes - its aims, objectives, guidelines and intended legacy.

By using elite interviews, this research wished to gather different perspectives and responses from interviewees to aid the interpretation of documents or reports, and as quoted by Richards, they 'help in interpreting the personalities involved in the relevant decisions and help explain the outcome of events' (1996:200). The selection criteria for interviewees were based primarily on the level of their involvement in allocating or receiving public money from Scottish Screen, their influence in the formulation or reviewing of film policy at an institutional level, their overall role in Scottish film policy of the 1990s and early 2000s, or their professional role within the industry, such as funding awards recipients.

The drawbacks of this method were mainly the difficulty of access and the barriers to contacting key figures and establishing relationships with them. In particular, within UK and Scottish government agencies, individuals were reluctant to disclose their personal opinion over key research issues due to the nature of their professional position. Industry professionals were also often constricted by their time and availability, or they often tended to be unresponsive following an initial email contact. As many potential participants as deemed feasible were contacted through existent relationships and during appropriate events (e.g. industry networking events and at film festivals) so as to avoid a high number of declined invitations to be interviewed. A suitable environment for approaching participants does help participants feel more at ease as described by Richards (1996). For this reason, most interviews were conducted according to the interviewee's personal preferences - often in their own place of work.

Interviews with former employees at public funding agencies aimed to address questions of planning, execution and evaluation of funding schemes, focusing on the need to better understand how individuals at funding bodies interpreted film policy and applied it to schemes, as well as how film industry professionals saw them as relevant to their own career and project development. Interviews with industry professionals targeted former members of funding panels, development executives, commissioners, producers, directors and exhibitors involved with the development of the schemes analysed in the case studies.

The interviews aimed to allow for the interpretation of their opinions and ideas on how government policies for film had been translated by the institutions and how they deemed the schemes to have performed. The elite interviews targeted the research questions and objectives, by designing a personalised set of questions and topics for each individual according to their position, experience and accessibility.

This research recognised that in certain cases, interviewees may not have been aware of the policy process or the availability of investment schemes prior to the interview, as this depended on their main field of activity and career path. For this reason, participants were always introduced to the research and its aims in advance. The semi-structured, open-ended questions were aimed at allowing participants to feel more comfortable in sharing in their personal views and feelings on the topic. This is a benefit highlighted by Odendahl & Shaw (2002), who stated interviews can 'elicit subjective perceptions and retrospection' which allows the interviewee 'to stress his or her definition of, structure, and relevant data related to a situation' (quoted in Kezar, 2003:397).

The complex and fragile nature of relationships and roles of the staff within such institutions emphasised the need for interviews to draw out their conflicting perceptions and understandings of policy and schemes development.

Lastly, returning to the argument made earlier, the use of interviews was particularly beneficial to this research in the case of the Scottish film sector, as many of the current and former gatekeepers at the key national funding agency for the arts, including film, have had direct, professional experience in the industry throughout the course of their careers. This means their overview of the research topics may encompass a wide set of observations relating to both policy formation and the development of schemes as well as practical obstacles encountered whilst working directly in the Industry.

The research methods discussed in this chapter contributed to this thesis' aims through an analysis and justification of the most suitable approaches to the study of film policy development. These were meticulously chosen to answer the issues of policy implementation within Scottish Screen, in particular for the schemes analysed through the research case studies.

Ethics and Confidentiality

Formal ethical procedures prescribed by University of Glasgow College of Arts Ethics Policy helped the author establish clear boundaries for research as well as protecting the rights of those being interviewed. Ethical approval from the Ethics Committee was granted prior to the start of the research fieldwork in 2012.

On each occasion, the interviewee was asked if they were happy to be tape recorded and whether or not they would give permission to be quoted in the work. All participants agreed to disclose their name and position in full for the purpose of this doctoral thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter has mapped out the methods through which this thesis was researched. The chapter thus presents the background that informs the following substantive chapters of the research. It has identified the methods most suited for achieving the objectives of this thesis and presented an overview of the research design and methodologies utilised in the project. It has explained the relationship between research design, research methodology as well as research execution and analysis in this project. For this purpose, the original research question was discussed, followed by a more thorough explanation of each research method used in the project.

The benefits and limitations of each of these methods, their interaction with each other, and their contribution to the critical aspects of the thesis were also discussed. The chapter highlighted the need for the use of a multi-method approach within for cultural policy research, the desired outcome being to allow the study to provide some insight into how film policy is shaped into tangible public funding schemes within a close knit environment of multiple interested parties.

As Woddis (2014) and Cairney (2012) argue, in the general field of public policy theory there is greater recognition and analysis of participation by a wide range of actors in addition to the decision-makers of government, quangos and major institutions, although this is not yet the case for cultural policy case studies.

As Bell & Oakley (2014) point out, based on Cairney's argument, 'cultural policy is not a simple top down hierarchy whereby central government cascades policy agendas' down to national and local scales (2012:46), where they argue we can identify key actors at different stages of the process, including 'government ministers . . . civil servants, bureaucrats and technocrats, quangos, think tanks, lobbyists, consultants, academics . . . 'street level bureaucrats [delivering policy on the ground]' (2012:52). Here they note 'we need to consider . . . the relative balance of top-down and bottom-up approaches' as 'not all policies emanate from the mind of the government's cultural ministers', as this thesis has attempted to apply to the case of film production policy.

Jane Woddis justified a similar approach to cultural policy - albeit using case studies based on playwrights' and theatres' activity in England - where she cautions future researchers in 'automatically' applying public policy models to cultural policy studies, as 'the particular complexities . . . of culture as distinct from other areas of public policy' (2005:54) must first be taken into account.

Similarly to this research, Woddis emphasises the role of arts organisations, as they have important differences from many of the groups discussed in public policy analyses, where 'influencing and changing public policies is not simply a part of the activities of the latter, but in fact working for those changes is their raison d'etre (2005:57), which, as demonstrated through this thesis' case studies, is also the case with film policy. In support of Woddis' research, it is evident that what is still needed, is a more focused examination of filmmakers and practitioners at film organisations' involvement in the policy-making process, in order to gain a more thorough understanding of how policymakers may be able to tailor strategies to the longer term development of the national film sector as a whole. Furthermore, through case studies and extensive use of personal interviews, this thesis allowed for a more comprehensive analysis of the role and autonomy of individuals in interpreting policy.

Lastly, this research established the means by which funding recipients have directly, or indirectly, worked in collaboration to shape policy development. It follows from Kelly's study of the UKFC, where the author drew her findings from 'strategy documents, internal papers and interviews with key personnel' (2015:1) to arrive at findings that relate to the central questions in my research:

> Having carried out almost 50 interviews over the course of a wider research project with UKFC board members, senior executives, policy-makers and film industry stakeholders, what emerged was often contrasting perspectives of how those within the organisation viewed the UKFC and the opinions of the wider film community (Kelly, 2015:10).
> .

The previous chapters provided an historical and critical analysis of UK and Scottish Film Policy and its funding programmes, followed by a conceptual framework of the research objectives and contextualised by a review of the literature. The following chapter charts the changing political and cultural policy environment in Scotland during the period covered in this research and the ways in which this appeared to impact on Scottish Screen. Additionally, the next chapter also begins to map out the internal structure of Scottish Screen and the way in which the company signalled and presented its public image, focussing, in particular, on the development of its 'creative' discourse within the wider national cultural policy changes. It aims to establish the historical and institutional context for Chapters Five and Six, which will consist of the cases studies described above.

Chapter 4. Inside Scottish Screen: 1997-2010

> There are many voices waiting to be heard - new ones, surprising ones, young ones.. . .. Almost every problem of the old Film Production Fund can be traced back to lack of accountability and accessibility. . . .. The modest public protestation [of] the new and enigmatic Scottish Screen . . . wouldn't have been tolerated under the old demonic regime of the Scottish Film Production Fund.'
>
> (Bill Forsyth, Director, May 17, 1997)

> Sadly there is no policy for film in Scotland. . . . Film is in a terrible state and has been for some time. Just before Scottish Screen was abolished, it was getting its act together and was becoming an organisation that we could be proud of. We felt that we were being nurtured and looked after by its 35 employees . . . .. However, going from Scottish Screen, . . . to a department of under-five within Creative Scotland while it's going through all this turmoil has had a really damaging effect on filmmakers.
>
> (Gillian Berrie, Producer, Sigma Films, 2013)

This chapter addresses the limitations of earlier studies discussed in Chapter Two. It builds on existing work to answer this research's primary question: how did Scottish Screen fulfil the government's cultural policy? This chapter focus specifically on the Scottish funding agency itself and the actors that interpreted, shaped and implemented policy. It starts by asking: How did Scottish Screen interpret its goals and arrive at a sense of mission? It does so by scrutinising the practical mechanisms used to allocate funding by key individuals at the funding body. It also examines the role of individuals, both civil servants and filmmakers, in shaping film policy and directing strategy objectives at Scottish Screen and at the agency's previous (SFPF) and future incarnations (Creative Scotland).

As exemplified by Forsyth's and Berrie's quotes above, individuals have used their prominence and career track records to emerge as spokespersons for the Scottish film industry at times of institutional, political and structural turmoil. Considering the thirteen-year gap between the quotations encompassed a period of increased criticism over public funding for film in the national press, they specifically point to key, endemic flaws with film policy development in Scotland.

Whilst representative of the views of a large section of the Scottish film industry, Gillian Berrie's quote points to her own 'nostalgic' view of Scottish Screen, whereas Forsyth is apprehensive and suspicious of the effectiveness of the then recently-formed screen agency, sentiments which would only aggravate over the following six years of Scottish Screen.

Berrie's hindsight, however, similar to that shared by a number of today's filmmakers (Miller, 2013), enables them to reflect back on the development of the former agency. They are therefore acknowledging the longer time frame and changes which are necessary for a public body to align its policies with that of the industry.

A comparable view is present at a UK level, with a number of academics and practitioners endeavouring to reassess the UKFC's strategy development, following a steady stream of film policy reviews and organisational strategic planning since 2010 (Adams, 2011; Newsinger, 2012b; Hill, 2012; Doyle, 2014; Schlesinger, 2015). As indicated by the research questions, this chapter adds to existing research by drawing attention to the Scottish sector and in particular, to the struggles of Scottish Screen and film policy development.

The following sections will establish how Scottish Screen arrived at its sense of strategic mission by looking at the agency's history from formation to its merger with SAC. Here, this research investigates how Scottish Screen's aims and objectives changed over the years, following each appointed CEO, Scottish cultural minister or senior staff restructuring (See Appendix C, p195 for Scottish Screen policy timeline). The chapter also highlights how throughout Scottish Screen's years of operation, filmmakers and film industry professionals regularly voiced their frustrations over the lack of engagement and transparency of the funding agencies in communicating new policy strategies.

What emerged from the continuous interventions and failed restructurings within the agency is a deeper, public and political concern that public film funding institutions have failed to conciliate its objectives with its multiple interested parties. The crisis in the Scottish film industry is cyclical. Only through the study of its organisations and individuals does it become feasible to identify solutions to break the pattern that could lead to significant change and growth in the sector.

Out With the Old, In With the New:
Setting Up a New Screen Agency (1990-1996)

> [T]ime has come for a reorganisation of the film institutions in Scotland into one body, to provide some degree of vertical integration and greater leverage in seeking funding. . . independence in decision making and direct approach to financier.
>
> (Allan Shiach, SFPF, 1992)

The formation of Scottish Screen has its roots in discussions which took place within the SFC and the SFPF. It is first necessary to provide a further discussion of the institutional context immediately preceding the formation of the agency in order to address the research questions. This is particularly relevant as there was little change in staffing after the merger, with the same individuals remaining in senior positions. The discussion of SFC/SFPF policies will also aid the discussion of policy development and long-term implementation of funding mechanisms.

Whilst the SFC had remained predominantly focused on film exhibition and education since 1934, by 1990, eight years after its establishment, the SFPF had successfully grown its slate of supported projects. Funding for development, pre-production, production and completion were all added to the Fund's new remit. Notes from board meetings (SFPF, 1992a) illustrate the still limited focus and pragmatic aims of the Fund at the time reminiscent of its first years of operation. The majority of applications were for development funding ranging from £6,000 to £20,000 per project, followed by a few production grants of £50,000 to £100,000. Application guidelines were concise and required only an outline of the project, a synopsis and the script, along with a VHS of the director's previous work. The SFPF's director at the time, Penny Thomson, noted the Fund's policy should focus on narrative filmmaking, with occasional support for documentary and animation, also highlighting 'talent development as an important area of work at the Fund' (SFPF, 1992a). The SFPF's focus on narrative fiction films was later inherited by Scottish Screen, as was the increasing focus on initiatives aimed at developing talent, indicating some continuity in terms of priorities given in funding allocation independent of specific policy directives.   A justification for this could be attributed to the predominance of many of the same producers, commissioners and development executives on the boards of SFPF and Scottish Screen (up to 2002) (SFC Annual Review 1995; Appendix D, p201).

A former Channel 4 producer and EIFF Festival director herself, Penny Thomson consistently asked for Scottish producers to be consulted when the SFPF's policies were being formed. Despite her early attempts to involve the industry, a lack of communication and transparency was already an area of much contention between institutions and the film industry, noted from the introductory quote in this chapter, in a number of press articles of the mid 1990s (Appendix B, Figure 1, p193), and reflected in Dunnett's article for *The Sunday Times*:

> Scottish film-makers are hardened to disappointment . . . where is the plan for a proper lobbying strategy to address the politicians? Where is the in-depth look at the possibilities which await the new investors the industry is so desperate to attract? . . . Many in Scottish film circles have been dismayed at the lack of consultation involved in the development of this national arts strategy [Charter for the Arts] surely no antidote to fragmentation.. . . The fragile, formal support network for films in Scotland may not be the best mechanism for countering the claims of so many other vested interests.
>
> (Dunnett, *The Sunday Times*, 1992)

As well as pressure from the industry, the SFPF was equally vulnerable to external changes: Between John Major's election in 1992 and the introduction of the National Lottery Fund in 1994, a number of UK government led reviews of the sector were commissioned[12]. These served as an opportunity for the SFPF and the SFC to reassess their funding strategies, starting with the Scottish Office for Education review of both the SFPF and the SFC, due in 1992. At the time, SFC Director David Bruce welcomed the impending review as 'a time of change in the Scottish arts and film institutions' (SFPF, 1992a) despite calls for significant SFC restructurings being part of the Office of Education Review since 1987 (Taylor, D. 1987.).

Following these reviews, SFPF and SFC joint Chairman Allan Shiach, asked fellow board directors to respond to the recommendations which had been set out in a paper he had presented earlier in the year, at a Scottish Media Consultation event, where he loosely proposed the integration of the two key film bodies and pointed to the benefits of a closer association between the SFC and the SFPF. Shiach emphasised the numerous overlaps between the two organisations and later sent his Media Officer, Eddie Dick, to deliver his paper 'Moving Images and Moving Targets' (SFPF, 1992a). Of his role in presenting a proposal for a unified agency at the Media consultation day, Eddie Dick noted:

> I didn't have any strict remit in terms of what I was going to speak , so at that point what I did was to describe an organisation which would put all together the Production Fund, the Film Council, Scottish Screen Locations, the archive - in other words it was an embryonic description for Scottish Screen that became this elusive one step short for all matters in relation, . . . It wasn't necessarily that it [the speech] was unique but it was a crystallisation of what various people had been thinking, you know, vaguely. I'd given shape and that contrast which then instigated a debate which continued for quite a number of years and then eventually came this entity called Scottish Screen.
>
> (Eddie Dick, Personal interview, June 2013)

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[12] The National Lottery begun distributing funding for film through the Arts Councils in 1996 and immediately dramatically increased the availability of film financing (Caterer, 2007).

Eddie Dick pointed out how the idea of a single agency for film had been in discussion for quite some time. From the study of SFPF's and SFC's board meetings and interviews with key personnel, as early as 1992, a draft blueprint for a new film agency had started to form - five years before Scottish Screen came into fruition.

Through this research, it also became evident this was an initiative internally driven by the pragmatic, business centred approach of writer, producer and SFC/SFPF chairman Allan Shiach. An established Scottish screenwriter and chair of the Macallan Whisky company, Shiach was perceived as benefiting 'from hard-nosed business sense, scoffing at any romantic notion of Government help for films which nobody wants to see' (Webster, 1993). Pushed by individual interests, pulled by political reforms and ignited by government reviews, the Scottish film sector was due profound changes.

After UK the general elections and the recruitment of a new SFPF Director, young producer Kate Swan, discussions of a new Scottish screen agency gained momentum, with the first formal meeting dedicated to the creation of a new Scottish screen agency taking place on 1st July 1993: 'Everyone who matters was there, including the chair of the BFI', Shiach reported. Shiach was adamant in his desire to 'break down the barriers between and cultural and industrial aspects of film' without compromising 'the integrity of the various parts', a remit which would be consistently brought forward in the development of the organisation's mission and objectives.

The Chief Executives of the four organisations to be merged into Scottish Screen, were charged with producing fully worked out proposals for the new agency as the board agreed 'It would take at least a year or two to implement the sort of changes which were envisaged'[13](SFPF, 1993). The SFC was due to be reviewed in 1995 and despite attempts to bring this review forward so as not to lose momentum, the formation of a new screen agency would not take place until a formal full review of the sector had taken place.

SFC Media Officer, Eddie Dick was appointed SFPF director late in 1993. The beginning of his directorship followed the enactment of the National Lottery etc. Act 1993, after which, seeking potential new sources of funding dominated the board discussions for most of 1994,

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[13] Scottish Screen was to take on the functions of the Scottish Film Council, the Scottish Film Production Fund, Scottish Screen Locations and Scottish Broadcast and Film Training, forming a unitary organisation.

diverting focus from the planning of a new agency. These years saw the commercial and critical success of a number of Scottish films - which had either receive public subsidy, had been shot in Scotland or focused on typically 'Scottish themes', culturally or historically. The attention gathered by films such as *Shallow Grave* (1994), *Rob Roy* (1995), *Small Faces* (1996) and *Braveheart* (1995) at the festival circuit and at the box office prompted the adoption of new policy strategies between 1995-1996, culminating in unprecedented public support for the Scottish film industry, shaping the sector for the forthcoming years.

Riding the Wave: A New Agency is Born (1997)

> On a summer's evening last year, Scottish Secretary Michael Forsyth discovered, in the glitzy premiere of Mel Gibson's William Wallace epic, a rare political opportunity. So our hero commissioned a £60,000 study into the potential of a Scottish film industry. . .The danger is, of course, that what emerges will be little more than a compromise of committees and subcommittees, each one made up of well-intentioned civil servants and laymen who don't know much about movies . . . 1995 was unique . . . it made politicians think that Scotland (like most other European nations) really could sustain a motion picture industry. So all we have to do now is work out how.
>
> (Laing, *The Herald*, 1996)

The early 1993 plans for Scottish Screen looked quite different from what it became in late 1995. The addition of new public funds, notably the National Lottery and the Glasgow Film Fund[14] (GFF), and the increasing media attention the announcement of a new Scottish agency had gathered significantly altered the nature of the future Scottish film agency (Appendix C, p195). As former SFPF director Kate Swan noted, the role of the individual would play an increasingly significant part in shaping changes in the sector after Scottish Screen was formed:

> It has become massively bureaucratic in Scotland. Unrecognisably so, compared to SFPF times. It has become so big . . . I think you can have all the policy you like, it will come down to individuals. At the end of the day they will try and de-subjectify it but it will come down to subjective responses to a piece of work.
>
> (Kate Swan, Personal Interview, May 2013)

The changing constitution of board members and CEOs (and their backgrounds) allowed for shifting interpretations of the organisation's mission, particularly when from pre-1997 to

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[14] The Glasgow Film Fund was set up in 1993 by the Glasgow Development Agency, Glasgow City Council, Strathclyde District Council and the European Regional development fund and administered by the SFPF.

2010 the board gradually changed from a mix of producers, broadcasters and business advisors to being predominantly comprised of consultants, experts in law and finance and senior executives in different art forms (Appendix D, p201). This change reflected shifts in cultural policy to emerge from various Scottish government reviews and sector audits over the decade - often instigated by or mimicking changes led by the UK Government in London.

In the wake of the 1995 Report on the UK Film Industry, published by the National Heritage Select Committee[15] an Advisory Committee on Film Finance (Teckman, 1996) was established by the Secretary of State for National Heritage under the chairmanship of Sir Peter Middleton, which later culminating in the Middleton Report[16]. The report laid the policy foundations of the forthcoming 'A Bigger Picture' report (DCMS, 1998), which signalled a further convergence of culture and commerce through the proposal to create a single, unified body to administer all aspects of film (later to become the UKFC). In Scotland, the Hydra Report (1996), together with the SOEd review of the SFC (1995), constituted the basis of the formation of Scottish Screen, under remits which resonated with the creative industries rhetoric of the Middleton report. The Scottish Office had also managed to access 'non-cultural' funds from Scottish Enterprise and the Glasgow Development Agency to fund the new screen agency, reinforcing a commercial leaning to its mission. Kevin Kane, chairman of the recently-launched Glasgow Film Fund and project manager on the Hydra Report, publicly announced that 'the industry should be seen in business terms rather than purely cultural ones: 'It is a whole new economy, involving the creation of products that people will see across the world'. Kane reinforced in his recommendations that the new agency should 'bridge the gap' between film and television, where 'film is the cream on the cake in Scotland where television is the cake' (Abrahams, 1996). This report would give Scottish Screen its policy foundations on which to develop its mission and long-term strategies.

Despite some apprehension from the press and filmmakers, the agency was formalised when a draft of their corporate plan was approved without much debate from within the board (SFPF, 1995a). In practice, the SFPF funds structure and staffing was restructured but retained its board. The new agency saw the creation of four formal panels with their own dedicated staff: Production, Development, Projects and Marketing & Promotion. The SFPF

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[15] Commissioned in 1992 after the UK general elections.

[16] The Advisory Committee on Film and Finance. Report to the Secretary of State for National Heritage, 1996.

and SFC boards both agreed Scottish Screen's mission would be 'to address the industrial and commercial opportunities presented by the film and television industry in Scotland, and its objectives [must] reflect both the industrial/commercial focus and the cultural heritage of film' (SFPF, 1995c). A commercially driven mission was again explicit in the Secretary of State for Scotland Michael Forsyth's public briefing of the creation of a 'unified organisation to strengthen the Government's support for the film and television industries in Scotland' (SFPF, 1996a), which he announced in New York City at a special pre-release screening of *Loch Ness* (1996), instead of at Scottish premiere. This was an early but significant factor that would shape how Scottish Screen's mission was perceived by the industry:

> An urgent priority is to provide a more coherent and streamlined infrastructure to take the industry into the next century. I will therefore be setting up a new Scottish screen agency to absorb the functions of four existing bodies . . . This simplifies the current structure and will leave those involved in filmmaking in no doubt where to look for advice and assistance in the future. . . . I will also be looking to the new Agency to free up some of its existing resources to reflect the more commercial rather than cultural emphasis which is now appropriate. (Michael Forsyth, *Local Government Chronicle*, 1996)

By January 1997, the former head of BBC Music and Arts, John Archer, had been selected as Scottish Screen's Chief Executive. At the board meeting immediately following the launch of the agency, Archer noted an opportunity to address newly-elected Labour government officials following support from the Scottish Office[17]: '[The launch event] was given a tremendous boost by the presence of both Sam Galbraith . . . and the Minister for Film, Tom Clarke . . . Among the guests were most of the Scottish Producers in Cannes who were able to talk to the minister about their concerns for the industry' (Scottish Screen, 1997d).

Former SFC director, David Bruce, summarised how Scottish Screen's predominantly commercial sense of mission was the result of a combination of external and internal factors, crystallised by a symbolic moment in the agency's formation:

> When suddenly Michael [Forsyth] turned up in a kilt at the McRobert [cinema] for the screening of *Braveheart*, suddenly it became politically OK to talk about the commercial side of filmmaking and that I'm sure it's a key moment. It became the politics notion that you put money into filmmaking and get blockbusters and of course

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[17] Shortly preceding its international launch, the Labour Party had won the general elections, and therefore, New Labour's Tom Clarke (Minister for Film and Tourism) and Sam Galbraith (Minister for Health and the Arts in the Scottish Office), attended the ceremony in place of Michael Forsyth, who had previously fiercely advocated the creation of a new agency (Hibberd, 2009:82).

you don't. You might get one blockbuster in a decade if you're lucky. So yes I think it became too commercial (David Bruce, Personal Interview, May 2013).

Bruce defined the launch of Scottish Screen as a watershed moment for the Scottish film scene when the Secretary of State, Michael Forsyth, proceeded to be outspoken about the government support for filmmaking. The cultural and educational framework in which the SFC and in part the SFPF had operated until then, was now a thing of the past.

Riding on the international box office success of recent Scottish-themed films, the Scottish agency was announced, launched and promoted at high profile international cinema events abroad (The New York and Cannes Film Festival in the Spring of 1997). As exemplified by a derisive press article and cartoon satire (Appendix B, Figure 2, p187), there was a general feeling among filmmakers and government in particular that Scottish Screen policies 'signalled the start of a mini-tartan assault on Hollywood' (Millar, J. 1997). Following the 1997 Cannes Film Festival `Scottish Day', where Minister for the Arts, Sam Galbraith, unveiled initiatives to promote a tartan film industry, it was felt 'with government and filmmakers united, we could make the dream come true and coin a new movie phrase: Hooray for Holyrood' (Millar, J. 1997). Despite the enthusiasm which resulted from the high profile launch of the new agency, skepticism among the industry was quick to resurge as the euphoria surrounding *Braveheart* and *Trainspotting* faded. A journalist at *The Herald* summarised the cynicism felt by others in the industry: 'one swallow doesn't make a summer. Nor do two or three commercially successful films shot in Scotland make a national film industry' (Bell, 1997).

Following the Labour Party victory in the 1997 general election, a full-blown restructuring of the arts' public bodies took place, with the Department for National Heritage rebuilt as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), launched with remits characteristic of the new 'creative industries'.

Film culture was momentarily left aside, relegated to the Scottish Arts Council, still the body in charge of disbursing National Lottery funding. As producer and former Scottish Screen panel member, Robin Macpherson, pointed out, a 'clutch of reports on the future of Scotland's screen industries [revealed] how rapidly [the] cultural industries discourse spread'. It would take much longer, however 'for that spread to be manifested operationally

in the restructuring of the public bodies charged with promoting screen culture and industry' (2009:224-5).

The policy and institutional changes expected to take place after the launch of Scottish Screen had been built on fragile ground. In individuals' attempts to follow the trending creative industries rhetoric, the aims and objectives of the new agency were adjusted, reformulated or scrapped before they had a chance to be implemented to a practicable or measurable extent. Frustration after the hype was to follow.

Everyone's a Critic: Implementing 'Scotland on Screen' (1998-2001)

One of the central factors that shaped how Scottish Screen developed its strategies and mechanisms for funding allocation was the input and feedback from the industry and comprehensive press coverage of its first five years of operation.

As no consultation had been carried out prior to the agency's launch and no long-term objectives had been defined, in practice, Scottish Screen continued to operate very similarly to how the SFPF had done for years - with the addition of larger, formalised panels and increased responsibility and budgets.

Nevertheless, the industry was quick to detect the organisation's nebulous directives and poor communication strategy, which when aided by the Scottish press, served as driving forces for instigating internal staff changes and restructuring of funding policy.

A number of disputes immediately preceding Scottish Screen's official launch had already led to a tumultuous start for the new agency. Lynne Hibberd (2009), reported the disputes between the SFPF and the SAC at great length and detail and quoted the spat as being 'damaging for Scottish Screen, which had sought to establish itself as a new and transparent body and now found itself tarred with the same brush that had tainted its predecessor' (2009:93).

In 1996 a lengthy and very public dispute over funding between SFPF director Eddie Dick and filmmaker Bill Forsyth had tarnished the reputation of the SFPF, which in turn led to further mistrust from the SAC and its allocation of Lottery funding for film. The conflicts and negative image surrounding the launch of the agency was noted outside Scotland:

> Scottish filmmakers have been busy - not making movies but arguing about how cash is handed out . . . A cautionary tale, then, and a distraction at a time when movies, not their administration, should be grabbing the headlines. The problem of finding a system that will please everyone is the task now facing John Archer when Scottish Screen is officially launched in April. (Brown and Chadwick, *The Sunday Times*, 1997)

The squabble with SAC over Lottery funding allocation continued after the agency was launched. The now central issue of discord revolved around budget and the review of applications. The degree of animosity between the two bodies is illustrated by the following quote from the response of the board of Scottish Screen to SAC's changes after the introduction of the Lottery Fund and the dispute over the responsibility for its allocation:

> The bureaucratisation of the assessment and monitoring process is likely to create a very damaging effect on the Scottish film Industry. The SAC has no intrinsic interest or expertise on film . . .. The 'public good' which the Lottery is designed to create is an abstract quality until it has a direct and concrete effect. The Lottery can create a particular and powerful example of 'public good' not only in the production of individual films but in the establishment for the first time, of a sustainable Scottish Film Industry. . . . For SAC to remove some or all of Scottish Screen's operational responsibilities for Lottery supported film production is to destroy the credibility and core purpose of Scottish Screen and further compound the damage it will inflict on the film industry (Scottish Arts Council, 1997).

The controversy between the two organisations was once again widely covered by the press, where journalists noted 'the industry is riven by in-fighting', this time also backed by filmmakers, as noted by Mark Cousins upon his resignation from SAC: 'Committee members do not even read the scripts before making their decisions' (Pendreigh, 1997).

Soon after, filmmakers made up mostly of producers formed the lobbying group 'The Scottish Stand' (the name was a mockery of the Scottish Screen stand at Cannes Film Festival). Scottish Stand producer Melissa Norman emphasised 'when all the agencies merged to form Scottish Screen it became difficult to see what their mission statement was' (Adamson, 1997).Her statement supported the argument that Scottish Screen lacked purpose and strategic mission from its early years, giving way to further criticism from industry members:

> Scottish Screen had a slow and inauspicious start - to date no major policy statement has been issued and the organisation seems to be functioning on out-dated structures. There has been very little consultation with industry practitioners . . . .The Hydra

report also suffered from a general lack of consultation and it's based on now defunct imperatives imposed by the previous government. The opportunity for a new start must be seized now (Cowle, K. *Scottish Stand*. 1997).

Despite much debate, two years after its launch, Scottish Screen established its 'seven pillars' of investment[18] in its annual review. However, 'there [was] no clear indication of how the ['seven pillars'] came about, of what consultation was undertaken to produce them, or of how they connect specifically to the objectives of the Management Statement and Lottery Directive' (Scottish Executive, *Scottish Screen: A Review of Scottish Screen*), further discrediting the organisation in the eyes of government and the industry. In the same year, the definitive transfer of responsibilities for distribution of Lottery Funds from SAC to Scottish Screen was announced, which entirely halted and re-shaped Scottish Screen's previous corporate plan, mission statement and objectives, inevitably interfering with their full implementation.

As noted by Philip Schlesinger, former Chair of the Education Committee at Scottish Screen (1997-2005) noted, the convoluted process of transferring the Lottery Fund to Scottish Screen was not without friction, but often it was down to individuals:

> The Scottish Arts Council was still hanging on to it [Lottery] rather like the Arts Council of England had hung onto it until they had handed it over. There was a board meeting at . . . where James Lee invited Magnus [SAC] and various other worthy souls from the Scottish establishment. There was sort of much smoking of cigars and clinking of glasses and the deal was done either then or shortly thereafter . . . So there was sort of a gentleman's agreement which had been worked out at that time and then there was a bit of a hiatus before it got formalised (Philip Schlesinger, Personal Interview, July 2013).

Following the formal transfer of responsibility for Lottery Fund distribution to the agency in 2000, criticisms from the industry over Scottish Screen's lack of a defined strategy and poorly communicated assessment criteria became considerably more prominent. The press accused it of not funding a wide enough range of films and failing to support commercially successful ones, Scottish Screen CEO John Archer defended his policy, emphasising his view on the role of public subsidy and lottery support for film and therefore the agency's:

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[18] Scottish Screen determined its own strategic priorities in relation to this policy context, basing its planning and delivery on what it described as its '7 pillars' 1) Develop World Class Production Businesses In Scotland, 2) Attract Major Productions To Scotland, 3) Champion A Culture Of Investment In The Screen Industries, 4) Nurture And Develop Talent And Audiences, 5) Preserve And Present Scottish Screen Production, 6) Encourage And Support An International Outlook, and 7) Drive Screen Policy From School To Statute. (Scottish Screen's Annual Review Report of 1999/2000)

> John Archer . . . said that lottery funds would continue to be used for films that are
> not necessarily expected to reap huge gains at the box office: "It's important that the
> films have a public benefit - are the public wanting to go and see this? Yes, it's an
> important consideration but I wouldn't say it was the most important (Miller, *The
> Scotsman*, 2000).

In contrast the Scottish film successes of the late 1990s and the subsequent increase in
funding and film production had helped Scottish Screen and the nation's film industry to be
perceived as being in an upward trend, 'a multi-million-pound money-spinner, with up to a
dozen movies being made every year . . .' (Tibbetts, 2000). Archer would also attribute this
positive trend to the agency's own achievements and a shift in focus towards development
funding as reflecting his own development and commissioning background at BBC:

> [T]he more you spend on development, the better the project and the more other
> funders will be attracted, thereby lessening the load on the Lottery to support
> production and freeing up more money for development. A virtuous circle (Archer,
> 1999).
> .

Some of the films to be backed under Archer's leadership would garner notable critical
success as opposed to becoming box office hits, including *Ratcatcher*, (1999), The
Magdalene Sisters (2002), *Sweet Sixteen* (2002) and *Young Adam* (2003). The higher
number of films in production and increased critical success of publicly-backed films and
television programmes, however, would not be enough to guarantee internal continuity and
implementation of long-term policies in the agency. After Scottish Screen allocated National
Lottery money to the production company owned by John Archer's wife, it left itself
vulnerable to accusations of cronyism, leading to his inevitable resignation in 2001 after
weeks of damaging publicity in the press:

> [the board] director said: 'Many people in the industry have been concerned at the
> bad press Scottish Screen has been suffering. It is not just about news coverage. The
> main concern is that we are in danger of losing the confidence of the industry because
> Scottish Screen's strategy and role has been neither appreciated nor understood
> (Garside, *The Sunday Herald*, 2001a).

During his time as CEO, Archer tried to get the board to agree to a consultation and full
structural review, which had been regularly stalled by board members in the light of the latest
disputes, accusations or controversies. With hindsight, he pointed out how his experience

as CEO and the difficult task of dealing with a dual commercial and cultural remit would later reflect on his production company, Hopscotch Films:

> I think anybody who, from the outside who comes into film policy is just amazed. Amazed at how many things it means it's not just about making films, which people not even think about. . . [Is there a Scottish Film Industry?] People want to make it an industry and in fact…there's been definite growth, I'd say…but how much is that growth down to support? [at Hopscotch Films] the moment when I decided we'd stop thinking about ourselves as a production business, but started thinking that we're part of the cultural sector . . . actually, business went up. Turnover increased. We got more work (John Archer, Personal Interview, May 2013).
> .

Scottish Screen swayed between cultural ambitions and commercial targets, a conflict reflected in the demands of filmmaking lobbying groups, press articles and the accounts of the agency's board meetings. This ambiguity would not only draw criticism from filmmakers and cultural organisations, but would also continuously hinder the implementation of Scottish Screen as originally envisaged in its mission and objectives. As former board chairman Allan Shiach highlighted: 'These internecine disputes will do Scottish Screen no good. They will only lead to the government losing confidence in the body and the public funding of film-making.' (Garside, 2001b).

From 2001 onwards, Scottish Screen continued to face repeated criticisms, a result of conflicting aims of the creative industries model. Starting with an optimistic and ambitious organisational mission in 1997, by 2002 Scottish Screen had shifted its full attention to the impending Scottish Executive review. The agency's focus was now aimed at filmmakers and government demands, and at addressing its own fragile reputation.

The Scottish Executive Enters the Debate (2001-2003)

> We had to, every so often, dance to their tune. It's quite difficult being a quango as we were. Being strictly part of the government, but being accountable to government.
> (Steve McIntyre, Personal Interview, June 2013)

From the findings discussed in this chapter, it becomes evident that in order to address this thesis' questions the mission and objectives of the agency must be understood as evolving, unstable and shaped according to a mix of individuals interests and political persuasion. It is not feasible to establish the extent to which the agency fulfilled its original objectives through a rigid, straight-forward examination of outcomes versus objectives. Instead, this

research draws an analysis of outcomes in relation to the conflicting interests of individuals and the shifting strategic aims of the agency. The first four years of Scottish Screen were marked by major funding restructurings, changes in leadership and constant turmoil in the industry, all having a significant impact on the agency's implementation strategy. The following four years would establish this as a pattern rather than simply early teething problems.

Following the damaging accusations against CEO John Archer in 2000-2001 and an overall lack of confidence in Scottish Screen from the industry, the Scottish Executive chose to intervene. Archer resigned after the board rejected his management plan and the government announced that Scottish Screen would be reviewed as part of the Scottish Executive's quango cull. Steve McIntyre, former Head of Production and Development at Scottish Screen, took over the role of CEO in August 2001, stirring some controversy and leading to further resignations at board level as some members disagreed with the way fellow members handled the agency's most recent crisis (Garside, 2001b). McIntyre had quite a dissimilar approach to his predecessor, shifting the focus from development to addressing Scottish Screen's wider, commercial remits:

> The industry is fluid and work increasingly will be cross-platform. We need to position the Scottish industries (and I mean plural) to exploit the business and cultural opportunities of the twenty-first century and not assume that the models of the last century will continue (Winford, *VERTIGO*, 2002).

The change in leadership meant the agency lost some focus as McIntyre attempted to address further areas of support before a concrete, long-term objective and strategy for film funding had been established. McIntyre's change of gear was no less due to the sector reviews taking place at the time as it was a result of his personal preference and experience. McIntyre noted there was a clear cultural dimension to production and development investment, where 'evaluation of cultural value was at the heart of project appraisal'. He emphasised Scottish Screen should be 'an advocacy agency (on the Scottish Executive) as well as a delivery agency (for the Scottish Executive)' (McIntyre, 2003).

In the first years of his directorship, the CEO noted it being particularly common within the organisation for funding allocation, and the processes for monitoring and measuring performance to be interrupted as new policy obstacles emerged, halting their medium-to-long-term planning and implementation. He later framed the intermittent and transient new

policies at the Scottish Executive as detrimental to his role in implementing institutional change and arriving at a sense of mission:

> I was very struck when I was head of production . . . by the way that policies were introduced: new ideas, new strands of work and that kind of thing. They weren't properly thought through and they weren't properly implemented. So they kind of moved from bright idea through to yesterday's news without any time engaging really with what was going on, with being a kind of fully fledged policy. And I thought I would sort of be able to bring a certain kind of intellectual stamina to that (Steve McIntyre, Personal Interview, June 2013).
> .

McIntyre recounted 'how intrusive the Scottish Executive was' (Personal Interview, June 2013) - exemplified as early as 2000, when the Executive started to instigate discussions of a broader creative industries policy framework which led to talks of drafting a National Culture Strategy. Both were to have considerable impact in the future of the agency, but were not directly raised in consultation with senior executives or the industry. The 2002 Executive Review mooted prospects of converging the arts and cultural agencies to form a single body, 'Creative Scotland':

> The report identifies the possibility of a radical restructuring of support for the creative sector through the formation of a single agency (Creative Scotland) drawn from existing agencies . . . issues of overlap and definition with support mechanisms for the wider business community and the wider cultural sector must be addressed and opportunities for joint working between agencies must be developed further (Scottish Executive, 2002:1).

The Executive Review was one of many momentous changes in the UK cultural policy landscape. The Communications Act 2003 came into force, with the consequent establishment of the Office of Communications (Ofcom), as the single telecommunications regulator. Both Ofcom and the recently founded UKFC (2000) were institutions 'centrally concerned with competition in line with the principles of neoliberalism' (Hibberd, 2009:13).

In Scotland, an audit of the screen industries was commissioned by the Scottish Executive, Scottish Enterprise, Scottish Screen, Highlands and Islands Enterprise, and the trade group PACT[19], which found it was 'impossible to expand and sustain the screen infrastructure in the absence of a television channel or network commissioning department based in Scotland

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[19] PACT is the UK trade association representing and promoting the commercial interests of independent feature film, television, digital, children's and animation media companies (www.pact.co.uk)

(David Graham & Associates, 2003). Its overall findings were discussed at the Screen Industries Summit for Scotland, where the concluding review led to 'Growing Scotland's Screen: The Next Step' (Scottish Executive, 2003). The commercial focus and business tone of the Scottish reports closely resembled their UK-wide counterparts, despite the culture-focused legacy inherited by Scottish Screen from its SFC/SFPF era. As Steve McIntyre noted, this series of conflicting remits interfered with the effective development of the agency, exemplified by the lack of policy continuity:

> It is [Scottish Executive] policy . . . not directions, but policy inclinations ranged from economic development through to intercultural development through to tourism through to community engagement through to this, that, and the other. And the emphasis changed regularly, because if you look back at the history, there was a new minister of culture about every eighteen months, even more frequent (Steve McIntyre, Personal Interview, June 2013) .

