The Making of Scottish Visual Arts Television Programmes from 1952 to 2018

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Abstract

The thesis provides a history of Scottish visual arts television programming between 1952 and 2018. While the production of visual arts programmes has been given academic attention, Scottish visual arts productions have been entirely neglected. Given that Glasgow became the key site outside of London for BBC arts programming production in the decade following 2010, this oversight demanded empirical investigation and historical contextualisation.

Broadcasting sits within politically charged territory in the UK, and where national identity and constitutional politics meet has been a particularly volatile radio and televisual environment in Scotland. The introduction of marketising principles following the 1990 Broadcasting Act transformed television arts programming in the UK, while the 1979 Home Rule referendum and 1997 vote for devolution in Scotland have impacted on policy and cultures of production at the BBC and also at STV.

This research project tracks these shifting dynamics through a case study method and examines the impact on presenter-led productions focused on Scottish visual arts. The thesis identifies four distinct culture of production periods aligned with broadcasting policy between television's arrival in Scotland in 1952 and the launch of the BBC Scotland channel in 2019. The production studies approach investigates commissioning rationales and the impact of marketising discourse on broadcasting formats and presenting personae in visual arts programming. In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, Pacific Quay in Glasgow was a UK production hub for arts programming of prestige, notwithstanding that the arts as a genre was 'in jeopardy' as a mainstay of public service broadcasting. The thesis identifies that devolution served the forms of marketisation unleashed at the BBC, while the latter was adopted by programme makers to produce new formats of programming innovative in the UK arts firmament. The confluence of these factors witnessed a period of innovations in visual arts documentaries formats and flourishing arts production within Scotland.

Table of Contents

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Author's Declaration

This thesis represents the original work of Ann McCluskey unless explicitly stated otherwise in the text. The research upon which it is based was carried out at the University of Glasgow during the period October 2015 until February 2024 under the supervision of Professor Raymond Boyle and Professor Philip Schlesinger.

Chapter 1 Introduction

This research project explores the production of television programmes about Scotland's visual arts in the period from 1952 until 2018. Beginning at a time that marked television's arrival in Scotland in the early fifties and continuing until the launch of a dedicated BBC channel for Scotland in 2019, this thesis is a historical overview of a specific period in Scottish television production.

Visual arts programming sits within the broader generic category of 'the arts', which has a long-standing pedigree in British broadcasting. Academic writing focused on visual arts programming has approached the sub-genre from various analytical perspectives. However, to date, no commentary has specifically addressed productions covering Scottish art. Research carried out for this thesis therefore addresses a substantial gap in the literature.

Practices defining the visual or 'plastic arts' have been identified as comprising 'painting, sculpture, architecture', as well as artists' films and videos (Walker, 1993, viii), and contemporary practices of visual artists have developed beyond the creation of two- or three-dimensional artefacts to incorporate, inter alia, conceptual work, performance, and installations (Fineberg, 1995). Programmes about the visual arts have been a scheduled fixture since the inception of broadcasting one hundred years ago – an early example being *Modern Painting*, aired on BBC radio in 1923[1] – and continue to be aired in the third decade of the twenty-first century.

Beyond and within television, the broader category of 'the arts' was understood to encompass the aforementioned visual art forms as well as 'opera, ballet, classical music … drama, novels, poetry and essays' (Williams, 2004, p.174). More recently, television arts departments have expanded their categorisation of what can be embraced as being within the purview of the genre, and cinematic film and popular music, amongst other topics, have been added to the creative practices and forms considered appropriate subjects for broadcast material. Hence, although this thesis is focused on the visual arts as its key object of

1 *BBC Genome Project*: https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?order=first&q=modern+painting#top (Accessed 8 May 2023).

investigation, this nonetheless involves acknowledging that ‘the arts’ on television encompasses disparate activities, and that arts production staff make programmes about diverse creative practices – including the visual arts.

As the trajectory of visual arts programming in terms of institutional decision making generally follows that of the broader generic category within which it sits, accommodating the arts in its wider application in television production, as this thesis does, assists in understanding more fully how and why visual arts programming exists, and how the cultures of production within which they are made function. Therefore, where relevant to the contextualisation of visual arts productions, programmes that incorporate this broader understanding of the arts within their scope will be explored in the research.

What to investigate? Visual arts programming formats

When televised broadcasting began nationally in 1936, the British painter John Piper introduced upcoming exhibitions as part of the first week’s programme offering (Norman, 1984, p.142). Hence, productions focused on the visual arts, nested within the broader arts genre, were foundational elements of the UK’s televisual firmament, and productions based on the arts and visual arts have been a mainstay in programming schedules since television’s inauguration.

The formats for visual arts programmes are myriad. John Walker identified 12 typologies of format in his 1993 overview of visual arts productions, *Arts TV: A History of Arts Television in Britain*. These included, inter alia, ‘how to draw, paint and sculpt programmes’; ‘profiles of artists’; ‘dramatised biographies and drama-documentaries’; ‘strand series’; ‘review programmes’; ‘educational programmes about the arts’; and ‘showcases for artists’ work’ (Walker, 1993, p.16). These formats were further additions to variations television producer and academic John Wyver had established in 1983: ‘the relay’, which filmed a live artistic event; ‘the illustrated lecture’, which in early television had been studio bound; ‘the filmed feature’; and ‘the quiz show’ (Walker, 1993, p.15). Finally, and most pertinently for this thesis, Walker identified the ‘pundit series’, which he described as being ‘organised around a specific theme, written and presented by a noted scholar or expert’ and, as such, was a format redolent of ‘illustrated, history of art, lecture courses’ (Wyver, 1983 cited in Walker, 1993, p.16).

In seeking to address a Scottish topic, the pundit or expert format was the type of production within which a thesis or overriding argument based on normative framings of 'Scottishness' was most likely to be found.

Sociologist Anthony D. Smith (2008, p.35) identified that seventeenth-century painters in the Netherlands established the 'growing significance of landscape painting' as an 'expression of attachment to the Dutch commonwealth and way of life', thereby being the first practitioners to realise the 'full implications of a national visual culture' through deployment of various artistic genres and topics. Thus, the alignment between national identities and artistic visual cultural is academically evidenced and recognised. My desk research unearthed a 1994 production – *The Bigger Picture* (BBC2) – as the first major series on Scottish art produced in Scotland. Not only was it a production created in the aftermath of the 1990 Broadcasting Act, but it was also produced by an independent company for the BBC, and its presenter was comedian Billy Connolly. Connolly was neither an art history expert nor a visual arts pundit. Nonetheless, this was a propitious beginning to potential objects of research whose presenters would offer a variety of cases for analysis in the aftermath of significant broadcasting policy change. If those chosen to front art-historical series were not noted scholars or journalists in the field of visual arts, then a designation of 'presenter-led' productions would more accurately identify the production format, and this was chosen as the programming type most suited to focus on for research purposes.

However, a history of the making of visual arts programmes requires a research framework that addresses factors which have shaped the context in which these productions were made and the form that productions have taken. Viable research questions were required to guide the research objectives. The factors required for consideration in the research questions are presented below.

Regulatory shifts in television

Broadcasting has long been impacted by exogenous political and economic shifts (Briggs, 1961, p.8; 1985, pp.30, 50; Curran and Seaton, 2010, p.106), and these changes have impacted on the cultures of production underpinning television broadcasting in particular ways. The macro-economic and technological disruptions of the 1980s generated policy developments that in turn underpinned

media policy reconfigurations (Van Cuilenburg and McQuail, 2003), and these dynamics are explored in depth in Chapter 2. Of concern for this thesis is the manner in which subsequent policy decisions impacted on arts programming. In the UK, television carries myriad diverse programming types on the BBC, yet, in 2015 Jeremy Tunstall identified public service genres that were 'in jeopardy', and of key consideration for this research project is that the 'Arts' was amongst those programming types that occupied a rather vulnerable place in broadcasting schedules (p.203).