Following a succession of government reports and policy changes throughout 2002 and 2003 (Appendix C, p195), the debate on culture legitimacy versus likelihood of commercial success dominated most of the internal policy discussions at Scottish Screen. As reflected in board minutes of this period, funding assessment panels often argued whether to allocate limited resources to projects which stood little chance of being commercially successful but were deemed characteristically 'Scottish' or those which might have reaped commercial benefits but had little cultural relevance. On this matter, Duncan Petrie, who served as a member of the Scottish Screen Lottery Panel 2001-2003, noted that this institutional dilemma was rather 'peculiar', since when films are a box office failure they were accused of wasting public money. When they were a success, the need for public subsidy was questioned (Petrie, 2007:365).

In the formal Scottish Screen response to the 2002 Executive Review, the agency confirmed it agreed 'wholeheartedly' that the cultural and the industrial could not be conveniently separated, as 'a healthy screen culture demands a vibrant and healthy screen industry underpinning it'. The agency's response emphasised that cultural outputs were not 'a mere epiphenomena flowing from industrial activity' but rather the cross cutting agenda - running across the horizontal axis of everything we do'. The agency stated in their response that 'producing and developing work which illuminates and reflects back to scottish audiences elements and issues of Scottish life' was a central concern to their production and development panels - quoting *Sweet Sixteen* (2002) and *Gas Attack* (2001) as examples of films which involved the local communities 'in profound and life changing ways as well as

nurturing Scottish Talent and Business' and giving 'Scotland a chance to look at itself' (Scottish Screen, 2003a) through the films they produced, justifying investment in 'shorts to features' funding schemes.

Despite calls from policymakers to have a clear definition for Scottish film, proposed classifications were continually criticised by filmmakers and funding panels for being too limiting or serving a non-specified purpose. As Scottish producer and former Head of BBC Drama Scotland Andrea Calderwood, argued, the Scottish government and therefore, its culture funding bodies' 'obsession' with Scottishness had, in the long-term, hindered the development of a national film industry:

> I am a Scottish filmmaker, I make films all over the world. What would be great for me would to be able to bring funding to the table and whether my work has connection to Scotland or not. That would be a huge asset to me that would then generate more work in Scotland, and it's great for employment. We're really sorely in need of some enlightened film funding policy in Scotland (Andrea Calderwood, Personal Interview, June 2013).

In practice, the assessment of projects was considerably more subjective than the criteria in the application guidelines, often questioning whether it should be chosen on the basis of what 'will make money or . . . because you love the script?' (Scottish Screen, 1998*a*). Reflecting on her experiences at the development panel during the formative years of Scottish Screen, producer Catherine Aitken noted:

> The process . . . of deciding on the scripts and making those decisions about who would get through . . . You know it's interesting just like sitting around any table. But people always thought it was kind of fixed beforehand. But it just wasn't that difficult . . . You just had to make sure that you had your own opinion and you kind of stuck to it. Although obviously you get swayed as well, but swayed for the right reasons perhaps rather than swayed for any other reason . . . If some people felt strongly about a project they perhaps hated the other project that some people felt was the best project. But yeah, sometimes things go by but that's what happens with committees (Catherine Aitken, Personal Interview, April 2013).

The assessment procedure was rarely as convoluted in practice as it appeared to be on paper - at least as perceived by the industry and the press. There was an informality and 'subjectiveness' that transpired from funding panels' meetings during the Scottish Screen's early years, not unlikely due to the close-knit relationship of the board, many of whom had either worked or been funded by the SFPF or SFC in the past.

It is to no surprise that despite a succession of reviews and McIntyre's restructuring of funding mechanisms (i.e. proposing a points based system), Scottish Screen's policy remained unclear and overly ambitious on paper. At the time, the agency announced its policy was to 'drive forward and expand its work in business development of the screen industries in Scotland while never losing sight of the cross cutting issues of access, education culture and social inclusion' (Scottish Screen, 2003a). It failed, however, to detail a proposal to the Scottish Government on how these objectives would be achieved in the long-term, once again resulting in a limited implementation of funding strategies and a conflict between government's recommendations and industry's demands.

The recommendations of the Scottish Executive Review (2002), the Screen Audit (2003) and the Summit Group (2003) had been published with a view to bring Scotland's screen industry in line with UK-wide policy ambitions for the creative industries sector as well as a reaction to impending political and economic changes.

However, Scottish Screen was not structurally prepared to take on and transform these recommendations into practical mechanisms for funding allocation, a significant reason being that the underlying remits of recent reviews explicitly contradicted the sector's (and Scottish Screen's senior staff's) long established understanding of public subsidy for film. Contrary to the core remit of the former SFPF and SFC, those imposed on Scottish Screen favoured a commercial approach over cultural concerns, despite senior staff and board members' experience being rooted in cultural and educational principles and informal practices.

Industry lobby groups brought about a new wave of accusations over the recurring conflict between the Scottish government's recommendations and Scottish Screen's 'modus operandi', characterised by a lack of communication and poor strategic planning.

Lobbying producers would once again object to and interfere with Scottish Screen's implementation plans, similar to the dispute between Eddie Dick and Bill Forsyth in 1997, mimicking the Scottish Stand's allegations in 1997-1998 and continuing from the negative press campaign against Archer in 2001. The factors that resulted in a change of senior staff and internal restructuring on each of these occasions culminated in a cyclical, pernicious lack of continuity for the agency. They would damage the organisation in the long-term by

limiting the extent to which its objectives were reached and therefore the effectiveness of its funding policies.

At the same time, without industry lobbying policy development ran the risk of stagnating. These recurring clashes with filmmakers and the press would feed into the organisation's sense of mission, by formulating funding mechanisms that could attend to industry demands without dismissing government recommendations.

Filmmakers Strike Again: Disputes with the Industry (2003-2005)

> If we're not going to push them to make that policy, who is? Somebody's got to push things to the top of the agenda.
> (Barbara Mckissack, Scottish producer. Personal interview, June 2013)

Despite shifts in Scottish Screen's funding mechanisms seven years after its formation, there were no meaningful changes in the process by which the organisation was allocating money to the (now much wider) areas under its remit. According to filmmakers, application processes were slow and overly intricate, selection processes were unclear, or arbitrary with evaluation and long-term planning for funding effectively non-existent. The organisation had spent most of its first decade of operation concentrating on 'damage control' and managing personal conflicts, as opposed to targeting and defining its aims and objectives in a way that would be satisfactory to its stakeholders.

Mirroring the accusations from the filmmaking community in 1996-1997 and 2000-2001, the long and drawn out implementation of Scottish Screen's revised assessment criteria resulted in a strident letter from filmmakers to the agency (addressed personally to its CEO), in June 2003. Its signatories included prominent figures in the Scottish film industry, many of whom were former SFPF members or previous recipients of public funding[20]:

> [T]he chief executive is not functioning . . . he operates as the de facto head of production in a role in which he is unable to be effective, owing to the pressure of work in his other areas of responsibility. The consequence is that Scottish Screen has not generated a vision for the future in which Scottish filmmakers can share. Our demands [are] met with 'complacency or dismissal by the chief executive (Borland et al, 2003).

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[20] It included producer Catherine Aitken (former Tartan Shorts graduate), former SFPF directors Eddie Dick and Penny Thomson, SFPF Projects Coordinator Oscar Van Heek, established producers Ros Borland, Jim Hickey, Arabella Page-Croft, Gillian Berrie and Tartan Shorts graduate director Eleanor Yule.

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This letter highlighted issues endemic to the application procedures, selection guidelines and assessment, judging them to be 'closed, capricious and damaging to our collective efforts'. The group criticised the long waiting time between application and decision making, which was against the practical needs of the industry, where projects were often dependent on match funding from the private sector, broadcasters and pre-sales to distributors to secure its budget. They made a call for rolling deadlines instead, a practice that would eventually be adopted by the next CEO. The criticism extended to the infrequent changes of committee members, a lack of advice, guidance and feedback on applications, a lack of an appeals procedure, and finally, a serious imbalance of judgement between cultural and industrial criteria.

Following a series of unsuccessful meetings between PACT and Scottish Screen, the funding body's response to filmmakers would be seen as an affront to the lobbying group. It dismissed most of PACT's suggestions and used the argument of inflexible lottery guidelines as its defence. The agency responded by stating the panel was 'always happy to meet up with failed applicants' (McIntyre, 2003) and denied the accusation that it lacked an appeals system. Scottish Screen instead restated their priorities as a commitment to Scottish talent, support of culturally relevant projects and commitment to films able to demonstrate sufficient domestic spending. PACT's letter threatened to embark on a public and political campaign against the funding agency, following a series of failed attempts to raise the issue with the board.

This series of accusations led to investigations by the board at Scottish Screen, resulting in further internal organisational restructurings. This process reflected the preoccupation of the board with the recent accusations, and the need for managerial intervention.

In mid-2003, Scottish Screen Chair, Ray Macfarlane, sent an internal memo to CEO Steve McIntyre, which demanded he improve his performance by 'delegating more, being less involved in day to day activities, providing leadership and promoting improvements'. Macfarlane recommended the CEO meet with industry leaders on a regular basis and improve the agency's efforts in the Training and Marketing Department, all by producing an action plan with measurable targets, making it clear 'there is a real danger that the current problems will escalate and Scottish Screen future does seem to be in considerable doubt' (Macfarlane, 2003).

After alerting McIntyre of 'the seriousness of [his] own and the company's position if no improvements were made', it would take only a few further disagreements with the industry and negative press over his non-attendance at the 2003 Cannes Film Festival to lead McIntyre to resign within less than a year. Similar to what had happened in 2000-2001 with John Archer, the internal affairs of the organisation led to a protracted policy implementation process delaying or halting the development of funding schemes. The fact that a number of McIntyre's initiatives were interrupted before being fully or effectively implemented and their outcomes evaluated, indicates that the the lack of continuity in the structure and staffing of Scottish Screen again had an effect on its ability to achieve its original objectives. As summated by a contemporary article from *The Scotsman* 'Scottish Screen has been blighted not only by squabbles within the industry, but also by almost continual uncertainty over its existence' (*The Scotsman,* 2003).

At the start of his directorship, McIntyre summarised what he thought had been the trajectory of the organisation up to 2002: 'Its birth was not easy. Institutionally and operationally, bringing four separate autonomous organisations together, with their own distinctive corporate 'flavour', staffing arrangements and different emphases on culture and industry took some time, but it's now in place'. McIntyre was also willing to concede that the organisation had, in the past, been weak in the setting of long-term strategies: 'Too often in the past we have adopted goals and strategies without adequate analysis of their importance to the development of the Scottish film industry. It's of vital importance that, in future, we get this right' (Winford, 2002).

However, between 2002 and 2004, continuous clashes with the industry, government and the press meant the development and implementation of a long-term strategy under his leadership were slowed down or sidelined in favour of bettering the agency's public image (Alvarez, 2014), responding to lobbyists' demands and adopting the most recent government policy remits.

In the years that followed the 2002 Executive Review, Scottish Screen was haunted not only by repeated negative press coverage but by a new wave of government reviews. The Scottish Executive's recommendation of a new 'joined up organisation' was followed by the repercussions of the Communications Act (2003) and the National Cultural Strategy Annual Report (2003), which suggested the agency's mission as originally stated in 1997 was no

longer in line with emerging cultural policy. Through the funding of low-budget film schemes and training and talent development programmes, Scottish Screen had fulfilled its original objective to the extent that it increased the number of both television and film productions. The agency's international presence also served as a 'launchpad' for new and emerging talent, allowing for Scottish filmmakers to receive recognition beyond their own borders. In some ways, the existence of a single agency for film was a stable resource for filmmakers, who knew where to turn to for help. As the next CEO Ken Hay, noted, although filmmakers felt Scottish Screen had not delivered all it could have, there was a sense that 'at least we had a Scottish screen agency' in the first place; whereas, after the formal announcement of the new agency, uncertainty grew, as 'Creative Scotland is a step into the unknown for all of us' (Miller, 2006c). Scottish Screen had worked as dedicated film agency, managing to address some of its original remits, despite much controversy in the press and industry. This was observed as the prospect of the demise of a dedicated film industry brought fear and instability among filmmakers and funding executives, as noted through numerous press articles at the time.

The Countdown Begins: The Road to Creative Scotland (2005 - 2010)

> Scotland was just Scotland. So developing a sense of identity, a sense of place, a sense of space was easy. I was coming in to a situation where we weren't trying to create something from scratch, which a lot of the time we were trying to do in East Midlands. There was existing broadcasting, there was existing films; existing infrastructure in place.
>
> (Ken Hay, Personal Interview, May 2013)

In 2005, newly appointed CEO Ken Hay - a former chief executive at EM Media - instigated a thorough review of the organisation upon taking up the reigns at Scottish Screen. It aimed not only to review application guidelines but also to reassess all Scottish Screen's areas of operation, with the view to formulate a new strategy across the entire organisation. Hay was set to conduct an overhaul of the organisation's aims and objectives, emphasising the industrial and commercial remit of its mission. With hindsight, he later pointed out that his job of running Scottish Screen was made considerably difficult due to it being a time when major negotiations for a new cultural body were taking place:

> So almost from the very beginning my conversations with the ministers and executive senior civil servants was all about a future policy landscape, rather than about what we were actually doing here and now. Whilst I was trying to translate why the 'here' made sense in the future policy landscape. And therefore, I really had

> to work with the government in archiving that . . . colleagues, at arts councils got themselves into a position of not doing things because Creative Scotland was about to happen. And so it was huge. Working with people who were hugely de-motivated, dispirited. Working with the sector that had no idea what was going on. (Ken Hay, Personal Interview, May 2013)

Looking back at his first months as CEO, Ken Hay described his role as being 'to bring something fresh to an organisation which, in practice, even seven years after its creation still felt like four separate bodies.' (Personal interview, May 2013). Hay's introductory annual review statement noted that 'Scottish Screen has reinvented itself through 2005/06, concluding the year with a clear statement of how it sees its future role in leading and developing the screen industries across Scotland' (Scottish Screen, 2006a). Aside from the changes in the assessment and applications procedure, 'Ken Hay . . . tried to move the agency's emphasis away from the funding of movies and more into digital work, TV, training, and other aspects of its work' (Miller, 2006a). It proceeded to outsource the delivery of training and development activities wherever appropriate, including the transfer of responsibilities for industry training and skills to Skillset[21]; offering incentives for local authorities to develop existing partnerships with local film offices; and the funding of outreach and educational activities through regional cinema theatres and separate project funding streams. These changes were picked up by the press, who compared Hay's policies to earlier Scottish Screen strategy:

> In the blockbusting days of *Trainspotting, Rob Roy* and *Braveheart*, it seemed Scotland could build a glittering film industry to match any. But the agency . . . has now signalled a shift of emphasis away from funding features . . . It will now use the money to concentrate on other ways of boosting screen industries, such as education, training, marketing and the promotion of locations and skills (Miller, *The Herald*, 2006b).

New mechanisms for allocating resources added a number of funding categories, which continued to change and expand from 2006 to 2008 (Appendix E, p203 and F, p205). One of the results of Scottish Screen's restructuring was the disbandment of the Lottery Fund Panel made up of external advisors. This significantly affected the implementation of funding initiatives, once again, as future funding decisions were to be made internally by a

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[21] Skillset was the Sector Skills Council for the Audio Visual Industries, which comprised broadcast, film, video, interactive media and photo imaging. It was renamed 'Creative Skillset' in 2012, as the Creative Industries' Sector Skills Council (SSC) which comprises TV, film, radio, interactive media, animation, computer games, facilities, photo imaging, publishing, advertising and fashion and textiles.

small group of Scottish Screen officers and external advisors. As former panel member Duncan Petrie recalled, this was, in his option, a loss to the operation of the agency:

> The demise of the Scottish lottery-funding panel brought to an end a process of decision making refreshingly different from that employed at the UKFC. While committee based decision making is always intrinsically problematic, the panel structure did provide a forum where a broad sweep of expertise and robust debate formed a key part of the funding process. Historically, such panels, including the BFI Production Board, have promoted as well as practiced a more culturally informed approach to funding than the executive model adopted by British Screen, which prioritises decision making along the more commercially defined lines of marketability and economic success (Petrie, 2007:369)
> .

According to the author, due to the climate change in cultural politics at the time, this shift in the decision making process was inevitable. Further changes that followed also attempted to marry culture and the market for the benefit of a national Scottish cinema. For the first time, the organisation offered funds aimed at new Talent Development, Slate Funding, Markets & Festivals, Audience Development, Education and Distribution, as well as Production funding, which continued to prevail over all other initiatives (Appendix E, p203 and F, p205).

In October 2007 Scottish Screen once again launched new application guidelines and introduced the popular 'rolling deadline programme' (open funding), removing the static deadlines to better suit the needs of producers in the industry. The funding of short films was delegated to other media organisations which could then access dedicated project funding with the agency (e.g. GMAC and Digicult). The examination of the agency's annual reviews and selected funded projects under Ken Hay's management indicated an increased focus on commercial and industry centred initiatives (Murray, 2015:14). The change in configuration of available funding streams is illustrated in Appendix E, p203.

Soon after taking his post as CEO and following the announcement of Creative Scotland in 2006, Ken Hay was aware that at some point, '[Scottish Screen] was going to go'. Expectedly, strategies during his directorship were often short-term focused:

> [W]e wanted to ensure that the organisation and indeed the sector [was] in the best possible shape. One year ahead, two years ahead, three years ahead. Whenever Creative Scotland [did] appear. The challenges of this was it didn't resolve the base question or the base problems which was … we still have that responsibility for

economic development without having the cash to do it (Ken Hay, Personal Interview, May 2013).

Hay questioned the board's previous decisions to invest millions of pounds 'in projects that had been on the table for years' and chose to review projects that had money allocated to them as money that was 'tied up' and not necessarily being used. This strategy freed up funds for the agency to invest in skills development, audience development activities and education service distribution, with the intention of, as Hay quoted 'developing a whole sector . . . It's not just about developing production', adding:

> After we tweaked and introduced new guidelines we tweaked the guidelines based on some feedback . . . re-introduced again quite a 'radical' [air quotes] thing which was shifting away from quarterly deadlines for applications into rolling deadlines . . . people preferred it . . . but internally there was huge grief about that. 'How on earth were we going to manage this? Well, We are not going to!' . . . I think there was an assumption that more people would create more projects and apply. But it would be the same number of projects, just spread other the year . . . And if insufficient progress had been made, we were within our rights to withdraw that money or they could withdraw their application at that point (Ken Hay, Personal Interview, May 2013).

External changes would again reshape barely established policies and strategies. Following the convoluted process of establishing Creative Scotland (see Appendix C, p195 and Hibberd, 2009), Chairman Richard Holloway opened the 2009 annual report by stating that what the film industry and the agency had been feeling for some time:

> [Last year] was a perplexing time. The Bill to introduce Creative Scotland had just fallen in Holyrood and we were all in a state best described as suspended animation. We did not know whether the Bill would be brought back to the Scottish Parliament in 2008 or whether the government would adopt another approach (Scottish Screen, 2009a).

The last five years of Scottish Screen saw a steady rise in the number of 'schemes' and initiatives (Appendix E, p203 and F, p205). In comparison to previous years, there were considerably fewer disputes with the industry accompanied by negative publicity. To an extent, this was due to attention being focused on the long road to forming Creative Scotland. Alvarez argued this was a period of stability, where the agency most fully embraced logic duality and achieved 'the highest degree of organisational stability and alignment between stakeholders' demands and organisational practices' (2014:189), starting with a clean break

from previous practices, such as the disbandment of internal panels and changes in the application process.

In contrast, Duncan Petrie argued that despite the accusations and turmoil of early years, panels and board members genuinely attempted to strike a balance between culture and commerce in their assessment policies and funding initiatives. Petrie notes this period was unlike the strikingly industrial approach and commercial jargon of the agency in its last five years of operation (Personal Communication, 14th October 2013). Petrie favoured the agency's older practices, which although controversial, provided an 'alternative' to 'the more overtly commercial imperatives' of its UK counterpart.

In Petrie's view, the funding panel structure had remained focused on the growth of local production, nurturing talent and promoting Scottish culture (2007:367), as opposed to the more commercially-led practices after 2005. After the announcement of Creative Scotland and during the directorship of Ken Hay, organisational practices seemed to align more easily with its formal aims and objectives, as instructed by government recommendations. Evaluation procedures were stricter and there was a an emphasis on producing 'measurable outcomes'.

Both in theory and in practice, Scottish Screen was now seeking to better balance its commercial and cultural remits in order to address its original mission. After Creative Scotland was launched, the extent to which this approach would benefit the industry in the long-term remained to be seen.

Conclusion

> When . . . the government is involved in the production of movies, the industry and the art become a matter of politics.
>
> (Brody, 2013:para.1)

> Even if it were possible to ascertain what a particular policy is and where it existed as a single document, policies are not static but evolve and are adapted by specific individuals and institutions.
>
> (Hibberd, 2009:52)

During its thirteen years of operation, Scottish Screen developed very distinctive approaches to translate cultural policy into operational practices. Led by a mix of long serving industry veterans and business professionals, the extent to which the agency fulfilled its original

objectives was continually shifting, moulded by each individual CEO's priorities, industry lobbying and government recommendations. This chapter has sought to detail the context in which Scottish Screen devised its funding mechanisms, what led them to a particular approach and what veered them off it in sight of evolving cultural policy remits.

The nature of film as neither a purely commercial, neither a merely cultural matter for public funding meant government's attempts to charge a public institution with translating already contentious policy into suitable schemes and initiatives were fraught with disquiet and acrimony. From the analysis of the set-up, implementation and dissolution of Scottish Screen through archival material and personal interviews, three central arguments can be made to explain the organisation's practices in order to better understand their role and the extent of their agency in developing and exercising film policy.

First, the complex role played by individuals was accentuated by the close-knit nature of the Scottish film industry, whilst the agency as a whole attempted to act as a mediator between the filmmaking community and policymakers. In a small nation, with a self-contained film industry, the composition of board members (Appendix D, p201) and panelists at Scottish Screen shaped the strategies, initiatives and schemes put forward by the agency, reflecting their own agendas and professional backgrounds. Board members, CEOs, panel members and key policymakers played an unprecedented role in building the foundation of Scottish film policy, nurturing the need for its advocacy. This was observed through the study of contemporary press articles and minutes of board meetings, complemented by personal interviews.

The personality and career background of CEOs and Senior Executives had a significant impact on the choice of priorities for Scottish Screen's initiatives. Certain individuals worked in the sector for their entire lives, meaning that they accumulated experience as filmmakers (and funding applicants) and financiers (as funding panel members or development executives). These individuals have worked through decades of policy development, industry reactions and press 'scandals', being witness to the perpetual crisis of the film sector in Scotland. The 'camaraderie' among funders and filmmakers once they had worked on either 'side' of the industry resulted in considerable drawbacks, such as accusations of cronyism and a limited pool of 'fresh ideas'. However, it also served to unite them through shared goals and ambitions, in opposition to government officials, cultural ministers and civil servants who often operated at quite some distance from the day to day

needs of the sector, a feeling shared by all former directors and CEOs interviewed for this research.

As a result, Scottish Screen had, in practice, operated alongside or as a reaction to the filmmaking community rather than in line with government cultural policy remits and formal strategic aims; the mismatch between organisational practices and policy remits was in part due to the exceptional influence of individuals in the sector, who were able to shape muddled objectives into initiatives that could potentially benefit the industry.

Second, groups of interested parties outside of Scottish Screen also played an inflated role in the implementation and development of organisational strategies. Filmmakers in Scotland - most often, independent producers - continued to lobby for the same changes and new subsidy opportunities, up to fifteen years after the formation of Scottish Screen. As discussed at length in this chapter, grievances from industry professionals would permeate Scottish Screen's operational years (See Appendix C, p195). Filmmakers formed strong lobbying groups to demand better communication and increased transparency from the funding bodies. This was not exclusive to Scottish Screen, having also been observed during the SFPF/SFC years, and later at Creative Scotland:

> Currently the filmmaking community is in the dark and nervous as it has no real evidence of the government's plans . . . Film needs to be supported by policymakers in both the economic and cultural sector . . . the fact that it is not is having a devastating effect on the sector' (Independent Producers of Scotland[22] - IPS, Letter to Creative Scotland, August 2013) .

> Film industry leaders have told the Holyrood inquiry Scotland needs a dedicated screen agency, less than five years after Creative Scotland was formed in a merger of the Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Screen . . .The IPS submission to MSPs stated: "The screen sector has suffered from a severe lack of business development, advice and support since Scottish Screen was incorporated into Creative Scotland (Ferguson, 2015)
> .

Acrimonious responses from lobbying groups (e.g. the Scottish Stand, PACT and IPS) immediately followed the establishment of a new body, updated funding guidelines or a recent CEO appointment. Criticism veered towards the poor communication and lack of

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[22]IPS was founded in 2013 and represents more than 40 production companies in Scotland working across film, television, animation and documentaries. It lobbies government and public agencies, aiming to create a more stable, vibrant and internationally recognised indigenous film sector in Scotland (IPS, 2015).

transparency from the funding bodies, as well as the conflicting remits of other NDPBs (e.g. Scottish Arts Council, Scottish Enterprise). Panel members and personnel at SFPF, Scottish Screen and Creative Scotland were much closer to the industry, the projects, the emerging talents, their struggles and triumphs than Scottish and UK government ministers. Filmmakers such as Bill Forsyth, and producer Gillian Berrie from Sigma Films, quoted at the start of this chapter, were able to use their established international reputation to gain leverage, and become involved with policy formation, either through direct consultation during government enquiries or through lobbying. Personnel at senior roles at Scottish Screen would often become funding applicants themselves, blurring the distinction between funders and funding recipients, thus strengthening the reciprocal relationship between the two interested groups. Examples included John Archer[23], Ken Hay[24] and Robin MacPherson[25].

The proximity of individuals in the film industry to the outcome of film policy, either as funders or filmmakers, meant their interests were at best, conflicting, and at worst contradictory, an issue which still characterises the sector today. The presence of strong pressure groups resulted in policies being continuously under scrutiny, where filmmakers are still highly involved with the political decisions that will determine their industry's future. It illustrates how funders and filmmakers are overwhelmingly aware of why having a strategy for film cannot be overlooked in a nation's definition of its cultural identity, as argued by Petrie:

> The crux of the matter is that cinema represents one of the most high profile and powerful contemporary forms of cultural expression, playing a key role in the contemplation, construction and projection of a distinct cultural identity (Petrie, 2007:386).
> .

In addition to filmmakers' collective lobbying, this chapter has also identified how the Scottish press functioned as an external 'pressure group' which had a singular role in shaping film policy development. Press articles on film industry developments - from internal

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[23] Prolific Scottish Television and shorts producer whose company Hopscotch Films also oversees the Scottish arm of the BFI NET.WORK, at the time of writing.

[24] Became CEO at the Centre for the Moving Image in 2012, the umbrella group for the Edinburgh International Film Festival.

[25] Former Board member at Creative Scotland; Scottish Screen development executive and film and television producer. Currently (2015) documentary filmmaker and Chair of Creative Industries, University of the Highlands and Islands.

disputes to sector demands - were frequent and comprehensive. Coverage of film funding related debates often appeared to be more prominent than that received by other public funded art forms, likely due to the popularity of the medium. As discussed in this chapter, dissatisfied filmmakers relied on some level of journalistic attention to have their demands heard, able to reach government levels, to an extent that could at least spark a new set of reviews or result in staff restructuring at Scottish Screen.

Lastly, this chapter identified the Scottish government's cultural policies as short-termist and reactionary, mimicking policies developed in London for the UK rather than attempting to tailor them to Scottish needs. During Scottish Screen's lifetime, the Scottish government continued to follow a growing creative industries agenda - mirroring the UK-wide trend set after the 1997 Labour victory - despite a different set of priorities starting to grow in Scotland after devolution and following the SNP's election in 2007. The Scottish government's customary reaction in the aftermath of political changes or after accusations from the film community was often to commission new sector reviews or audits. Resulting recommendations would only see a limited and incomplete implementation period from Scottish Screen, leading to further animosity from the industry.

This repeating cycle consistently failed to consider long-term implications of film policy. It seldom took into account the unique, interconnected nature of the industry in Scotland, its history and specific needs, looking instead at the UK scenario for immediate solutions.

As already discussed, the plethora of policy reviews and organisational strategies issued during Scottish Screen's tenure was often a reaction to the fierce industry opposition to the agency's policies and a result of external political changes (Appendix C, p195). Former Scottish Screen board member, Philip Schlesinger, stressed the institutional flaws embedded in the practice of solely relying on external reports for formulating internal strategies:

> I'm afraid what Scottish screen did not have was a policy function, and that meant that instead of using the intelligence it had around the board table to think about policy, it actually would get consultants to do quick fix studies. . . . I think that was actually quite a weakness and had they addressed that in good time, not least since there were problems with the Scottish government more or less from the very beginning . . . they might have been able to think their way out of the hole a bit and perhaps anticipate some of the directions in which successive Scottish administrations were going (Philip Schlesinger, Personal Interview, July 2013).
> .

The critical analysis of Scottish Screen's institutional history and the political context in which it operated are fundamental in addressing key research questions. However, in order to answer how the agency fulfilled the government's cultural policy in distributing public funds to the film industry, this analysis alone will not suffice, as identified in the chapter. It is therefore necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of the practical mechanisms the agency used to allocate funding, also referred to as 'schemes' or 'initiatives' by the industry. The various areas the organisation was responsible for were complementing sectors, with distinct aims and objectives. Nevertheless, they operated in tandem and relied upon a joined-up institutional approach from the funding agency.

The next two chapters use two case studies on different funding initiatives, created during contrasting eras at Scottish Screen and following fundamental shifts in political, economic and social contexts. They will address the outcomes of funding mechanisms in relation to Scottish Screen's immediate aims and objectives but also in the longer term and as perceived by the film industry.

Chapter 5. Funding Production: The Case of Tartan Shorts

> The 1990s saw the beginning of a . . . more market-orientated and industrial logic within the film-funding agencies and public service broadcasters. In the case of the Scottish Film Production Fund, this is manifest in a move from supporting a small number of aspiring auteurs to running short film schemes targeted at nurturing creative writer/producer/director teams. The flagship scheme in this regard was "Tartan Shorts" .
>
> (Duncan Petrie, 2013:70)

This research has set out to investigate the extent to which Scottish Screen fulfilled the government's cultural policy when distributing public funds to the film industry. Therefore, the practical mechanisms the agency used to distribute funds are central to this study. This chapter examines Scottish Screen's commitment to the production sector by looking at the Tartan Shorts scheme. It then uses the scheme as a case study to discuss the film industry and funding bodies' approaches to cultural policy. The study also highlights conflicting institutional and political frameworks embedded in the sector by investigating the funding scheme from its infancy through to retirement. It conducts an in depth analysis of the scheme's legacy for talent development support in Scotland and potential future implications. The Tartan Shorts scheme was used as a case study due to its longevity (1993-2006) and resilience in comparison to other production schemes operating under Scottish Screen. It survived five contrasting leaderships at the organisation, numerous internal restructuring, significant public funding and film policy changes, political devolution and fundamental shifts in filmmaking practice.

By exploring Tartan Shorts as a vehicle for policy implementation and funding allocation, this chapter extrapolates some of the key concepts that have been posited in studies of cultural policy and the role of public funding bodies in shaping a national film industry.

The Birth of Tartan Shorts (1991-1993)

In order to examine the development of Tartan Shorts, it is necessary to return to the year preceding its inception, when funding for production was still managed by the SFPF. A retrospective, contextual analysis allows for a better understanding of the scheme's aims and objectives at the time of its formation.

In 1991, the SFPF, under the chairmanship of screenwriter Allan Shiach, started a number of discussions over allocation of funds for 'schemes', envisaging the training of young

filmmakers, likely due to the staleness of the sector over the previous decade. Schemes were originally formed to address the rather slow process of feature development through to completion. In 1990 the Fund had developed the week-long screenwriting networking and training series of workshops, 'Movie Makars'[26]. The popularity of the initiative was followed by 'First Reels', the agency's first formal low budget shorts production scheme (For a complete list of SFPF/Scottish Screen schemes, see Appendix J, p212). Prior to these, schemes had been one-off training initiatives run by the Scottish Broadcast and Film Training body in partnership with the SFC and broadcasters or production schemes available south of the border, through the Regional Arts Boards in England or the BFI. At SFPF board meeting (SFPF, 1991), Chairman Allan Shiach was adamant the Fund should take a more commercial approach to funding initiatives, expecting a 'return on investment' for large projects and effective promotion of the Fund and its projects. This scenario would lead the SFPF to look for available funding streams to develop new initiatives.

An opportunity arose in 1991, when the SFPF withdrew its share of the joint funding of the BBC short film series '10x10'[27] after the board fell out with the broadcaster over the selection criteria. This meant the SFPF was left with an unallocated £50,000 in its budget coming from the BBC. The SFPF decided to fund a similar series to '10x10' this time in conjunction with BBC Scotland. This meant the SFPF could use the £50,000 to benefit Scottish filmmakers and at the same time provide BBC Scotland with 'fresh' content for broadcast.

Before the format of this new initiative was discussed, Scottish producer Kate Swan was appointed as the new SFPF director. Soon after, the overall number of applications for available funds increased notably, reflecting her approachability and familiarity with industry professionals (SFPF, 1991). Her personal approach to funding allocation would set the wheels in motion for the development of new schemes. Swan's concern for the production sector and her knowledge of the needs of fellow Scottish filmmakers defined the format and objectives of forthcoming initiatives.

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[26] Movie Makars (1990-2000) was founded by former SFC Education Officer, Eddie Dick. It gathered over 30 emerging and aspiring Scottish screenwriters at Eden Court Cinema in Inverness for a week's intensive training, with a series of tutorials and workshops conducted by many of the top names in film and television. (Archer, 1999:4)

[27] Short Film Scheme run in conjunction with BBC Bristol from 1988-2000. budgets varied from £10,000-£25,000 and received support from various other funding bodies. It was broadcast in 10 minute slots on BBC2 (Holland, 2000:215)

At her first board meeting Swan brought up the BBC's existent commitment to provide the Fund with a fixed budget, of which £50,000 had been set aside by the SFPF to provide the broadcaster with one hour of programming for each year. Swan then met with Colin Cameron and John McCormick - respectively the new Head of Television and the new Controller at BBC Scotland - who agreed to continue to work with the SFPF in exchange for the Fund providing the BBC with 'programmes they wouldn't make themselves'. Kate Swan suggested the possibility of a programme of drama shorts, and BBC Scotland 'showed some interest . . . providing the BBC were to increase their contribution to the Fund' to ensure a higher quality of projects .

SFC director David Bruce supported Swan's suggestion, noting the First Reels Scheme (Appendix J, p212) already covered community/video stories from entry level filmmakers, so a 'new' scheme should target the 'best talent rather than first time filmmakers' (SFPF, 1992a). Reflecting her own pragmatic approach to funding allocation, Swan later remarked that this initial meeting set the foundations for what was to become the Tartan Shorts scheme:

> So when I started, [there]was a commitment from BBC Scotland to put money to the Fund and it seemed - as I'd produced about three short international films - it seemed to me that there was a lot of emerging talents in Scotland around that time and I knew who they all were as I've worked with them all and, you know, I'd be able to see what their ambition was, it seemed to me that we could find a lot of money where we would then be able to tackle features. It seemed to give the idea to allocate some money for mutual development. A relatively small amount [for] products we could use international or certainly national, UK wide work (Kate Swan, Personal Interview, May 2013).

As a producer with a number of years of experience, Swan was supportive of the idea of a 'stepping stones' system as a means to develop talent and supporting the production sector in Scotland, a widely-shared option within the film industry. A 'stepping-stones' approach to talent development envisaged filmmakers would work on public funded short films and eventually follow through to completing at least one feature – a strategy adopted at regional and national film agencies:

> What we were trying to commit to were three short films with three small budgets and that can actually get made. We used that as stepping stone for people to the next stage so that we could have a strategy whereby you certainly can fund three good shorts, definitely fund some features and those two combined strategies will then hopefully lead to . . . a production industry. I was pushing an open door at BBC Scotland. Colin Cameron, and John McCormick -who was the controller . . . both thought that was a good idea. They were very happy and helped me get some

resources themselves (Kate Swan, Personal Interview, May 2013).

In its early stages of development the practical aims of the scheme appeared to be the continuation of a partnership with BBC Scotland, rather than a thoroughly developed and well researched initiative committed to production support. From the perspective of BBC Scotland's Head of Television Colin Cameron agreed to move the discussion forward noting 'the Scottish film Council and the Glasgow Film Theatre were both pressing for more showings of short films, and David Aukin (Head of Film at Channel 4) also pointing out this could mean . . . some hope . . . in persuading cinemas to resume the practice of showing a short film with a feature' (SFPF, 1992a). In retrospect, Colin Cameron commented on the importance for the BBC investing in the scheme at the time, emphasising the role of the audience:

> I found when I took to the [BBC] budgets and saw where the money was going . . . you could see BBC Scotland like giving a certain amount of money to the Scottish Film Production Fund but had not been expecting anything back in return. . . . My suspicion was that the material that was being made at the time was very much about the filmmaker and not to so much to the audience. So one of my key criteria especially in this case, was that this had to be something that would appeal to people and I guess that was the genesis of the conversation . . . something for both filmmakers who wanted to move on and we'd be appealing to a broad audience something that went beyond festivals (Colin Cameron, Personal Interview, April 2013).
> .

From the SFPF's point of view, the demands of working with a national broadcaster helped define the aims and structure of the scheme early on. It ensured the BBC's grant was used to both fulfil the public remits of the organisation and at the same time to provide high quality content for television. This dual commitment served to raise the bar for production support at the SFPF. The calibre of talent involved needed to be higher in order to produce shorts that were certain to be completed and that would appeal to audiences:

> BBC Scotland had wanted their money allocated into a particular thing. They were concerned with money they put in because they were a television company.... They didn't want it to go into a general fund, so they wanted to earmark their money for a specific thing, to tick all their boxes. So the budget to them was £30,000 per film - and that's quite a lot for a short! . . . The BBC could show it in television and that was what was important to them. That's what they got out of it, to have something to show for it. Whereas they were uncomfortable with the Fund having all their money, potentially using them for feature films which may or may not get completed, may or may not be for distribution, where the shorts could be seem as

effective way of putting their money in (Kate Swan, Personal Interview, May 2013).
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Later in 1992, BBC Scotland officially committed £65,000 towards a joint SFPF/BBC scheme. The scheme's central objective was: 'to ensure that very good short films could be made through the SFPF and . . . to prepare talented directors for their first feature' (SFPF, 1992b). The still-unnamed scheme was quietly announced within industry publications, at EIFF and in Scottish Film magazine (1992) and limited local press coverage (SFPF, 1992b). The application guidelines stated three scripts would be selected for a ten minute short to be made with a £30,000 budget. The application pack for the scheme noted it aimed 'to make cinematic short films' for teams 'yet to make their feature debut'. Formats were specified (16mm or 35mm), films would be 'shown at festivals and cinemas ' and for 'TV transmission', candidates were allowed to apply without a producer and/or director, but a script was required. They were also asked to demonstrate previous experience but were not expected to have completed a feature film as the SFPF would 'act proactively to find and bring on new talent' (SFPF, 'Tartan Shorts application pack', 1993 - Appendix H, p209, p206). The initial shortlist of 57 applicants was made by BBC Scotland and then sent to the SFPF board, where Kate Swan and Colin Cameron made the final decision (SFPF, 1992b). The high standards expected of the films produced by the scheme was stated from the very beginning, as was the role of BBC Scotland in influencing the kind of projects being selected.

Swan's comments on the first Tartan Shorts selection process indicated there was a lack of formal structure or strategy. Instead, the assessment of application evolved organically and was carried out informally by representative of both funding organisations:

> So that's what happened and we [released] this call for entries, and then we got . . .
> many more than what we thought we'd get. So we made a shortlist. So me and Ivan
> Mactaggart [SFPF] sifted it all and pulled out a shortlist. . . . And then Colin
> Cameron, and Paul Pender [BBC] and I made the final selection of the three we were
> going to recommend to the board. . . . I think we argued for each one, the pluses and
> minuses, the script and team that were involved, their potential (Kate Swan, Personal
> Interview, May 2013).