Tunstall's analysis was borne out statistically. Between 2008 and 2014, across all UK public service channels, a 25 percent reduction in arts and classical music had occurred (Ofcom, 2015, pp.12–13). Tunstall's (1993, pp.365-8) analysis tied this dispiriting impact on specific genres to the 1990 Broadcasting Act, which set in train regulatory requirements which had, and are still having, profound consequences for the UK's broadcasters and programme makers.

According to interviewees in Tunstall's research, the 1990 Broadcasting Act had instigated a 'revolution' in British television and in its wake brought about '"commercialization", "casualization", [and] "deregulation"' (Tunstall,1993, p.10), paving the way for multi-channel television and opening up ownership to commercial enterprises devoid of public service media (PSM) obligations (McQuail, 1994, p.170). Various commentators have examined these disruptions through the lens of the marketisation of public service television provision in the aftermath of this legislation (Deakin and Pratten,1999; Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 2007; Deakin et al., 2008). Thus, this thesis tackles analysis of the topic of arts programming in Scotland by taking full account of dominant marketisation discourse.

Yet, although the arts is a diminished genre on television, the BBC, Sky Arts, and commercial UK PSB channels continue to provide this form of cultural programming on UK television. Therefore, a key objective of this research was to seek understanding of how visual arts programming has 'survived' through this period of tumult, when arts programming offers audiences more 'popular' or 'accessible' subject matter, and which strategies were adopted, and relationships forged, in the broadcasting realm to achieve this sustainability. Furthermore, as the expert for visual arts productions is oftentimes now

superseded by the celebrity, examining the presenter-led format offers opportunity to interrogate at a granular level the ways in which these developments have impacted on programming content in the era of competitive television. Hence, this thesis tracks the production of visual arts programmes through this period of upheaval when marketisation discourses reconfigured the UK television regulatory landscape (Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 2007).

Moreover, as this thesis is focused on a Scottish topic, it is necessary to understand whether there are distinct political or cultural phenomena impacting on programming in or about Scotland. Are the regulatory disruptions in the UK televisual landscape observed by commentators similarly experienced in Scotland?

Analysing Scottish arts television

To develop analysis of Scotland within a broader UK context, a relevant conceptual framing was required to accommodate the spatial geography of a stateless nation in respect of cultural programming. Academic commentary on Scottish audio-visual production has produced a rich corpus of work focused on Scottish cinematic film and television that addresses mythologisations of Scottishness manifest in fictional drama, or whose analyses acknowledge the political contexts in which productions were created (see Caughie, 1990; Petrie, 2004; Castelló and O'Donnell, 2009; Munro, 2020). Broadcasting policy is not incorporated as a feature of these authors' conceptual framing, and analyses of content are textual, connecting the impact of constitutional politics to Scottish national identity and how this is performed in dramatic fiction. Geography *is* however framed in terms of class and gender in articulations of mythologies and/or national identity. Commentary on non-fictional programming has analysed representations in news programming (see Dekavalla and Jelen-Sanchez, 2017).

In analyses of arts programming, discussion around geographies have oftentimes been conceptually aligned with class. Wyver (2007) observed that commentary on arts programming correlated accusations of its elitism with geographies that were metropolitan and/or southern English. Such hidebound tying of geography to 'elites' occludes from analysis viewers of arts programmes beyond the south

of England or the UK's metropoles, as well as excluding programmes made outside of London. Tying class and geography to programming genres therefore foregrounds certain analytical blind spots. Hence, there are additional contributory factors to consider when seeking to frame arts programming production in Scotland; namely, how are genre, regulation, and territory articulated to arrive at particular forms of programme about Scottish visual arts? Consideration of Scotland's geo-political make-up is required to accommodate the 'territorial' aspect of a research framework.

Following the 1997 devolution referendum for a Scottish Parliament, the Scotland Act 1998 set the legal precedent for the inauguration of devolved and reserved powers in Scotland. Broadcasting, sitting under the Media and Culture 'Head' remained under 'Reserved Matters',[2] meaning that broadcasting legislation and the BBC were to be centrally managed. Devolution was not to be extended to television policy, which would remain under the aegis of Westminster. Yet, sociologist David McCrone (2005, p.68) observed that broadcasting and print in Scotland were 'always sufficiently distinctive from the rest of the UK', and television in Scotland is a key site of cultural production for the nation. However, the Scottish Parliament had no competence in these matters.

McCrone (2001, p.147) further noted that Scots 'prefer to pursue a parliament as a means to social and political – rather than narrowly cultural – ends', and following devolution's enactment, commented thus:

> It is true that there has been a significant revival in Scotland of cultural matters – literature, music, theatre, popular culture and so on – but by and large one could not conclude that culture has been the main driving force behind the political developments of the past twenty years. (McCrone, 2001, p.146)

Hence, according to McCrone, Scots' adherence to their nation's culture is confident and not inclined to be mobilised in the interests of politics. As is explored in Chapters 4 and 5, this clean separation of the two phenomena may not fully account for the dynamics that have propelled Scottish politics or broadcasting in the last forty-plus years. Nonetheless, McCrone's appraisal of the

[2] Scotland Act 1998. Available at: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/46/schedule/5#top (Accessed 2 July 2023).

relationship between politics and culture in Scotland is a resonant reminder that these two concepts are often addressed in unison in analyses of Scotland's recent political transformations. The devolved settlement is consequently a pivotal factor in assessment of Scottish culture.

To this end, Caitríona Carter and Andy Smith's (2009, p.315) theorisation of 'territorial institutionalism' is helpful in seeking to understand how broadcasting operates in Scotland. Scottish post-devolution politics has been analysed by Carter and Smith (2009, p.315) in order to establish 'systematic knowledge on devolution's impact upon polity-building', and they did so by analysing the ways in which devolution was mobilised to effect change or continuity within specific economic sectors. Their theorisation enabled examination of 'usages of representations of territory as key political resources for legitimising the institutionalisation of sectors' (Carter and Smith, 2009, p.315). Therefore, by broadening their analysis of 'sectors' to include broadcasting, territorial institutionalism offers a framework that addresses this media sector's institutional and geographical dynamics and how they interact with political and regulatory forces in Scotland (Carter and Smith, 2009, p.319). Notwithstanding that the time period under investigation for this research project begins prior to devolution, territorial institutionalism still offers a conceptual basis to theoretically situate the research trajectory of this thesis.

Therefore, in recognition of the dual dynamics of marketisation discourse and constitutional politics' connections to broadcasting and Scottish cultural expression, the following overarching research question was framed for the project:

What roles did marketisation discourse and constitutional politics play in the cultures of production underpinning Scottish visual arts television programming between 1952 and 2018?

Having established the key areas of focus for the research, the remainder of this chapter outlines the structure of the overall thesis and contextualises the four subsidiary research questions which guide the research objectives for each of the four findings chapters.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 sets out a conceptual framing of the project by examining the history of arts programming within the PSB firmament. A cultural history of arts programming is provided, and prominence is given to the regulatory interventions that reconfigured the discursive nature of UK arts television production. Theories of presenter-led programming are analysed as well as relevant Scottish broadcasting history in the UK. The chapter establishes the gap in research to which this thesis is a response.

Chapter 3 establishes the research design for the project and presents the television programme cases selected for analysis. Having adopted a case study approach for the research, it was necessary to understand the landscape of arts and visual arts productions to date in Scotland to assess which productions to investigate through empirical study. To this end, how a database of Scottish visual arts programmes was created specifically for this research project is outlined (see Appendix A). As there is no literature discussing arts programming or visual arts productions covering Scottish art, apart from the briefest allusion to early magazine strands in W.H. McDowell's 1992 publication *The History of BBC Broadcasting in Scotland, 1923-1983*, it was necessary to create a database of programming from multiple secondary sources. This process is described in detail in the methodology chapter. Then, the research methods – document analysis, textual analysis of arts productions, and elite interviews with television and art history professionals – that serve the research questions and framework are presented and contextualised.

Each findings chapter is dedicated to a specific time period that correlates with key policy shifts in broadcasting and/or the BBC in order to understand the ramifications for arts programming more distinctly. While the period following the 1990 Broadcasting Act has been identified as a key moment of disruption for UK television, to understand how this manifested in Scotland's cultural programming it is also necessary to understand the culture of televisual production prior to 1990 to map shifts and transformations. Hence, the following sub-research question was formed to address this period of production:

1. **What form did Scottish visual arts programming take prior to 1990?**

This question will be addressed in the first of the findings chapters – Chapter 4 – and will incorporate a range of empirical findings and historical contextualisation to situate arts programming in the era prior to the marketisation of public service broadcasting (PSB) and examine the presenter types to be found in a variety of Scottish visual arts productions. Cultural programming for Scotland in this period was supplied principally by the BBC from 1952 and Scottish Television/STV from 1957. While prior to 1990 two further ITV franchisees – Grampian Television[3] and Border Television[4] – served Scottish audiences with Scottish music and history programmes, neither was involved in the production of visual arts programmes (Sendall, 1983, pp.54-58, 61-8), although Border Television did co-produce arts programme *Kaleidoscope*[5] with four other commercial broadcasters which began broadcasting in 1965. These were TWW, Ulster, and ATV, from Wales, Northern Ireland, and England's Midlands respectively, with Grampian as the exclusively Scottish contributor. The production's remit was to consider the arts beyond London.

It is instructive at this juncture to address the history of STV's name. Scottish Television was the brand name of the broadcaster until 1969 when it was replaced by 'STV' until 1985. A further rebranding in 1986 reverted to the pre-1969 use of 'Scottish Television'. 'STV' was then re-adopted in 2006 and has remained in use ever since. In order to avoid confusion around name changes, and as regular reference is made to 'Scottish television' more broadly in this study, the commercial broadcaster will be referred to as 'STV' throughout the remaining chapters.

Chapter 4 maps both broadcasters' cultural programming production in conjunction with analysis of Scotland's social and political environment prior to the 1979 referendum on Scottish Home Rule and then in the years leading to Glasgow's inauguration as European City of Culture (ECOC) in 1990.

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[3] *Scotland On-Air*, 'Grampian Television/programmes'. Available at: https://wiki.scotlandonair.com/wiki/Grampian_Television/programmes#Education (Accessed 16 May 2024).

[4] *Scotland On-Air*, 'Border Television/programmes'. Available at: https://wiki.scotlandonair.com/wiki/Border_Television/programmes (Accessed 16 May 2024).

[5] *Scotland On-Air*, 'Border Television/programmes'. Available at: https://wiki.scotlandonair.com/wiki/Border_Television/programmes (Accessed 16 May 2024).

Chapter 5 will evaluate what impact the 1990 Broadcasting Act, and attendant BBC and ITV responses, had on Scottish visual arts programming in the decade following the legislation's enactment, as well as examining the impact of the ECOC event, which generated an injection of resources and creative energy for new productions at both Scottish broadcasters. Simultaneously, this period witnessed profound shifts in institutional policy at the BBC, as well as changes at STV, to accommodate concerns around greater competition across the television landscape. The BBC responded with format innovations for visual arts documentaries, most notable being the advent of the celebrity presenter, while STV was compelled to reassess its commitments to arts programming as the decade drew to a close. As well as analysing the form programmes took, shifts in the cultures of production are also mapped to contextualise these programming decisions. The following sub-research question addresses these multiple considerations:

2. **What was the impact of the 1990 Broadcasting Act on Scottish visual arts productions?**

As the development of constitutional politics in the UK has been demonstrated to have a close affinity with how culture in Scotland is articulated, the arrival of devolved government in Scotland in 1999 is a critical factor in assessing cultural expression in the nation. Chapter 6 will track the impact of the devolution referenda on broadcasting while New Labour were in government at Westminster between 1997 and 2010 and analyse the culture of production at BBC Scotland during this phase. New Labour enacted and oversaw the implementation of the 2003 Communications Act, which further disrupted the television production landscape. A Labour government was also the majority political force in the new Scottish Parliament between 1997 and 2007, and political and economic discourses of Westminster were mirrored in Scotland, as was its cultural policy focused on the creative industries. However, with a re-energised policy focus on the 'nations and regions' of the UK, Scotland was no longer considered a 'national region' of the BBC, and this had repercussions for the culture of production, particularly in Glasgow. Hence, the following sub-question addresses this aspect of Scottish broadcasting activity:

3. **How did New Labour's creative industries discourse and the 2003 Communications Act impact on arts productions in Scotland post-devolution?**

Chapter 7, the final findings chapter, explores the policy developments within the BBC that continued to expand arts production in Glasgow, and focuses more expressly on the presenter-led format. In the second decade of the new millennium, Scotland had a achieved a status of 'excellence' as a production base in the arts for UK programming at large. New talent was also being nurtured for presenting purposes in visual arts programming, and this chapter follows the processes that supported and shaped presenters building a career within the BBC. While Chapters 5 and 6 track innovations in presenter-led personae, Chapter 7 examines a commissioning return to presenters with more 'traditional' attributes, whose expertise was formed in cognate areas related to fine art and art history. To compare the impact of the marketising agenda on the format and content of visual arts programming, Chapter 7 will address the following:

4. **What impact did marketisation discourse have on presenter-led formats of Scottish visual arts production?**

Chapter 8 - Conclusions - will return to themes outlined in this introductory chapter and reflect on the wider significance of the research findings. This will include exploration of the advantages and limits of a case study approach; addressing the epistemological function of territorial institutionalism; analysis of the relationship between marketisation and devolution policy; and, finally, assessment of the social and cultural values of visual arts documentaries and the role of the presenter within these productions.

This thesis is a historically oriented project. With such scant literature on the topic, it became necessary to use the research process to establish a chronology of how visual arts programming developed in Scotland. The database created to map productions of Scottish visual arts programmes is unique and a key plank in creating an overview of the characteristics of programming formats and emphasis on subject matter at different historical points in production cultures in Scotland.

Thus, this thesis makes a significant contribution to knowledge on two key fronts. First, through establishing a novel database of arts series and single productions relevant to the research topic. Second, through interviews with key personnel who provided testimonies identifying the power structures and decision-making processes at given periods in both Scottish broadcasters. The information elicited enabled a comprehensive and chronologically continuous mapping of the history of televisual arts production in Scotland. This information is not available in any existing literature and is an entirely original contribution to the field of production studies, and to the literature on arts programming.