For the first round of Tartan Shorts[28] applications the board's comments on the scripts indicated the common reasons for rejection, such as being 'far too long', 'too expensive',

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[28] The scheme was in fact still unnamed when it was first announced. It was initially named 'an SFPF/BBC Scotland scheme' until its second call for applications.

'overlong and trite' and having an 'inexperienced team', reinforcing the focus on the quality of production and likelihood of completion. The selected projects for the first round of Tartan Shorts included notes on the creative team and the script:

> Capaldi was talented, the script very funny' and the storyboarding excellent', 'confident in the ability of the producer and impressed by the team and casting' (*Franz Kafka's it's a Wonderful Life*); 'team was very good (Rain)'; '[the script] found its way to the top of everybody's list (Small Deposit) (SFPF, 1992c).

The scheme was to be more than simply a training ground for filmmakers. It required filmmakers to operate within a deadline and an audience in mind since BBC funding dictated the shorts must be of high quality and be ready for broadcast:

> Tartan Shorts was meant to try to move [the filmmaker], away from the thinking that 'this is my project that I'm passionate about, that it is my thing I want to do because it's my passion that might [or might not] open that door to a wider audience (Colin Cameron, Personal Interview, April 2013)
> .

As a result of Tartan Shorts, SFPF would begin to shift its attention from unstructured, straight feature film funding to supporting the development of its filmmaking talent in order to ensure their career progression - and the future of Scottish films. With the initial success, growing popularity and positive reputation of the scheme among industry professionals in Scotland and beyond, SFPF and later, Scottish Screen, were made to regularly assess the state of its talent pool. Hence, it would soon become necessary for the funding body to incorporate a talent development aspect to its production strategy, in line with emerging cultural policies and industry needs.

The Oscar-Winning Scheme: Tartan Shorts 'The Brand' (1993 – 1995)

The next few years would see the SFPF heavily promote Tartan Shorts, its participants and their completed films - a practice which would play a significant role in making it Scotland's 'flagship' funding scheme. The first round of films were exhibited at EIFF in 1993. The festival's listing of the screenings of the first three completed shorts (Appendix K, p214) emphasised the SFPF as a main funder of Tartan Shorts, also highlighting the funds' ten year anniversary 'supporting Scottish film'; whereas BBC Scotland had only a minor mention on the bottom corner of the programme page. This partially illustrates the proportional level of

involvement of each organisation, at the same time it reinforced the SFPF's eagerness to be recognised by the industry beyond Scotland. Overall, it reflected a new approach from the Fund, which attempted to 'market' itself to the industry.

It was not until a few months before EIFF that the scheme was given its recognisable name - not without some conflict. Early in 1993, Swan suggested 'Tartan Shorts' as the name for the joint scheme to the board. From the very beginning, careful discussions over the title of the scheme indicated a preoccupation over what it would promote. Swan noted how the decision over the name of the scheme brought up discussions over the importance of both national identity and 'brand' recognition:

> Well, I think we needed to brand in a way that was obviously Scottish. I was worried that Tartan was a was a bit…--- I wanted a bit of humour attached to it, which is always a useful thing but...I was concerned that calling it Tartan Shorts would annoy some of the more 'pure' Scottish cultural people, who would sort of say, you know, you are taking the piss of all things Scottish you're cheap and easy, it's not serious. But I think it was tongue in cheek and I don't think people really minded, made me think of male boxer shorts, that's what it reminded me of… that's what we found it was funny (Kate Swan, Personal Interview, May 2013).

Despite there being some concern from both industry and press over the choice of name - noted by an article in *The Herald*: 'it is the sort of dud title one expects from our resident culture providers . . . why [the SFPF] assume we are all kiltie caul bums and talk like Hugh MacDiarmid's bairns, except that they don't speak like that, is beyond me' (Russell, 1993b) - BBC's Colin Cameron supported the choice of name, recalling it was a particularly recognisable name at international festivals:

> People were very nervous about it because they felt it was somehow too cheeky . . . I wanted to shake it up a bit. I think the title was actually a great creation and I loved it. It actually was able to describe perfectly what it wanted to do (Colin Cameron, Personal Interview, April 2013).

The choice of name for the scheme would be followed by a series of practices supporting the promotion of the scheme as Scotland's first and foremost short film production scheme, raising the profile and visibility of the SFPF at international festivals and on UK-wide TV broadcasts. The first batch of Tartan Shorts received mixed reactions by the Scottish press (Davidson, 1993; Russell, 1993b). A 1993 reviewer from *The Herald* picked up on a conflict of interest between the supposedly cultural remits of the SFPF and the mainstream TV audiences at BBC Scotland, expressing concerns the former would be subjugated to the later:

> A kind of wariness comes over me when I read things like: "Tartan Shorts is a showcase for new Scottish film talent, and is a joint initiative between BBC Scotland and the Scottish Film Production fund." I smell cultural worthiness. I see visions of youthful dreams encouraged and dashed at cost to innocent Sunday - night TV audiences. What's the point of nurturing Scottish film talent when the future of Scottish television broadcasting looks almost as promising as the future of the British film industry? (Davidson, *The Herald*, 1993)

The reviewer questioned whether selecting Peter Capaldi, an established actor as an 'emerging filmmaker' was 'stretching the definition of "new Scottish film talent" too far'. However, according to SFPF board discussions (SFPF, 1992c) the selection of 'high profile' teams at the first round of Tartan Shorts was intentional, as to help the scheme gather momentum and sufficient PR coverage. As the success of Capaldi's short was soon to confirm, this tactic proved to be extremely rewarding to the Fund.

When considering the scheme's contribution to developing Scotland's production sector, Tartan Shorts was unique when compared to other short schemes run by SFPF/Scottish Screen. It took advantage of a guaranteed EIFF screening, a BBC broadcast slot (regional and UK wide) and it was heavily promoted on the festival circuit (likely due to its high budget and calibre of the creative teams). Two years after its inception, a singular event led to the scheme becoming an international 'brand' synonymous with quality Scottish filmmaking.

In 1995, one of the shorts from the scheme's first year, Capaldi's *Franz Kafka's It's a Wonderful Life,* won an Oscar for Best Short Film. It immediately launched the new scheme into the limelight. Tartan Short then became known as the 'Oscar-winning scheme' and 'a must' in any emerging filmmakers' portfolio. High expectations were set for the next shorts to follow as all eyes turned to it, as mentioned in the press preceding it:

> *Camera Obscura* ('Latin for a Dark Room') would provide the title for one of the most eagerly awaited products of the Scottish film industry. The reason for the anticipation is down to a short, but impressive pedigree . . . and follows the conspicuous success of the first year's product (Bruce, *The Herald*, 1994).

Tartan Shorts' rising popularity was aided by the dedication of a number of individuals

working for SFPF/Scottish Screen in the first few years of the scheme. It reflected the funding organisation's commitment to the production sector in Scotland through an investment in talent development and push for the international recognition of the national film industry's output. These practices, which simultaneously invested in audiences, filmmakers and industry, and envisaged a better awareness of Scottish film and strengthening of the production sector would not be observed towards the later years of Scottish Screen. A change in staffing would be one of the reasons for this shift in commitments. Notably, Ela Zych-Watson, a former journalist who became SFPF's marketing and promotions executive, was directly responsible for the inaugural media success of the first batch of Tartan Shorts. This was achieved due to her personal investment in ensuring Capaldi's film was eligible for an Oscar nomination. Zych-Watson described such efforts as a 'personal best' that 'helped generate an audience for Scottish film':

> Scottish films where the buzz. We . . . had a stable amount of films coming through short films schemes . . . we were creating a market and an audience that hadn't been there before. But how could [*Franz Kafka's It's a Wonderful Life*] win 13 awards and a BAFTA and it still wasn't eligible for an Oscar? So I picked up the phone . . . I actually had called through to the director of the Motion Picture Awards and pitched and said "I've got this amazing film, it has won 13 awards, it has won a BAFTA, the equivalent of the American Oscars and yet it is not intelligible unless we do a screening (we did not want to go with it that way). We had a massively award-winning film, and he agreed to see it! And of course I as soon as I knew they had agreed to see it . . . That was it (Ela Zych-Watson, Personal Interview, June 2013)
> .

The development of Tartan shorts as a brand was strengthened by the individual efforts of Kate Swan, Colin Cameron and Ela Zych-Watson, who continually advocated its continuation. As Marketing officer, Zych-Watson created the Tartan Shorts logo, which lasted from 1993 to 2004 (Appendix M, Figure 1, p216). The logo mimicked the famous Alfred Hitchcock silhouette, wearing a tartan shirt and holding a megaphone, as if calling filmmakers to 'Hollywood'. It was an animated logo, played at the start of every screening or broadcast of the shorts. It reflected what the scheme was and what it wanted to be with a simple image, recognised across festivals. Zych-Watson reflected how individual commitment to Scottish film production fuelled the scheme's success:

> I found the designer of the creative who drew the Hitchcock [logo]. We went to the BBC. They approved it. Accident drove the promotion side; I didn't create a scheme that was Kate [Swan]. I drew up the guest list, I got the films I found the best festivals

> to go to, where it was supposed to go to, phoned up the festival directors. You know, I have created those relationships, got the films, you know sent in applications. Then, they would watch the films. Once they got to see it, they can see they were brilliant. We have to get them out there (Ela Zych-Watson, Personal Interview, May 2013).

As the organisation changed and staff moved on, the scheme would lose this focus of its early years. The logo was 'reinvented' in the last two years of the scheme, from 2004 to 2006 - replaced by a corporate looking, bright and abstract design that reflected little to audiences and industry alike (Appendix M, Figure 2, p216). As Dan MacRae[29] summarised, by concentrating on distribution and exhibition in its early years, Tartan Shorts fostered an audience and gained an international profile, a feat other schemes failed to achieve:

> Because that was seen as such a big deal [winning an Oscar], it gave the scheme a real profile and it meant that everybody could see the value of it for a long time and that sustained the scheme for a long time. But, I used to talk to programmers from Chicago for example, and they would say we look to Scotland every year as a place where interesting talent is coming from (Dan MacRae, Personal Interview, April 2013)
> .

Tartan Short's name, logo and awards meant Scotland's shorts - and the creative teams behind them - became 'the ones to watch out for' on the international festival and industry circuits. This attitude towards promotion and branding was not continued after Zych-Watson's and Swan's departure from the agency. This reinforces the argument posited in the previous chapter that individual personalities played a significant role in implementing organisational practices. The development of Tartan Shorts up to 1997 illustrates how the SFPF had started to develop a production policy aimed at talent development and supported by exhibition and distribution practices through festivals and broadcasters involvement (Appendix J, p212). However, the establishment of Scottish Screen and the advent of the National Lottery Fund shifted the aims and objectives of the agency. The development of a long-term strategy for Tartan Shorts and the scheme's implementation were affected by the tumultuous context that characterised the setup of Scottish Screen.

Implementing Tartan Shorts: The Selection Process (1995 -1997)

> You knew it from the basis of somebody who had done a small film that they were ready to move onto this bigger one and nobody got put through it without actually

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[29] Dan MacRae was a former Tartan Shorts' Projects Panel member and currently Head of Development at Studio Canal (at the time of writing, October 2015)

> having a good project to work on. But there is definitely a sense . . . You would see
> a filmmaker like Peter Mullan or David Mackenzie and think, yup, you want to work
> with them. They're probably ready for this. They had produced good work so they
> would get supported (Dan MacRae, Personal Interview, April 2013).

The SFPF and later, Scottish Screen, chose to develop a production strategy based on two key practices: the use of funding schemes, aimed at strengthening Scotland's talent pool, and investing in high budget features aimed at attracting inward investment and growing audiences for Scottish film. Tartan shorts, however, would switch priorities, from producing high quality shorts, developing talent, appealing to wider audiences and championing projects which reflected 'Scotland's cultural identity'. This research takes into account insights from former panel members and producers involved in the Tartan Short's selection process to investigate how the agency implemented the scheme. It examines what it hoped to achieve, what changed and what the outcomes of the scheme were. Together with the study of Scottish Screen's board minutes and annual reviews, the accounts from interviewees added a valuable and fresh perspective to the discussion of Scotland's film production policy.

The early success of Tartan Shorts led BBC Scotland to increase their contribution to the Fund from £65,000 to £90,000, (SFPF, 1993a), matching the increase in funding from the Scottish Office Education department. Advocating for the interests of the broadcaster, Colin Cameron remarked he was committed to the future of Tartan shorts:

> Through Tartan Shorts I was trying to marry the two of them [film and TV] to
> bring that film thinking, filmmaking liberty and imagination to the constraints of
> a television slot. . . . There isn't a Scottish film industry per se,. . . there is a strong
> Scottish Television Industry , what I was trying to do is bring the two of them a
> little bit closer together (Colin Cameron, Personal Interview, April 2013).
> .

Later in 1993, Eddie Dick, was appointed the new SFPF director after Swan resigned to raise a family. The strong clash of personalities and change in management styles was noticeable from board minutes. It was markedly a transition point for the organisation, where Eddie Dick promptly took over the implementation of trending cultural policy directives in preparation for Scottish Screen. An increasingly commercial and corporate approach to public funding replaced Swan's industry focused leadership. At the BBC, young producer Andrea Calderwood was appointed the new BBC Scotland Head of Drama in 1994. She joined the next SFPF Tartan Shorts meeting, in which the final three projects were being

selected. In their selection process, panel members appeared to have an intuitive idea of what they were looking for, prioritising the films likelihood of completion and audience appeal:

> Is the package . . . Is the script strong, first of all? And are the people attached to it are going to be able to do it? (Kate Swan, Personal Interview, May 2013)

> We had a pretty worked out sense of the criteria. A realisable budget, script and team. A balance of team and script. (Colin Cameron, Personal Interview, April 2013)

Insights from panel members into the Tartan Shorts selection process emphasise how the calibre of the creative team involved played an equal, if not greater part in the quality of the script. The composition of the selection panel, largely comprised of TV and feature film producers, was also more likely to favour feasible projects which would be finished on schedule, on budget and that presented content and production values suitable for broadcasting and festival exhibition. Panellists' comments also indicate a preoccupation with selecting talent who were at the right stage of their career and would be able to deliver a quality short. Funders were looking at the scheme as stepping stones of career progression, aiming to guide filmmakers in the most productive direction:

> It was often a lot more to do with the talent of the filmmakers than it was about the script, so if you came in with maybe not such a great script you were willing to forego that if you thought that the director and writer and producer were talent that wanted to be captured. So it wasn't always the best script that went through but perhaps the best team. The whole committee thing was hard, and you just had to make sure that you had your own opinion and you kind of stuck to it. Although obviously you get swayed as well, but swayed for the right reasons perhaps rather than swayed for any other reason. (Catherine Aitken[30], Personal Interview, April 2013)
> .

> So, what we were looking for I think mainly was promising filmmaking talent, secondly a story that worked in its own right, you know that would sustain 10 minutes or 15 minutes. Then it was the ability to maybe bring some good acting, some good casts. (Andrea Calderwood[31], Personal Interview, June 2013)
> .

In practice, the selection process became more structured as the scheme developed. During

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[30] Aitken was a former 1994 Tartan Shorts Producer and Projects Panel member in 1995-6).

[31] Calderwood is former Head of Drama at BBC Scotland and also an established independent producer in her own right. Credits include *Once Upon a Time in the Midlands* (2002); *The Last King of Scotland* (2006); *A Most Wanted Man* (2014)

her time as BBC Scotland's Head of Drama, Andrea Calderwood introduced the use of interviews with applicants as part of the selection process. This supported the talent development component of the scheme, giving the opportunity for applicants to pitch their idea to experienced 'mentors' at the same time it allowed them to talk through their strengths and weakness as filmmakers, their career progression plans and forthcoming projects. Effectively, in looking to foster talent to supply the broadcaster with quality content, Calderwood enhanced the scheme's long-term impact in the overall production sector - even leading to formal training schemes for shortlisted Tartan Shorts applicants. She describes the process as being chiefly focused on the talent:

> It was an open call for entries and from memory there was usually about 150 applications, so what we'd do is we had a little committee that would sit down, and between us we would sift through the applications and chose the ones that we thought we'd short-list, and one of the things that we brought in was making the interview process part of something that would be useful and valuable for filmmakers to give them experience of that process of interacting with broadcasters and funders.

> So we were quite structured as far as I can remember in the way that we would go back to the short-list of people and got them to talk about the film, and also always when you did that, it was partly for us to get more of a sense of how confident and clear they were about the way we would make the film, but also for us to get a sense of who was the most capable of putting the film together. (Andrea Calderwood, Personal Interview, June 2013)

From the perspective of filmmakers, the BBC Scotland partnership and mentorship was also beneficial, if not quite in line with the SFPF's/Scottish Screen original objectives. In practice, the partnership further enhanced the training and development aspect of the scheme.

As Tartan Shorts graduate and feature film director Morag Mckinnon (*Donkeys*, 2010; *I am Breathing*, 2013) noted, her experience directing a Tartan Short (*Birthday*, 2000) gave her an opportunity to observe a different side to the industry:

> In term of the BBC, though I thought it was interesting to see how things actually worked in the broadcast sector. They had some training sessions which were useful, but it seemed very "uptight" and "formal" as opposed to creative and dynamic. There is a sense of peeking into an insular institution which has its own way of working, its own rules and dynamic and being a bit of an elite club, for which you are only a temporary card holder.(Morag Mckinnon, Personal Interview, November 2013)

During the fifth and sixth batch of Tartan Shorts applications, the inferior quality of submitted projects raised questions over the lack of adequate training provision and led to discussions with the Scottish Broadcast and Film Training body. By 1996, both BBC Scotland and the SFPF agreed the scheme should continue for as long as budgets permitted and whilst the shorts continued to perform well at festivals. Both funders agreed that to maintain the standards of its first year, better mentoring and training of applicants was crucial (SFPF, 1996b). The need for a talent development strategy emerged from the SFPF's existing commitment to its production strategy. After Tartan Shorts, it was increasingly evident that if Scotland wished to produce a higher calibre of films with international box office and critical appeal, it still had a long way to go in terms of its talent development policies.

The End of an Era: Scotland 'Schemed Out'? (1997- 2006)

> [in the early 2000s] there was a sense of it becoming just more ... 'we know what Tartan Shorts should look like and this is or this isn't a Tartan Short' rather than a kind of 'well this is very unlike what we have done before why don't we give it a shot?' I think that was a subtle but kind of general shift towards playing safe and also for whatever reasons, my perception is over time the films had become less interesting. It ran out of steam.
>
> (Robin McPherson, Personal Interview, May 2013)

From 1996 to 1997, the imminent establishment of Scottish Screen and the inception of the National Lottery Fund caused tense and frequent discussions at each SFPF assessment panel - the status quo was disrupted and attention was turned away from existing funding initiatives. New organisational strategies at Scottish Screen demanded more rigid structures for assessing applications, further accountability (e.g. to the National Lottery Fund) and the need for a structured evaluation plan. In the years to follow, Tartan Shorts would go from being at the centre of attention at project meetings to simply repeating its original structure year on year, losing focus amidst the frequent organisational restructurings, disputes, reviews and renewed strategies discussed in the previous chapter.

A number of early schemes did not last long after the establishment of Scottish Screen (Appendix J, p212). Entry level 'Prime Cuts' was cancelled in 1998 when the broadcaster (STV) and funding agency (British Screen) behind it withdrew the already reduced funding for the scheme. 'Gear Ghearr' had the highest budgets and least experienced filmmakers in

Scotland and funders faced considerable cutbacks. It was soon discontinued. 'First Reels' was the only short film scheme that Scottish Screen directly put money into . It had the most risks attached to it, yet it had been prolific and supported some impressive emerging Scottish talent. The scheme ended in the same year as STV withdrew further support (1998). Nevertheless, the sixth batch of Tartan Shorts (the first under Scottish Screen) had its budget increased to £60,000 per short (Appendix G, p206), due to available National Lottery funding[32].

After the formation of Scottish Screen, there were numerous attempts to start new funding initiatives to replace discontinued ones (Appendix J, p212). Later it inevitably led to the general feeling among board members that 'Scotland had too many schemes' and that 'we were 'schemed out' (Scottish Screen, 1998d). The Projects Panel indicated all schemes were worthwhile, but there was 'nowhere to go after a Tartan Shorts except straight into feature film development'.

Thus, the Projects Panel at Scottish Screen was eager to develop new partnerships and extend their initiatives beyond Tartan Shorts, providing filmmakers with a suitable career ladder of progression into feature films. Scottish Screen started to look into low budget feature film schemes or 50 minute TV drama production (Appendix J, p212) as alternatives to the 'daunting' perspective of going 'straight into a feature film' (Scottish Screen, 1998) and instead providing the team with more experience in the field . The last feature film scheme announced by the organisation, 'Fast Forward Features' (in collaboration with the BBC, Content International and Scottish Screen National Lottery Fund) was discontinued in 2006, before it even started. Other schemes such as, 'Twenty First Films', (with a budget of £600,000) were also short lived due to internal organisational restructurings, discussed in Chapter Four. After 2004, formal selection panels and nearly all existing feature and short film funding schemes were discontinued under CEO Ken Hay's review of the organisation's procedures. Schemes were replaced by new strands of investment, including content and short film production, market, festivals and audience development, distribution and business development (Appendix F, p205). This represented a total of over £2,000,000 worth of funding awards which were 'de-committed' during 2005-06, mostly under film schemes

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[32] Despite the scheme's incremental rise in budget over its first six years, effectively reaching double of its 1993 figure by 1999, it remained stagnant after 2000, only slightly increasing again (£65,000) in the scheme's last year of operation (2006). See Appendix G, p199 for full details.

awards and marketing and promotion awards (Scottish Screen, 2006a). The changes were soon to affect Tartan Shorts. Macpherson highlighted some of the reasons behind this:

> The early success and the peak times for Tartan Shorts was when it felt like it was a very good way of providing opportunities for people but also creating something which had a kind of brand. When I was making a Tartan Short and towards the period when I joined Scottish Screen . . . I think the image was beginning to fade . . . The problem is when you get two or three year when the films were not particularly strong, 'the brand' suffers as well and starts to no longer be any guarantee of anything at all. (Robin Macpherson[33], Personal interview, May 2013)

Under the directorship of CEO Ken Hay, the last batch of Tartan Shorts premiered at EIFF in 2006 (Appendix L, p215). Colin Cameron and Barbara McKissack, who had both been directly involved with Tartan Shorts, left BBC Scotland in 2004 and 2006 respectively. This meant the scheme no longer had an individual advocating its support from the broadcaster's side. The budget required to make a short film had diminished significantly since the availability of cheaper digital equipment. As a result, the £65,000 budget allocated to each Tartan Short team was increasingly difficult to justify, as other shorts were being made for a fraction of this. Together, these factors led to the eventual discontinuation of the scheme. Reflecting the growing creative industries policies of the 2000s, former CEO Ken Hay claimed his reasons for ending Tartan Shorts were founded on the inability of Scottish Screen to justify a scheme at a comparatively high budget, when other initiatives could potentially lead to more 'employable' routes:

> It was once it got to the point that it [Tartan Shorts] was happening because it happened . . . That's not a good enough reason for what we're trying to achieve. From the BBC Scotland side, they didn't particularly like it because they were hard work to schedule and they didn't always like the quality . . . and part of it was we had to produce three ten minute short films each time. Even if there was only one good short, three short films to be produced.(Ken Hay, Personal Interview, May 2013)

Hay's strategy was to expand the agency's talent development initiatives to encompass features and television production, in order to maximise employability and commercial prospects for public investments:

> So what we did was, we kept money available for doing high budget short films

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[33] Prof Robin Macpherson is also a former producer and Tartan Shorts graduate (*Duck*, 1998).

> but just not under the Tartan shorts banner anymore. . . . we were very successful
> in developing short film talent, and we'd been less successful in developing talent
> that could produce longer dramas. So the strategy we did on BBC, was actually
> producing one hour plays, and which sort of didn't work as well as I was hoping
> it would do, and but it was on the basis of, actually got a lot of people here making
> short films. They wouldn't get employment by making big feature films, [but] by
> making TV dramas, and yes they'd make feature films in parallel, but it is part of
> the mixed economy, it has to be a TV drama as well. So we went down that path.
> (Ken Hay, Personal interview, May 2013)

'Stepping-stones' schemes were no longer a common practice at the agency. Hay had implemented rolling deadlines and open funding, where filmmakers could individually apply for funding outside formal production schemes. Short film funding was delegated to third party organisations supported by the agency. Nevertheless, a number of filmmakers and feature scripts which had received support through former initiatives would later receive support under Scottish Screen's new 'strands of investment' (Appendix F, p205). This practice reflected an ongoing concern with developing and retaining Scottish talent. An illustrative example was Scottish Screen's National Lottery Investment of £35,000 for *Dog Altogether* (2007), the directorial debut of Paddy Considine, under the new generic 'Short Film Fund'. The film was a co-production between producer Anna Duffield (*Red Road*, 2006; *Donkeys*, 2010; *A Royal Affair*, 2012) from Sigma Films and Diarmid Scrimshaw (*This is England*, 2006; *Tyrannosaur,* 2011) from Warp Films. Both Duffield and Scrimshaw were Tartan Shorts graduates, as well as lead actor, Peter Mullan (Tartan Short director, 1996). Along with Anna Duffield (Tartan Short producer 2006), they helped build the relationship between Sigma Films and Warp Films and later launch Considine's career as a director[34]. This is evidence that the scheme played an important role in developing Scottish talent, as involved filmmakers would go on to make shorts, features and television content that far outperformed their original Tartan Short. They reflected the agency's commitment to the production sector by nurturing established relationships with funded filmmakers.

The rapid structural and personnel changes at Scottish Screen, the announcement of Creative Scotland in 2003 and frequent shifts in UK wide cultural policy resulted in a limited understanding of the long-term benefits and drawbacks of funding mechanisms implemented by the agency. In the case of Tartan Shorts and similar production schemes, the lack of a long-term evaluation and limited monitoring of the career progression of funded filmmakers

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[34] Considine's first feature, *Tyrannosaur* (2011), won over 20 international awards and screened in numerous festivals across the world.

meant Scottish Screen and later, Creative Scotland, were unable to develop an effective talent development and production strategy. A comprehensive qualitative analysis of the impact of publicly funded production initiatives from a talent development perspective was never fully carried out. As a result, new initiatives developed by the funding agency were fraught with contradictions and limitations due to its short-term strategies.

The Short Road to Features and Beyond

> Tartan Shorts was the single most important event in my transition from wanting to be a filmmaker to actually being a filmmaker.
> (Johnny Barrington[35], Director, Personal Interview, November 2013)

The long-term impact of Tartan Shorts on the film industry and on the individual careers of filmmakers was not part of any strategic or policy development at Scottish Screen. There were no instances where Scottish Screen formally tracked the career progression of funded filmmakers as part of a long-term production strategy. This lack of formal evaluation practices conflicted with the aims of talent development initiatives and reflected a lack of commitment from funding agencies as they failed to evaluate the career progression of filmmakers they had subsidised.

Tartan Shorts filmmakers often articulated conflicting views over the role short schemes played in their career development. Eleanor Yule, who directed *A Small Deposit* in the first batch of the scheme, noted 'the scheme [was] not as easy a stepping stone to directing a feature as many people think' as she mentioned that many directors found it difficult to 'make the transition from short to feature without doing television work', and that TV work would not offer 'experience of scripting or casting, which are vital for those who wish to make a name for themselves in the feature film business'. Peter Mullan remarked how winning a number of awards for his Tartan Short film, *Fridge* (1995) with producer Frances Higson led him continuing the collaboration in his first feature *Orphans* (1998). As Higson noted the 'experience of having made a Tartan Short helped when it came to raising the finance for the feature' (Purdy, 1997). Johnny Barrington described that despite the scheme being a singular moment in his career, by 2006 it was clear Tartan Shorts was looking for a very specific kind of film: 'My guess is that the script for Trout ticked a lot of administrative boxes: Represents "Scotland" in a humorous, positive light? Tick. Appears edgy on the

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[35] Tartan Shorts Director of *Trout* (2006)

surface but is inoffensive? Tick.' (Johnny Barrington, Personal Interview, November 2013). Filmmakers interviewed for this research were unanimous in agreeing that Tartan Shorts provided an important if not unique platform for professional development. Eddie Dick compared schemes to a 'salmon ladder' where 'some tried to make the big jump and some made it but some didn't' (Eddie Dick, Personal Interview, June 2013). Former CEO and Tartan Shorts graduate (*Wise Guys*, 2003) John Archer, still an active TV and shorts producer at the time of writing, reflected on the scheme's practical benefits:

> Tartan Shorts was primarily for the director and the writer . . . it become a good calling card. . . . But one of the key things was getting them [writers] used to the development process. So, that's what they were learning, learning to work with the script editor, learning to take notes, to take input from other people. For Tartan Shorts in particular, it was like a mini feature, because he [director] always had a full crew, you were working with first AD maybe a second AD you know everybody was there. . . . So, it was a big scale of stuff you know, you had to have even catering! I think that was good for a lot of people. It was good for the camera, talent, all the crew.(John Archer, Personal Interview, June 2013)

Tartan Shorts directors Morag Mackinnon and Johnny Barrington would support this view, stating how the scheme also served as a 'calling card', especially as it was associated to a broadcaster and an established film festival:

> I think doing a Tartan Shorts inevitably is a help to anyone's career as it is seen as a validation by a broadcaster that you can a) provide a script that is worthy of funding b) that they trust you enough to give you a significant budget to make it, broadcast it and screen it at a major festival. There is absolutely nothing negative about the idea of the scheme itself and lots that is positive about developing talent. I think that it was a great scheme and that something of its ilk is a really necessary platform for filmmakers going from a low/no budget state to broadcast . . . There is no substitute for experience.(Morag Mckinnon, Director, Personal Interview, November 2013)

The extent to which Scottish Screen showed a commitment to production policy through Tartan Shorts is difficult to determine, as the long-term impact of the scheme is yet to be felt. The career progression of the talent supported by Tartan Shorts was not monitored formally at Scottish Screen. There were occasional accounts from filmmakers in the Scottish press, or occasionally directors' names would be singled out in an annual review. However, this was done with the view to promote the agency through the individual success of a particular filmmaker, rather than an overall evaluation of public funding, a PR tool rather than an strategic practice.

Appraisal of completed shorts was done informally, always as a reflection of the number of festivals and awards accumulated by each short – this was also sporadic and lacked rigour in its evaluation criteria. There were few quantitative evaluations of the schemes (i.e. box office figures from festival screenings were not recorded in the scheme's early years or were not kept for future strategic review). Qualitative appraisals of the scheme were not incorporated as part of the strategic development of the organisation. As a result, schemes continued to be launched or discontinued with little industry consultation. Questions in the revised 2005 application form for short films (Appendix I, p211) and the few existent evaluation forms for feature film schemes were mostly quantitative, focusing on budget planning, partnership funding, additional distribution costs and questions concerned with the 'impact' of the project on Scottish culture and Scottish economy.

As had been the case with Tartan shorts, it would take years until filmmakers realised the benefits of working on publicly funded projects, and perhaps longer for these to become evident to funders, as supported in Macpherson's comment:

> Whether you are a studio, a public agency or an independent producer, development isn't just about having a punt on a project – it's an investment in talent and relationships. *This* project may or may not pay off but through the process of working on it a collaboration is developed, tested and if it gels may be the seed of future success. For the individual company or studio the hope is that the talent will stick to you and eventually the right project will get green-lit. For the public agency however the payback need not be so direct. If the talent goes onto to make a contribution to the industry/culture as a whole – the common good as it were – then the investment will have been worthwhile.(Macpherson, 2011)

In order to examine the legacy of Tartan Shorts, this research carried out a brief quantitative analysis of the career progression of the scheme's participants. This analysis served to illustrate how a number of Tartan Shorts graduates continued on 'to develop unconventional digital production practices and aesthetics in feature films' (Newsinger, 2010:200), informed by the work carried out by Blomkamp (2011), Macpherson (2011), Newsinger (2009) and Petrie (2013). It builds and expands on Macpherson's overview of filmmakers who had received Scottish Screen funding in 2001. In this analysis, the author identified that filmmakers continued 'to make an important creative and commercial contribution to film or TV here and abroad' regardless of whether they had successfully completed a feature. Macpherson concluded that a long-term analysis of talent development initiatives can bring

to attention 'the bigger picture of public investment', a reminder that 'getting it made' isn't the only relevant measure of whether an investment has been worthwhile' (2011). The analysis in this thesis uses Tartan Shorts to illustrate the wide repercussions of the production scheme through a discussion of how it affected the industry beyond box office receipts, festival awards and number of completed feature films.

The Tartan Short's Legacy: 'Where are they now?'

> One could argue that there are three types of potential impact with talent development schemes: the impact on the individual(s) in the scheme . . . the impact on a wider connection with the scheme – local economies . . . people employed to run it the schemes. Then there is a potential third one. The impact on the people actually watching and engaging with the results, and that is where there needs to be much greater focus.
>
> (Buckingham, 2015)

In order to identify a potential method for evaluating the scheme, I conducted some preliminary research into the career progression of 103 Tartan Shorts graduates (directors, writers and producers) and 13 technical, acting and crew involved in the 42 short films completed through the scheme (Appendix N, p217), between 1993 and 2015. The overall results are indicated in Appendix G, p206. This research was conducted through the use of archived press articles, online databases (e.g. IMDb.com), Scottish Screen archive material, personal web pages of filmmakers or talent agencies, personal interviews and industry publications such as sector reviews. This analysis is an overview of the destination of Tartan Shorts filmmakers. It does not aim to provide an exhaustive account of the career path followed by each of the filmmaking talent involved in the scheme, but to give an indication of the efficacy of the 'stepping stones system'. Similar overviews have also attempted to establish the benefits of subsidising production through talent schemes. These have only occasionally appeared in public funders' reports and academic research, including the 2009 Northern Alliance report on UKFC short films and on Emma Blomkamp's 2011 research into New Zealand short film schemes. A UKFC R*eview of Talent Development* (Olsberg/SPI, 2009) provides a comparable analysis of their own schemes, using 13 case studies with producers, writer and directors, with in depth evaluation of the Premiere, Development and New Cinema Funds:

> The UK Film Council has succeeded in creating a positive talent development environment with high market penetration . . . This is based on the quality of primary

> support and points to a high degree of public value. Nevertheless, there are areas that could be improved . . . there has been no apparent overall strategic plan for talent development, covering the organisation itself and its strategic partners.(Olsberg/SPI, 2009: 6)

Existing research does not take into account a long running scheme with international festival recognition, nor does it include the achievements of filmmakers besides the completion and theatrical distribution of a feature film. The analysis in this research has taken both these factors into consideration, as part of the overall strategy at Scottish Screen. The graph in Appendix G, p206 accounts for the work of the three key roles of Tartan Shorts creative teams (writer, director and producer), although this research also explores the career development of 13 crew members as part of the overall analysis.

As observed by Calderwood (1996) and MacPherson (2009, 2014) and as noted throughout interviews conducted for this research, it was not surprising that the majority of Tartan Shorts graduates had gone on to do television work, prior to going into feature filmmaking or as their main source of work. Altogether, at least 53% of all 103 Tartan Shorts graduates completed some work or currently work in television production, including work with small scale local TV channels and commercials to popular UK programming (e.g. *Doctor Who, Taggart, Waterloo Road, Downton Abbey*) and US television series (e.g. *Game of Thrones*). The jump to feature filmmaking was achieved by 17% of the Tartan Shorts' directors, writers and producers, who completed at least one feature film with a theatrical release. Others (13.8%) changed the course of their career to non- film related sectors, with academia being the most popular choice (4%) followed by theatre, visual arts and design.

A number of Tartan Shorts producers have also gone on to work in highly-skilled technical roles within the art department, costume design, makeup and sound in high budget UK and US feature films. The type and level of activity by key creative roles (writer, producer, director) indicated how each profession took different advantages from a scheme focused on narrative feature film. Twice as many Tartan Shorts producers as opposed to writers or directors have gone on to work on feature films. This could be attributed to the larger number of roles a skilled producer can take on besides the chief producer credit, such as line producers and location managers. In contrast, either writers' and directors' training is not sufficient for them to work in multiple positions or they may be unwilling to work in less creative roles. This indicates the extent to which schemes may benefit the various creative

roles. A similar analysis has rarely been addressed by Scottish Screen and policymakers when discussing the outcomes and performance of a particular scheme.

By looking at some of the key crew involved, such as directors of photography (DoP), cast, art and set designers, costume and set designers, composers and editors across all 42 Tartan Shorts, certain individual achievements are worth noting as prime examples of the extensive impact of the scheme in Scotland's production sector. DoPs in particular stood out, with a number of them having since been involved with large scale US-UK feature co-productions. A notable example was Alwin Küchler, who having worked with Lynne Ramsay in her first short *Small Deaths* (1996), continued his partnership with the director on the Tartan Shorts *Gasman* (1997), moving on to feature films with Ramsay shortly afterwards and continuing his work with nearly a feature per year, mostly on UK/US co-productions (*Sunshine,* 2007; *Hannah*; 2011, *Divergent*, 2014). Some DoPs were already working with BBC Scotland prior to joining the scheme and were allocated to the team after the film was in development. Nevertheless, Tartan Shorts gave them the opportunity to work with emerging directing and writing talent, allowing them to gain skills and forge partnerships which would pave the way to feature filmmaking. These include DoP Alan Stewart, who continued on a steady career in shorts, commercials and feature filmmaking (*Band of Brothers*, 2001; *Spooks*, 2002; *Miss Potter*, 2006; *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*, 2007) after the release of Tartan Short *Initiation* (1996).

Other talent seldom regarded as Tartan Shorts' 'distinguished' graduates include Scottish composer Craig Armstrong, whose early work for Tartan Short *Fridge* (1995) led to a partnership with actor-director Peter Mullan, who asked Armstrong to work in his first feature, *Orphans* (1998), to be followed by an extensive career in award-winning scores (*Moulin Rouge!,* 2001; *Ray*, 2004; *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*, 2007), whilst continuing to work with Mullan (*The Magdalene Sisters*, 2002; *Neds*, 2010).

Other prominent Tartan Shorts alumni include actors Stephen McCole, Kate Dickie, Kevin Mckidd, established art director Caroline Grebbel (*Hallam Foe*, 2007; *This is England*, 2006; *Neds*, 2010) who started as costume designer on Tartan Short *Sweetie*, 2005; and editor Colin Monie (*Young Adam*, 2003; *The Flying Scotsman*, 2006; *Shetland* (TV, 2014) who started work with a number of Tartan Shorts directors. These examples show an equally impressive career development to the often-cited Tartan Shorts feature directors such as David Mackenzie, Lynne Ramsay and Peter Mullan.

This research's account of the career trajectory of Tartan Short graduates calls for a more comprehensive, in-depth analysis and evaluation of funding schemes supported by public institutions. Since schemes began to be used as mechanisms for allocating production funding to filmmakers, including all cast and crew involved in the making of a film and/or TV programme, evaluation practices have been limited or nonexistent. This has resulted in schemes being discontinued without consultation or proper justifications. The reasons have instead been attributed to managerial changes and institutional restructuring. This inconsistency has led to a fragile and vulnerable subsidy system in which Scottish filmmakers are unable to thoroughly develop their work.

Conclusion

> I believe Scotland should not be insular and should be looking outside itself to invite successful role models to do training sessions with filmmakers and commissioners alike. I would say commissioners need just as much, if not more training in "how to do it" than the filmmakers. There is a way of working that "inspires and empowers" people to do the best work they can. It is a skill and one that I have experienced at the hands of an English producer/ script editor that I have worked with. I have not often encountered this quality and it's not rocket science. It can be taught and it should be taught and there are people that can be found to do this, but very few of them are in Scotland. . . .We should be inviting brilliant people from around the world to work with us and show us better ways to do things.
>
> (Morag McKinnon, Filmmaker, Personal Interview, 2013)

Tartan Shorts was not envisaged as a fully-fledged production scheme aimed at safeguarding the future of Scotland's film industry, nor did it set out to train writers and directors to make the Scottish box office hits of the future. It was established with the dual objectives of providing fresh content for the BBC and allocating funding for filmmakers who were not quite ready to embark on their first feature, but were no longer beginners. In practice, it was used as a straightforward funding mechanism which secured the SFPF's partnership with the BBC and allowed for the Fund's new director to be seen as proactive and to gain the support of the industry. In the short-term, the scheme revitalised Scottish production sector by attracting emerging and established talent, including directors Lynne Ramsay, David Mackenzie and Peter Mullan as well as launching the careers of a number of writers, producer and production crew (Appendix G, p206). This facilitated the build up of a skills and talent pool that was previously scarce or limited to television in Scotland. The scheme

was heavily promoted at international film festivals, with prominent appearances at EIFF year on year, raising the profile of the Scottish industry internationally.