Ultimately, marketisation did have specific impacts on the production of culture in Scotland; however, it will be argued that not all of these outcomes were necessarily to the detriment of arts programming or the interests of Scotland's programme makers. Constitutional politics also played a key role in forging specific cultures of production at the BBC, and also at a specific period within STV. The combination of the market and constitutional politics produced programming that was specific to Scotland, and this was a result of political as much as cultural impetuses.

Chapter 2 Contextualising Scottish Visual Arts Programmes: Mapping Televisual Cultures of Production in the UK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter maps out the televisual culture within which presenter-led visual arts programming sits in the UK. It does so by focusing on pivotal elements of both Scottish and British broadcasting history germane to the particular topic of arts televisual production in Scotland, and by presenting theoretical framings of presenter-led personae in broadcasting.

To establish the research gap that this thesis seeks to address, the following phenomena will be addressed to contextualise areas of conceptual relevance as implied within the research questions. First, the formation of the institutional culture that carved a role for UK arts broadcasting is mapped, followed by analysis of the impact of regulatory developments on televisual arts productions. How these regulatory upheavals articulated discourses of marketisation that percolated through UK public service television provision during the 1980s and 1990s will also be investigated. Finally, theorisation of the role of the presenter in factual programming will be analysed. Concurrently, the context of Scottish broadcasting will be interwoven throughout these discussions to establish the dynamics between broader UK media policy forces and the implications for arts programming in Scotland.

2.2 Pre-marketisation BBC and arts programming provenance

The BBC began televised broadcasting in Scotland in 1952, seventeen years after 'national' transmission had begun in London, while ITV franchisee Scottish Television arrived five years later in 1957 (Briggs, 1979, p.3; Sendall, 1982, p.203). Scotland had received radio programming from the BBC since the early 1920s, with locally produced programmes that both 'promote[d] a distinctive Scottish identity' and were 'important markers of cultural independence' (Harvie, 1981, p.128; McDowell, 1992, p.22; Scullion, 1994, p.69). When the 1930s regional programme expanded broadcast reach throughout the UK,

Scottish radio became ‘delineat[ed]’ from its English or British counterparts, and programmes were created that ‘reflect[ed] “Scotland” back to itself’ (Hajkowski, 2010, p.140). Hence, Scottish broadcasting has been theorised as a site of Scottish national culture and identity, notwithstanding that delayed technological developments historically marred the ubiquity of provision for Scotland’s audiences. Yet, overcoming technical delays were not the only impediments to parity of access to broadcasting for Scottish listeners or viewers. Tensions abounded around the particular meaning of ‘culture’ that was to be served for a radio listenership and these points of conflict were to endure into the era of television.

The BBC was ideologically envisaged as a British-national project by its first director-general (D-G), Glaswegian John Reith (Briggs, 1965, pp.36-7; Tunstall, 1993, p.4). And, while definably Scottish programmes and voices populated radio programming slots prior to the regional programme (*Radio Times*, 1923a; *Radio Times*, 1923b; Scullion, 1994, p.69; Hajkowski, 2010, p.139), content was overwhelmingly still London-generated and decidedly anglicised fare, and the reasons for such bias lay in Reith’s particular philosophy for broadcasting’s social role.

Reith envisioned broadcasting as both a political device for engendering ‘a more intelligent and enlightened electorate’, as well as a distribution platform for entertainment and culture (quoted in Briggs, 1985, p.54). Propelled by social values of the era which were underscored by a missionary zeal, Reith sought to forge ‘high standards’ for programming that would ultimately serve as a ‘cultural, moral and educative force for the improvement of knowledge, taste and manners’ (Briggs, 1985, p.27; 1961, p.5; Scannell and Cardiff, 1991, pp.5, 7). Such values were driven by ideals of the transformative properties of a ‘virtuous’ education and of delivering public benefit; in turn, ‘democratising’ previously inaccessible geographical and cultural spaces for British audiences (Scannell, 1989, pp.46–8; Paterson, 2015, p.21). In the First World War’s aftermath, the values of an ethically framed liberal education – exemplified by Arnoldian notions of the ‘best that has been thought and said’ and embodied in aspects of ‘high’ culture – were considered the mainstay against a re-descent into militaristic barbarism (Paterson, 2015, pp.23, 46). Furthermore, arts programming fulfilled the intentions of pedagogues who conceived the role of

universities as providing a rounded education that did not just 'produce … mere specialists but rather cultivated men and women' (Committee on Higher Education, 1963, pp.6-7). The educational and cultural impulses that drove the conceptualisation of early broadcasting were forces fundamental to determining the types of programmes that would be made – and arts programming articulated these values saliently.

Therefore, broadcasting's pioneers institutionalised 'cultural hegemonies' of the period within public service broadcasting (Carpentier, 2011, p.123), and the focus on the arts being communicated in a mass medium spoke explicitly to the concomitant hegemonic values of the era. Similar sentiments would be expressed once television was reinstated after the Second World War in 1946. The BBC's post-war director-general, Sir William Haley, had a 'concern' that television would 'encourage passivity and present a surfeit of entertainment programmes', and, so, the BBC had a 'trust' to deliver more edifying fare for its audiences (Briggs, 1979, p.6). However, BBC executives' emphasis on enlightening programming was not merely determined by elites' apprehensions of what constituted the best in British culture. Cultural hierarchies also operated in relation to the different geographies of the UK.

As there are four national identities within the UK, tensions arose from the early days of radio in respect of Scottish cultural programming managed from Scotland and how this was counterposed with what was deemed 'British' culture by a BBC operating centrally from London. A spat in 1937 between Director of Regional Relations Charles Siepmann and Andrew Stewart, then Scottish programme director, over whether an opera should be broadcast rather than Scottish-originated music spurred the Englishman to pull rank, stating that London choices on 'musical significance' would supersede any objections from north of the border (Hajkowski, 2010, pp.144-5). Siepmann's attitude was indicative of a cultural superiorism and the provincialising of peripheral culture which had operated historically across all regional–centralised relationships within the BBC (Harvey and Robins, 1994, p.42). Consequently, while early PSB operated in the interests of 'the professional middle class … who considered themselves to be the barometers of whatever was culturally worthwhile' (Van den Bulck, 2001, p.58), added layers of complexity arose in respect of value judgements

apportioned to cultural programming in what was considered ‘the regions’ of the UK.

Arts programming and elitism

Inherent in the judgements around ‘worth’ and ‘significance’ of broadcast content is the gnarly issue of elitist attitudes to cultural taste and consumption. Commentary has mooted whether the BBC’s arts programming is ‘elitist’ when everyone pays the licence fee yet broadcasts only serve ‘metropolitan and southern minorities’, while, historically, the BBC’s ‘narrow-minded, middle-class professional bureaucrats … had little sympathy for working-class interests’ (Wyver, 2007, p.8; Curran and Seaton, 2010, p.154). Conversely, ITV’s popular programming and advertisements, considered ‘a vulgar debaucher of cultural standards’, were instantly popular with television audiences (Curran and Seaton, 2010, p.163). Notwithstanding that ITV also produced and aired arts programmes, alignments of class with ‘high’ or ‘low’ culture have often underpinned analyses of this particular genre of programming (Walker, 1993; Williams, 2004).

For the PSB settlement has a practical purpose notwithstanding the social complexities it encounters or manufactures. As contemporary access to all linear television requires paying for a licence, it is incumbent on the BBC, still a publicly owned entity, to provide programmes catering to all interests (Barwise and Picard, 2014, p.59). Within this tenet of PSB is an implicit expectation that as arts programmes are to the taste of elements of the listener- or viewership, they should be produced for this section of the audience. As Charlotte Higgins observed:

> Why does the BBC bother with niche culture, to be enjoyed only by a few? ... Others wonder why it promulgates mass culture when … the market could easily provide? Arguably, it is precisely the dialectical tension between these two positions … that has been one of its strongest and most exciting characteristics. (Higgins, 2015, p.38).

Such ‘dialectics’ speak to the place that specific broadcast genres, such as arts programming, occupy socio-culturally, being both imbricated in the affordances of mass media, but simultaneously received and consumed by individual viewers

or listeners. Particular genres of programming therefore ‘have specific links to particular concepts like cultural value, assumed audience, and social function’ (Mittel, 2004, ix). Arts programming occupies the simultaneously rarefied and universally available spaces offered by UK public service broadcasting.

Scotland, politics, and culture

However, notwithstanding the universality of programming access proffered by PSB values, tensions that radiated from contestation around ‘national’ culture within the UK, and whether this was to be interpreted as being either British or Scottish in nature, possess an additional source of strife emanating from Scotland’s political developments.

Scottish ‘Home Rule’ had entered political discourse in the first half of the twentieth century, culminating in the 1928 formation of the SNP’s forebear, the National Party of Scotland (Harvie, 1981, p.98). In 1947 BBC North Region Director John Coatman feared that the UK’s small nations would exploit an overly devolved regionalism and be ‘drawn into politics and twisted and warped away from their primary business of broadcasting as parts of the inclusive nation to which they belong’ (Briggs, 1979, p.83). Regulation in the UK requires that publicly owned and commercial channels are politically impartial, even in genres other than news (Ofcom, 2009b, pp.24-7). These stipulations would suggest that cultural programming that sought to discuss or represent constitutional questions in Scotland in any manner would require careful handling. However, the distinction between culture and politics can be difficult to maintain. Philip Schlesinger, who has provided a sustained commentary on Scottish media and communications over the past three decades (Schlesinger, 1991, 1998, 2004, 2008a, 2008b, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2020), recently observed that ‘National boundaries … may be seen as containers that both reflect and express the internal cultural development of a given polity’ (2020, p.156). Thus, culture related to a particular geography has an inevitable and commensurate connection to policy and politics of that geography.

The relationship between culture and politics has been further theorised around the concept of ‘cultural nationalism’. Neil Davidson (2000, p.21) suggests political nationalism is an expression of the ‘collective will of a people’, while

cultural nationalism emphasises the '"ethnic characteristics" of a people'. Conversely, John Hutchinson (2013) states that cultural nationalism is independent of political nationalism, and that its proponents seek 'a strong community' rather than a 'strong territorial state as the basis of the nation', and this is achieved through a process of revivalism premised on 'a national language, literature and the arts, educational activities and economic self-help' (Hutchinson, 2013, pp.2-3). Davidson (2000, p.21) more pointedly asserts that cultural nationalism manifests where statehood is sought as an expression of a collectivity premised on a national identity, and these putative relationships between culture, politics, and self-determination underpinned Coatman's fears around small nations being offered greater cultural latitude in programming. Hence, the spectre of the UK's small nations' politics has long been a key anxiety shaping metropolitan responses to peripheral aspirations for greater broadcasting autonomy.

What constitutes 'Scottish' content in broadcasting cannot be presumed from geography alone. In the 1970s MP Jo Grimond proposed that two radio stations were required to serve the Orkney and Shetland Islands as the communities' interests were 'often different … from people on the mainland' (McDowell, 1992, p.257), while a 1920s Aberdeen BBC station director observed that differences in taste between listeners in the north and south of the Scotland were 'very considerable' (Neil McLean quoted in Briggs, 1965, p.298). McCrone (2001, p.145), in describing Scotland as a 'modern pluralistic society', suggested that circumscribing a cultural identity to 'Scottishness' is essentially pointless as there is no mono-national culture. Yet, an 'imagined' Scotland, as per the theorising of Benedict Anderson (1983), does exist, and its cultural symbols are recognisable, both within and without Scotland. Schlesinger reminds us, therefore, that:

> 'national culture' is not a category error, for it actually identifies both a reality and an aspiration and cannot be stipulatively willed out of existence. It is more accurate (but less provocative) to suggest that it is a site of contestation and inherently an object of transformative practices. (Schlesinger, 1991, p.305)

Hence, notwithstanding the granularity of cultural distinctions within Scotland's geography, the validity of a collective, recognisable, and recognised, Scottish sphere is identifiable. Furthermore, 'Scottish art' has been established by art

historians such as Duncan Macmillan (1990) and Murdo Macdonald (2000) to be a distinct visual arts tradition within the nations of the United Kingdom and, consequently, a definable programme topic for television commissioners and programme producers to explore.

BBC bureaucracy and old public administrations

However, notwithstanding the BBC's regionalist policies, the provision of cultural programming, and the PSB remit to extend infrastructure throughout the UK, consolidating these aspirations has not been straightforward historically within the BBC's particular institutionalisation. The mores espoused by early-twentieth-century BBC executives reflect specific values and operational rationales that can be understood as functioning within the traditional or 'old public administration' (OPA) system (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000). OPAs are characterised by being politically neutral; possessing a centralised bureaucracy; operating via top-down control mechanisms limiting individual autonomy and discretion; being overly burdened by rules; and having inflexible budgeting and personnel systems (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000, p.551). In the late seventies Scottish BBC professionals witnessed these OPA phenomena in the actions of London staff who were 'very bureaucratic, slow and inefficient in actioning plans' (Hetherington, 1992, pp.6, 10–11). Furthermore, these characteristics intersected with television's development, in what was termed the BBC regions, prior to devolution in 1999.

In 1976 BBC Scotland Controller Alistair Hetherington recommended a 'mini devolution' for Scotland's broadcasting in the form of its own capital and operational budgets in anticipation of a possible Scottish Home Rule referendum (Hetherington, 1992, p.3). BBC Director-General Sir Charles Curran rebuked the proposal, commenting that 'the regions were not ultimately in control of their affairs in their own right' (Hetherington, 1992, pp.31–2). Hetherington ultimately lost his post as controller, criticised for seeking too much independence from London and for being publicly over-critical of centralising forces (Hetherington, 1992, p.84). The first-run attempt at securing Scottish political Home Rule in 1979 failed, but Curran's centralising proclivities and Hetherington's bruising experience re-emphasised the historical conflicts in the central–peripheral dynamic between Scotland and London.

Nations and regions and national-regionalism

In the aftermath of devolution in 1999, the UK's small nations and the English regions were termed the 'nations and regions' in BBC policy documents (Deakin et al., 2008, p.66). Prior to this constitutional shift, the 'regionalism' paradigm operated, having been introduced in 1930 as a means of expanding listener choice by offering listeners both UK-national and Scottish regional programmes (Scullion, 1994, pp.80–81). Since the BBC's inception concerns had abounded in respect of its publicly owned monopoly over radio programming provision. To avoid commercialising radio services, regionalism's remit was to introduce competition among regional producers, as well as between the 'metropolis and the Regions' for national network contributions (Robson, 1935, p.477). BBC monopoly was averted through increased 'local' programming – i.e. national programming from Scotland – being provided alongside UK-wide programming choice for listeners (McDowell, 1992, p.35; Hajkowski, 2010, p.116).