In the long-term, the legacy of Tartan Shorts was the prominence it gave talent development initiatives. In the early 2000s a number of similar initiatives run by Scottish Screen and the UKFC used talent development to justify the creation of new funding schemes, increasingly 'central to unlocking economic success within the creative industries' (Kelly and Champion, 2015:165). With hindsight, former Scottish Screen projects producer Dan MacRae noted:

> There was a sense again in terms of developing talents, it was about building careers for a better future . . . Talent Development is the most important part is the lifeblood of any art form or media construct, basically audiences respond to strong voices and if you are not developing those voices than it doesn't matter what distribution platform you put in place audiences are not gonna respond to work that hasn't been properly supported. (Dan MacRae, Personal Interview, April 2013)

An overriding feature of this study has been an examination of Scottish Screen's commitment to a production policy in changing policy frameworks. Throughout the study it was evident schemes had a significant role in the development of the Scottish production sector, particularly through its structured development of filmmakers. However, the long-term benefits and drawbacks of using schemes to allocate public funding were never taken into account by SFPF/Scottish Screen at the time new strategies were developed. This has led to short-lived initiatives which limited the development of the industry. It has resulted in poor talent retention and culminated in a scattered strategy to funding practices.

The question that emerges is: why were long-term funding evaluations not common practice at the funding bodies? It presumes, however, that the aims of the organisation and its schemes have always been clear, self-contained and measurable in the first place, which they were not, as this case study has shown. They shifted in line with organisational and political changes. Priorities were revised at the first sign of discontent from the industry. The schemes relied on the support and initiative of individuals, rather than as part of a fully implemented strategy.

Nevertheless, Tartan Shorts provided filmmakers with a formal structure and an environment resembling the 'real world' of feature filmmaking. It set a benchmark for prospective Scottish filmmakers, establishing the standard necessary for them to move on to feature films

or high-end television.

The findings to come out of the Tartan shorts case study may also be applied to other production schemes within comparable institutional and political frameworks. The first key finding to emerge from the Tartan Shorts case study was the organic, informal process by which schemes were implemented.

As would often be the case at Scottish Screen, what led to the creation of new short and feature film schemes was the personal investment of the organisation's directors or CEOs and the availability of funds from partner organisations, shaped by the need to reach a compromise between the interests of all funding parties involved. The personnel involved in the selection process would be looking for the 'best project' in terms of likelihood of completion and career advancing prospects, rather than the script in its own right. Policy constraints did play a role in shaping the outcome of schemes to the extent they regulated budget increases and nationality criteria, but often it was down to the assessment panel making the calls, and their idea of what should be supported:

> First it was just the Scottish Film Production Fund, that was just government funding, and although there was cultural relay, it wasn't so specific as it was once the Lottery became involved because then it was enshrined in legislation and that's what did make it change. . . . when the Lottery money started coming through then there was much more of an emphasis ['on Scottishness'] and there would be discussions about Scottish culture and whether it fitted in, in that sort of way. But most of the people around the table, well I think we all felt the same, that if there was an artist in our country that wanted to tell one particular story than that is ultimately a reflection of Scottish culture. (Catherine Aiken, Personal Communication, April 2013)

Aitken's comments imply the selection criteria for schemes were partially defined by the institutional framework and cultural policy context. Her quote summarises the views of a number of industry professionals interviewed for this research, by elucidating the constraints imposed upon members of public funding organisations by major institutional and policy restructuring. This invariably had an effect on the type of films, talent and projects being supported, though never as conspicuous as sometimes inferred by the press or lobbying groups. Also questioning the role of the funding agency in implementing cultural policy in practice, MacPherson noted:

> There's also then a question . . . which is a large debate today, which is whether or

> not the film agency is there to play an editorial executive producer role or to be more a kind of more responsive funding body and enable others. Enable producers, enable production companies or organisations like say, GMAC, Digicult etc. to kind of enable others to foster new talent and develop new relationships and run short film schemes. (Robin MacPherson, Personal Interview, May 2013)

The second finding to come out of this study expands on the previous chapter's discussion of Scottish Screen's and the Scottish government's short-term policies. It argues that the lack of long-term policies which focused on talent development initiatives are detrimental to the cultural and commercial growth of the film industry. The narrow definitions of 'talent' and their achievements limit the extent to which production policies can be implemented and improved. The graphical analysis (Appendix G, p206) and discussion of the career progression of Tartan Shorts graduates suggests a combined qualitative and quantitative evaluation is more effective when formulating future funding strategies for talent development. As argued by industry practitioners interviewed for this research, whether or not the films produced by a scheme are 'good', is, in essence, 'beside the point' (Holly Daniel[36], Personal Communication, 2014), as in most cases, schemes exist so filmmakers can show they can eventually complete a feature film. The skills acquired in this process will enable them to 'stand on their own' and allow them to realise their true artistic visions. Industry members frequently stress this as opposed to policymakers, who dwell on the cultural and commercial value of funded films.

After 2010, the lack of a dedicated Scottish film agency emphasised, the roles short and feature film schemes had once played. This was emphatically pointed out by Scottish producer Gillian Berrie[37] in a 2013 parliamentary inquiry preceding the latest Scottish Film Sector Review.

> Scottish Screen ran many short and mid-length film training schemes where trainees could learn industry standard film-making. The only schemes available now are so low-budget that they don't offer much more than entry-level significance/experience. . . . If nothing changes, the film-makers will have to leave Scotland and go to places that recognise their worth, like so many before them. Currently 95% of film-makers are NOT able to make a decent living from working in the sector. (Berrie, 2013: 5)

Lastly, despite the role of a film agency and formal production schemes being frequently criticised by their contemporaries, Tartan Shorts and Scottish Screen are characteristic

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[36] Holly Daniel has been head of Industry and Talent Development at EIFF since 2009.

[37] Berrie is the founder and senior producer at Sigma Films. Credit include *Red Road,* 2006 ; *Perfect Sense,* 2011; *Starred Up,* 2013*; Under the Skin,* 2013

examples of institutional memory, shaped by the convoluted economic and political frameworks of their time. Despite their shortcomings, both the funding agency and the film scheme were slowly beginning to establish themselves as part of the industry to the extent that their often unanticipated long-term contributions started to be acknowledged by filmmakers, but not before they were overhauled, as evident in producer Arabella- Page-Croft's (*Outpost*, 2007; *Sunshine on Leith*, 2015) quote:

> Five years ago Scotland had Scottish Screen, a dedicated Screen Agency with over 35 staff. The global industry looked to Scottish Screen as a leading agency with its effective joined up approach to talent development and producers were proud to attend international markets supported by strong executive support. There was also numerous short-film schemes including the world renowned short film programme Tartan Shorts . . . The very process of applying for the aforementioned schemes and going through the process of shortlisting taught me about early development. We learnt how to go about getting scripts commissioned, we began to work with writers, made applications, went through pitching experiences, learned how to budget and how to schedule etc. There was a solid structure for talent development in place. (Page-Croft, 2015)

Schemes make policy accessible to the industry. They are the means by which government can measure and track their investment in nurturing Scottish talent. Although open funding and rolling deadlines allow for a wider range of films to be funded and more flexibility for filmmakers to experiment with genre and narrative formats, structured production schemes such as Tartan Shorts revert the focus back to filmmakers' training and career development. As a result, they feed into the overall growth of the industry. The prerequisite however, is for government and funding bodies to adopt a long-term, joined-up approach to implementing cultural policy and devising new strategies - something Scottish Screen tended to overlook.

How did Scottish Screen fulfil the government's cultural policy? Public policy set the tone and signalled the direction for production schemes, though it was far from being the sole factor that influenced the agency's practices. Individual development executives and well-connected filmmakers exerted a great deal of pressure to shape production schemes according to the industry's needs as they saw them. Nevertheless, as the industry is not defined by filmmaking alone, the distribution of funding was not limited to production schemes. When the agency took over the functions of the SFC it also became responsible for supporting Scottish cinemas and developing audiences for national film. To complement and add the case study of Tartan Shorts, the next chapter looks at Scottish Screen's support

for exhibition and audience development in order to provide a more comprehensive, joined up approach to address the question at the core of this research.

Chapter 6. Funding Exhibition: The Audience Development Fund

> For me, curation is more about the curator. I could curate my favourite films, but my job is to be a programmer. Audiences have to be at the heart of my thinking. I think everybody makes art for an audience, and the audience, like a critique, is another part of the jigsaw.
>
> (Diane Henderson[38] in Hess, 2015)

> Everybody is obsessed with production, you know, and talent development, but where are these people going to show their films once they've made them? . . . we are in the business of providing culture, cultural experiences, as well as, the 'Sunshines on Leith'.
>
> (Allison Gardner[39], Personal Interview, October 2013)

> I think you can't have a successful production side without considering how the audience is, engaging in those productions ... creating film off film off film, if you're not working on developing audiences or finding ways to connect those films to audiences then you're just ... I was about to say pissing in the wind.
>
> (Sambrooke Scott[40], Personal Interview, October 2013)

The previous two chapters presented a comprehensive analysis of how the changing cultural policy remit of the 1990s and 2000s shaped Scottish film funding. Building on their respective findings, this chapter centres on the last five years of Scottish Screen (2005 - 2010) to investigate the extent the agency's funding mechanisms reflected in a commitment to the exhibition sector.

Prior to examining the schemes and initiatives themselves, it is worth contextualising the environment in which they were produced. First, a historical analysis of exhibition funding in Scotland is presented, with a comprehensive study of relevant film policy development. Then, a case study of Scottish Screen's Audience Development Fund serves to identify how the agency interpreted its role in fostering exhibition in a post-devolution creative economy.

Public funding for exhibition in Britain, particularly Scotland, is under-researched, both academically and within the industry sector. It is unclear how the Scottish government and funding agencies have sought to improve funding initiatives in the exhibition sector: what performance indicators were used, to what end and what led to particular strategic choices.

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[38] EIFF Deputy Artistic Director.

[39] Glasgow Film Theatre, Head of Cinema / GFF Co-director.

[40] Former Market Development Executive at Scottish Screen (2005 -2010), former Portfolio Manager for Creative Scotland and current Network Manager for Film Hub Scotland (at the time of writing)

'Developing audiences' became an increasingly common term in policy reviews and recommendations from the mid-1990s onwards, particularly after the establishment of Scottish Screen.

However, it remains unclear what exactly is meant by the term. Does 'audience development' mean simply increasing ticket sales for Scottish film? In which case would this only include locally made films in receipt of public funding? Or does the term actually mean increasing the availability and accessibility of a wider range of films to Scottish audiences? In which case, does it account for demographic and geographic development? Most significantly, are these factors being taken into account at the point at which new policy is developed and new schemes implemented? This chapter studies audience development initiatives and Scottish Screen's attempt to address its often unclear cultural remit, which was previously embedded in exhibition funding.

Therefore, a discussion of the development of exhibition policies and strategies from the mid-1990s to 2004 will first establish the contextual framework for the development of new audience centred schemes after 2005.

Developing an Exhibition Policy: The Regional Film Theatres (1984 - 1998)

Film production and exhibition in Scotland were part of educational and cultural initiatives until the early 1980s. Changes in government and funding availability slowly shifted institutional and governmental focus towards a more commercial approach. The results were first seen in new production funding policies (discussed in Chapters Four and Five), followed by more conservative changes in exhibition support. Whilst production funding reflected profound changes in the whole rhetoric for public support for film, exhibition subsidy remained largely unaltered, if not outshone by production schemes.

Before Scottish Screen, the Scottish Regional Film Theatres (RFTs)[41] emerged and continued to receive regular funding from the SFC. Whilst film production was delegated to the Scottish Film Production Fund after 1982, it was deemed appropriate as a result, that the SFC would then spend nearly 40% of its budget on film exhibition alone. This was made up nearly entirely of revenue grants (96%) for theatres, with a small allocation toward one off

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[41] The Scottish RFTs had a fundamental role in the development of Scottish exhibition and audience development strategies, contributing to Scotland's growing cinemagoing audiences (Inglis et al 2005).

projects (such as film seasons), distributed through the 'Exhibition Development Fund' (SFC Annual Reviews, 1994-96). During this time, funding for exhibition was supported through strong cultural and educational remits (Dick, 1990; Bruce, 1996). The SFC, in place since 1934, was responsible for exhibition, training and education, with a longstanding mission of a 'commitment to film as the key medium of cultural expression of our time' (SFC Annual Review, 1994). According to David Bruce, former chair of the SFC, funding for the regional film theatres started as the BFI began to promote the benefits of the National Film Theatre in London to 'the regions and the provinces' (Personal Interview, May 2013). This then led to a BFI policy entitled 'Outside London'[42], releasing funds for the creation of new regional film theatres:

> We inevitably thought 'here is money'. Because we [Scotland] didn't have money for anything...but we thought: hang on here is a lot of money we must get our hands on it! (David Bruce, Personal Interview, May 2013)

Before securing funding for the Scottish Regional Film Theatres, the SFC had to find local partners willing to use the funds specifically for cinema exhibition, with the experience to develop the sector beyond capital investments:

> This was at the time when there was a flurry of building of arts and cultural buildings, centres. [For example] McRobert in Stirling was being built. Eden court was being built at Inverness, Dundee had the Steps . . . And so what we did was we went to the local authorities and said look: in your news arts complex, you need film. It is essential you show film. And we persuaded them. . . . So you end up in the middle of the 1970s with a film theatre scene in Scotland which is accounting for up to a third of all admissions in the UK. Despite having a population base of about 10%. (David Bruce, Personal Interview, May 2013)

This early investment in the Scottish RFTs led to a flourishing exhibition scene, which would be central to future SFC funding decisions. Due to the RFTs early development and its continuous subsidy, to date Scotland still has the highest percentage of cinemagoing audiences per capita outside of London[43] (BFI, 2013:108). Watching films at the cinema has remained 'the most popular form of cultural attendance', and 'high by European standards'. In addition, Scotland boasts 'more cultural (or arthouse) cinemas per million than anywhere

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[42] Outside London, in 1967, the BFI set about establishing a chain of Regional Film Theatres modelled on the National Film Theatre, with full-time RFTs at Brighton, Manchester and Newcastle and part-time operations elsewhere, presenting a mixture of public and private showings. The regional network established by the BFI largely survives as the main source outside London of specialised cinema.

[43] Recent statistics indicate Northern Ireland now matches Scotland as the largest percentage of cinema admissions per population outside of London (BFI, 2015)

else in UK outside London' (Creative Scotland, 2014a:11) - factors which in conjunction provide an indication of the impact of long standing public support of Scottish RFTs.

Nevertheless, revenue funding for each RFT did not significantly increase over the years, with its share of the SFC's budget remaining stagnant (SFC, 1994; see Appendix S, p235). The minutes of Board meetings between the SFC and the SFPF show exhibition was only referred to as 'being dealt with by officers at the SFC'. There was little to no connection between exhibition (SFC) and production (SFPF) funding discussed during the agencies' joint meetings before 1996, when due to the imminent establishment of Scottish Screen, discussions over the exhibition sector soon emerged.

In an internal report sent to the Scottish Office (*Scotland on Screen,* SFPF, 1996), project manager Kevin Kane recommended the SFC set out clear funding and evaluation criteria for the support of RFTs, considering the possibility of some theatres becoming self-sufficient. It was not until 1997 when the board agreed to set up an Exhibition Assessment Panel, where Alan Knowles, former administrator at the GFT and SFC head of Exhibition, was appointed Exhibition Officer (Scottish Screen, 1997c). This was the first time a dedicated exhibition panel was set up with specific remits – 'to carry out assessments of exhibition organisations in receipt of revenue funding from Scottish Screen; take note of future development in the sector; make recommendations to the Board on funding levels and future policy' (Scottish Screen, 1997c) .

The key focus of the Exhibition Panel remained the funding and assessment of the RFTs, as had been the case with the SFC. However, with the panel behind it, new initiatives, outreach projects and 'top-up' grants to the RFTs were gradually incorporated into the new agency's exhibition strategy. Whereas production support remained a point of contention at the agency, funding for exhibition was taken for granted, seen as being the bedrock of public subsidy inherited from previous incarnations of the Fund. Since there were no applications to be made, or no projects to pitch, the need for reform in exhibition funding was less obvious to both industry and policymakers.

The industrial and commercial remits of Scottish Screen overshadowed any remnants of the cultural and artistic 'mission' of exhibition subsidy, once encouraged by the SFC. The establishment of a devolved Scottish government, the 'creative industries' rhetoric, consolidated after the establishment DCMS, the shift in National Lottery funding allocation

and the establishment of the UKFC in 2000 profoundly affected Scottish Screen, subtly and steadily changing the way the organisation supported exhibition and distribution.

Exhibition Funding in a 'Creative Economy' (1998-2003)

Scottish Screen maintained its commitment to the exhibition funding by continuing to allocate revenue grants to the regional film theatres, as had been the case at SFC. However, without a clear separation between cultural and commercial bodies, the agency refrained from developing long-term strategies for audience development which went beyond increasing box office figures, a close reflection on the UK-wide strategy.

After the publication of the DCMS Film Policy Reviews (*A Bigger Picture,* DCMS 1998), Scottish Screen released a series of official responses and reports from 1998-2000 concerned with the exhibition sector in Scotland. In an attempt to formulate a strategy within the newly established public body, Alan Knowles led the Exhibition Group for the Scottish Policy Review Action Committee (2000). Its committee published a report, directly in response to the recommendations in the 'Audience' section of the *A Bigger Picture* report. In it, Scottish Screen agreed with the key aims for audience development and exhibition in the UK, where - distinct from the objectives listed by the SFC in the 1990s - the word film as 'art' and film 'culture' were now absent from the objectives of the national agency.

The report also pointed out that despite the recent increase in cinema admissions, it did not necessarily reflect a greater range of films being screened in the commercial sector, which was in discord with the agency's earlier strategical aims. The subsidy of Scottish RFTs had been allowed to continue under the assumption that an increase in box office represented a tick in the 'cultural checkbox' of the agency: '[RFTs had] been the main route in Scotland by which audiences have access to the wider range of world cinema and an exciting range of educational programmes' (Scottish Screen, 1998b). The RFTs would scarcely see an increase of their revenue grants (Appendix S, p235), despite the review recommending 'developing the general audience through events within the general programme' including educational programmes which 'informed and promoted appreciation for Scottish film'. This meant cinemas were expected to increase the number and range of activities and screenings on offer, without an actual additional source of funding for a specific new project. The definition of audiences remained unclear, as cinemas were unable to identify whether an increase in box office or an increase in attendance across special events meant their

regular patrons were further engaged with the cinema or whether they had managed to attract new audiences. When the former was visibly the case, theatres did not have the resources to recognise and track the preferences of new patrons. Comments from cinema programmer's interviewed for this research indicate that 'getting bums on seats' was simpler, for example, by screening the latest blockbuster. It remained a difficult task for funders, as filmmaker Mark Cousins underlined:

> The key question . . . which has been asked for as long as there's been public sector funding is, how do we know we're not just getting the same people to go more often? The people who already are inside, just giving them a better experience? How do we know that we're bringing people on the other side? And it's very hard. (Mark Cousins, Personal Interview, 2013)

Additional project funding, such as the Exhibition Development Fund (Appendix P1, Graph 1, p219) had, to an extent, been in place since the late SFC years and served as an informal 'top up' fund for cinemas to run their own projects and activities, such as themed seasons and mini-festivals. After 2000, Scottish Screen started to allocate small amounts of money for audience development activities under general 'project expenses' (rather than under Exhibition expenses) to support various one off projects. This included the £10,000 commissioning of a formal exhibition assessment in 1999/2000 (Scottish Screen, 2000a; 2000b), chaired by David Bruce, SFC's former Head of Exhibition and Chairman. The assessment benefited from the contribution of a number of industry professionals, who addressed a number of issues previously side-lined by the Exhibition Panel, in particular the commercial constraints and public funding of cinemas:

> If there is no cinema, there is no audience and there is little point in encouraging indigenous production and education or any other form of film activity. But exhibition is a curious mix of the commercial and the publicly funded, at the mercy of product and box office tastes which are sometimes very hard to understand and virtually impossible to anticipate.(Film Policy Action Committee for Scotland, Exhibition Group, May 2000)

The Working Group report expected the Scottish Executive, through its upcoming culture strategy, to 'recognise the cultural, economic and social benefits of cinema exhibition'. The report changed how Scottish Screen defined exhibition funding, highlighting the role of audiences as means to fulfil both cultural and commercial remits of Scottish Screen:

> Today the market (a word unknown to RFTs in the 70s and for much of the 80s) for cinema has changed completely - largely for the better. For the cultural cinemas, which are charged with delivering a full range of world cinema linked to a programme of educational activities, the challenge is audience development.(Film Policy Action Committee for Scotland, Exhibition Group, May 2000)

The challenge was set for cultural cinemas to be able to incorporate a commercial dimension to their cultural activities. However, discussions of exhibition funding remained scarce. Recommendations in the Executive Review (2002) were lifted from the UKFC report, 'Specialised Film Exhibition and Distribution Strategy' (KPMG, January 2002), with little reference to the Scottish context. Furthermore, from 2002, cinemas saw inconsistent increases in Exhibition Development Grants (Appendix P1, p219 and P2, p225). Considering these as the only available alternative to core revenue grants, they became the structural blueprint for project funding and formed the basis of the forthcoming Audience and Market Development Schemes (Appendix T, p236). The policy and strategic foundations for the schemes would come later, in 2004, when Alan Knowles, now promoted to Head of Exhibition and Operations, put forward a project brief which advocated a formal study of film exhibition in Scotland (Scottish Screen, June 2004b). It aimed to enhance audience's access to film, and develop film education and outreach programmes. It did not explicitly seek to develop the appreciation of film as an art form, as had been the case during the Scottish Film Council years. Instead, Knowles proposed two formal branches of exhibition funding: revenue grants and project development funding. This emerged from the Working Group's report (2000) recommendations, which pointed to the long-term lack of significant increase in revenue funding (Appendix S, p235), the recent development of a commercial 'art house' cinema model (e.g. Picturehouse and Curzon Cinemas) and pointed out to a decline in screenings of foreign language films. It also pointed to the establishment of a government Cultural Commission as leading to a 'change in government priorities'.

The final report called for a comprehensive study of the exhibition sector in Scotland in order to restructure the 'old model' of subsidy where it argued that although 'public intervention in exhibition is essential for the promotion of cultural objectives . . . [we] also wish to ensure that the best value is achieved in our delivery of services to the public, developing audiences and a cine literate society' (Scottish Screen, 2004d). Knowles proposed the commissioning of an audit and assessment of current cinema availability and delivery in Scotland, as well 'transparent and robust monitoring and evaluation methods'. Unlike any previous study, this

£20,000 commission was looking to gather statistical data on the geographical spread of cinemas and percentage of the Scottish population with access to mobile cinemas, cultural cinemas or commercial mainstream chains.

It had taken seven years after the formation of Scottish Screen for the agency to eventually show a renewed commitment to supporting the exhibition sector. This change was instigated by new policies which emerged from UK wide strategies, such as the UKFC Specialised Film Distribution and Exhibition Strategy (2002). The UK-wide policies had led to audience development and exhibition schemes, such as the Prints and Advertising Fund and the Digital Screen Network being implemented by the UKFC.

In 2003, the BFI's closed its programming unit, which supplied support to regional film theatres for the screening of arthouse product, transferring its responsibility to the UKFC. In conjunction with new Scottish Screen CEO, Ken Hay, and dedicated exhibition and market development staff, the agency would start to devise a much needed new strategy for the sector in Scotland.

Developing a Strategy for Exhibition Funding: 2005-2010

From 1997 to 2004, Scottish Screen's CEOs ensured new streams of public funding - such as the Lottery and Scottish Enterprise grants - were ring fenced for development and production schemes. Cultural remits had been consigned to exhibition support and education initiatives, often eclipsed by commercial targets.

The 'Exhibition Study' (Inglis et al, 2005) commissioned by Scottish Screen led to the Exhibition and Distribution Strategies of 2007. Similar studies had been scarce within public film funding organisations.[44] The Strategies led to subsequent increases in project funding, with new projects supported including film festivals (e.g. DCA's 'Discovery Festival' for

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[44] The UKFC and the BFI previously published similar reports, such as 'Film in England: A Development Strategy for Film and the Moving Image in the English Regions' (UKFC, 2000), which covered a similar geographical analysis of regional film theatres, although with limited research on their funding histories. The BFI also published an extensive, practical booklet aimed at helping local cinema exhibitors, entitled 'At a Cinema near You: Strategies for sustainable local cinema' (Baker et al, 2002), whose research team also included Ron Inglis, the same consultant responsible for the Scottish Exhibition Study. 'The Impact of Local Cinema' (BFI, 2005) which briefly covered the economic benefits, mainly for tourism and local businesses, of supporting local theatres. An analysis of audience behaviour and demographics was not directly addressed until the 2011 BFI report 'Opening Our Eyes: How Film Contributes to the Culture of the UK'. Neither of these provide as wide and detailed analysis of regional cinemas as the Scottish Exhibition study of 2005.

young audiences), one off cinema events (e.g. Mark Cousins' and Tilda Swinton's Ballerina Ballroom of Dreams in Nairn) and special screening seasons (e.g. the Dance on Film season, a partnership between Dance Base and Filmhouse). For the first time since its formation, the agency was to offer dedicated funding schemes, under the Audience Development and Market development Funds (Appendices O, P, R and T). Ron Inglis, who led the consultancy team responsible for the 2005 study, pointed out their research was not necessarily made use of as originally intended:

> It was designed to produce recommendations and evidence; it wasn't necessarily supposed to be the strategy. So it was sort of an audit and review . . . it was [to see] what was out there, what was going on, what the opportunities were the problems. (Ron Inglis, Personal Interview, 2013)

Inglis was keen to point out to the contribution from local authorities as one of the most significant outcomes of the strategies that emerged from his study, emphasising how the local council was 'absolutely central' to the development of the cinema theatres, local festivals and film societies in the Scottish regions. More so in his view, than the availability of National Lottery money, which would hinder the development of cinemas in the Scottish regions due to the slow, bureaucratic quality of public funding (Ron Inglis, Personal Interview, 2013). According to Morgan Petrie[45] and Sambrooke Scott, their ability to carry out the Exhibition Study's recommendations was affected by significant internal restructuring at the agency:

> Alan [Knowles] was there for a long time and he was the one who commissioned the researchers, Ingles, Todd and Murray to take on a review of film exhibition in Scotland. Which kind of finished under my watch so the review had started when Alan was there and then I picked up Alan's work and incorporated it into what became the market development department at Scottish Film.(Morgan Petrie, Personal Interview, June 2013)

> I think Ken had arrived at Scottish Screen previously and Morgan had moved in so there was a new blood in the organisation and there was just an advantage to look at what we were doing and whether it was effective. So that's why the exhibition strategy came about. There wasn't much going on beyond the funding of the core theatres then.(Sambrooke Scott, Personal Interview, June 2013)

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[45] Former Head of Market Development at Scottish Screen (2005-2010) and currently portfolio manager for Technology Digital Media and Market Development at Creative Scotland (at the time of writing).

At the same time, support for exhibition through revenue funding for the RFTs continued. Core grants formed the longest running, continuous and therefore most reliable funding avenue to the Scottish film industry.   Unlike development, production and training initiatives, core exhibition funding was not allocated through the means of a 'scheme'. They did not require the regional cinemas to re-apply every year but provided fixed grants based on expenditure budgets.   Nevertheless, this long-established policy had a myriad of drawbacks for funded organisations. Above all, cinemas were unable to make a case for additional revenue funding each year to invest in developing their audiences and improve core activities.

In an attempt to reform the RFT's forty-year-old funding structure, the 2007 Exhibition Strategy proposed the creation of 'Cultural Cinema Hubs' to replace the former RFTs. The Cinema Hubs consisted of organisations identified by the agency as 'capable of showing a wide range of films to a diverse audience'[46].   Whereas the strategy 'identified gaps, opportunities where there were legacies that maybe didn't make sense anymore' (Sambrooke Scott, 2013), according to Inglis, the 'Cinema Hubs' structure was formulated by Ken Hay's team at Scottish Screen:

> The Hubs strategy was not specifically mentioned in that report; I think if you go through the recommendations . . . I don't think it specifically says 'Hubs'. . . One of the consequences of concentrating everything into the Hubs was some of the smaller venues lost out, they disappeared from the funding.(Ron Inglis, Personal Interview, June 2013).

Revenue funding for the Cultural Cinema Hubs continued to be renewed annually, in part as it was seen as 'the done thing' (Ken Hay, Personal Interview, 2013), although it rarely increased over the years (Appendix S, p235). A key change brought through the 2007 Exhibition Strategy was the announcement that the agency would be allocating project funding through the National Lottery Fund, with the aim to support festivals and audience development initiatives[47].   As described by Head of Market Development, Morgan Petrie:

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[46] The Cinema Hubs were Filmhouse, (Edinburgh), GFT (Glasgow), Eden Court (Inverness) and DCA (Dundee). The Regional Screen Scotland/Screen Machine and the Edinburgh International Festival were also supported as separate exhibition entities (Scottish Screen, 2005).
[47] See Appendices O for the scheme's guideline and Appendices P and R for the relevant audience schemes introduced after 2007

> We developed that [exhibition and distribution strategies] and from that then the market development and the audience funds because it was clear that in the audience development side of things, it was another area which hadn't been opened up for the Lottery [funds] previously. Because the Lottery was geared towards film production only, in Scotland.(Morgan Petrie, Personal Interview, June 2013).

In practice, this meant projects were now expected to comply with the Lottery's aim of supporting projects that 'added value' to existing initiatives, rather than committing to existing activities (i.e. revenue grants to RFTs). The Audience and Market Funds were designed to support project based, 'annual events'. Applications were judged on 'cultural and creative impact' and 'business and market readiness', reflecting the agency's new approach to funding allocation since the publication of the Draft Culture (Scotland) Bill 2006 and the new National Lottery application guidelines and selection process launched in 2005. Similarly, the agency's Distribution Strategy (2007) - published simultaneously - focused on 'increased access of Scottish content to Scottish audiences and internationally', and on 'broadening the awareness of culturally relevant cinema across Scotland'. These goals were present on the Audience and Market Fund's guidelines (Appendix O, p218).

Festivals, distribution and audience development schemes changed names, guidelines and budgets numerous times from 2005-2010 (see Appendix P1, p219-p224 and R, p233), leading to some confusion from potential new applicants. These changes reflect the difficulties Ken Hay and Scottish Screen faced in trying to restructure funds within a very short period of time, who were under the impression that at short notice Creative Scotland would be established. This lead to swift changes in priorities. The practicalities of changing the schemes aimed at effectively the same pool of applicants – especially when they allowed for rolling deadlines - meant that each time a new scheme was scrapped, merged or introduced, there were still a number of projects receiving funding under the former – and unsure of their eligibility for the re-branded fund. From 2008, the two key schemes consisted only of the Audience and Market Development Funds (see Appendix P1 p219 and R, p233). According to Morgan Petrie, he understood the following to be the key objectives of the new Market Development scheme:

> To be able to respond more effectively to A) The potential for more locally based distribution because obviously there was only really one distribution company at the time [Park Circus] . . . So what we wanted to do with the market development fund, which I did, was open up Lottery [funds] to distributors on the idea of producers or right holders in Scotland being able to distribute themselves. So perhaps work with other distributors, find a way of better getting access to the market which was kind of relatively closed, particularly with film prints being the main way that audiences

got access to films in cinemas . . . it was designed as a response to the film exhibition review from which we designed a strategy. (Morgan Petrie, Personal Interview, and June 2013)

For Petrie, the new funding strands, were 'slightly ad-hoc' and not necessarily thoughtfully 'designed'. The Fund was itself a response to the lack of success of the previous Distribution Fund, and thus widened its criteria to encompass promotion and advertising of films, companies and individuals... Petrie also pointed out that since both the Audience and Market Funds were the first of their kind within the agency, they were treated as 'experiments' in the first instance and the team in charge had to 'tailor them and tweak them'. Hence the unprecedented high number of funding strands in place from 2005-2010.

The Audience Development Fund was led by Sambrooke Scott and after incorporating the former 'Festivals Fund' (Appendix P1, p219 and R, p233), it became one of the best-funded and wide reaching schemes under the new Market Development Department (Appendix T, p236). As both Scott and Petrie pointed out, a number of the project's first supported under the Audience Development scheme had 'thrived' and continued to develop year on year, with 66% of funded projects succeeding in more than one consecutive application and nearly 45% still running in 2015 (Appendix T, p236, graph 2 and 3). Scott cites the 'Africa in Motion' and 'Take on Action!' film festivals as examples - both still ongoing at the time of writing. Scott described the objective of the Audience Fund as follows:

> The ambition was to support initiatives that developed and broadened the range of content - I hate the word 'content', I don't know why I use it - major films and film work in Scotland, for Scottish audiences and that tended to coalesce. It became more about festivals in the end and there weren't many other initiatives . . . 99% of the applications were from film festivals or screen initiatives. . . . they were very much focused on that festival model generally . . . it and was quite ad-hoc again, what I was doing was simplifying the guidelines and making sure that people could easily access it. I was very much developmental role as well. People were looking for expertise and advice. (Sambrooke Scott, Personal Interview, June 2013)

The first few projects within both the Audience and Market Development Funds were selected in a slightly improvised manner, as noted by Morgan Petrie, Sambrooke Scott and Jennifer Armitage (Personal Communications, October 2013). The lack of strict guidelines (Appendix O, p218) and comparatively high budgets for first time projects (averaging between £2,000 and £15,000) exemplified the almost organic process which followed the development, selection and evaluation of projects for each of these funds. The small team

responsible for overseeing the applications was often very closely involved with the supported projects and funded teams themselves. As a result, a number of the supported projects reflected the preferences, aims and expertise of the Market Development Department team (Appendix T, p236, Graph 1). This was often seen as advantageous to the supported organisations, which received personalised, one-to-one feedback on their projects, a practice not previously carried out at the agency within this sector. Through the evaluation and development of these schemes, the extent to which Scottish Screen was committed to the Exhibition sector became more apparent, albeit still clearly limited in scope.

An Informal Approach to Policy Implementation

Despite the many changes Scottish Screen was undergoing at the time (2005-2010), the new Market Development department at Scottish Screen operated in a noticeably informal manner, reminiscent of the early SFPF days where decisions were made by small panels and followed by close discussions with applicants.

With no formal panel, the selection process was carried out by the three members of the team. Accordingly, the trio would set out the basic criteria, which sought to match their strategic objectives. Projects applying for funding would then be expected to demonstrate a demand for what they were proposing and that they had a formal business plan. As Petrie noted, the team 'responded dependent on the strength of the evidence . . . put in front of us. That would be the sustainability or the viability of the mechanism i.e. the business.' (Personal Interview, June 2013). This evidence was based on basic guidelines: the structure of the project, how many people were involved, what was the income and expenditure, how long they had been registered at Companies House, the programme curation itself, and the cost to facilitate the programme (Jennifer Armitage and Morgan Petrie, Personal Communication, June 2013). As Petrie commented:

> Some projects 'look[ed] like an experiment, it didn't look like it was going to be sustainable but it looked interesting . . . whereas others such as Take One Action [film festival] seemed to have a clear growth plan so we could respond to their aspirations to grow. (Petrie, 2013)

In comparison to production and development projects, the audiences and market had a much higher funding success rate, nearing 50% of all applications (Sambrooke Scott, Personal Interview, May 2013).'Failed' projects would be invited to a feedback discussion and

encouraged to apply again the following year. The idea behind the funds, according to the team managing the schemes, was that the agency would not just close the door on projects, but would also take an advisory role in assisting applicants to enhance the sustainability and viability of their proposals. As Scott described, the application process was an important stage for the team and a part of what the new schemes were trying to achieve. The organisation also had the chance to enhance its advisory role:

> So it wasn't about, "yes, no" being a gatekeeper, it was about working, meeting people, hearing their plans, working out what they wanted to do. Working out how best we could support them. So it was very much a conversation . . . so if anyone ever said to me, "Can you come and talk to us about the application?" - we were there. Again it's not about saying this is what you have to put here, it's about what you are trying to achieve. (Sambrooke Scott, Personal Interview, June 2013)

As Scott discussed, this process was feasible as most applications that came in were for film festivals and one-off events, making nearly 70% of supported projects (Appendix T, p236, Graph 1). In Scotland, most of these projects are traditionally run by one or two people or a small team at most, allowing a close association with funders. Officially, each funded project or organisation was expected to return an evaluation form (Appendix Q, 'Market Development Initiative Evaluation Report' p226), in order for the final amount of money to be released. This form asked for attendance figures, sales, press coverage, 'local benefits' and 'personal update'. The last section required a description of further funding awards, commissions or other personal professional advancement for any of the core team members in the project. This reflected an unprecedented concern for developing key players in the exhibition sector. It is also worth noting that the majority of the key evaluation was done informally and through personal observation:

> Because of the small amount of money, a lot of it was based on trust. It was about developing a communication . . . we could actually start to get more information about how audiences respond, what types of venues worked.' [we could] only learn by seeing what's happening . . . to know what films different groups of people like . . . in terms of genre, formats work . . . to see how people respond[ed] to each other in a space. Which is actually quite textured and nuanced and it's difficult to put in evaluation form or an idea of that in an application form . . . it's not like a check box exercise . . . little nuggets of comments and feedback which give you a flavour. (Morgan Petrie, Personal Interview, June 2013)

Scott and Petrie agreed they could only get a real 'flavour' of how the funded events were doing and how sustainable they could be in the future by attending the events themselves

and then feeding their experience back into their overall strategy. Scott described some of the ways he used to evaluate festivals beyond their formal feedback forms:

> Because of the relationship I developed with each of the venues, very often I would go to all the festivals. I got a really good sense of a festival. It's very hard - you can read a paper and they can tell you wonderful things but until you actually go and see it and talk to people there you don't really get a sense of . . . there is just the sense of when you go to a festival, you can usually tell if there's going to be a sense of energy or excitement . . . whether the producers are engaged, whether they're engaged in things like Q and A, that's a really interesting way to see how a festivals [works]. So you know, that is something really hard to get from paper . . . talking to volunteers and seeing how informed they are about their program, that's a good way of getting a sense . . . good because it's a limited experience, we didn't have a formal secret shopper . . . you know. (Sambrooke Scott, Personal Interview, June 2013)

The informal evaluation method, together with the very small team that managed the two Funds, led to unique results. There was a certain degree of flexibility within the schemes. It allowed small organisations to start up new projects in rural areas of the country, but also allowed established organisations to take risks with more innovative projects. This was a considerable factor that led to 45% off projects supported under the Audience Development Fund between 2007 and 2010 were still in operation at the time of writing - nearly a decade after they first received funding (Appendix T, p236, Table and Graph 3). Examples include the African in Motion Film Festival, Discovery Film Festival and Take One Action! Film festivals. As Petrie commented, their preferred method of evaluating the funded projects served an important purpose in justifying subsidies for the new funds:

> That's something we were very interested in, that's why we always tried to go to events and be a part of them... go and see them because we're not only gatekeepers for the public purse in terms of Lottery but we want the Lottery to do the most effective things they can for public good. (Morgan Petrie, Personal Interview, June 2013)

Ken Hay also pointed to the inevitable complications embedded in the evaluation of the exhibition sector. He raised the wider issues involved in the evaluation of publicly funded projects, questioning how an organisation knows they have a 'sufficient volume of feedback to do a proper valuation?', defining this as the key 'challenge for the business':

> What we were being measured against on the cultural bit had nothing actually to do with cultural representation in Scotland film. The only cultural measure we had reported back to the government on was the increase in admissions at supported venues. And I had a debate with the civil servants at the time . . . who said "You can

change them if you want. But you come up with something better. Actually better". (Ken Hay, Personal Interview, May 2013)

Hay described that during his directorship, evaluation, as whole, was about impact, which was being measured against how far Scottish Screen was achieving 'the crude numbers', such as audience, admission, the diversity of the venues of the types of festivals and types of events. Such measures had been in place since before 1997. These 'numbers' alone were not enough to illustrate how funding for audience development and exhibition could 'tick the box' for the agency's cultural remit in the 'Creative Industries era', as Hay noted:

> I mean they [Government] had a second measure which was contributing to an increase in the gross value added of the creative industries . . . well what is the gross value added of the creative Industries in Scotland in 2005? And the only figures we had at that point were from 1998. How can I report back to government [that] we've achieved something . . . and equally we actually don't have the money to consciously or directly develop the sector to increase gross value added . . . And again he said "Well . . . ome up with something else that might be achievable". (Ken Hay, Personal Interview, May 2013)

Some of the supported projects, such as the Discovery Film Festival, run by the DCA and targeted at young people also had the potential to tour around different regions of the country and so 'ticked all the silent boxes' (Ken Hay, Personal Interview, May 2013). Such projects would produce outcomes which Scottish Screen could use as evidence to justify both its cultural and commercial remits. Hay's method for evaluating the projects was to ask organisations to self-evaluate, identifying what their objectives were as a business, and how they would measure themselves against these objectives. The Evaluation Form for the post-2010 incarnation of the Audience Development Fund, the 'Local Film Festivals, Touring Programmes & Audience Development Grants' ran by RSS, shows how it evolved to incorporate more well-rounded and qualitative questions, often aimed at the professional development of participants, and therefore the longevity of activities (Appendix Q, Regional Screen Scotland Form p226). The Form included self-reflexive questions such as: 'Please tell us about the successes and problems you encountered in trying to adopt equalities best practice. What, if anything, would you do differently next time?' - which reflect a new 'evaluation toolkit', build on the informal approach take with the preceding scheme.

Projects such as the Discovery Film Festival, could provide rich evaluation data for its public funders, including quotes from young audiences, photos of workshops and Q&As,

partnerships with other publicly funded film theatres and community centres, the variety of countries of origin of all their films, demographics as well as box office figures (DCA Annual Reviews, 2010 - 2013). They addressed the need to maximise public value by displaying a commitment to audiences. From the point of view of the funded organisation, DCA Director Clive Gillman, also responsible for running the Discovery Film Festival, articulated his issues with evaluation methods:

> Because actually the funding is a starting point for generating a set of outcomes, many of which are not terribly easy, or easily measured. The danger is that if you only go after those ones that can be measured, you actually get a false picture of what's actually been developed through those organisations. (Clive Gillman, Personal Interview, October 2013)

The Discovery Festival was initially supported through project funding via the Audience Development Fund. However, due to the drawbacks and limitations of this type of funding, DCA directors Alice Black and Clive Gillman argued they should not be justifying the benefits of the festival through yearly project funding applications. Instead, they demanded of Scottish Screen incorporate the Festival's budget into the DCA's annual revenue grant:

> Discovery [is] part of who we are as an institution, so therefore it's something that needs to be supported through [core revenue funding], and so we got support to function as 'a cultural exhibition hub', with Discovery part of their 'exhibition profile'. (Alice Black, Personal interviews, October 2013).

The DCA example illustrates how some organisations found ways to secure annual funding for their projects by incorporating costs into their core exhibition strategies, questioning the efficacy or purpose of targeted schemes. To what extent did the new Audience Development Fund reflect in a commitment to Scottish Screen's exhibition policy? Both the Market Development team at Scottish Screen and Ken Hay identified the inconsistencies and difficulties involved in attempting to evaluate exhibition and audience development projects, which highlighted the complexity of cultural subsidy, one that extends beyond measurable objectives and outcomes. In practice, the combination of the CEO's business strategy with the Market Development team's up close and personal approach and qualitative evaluation methods contributed to the long-term legacy left by a number of the projects supported by the Audience Development Fund which continued long after the closure of the scheme.

Rather than reflect in a commitment to exhibition policy, the Audience Development Fund instigated a new focus on and dedication towards support of exhibition.

Developing Audiences: The Problem with Project Funding

> Our funder came to the event and I saw him crying, because it was like . . . it was a bunch of children from a very working class of Scotland just going wild at silent cinema . . . It's just such a great feeling, you've opened the doors, you've broken down the walls, the citadel, and said to people, this is for all of us anyway.
> (Mark Cousins, Filmmaker, Personal Interview, May 2013)

The Mark Cousins quote above refers to one of the first projects funded by the Audience Development Fund, the 'Ballerina Ballroom Cinema of Dreams'[48], run by Cousins himself and actress Tilda Swinton. It was followed up by a second event, 'A Pilgrimage'[49](also an Audience Development Fund project). Both received approximately £10,000 of public funding, from the same scheme. The events received wide press coverage, (primarily due to its well-know curators). During interviews with Sambrooke Scott and Morgan Petrie, they were frequently referenced as an exemplary audience development projects.

Within Scottish Screen, funding for audience development was predicated on the availability of Lottery money for project funding, a system of allocating one off sums of money to individual projects attached to organisations, done so in the form of schemes opened applications. Initially a welcome policy within the organisation, which ended the production department's monopoly over the Lottery Fund, project funding was soon met with frustration from the exhibition sector. Ron Inglis discussed the drawbacks of project funding, in particular due to it being inevitably linked to the Lottery Funds' idea of 'additionality':

> National Lottery demanded or led to the creation of project funding, which is inherently problematic. Some of the Lottery funding is supposed to be additional, it's supposed to provide something new and extra, we can't just keep doing that. Obviously it depends how you describe that but if you're running somewhere like here [Filmhouse], keeping it open, keeping a good number of events, festivals, programmes and so, on that's what you're providing the funding for. To say that next year will be different because we're going to do something else and the year after that it's going to be different and the year after that it's going to be different doesn't actually make a great deal of sense. (Ron Inglis, Personal Interview, June 2013)

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[48] The Ballerina Ballroom Cinema of Dreams, was described as a 'festival of dream, surrealist and unexpected films', curated by Tilda Swinton, Mark Cousins and Joel Cohen. The festival was set in a ballroom in Nairn. Scotland. (Scottish Screen, 2008b).

[49] For this event, Swinton and Cousins pulled a mobile cinema across the country, stopping in places 'where there are no cinemas and showing a brilliant range of world film.' Scottish Screen, 2009b.

Inglis describes this as a problem within Scottish Screen's Market Development department as a whole, particularly in regards to festivals funding, as it was difficult for the organisations to show how they could add value to their events on a year on year basis. Inglis notes 'you only get funded for a project; you don't get funded for the basic activity' although one 'can't deliver the project unless [they] have the basic activity' which makes audience development projects difficult to expand upon.

Exactly what was meant by the term 'audience development' was always unclear. Looking at the range of Audience Development Fund supported projects (www.scottishscreen.com, 'Investments'), there is a notable preference for film seasons, small and local film festivals and one-off/pop-up events. The scheme appeared to favour the support of a higher number of projects rather than high budget ones. Most projects had an impressive range of international, experimental and art-house programming, although the social and geographical spread was disproportionately limited to the central belt. As Sambrooke Scott stated during his interview, by favouring 'business ready' projects initiatives from small organisations, local groups or from regions with less existing infrastructure were less likely to be selected. As Diane Henderson, Deputy Artistic Director at EIFF pointed out, 'audience development' had been a fluid, organic concept, which the funded organisations themselves had been wary of:

> Audience development, the definition of it, changes, every few years and I find it really interesting, and I was very intrigued . . . when we went to one of the BFI Roadshows . . . and they talked about education and young people's cinema, and events . . . they talked about that as audience development. When only five or six years ago, if you had called education audience development, you would be corrected, and told it's a standalone thing, an entity, on its own and it deserves to be on its own, and it's not about audience development. Which I always thought it [education] is audience development, because you're reaching out to young people, who then become your older audience. But not that long ago you would be corrected for saying that, but now it's become okay to say it again, and I find that really interesting. (Diane Henderson, Personal Interview, October, 2013)

From the point of view of the funded 'cultural hubs' (or formal RFTs) themselves, there is a distinct understanding of project funding and audience development. Allison Gardner, GFT Head of Cinema and GFF co-director runs the festival and theatre through two different funding streams, meaning they each have their own individual set of accounts and evaluation forms. Gardner notes some of the drawbacks from project funding in her organisations:

> We aren't funded sufficiently through the core funding, and so they've encouraged us to apply for project funding, but project funding can be difficult, because it means you have to do more stuff. You know you have to then deliver on a project. I don't like to apply for money and then not deliver on the project. I don't think that's morally right, I feel very uncomfortable with that, so if we're going to do, if we say we are going to do a project, then we have to do that project that we said we would do. (Allison Gardner, Personal Interview, October 2013)

Diane Henderson noted that for her organisation, project funding was often unreliable. Instead, the Scottish Government's EXPO Fund[50] offers a more effective source of project funding than the previous Audience Development Fund provided by Scottish Screen. Henderson also noted talent development initiatives were the 'latest funding trend' in public policy, an 'alternative'- or complement to - audience development. The rise in investment in this area is also illustrated through the graph's in Appendices P, compiled from the data available on Scottish Screen's supported projects. Henderson argues:

> The last time we had any audience development funding, I believe was in 2005/6, and it was predominantly put towards a new box office system, which contained data capture elements and everything to help us develop an existing audience, you know? All the audience development initiatives at the moment have to come out of our marketing budget, and programming budget, and therefore it's quite difficult to reach those new audiences with no budget, basically, but it's something that we do, we have to, just with existing resources. . . . But I think, I'm very proud of the project funding that you see Holly [Head of Industry and Talent Development] bring in and spend on new talent, because those projects, I think we're all proud of. . . . I think taking aside the festival itself, as a whole project, all these little new talent projects I just think, I think they're amazing, actually, I really do. (Diane Henderson, October 2013)

DCA Director Clive Gillman advocates the traditional core revenue funding model, which allows exhibitors to take risks without the fear of losing their funding, therefore being able to foster an audience for their tailored programmes:

> But it's never really a direct correlation as to which ones are succeeding at a market level and where we are at, because I don't like the idea that that level of investment is just about market failure. It always has to be about development of practice, but it comes down to the fact that essentially it enables Alice, to take programming risks, but those programming risks are never write-offs, they're always about saying, we

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[50] The Edinburgh Festivals Expo Fund is a £6 million fund from the Scottish Government announced in 2008. It aims to support new productions, events or exhibitions involving Scottish-based participants that premiere at any of the Edinburgh Festivals. The Fund can also be used to support touring of events or performances after their premiere at the festival and allow successful work to reach new audiences. (The Scottish Government (2008). 'Funding For Scottish Talent'. News. 27th October. Retrieved from http://www.gov.scot/ [06/11/2015]).

> believe in this, and so we want to try and build an audience for this, to make the presentation of those work sustainable, so we're always falling forward in that instance, rather than just kind of sitting back and saying okay, this just allows us to underwrite market failure. (Clive Gillman, DCA Director, Personal interview, October 2013)

Project funding for exhibition may be beneficial to one off events, such as Mark Cousin's and Tilda Swinton's 'Ballerina Ballroom Cinema of Dreams' or to small festivals which run within the Cinema Hubs (e.g. Africa in Motion, Take One Action!, the French Film Festival). However, it is unfeasible to adequately evaluate the 'successes' and 'failures' of such schemes as their key aims and objectives are broad and difficult to pin down. For Scottish Screen, project funding showed a renewed commitment to exhibition policy, as it stepped above core revenue grants. It forced the organisation to look at further possibilities for developing the sector.

Conclusion

> They only care about their own little bit of it . . . we need a more holistic approach and outlook, they need to know that there's no point in making a film, if there's nowhere to screen it . . . people are so obsessed with their own little bit of it, whether it be production or exhibition or whatever, they are very like, this is all we care about, but that's not the only answer, you know?'
>
> (Diane Henderson, Personal Interview, October 2013)

This chapter has set out to scrutinise Scottish Screen's exhibition policy to address the central research question: how did Scottish Screen fulfil the government's cultural policy? However, key findings in this case study indicate there was not always a coherent cultural policy in place, particularly in the case of support for film exhibition. This has complicated any potential for development in the sector, as strategies consisted of ill-defined objectives and antiquated funding structures which went went unexamined and unquestioned for years. The operational nature of film exhibition meant the sector was increasingly outshone by the dazzling commercial prospects of film production. This case study sought to examine how Scottish Screen interpreted and shaped the exhibition initiatives it inherited from the SFC, transforming them from education and culture centred policies to strategies verging on the more commercial functions of exhibition. The overall aim was to investigate the extent to which the Scottish Screen implemented audience development initiatives which were able to offer both the commercial and cultural components of exhibition policy.

This chapter's study of audience development funding at Scottish Screen sits within a turbulent economic and political landscape, following the announcement of Creative Scotland in 2003 and the election of the SNP in 2007. During the first six years of Scottish Screen, 'culture was high on the agenda at the start of devolution, helping to shape a national identity with a wave of confidence and optimism'. However, by the time the SNP came to power 'this confidence has not resulted in a transformed cultural sector' (Orr, 2008:310). The new government placed the creative industries at the centre of its cultural policies, adopting an instrumental, target based approach to cultural funding. As Schlesinger, Selfe & Munro argued, 'while a focus on culture's contribution to the economy had been a mainstay of Scottish cultural policy since devolution . . . ideas concerning the creative economy assumed a particular importance from the mid-2000s' (2015: 22). As a reflection, there was a shift in policy direction within Scottish Screen after 2004 rooted not simply in the arrival of a new CEO. This chapter examined how the agency attempted to augment one of its most culture-based streams of subsidy - grants to the regional theatres - with application based, monitored schemes (or 'Funds') targeted at audience development.

The case study in this chapter has led to key findings that address the central research question. First, there is a glaring lack of understanding and definition of key terms central to the support for cinema exhibition. Notably, this reflects a growing concern for policymakers as digital technology changes the traditional concepts of theatrical exhibition and its funding (Munro, 2015; Boyle, 2015). Due to the difficulty in setting evaluation practices, there has not been a definitive policy for growing cinema audiences in Scotland. Strategies often skirted around the two very different objectives of public funding for exhibition, which begged the questions: are we aiming to increase the box office share of Scottish films by fostering audience's appetite for national film? Or are we aiming to expand the range of films to the largest possible audience in Scotland? Although some of the Market Development Fund projects hastily address the first question, it has seldom been the case at Scottish Screen. The agency took the position that it would rather fund Scottish films ('with Scottish elements'[51]) and then hope for an audience. Robin Macpherson discusses this in terms of Scottish film as cultural cinema, also pointing to the lack of policy aimed at

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[51] 'Your project must foster the development of a sustainable film industry in Scotland and must have strong Scottish elements . . . Please summarise the strong Scottish Elements associated with the production of this project' (Scottish Screen National Lottery Short Film Production Funding Application Form. Scottish Screen, June 2005)

audience development for national film:

> You need the aspiration and desire and the appetite for a film culture, a cinema culture. So, well some people might have the view that if you build it they will come, there's also the question of 'will they come?' . . . there isn't really an audience, an audience hasn't been developed, an audience hasn't been grown for Scottish film. (Robin Macpherson, Personal Interview, May 2013)

Whilst this interpretation of audience development continues to be absent from later policy reviews, the alternative reading of exhibition and audience funding remained very similar over the years: 'to broaden cinema access and programming in Scotland for as wide and diverse an audience as possible and to encourage and deepen audience engagement with film' (Creative Scotland, 2014b). As well as the unsurprising lack of definition of key terms in such strategies ('audience', 'wide and diverse', 'engagement'), Sambrooke Scott hinted at how it reflects an overall lack of understanding of Scottish (and British audiences):

> There's a clear disjoint between our demand or understanding or what are the stories that people here are making and want to tell and what are people that live here what are the stories that they want to listen to or what they want to engage with? (Sambrooke Scott, Personal Interview, May 2013)

The sector itself is under-researched and poorly provided for. In order to reach wider audiences, increase access and enhance the selection of cultural films available, public funders must first attempt to define what is meant by terms such as 'reach', 'access' and 'cultural films'. Therefore, this research argues there is a need to investigate existing audiences across geographical and demographical spheres. It is also crucial to include new patterns of engagement with film, accounting for online viewing, broadcasting, and non-traditional cinema formats (e.g. pop-up cinemas). The notion of 'cultural' films ought to be abandoned, as attempts to define it lack any useful understanding of audience audience behaviour or cinemagoing patterns. This is particularly the case when the central objective of policies is poorly defined, or open to multiple interpretations. In Scotland's 'creative economy', attempts to address the exhibition sector have often been overshadowed by funding for development and production (Appendix E, p203), as it could produce visible (or measurable) results beyond box office statistics. This imbalance resides on the convoluted concept of 'film culture' or 'cultural cinema'. Culture continues to be the target of public subsidy despite a lack of understanding of what it entails. Hesitant public cultural bodies

then chose the policies and funding mechanisms with a clearer and more measurable impact over long-term strategies and schemes. Funding institutions with conflicting remits, such as Scottish Screen, refrain from risk or long-term policies, as argued by Munro's review of later Scottish Film policy:

> There is an inherent difficulty in attributing value to culture, with some cultural forms and practices valued by some more than others. Therefore, inevitably, bodies such as Creative Scotland will always find themselves in a difficult position when it comes to funding (and therefore valuing) certain forms of culture over others . . . this again reflects the difficult terrain that public arts bodies, at arm's length from the state, must negotiate. (Munro, 2015:278)

The second finding to come out of this chapter is the role project funding had in exhibition policy. Production and development funding often sat more comfortably within the 'creative industries' remit, as it allowed for a more instrumental approach to funding outcomes. Funding exhibition, or rather, deciding what kind of exhibition to support, raises the more intricate contradictions inherent to public film subsidy. What were the practical objectives of audience development schemes? What were they trying to accomplish? Did it go beyond a quick-fix solution to the regional theatres' outcry for additional funding? Or was it simply a reflection of England-led strategies? As Prof Robin MacPherson and EIFF deputy director Diane Henderson noted:

> Are we talking about industry, economics, employment, wealth, generation, money, entrepreneurship, business growth or are we talking about an art form, audience entitlement to diverse culture, entitlement to express ourselves through one of the preeminent art forms of the 20th/21st century? (Robin Macpherson, Personal Interview, May 2013)

> I think it's such a particular art-form, that bridges commerce and art, in a way that others do not, and you know if I say film to my mum, she thinks I mean something very different from if I said film to you, or me. Some people just see it as Hollywood and money and expensiveness, and others see it as an art-form, and Creative Scotland needs to bridge both, that whole thing. (Diane Henderson, Personal Interview, October 2013)

It was not clear what Scottish Screen was trying to achieve with the Audience Development Fund and its formalising of project funding into 'schemes', as strategic objectives were vague and definitions of key terms were scarce. However, as with a number of funding initiatives at Scottish Screen and as argued throughout this thesis, the outcomes accumulated

more benefits than drawbacks despite the lack of clear objectives or defined strategies. Project funding, namely the Audience Development Fund, allowed Scottish Screen to incorporate qualitative evaluations into its practice. It led the agency to question the longevity and legacy of its exhibition funding. It empowered programmers and curators across Scotland, who have been given a voice within the cultural policy realm and are now consulted in parliamentary reviews and sector audits. Through the scheme, policymakers took the first steps to understanding the gaps in the Scottish exhibition sector, partially leading to dedicated exhibition and audience development bodies, Regional Screen Scotland, followed by Film Hub Scotland. Boyle argues a similar case in regards to the UKFC's Digital Screen Network:

> What became a digital flagship initiative of the UKFC, emerged not from any specific shift in its thinking around digital strategy, but rather a more prosaic concern with its priority of extending access to film and engaging the widest possible audience for non-specialist film. (Boyle, 2015:6)

The unpredictability of film policy outcomes reflects the organic, informal nature of the sector itself. At the same time, it is a result of a lack of long-term policies and careful research into funded individuals and organisations, as already discussed throughout this thesis. This leads to the third finding to emerge in this chapter. Funding for film education should form the basis for audience development. It builds the foundations for growing audiences, even where definitions are unclear and schemes lack clear objectives.

Education, as a primary form of audience support within exhibition policy, mirrors the function of talent development in production policy. This is noted through the longevity and growth of initiatives such as The Discovery Film Festival and Glasgow Youth Film Festival. A number of those involved in the exhibition sector who were interviewed for this research, suggested future policy development should include an increased support for training and education. An education strategy aimed at developing Scottish audiences, within the existing network of theatres, festival and events, as Alice Black and Clive Gillman at DCA argued. Filmmaker, Mark Cousins, advocated an early 'pull' of young people towards cinema:

> So, if you get people early (like a Jesuit, let's say!), if you get them early and they love cinema, then you have to really seduce them, they're sold on it. So, that's why the money spent with young . . . with the kids, money very well spent, I think. (Mark Cousins, Personal Interview, May 2013)

From the study of audience development and exhibition initiatives at Scottish Screen, we

can identify the agency's initial commitment to exhibition policy as mainly deriving from its SFC cultural legacy. Scottish Screen addressed its funding of the RFTs more as burden inherited from its predecessor than as a fully formed exhibition policy, grants that were taken for granted in comparison to the thoroughly scrutinised production funding allocation.

This is exemplified by the minimal change in each regional cinemas' funding and the absence of new initiatives to develop the changing sector. As a single agency which increasingly favoured commercial endeavours, the lack of sufficient dedicated staff, fixed budgets and minimal reviews of existing funding reflected in a poor commitment to the exhibition sector. This changed as the creative industries' rhetoric became the common denominator across the agency's policies. Audience development schemes were introduced to tend to previously neglected commercial and cultural aspects of exhibition subsidy.

Despite ambiguous, poorly defined aims and objectives, the Audience Development Fund (and its Market Development counterpart) led to outcomes which compelled the agency to better focus on its commitment to the sector. In contrast to the production schemes discussed in the last chapter, this commitment to audiences and to fostering the Scottish exhibition sector continued after the establishment of Creative Scotland. As exhibition support was sidelined by the new body, it was soon entrusted to Regional Screen Scotland and later Film Hub Scotland, set up part of the BFI's Audiences Network[52]. This adds to the argument that film subsidy, specifically its cultural aspects, are better served by a dedicated body which does not prioritise commercial targets where such are detrimental to the development of the sector itself.

Through the use of case studies, this research has examined the practices adopted by Scottish Screen in order to implement and evaluate the government's cultural policy. It has argued that individual actors within a small-nation context are agents of change, whether as part of the industry itself and therefore funding recipients, or as officers at cultural funding bodies charged with devising and implementing policy-based funding strategies. In the particular case of film policy, both groups function as policy shapers in the short-term, with visible, albeit limited, immediate benefits for the development of the film sector.

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[52] Film Hub Scotland is part of the BFI's Film Audience Network, one of nine Hubs set up across the UK to 'extend film choice, increase and broaden film audiences, and enhance opportunities for audiences to engage with and learn about film' (www.filmhubscotland.com).

However, in the long-term, the unpredictable and fragile nature of the film industry has led policymakers to be overly apprehensive of change (or innovation) when policies are free from direct scrutiny of those affected by it, leading to a stagnant or shrinking industry. Conversely, a lack of understanding that the 'process of policy change - and the role of policy-orientated learning therein - requires a time perspective of a decade or more' (Sabatier, 1988:131) has led governments to make precipitous decisions as a reaction to interest groups' adversity. The failure of policymakers to consider the interaction of actors from different institutions interested in film policy to formulate cohesive, comprehensive and enduring policy has resulted in a frustrating, continuous crisis, with deleterious effect on the film industry.

In this research, the specificity of the Scottish film industry has served to provide an original account of the contradictions and pervasive neglect endemic to the film policy process. The possible insights offered by this research and possible solutions and/or improvements to the current scenario are revisited in the Conclusion Chapter that follows.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

> Life has a habit of laughing at the efforts of legislators, and in this case it must be roaring its head off. For, by a strange paradox, most of our film legislation has had an effect which is the precise opposite of its intentions. Far from giving British film producers greater independence and finance, it has weakened them.
>
> (Lord Willis, HL Deb 02 February 1966)

> I do not think that policy has driven that much of a change in the event of evolution of the Scottish film. I think most of it has been driven by external forces. I think the coming of Lottery, Channel 4... These things and other people's policies. Let's put it this way; it's other people's policies that affected the way film has developed in Scotland. And rarely has it been that the policies of a Scottish institution.
>
> (David Bruce, Personal Interview, May 2013)

This thesis has set out to investigate how Scottish Screen fulfilled the government's cultural policy. This original question also serves to problematise the parameters and scope of the research. First, it examines to what extent this was a feasible aim for the funding body, considering the ambiguity of cultural policy objectives (Gray, 2015b) and their lack of clarity (Towse, 1994:143), observed to be a prominent characteristic of film policy in particular (Doyle et al, 2015). Second, the role of Scottish Screen as the agent of Scottish government policy, interpreting, shaping and implementing policy for film is deconstructed to allow for the role of individual actors to be investigated. It builds on Gray's theory that postulates an endemic ambiguity of policy mechanisms and concludes by asking policy researchers to explore 'who are the appropriate actors to put cultural policies into effect; which are the appropriate organisations to use; and what are the appropriate policy instruments (Howlett, 2011: 41–59) to utilise in turning policy into practice' (Gray, 2015b:68). Third, in the context of a small nation, cultural policy does not comfortably 'belong' to government as easily as it sits within its remit. It is 'open to contestation by a large number of actors both internally and externally to the policy sector' (Gray, 2015b:78) which in the case of Scotland's film policy, as discussed in the thesis, allows actors to appropriate policy to a greater extent and influence. This discussion and analysis is framed within the context of the general argument about the interplay between structure and agency at the level at which 'effective policy is made . . . how these will be expected to be implemented and evaluated, and how they will relate to . . . expectations in terms of policy priorities and agendas, structural and macro-policies' (Gray, 2012:11).

This chapter draws out the implications of this research and argues the significance of its findings by addressing the key three research questions. It builds on earlier analyses of British and Scottish film policy that have drawn attention to the lack of coherence and long-term strategic planning in the government's policy and institutional practices, discussed in Chapter Two. It proceeds to address the findings pertinent to each research question introduced in Chapter One: How did Scottish Screen interpret its goals and arrive at a sense of mission? How did funding schemes reflect a commitment to film production and exhibition? This chapter then discusses the implications that emerged from the study of how individuals in the film industry (including at funding bodies) manage 'the range of external and internal structural constraints and opportunities that confront them through the exercise of individual agency' (Gray, 2014:3). It concludes by arguing how this research adds to existing literature and informs current industry practices. The chapter also addresses an existing gap in academic research: the lack of studies concerned with the film policy process in the small nation, where industry activity is framed by the understanding of individual agency within multiple interest groups - often outside the filmmaking process itself. Drawing from the research findings, the chapter offers an original contribution to existing knowledge of film policy formulation, implementation and evaluation which takes into account the need of any small nation to create 'a national cinematic brand' (Martin-Jones, 2009b:106). It aims to elucidate the role of organisations and individuals in shaping their own industry by providing an analysis that expands beyond the existing literature on film production and institutional practice and adding an examination of talent and audience development as the macro-dimension of production and exhibition.

By expanding on David Bruce's quote at the start of this chapter, this research argues that the factors that have affected the way film and industry developed in Scotland was rarely limited to the policies of a single public institution. There were also external factors that affected policy development, making it increasingly 'hard to detect what changes have occurred through the conscious process of policy making' (David Bruce, Personal Interview, May 2013). Building on existing research on Scottish and UK cultural policy and its institutions, discussed in Chapter Two, this thesis offers an alternative framework for the study of Scottish cinema, building on Hutcheson's call for 'new ways in which a national framework might be of relevance when analysing Scotland's cinematic output' (2013:ii), by investigating the film funding process within an institutional setting. It adds to existing work on cultural policy and practices by utilising insiders' perspectives of the workings of a single film agency, foregrounding original sources and internal documents. Instead of attempting

to fit findings into a rigid theoretical framework, this research examines Scottish Screen's policy practices as a model of public support for film which was driven, shaped and organically evolved as a result of the influence of multiple interested parties. It builds on the assumption that 'in the cultural sector, individual vision can have a huge and unforeseen impact, where substantial public resources can appear to produce no change at all' (Matarasso & Landry, 1999:7) and accounts for the role of Scottish government officials, Scottish Screen senior executives, selection panel members, filmmakers, audiences and journalists. In this study the role played by CEOs and producers' lobbying groups has been particularly prominent in respect to Scottish Screen practices and its development of a sense of mission (Chapter Four). Filmmakers' involvement in the policy process are necessary to the extent that they are seen to add value to public subsidy, a view shared by a number of interested groups, exemplified by the following EU Film Policy Think Tank quote:

> A vital aspect of the relationship between public funding bodies and film producers
> is the work they do together to demonstrate to other stakeholders the merits and
> necessity of the public support for film. (Council of Europe, 2008:13)

Choosing the Scottish film industry as the central subject of study also led to an examination of consumer-driven public support for film, through an analysis of Scottish Screen's exhibition and audience development policies. This expanded on and critiqued existing work focused on producer-led public support for filmmakers and film production. In recent work also concerned with institutional practices, Newsinger advocated for a return to 'socially and culturally progressive film policy' (2012b:143) and Macpherson has made a case for significantly 'higher volumes of production' to increase 'audience share, critical success or the long-term achievement of a sustainable industry' (2010:20-21). Neither, however, address (or acknowledge) access to exhibition (theatrical or digital) or audience development policies as intrinsic to 'sustainability' or 'cultural progression', leaving a sizeable gap in existing scholarly literature. Consumer-driven policies - targeted at audiences and filmmakers professional development - are more commonly seen and studied in isolation, or in disconnect to film production funding. The following sections address the implications of the key research findings and argue their significance and contribution to cultural policy theory and film policy studies.

Scottish Screen and Support for Industry:

How did Scottish Screen interpret its goals and arrive at a sense of mission?

> I think we do have a Scottish film industry, I think it's very tiny, I think it's frustrating that it hasn't grown and I think it's frustrating that there's a lack of policy which supports it growing.
>
> (Barbara McKissack, Producer, Personal Interview, June 2013)

Scottish Screen was formed and evolved not as a neat outlet of a supposedly cohesive set of policies and strategies, but as the result of its political context, shaped by the relentless input of the film industry itself, as argued in Chapter Four. In this chapter, this thesis questioned the purpose and efficacy of government-led policy for film by examining the practical mechanisms behind funding initiatives (or schemes). By framing the study within the Scottish context over a particularly turbulent decade, it is evident where nationalistic overtones skewed film policy towards instrumental goals and away from a focus on long-term funding strategies. The result was an increasingly fragile and underdeveloped film industry, which became susceptible to political manoeuvring that inevitably became detrimental to its own sustainability.

Scottish Screen was formed with the aim of streamlining the film funding system and providing a 'one-stop shop' for stakeholders. It was a product of the political and cultural changes of the mid to late 1990s, launched on the wave of the unparalleled box office successes of Scottish and Scotland-based films. This led to the agency's overtly commercial remit and prioritising of its promotional activities. The Scottish government's directives reflected a shift toward a creative industries approach, centred on increased 'access', 'excellence', 'education' and 'economic value' (Garnham, 2005:27), echoing similar changes at the UK level. This shift failed to take into account the input of the individuals at the agency, many of whom had previously worked at the SFC or SAC. It also underestimated the value of consulting the film industry in the process of forming a new agency. As a result the development of Scottish Screen's aims and objectives was convoluted, resulting in its strategies and policy implementation being frequently contested, interfered with and eventually 'rebooted' to serve the needs of the industry - firmly undermining the efficacy of the agency. This supports Gray's argument, which claims that 'in cultural policy areas the inherent political weaknesses of the sector make it particularly vulnerable to exogenous

political pressures' and as a result 'there could be a re-direction of the policy sector as a whole, or component parts of it, if external political actors are motivated enough to choose to intervene within it' (2008b:216). This research expanded further on his argument by applying it to film policy in Scotland, where the singular composition of the industry and political factors inflate external actors' capacity for intervention in the policy process.

Effectively, the merger of four different bodies to create Scottish Screen disregarded the needs of those who were to implement the new agency's objectives by failing to consult them on how to put complex (and conflicting) policies into practice. Interviews with filmmakers and former Scottish Screen staff reinforced this argument, by highlighting the discrepancy between the immediate, practical needs of the film industry and the continuous overhaul of its strategy following each change in CEO. Measuring the organisation's effectiveness or impact against its original objectives or 'mission' is problematic, as the initial goals lacked strategic clarity and cohesion. This became a pervasive trait from very early on in the organisation's lifespan and a main point of contention between funders and filmmakers. Here, this research followed from Peacock's argument where, in practice, to determine the value of meeting cultural policy objectives would require 'a clear and unambiguous measure of each objective' (2003:10). Even if this was achievable, the author argues 'the resultant so-called 'true value added' of the organisation tells us very little about its efficiency' (2003:10). 'Efficiency' in terms of film policy, is far from a measurable objective. This argument alone undermines the suitability of instrumental creative industries policies to advance a national film industry, as argued in this research's findings.

It emerged from this research that within a small nation such as Scotland, the process of cultural policy implementation is very insular, regimented by a close-knit environment of those who work at funding agencies and those who receive and apply for funding. This also allowed for a higher degree of understanding, involvement and agency from the part of stakeholders. The drawback however, was that as their careers changed directions or progressed and new and emerging players joined forces, inevitably, so did the interests and strategies they had once advocated. This lack of stability complicated the agency's ability to consolidate a sense of mission, and fulfil long-term policy implementation and evaluation objectives. The disparity of interests also meant there was a lack of transparency, consultation and communication, which became pervasive to the agency and entrenched in the Scottish film industry, leading to an ineffective cycle of audits, consultations, reviews, new strategies, poor implementation, backlash and government intervention. To an extent,

Scottish Screen's UK-wide counterpart, the UKFC, was faced with similar predicaments, leading it to reflect 'a broader process of evolutionary change in the organisation's agenda as, over time, it negotiated and sought to accommodate an ever-wider array of pressures and concerns from across the film industry and beyond' (Doyle 2014:141). However, in comparison, Scottish Screen's senior executives and CEOs comprised a much more limited pool of expertise, less able to appease the demands of an outspoken and often united Scottish film industry. In addition, the agency's tenuous relationship with government made it considerably more susceptible to interference, impeding the development of a fully formed, coherent agenda. Scottish Screen was run by individuals who used a number of pragmatic tools to allocate funding, in order to apply government led film policy. This reliance on individuals to 'shape' policy into practice, meant the extent and efficacy of strategies lasted only as long as the individual's involvement with the agency.

There was a visible lack of continuity between the agency's four CEOs in terms of their implementation strategy. Notably, this was not only due to individual differences but also as a result of relentless criticism from the Scottish press and independent producers' lobbying groups, present throughout the agency's lifespan. CEOs would take their position with no pre-conceived strategy for running the organisation, contrary to how they were often later characterised in the Scottish press. On the one hand, CEOs did have relative freedom to implement their own policies as they saw fit, since there were no strict or clear guidelines from the UK and Scottish governments as to how to meet strategic goals. Here, this research also builds on Doyle's study of the UKFC, where 'the individuals who wielded greatest influence over decision-making were the chairmen of the Board and the organisation's CEO' (2014:142). At Scottish Screen, on the other hand, CEOs were in practice operating as part of and in conjunction with a complex, multi layered, active film industry- rather than imposing their own, personal managerial styles. Eddie Dick, former SFPF director and current member of Independent Producers of Scotland (IPS), summarised his views on the central issues that affected Scottish Screen as follows:

> Scottish Screen never became what it was supposed to become. It became mired in aspects of scandal . . . that often happens to bureaucracies . . . John [Archer] never melded it into a totality and Steve McIntyre certainly didn't . . . [Hay] came in and saved the organization which was on the [brink]. But at a cost. In my mind the cost was to do with the central idea of what Scottish Screen might have been . . . Ken, I think is an excellent administrator, but he is not a visionary in my experience and although, as I say, without Ken Hay Scottish Screen would have gone years before it did. It was not seen in favour in governments of course and certainly it wasn't seem with favour in the film community - Ken pulled it back from all of that. But he was unable to recover that core philosophy. Maybe it was too late, I don't know, maybe the moment had passed. (Eddie Dick, Personal Interview, May 2013)

Eddie Dick's quote adds to Gray's argument, where 'the use of a large number of distinct governmental tools can push actors within policy sectors towards emphasizing certain activities within their work, but that does not mean that these will necessarily produce the results that the centre either intended or desired' (2008b:217). The findings of this research, illustrate by the quote above, stress the value of a committed network of filmmakers, civil servants and journalists noted for their relentless concern with and input toward film policy reforms. Through this network, Scottish Screen was, at times, able to negotiate the interests of industry and policymakers, allowing for the agency to arrive at a sense of mission that was defined by the close relationships of individuals operating in often overlapping functions and policy spheres.

The possibility of Scottish Screen devising and implementing a long-term plan was often tainted by exogenous pressures, which prevented the agency from attempting to 'settle down' and learn from the mistakes of previous CEOs and listen to industry groups. Tumultuous political and institutional changes, in addition to strong-willed lobbying groups and persistent factions of the national press, made it impossible for the agency to fully implement its policies. Regarding the latter, Hibberd also identified the overblown intervention of 'the indigenous press', as it 'impacts on policy formation and development'. However, whereas Hibberd argues it 'becomes pertinent to wonder how the marginalisation of the Scottish press might affect the creation of effective Scottish policy' (2009:164), this research posits that journalistic influence simply reflects the structural fragility of funding institutions, and a particularly insular film industry. Furthermore, new governments are quick to make cultural policy an urgent matter. At times, officials were not far from making

it a PR tool to assert concern for national culture and identity. As a result, any acrimonious disputes (even if predictable) resulted in the agency being forced to adopt 'damage-control' tactics and full structural reforms, before being able to implement or fully develop earlier strategies - let alone evaluate them.

In order to address the central research question, it was necessary to study beyond the institutional context in which Scottish Screen policies were practiced. Two research case studies of Scottish Screen's funding schemes examine what kind of mechanisms the agency used to allocate subsidy. They aim to reflect the extent of the agency's commitment to particular areas of the industry, namely film production (through talent development) and film exhibition (through audience development).

Funding Schemes and Support for Production:

How did Tartan Shorts reflect in a commitment to production policy in Scotland?

> It amazes me that the Scottish government doesn't see the value in investing properly in film and TV production in the way that Denmark does or Northern Ireland does or Finland does or any other country in the world pretty much, understands that there is an ineffable value, a cultural value to film and TV production. It's about exploring your own country's stories and so on. It has a value beyond commercial production . . . it's about films falling between the gap between art and business . . . It's both, you know there's no contradiction. It's actually a good thing that it's both business and art because it has double value.
> (Andrea Calderwood, Scottish Producer, Personal Interview, June 2013)

Film schemes were the most prominent mechanism by which Scottish Screen transformed film policy directives into practice. This was especially the case in terms of support for film production. In Chapter Five, this research argues that despite not always fulfilling their original objectives, such schemes provided a clear path for filmmakers, one that also established a line of communication between funders and industry. The Tartan Shorts case study is valuable in reflecting how rigid, largely instrumental policies resulted in unintended outcomes which reflected the intrinsic value of funding initiatives. As a result, the unaccounted for long-term benefits of particular schemes are lost to transitory policies, fragile institutions and poorly equipped CEOs.

Despite Tartan Shorts' incidental beginnings, after it won an Academy Award with Peter Capaldi's *Franz Kafka It's a Wonderful Life*, the scheme quickly became a Scottish 'brand',

synonymous with quality filmmaking. What followed was incisive marketing and promotion of the scheme at UK and international festivals, carried out by the SFPF and initially continued by Scottish Screen. This case study serves to illustrate the advantages of investing in the marketing and promotion of a schemes and their funded shorts. This kind of support can have a significant impact in developing audiences for Scottish film and in the careers of filmmakers. Transforming Tartan Shorts into a reputable brand, attractive to high-calibre talent, financiers, distributors and film festivals led to positive outcomes which aided filmmakers in gaining credibility and status in the industry. There is a need for film funding initiatives to consider the wider industry scenario in which filmmakers operate; their need for international recognition and for financial support beyond post-production, especially early on in their careers. More significantly, including funding for marketing and distribution as part of a scheme leads filmmakers to consider their target audience from the development stages of a film, rather than after completion. Distribution to international festivals, broadcasting and marketing material included in the scheme were crucial factors the led to it achieving its international reputation.

Scottish Screen followed up with further production schemes, as soon as Tartan Shorts started to be perceived as an industry 'benchmark' (Appendix J, p212). Subsequent schemes were centred around aiding the filmmaker's progress, towards completing a feature film. However, despite 'talent development' being implicit in Tartan Shorts' original objectives, in practice, the career development of Scottish filmmakers never appeared to take strategic precedence over the promotion of the shorts themselves.

Evidence of this was that Scottish Screen did not attempt to track down the career development of funded filmmakers. This meant any indirect benefits or drawbacks of the scheme were only associated to the immediate aftermath of a Tartan Short screening (i.e. accolades in the festival circuit, press coverage, ticket sales). This practice disregarded the longer-term nature of film development and production. Namely, Tartan Shorts 'graduates' would take five to ten years to release their first feature, or, alternatively, they would succeed in other production roles beyond writing or directing. These factors were not taken into consideration at Scottish Screen's project meetings, which essentially focused on the review of new applications. The career progression of Tartan Shorts' production crew was not taken in consideration, neither internally nor externally, despite evidence discussed in this thesis that stressed their role in strengthening a local film industry. These findings suggest a lack of understanding of the film industry beyond completed films. It reflects a disjointed,

unilateral approach to funding production and talent development that rarely went further than the success of the last funded shorts.