Contrary to intention, regionalism increased rather than tempered centralising inclinations (McDowell, 1992, p.22). Metropolitan staff were critical of local stations' programme quality in the twenties, and Reith had sought to maintain 'high standards' by populating the airwaves with London-sourced 'experts and professionals' rather than the regions' 'ordinary people and amateur performers': all in the name of ensuring 'the best' in programming (Briggs, 1979, p.81; Scannell and Cardiff, 1991, pp.15–16; McDowell, 1992, p.20). In consequence, the regions' schedules were dominated by London productions, and, in due course, a lack of regional infrastructure and restricted budgets contributed to a centralising approach 'increasingly out of touch with the activities of the British people' (Briggs, 1979, p.79; 1995, p.454; McDowell, 1992, p.36). Complicating matters further, Scottish audiences welcomed London-originated broadcasts, thereby providing some cause for the centralising inclinations (McDowell, 1992, p.24).

Containing BBC monopoly was more meaningfully advanced when ITV was launched in 1955. The commercial broadcaster had a remit to 'promote provincial culture and oppose the BBC's metropolitan bias' (Curran and Seaton, 2010, p.171). Hence, with regionally apportioned licensee companies installed across the whole of the UK, ITV's advent in the fifties – in the form of what was

then Scottish Television north of the border – was a counterbalance to BBC monopoly and cultural hegemony in Scotland. As well as being a BBC competitor, the new rival provided a necessary fillip for the publicly owned broadcaster, which continued to make headway with new facilities in Edinburgh supplementing those already operating in Glasgow (McDowell, 1992, pp.85–6, 88, 125).

It had been decreed in the 1954 Television Act that 15 percent of ITV content should be original programming of the regional company's own production (Sendall, 1982, p.59; McDowell, 1992, p.125; Curran and Seaton, 2010, p.201). Therefore, it was independent television in the form of ITV, 'enfranchised … on a regional basis' through the designation of 15 commercial regions throughout the UK, that brought the first experience of non-metropolitan competition in television and a specifically Scottish identity to television broadcasting in the 1950s (Briggs, 1995, p.624). STV's opening night variety show *This is Scotland* garnered a million viewers (Sendall, 1982, p.209); however, the channel also presented Scottish Opera performances as ITV was regulated by the Independent Television Authority (ITA) to supply public service style programming (Potter, 1990, p.153; Curran and Seaton, 2010, p.254). Scottish audiences now had two channels on which both elite and popular culture would be served on television.

2.3 The advent of marketisation and defending regional television

Notwithstanding the supply of cultural programming in early broadcasting, the arts has been identified more recently as a genre in jeopardy, and this vulnerability is attributable to upheavals that began in television four decades ago (Tunstall, 1993, pp.365-8; 2015). However, it is not only specific genres that are threatened; it is the founding value system of PSB itself that is under attack.

PSB was historically formed in a period when private monopolies were considered 'an object of suspicion' and consensus supported public ownership of the BBC (Briggs, 1961, p.8; 1985, pp.30, 50; Curran and Seaton 2010, p.106). Channel 4 and Channel 5 were further additions to UK commercial public service provision in 1982 and 1997, respectively. Yet, existential risks to PSB's survival have been salient since the changing technological and politico-economic

environment of the 1980s, with the latter exemplified by the 1986 Peacock Report mooting whether the BBC licence fee should be replaced by subscription (Thompson, 1997, p.40). Precipitated by the ascendency of neoliberal economics and the advent of satellite then cable technology, the deregulatory impulses that favoured competition and free markets sought to bring new players to what was considered a restricted media and communications market (Tunstall, 1993, pp.365-8; Steemers, 1997). In response to these discursive and economic shifts, two principal policy formations resulted. The first was focused on privatisation and disrupting state-owned or commercial monopolies, and the second sought to marry 'public investment and protectionism' as a means of negotiating the advent of new media technology, which, according to Van Cuilenburg and McQuail (2003, p.195), was an approach which sought to maintain the PSB paradigm in changing ideological terrain.

Cable and satellite provision had disrupted the limited programme landscape that terrestrial television offered viewers and brought economic pressure to bear on the market viability of public service genres – such as children's, religious, and education television – on terrestrial commercial broadcasters. However, a 'schizoid' duality characterised these policy approaches as there was political reluctance to abandon PSB, 'or to harm various social and cultural interests' (Van Cuilenburg and McQuail, 2003, p.196). It has also been observed that the marketisation endeavours of John Birt, the BBC's director-general between 1992 and 2000, were resisted by BBC professionals who pushed back against marketisation's 'discursive capture' of the Corporation, indicative of commercialisation being repelled by 'an inherently bureaucratic BBC' (Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 2007, p.298).

Therefore, although the UK in particular embraced marketised shifts, in the 1990s there was evidence of regulatory control being exercised to obviate 'serious damage to social values' (Blumler, 1992, p.2). Hence, the public service discourse and practices of the BBC could be maintained even when forces outside the institution were questioning the 'efficiency' in market terms of a publicly owned system.

Extending Choice and regional prerogatives

An aspect of defending the founding tenets of PSB and its commitment to the small nations and English regions of the UK was articulated in the BBC's 1992 report *Extending Choice*: *The BBC's Role in the New Broadcasting Age*. Published in the aftermath of a BBC review which had mooted abolishing regional television altogether, the report was a vigorous endorsement of production beyond London (Harvey and Robins, 1994, p.40). This appraisal of regionalism took place at the same time as 'efficiency' drives were influencing BBC policy. John Birt adopted 'new public management' (NPM) practices (Collins, 2006, pp.3, 17, 47), a reaction to the inefficiencies deemed inherent in the OPA approach to organisational stewardship. Birt's managerialism focused on competition, marketisation, and efficiency in the form of internal markets – most pronouncedly represented by 'Producer Choice', which is examined in detail in the findings chapters. Yet, whilst controversial, this foray into corporatised practices arguably held off Conservative politicians' privatising inclinations (Born, 2003, pp.67, 68). Once again, PSB values were shored up in the face of both internal and external marketising inclinations.

Harvey and Robins (1994, pp.40-44) identified various factors that reignited regionalism as a BBC policy focus in the early 1990s, including the continuing London 'metropolitan centricity' and a lack of 'reflecting cultural diversity' beyond the UK capital. Other drivers of this 1990s' policy evaluation continue to resonate in contemporary discussions of the role of nations and regions broadcasting post-devolution and in the aftermath of the 2016 referendum to leave the European Union. These include the economic benefits of decentralisation represented by television production developing in other major UK cities and the lack of economic viability of indigenous production in the UK's small nations (Harvey and Robins, 1994, pp.43, 44).

'Regionalism' was underpinned by a somewhat ill-defined approach to policy, arguably contributing to the BBC's inferiorising of the regions. The BBC Royal Charter of 1981 had omitted any mention of 'representing' people, although the role of the National Broadcasting Councils (NBCs), was to be 'exercised' with regard to culture (BBC Royal Charter, 1981, Article 4(a)). The next Charter implementation 16 years later contained an explicit intention of 'representing'

the ‘distinctive culture, language, interests and tastes’ of the UK’s ‘People’ (Department of National Heritage, 1997, Article 4(a)) as aspects of BBC policy, suggesting that *Extending Choice* had made its mark more decisively on BBC decision making in the intervening Charter renewal period.