At first glance, Scottish Screen may not have shown an explicit commitment to film production, especially in regards to enhancing the quality of output of Scottish films in the long run. However, through the study of Tartan Shorts, this research uncovers institutional practices which allowed for different interpretations. The direct investment in the marketing and promotion of Tartan Shorts as a training scheme and in supporting the completed films themselves had a significant role in developing audiences for Scottish films, thus fostering demand for higher quality shorts. Scottish Screen's direct support of the scheme - through advertising, logo design, press releases - and of the completed shorts - through assistance with festival submission processes, attendance and networking - added a new dimension to Tartan Shorts, absent in previous and subsequent schemes. Marketing and promotion was briefly an intrinsic aspect of talent development, educating filmmakers on how to make the most of their shorts beyond completion and in connection to audiences. This was noticeably a deficit in the agency's talent development strategy after 2006 and once again reflected a lack of a comprehensive approach to supporting talent and targeting audiences. Considering these research findings, this thesis argues that incorporating distribution, marketing and exhibition (or audience targeting) as a component of talent development schemes is indispensable to policies aimed at growing and sustaining the production sector.

Although not all film professionals interviewed for this research deemed Tartan Shorts a successful funding mechanism, they were unanimous in the support of short film schemes and full features schemes. This research argues that schemes provide filmmakers with the tools needed to complete a short 'in the real world', including a set budget, a crew, a fixed deadline and an audience. Interviewed filmmakers pointed out that the often academically criticised 'stepping-stones' models (McArthur, 1994:19; McLaughlin, 2001:62), which are characteristic of funding schemes, were in fact, still very valuable to their own career development. Contrasting arguments criticise schemes for an 'overly prescriptive and narrow model serving the interests of the mainstream industry to the detriment of alternative and more challenging modes of cultural filmmaking' (Petrie, 2000:182).

However, as evident in this research's findings (Chapter Four and Five), this idea contradicts what seems to be the overwhelming consensus among industry practitioners. Furthermore,

Newsinger put forward the argument that during the period covered by this research, there was increased integration of 'creative industries' policies with the 'stepping stone' system:

> Short film production policy under the "creative industries" model . . . articulates the perceived needs of the film industry to identify and nurture "new talent". The alignment of these interests with "cultural" policy objectives – promoting "diversity", "social inclusion" – is evident. Its regional basis demonstrates the integration of regional film production sectors within national film strategy. (Newsinger, 2009:172)

Despite raising concerning arguments, Petrie and Newsinger seem to allocate a secondary role to industry practices. Evidence presented in this research indicates that short film schemes have, historically, at a regional and national level, served far beyond the needs of the 'mainstream industry'. 'Stepping-stones' schemes serve as an invaluable networking platform for creative team and production crew. They expose regional industries to international markets, where filmmakers can establish connections with other regions or countries. Schemes that attain some level of prestige allow filmmakers to carry an industry 'seal of approval', where the demands of budget and time limitations of a scheme proved their ability to work under professional industry standards. More significantly, schemes seemed to reduce the scope for conflict between the funding body and funding recipients due to the enhanced line of communication it allows, and the clear set of criteria and outcomes schemes tend to offer at a practical level.

Individual efforts, including the different inclinations of Scottish Screen CEOs and executives, their backgrounds and vested interests, also have a pragmatic role in shaping short film production strategies and funding schemes. It would be overly simplistic to argue production schemes, such as Tartan Shorts, are only the result of emerging cultural policies built on the 'creative industries' model. This may appear to be the case as, at a UK-wide level, the number of funding schemes increased after the UKFC was established and the management of low budget short film schemes was assigned to the RSAs, all following a DCMS strategy explicitly supportive of 'developing talent'. Policy developments can certainly be considered a catalyst for new funding structures, as noted throughout this thesis. However, the 'stepping-stones' schemes 'format' dates as far back as the BFI Experimental Film Fund, the New Directors Fund or even the NFFC's completion fund (Chapter Two). In Scotland, the study of the Tartan Shorts scheme shows how it emerged and evolved not as a direct result of policy directives, but as a combination of individual interests, including

filmmakers, broadcasters, cinemas and Scottish Screen executives. This thesis expands on Jonathan Murray's similar argument for the study of Scottish film and industry practices of the 1990s, where 'the most productive analytical approach . . . is one which avoids their shared assumption of a straightforwardly linear, causal relationship between institutional and textual politics.' (2006a:156). It argues that the legacy of Tartan Shorts, as well as the career development of filmmakers, is better understood through an analysis of the complex set of assumptions, understandings and interests encompassed in the interrelations of industry and institutions above government-specific cultural policy remits.

The long-term outcomes and legacy of the scheme is reflected by the fact Tartan Shorts is still praised by filmmakers today and referred to as the 'missing link' between micro-budget, regional production and large scale, high-end filmmaking (Chapter Five). It becomes evident that although the industry itself has often understood and stressed the long-term nature of the outcomes of such schemes, at a policy and institutional level, there has been a continuous lack of knowledge and foresight to allow them to look beyond the creative industries' need for commercial measurable outputs. In practice, this hindered an understanding of the 'bigger picture', by preventing the support of initiatives focused beyond the key creative roles or those which incorporated exhibition and distribution practices.

To answer the question, did Tartan Shorts reflect in a commitment to production policy? Yes; it was an efficient mechanism for distributing funds, made clear and cohesive to the film industry at the same time it served the interests of funders. Above all, Tartan Shorts made a case for continuous and significant commitment to talent development in the years that followed it. The outcomes of the scheme also questioned the purpose and benefit of promoting and funding on the basis of 'Scottishness' altogether, which contradicts the industry's need to be able to operate and compete in the international arena - effectively also countering cultural policy aims. In his 2006 study of Scottish feature film and the nascent film industry of the 1990s, Murray argued that despite institutional limitations and an overtly commercial inclination inspired by Hollywood's practices, without the policies and practices of the decade, the national industry would be at a significant loss today. The author's central idea of a particular Fund created in the period can also be applied to Tartan Shorts, where the scheme accelerated the professionalisation of Scottish filmmakers, eliciting outcomes which went far beyond commercial aspirations:

> [D]espite the problematic institutional terms upon which it [GFF] was predicated, without this kind of material consolidation there would have been far less 1990s Scottish feature production activity around which to stage *any* form of culturally orientated debate by the decade's end. (Murray, 2006a:160)

To address how Scottish Screen fulfilled the government's cultural policy, it is not sufficient to merely look at the production and talent support mechanisms implemented by the agency, as already established. The extent of the organisation's commitment to film production only reflect part of its mission: the supply-end of the industry, or producer-end of cultural policy. This research also focuses on the demand-end or audience side of the industry by looking at how the organisation supported audience development through its exhibition policy and institutional practices.

Funding Schemes and Support for Exhibition:

How did audience development schemes reflect in a commitment to exhibition?

> With Scottish Screen focus in developing the industry, some of our support for exhibition has been questioned. However we recognise there is little point in increasing production for films without the cinemas to show them in.
>
> (Scottish Screen, Exhibition Panel, 1997c)

> Overall, it became clear . . . that you couldn't just make films and then expect the audience to flock. The idea of film culture, rather than film production became important. And so lots of us [filmmakers and funders] tried a little to contribute to this great debate . . . what we should be doing as much as making films is making film lovers . . . the job is to create passionate audiences, informed audiences, which is called audience development.
>
> (Mark Cousins, Filmmaker, Personal Interview, May 2013)

In order to study the extent Scottish Screen's practices reflect in a commitment to film exhibition in Scotland, this research examines the mechanisms used to allocate funding for regional cinemas and to develop audiences. Similarly to the Tartan Shorts case study, this research uses the Audience Development Fund as a focus point of the research. It considers how exhibitors own interests fared with government policy and audiences alike, looking at how exhibition policy and how the concept of 'growing audiences' and ensuring that the widest range of films reaches and is appreciated by a 'diverse audience' (Scottish Screen, 2007d) were reified within an institutional framework.

Scottish Screen had followed the footsteps of its predecessors and taken a lazy approach to developing film exhibition. It maintained fixed subsidy to cinemas as the bare minimum

required to sustain a circuit of independent cinemas. Scottish Screen did not attempt to expand or build on the SFC's former practices, despite the agency's hope of expanding the national film industry and improve upon commercial activities. As a result, regional cinemas' core funding changed very little right up to 2008 (Appendix S, p235). There was no need (or opportunity) for exhibitors to 'prove themselves' and establish they were deserving of further funding, as was the case with production. The development of film exhibition against organisational objectives was rarely part of Scottish Screen's Board meetings. It had a poorly skilled and limited number of staff assigned to assess and develop the sector. Quantitative performance indicators provided by funded cinemas' had a minimal role in shaping *exhibition* policy itself. Box office for a particular (public funded) film and the number of screenings it received was occasionally quoted in Scottish Screen's annual reviews and sector audits in order to showcase its achievements in fulfilling production policy. The lack of a comprehensive, qualitative, targeted and joined-up strategy for exhibition policy relegated it to a subordinate of film production. For most of its operational years, the agency failed to see exhibition - and audiences - as indispensable and complementary to filmmaking itself, to the detriment of the industry as a whole.

The predicament faced by Scottish Screen and funded exhibitors was not new to cultural policy discussions. As observed in Alan Peacock's argument, the 'difficulties of developing some sensible way of using public money to support arts projects' (1993:130) rest not only in the inability of funded organisations to justify additional subsidy based on the principles of additionality, but also in the failure of funders to agree on a satisfactory and feasible alternative for funding recipients to do so:

> [S]ubsidy to a particular company . . . is presumably designed to influence the company to develop its artistic pursuits in accordance to the policy objectives of the funding body. In other words . . . it is being asked to undertake certain functions that it would *not otherwise perform* - known in the trade as the principles of additionality . . it would be a waste of resources . . . if the company would simply continue to do what it would have done without subsidy support . . . In case of direct subsidy based on the principle of additionality, this carries the implications that there is some quantitative connection between the extra 'output' to be delivered and the subsidy received . . . if the contract is to be renewed periodically then the principal will expect evidence to be provided by the agent that the conditions of a past contract have been met. (Peacock: 1993:131-2)

Funding for film exhibition, particularly since the RFTs were formed, has been predicated on the idea that subsidising capital development was sufficient to 'build up and educate new

audiences' for 'world' and 'art' cinemas 'since the old habit of weekly social visits to the local cinema has been replaced by the almost antisocial activity of watching television at home' (Abercrombie, 1982:49).   However, the continuous, unquestioned and poorly monitored funding stream of grant-in-aid to regional film theatres was bound to clash with developments in the industry itself and with emerging socio-political debates (Chapter Six). Once film funding is deemed part of cultural policy, 'sticking to the logical order of things makes for an uneasy relationship between principal and agent' (Peacock 1993:132).   If neither exhibitors nor Scottish Screen could successfully ascertain 'the extra "output" to be delivered' through subsidy, there was little room for presenting a case for increased 'public value', a requisite within the emerging creative industries model. This thesis argues that this conflict became the underlying reason for the rise in project-based funding, such as the Audience Development Fund and its preceding streams of subsidy.

Outcomes of exhibition funding were overwhelmingly challenging to measure or evaluate against the agency's objectives. Monitoring lacked in-depth information on the constitution of the audience itself and a critical understanding of film as 'art'. Restricting evaluation to straightforward box office statistics prevented Scottish Screen from knowing whether its funding allowed for wider demographic or geographic access, whether it had reached new audiences or contributed to their education in any way.   There was an overall lack of definitions, particularly in regard to what was meant by 'audience development' (are we developing Scottish audiences or audiences for Scottish film?) Or 'cultural films' (are these non-Hollywood films? is this a 'one size fits all', where audiences are homogenous and draw similar value from the medium?). Through the selected case studies, this research has built on Belfiore's argument of the unsuitability of existing policy practices to the arts or humanities, particularly as a reflection of the current economic and political scenario, as she noted:

> Recent funding developments . . . call into question the long-term effectiveness of claims of impact as a rationale for arts funding. Adopting impact' as a short-cut for 'value' might be a way to sidestep a difficult wider public debate on where the value of the humanities might lie. But this is at best a short-term solution, which may result, over time, in an impoverished and shallow public debate on crucial questions of policy-making and funding . . . Developing genuinely public humanities must tackle head on awkward questions of cultural authority and power at the heart of both contemporary arts and educational policies, and embrace the inherent ideological nature of the value question. (Belfiore: 2015:12 -13)

As a result of the scenario identified above, this thesis argues that in the later years of Scottish Screen (2007-2010), support for audience development schemes became more discernible form of exhibition subsidy; a complement to the static core funding model. They attempted an alternative to a funding model which could not be questioned, measured or facilitate any form of satisfactory 'impact assessment'. Audience development schemes were implemented as a fully formed, self-contained subsidy for exhibition. On paper, they fulfilled a set of cultural objectives to do with increased access and education, noted through qualitative evaluations. In practice, audience centred schemes served better to expand Scottish Screen's and the Scottish government's understanding of exhibition in relation to film production. Logically, it was worthwhile as it followed a string of successful, very small one-off exhibition projects which had been supported since the 1990s, via the miniscule Exhibition Development Fund (Inglis, Todd & Westbrook, 2005). The rationale became that many of these projects had the potential to fulfil both the commercial and cultural remits of the organisation, at considerable less risk than production funding and without the need for rigorous evaluation in the pursuit of public value.

These shifts in exhibition funding took place after a change in CEOs and an overhaul of departments at Scottish Screen in 2005, not dissimilar to the changes that took place at the UK level, through the arrival of a new Head of Distribution and Exhibition at the UKFC in 2002 and the introduction of the Digital Screen Network (Boyle, 2015:4). From the study of key figures at Scottish Screen, this research argues that the roles of individuals at the agency were central in influencing the direction of policy implementation. As former CEO Ken Hay pointed out, from a commercial perspective, audience development projects were an 'obvious', 'safer route for investment', when compared to production schemes (Personal Interview, May 2013). In addition, the decision to expand audiences often came from cinemas staff's own initiative, who took to project funding to expand their organisation's activities beyond core expenditure. Initiatives such as regional and themed festivals, seasons or programming emerged from the personal investment and initiative of cinema and festival staff, many of whom had previously had a role in funding allocation at SFC/Scottish Screen (or a former regional funding body) and vice versa. This factor substantially aided the agency in addressing its cultural remits through exhibition subsidies.

In Chapter Six, this thesis uses empirical evidence to build upon existing work on the UK film the exhibition and distribution sectors. It adds a Scottish perspective to Boyle's study of the UKFC's Digital Screen Network and Dupin's work on the BFI's support of the RFTs,

also providing an account of project-based audience funding. This thesis also expands on John Adams' call for a joined-up, long-term strategy for film by offering an analysis of production funding along with exhibition funding policy in order to 'challenge the enduring institutional obsession to channel funding into an outmoded production models' (2011:118). Adams pointed out that the '[BFI] ambition to place film at the heart of national culture is dependent on audience building and the development of creative talent – and the recognition that the two are indissolubly linked is the simple notion that should underpin future film policy' (2011:118). His arguments served as the basis which informed this research findings; the Tartan Shorts and Audience Development Fund case studies reiterate the interdependence of the multiple industry sectors often examined in isolation.

Audience development projects allowed Scottish Screen to 'tick all the boxes' that constitute creative industry policy objectives. The perceived increased 'public value' the Audience Development Fund's activities generated meant Scottish Screen could justify an increased investment in regional audience development (e.g. by funding Regional Screen Scotland from 2008). The drawback of audience development in the form of project funding was its lack of continuity, where exhibitors had to reapply for money year on year. This negatively affected core funded, more experienced organisations (the former RFTs), which often had their regular grants 'topped-up' with the corresponding budget of their 'successful' audience development projects. As funders must be seen to avoid 'over-funding' a particular organisation, the result was that exhibitors had to choose between applying for new audience-led projects or developing their established core activities - effectively a regressive and contradictory policy.

Did audience development funding reflect in a commitment to exhibition policy? Not necessarily; the Audience Development Fund fulfilled the agency's cultural objectives more effectively than the traditional core funding model by seeming to support the 'principles of additionality' and 'public value'. However, as this thesis has argued, such initiatives were only adopted as short-term measures to keep up with UK-wide strategic trends and to quickly respond to the ever-increasing demands from the creative industries' agenda to increase 'access' and 'cultural impact'. Scottish Screen, and its successor, Creative Scotland, did not truly reflect a long-term commitment to or understanding of exhibition and audience support. Here, Scottish Screen saw unanticipated benefits emerge from the Audience Development Fund. At a UK level, Boyle recognised this also to be the case, in reference to the DSN

scheme at the UKFC, where 'digital strategy would only emerge almost as by-product of apparently more pressing strategic objectives for the UKFC around access to film'(2015:4).

The unpredictability of policy outcomes is widely referred to by Jeremy Ahearne, who argued that 'within the domain of 'implicit' cultural policies, one might also distinguish between the unintended cultural side effects of various kinds of policy and those deliberate courses of action intended to shape cultures but which are not expressly thematised as such' (2009:144). Similarly, Scottish Screen's aim to increase exhibition access unintentionally (or implicitly) led to the emancipation of regional and local cinemas and festivals, giving a voice to a previously timid or often passive sector. Not enough time has passed for a comprehensive appraisal of these initiatives, although a number of organisations previously supported by the Audience Development Fund have grown to the extent that they are now in a position to make a bid directly to the Scottish Government, UK and EU funding bodies. Without the support for audience development at the later years of Scottish Screen, it is doubtful whether Scotland's exhibition sector would be in a position to benefit from recent UK-wide developments, such as the BFI's Film Audience Network.

Similarly to the analysis of Tartan Shorts and Scottish film production policy, the Audience Development Fund case study also reflects a lack of long-term strategic thinking in Scottish Screen's exhibition policy, despite positive outcomes in the short-term. As a funding mechanism, schemes were more effective in shaping exhibition policy remits into practice. A lack of long-term policies aimed at the sustainability of exhibition practices and genuine audience growth remained a central flaw in the practices of Scottish Screen, hindering the potential of new schemes.

Reflections on the Film Policy Process

> What impact the policy has? . . . on the one hand almost nothing that's happened in terms of the development of film in Scotland would have or already could have had without a policy initiative to make it happen. . . . on the other hand, there's a limit to what policy can do, policy of itself and funding from the public sector can't create a cinema or a film industry or a film culture itself. It can certainly make it very difficult for any of those things to happen and it can make it a lot easier for any of those things to happen but it also requires quite a lot of other things. (Robin MacPherson, Personal Interview, May 2013)

This research's central question was concerned with how Scottish Screen interpreted government cultural policy, the mechanisms it used to do so and to what extent it managed

to fulfil its goals. Looking at both its production and exhibition policies, it becomes evident that although funding schemes proved to be, with hindsight, an effective, practical mechanism for allocating funding, the lack of a cohesive, long-term approach to film support jeopardised further development of the industry. Firstly, the scenario in which Scottish Screen emerged may provide a number of possible justifications for the weaknesses in this policy process. The agency emerged in the wake of a new, post-devolution Scottish government, whose rhetoric reflected its UK counterpart agency - the UKFC. This alignment of creative industries practices is in support of Galloway & Jones' argument that 'factors operating at a UK level have also acted to produce a substantial degree of convergence and uniformity in cultural governance and policy across the home nations in the period since devolution' (2010:36). In effect, Scottish film policy formulation, implementation and evaluation was consistently developed as part of a small, close-knit community of committed individuals, whose actions and ambitions had a considerable effect on a small nation's film industry and identity, either directly, through producers' lobbying, or through the extensive interest by the Scottish press in reflecting conflicting interests. This argument builds on existing knowledge of film policy in practice and adds to Peacock's view of UK arts policy:

> It will at least be agreed that the amount and form of public expenditure on the arts in the UK will be characterised by discretionary behaviour on the part of government officials and the subsidised bodies. This fact is the basis of the argument that vested interests of producers are a dominant force in public management of the arts. (Peacock, 2000:190)

The second contention central to this thesis has more to do with the interpretation and critical assessment of established ideas of the Scottish film industry and institutions. This thesis has argued that independently of whether Scotland has a film industry or not - itself a divisive question among interviewees - it certainly has enthusiastic and engaged filmmakers, passionate programmers and dedicated civil servants, development officers, portfolio managers and CEOs. These individuals are working for the cultural enhancement, creativity and identity formation that film can foster. At the same time, this research also highlights a lack of leadership and, the need for a policy-orientated learning approach, where Scottish film funding bodies and government could learn from past mistakes and apply their gained knowledge when formulating and implementing new policies - an argument supported by Caterer's study of two UK funding initiatives, where he notes 'historical precedent plays an insufficient role in British film policy discourse' (2011a:94), but also noted much earlier, in Peacock's account of ACGB's funding:

> One must face the fact that the originators of fresh ideas on policy questions are
> frequently forgotten and the ideas are presented by successive generations of pundits
> as if they were their own. If ideas have any impact at all on actual policy measures,
> then it can be long after they were promulgated. (Peacock, 1993:75).

Such limitations of formulating and implementing policies for film support continue to be criticised by concerned parties, as government is accused of failing 'to take account of any of the lessons of recent history' (Puttnam, 2010; para.23). The role of film policy in shaping industry practices to the overall benefit of the nation's cultural welfare has been questioned for a much longer timeframe than that covered in this research, as illustrated by Lord Willis' 1966 quote at the beginning of this chapter. It remains at the centre of film policy debates to date, extending beyond the Scottish dimension, as argued in this thesis.

What emerges from this study of Scottish film policy, the history of its cultural institutions and film industry practices, is evidence of an inherent lack of cohesive, strategic and also pragmatic thinking between filmmakers, funding bodies and the Scottish government's cultural policy objectives. This is independent of whether involved actors are seeking increased commercial sustainability or to foster a Scottish cultural identity. It confirms previous work by Doyle et al (2015) which, having set a case study in a similar UK funding body (UKFC), concluded competing pressures 'stem from the contradictory and multifaceted nature of public service expectations and aspirations surrounding public support for film and the difficulty of successfully managing and satisfying different constituencies of interested of a sustained periods of time (2015:184)'. The innate contradictions that still characterise public support of film do not only rest in beyond its commercial and cultural duality. They are founded in the conflicting multitude of interests pertaining to the support and future of Scottish film and more urgently, in the unsuitability of the creative industries model to sustain and advocate its support.

This research proposes that when researching small nation film industries and cinema, the distinction between policy-makers, funding agencies, funded bodies and filmmakers is blurred. Those within the cultural organisations and film agencies 'acted as the makers of policy, its implementers and the recipients of the funding' (Nisbett, 2013a:571). Whilst in Nisbett's case study of national museums actors were able to 'adopt a political rhetoric and [use] strategic lobbying to formulate a new cultural policy, which expanded the scale and

scope of their international work' (2013a:557), Scottish film funding agencies and filmmakers failed to achieve the same outcome despite an often instrumental approach to policy-making. This failure was not simply a result of the conflicting interests of stakeholders but due also to the inherent short-termism of individual influence, and government's continuing failure to recognise their strategic role in the industry.

The traditional model of public funding in place immediately prior to and during Scottish Screen's operational years is, to an extent, still in place at Creative Scotland, and it encompasses a very linear and inflexible understanding of public funding. It starts with (very limited) support for training initiatives, followed by development schemes for writers and directors, who are expected to then follow through the stepping stones system of funding, first through shorts, then features and all along encouraged to tour the festival circuits. It culminates in traditional theatrical screenings at a local (public funded) art house cinema or and established international festival. In spite of less finite cultural policy objectives, the features are, in practice, expected to either succeed at the box office and/or with critics, leading to a return on investment or, more likely, myriad festival awards that should allow the filmmaker to move on to bigger projects (often outside Scotland). This funding trajectory significantly disregards the complex, wider, interconnected and long-term components of the film industry, and of film itself. It is instead fixated on short-term, visible results to comply with the increasingly instrumental (yet unfeasible) demands of film policy in an artificial creative economy. Added to it is the pressure of also producing outcomes suitably representative of the nation's identity, as call for further devolution (and independence) take centre stage in Scotland's political sphere. It contradicts industry practices, and as producer Andrea Calderwood argued, 'to be obsessed with nationality is so narrow-minded and is not how the business works' (Personal Interview, June 2013).

However, as observed through the findings discussed in the thesis, there are alternative policy routes for public funders to follow, if the end goal is to develop and sustain a national film industry. It starts with a hefty subsidy towards film education, allowing it to be the solid base from which new audiences and filmmakers emerge. Educational strategies had received more adequate attention when Scotland had a dedicated cultural body (SFC). As another cultural and educational body, the BFI, took responsibility of UK film funding distribution in 2012, similar concerns have once again emerged. This alternative trajectory follows routes of public investment which are parallel yet interconnected: talent development and audience development funding as a means of achieving more cohesive

exhibition and production funding. Traditional models of funding, such as short and feature film schemes, can and should maintain their function within film funding policy, but must be aimed at developing talent rather than just increasing box office share or accumulating industry awards for the satisfaction of the press and market. Production ought to prioritise the professional development and retention of both creative teams and production crew. Exhibition, including audience development policies, must take a more holistic approach to funding, including comprehensive research on audiences and encompassing practical directives to aid cinemas, festivals and online platforms. If cultural policy is to become better aligned with the film industry, its 'national' component ought to then be part of the tangential outcomes of national funding strategies, rather than its central objective.

Building on the discussion introduced by Murray (2007) and Hutcheson (2013) over alternative frameworks for analysing Scottish cinema, this thesis' findings add to existing theory on Scottish Film policy and national cinema industries. It first acknowledges the argument that 'at the heart of cultural policy lies a particular form of instrumentalism: the use of culture to create, and continually reiterate national identity' (Bell and Oakley, 2014:112), meaning that 'for a public body, the kingpin is the government' (Doyle et al 2015:183). At Scottish Screen, government has also been the driving force in 'the desire to see Scottish Cinema identified as a national product' (Martin-Jones, 2009:106).

However, drawing on this research's findings, this thesis argues that Scotland's film industry, from funding officers to filmmakers, exhibitors play a unique role in shaping policy and institutional practice. In which case, the prescriptive top-down policies originated from UK-wide strategies and later given a nationalistic spin by the Scottish government are in practice, reinterpreted and appropriated by individual actors to fit within industry needs. Therefore, seeing recent Scottish cinema simply as as an example of cultural devolution 'accelerated by a fortuitous convergence of events in the 1990s' (Martin-Jones, 2009b:107) does not take into account industry practices and modes of cultural production. In a comparative analysis, Meir concluded:

> Given the close resemblance between Scottish cinema and British cinema . . . the question arises as to how `devolved' Scottish cinema actually is. While they have led to greater investment in the industry, despite implicit and explicit historiographical claims, policy structures have not had the effect of making Scottish cinema as independent or distinctive from its British counterpart as the devolutionary

> movement is held to have made the nation in political terms. This is not meant to belittle the achievements in Scottish cinema over the course of the last twenty-five years . . . but properly understanding Scottish cinema means not trying too forcefully to align it with larger political and historical change. Doing so means overlooking and simplifying the complexities of the production, promotion, and circulation of Scottish films. (Meir, 2007:285)

Drawing on Meir's argument and on original empirical evidence discussed in this research, this thesis supports the theory that film policy, at a macro-level, may still be rooted in government's broader objectives - such as a the safeguarding of a national cultural identity, in the case of a small nation. However, in effect, when industry practices are considered as a micro-level of the policy process, it is evident that the need for securing long-term 'sustainability' or fostering a strictly national industry are neither realistic or coherent, and consequently, these remits are played down, or sidelined by, individual actors. This thesis argues that within the context of the funding body itself, or the film industry, a concern with developing skills and experience of filmmaking talent as well as growing and cultivating audiences supersedes the remits of a national cultural policy for film. At times, such practices result in unintended consequences which, in the long-term may shift future policy thinking.

In the case of the UKFC, former CEO John Woodward made it clear that 'the council's main job was to help government come up with sensible policies to advance the wider public interest surrounding film industry - rather than support for the industry (Doyle et al 2015:183)'. However, this thesis argues that in the case of Scotland, there is a fine line between government-led policy and those pushed by the industry, as the shared, close-knit environment both groups operate allows for a blurred distinction.

Gray argues that 'for any particular policy case who the effective policy-makers are, in terms of who wields power, will be of some significance for the resultant policy outcomes' (Gray, 2012:11), where 'policy instruments are used to identify the policy processes and mechanisms that are made use of within particular organisations' (Gray, 2012:11). His argument emphasised an existing gap in cultural policy research: 'the need to get behind the process, to talk to the people actually making policy, to hear their accounts of what actually went on' (Bell and Oakely, 2014:68) by looking at the mechanisms used to implement policy. This research has addressed this by drawing on the implications of developing cultural policy for film in a small nation, repeatedly reminding itself of the value of using cultural policy to build a national identity.

This thesis argues that film policy cannot be developed as a 'one size fits all', encompassing all areas of the industry. From this analysis, the logistics for a single body to attempt to develop multiple strategies under the same remits becomes unfeasible in itself. By choosing to study two very different sectors funded by the same agency - production and exhibition - this research was bound to conclusions of comparatively limited applicability to other cultural funding bodies. These limitations however, highlight the need for continuous and advancing research of film as cultural policy.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

> There have been a lot of reports, meetings, and endless consultations over the years about the above topics with not much to show for them. The industry – all aspects of it – has to be re-engaged with the public sector in a meaningful way. Supporting the industry means listening to the people who work in it.
>
> (Belle Doyle, 2015)

First, this study provides an analysis of Scottish film policy and practice at a particularly tumultuous time in Scotland, through the analysis of a single funding agency. The timeframe follows Scottish devolution and the creation of a Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Executive in 1999, right up to a change in UK government in 2010. Inevitably, the focus of policy implementation changed rapidly and often as a result of political restructuring. Specific initiatives could see their budgets changed (or axed) as quickly as they had been started, making up for troublesome policy continuity. A wider research project with a longer timeframe - encompassing the lifetime of the Scottish Film Production Fund and the early years of Creative Scotland up to the resignation of its first CEO - may have allowed for conclusions with more extensive applications to the Scottish film industry as whole.

Second, the data available for minutes of meetings and government reviews regarding film exhibition through the last years of the SFC and Scottish Screen was limited, as detailed in this research's methods analysis. The conclusions drawn here are weighted towards the interviews with filmmakers, former personnel at Scottish Screen and at the former RFTs. As a result, this thesis' evaluation of exhibition funding leans towards qualitative evaluations and reflects the shared personal views of key interviewees. This research has also argued that this issue extends to film policy in Scotland and possibly the UK. A nationwide strategy for formal or mandatory record keeping of public funder's board meetings, applications, budget allocation monitoring and evaluation of funding awards should be rolled out to the

nations and regions and made available for public and future governments' consultation. Resource allocation to this end could serve to fulfil key cultural policy remits by increasing accessibility, better transparency and communication, as well as facilitating film policy development outside of London (or the BFI).

Third, the omission of audience research in this study allows for further study into the relationship between box office, critical reception and public funding. This thesis foregrounded the role of the press and one off box office successes in altering policy implementation, pointing to the need for a more detailed analysis of public perception of funded Scottish film or the provision of subsidised Scottish cinemas. Such findings can aid the understanding of the different players who shape film policy, why policymakers should take them into consideration and how strategy should be drafted from it.

Lastly, this research has pinpointed the significant role talent development schemes can play in subsidising the development of the industry in the long-term. As a result, there is a legitimate need for both an academic and a governmental study and assessment, respectively, of the career development of funded filmmakers - from key creatives to principal crew. The multiple applicability of talent initiatives and their long-term nature could lead to original, more comprehensive evaluation of the UK and Scottish governments' policy and cultural strategies. In complement to this, by highlighting the role of individuals, this research calls for a further investigation into the power and influence of lobbying groups, in particular the various independent producers groups which have come together since the mid-1980s, which had a notable role in film policy development in Scotland.

The work presented here is focused on Scottish case studies. Further research on other national agencies formed at the same time or shortly after Scottish Screen would also be beneficial for a better understanding of the subject, one which accounts for the wider British context. Namely, Northern Ireland Screen was founded in the same year as Scottish Screen; three years later, the UKFC was established, followed by the English regional agencies and the Film Agency for Wales in 2006. The successive launch of these dedicated agencies and their quick demise calls for a comparative study of film policy in 'the nations' as part of a UK network, operating under a single government body (DCMS). A study of their individual funding implementation policies in relation to their regional specificity could potentially further explicate the rise and fall of the institutions born from the creative industries

paradigm, one seen to be the British government's preferred framework for subsidising culture.

This research argues that institutional practices and industry operate beyond national boundaries set by government. It has added to existing knowledge of cultural production and policy practice by examining the interconnectedness between Scottish and UK policy implementation, the similarities of their limitations and the exalted role stakeholders play in shaping strategies, funding schemes and evaluation. Finally, this thesis posits that national government's cultural policy directives drive industry and institutional practices through prescriptive budget allocation and an expectation of measurable outcomes. However, as Belfiore & Bennett noted, 'the policy-making process *in reality* is more complicated than the model presumes' (2010:135) and likewise film policy aims are inherently diffuse and reflexive, to the extent they end up moulded into articulate schemes or funding initiatives through a compromise between funding bodies and industry. Consequently, this disconnect has a profound effect on the progression of the national film industry and filmmakers, operating in an international sphere.

In contributing to existing scholarly knowledge of film policy, and institutional and industry practices, this research provides an in-depth analysis of cultural policy in the hands of individuals directly or indirectly responsible for or affected by its changes. It builds on scholarly knowledge and original research to form the argument that film policy, as a subset of cultural policy, is not rendered futile as a result of its inherent short-termism. It has driven most of the significant changes that shaped filmmaking practice in Scotland, and Britain, as far as this research's findings allow for generalisation. The influential role of Scottish film policy was not a result of the extent to which their outcomes met original policy objectives, but due to it being profoundly woven into the fabric of the industry and, to the extent they are both indirect funders and potential audiences, the public itself.

At the time of writing, the latest sector reviews from Creative Scotland and the DCMS respectively reflect similar concerns already raised throughout the history of film policy and its institutions in Britain. Released simultaneously (January 2014), one stresses Scotland's 'need for a long-term vision and strategy that is insulated from political change . . . [and a] need to build a consensus around a vision'. (Creative Scotland, 2014a:55) Whilst the other reinforces how the BFI 'must facilitate 'on-going discussions with leading delivery agencies . . . across the UK's regions and nations, to enable a more cohesive strategy for the sector'

(DCMS 2014:26). There is little attempt in either document to establish any connection, or offer real support to allow for enduring industry practices beyond national concerns. This research calls for a stronger collaboration and wider recognition of the way in which the film industry operates, on the part of government and funding institutions. In Scotland, the overlap between policymakers, funders and filmmakers who often share considerable knowledge and experience of the sector ought to be a catalyst for effective and pragmatic policy rather than a hindrance.

Appendices

Appendix A1: List of interviewees

Name	Current Position	Current Organisation	Former Position (Relevant to Research)	Former Organisation	Date & Place of Interview
Alice Black	Head of Cinema	DCA	Head of Cinema	DCA	October 2013, Dundee, in Person
Allison Gardner	Head of Cinemas GFF Co-director	GFT GFF	Head of Cinemas	GFT	October 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Andrea Calderwood	Producer	Slate Films	Producer; Head of BBC Drama	Self-employed; BBC Scotland	June 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Barbara Mckissack	Producer; Lecturer; Consultant;	Royal Conservatoire of Scotland BOP Consulting	Producer; Head of BBC Drama	Self-employed; BBC Scotland	June 2013, Glasgow, in Person
Catherine Aitken	Bag designer	Self-employed	Producer (Tartan Shorts); Funding Panel Member	Self-employed Scottish Screen	April 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Colin Cameron	Producer	Self-employed	Head of Television Head of Production	BBC; BBC Scotland	April 2013, Glasgow, in Person
Dan Macrae	Head of Development	StudioCanal UK	Various. Including Projects Panel Producer, and Development officer	SFPF; Scottish Screen	April 2013, London, in Person
David Bruce	Retired	n/a	Director of Organisation	SFC; EIFF	May 2013, Helensburgh, in Person
Diane Henderson	Deputy Artistic Director	CMI (EIFF)	Various	EIFF; Cameo Cinema	October 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Eddie Dick	Producer	Makar Productions	Director of Organisation	SFPF; Scottish Screen	May 2013, Edinburgh, In Person
Ela-Zych Watson	Project Administrator	AmbITtion Scotland; Culture Republic	Marketing and Promotions Executive	SFPF; Scottish Screen	May 2013, Glasgow, in Person
Holly Daniel	Head of Industry and Talent Development	EIFF	Head of Industry and Talent Development	EIFF	Pesonal Communication, Various dates, in person

Name	Current Position	Current Organisation	Former Position (Relevant to Research)	Former Organisation	Date & Place of Interview
Jennifer Armitage	Development Officer	Creative Scotland	Market Development Executive Development Officer	Scottish Screen Creative Scotland	Pesonal Communication, Various dates, in person and via e-mail
John Archer	Producer	Hopscotch Films	CEO Producer (Tartan Shorts)	Scottish Screen	May 2013, Glasgow, in Person
Johnny Barrington	Director (Short Film)	Self-employed	Director (Tartan Shorts)	n/a	October 2013, via e-mail
Ken Hay	CEO	CMI and EIFF	CEO	Scottish Screen	May 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Mark Cousins	Filmmaker Writer	Self-employed	Filmmaker; National Lottery Panel Member (SAC)	Filmmaker SAC	May 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Mike Tait	Discovery Festival Coordinator	DCA	Discovery Festival Coordinator	DCA	October 2013, Dundee, in Person
Morag Mackinnon	Director	n/a	Director (Tartan Shorts)	n/a	October 2013, via e-mail
Morgan Petrie	Portfolio Manager	Creative Scotland	Head of Marketing Development	Scottish Screen	May 2013, Glasgow, in Person
Philip Schlesinger	Various (Academia) Board Member	University of Glasgow Ofcom	Board Member	Scottish Screen	July 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Robin Macpherson	Board Member Various (Academia)	Creative Scotland; UHI	Producer (Tartan Shorts) Development Executive	Self-employed Scottish Screen	May 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Ron Inglis	Exhibition Consultant	Self-Employed	CEO	Regional Screen Scotland	July 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Sambrooke Scott	Network Manager	Film Hub Scotland	Development Officer Pprtfolio Manager	Scottish Screen and Creative Scotland	May 2013, Edinburgh, in Person
Steve McIntyre	n/a	Self-employed	CEO	Scottish Screen	July 2013, Edinburgh, in Person

Appendix A2

Questions for Interviews

For current and former employees at cultural public bodies:

1. Could you describe your role in the formation/development of the Tartan Shorts scheme/Exhibition and Distribution strategies at Scottish Screen?

2. [In reference to the above] How did the selection/evaluation process take place in the organisation?

3. How did the evaluation of the scheme/strategy take pace? Were you involved on the delivery and evaluation of the scheme/initiative?

4. In your opinion, what were the main barriers and/or advantages of the initiatives [refers to question 1]?

5. [If interviewee has/had a executive producer's role] What do you think was the role of the schemes/strategy in strengthening the Scottish film Industry?

6. [If former CEO/Board member] How would you say the institution worked to carry out the Scottish Government policies ? How was the relationship between the institution and policymakers? Do you think this has changed since 2010/Creative Scotland?

For Producers and Directors

1. What made you apply for the Tartan Shorts Scheme? Were you happy to be allocated to a director/producer? [This questions will be tailored to the filmmakers' particular projects, experience and current work]

2. How did you find the process of working with Scottish Screen/The Scottish FIlm Production Fund team after your project was selected for Tartan Shorts?

3. How important was the fact that Tartan shorts guaranteed a EIFF screening and BBC Scotland Broadcast to 1) the project development 2) your career development?

4. What were the barriers/advantages of working closely with BBC/Scottish Screen Executive producers? How would you describe the development of the project from an 'administrative' point of view?

5. [For Market Development Fund award recipients] Why and how do you think public bodies should invest on a film's exhibition and distribution? How did the Scottish Screen funding you receive contributed to the development of your film/career?

For Exhibitors

1. What public investment have you received in the last 10/20 years? What was it invested on? [capital/revenue/project or core costs]

2. How would you say this award contributed [if at all] to the development of a Scottish audience in your region/organisation?

3. In your opinion, what are the key audience development issues that need to be addressed by 1) Policymakers 2) public funders through exhibition and distribution funding? What are the benefits and drawback of the currently available funds? How would you suggest they could be improved?