The mechanism for providing ‘regional’ content on BBC network schedules was the ‘opt-out’, first advocated in the 1962 Pilkington Report; a process whereby programming for the regional audience replaces the network offering where deemed appropriate (McDowell, 1992, pp.101, 122). The opt-out has historically been a sensitive issue. Scottish radio producers considered their reputations impugned if regional programmes were deemed ‘too parochial or second rate’ for network distribution, plus, there was an implication that only when network offerings were below par were regional contributions permitted (Hetherington, 1992, p.19; McDowell, 1992, p.87). At the BBC, the regions were considered to be principally ‘reservoirs of programme material for that network’ with only a modicum of productions for ‘local’ audiences permissible (McDowell, 1992, p.101; Briggs, 1995, p.652). The opt-out continues to operate on BBC1 Scotland and was also deployed on BBC2 Scotland until the arrival of the BBC Scotland channel in 2019 (Ofcom, 2019a, p.1). Scottish arts programming is a genre that was regularly inserted into the opt-out slots, particularly on BBC2 Scotland (see Appendix A).

Arts programming occupies a philosophical as well as cultural place in broadcasting. The OPA’s hierarchical Weberian administration was also acknowledged as a proficient system of institutional governance embodying a ‘bureaucratic *esprit de corps* [with] ideals of service to the impersonal causes’ (Bensman, 1987, p.63). Indeed, Georgina Born (2003, pp.64, 65) frames the BBC as an explicitly ‘*ethical organisation*’ (italics in original) premised on its ‘professional reflection and debate concerned with discerning the proper cultural, journalistic and ethical stance to inform the BBC’s broadcasting practices’. Hence, arts programming sat within this organisational and institutional ethical configuration dependent on ideologies of the arts as an ‘educationally improving’ element of pedagogy, but also buttressed by institutional values of public service administering benevolently to audiences. Thus, although television was being propelled towards programming that ‘could earn its keep’ in a competitive television realm (Paul Jackson, Carlton Television

Director of Programmes quoted in Murdock, 1994, p.39), the schizoid nature of policymaking enabled reaffirming the centrality of regional programming in the BBC and ensuring arts programming, including Scottish arts programming, survived in the compromises forged in a deregulated television arena.

However, the settlement established by *Extending Choice* was challenged again in the aftermath of the devolution referenda delivering the majorities required to establish the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly (Dewdney, 1997; MacAskill and Donovan, 2013, n.p.). Fear of 'primary business' being neglected in 'the regions' resurfaced in 1998 in the 'Scottish six' controversy, when a tea-time programme was sought for BBC Scotland which would cover international, UK-national and Scotland's news stories. D-G John Birt contended that 'The end of a single common experience for UK news would encourage separatist tendencies' (Schlesinger, Miller and Dinan, 2001, p.39; Birt, 2002, p.484 quoted in Schlesinger, 2004, p.20). Birt feared the 'nationhood' of Scotland becoming conflated with putative statehood through Scottish news being presented within an international context; a step beyond the affordances of the regionalist model. Once again, centralising powers were resisting initiatives threatening the broadcasting settlement, as such proposals were considered a threat to the integrity of the overall UK political firmament. Hence, while 'reflecting cultural diversity' was a gnarly issue when the politics of culture encountered regional–metropolitan dynamics, a more potent site of conflict was ignited when the spectre of constitutional politics appeared to enter the cultural space of the 'politically neutral' BBC (Blain and Burnett, 2008).

In this period of turbulence, 'regionalism' survived within a BBC organisationally inclined to exert power through centralising tendencies, while PSB values were defended in the face of powerful political and economic forces. However, public service values did not forestall disruption to the vertically integrated model of broadcasting that had characterised BBC and ITV broadcasting until the 1990 Broadcasting Act. The dualistic nature of the policy mechanisms mobilised to serve commercialisation were perfectly embodied in the shift to opening programme production to external providers.

The publisher-broadcaster model and programming innovation

The 1990 Broadcasting Act promulgated marketising values by requiring commercial and publicly owned broadcasters to contract independent companies for delivery of hitherto in-house-only production and by mandating the auction of ITV's franchises (Murdock, 1994, pp.37-8). The Peacock Report stipulated a quota of 25 percent of independent production to be introduced to both BBC and ITV operations (Deakin et al., 2008, p.6). Hitherto, only Channel 4 had operated as a broadcaster-publisher offering content to tender for external production sources. This 'second publisher system', supplanting the exclusively in-house, author-broadcaster model, trenchantly embodied the competitive rationale of the 1990 Act's deregulatory mechanisms. Both BBC and ITV were therefore required to extend commissions to 'a diverse range of suppliers across a wide mix of genres', including companies and producers outside London and, simultaneously, 'aim to bring on new presenter talent' (BBC Trust, 2016, p.3).

The 'innovations' brought about by the independent sector subsequently generated 'new genre types for factual and documentary programming, using more "popular" cross-genre formats', and while these programmes produced beyond the in-house confines were accused of reducing programme 'quality', broadcasters defended such output, claiming it remained 'faithful to the public service broadcasting ideal' (Deakin et al. 2009, pp.51, 71). UK public service broadcasters observed their regulatory requirements to provide arts programming through the nineties, while also serving market expansion in the deployment of 'indies'; however, further legislation in the form of the 2003 Communications Act would rupture the relationship between genre and public service provision much more fundamentally.

2.4 The 2003 Communications Act and arts provision

Arts broadcasting sits within a matrix that comprises a number of constituencies, including 'the regulator, artists, and arts organizations' (Noonan, 2018, p.4). PSM's survival and support in the UK continue through arm's-length oversight from the state via acts of parliament, BBC Royal Charter renewals, and the regulatory interventions of the Office of Communications (Ofcom). Simultaneously, the 'jeopardy' that PSB programming genres operate under is

mediated and administered by these same political and policy forces. This section addresses the relationships that emerged between regulator and broadcasters from the 2003 Communications Act and maps the discursive shifts that impacted on the provision of arts programming.

Ofcom's role as an all-encompassing statutory regulator for broadcast media advanced the concept of the audience as both citizens and consumers, exemplified by the organisation's neologism, the 'citizen-consumer' (Livingstone, Lunt and Miller, 2007, p.69; Lunt and Livingstone, 2012, p.65). New Labour had been pro-citizen and anti-commercialisation in opposition but, once in government in 1997, developed the 2003 Communications Act, evidence of having embraced a 'market-led television policy' in their second term (Freedman, 2003, p.155). Most pertinently for this thesis, the 2003 Communications Act entirely absolved commercial channels of responsibilities to meet quota stipulations in Tunstall's (2015) threatened genres and reset the policy requirements that did remain for arts programming (Ofcom, 2015, p.13).

Ofcom's remit was framed in language that invoked the market while ostensibly also serving citizens; a discourse that upended the publicly owned inclinations of early broadcasting values. The new regulator's 'principal duty' was to ensure consumer and citizen interests were served; however, this was to be achieved by 'promoting competition' in a PSM television ecology that was to 'complement a flourishing and expansive market sector' (Ofcom, n.d.1.; Ofcom, 2009a, p.1). Livingstone, Lunt and Miller (2007, p.64) expressed pointed consternation in respect of the 2003 Act, noting that the power balance had shifted emphatically to industry elites, as well as the state and Ofcom, thereby imposing a 'consumerist discourse' into regulatory functions.

This discourse had already impacted on the BBC and its managerial philosophy prior to 2003 and was to take particular form in D-G John Birt's restructuring of the Corporation, which included efficiency drives and seeking greater understanding of audience desires in order that these could be implemented in programme production (BBC manager quoted in Deakin et al., 2009, p.65). Whilst Birt's tenure was characterised as being acutely shaped by marketising rationales, his successor, Greg Dyke, became an acolyte of public value

management (PVM) theory, a reaction to the former D-G's corporatised approaches to institutional governance (Collins, 2006, p.3).