For all

1. In respect of the funding schemes in place at the time you were working at Scottish screen, how did the selection, implementation and evaluation process of these organisations take place, in practice?

2. In your opinion, what were the main barriers and/or advantages of the development of new funding initiatives? Eg: Tartan Shorts

3. What do you think was the role of the schemes/strategy in strengthening the Scottish film Industry? Eg.: with Tartan Shorts

4. How would you say the institution worked in order to carry out the Scottish Government policies ? How was the relationship between the institution and policymakers? Do you think this has changed since 2010/Creative Scotland?

5. What role do you think policymakers should play in strengthening Scottish film output and Scottish audiences? Should they invest on production funding, development, exhibition, audience development or training and education?

6. Would you say we have a Scottish Film Industry? Why?

Appendix B

Press Cuttings

Figure 1 – *Scottish Film* Magazine, 1993

Figure 2 – Millar, 1997

Appendix C

SFPF and Scottish Screen Timeline 1992-2010

Year	Director/CEO	Budget (approx.)	Key Institutional Changes (Scotland)	Key Policy Changes and Government Reports (Scotland and UK)	Key 'Scottish' Films	Prime Minister/First Minister/Secretary of State for Culture/ Cultural Minister
1992	Kate Swan	£340,000 (SFPF) From SOED (£190,000), Channel Four (£60,000), BBC Scotland (£90,000) and Grampian (£10,000).	Early negotiations for set up of new roduction fund (Glasgow Film Fund). Kate Swan (producer) is appointed by the board of SFPF Movie Makars training scheme and Tartan Shorts scheme launched and open for applications. .	*Moving Images and Moving Targets* Paper presented a Moving Image Consultation Day. Conversations proposing a single agency for film in Scotland are started. PACT celebrates one year anniversary – starts lobbying for increased produciton funding Tax relief is introduced for production expenditure through the Finance Act.	*Prague* (Dir. Ian Sellar) *Blue Black Permanent* (Dir. Margaret Tait)	John Major (Cons) Ian Lang (Cons)
1993	Kate Swan	£340,000 (SFPF) Income sources as above.	Glasgow Film Fund set up. Awards the full amount available, £250,000) to Shallow Grave. First batch of Tartan Shorts is premiered. Most receive mixed reviews. Kate Swan resigns to raise a Family and pursue her career as a film producer	National Lottery etc. Act 1993	*Franz Kafka its a Wonderful Life* (short, Dir. Peter Capaldi) – in first batch of Tartan Shorts *As an Eilean* (Dir. Mike Alexander)	John Major (Cons) Ian Lang (Cons)
1994	Eddie Dick	£365,000 (£150,000 under GFF) £130,000 for SFC – capital projects	First negotiations between SAC, SFPF and SFC regarding Lottery Funds distribution *Franz Kafka its a Wonderful* wins Oscar for Best Short Film	John Major Launches National Lottery Fund HC National Heritage Select Committee on the British Film Industry	*Shallow Grave* (Dir. Danny Boyle)	John Major (Cons) Ian Lang (Cons)
1995	Eddie Dick	£400,000	First formal discussions on the formation of Scottish Screen take place Investment Strands formally divided into Development, Production and Projects Panel.	National Lottery Funding made available for film production, remains under SAC control 1995 Devolution of National Lottery to the 'nations'	*Braveheart* (Dir. Mel Gibson) *Rob Roy* (Dir. Michael Caton-Jones)	John Major (Cons) Michael Forsyth (Cons)

Year		Budget			Film	Political
1996	Eddie Dick/ John Archer	£463,000	Scottish Screen Corporate Plan Draft and first board meetings take place. Eddie Dick and Bill Forsyth's letters of accusations to each other published on the Scottish Press. Accusations led to significantly reduced pot of money for film production.	Hydra Associates published.- *Scotland on Screen: The Development of the Film and Television Industry in Scotland*. The Middleton Report (DNH) is published, forming the basis for Section 48 of the tax relief system	*Small Faces* (Dir. Gillies Mackinnon) *Trainspotting* (Dir. Danny Boyle) *Carla's Song* (Ken Loach)	John Major (Cons) Michael Forsyth (Cons)
1997	John Archer	**£2,500,000** (+£3,100,000 Lottery Fund via SAC)	Scottish Screen launched (May) Scottish Screen battles SAC over control of Lottery money for film Both Scottish Screen and SAC accused of cronyism in the press and by the Scottish Stand Extensive negative press coverage	Scottish Stand publishes *Opening the Door* - questions Scottish Screen's transparency KPMG (1997b) *Scottish Screen Strategic Marketing Plan for Marketing Scotland to the Screen Industries 1997-2000. Stage III Draft Report*, Glasgow: KPMG DCMS replaces Department of National Heritage Northern Ireland Screen is established as the Northern Ireland Film & Television Commission in 1997 Section 48 of the Finance (No. 2) Act 1997 cames into effect (tax relief amended)	*Mrs Brown* (Dir. John Madden)	Tony Blair (Labour) Donald Dewar (Labour)
1998	John Archer	**£2,300,000**	Criteria for Funding is published Exhibition Working Group (planned review of the sector) set up 'Seven Pillars' of investment launched Production Strategy and new initiatives launched	Devolution Act -Scotland Act 1998 DCMS Creative Industries Mapping Document *A Bigger Picture* film review report (UK-wide) Film Policy Action Committee for Scotland (Aug)	*Orphans* (Dir. Peter Mullan)	Tony Blair (Labour) Donald Dewar (Labour)
1999	John Archer	**£3,200,000**	Scottish Screen Archives open in Kirkintilloch Panel Structure: Media Education; Development Panel; Projects Panel; Training Committee; Exhibition Assessment Panel'	Scottish Parliament is formed. Consultation on National Culture Strategy starts. Galbraith announces move of Lottery Fund to	*Ratcatcher* (Dir. Lynne Ramsey)	Tony Blair (Labour) Donald Dewar (Labour) Rhona Brankin

Year		Funding		Scottish Screen		(Labour Co-op)
2000	John Archer	**£3,200,000**	New organisational structure agreed on through Board Meeting: added Board and Sectoral Committees, Lottery and Development Panel Corporate Plan 2001/02- 2003/04 in response to Cultural Strategy draft report	1st April 2000: transfer of responsibilities for Lottery funds allocation for film to Scottish Screen. UK Film Council is established Film in England: A Development Strategy for Film and the Moving Image in the English Regions sets out the structure for the 9 Regional Screen Agencies A New Future for Communications (White Paper) proposes the establishment of regulator Ofcom.	*Aberdeen* (Dir. Hans Peter Molland) *Morven Callar* (Dir. Lynne Ramsey)	Tony Blair (Labour) Donald Dewar /Henry McLeish (Labour) Rhona Brankin/ Sam Galbraith (Labour)
2001	John Archer	**£3,400,000**	July: John Archer resigns due to accusations of cronyism Panel Structure changes: Training Committee; Education Committee; Locations Advisory Committee; Lottery Committee; Script Development Panel	National Culture Strategy Consultation: *Creating Our Future, Minding Our Past*	*Late Night Shopping* (Dir. Saul Metzstein)	Tony Blair (Labour) Henry McLeish (Labour) Allan Wilson (Labour)
2002	Steve McIntyre	**£5,000,000** (£2.6m grant in aid from Scottish Executive and £2.4m National Lottery share)	Spring: McIntyre appointed CEO Investment Strands change: Script Development, Project Development, Short Film Production, Short Film Schemes,Feature Film Funding Scottish Press accuses agency of lack of accountability, transparency and communication	Scottish Screen Review by the Scottish Executive published/ Scotland's Screen Industries Summit Group - suggests Creative Scotland Draft Communications Bill (UK-wide) UK: HC DCMS Committee: The British Film Industry report	*Sweet Sixteen* (Dir. Ken Loach) *The Magdalene Sisters* (Dir. Peter Mullan) *The Last Great Wilderness* (Dir. David Mackenzie)	Tony Blair (Labour) Jack McConnell (Labour) Mike Watson (Labour)
2003	Steve McIntyre	**£5,200,000** (£2.6m grant in aid from Scottish Executive and £2.6m National	Monitoring and evaluation forms formally introduced Response to Scottish Executive Review (hints a creative Scotland)	National Cultural Strategy launched David Graham & Associates *Audit of the Screen Industries in Scotland.* Communications Act (2003)	*Afterlife,*(Dir. Alison Peebles) *Young Adam* (Dir. David Mackenzie)	Tony Blair (Labour) Jack McConnell (Labour)

Year	CEO	Funding	Events	Reports / Policy	Films	Government (Labour)
		Lottery share	New Investment Strands: Script Development; Project Development; Short Film Production; Short Film Schemes; Feature Film Funding; Exhibition Development Fund. Open Letter from PACT/Filmmakers to Scottish Screen Board (incl. Gillian Berrie, Eddie Dick, Andrea Gibb, Penny Thomson, Oscar van Heek)	DCMS report on *The British Film Industry*, HC, 667-I, 9 September 2003.		Mike Watson (Labour)
2004	Steve McIntyre	£5,400,000 (£2.8m grant in aid from Scottish Executive and £2.6m National Lottery share)	McIntyre resigns (June). Scottish Screen and PACT consultation summary report is published. Increase in budget expected due to Scottish Enterprise funding and BBC Scotland partnership funding. Advance Party project proposed. **Investment Strands:** Script Development; Project Development Short Film Production; Short Film Schemes; Feature Film Funding	Cultural Commission established (Scotland).	*Dear Frankie* (Dir. Shona Auerbach); *Ae Fond Kiss* (Dir. Ken Loach)	Tony Blair (Labour); Jack McConnell (Labour); Frank McAveety (Labour)
2005	Ken Hay	£6,000,000 (£3m of National Lottery and £3 from Scottish Executive)	4th Jan - Ken Hay announced as new CEO. Lottery Panels dissolved. Funding decisions in future to be made by a smaller panel of Scottish Screen officers and external advisors. Internal organisational review starts	*Our Next Major Enterprise* (Cultural Commission, 2005: 233) - proposes Creative Scotland. Digital Screen Network is set up by UKFC and ACE	*Night People* (Dir. Adrian Mead); *On a Clear Day* (Dir. Gaby Dellal)	Tony Blair (Labour); Jack McConnell (Labour); Patricia Ferguson (Labour)
2006	Ken Hay	£6,900,000 (£3.7m of National Lottery and £3.2m from the Scottish Executive)	National Lottery distribution and internal reviews are completed. New investment guidelines launched. New joint Board for Scottish Screen and the Scottish Arts Council	*Scotland's Culture* (Scottish Executive, 2006) - announces Creative Scotland. UK-wide: British Film Qualifying Criteria. Creative Scotland officially announced. Draft Cultural Bill Open - Consultation	*Red Road* (Dir. Andrea Arnold); *The Last King Of Scotland* (Dir. Kevin MacDonald); *The Flying Scotsman*	Tony Blair (Labour); Jack McConnell (Labour); Patricia Ferguson

Year			Training and Skills development delegated to Skillset Scotland	Scotland's Draft Culture Bill Announced (December)	(Dir. Douglas Mackinnon)	(Labour)
				Finance Act 2006 reviews Tax relief again		
2007	Ken Hay	£6,200,000 (£3.5m of Scottish Executive grant in aid and £2.7m from National Lottery)	Static deadlines scrapped: rowling applications system introduced Scottish Screen Cinema Exhibition and Distribution strategies published. Screen Archives transferred to NLS Investment Strands are revised: Content Development; Content Production; Short film Production; Exhibition; Distribution; Festivals; Audience Development; Pilot fund; Future fund; New Talent development initiative; Business Development; Markets and Festivals; The Singles – joint Scottish Screen and BBC initiative; Express Fund	Creative Scotland Bill Announced Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Screen joint board announced (Jan) UK New film tax Credits and Cultural Test Introduced SNP wins majority seats at Scottish Parliement	*Seachd: The Inaccessible Pinnacle* (Dir. Simon Miller) *Hallam Foe* (Dir. David Mackenzie)	Gordon Brown (Labour) Alex Salmond (SNP) Linda Fabiani (SNP)
2008	Ken Hay	£5,400,000 (£3.2m of Scottish Executive grant in aid and £2.2m from National Lottery)	Cultural Cinema Hubs announced (750k investment) Regional Screen Scotland is created Investment Strands are revised once again: Content Development; Content Production; Short film Production; Markets and Festivals; Pilot Fund; Slate Fund; Express Film Fund; Audience Development; Market Development	Creative Scotland Bill Introduced (March). Bill falls in Aug.	*Trouble Sleeping* (Dir. Robert Rae) *Doomsday* (Dir. Neil Marshall)	Gordon Brown (Labour) Alex Salmond (SNP) Linda Fabiani (SNP)
2009	Ken Hay	£6,500,000 (£3.2m of Scottish Executive grant-in-aid plus Project based grants and Natinal Lottery	Review of Lottery guidelines completed and relaunching of new guidelines in April 2009. Two main areas of review; recoupment levels, configuration of the investment strands (reduce number or strands).	Scottish Creative Industries Partnership Report published Significant transfer from the Lottery Distribution Fund to the Olympic Distribution Fund Start of the House of Lords Select Committee on Communications, *The British Film and*	*Crying with Laughter* (Dir. Justin Molotnikov)	Gordon Brown (Labour) Alex Salmond (SNP) MIke Russell (SNP)

		Income)		Television Industries – Decline or Opportunity?		
2010	Ken Hay	£7,000,000 (£2.3m of National Lottery Funds)	Last issue of *Roughcuts* is issued Investments under Scottish Screen cease by June	Creative Scotland established. *UK Film: Digital innovation and creative excellence: Policy and funding priorities April 2010 to March 2013.* UKFC is abolished in July.	*Donkeys* (Dir. Morag McKinnon) *Outcast* (Dir. Colm McCarthy)	David Cameron, Nick Clegg (Cons/Lib-Dem) Alex Salmond (SNP) Fiona Hyslop (SNP)

Appendix D

Scottish Screen Board Members 1997-2010

Source: Scottish Screen Annual Review 1997-2009

From February 2007 a Joint Board was created with ACE.

Name	Type	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Alistair Moffat	Producer. TV. Doc Producer. Historian.	█	in											█
Allan Shiach	Writer. Businessman. Former SFPF/SFC	√	out											
Andrea Calderwood	Producer. Film.						√	√	√					
Angus Macdonald	Broadcasting. Scottish Television. Chair.	√	√											
Angus Macdonald	Lawyer. MMS	√	√											
April Chamberlain	Broadcasting. Comedy Unit. TV and radio								√	√	out			
Barabara Mckissack	Broadcasting. Producer	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	in	√	√
Benjamin Twist	Theatre	█	√									in	√	√
Brian Beattie	Arts/Theatre consultant.			in	√	√	√	out						
Charles Lovatt	Business. Music									√	√	√	√	√
Danny Meaney	Consultant. Innovation									√	out			
David Strachan	Producer. TV and PACT	√	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	out				
Dinah Caine	Skillset. Education and Training.						√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Donald Emslie	Business. TV	√												
Eileen Mackay	Business. Finance. RBS Director and Scottish Office	√	√	√	√									
Iain Smith	Producer. Film.	█	√	√	√	√	in	√	√	√	√	√	√	out
James Lee	Producer. Media Consultant.		√ (Chair)	√	√	√								
James McSharry	Theatre. Screenwriter											in	√	√
Jim Faulds	Civil Servant Former ACE. Nat Lottery Fund chair		in	√	√	√	√	out						
John McCormick	Broadcasting. Film Festival Director	█												
John Mulgrew	Academia/Education											in	√	√
Karen Hogarty	Lawyer. Film Financing								√	√	√	out		
Kay Henning	Consultant. Media Research	█						√	√	√	√	out		
Malcolm Ritchie	Accountant. Film and media Consultant	█						√	√	√	√	out		
Margaret Matheson	Producer. Former SFPF	█												
Mary Picken	Civil Servant. Arts administrator. Policy. Scot. Opera	√	√											
Michael Walker	Lawyer. Business Consultant. Former Scottish Screen Locations	√												
Paddy Higson	Producer	█	in	√	√	out								
Paul Harris	Academia. Some film experience									√	√	out		
Paul Zealey	Consultant. Media access & Diversit									√	√	out		
Peter Brougham	Producer SFC, BFI, Producer. Film. (Rob	√	√	out										

	(Roy)												
Philip Schlesinger	Academia. Education	√	√	-	-	√		out		√	√		
Ray Macfarlane	Lawyer, MD at Scottish Enterprise.	√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Richard Findlay	Lawyer, Media.						√	√	√	√	out	√	√
Richard Holloway	Writer. ACE/CCA and Broadcasting board roles. Church roles pre 2000.									√ (Chair)	√	√
Robert Noakes	Broadcasting and Music									in	√	√
Scott Meek	Producer and film archives, Former BFI and SFPF	√	√	√	√	out						
Stephen Foster	Accountant.	√	√	√	√	√	√	out	√			
Stephen Foster	Business. Accountant.	√										
Steve Grimmond	Civil Servant. Edinburgh Council	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		in	√	√
Stuart Cosgrove	Broadcasting. Channel 4. Nations and Regions. Journalist							out				

Appendix E

Scottish Screen Grants by Activity, 1997-2009

Scottish Screen Grants by Activity

	Archive	Education	Talent Development and Training	Development	Production	Audience and Market Development	Exhibition	Income
1997	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	**£2,553,273**
1998	£226,325	£0	£378,180	£185,755	£310,054	£0	£462,662	**£2,301,736**
1999	£224,487	£0	£386,296	£241,444	£90,100	£0	£386,830	**£3,202,000**
2000	£256,000	£0	£457,000	£229,000	£546,000	£0	£465,000	**£3,202,000**
2001	£251,000	£0	£528,000	£215,000	£528,000	£0	£391,000	**£3,397,000**
2002	£259,000	£0	£522,000	£90,000	£720,000	£0	£584,000	**£3,702,000**
2003	£343,000	£0	£589,000	£142,000	£415,000	£0	£544,000	**£3,435,000**
2004	£314,000	£0	£505,000	£218,000	£763,000	£141,000	£489,000	**£3,734,000**
2005	£355,000	£0	£688,000	£358,000	£2,147,000	£0	£639,000	**£4,067,000**
2006	£1,114,000	£231,000	£270,000	£173,000	£1,780,000	£121,000	£589,000	**£4,939,000**
2007	£0	£159,000	£225,000	£175,000	£2,239,000	£129,000	£607,000	**£3,343,000**
2008	£0	£178,000	£150,000	£184,000	£1,411,000	£232,000	£1,199,000	**£4,585,000**
2009	£0	£69,000	£252,000	£362,000	£1,713,000	£297,000	£645,000	**£6,458,000**

Notes:		
	All Years	**Market & Audience Development** includes Festival, Audience, Distribution and Market Development Funds
	All Years	**Exhibition** includes Core Grants to RFTs and Cinema Hubs
	2005	**Develement** includes Script Development Strand. Production includes Features and Shorts Funding
	2006	**Develement** includes Script Development strand and New Content Development. **Production** includes Former 'Features strand and New Content Production strand Plus Shorts Funding
	2007	**Production** Includes Content Fund, Shorts and Express Fund. **Development** Includes Content Development Only.
	2008	**Production** Includes Content Fund, Shorts and Express Fund. **Development** Includes Content Development Only.
	2009	**Production** Includes Content Fund, Shorts and Express Fund. **Development** Includes Content Development Only.

Source: Scottish Screen Annual Reviews, National Lottery Distribution Fund Sccounts,

www.scottishscreen.com

Appendix F

Scottish Screen Funding Schemes 2005-2009

	Financial year			
	2005/06	**2006/07**	**2007/08**	**2008/09**
Investment Strands Available	Script Development	Content Development	Content Development	Content Development[1,3]
	Project Development	Short Film Production	Short Film Production	Short Film Production[5]
	Short Film Production Funding	Content Production	Content Production	Content Production
	Short Film Award Schemes	Distribution	Distribution[4]	Audience Development[2]
	Feature Film Funding	Festivals	Festivals[2]	Markets and Festivals
		Audience Development	Audience Development	New Talent Development Fund[5]
		Markets and Festivals	Markets and Festivals	Slate Funding*
		New Talent Development Initiative	New Talent Development Fund	
		Future Fund	Future Fund[1]	Market Development Fund[4]
		Business Development Loan*	Business Development Loan*	Express Film Fund
			Pilot Fund	Pilot Fund[3]
			Express Film Fund	
			The Singles*	

[1] The Future Fund strand was incorporated into the Content Development strand for the financial year 2008/09.
[2] The Festivals strand was incorporated into the Audience Development strand for the financial year 2008/09.
[3] The Pilot Fund strand was incorporated into the Content Development strand in October 2008.
[4] The Market Development Fund strand replaced and expanded upon the Distribution strand in July 2008. The Distribution strand was closed in March 2008.
[5] The Short Film Production and Talent Development Fund strands were fully allocated in October 2008, to be reopened in 2009/10.

Source: Scottish Screen Annual Review 2008/2009

Appendix G

Graph - Tartan Shorts: Where are they now?

'Where are they now?' - Tartan Shorts 1993-2006

Currently in Academia (Film and Media)
4.1%

Changed area of work (non-film related)
13.8%

More than 1 Theatrical feature completed
10.6%

At least 1 Theatrical Feature Completed
6.5%

Feature in Development
4.1%

Extensive TV work - acclaimed TV series (UK and US), TV Features and TV Documentaries
21.1%

Not traceable
5.7%

Limited work. Some TV, comemrcials or shorts
20.3%

Medium level of work. Award winning shorts and some popular UK Television
13.8%

Source Table - Tartan Shorts - Where are they now?

	DIRECTOR	PRODUCER	WRITER	BUDGET
2006				
Kissing, Tickling and Being Bored	Jim McRoberts	David Smith	Jim McRoberts	£65,000.00
The Harvest	Joseph Briffa	Suzanne Reid	Joseph Briffa and Paul Welsh	£65,000.00
TROUT	Johnny Barrington	Anna Duffield	Johnny Barrington	£65,000.00
2005				
Run	Peter Mackie Burns	Marie Olesen	Peter Mackie Burns	£60,000.00
At the End of the Sentence	Marisa Zanotti	Angela Murray, Susan Nickalls	David Greig	£60,000.00
Sweetie	Becky Dodds Brazil	Graham Drysdale	Becky Dodds Brazil	£60,000.00
2004				
Baldy McBain	Colm McCarthy	Zachariah Copping, Michael Duffy	Marc Pye	£60,000.00
No Man's Land	Clara Glynn	Lorna Ferguson	Clara Glynn	£60,000.00
Tumshie McFadgen's Bid For Ultimate Bliss	Simon Hynd	Micky McPherson	Simon Hynd	£60,000.00
2003				
All Over Brazil	David Andrew Ward	Garfield Kennedy	Jamie Havlin	£60,000.00
Sredni Vashtar	Angela Murray	Robbie Sandison	Angela Murray and Hector Hugh Munro	£60,000.00
Wise Guys	Adrian J. McDowall	John Archer	Simon Stephenson	£60,000.00
2002				
Cowboys and Indians	Stuart Grieve	Barbara Doyle	John Rooney	£60,000.00
That Old One	James Henry	Rebecca Knapp	James Henry	£60,000.00
Billy Bongo	Brian Kelly	Carolynne Sinclair Kidd	Ewan Kilgour	£60,000.00
2001				
Manji	Rene Mohandas	Abigail Howkins	Rene Mohandas	£60,000.00
Cry for Bobo	David Cairns	Nigel R Smith	David Cairns	£60,000.00
Tangerine	Alison Peebles	Amanda Millen and Carole Sheridan	Colin Hough	£60,000.00
2000				
Birthday	Morag McKinnon	Hannah Lewis and Gaynor Holmes	Morag McKinnon	£60,000.00

Rice Paper Stars	Andy Goddard	Becky Lloyd	Andy Goddard	£60,000.00
The Lovers	Ewan Morrison	Paul Welsh	Paul Welsh	£60,000.00
1999				
Poached	Justin Molotnikov	Mark Grindle	Justin Molotnikov	£55,000.00
Billy & Zorba	Brian Kirk	Gaynor Holmes	Ed McCardie	£55,000.00
Marcie's Dowry	David Mackenzie	Glynis Robertson	Bill Chamberlain	£55,000.00
1998				
Duck	Kenneth Glenaan	Robin MacPherson	Des Dillon	£55,000.00
First its Dark	Jon Love	Wendy Griffin	n/a	£55,000.00
Spitting Distance	Brian Ross	Miglet Crichton	Brian Ross	£55,000.00
1997				
Gasman	Lynne Ramsay	Gavin Emerson	Lynne Ramsay	£55,000.00
Karmic Mothers	John Tiffany	Gill Parry, Charlie Stuart	Kate Atkinson	£55,000.00
Candyfloss	Hannah Robinson	Marnie Anderson	Hannah Robinson/Maria McDonnell	£55,000.00
1996				
The Star	David Moore	Stephen Marsh, Ildiko Kemeny Butler	John Milarky	£50,000.00
Dead Sea Reels	Don Coutts	Oscar van Heek	Sergio Casci	£50,000.00
Initiation	Martin McCardie	Angus Lamont	Martin McCardie	£50,000.00
1995				
The Pen	Bill Pryde	Barbara McKissack	n/a	£45,000.00
Fridge	Peter Mullan	Frances Higson	Peter Mullan	£45,000.00
Dancing	Stevan Rimkus	Pamela Wilson	Stevan Rimkus	£45,000.00
1994				
Latin For a Dark Room	Joe Ahearne	Catherine Aitken	Liz Lochhead	£35,000.00
Narance	Patrick Harkins	Jo Spreckley, John McVay	Patrick Harkins	£35,000.00
Daddy's gone a Hunting	Morag Fullarton	Julie Fraser	Kathy Crombie	£35,000.00
1993				
Franz Kafka Its a Wonderful Life	Peter Capaldi	Ruth Kenley-Letts	Peter Capaldi	£30,000.00
Small Deposit	Eleanor Yule	Paul Holmes	Danny McCahon	£30,000.00
Rain	Jim Shields	Amanda Partridge	James Mavor	£30,000.00

Source: Various. See Chapter 3.

Appendix H

SFC Tartan Shorts Application Form, 1994
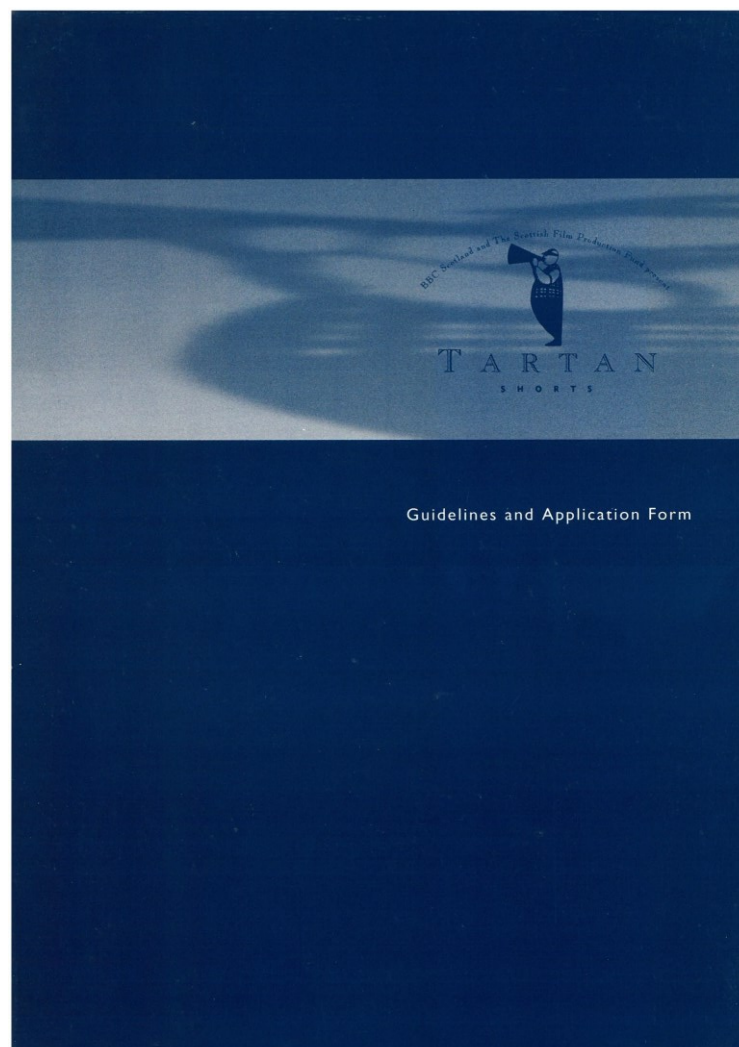
GUIDELINES FOR APPLICANTS

Applications are invited for the Scottish Film Production Fund/BBC Scotland Short Film Awards. The deadline for submissions is 7th October 1994. Applications should be sent to:

TARTAN SHORTS

Scottish Film Production Fund

74 Victoria Crescent Road

Glasgow G12 9JN

The TARTAN SHORTS initiative creates an opportunity for Scotland's film making talent to make cinematic short films. Scripts are invited from writer/producer/director teams, who have yet to make their feature film debut.

Three projects will be selected by the Board of the Scottish Film Production Fund at their meeting in early December, and will each be awarded a maximum of £43,000 to produce a ten-minute film. (The films will be treated as independent commissions from BBC Scotland, whose usual contractual procedures apply.)

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

Submissions should contain four copies of each of the following:

1. Completed application form,

2. Full script for a short fiction film,

3. Curriculum vitae of producer, writer and director,

4. Such additional information on cast and crew as is available.

Shortlisted applicants will be notified by early November and asked to present a summary budget, details of any other finance committed to the project, and production information including location and casting details and production schedule. As the films will be shown at film festivals and in cinemas, the films must be originated on 16mm or 35mm film, delivered as a combined optical print, and transferred to Beta SP for TV transmission.

Shortlisted applicants may be asked to attend a meeting and to submit examples of previous work.

Any queries can be addressed to the

Scottish Film Production Fund, 74 Victoria Crescent Road, Glasgow G12 9JN

TARTAN SHORTS - APPLICATION FORM

Title

Name of Producer

Name of Writer

Name of Director

Stock ☐ 16mm ☐ S16mm ☐ 35mm

Est. total production costs

APPLICANT(S)

Name:

Address:

Tel: Fax:

Name:

Address:

Tel: Fax:

SUPPORTING MATERIAL

Please ensure you have enclosed the following material, and complete the checklist:

☐ Script
☐ Producer's CV
☐ Writer's CV
☐ Director's CV

DECLARATION

I/We declare that to the best of my/our knowledge, the information contained in this application is complete and accurate.

Signed: Date: / /

Signed: Date: / /

Send the completed form to:

Tartan Shorts, The Scottish Film Production Fund,

74 Victoria Crescent Rd, Glasgow G12 9JN

Appendix I

Scottish Screen National Lottery –

Short Film Production Funding Application Form (2005)

D Meeting the Criteria

The 9 Policy Directions listed below are the main criteria used to decide whether your proposal will receive Scottish Screen National Lottery funding. **Please refer to Section G in the Guidelines to assist you in answering the following questions:**

1. Your project must foster the development of a sustainable film industry in Scotland and must have strong Scottish elements

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

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

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

Appendix J

SFPF/Scottish Screen Funding Schemes (1991-2010)

SHORT FILM PRODUCTION SCHEMES AT SFPF & Scottish Screen 1991-2009

Duration	Scheme	Aims of Scheme	Nº funded films	Max. running time	Budget	Funders	Genre/Format	Exhibition
1992 - 1998	First Reels	Entry Level , very low budget	0	No specified length	Up to £5,000	SFC and STV	Drama	Festival release
1993 - 2006	Tartan Shorts	Short filmmakers yet to make a feature. Good experience in making shorts.	3	10 minutes	£30,000 - £65,000	SFPF/Scottish Screen and Scotland	Drama, DV or 16mm for 35mm blow up	EIFF, LFF, BBC, Scotland
1996 - 1998	Prime Cuts	Low Budget Productions. Early Career	5	5-7 minutes	Up to £23,000;	British Screen, SAC, SS and STV	Any. 16mm	EIFF, STV
1996 - 1998	Gear Ghearr	Gaelic Language	2	10 minutes	approx. £30,000	Gaelic Film and TV Fund, BBC Scotland	Drama, Highland and Island Location	BBC Scotland, Festivals
1998 - 2004 (then GMAC til current)	Cineworks	Mcredit. Entry Level. Offered training for all pre-selected	5	5 minutes	£10,000 - £15,000, or £5,000 for completion	GMAC, Edinburgh Media Base, Scottish Screen, UKFC New Cinema Fund and BBC Scotland	Drama, Documentary and Animation. Digital	Festival release
1999 - 2004	New Found Land	New writers and directors	6	30 minutes	£45,000 - £50,000	Scottish Television, Grammarian Television and Scottish Screen	Drama. Digital, 'working with new technology'. Encouraged Innovation in form and content.	TV Broadcast
2002 - present (at the time of writing)	Bridging the Gap	Documentaries, training and mentorship scheme	5	20 minutes (now 10 minutes)	£16,000	Scottish Screen, Scottish Entreprise Tayside, ECA, Angus Digital Media. Now SDI.	Documentaries	Theatrical release
2002 - 2006	Tartan Smalls	Aimed at Children	3	9 minutes	£40,000	Scottish Screen, Scottish Media Group, National Lottery, BBC Scpotland, CBBC	Aimed at 9-13 Year Olds. DV	CBBC, Festivals
2002 - 2005	This Scotland	To both experienced or novice doc-makers	12	24 minutes	£18,000	STV, Grampia, Scottish Screen	Documentaries	Broadcast and Theatrical
Aug 2005 - 2007	Pocket Shorts	Shorts for mobile phones	0	60 seconds	£3,000	Scottish Screen, Scottish Enterprise and the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts.	Any Genre. Shot on Mobile.	
2001 - present (at the time of writing, under 'Scottish Shorts')	DigiCult	Experimentation and innovation. Aimed at Developed teams.	5	Under 15 minutes	£1,000 - £8,000 (Scottish Screen) £5,000-£10,000 (Under 'Scottish Shorts')	UKFC and GMAC up to 2007. From 2007 onwards, ran by Hopscotch films – multiple funding/	Digital	Festivals
2007-2009	Short Film Fund	Open to new and established talent. Rolling deadlines.	0	Under 20 minutes	£35,000 available	Scottish Screen (via National Lottery) folded into Content production strand in 2009.	Drama, Documentary or Animation	Festivals
2006 -2009	Shortcuts (Replaced Digicult and Cineworks)	New and emerging talent	0	10-20 minutes	Under 10,000	Ran by GMAC with UKFC support	Drama, Documentary or Animation	Film Festivals
2007-2010	Short Film Fund	Guidelines: 'Funds are available for fiction, documentary and animated short films with contributions towards up to half of a project's budget. Partnership funding may be "in kind" funding, but at least half of the partnership funding must be in cash. Lottery funding from other sources can be brought in up to a half of the total budget, but will not count as partnership funding. Applications for short film production of under £25,000 are considered monthly by Scottish Screen officers and over £25,000 quarterly by the full Lottery panel.Projects must have strong Scottish elements and be capable of reaching an audience beyond Scotland.' www.scottishscreen.com Published in 2009.							

FEATURE FILM PRODUCTION SCHEMES AT SFPF & Scottish Screen 1997-2009

Duration	Scheme	Aimed at	Budget	Funders/ Guidelines	Genre	Exhibition
1999 - 2001	Twenty First Films	Imaginative and challenging low-budget features to be produced on a total budget of up to £600,000	£500,000	In partnership with SAC. Projects needed strong Scottish elements and be capable of reaching an audience beyond Scotland. Distributor interest in a project was required, particularly in the UK theatrical market, as were estimates of international sales potential from a sales agent.	Fiction, documentary and animation films. Examples: Last Great Wilderness and Looking for Keourac (unfinished)	Aimed at theatrical distribution
2002-2006	New Found Films (substituting New Found Land shorts)	For new and emerging Scottish filmmakers	2x £ 300,000 every two years. 90 minutes films	STV, Grampian and Scottish Screen	Fiction, drama	Aimed at theatrical distribution, festivals screenings and Broadcast. Eg: Afterlife, Nigh People and GamerZ
2006/2007 – Not established	'Tartan Trousers' (provisional name)	Filmmakers wanting to make the jump to features – to substitute Tartan Shorts	Announced – Press Only	Scottish Screen and BBC – aimed to bridge the gap between making shorts and full length features. Three films to be commissioned	Fiction, drama. NOT IMPLEMENTED	Aimed at theatrical distribution and broadcast
2004/2005 - Not established	Fast Forward Features Announced Nationwide	Writers, Directors and Producers	3x £1.2million	The scheme sought contemporary, popular projects which would appeal to a mainstream audience, including genre films.	BBC Films and ContentFilm Plc and Scottish Screen. DISCONTINUED.	Aimed at theatrical distribution and Broadcast
General Guidelines for Content production Investment.	'Generally funding will not exceed 25% of a project's total budget, or 75% in the case of Twenty First Films, and producers are required to source partnership funding. This may be "in kind" funding, but at least half of the partnership funding must be in cash. Lottery funding from other sources can be brought in up to a half of the total budget, but will not count as partnership funding. Funding is made by way of investment and is expected to be recouped pari passu and pro rata with other equity investors. The more advanced a project is and the higher the percentage of partnership funding the more likely a project is to gain backing.' www.scottishscreen.com Published in 2009.					

Appendix K

Source: EIFF Programme, 1993

(Supplied by The Centre for the Moving Image Archive)

Appendix L

Source: EIFF Catalogue, 2006

(Supplied by The Centre for the Moving Image Archive)

TARTAN SHORTS

WORLD PREMIERE

H LUCKY MAN

Scotland/2006/English dialogue/Colour/Beta
9 16 x 9 Letterbox/6 min

large country manor house, George indulges in the
d of decadence. He seems content, yet do we really
w who George is?

Director/Scriptwriter: Benjamin Kracun Producer:
ert McKillop, Ciara Barry Executive Producer:
iam O'Hare Editor: Nick Gibbon, Scott McCartney
of Lauren Slater Sound: Matt Palmer Cast: Iain
rew, Jacqui Crawford

Production Company:
GMC Cineworks, 3rd Floor, 34 Albion Street,
asgow G1 1LH, Scotland, UK.
+44 (0)141 553 2620 fax: +44 (0)141 553 2660
mail: info@cineworks.co.uk
eb: www.cineworks.co.uk

PREMIERE

**THE WAY WE PLAYED
[KAKO SMO SE IGRALI]**

otland & Bosnia and Herzegovina/2005/
rbo-Croatian dialogue with English subtitles/
olour/Digibeta/Full Height Anamorphic/
min

the eve of the war in Bosnia, two boys go looking for
asure. Oblivious to the encroaching danger, what
y discover changes their lives forever.

Director/Scriptwriter: Samir Mehanovic Producer:
wan Nicktalls Executive Producer: Nigel Smith
itor: Tadhg O'Sullivan DoP: Scott Ward Sound:
n Cobban Music: Nigel Osborne Cast: Almir
amovic, Eldar Zubcevic, Jasminko Hodzic,
onika Pasic

Production Company:
razen Hussies Ltd., 7 Bonnington Terrace, Edinburgh,
H 6JP, Scotland, UK.
l: +44 (0)131 553 3775 fax: +44 (0)131 553 3775
ail: brazen.hussies@btinternet.com

TARTAN SHORTS*

SUN 20 AUG 13:00 CAMEO 1

WORLD PREMIERE

THE HARVEST

Scotland/2006/English dialogue/Colour/
35mm/1:1.85/10 min

The future. Bovey, Wilson and Stolchita comprise the
crew of The Akhenaten, a tiny deep space research
vessel experimenting with the growth of wheat under
alien sunlight. When Wilson, Stolchita and the crops
are unexpectedly exposed to an alien energy their
deeply repressed underlying urges come to the fore.

Director: Joseph Briffa Producer: Suzanne Reid
Scriptwriter: Joseph Briffa, Paul Welsh Editor: Fergus
MacKinnon DoP: Petter Holmern Halvorsen Designer:
John Gorman Sound: John Cobban Cast: Kate Dickie,
Paul Clarkson, Garry Cooper

Production Company:
Home, The Wadin, Ladyland, Kilbirnie, Glasgow,
KA25 7JR, Scotland, UK.
tel: +44 (0)141 222 2855
email: reidsuzanne@hotmail.com

WORLD PREMIERE

**KISSING, TICKLING AND
BEING BORED**

Scotland/2006/English dialogue/Colour/
Digibeta/16 x 9 Letterbox/9 min

Maddy is 15, and everything in her life feels totally
dead. She wants to feel something, anything, just as
long as it's real.

Director/Scriptwriter: Jim McRoberts Producer:
David Smith Editor: Anne Goudie DoP: Wohciech
Szepel Cast: Megan Davis, Farren Morgan, Louise
Ludgate, Jonathan Rush, David Maxwell

Production Company:
Brocken Spectre, The Producer's Centre,
61 Holland Street, Glasgow, G2 4NJ, Scotland, UK.
tel: +44 (0)141 287 9224 fax: +44 (0)141 287 9513

WORLD PREMIERE

TROUT

Scotland/2006/English dialogue/Colour/
35mm/1:1.85/10 min

Alex and Mari are highland lovers living in a caravan in
the west of Scotland. Their relationship is held together
by emotional gaffer tape and plagued by Alex losing his
job, getting it back again, and then losing it... A kooky
tale of what happens when a bizarre chain of events
shakes up their quiet life.

Director/Scriptwriter: Johnny Barrington Producer:
Anna Duffield Executive Producer: Sharon Channer,
Julia Caithness, Gillian Berrie Editor: Bert Eeles DoP:
Manuel Alberto Claro Designer: Moley Campbell
Music: William Threlfall Cast: Jamie Michie, Lorna Craig,
Frank Gilhooley, Robert Harrison, Carolyn Lambert

Production Company:
Sigma Films, The Pearce Institute, 4 Summertown Road,
Glasgow, G51 2LY, Scotland, UK.
tel: +44 (0) 141 445 0400 fax: +44 (0) 141 445 6900
email: anna@sigmafilms.com

BBC Scotland

SCOTTISH SCREEN

SHORTS **209**

* The order that these shorts appear in the catalogue does not
reflect their running order during the Festival

Appendix M

Tartan Shorts' Logos
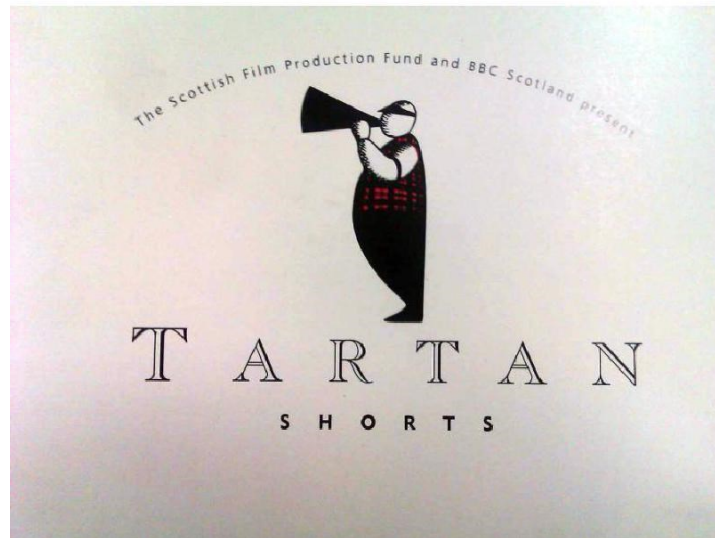
Figure 1 – Tartan 1993 – 2004
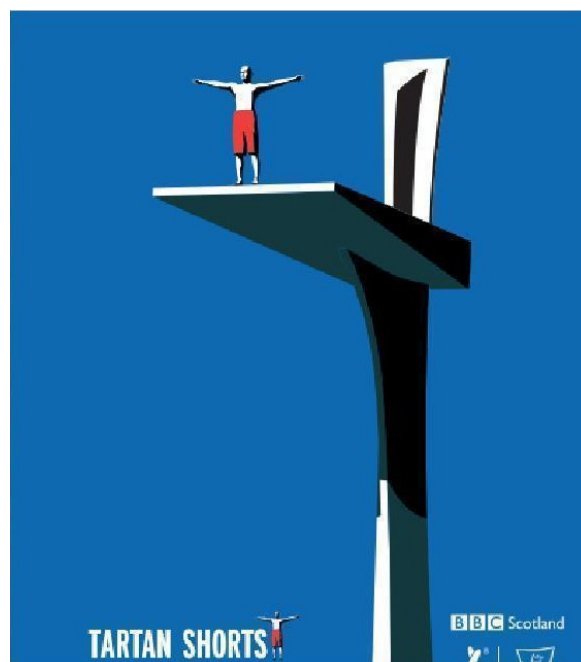
Figure 2 – Tartan 2004 - 2006

Appendix N

Tartan Shorts Titles 1993-2006

Source: BBC Scotland Tartan Shorts Press Pack, 2006

2006
Trout
Kissing, Tickling & Being Bored
The Harvest

2005
Run
At The End Of The Sentence
Sweetie

2004
Baldy McBain
No Man's Land
Tumshie McFadgen's Bid
For Ultimate Bliss

2003
All Over Brazil
Sredni Vashtar
Wise Guys

2002
Cowboys & Indians
That Old One
Billy Bongo

2001
Manji
Cry For Bobo
Tangerine

2000
Birthday
Rice Paper Stars
The Lovers

1999
Poached
Billy & Zobra
Marcie's Dowry

1998
Duck
First It's Dark
Spitting Distance

1997
Gasman
Karmic Mothers
Candyfloss

1996
The Star
Dead Sea Reels
Initiation

1995
The Pen
Fridge
Dancing

1994
Latin For A Dark Room
Narance
Daddy's Gone A Hunting

1993
Franz Kafka's It's A Wonderful Life
Small Deposit
Rain

Appendix O

Application Guidelines for Audience and Market Development Funds

Audience Development Fund

Minimum Investment - £5,000 per application*

Maximum Investment - £15,000 per application

Match Funding Required - 50%

Maximum In-Kind Contribution/Deferments - N/A

* For projects seeking less than £5k please contact Sambrooke Scott, Market Development Executive sambrooke.scott@scottishscreen.com, to discuss investment options.

Prior to making an application you are advised to contact Sambrooke Scott, Market Development Executive to discuss your project; sambrooke.scott@scottishscreen.com.

Scottish Screen's investment in audience development aims to achieve the following:

- Increase awareness of moving image culture across Scotland.
- Celebrate excellence and encourage innovation within the Scottish film industry.
- Increase networking opportunities for Scottish based filmmakers.
- Bring communities together and boost local economies.

Market Development Fund

Minimum Investment - £2,000 per application

Maximum Investment - £10,000 per application

Match Funding Required - 50%

Maximum In-Kind Contribution - 25% for Exploitation; 50% for Promotion

Scottish Screen's investment in market development aims to:

- Support Scottish screen content in reaching national and international audiences.
- Promote Scotland's moving image culture as widely as possible.
- Celebrate Scotland's screen heritage.

Funding is available through the Market Development Fund for the following:

- Exploitation - investment can be accessed by producers and distributors who require support to generate materials that allow them to either promote, exhibit, or sell pre-existing content.
- Promotion – investment can be accessed by programmers and/or curators to showcase Scottish content, particularly to new audiences.

Source: http://www.scottishscreen.com

Appendix P1

Scottish Screen's Market Development Department

GRAPH 1: Exhibition Funding (project based) at Scottish Screen 1997-2010

Legend:
- Digital Access Fund
- Rural Development Fund
- Strategic Interventions Fund
- Exhibition Development Fund
- Distribution
- Markets and Festivals
- Market Development
- Audience Development
- Festivals

GRAPH 2: Market Development Department - Investment (£) per Scheme

GRAPH 3: Market Development Department - No of Supported Projects per Scheme

GRAPH 4: Scottish Screen Investment (£) per Area of Support

Financial Year	Schemes 2005/2006	No	Investment Awarded	Schemes 2006/2007	No 2006/2007	Investment Awarded 2006/2007	Schemes 2007/2008	No 2007/2008	Investment Awarded 2007/2008	Schemes 2008/2009	No 2008/2009	Investment Awarded 2008/2009	Schemes 2009/2010	No 2009/2010	Investment Awarded 2009/2010	Schemes Jan-July 2010	No	Investment Awarded
EXHIBITION & AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT	**Project Development**			Distribution	0	£0	Distribution	3	£112,020	~~Distribution~~	1	£7,273						
	Exhibition Development Fund			Festivals	6	£75,000	Festivals	6	£55,812	~~Festivals~~	1	£23,800						
				Market Development Fund*	0	£0	Market Development Fund*	0	£0	Market Development Fund	0	£0	Market Development Fund	1	£21,380	Market Development Fund	2	£18,834
				Audience Development	5	£37,000	Audience Development	8	£36,425	Audience Development	13	£173,818	Audience Development	14	£166,230	Audience Development	3	£30,795
				Market and Festivals	8	£9,000	Market and Festivals	28	£25,267	Market and Festivals	30	£27,260	~~Market and Festivals~~	8	£8,000			
Total Investment:					19	£121,000		45	£129,524		45	£232,151		23	£195,610		5	£49,629
	Script Development	51	£357,960	~~Script Development~~	0	~~Script Development~~		0										
				Content Development	8	£136,000	Content Development	17	£174,730	Content Development	13	£184,240	Content Development	32	£362,185	Content Development	18	£219,117
	Feature Film Funding	7	£2,016,000	Feature Film Funding	2	£675,000												

Data Source: Scottish Screen Annual Reviews and

www.scottishscreen.com

~~Strikethrough~~ = scheme phased out

DEVELOPMENT & PRODUCTION

Category	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
(main)	13	£142,625	4	£1,100,000	14	£2,065,202	4	£679,922	17	£1,621,057	3	£800,000
Project Development / Content Production												
Future Fund			0	£0	2	£50,000	1	£25,000				
Express Film Fund					1	£100,000	4	£500,000	3	£41,468		
Short Film Production (Funding)	9	£131,000	1	£5,000	4	£73,757	6	£231,178	1	£50,000		
Pilot Fund					1	£20,000	2	£74,950				
Short Film Award Schemes	11	£223,000	8	£225,000								
Business Development Loan			0	£0	3	£372,310						
Slate Funding							1	£112,500				
State Funding									4	£449,000		
Total Investment:	91	£2,870,585	23	£2,141,000	42	£2,855,999	31	£1,807,790	57	£2,523,710	21	£1,019,117

TALENT DEVELOPMENT

Category	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
N/A / New Talent Development Initiative			4	£270,000	3	£224,950	2	£150,000	10	£252,050	12	£672,162
Skillset				£90,000		£509,563						
Opportunities Fund									42	£40,000	34	£41,171
Total Investment:			4	£360,000	3	£734,513	2	£150,000	52	£292,050	46	£713,333

Note: In the final two columns the headers read "Talent Development Fund" and "Opportunities Fund."

Appendix P2

Scottish Screen Exhibition Development Grants

Scottish Screen Cinema Exhibition Funding

Exhibition Development Grants	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06
Programme development				7,000	2,000	2,000	3,000			
French Film Festival				3,000	2,000	4,000	4,000	4,000		
Italian Film Festival							2,000			
Edinburgh Intl Film Festival							5,000	5,000		
Glasgow GFT						10,000				
Edinburgh Filmhouse						10,000	4,000	5,000		
North by North West						5,000				
Borders Film Festival						3,000				
Dundee: DCA						3,000		2,000	5,000	
HI Arts							4,000			
Argyll & Bute Council							2,000			
Inverness: Eden Court							15,000	1,000		
Chinese Film Festival								2,000		
Human Rights Festival								1,000		
Deaf Focus Film Festival								2,000		
Scottish Borders Council - Screen Machine								1,000		
Document 1									3,000	
Filmhouse: Canadian Showcase									2,500	
Margaret Tait									6,000	
Canadian Showcase									2,500	
Pavilion Galashiels									300	
Screen Machine									10,000	
Exhibition meeting									700	
Edinburgh Moving Image Strategy									5,000	
Cove & Kilcreggan Film Soc									250	
				10,000	4,000	37,000	39,000	23,000	35,250	0
% of Exhibition Total				2%	1%	6%	7%	5%	7%	

Source: Exhibition Study, Inglis et al 2005

Appendix Q

Audience Development Form (2008-2010)

Monitoring & Evaluation

Market Development Initiative Evaluation Report

Background

Scottish Screen has an Evaluation process that requires you to provide a report on completion of the initiative. This closure report forms part of the final delivery, which will release your final payment.

Please note that failure to report as requested or in full will result in future applications to Scottish Screen being deemed ineligible and will either be rejected immediately or held back until the appropriate paperwork has been delivered.

This document can be emailed to you and you should request this facility by contacting either Becky Alves, Investment Administrator or Rhona McKenna, Investment Administrative Assistant at the following emails: becky.alves@scottishscreen.com or rhona.mckenna@scottishscreen.com

Evaluation

1.   General Information

Initiative:	
Reference:	
Organisation/Company;	
Contact:	

Contact Details:
Tel: **Fax:**
Email:

2.   Initiative Information

Please provide details below outlining how the initiative has performed against the original application:

General update on initiative since completion:

Summary of attendees including any equal opportunity information
e.g. Numbers for delegates/speakers/public etc

Please list source and attach details of any press coverage including overseas coverage for the Initiative :

---

3.   Local Benefits

Please provide an update of any further benefits to Scotland, both public and to the industry as a result of this initiative. Please include specific reference to addressing social inclusion and cultural diversity:

---

4.   Personnel Update

Please provide details of further funding awards, commissions or other personal advancement for any of the core teams

---

5.   Sales and Income

Please provide details of sales and income generated from this Initiative.

Important note

We will hold the information you give on computer.

Your statement

This must be signed and dated by the main applicant.

All the information on this evaluation report is true and correct. I will tell you immediately if anything changes which could affect this report in any way.

I am happy for you to provide copies of this report to any person or organisation you need to consult regarding this Initiative.

Your signature		Date	

Source: Form provided by Creative Scotland upon personal request.

RSS LFF Evaluation Form A (2010 – 2014)

Evaluation Form : This is sent electronically for actual use when the boxes will expand as you type in them. Hard copy for advance reference only.

Local Film Festivals, Touring Programmes & Audience Development Grants

Once your festival/event has finished please complete this evaluation form and return to Angie Jennings, at angie@regionalscreenscotland.org *The remaining 20% of your project grant will not be paid until we receive this evaluation completed (and please allow some time for us to receive this and process your payment).*

Name of Organisation:

Main Contact:

e-mail:

Phone:

Date evaluation form submitted:

Essential information about your proposed festival, tour or unique event

Title of the event/activities:

Location of the activities:

Date(s) of the event (from/to):

Total cost of activities:

---

1 What were the aims of your festival/tour/event?

What were the original aims for your event, did these change nearer the time, and how do you feel you met these aims?

---

2 Describe your film programme

Please describe what your final programme of film was – screenings, special events. What were the strengths and weaknesses of this (which films were most popular – which weren't – and why; scheduling clashes; technical or organisational problems; etc)? And if film was an integral part of a bigger event, how did you feel that film made a distinctive contribution?

---

3 Marketing

How did you approach marketing this event, what did you do that was different to your normal marketing, did you target any specific groups and if so how and why? What would you do differently, if anything, next time?

---

4 Contribution to cinema audience development

Please tell us attendance figures for each film title. Was the turnout in line with your expectations? Who do you think your audience was? What was audience feedback like? Did you reach anybody new through your screenings? If you did an audience survey please tell us the results/report from this.

---

5 Equalities

Please tell us about the successes and problems you encountered in trying to adopt equalities best practice. What, if anything, would you do differently next time?

---

6 Evaluation

Referring back to your previous answers, as well as elements like finances and timescales, what are the main aspects you've learnt from the experience – and if you did it again what would you do the same/differently?

7 And what next?

Please refer to any other plans for cinema audience development, plans to do the same event again?

8 If there is anything else you would like to tell us about – or ask us – please mention it below:

Please send us :copies of any brochures for your event; copies of any marketing materials you made – postcards, posters, leaflets, email newsletters, screenshots of web sites, ticket pricing information.

We will also be sending a copy of FHS/ BFI specific data gathering form which we need you to complete after your festival.

If you have any questions regarding this evaluation form please contact *Ginnie Atkinson* *ginnie@regionalscreenscotland.org* or telephone 07836371708.

Source: Form provided by Regional Screen Scotland upon personal request.

Appendix R

Market Development Department at Scottish Screen - Funding Schemes

text = Scheme closed but projects still receiving funding under this strand.

SCOTTISH SREEN - Market Development Department

Schemes	Schemes	Schemes	Schemes	Schemes	Schemes
2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	Jan-July 2010
Exhibition Development Fund	Festivals Fund	Festivals Fund	Festivals-Fund		
	Audience	Audience	Audience	Audience	Audience Development
			Market Development Fund	Market Development Fund	Market Development Fund
Distribution Fund	Distribution Fund	Distribution Fund	Distribution-Fund		
Go-and-See-Fund	Market and Festivals	Market and Festivals Fund	Market and Festivals Fund	Market and-Festivals-Fund	

text = Scheme closed but project still receiving funding under this strand.

Appendix S

Core Funding for Exhibition at SFC and Scottish Screen (1994-2009)

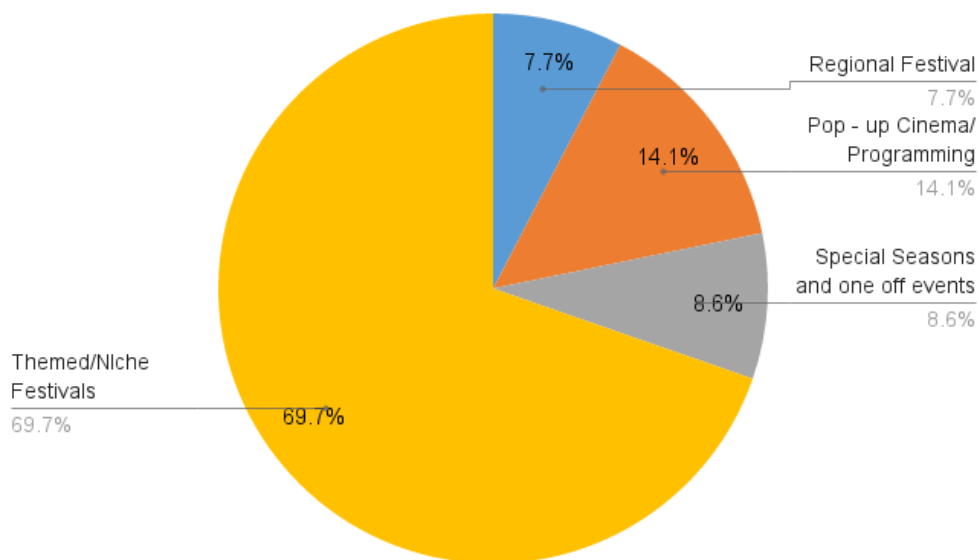Source: SFPF, SFC and Scottish Screen Annual Reviews
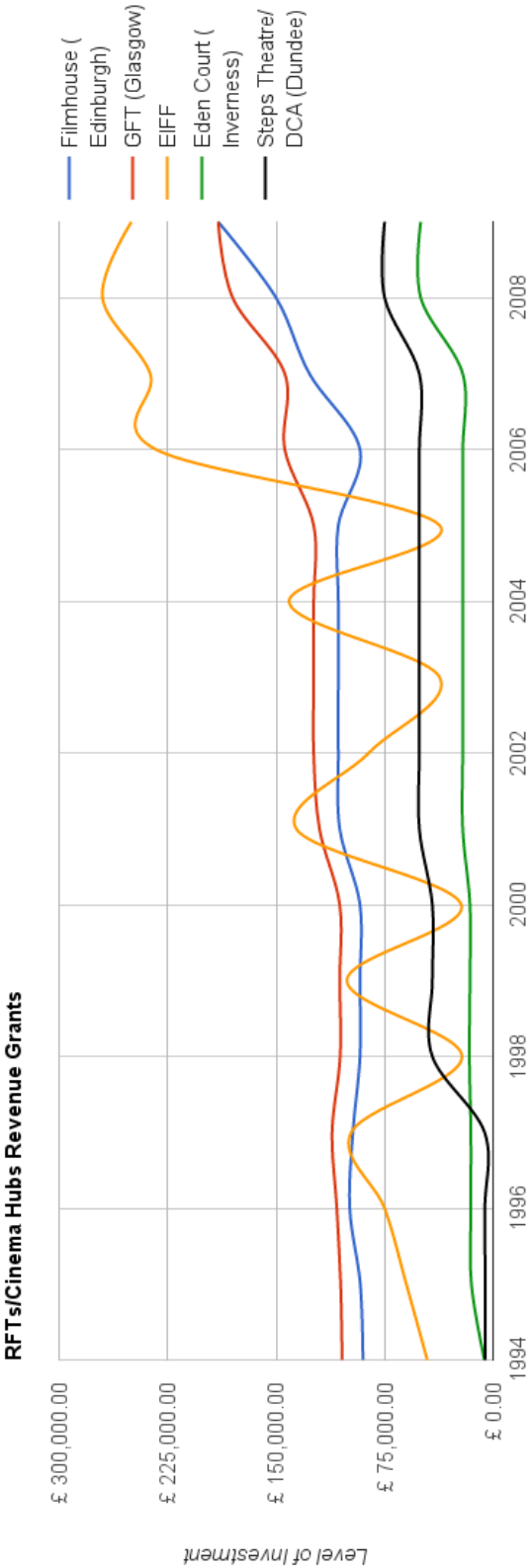
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Filmhouse (Edinburgh)	£90,000.00	£91,800.00	£99,095.00	£96,918.00	£92,000.00	£92,000.00	£92,000.00	£106,000.00	£107,000.00	£107,000.00	£107,000.00	£107,000.00	£92,000.00	£127,000.00	£150,000.00	£190,000.00
GFT (Glasgow)	£104,340.00	£105,383.00	£108,018.00	£111,258.00	£105,700.00	£106,000.00	£106,000.00	£120,000.00	£124,000.00	£124,000.00	£124,000.00	£124,000.00	£144,000.00	£144,000.00	£180,000.00	£190,000.00
EIFF	£45,500.00	£60,000.00	£75,000.00	£98,000.00	£21,500.00	£101,000.00	£22,000.00	£136,000.00	£86,000.00	£37,000.00	£141,000.00	£37,000.00	£233,000.00	£237,000.00	£270,000.00	£250,000.00
Belmont (Aberdeen)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	£15,000.00	£20,000.00	£20,000.00	£20,000.00	£15,000.00	£20,000.00	£20,000.00	£20,000.00		
Eden Court (Inverness)	£6,000.00	£15,000.00	£15,375.00	£15,375.00	£16,400.00	£16,000.00	£16,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£50,000.00	£50,000.00
Adam Smith Theatre (Fife)	£4,150.00	£4,192.00	£4,297.00	£0.00	£0.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00				
Steps Theatre/ DCA (Dundee)	£5,500.00	£5,555.00	£5,694.00	£5,865.00	£42,000.00	£42,000.00	£42,000.00	£51,000.00	£51,000.00	£51,000.00	£51,000.00	£51,000.00	£51,000.00	£51,000.00	£75,000.00	£75,000.00
MacRoberts (Stirling)	£4,400.00	£11,000.00	£11,275.00	£15,450.00	£17,500.00	£18,000.00	£18,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00	£21,000.00			
Robert Burns (Dumfries)	£6,000.00	£6,060.00	£6,212.00	£6,398.00	£6,000.00	£6,000.00	£6,000.00	£7,000.00	£7,000.00	£7,000.00	£7,000.00	£7,000.00	£7,000.00			
Regional Screen Scotland	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	£184,000.00	£230,000.00	45000*
BFFS	£3,500.00	£3,535.00	£3,623.00	£3,623.00	£3,600.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00	£4,000.00			
Screen Machine*	£0.00	£0.00	£0.00	£20,000.00	£20,000.00	£20,000.00	£20,000.00	£20,000.00	£25,000.00	£25,000.00	£25,000.00	£25,000.00	£25,000.00		£60,000.00	£140,000.00

Appendix T

The Audience Development Fund

GRAPH 1: Audience Development Fund - By Project Type (2007-2010)

- 7.7% — Regional Festival 7.7%
- 14.1% — Pop - up Cinema/ Programming 14.1%
- 8.6% — Special Seasons and one off events 8.6%
- Themed/Niche Festivals 69.7% — 69.7%

GRAPH 2: Audience Development Fund by Funding Type (All 51 Projects 2007-2010)

- One off Projects 33.3% — 33.3%
- Recurring Projects 66.7% — 66.7%
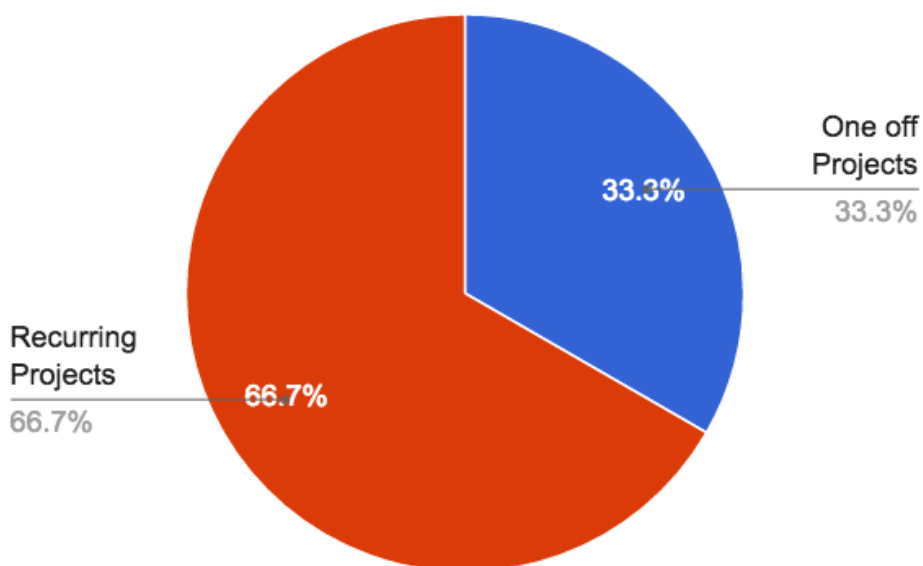
GRAPH 3: Audience Development Fund by Longevity of 31 Unique Funded Projects (2007-2015)

One-off
35.5%

35.5%

Still
Running in
2015

45.2%

45.2%

Short-run
(2-6 years)

19.4%

19.4%
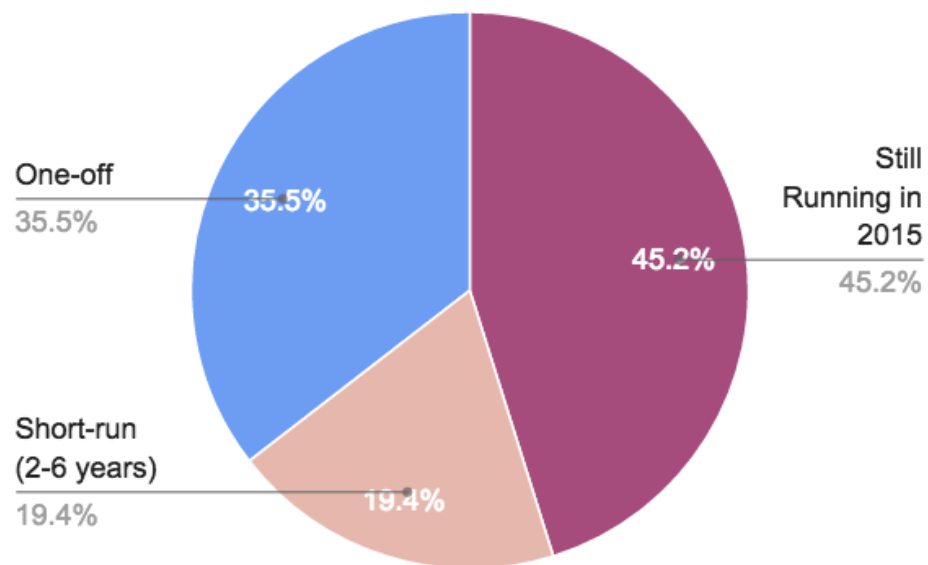
Source: Various. See Chapter 3 and table below.

Year	Project	Location	Host	Type	Award given	Lived to 2015?	Frequency
2007	Cowalfest FILM2007 (5-14 Oct 2007)	Argyll & Bute	Community Centres	Regional Festival	£3.060,00	1	Recurring
2007	Kill Your Timid Notion (12-15 April 2007)	Dundee	DCA	Themed Festival	£4.500,00	0	Recurring
2007	Document 5	Glasgow	CCA	Themed Festival	£5.600,00	1	Recurring
2007	Small Islands Film Festival (15-17 June 2007)	Outer Hebridies	Columba Centre	Regional Festival	£5.500,00	1	One off
2007	Africa in Motion (25 Oct - 4 Nov 2007)	Edinburgh and other regions	Filmhouse and Touring programme	Themed Festival	£8.000,00	1	Recurring
2007	This Time, This Place (12 Sept 2007)	The Highlands	Community Centres	Special Season	£4.000,00	0	One off
2007	Dance on Film Season 2007	Edinburgh	Filmhouse	Special Season	£7.700,00	0	Recurring
2007	Reel Afghanistan (21 - 28 Feb 2008)	Edinburgh	Filmhouse	Themed Festival	£8.000,00	0	one off
2007	Birds Eye View Film Festival (8-14 Mar 2008)	Glasgow	GFF	Themed Festival	£8.800,00	0	one off
2007	Kingussie Food On Film Festival (1-3 Feb 2008)	The Highlands	Eden Court plus local halls	Themed Festival	£2.600,00	1	Recurring
2007	Discovery International Film Festival (Oct 2007)	Dundee	DCA	Themed Festival	£12.000,00	1	Recurring
2007	Duseri Dharkan - Pakistani Film, Media & Arts Festival (2-10 Nov 2007)	Edinburgh	Filmhouse	Special Season	£5.000,00	0	one off
2007	Tsai Ming-Liang Retrospective	Edinburgh	Filmhouse	Special Season	£1.200,00	0	one off
2008	Kingussie Food On Film Festival	The Highlands	Eden Court plus local halls	Themed Festival	£2.000,00	2	Recurring
2008	The Second Cromarty Film Festival (5-7 Dec 2008)	Highlands	Community Centres	Regional Festival	£4.775,00	1	Recurring
2008	Document 6 (15-19 Oct 2008)	Glasgow	CCA	Themed Festival	£5.000,00	2	recurring
2008	The Magic Lantern	Glasgow	CCA	Specialist	£8.000,00	0	recurring

Year	Event	Region	Venue	Type	Amount		Frequency
2008	Screenplay Film Festival (4-8 September 2008)	Shetlands	Mutiple/Mareel	Regional Festival	£4.000,00	1	recurring
2008	Scottish Mental Health Arts and Film Festival (1-19 Oct 2008)	Glasgow and suburbs	Various around Glasgow	Themed Festival	£10.000,00	1	recurring
2008	The Ballerina Ballroom Cinema of Dreams (15-23 Aug 2008)	Highlands	Community Centres	Specialist Programming/pop-up event	£10.000,00	0	one off
2008	Kill Your Timid Notion (10-12 Oct 2008)	Dundee	DCA	Themed Festival	£19.651,00	0	recurring
2008	Take One: Action! (13-27 Sept 2008)	Edinburgh	Filmhouse	Themed Festival	£5.000,00	1	recurring
2008	Africa in Motion (23 Oct - 2 Nov 2008)	Edinburgh and other regions	Filmhouse and Touring programme	Themed Festival	£15.000,00	2	recurring
2008	Modernity and Tradition - Film in Interwar Central Europe (30 June - 30 July 2008)	Edinburgh	National Gallery/ Filmhouse	Special Season	£7.750,00	0	one off
2008	French Film Festival (7-20 March 2008)	Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Inverness		Themed Festival	£4.500,00	1	recurring
2008	Diversions: Festival of Experimental Films and Video (8-11 May 2008)	Edinburgh	Filmhouse	Themed Festival	£2.480,00	0	one off
2008	Short Film Programming - The Magic Lantern	Glasgow	CCA	Specialist Programming/pop-up event	£425,00	1	one off
2009	Kill Your Timid Motion	Dundee	DCA	Themed Festival	£15.000,00	0	Recurring
2009	Middle Eastern Film Festival	Edinburgh. Plus Touring Programme	Filmhouse. Later at various RFTs	Themed Festival	£7.710,00	0	Recurring
2009	The Magic Lantern	Glasgow and	CCA	Specialist	£15.005,00	0	Recurring

Year		suburbs		Programming			
2009	Document 7	Glasgow	CCA	Themed Festival	£6.000,00	2	Recurring
2009	Diversions: A Festival of Experimental Film & Video	Edinburgh	Filmhouse	Themed Festival	£7.155,00	0	One off
2009	Cruel Weather: Recent Film/Video from the Arab Middle East	Aberdeen	Belmont/Peacock Visual Arts	Special Season	£6.085,00	0	One off
2009	Birds Eye View Glasgow Programme	Glasgow	GFT	Special Season	£5.000,00	0	One off
2009	French Film Festival	Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Inverness		Themed Festival	£5.000,00	2	Recurring
2009	African in Motion Film Festival	Edinburgh and touring programme	Filmhouse	Themed Festival	£17.000,00	2	Recurring
2009	A Pilgramage	The Highlands	Screen Machine	Specialist Programming	£11.000,00	0	One off
2009	Aberdeen City and Shire Film Festival	Aberdeen	Belmont and Community Centres	Regional Festival	£15.000,00	0	One off
2009	Take one: Action! Festival and Year-around events	Edinburgh	Filmhouse and community centres	Themed Festival	£20.000,00	2	Recurring
2009	DANCE Film 2009	Edinburgh	Filmhouse and Dancebase	Themed Festival	£19.990,00	0	Recurring
2009	Reel Iraq	Edinburgh	Filmhouse	Themed Festival	£11.320,00	0	One off
2009	Glasgow Music and Film Festival	Glasgow	The Archers and GFT	Special Season	£7.000,00	0	Recurring
2010	Dance:Film 10	Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness.	Filmhouse & Dancebase	Themed Festival	£5.795,00	0	recurring
2010	Take on Action: Consolidating Innovation: Best Practice and New	Edinburgh/Glasgow	Filmhouse/CCA	Themed Festival	£15.000,00	2	recurring

	Audiences					
2010	Scotland Loves Animation	Edinburgh/Glasgow	Filmhouse	Themed Festival	£10.000,00	2	recurring
2010	The Magic Lantern	Glasgow	CCA/GFF	Specialist Programming	£15.000,00	0	recurring
2010	Kill your Timid Motion	Glasgow	CCA	Themed Festival	£15.000,00	0	recurring
2010	African in Motion	Edinburgh and touring programme	Filmhouse	Themed Festival	£13.400,00	2	recurring
2010	GFF: Great Scots onTour	Glasgow/Edinburgh/Dundee/Inverness	GFT/DCA/Filmhouse/Eden Court	Special Season	£9.000,00	0	One off
2010	Middle Eastern Film Festival 2011	Edinburgh. Plus Touring Programme	Filmhouse. Later at various RFTs	Themed Festival	£7.600,00	2	recurring
2010	French Film Festival	Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Inverness		Themed Festival	£6.000,00	2	recurring

Filmography

Ae Fond Kiss. Dir. Ken Loach. Icon Film Distributions, 2004. 35mm Film.

AfterLife. Dir. Alison Peebles. Soda Pictures, 2003. DVD Film.

Braveheart. Dir. Mel Gibson. Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation, 1995. 35mm Film.

Divergent. Dir. Neil Burger. Entertainment One, 2014. DVD Film.

Dog Altogether. Dir. Paddy Considine. Film 4, 2007. Digital.

Donkeys. Dir. Morag McKinnon. Sigma Films, 2010. DVD Film.

Elizabeth: The Golden Age. Dir. Shekhar Kapur. Universal Pictures, 2007. DVD Film.

Filth. Dir. Jon S. Baird. Lionsgate, 2013. Digital Film.

For Those in Peril. Dir. Paul Wright. Protagonist Pictures, 2013. DVD Film.

Gas Attack. Dir. Kenneth Glenaan. Channel Four Television, 2001. Digital.

Gregory's Girl. Dir. Bill Forsyth. ITC, 1981. DVD Film.

Hallam Foe. Dir. David Mackenzie. Buena Vista International, 2006. DVD Film.

Hannah. Dir. Joe Wright. United Pictures International, 2011. DVD Film.

I am Breathing. Dir Emma Davie, Morag MaKinnon. Distrify, 2013. Digital.

Late Night Shopping. Dir. Saul Metzstein. FilmFour, 2001. Digital Film.

Local Hero. Dir. Bill Forsyth. 20th Century Fox, 1983. 35mm Film.

Loch Ness. Dir. John Henderson. PolyGram Film Distribution, 1996. DVD Film.

Miss Potter. Dir. Cris Noonan. Momentum Pictures, 2006. DVD Film.

Morvern Callar. Dir. Lynne Ramsay. Artists Films Co, 2002. 35mm Film.

Most Wanted Man, A. Dir. Anton Corbijn. Momentum Pictures, 2014. DVD Film.

Moulin Rouge! Dir. Baz Luhrmann. 20th Century Fox, 2001. DVD Film.

My Name Is Joe. Dir. Ken Loach. Channel Four Films, 1998. 35mm Film.

Neds. Dir. Peter Mullan. Entertainment One, 2010. DVD Film

Once Upon a Time in the Midlands. DIr. Shane Meadows. Film Four, 2002. DVD Film.

Orphans. Dir. Peter Mullan. Channel Four Films, 1999. 35mm Film.

Outpost. Dir. Steve Barker. Sony Pictures Worldwide Acquisitions, 2007. DVD Film.

Ratcatcher. Dir. Lynne Ramsay. Pathe Distribution,1999. DVD.

Ray. Dir. Taylor Hackford. United International Pictures, 2004. DVD Film.

Red Road. Dir. Andrea Arnold. Verve Pictures, 2006. 35mm.

Regeneration. Dir. Gillies Mackinnon. Artificial Eye, 1997. 35mm Film.

Royal Affair, A. Dir. Nikolaj Arcel. Metrodome Distribution, 2012. DVD Film.

Rob Roy. Dir. Michael Caton-Jones. MGM Home Entertainment, 1995. DVD Film.

Shallow Grave. Dir. Danny Boyle. PolyGram Filmed Entertainment, 1995. DVD Film.

Starred Up. Dir. David Mackenzie. 20th Century Fox, 2013. Digital Film.

Sunshine on Leith. Dir.Dexter Fletcher. Entertainment Film Distributors, 2013. Digital Film.

Sunshine. Dir. Danny Boyle. 20th Century Fox, 2007. Digital.

Sweet Sixteen. Dir. Ken Loach. Icon Film Distribution, 2002. 35mm Film.

The Flying Scotsman. Dir. Douglas Mackinnon. Verve Pictures, 2006. 35mm Film.

The Last King of Scotland. Dir. Kevin Macdonald. Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation: 2006. Digital Film.

The Magdalene Sisters. Dir. Peter Mullan. Momentum Pictures, 2002. DVD Film.

The Winter Guest. Dir. Alan Rickman. Channel Four Films, 1997. DVD Film.

This is England. Dir. Shane Meadows. Optimum Releasing, 2006. DVD Film.

Trainspotting. Dir. Danny Boyle. Channel Four DVD, 1996. DVD Film.

Tyrannosaur. Dir. Paddy Considine. Optimum Releasing, 2011. DVD Film.

Under The Skin. Dir. Jonathan Glazer. StudioCanal, 2013. Digital Film.

Young Adam. Dir. David Mackenzie. Sigma Films, 35mm Film.

Glossary of abbreviations

ACE	Arts Council of England
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain
BAFTA	British Academy of Film and Television Arts
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BFI	British Film Institute
CCPR	Centre for Cultural Policy Research
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CMI	Centre for the Moving Image
CS	Creative Scotland
DCA	Dundee Contemporary Arts
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DoP	Director of Photography
EIFF	Edinburgh International Film Festival
FAN	Film Audiences Network
FHS	Film Hub Scotland
GFF	Glasgow Film Festival
GFT	Glasgow Film Theatre
GFO	Glasgow Film Office
GMAC	Glasgow Media Access Centre
IPS	Independent Producers Scotland
MP	Member of Parliament
MSP	Member of the Scottish Parliament
NDPB	Non-Departmental Public Body
NFFC	National Film Finance Corporation
Ofcom	Office of Communications
P&A	Prints and Advertising
PACT	Producers Alliance for Cinema and Television
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting/ Broadcaster
Rt. Hon.	Right Honourable
RFT	Regional Film Theatres
RSA	Regional Screen Agencies
RSS	Regional Screen Scotland
SFTN	Scottish Film Talent Network

SAC	Scottish Arts Council
SFC	Scottish Film Council
SFF	Scottish Film Fund
SFPF	Scottish Film Production Fund
SNP	Scottish National Party
SOEd	Scottish Office for Education
STV	Scottish Television
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

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