Public value promoted an 'ethos of co-production' between public services' users and providers, with the public's involvement in decision making thereby better administering to the audiences' 'needs and aspirations' in the broadcasting realm (Collins, 2006, p.4). This framework both reconceptualised the relationship of the viewer to the power structures that had underpinned OPA paternalistic values and fundamentally reshaped BBC programme makers' relationship to their professional responsibilities. In essence, television producers became 'accountable' both financially and in terms of programming choice to the viewing public. 'Consumer sovereignty' dictates the success of commercial operations, but this 'direct accountability' was not available to publicly owned broadcasters, therefore, a hypothetical outcome of mobilising the concept of public value was greater commensurate 'legitimisation' for the BBC (Lunt and Livingstone, 2012, p.16).

Encapsulated within the BBC's 2004 report *Building Public Value* was a framework for the broadcaster's 'public purposes' (Collins, 2006, pp.4–5), which were a series of mission statements setting out the BBC's 'object'. Meeting the nations and regions remit had been reconceived as one of the five present BBC public purposes introduced for the 2006 Royal Charter (Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), 2006a, p.2), which in its present iteration states that the BBC will 'reflect, represent and serve the diverse communities of all of the United Kingdom's nations and regions and, in doing so, support the creative economy across the United Kingdom'.[6]

Buried within the public purposes are the conceptual connections to public value, whereby the desires of viewers are taken into operational account (Ofcom, 2008). The viewer-as-citizen is therefore considered and embraced as the interlocutor expressing opinions and wishes for television content, but the consumer is also considered within this formation as the BBC's output is now explicitly considered within a broader market framework (Ofcom, 2017). And as

[6] 'About the BBC: Missions, values and public purposes'. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/aboutthebbc/governance/mission (Accessed 30 January 2024).

its regular consultations and surveys with viewers attest to, the dialogic approach to 'citizen-consumer' accountability is entwined with ensuring that the public purposes are not only adhered to but are held in balance within the wider broadcasting ecology in order to ensure the health of the market.

Hence, the public value criterion of the broadcaster being in partnership with the user/viewer conceptually overlaps with the dialogic criterion of regulatory oversight that deems feedback from audience members is intrinsic to PSB accountability (Collins, 2006, pp.3, 20). Public value service-user-facing interaction and Ofcom regulatory consultation now converge to form a phalanx of accountability for the viewing public. Hence, as Amy Genders (2020, p.60) observes: 'the BBC's austere Reithian paternalism has been softened gradually in favour of a less distant and more emollient relationship with its audience that ascribes more agency to the individual'. The need to adhere to this dialogical relationship with the viewer, while also competing with other PSB channels and cable channels, means that the individual audience member is addressed less as a 'recipient' of others' knowledge, but, rather, as the consumer to be attracted and held through a range of traditional genre tropes while enticed by new and innovative programming approaches.

Diminishing arts provision after 2003

The 2003 Act detached the public service remit of genre provision from broadcasting licence requirements more emphatically than the 1990 Act. Legislation accommodated the commercial imperative to serve the market as channels expressed fears of increased competition for advertising revenues. In a climate in which competitive and commercialised actors were being offered regulatory support, the proliferating expansion opportunities for private media players with access to non-PSB channel ownership did not suffice to dampen critique. According to critics, PSM enjoyed an unjust monopoly which should be 'sacrificed' to better serve the market (Freedman, 2003, p.153), and vestigial public ownership was anathema to such rapacious business interests. Protected from the cut and thrust of competition by a 'subsidy' of public funding, antipathetic voices regard the BBC as a disrupter of markets as it ostensibly produces content that could profit the commercial sector. The BBC licence-fee-

funded model has come under sustained ideological attack for usurping the competitive landscape of a free-market (Barwise and Picard, 2014).

Programming that is considered socially beneficial and offers 'positive externalities' would not necessarily find an audience in an exclusively marketised realm (Doyle, 2013, p.95). Cultural productions can therefore be defined as a form of 'merit good' broadcasting (Doyle, 2013, p.95). In an environment in which the market dictates which programming type can be profitably offered for consumption, a lack of merit good offerings would be considered a market failure (Davies, 2004, p.9). However, as the BBC broadcasts both 'desired' goods in the form of entertainment as well as 'merit good' genres, free-marketeers declaim that this unfairly advantages the BBC – as the licence fee essentially subsidises content that could be exploited by a truly free market – and seek to have the BBC operate solely as a stop gap for programming that the market would not supply (Barwise and Picard, 2014). Therefore, according to such rationales, arts programming and other public-service-aligned content are genres that do not serve free markets well (Davies, 2004, p.28).

Hence, the 2003 Communications Act abandoned quotas altogether for merit good programming for ITV and Channel 5. Hitherto-required genres for commercial PSB, such as classical music and arts, religion and ethics, and formal education, were extracted from licence obligations (Ofcom, 2009a, p.73). Once ITV's flagship arts series *The South Bank Show* ended in 2010, the BBC was providing 75 percent of all arts programming across all PSB channels (Tunstall, 2015, pp.222, 224). The regulatory changes also exerted influence at publicly owned channels, and in the decade following the Act, a noted decline was 'part of a persistent downward trend' (Tunstall, 2015, p.222). By 2015, as well as a 15 percent reduction in hours broadcast at the BBC of original arts and classical music, there was also a 32 percent decrease at Channel 4 (Noonan, 2018, p.6). Between 2014 and 2018 original arts and classical music programming had declined by 21 percent overall in UK PSB channels (Ofcom, 2020b, p.21).

In place of quotas came looser, less specific remits for commercial production, wherein 'cultural activity' was to be reflected by a plethora of genres including comedy and drama (Communications Act 2003, Section 264(6)(b)). The metrics to evaluate these broadcasts for Channel 3/ITV and Channel 5 were that they

demonstrate ‘high quality and diverse programming’ (Communications Act 2003, Section 265(2)(a) and (b)). Channel 4 requirements were more exacting in that its programming was to be educational, experimental, and innovative while addressing a diverse society (Ofcom, 2020c, p.13; Communications Act 2003, Section 265(3)(a)-(d)). BBC1 is now required to devote 45 hours per year to arts and music programmes, while BBC2 and BBC4 each have a greater obligation of 175 hours (Ofcom, 2019b, p.13). Therefore, the sole broadcaster beholden to offering the arts to UK audiences is the BBC.

In the Scottish context, STV is now absolved of all arts requirements. STV’s licence stipulates that in respect of genre, the only programming type it now must provide is news, while the solitary requirement in respect of Scottish programming is that the channel’s ‘local’ productions should be constituted of ‘a range of programmes … which are of particular interest to the persons living within that part of that area or to that community’ (Ofcom, 2020a, p.20). Viewers in Scotland are now entirely dependent on the BBC for cultural programming that focuses on Scottish topics.

Wyver (2007, p.197) suggested that Ofcom, having observed declining viewing for specialist arts, religious, and current affairs genres, responded by redefining PSB’s foundational tenets. Rather than being identified via genre, PSB programming instead would be recognised by its ‘purposes and characteristics’, which brought about a woollier categorising of ‘the arts’. The prioritising of high culture was instead substituted by an accent on productions that were to ‘stimulate our interest in and knowledge of arts’ through ‘accessible content’ that ‘can encourage informal learning’ (Wyver, 2007, p.197). Such redefinitions contextualise Channel 4’s subsequent interpretation of what constitutes cultural programming while offering the BBC scope to expand formats for visual arts productions. These waves of market-facing dynamics diminished the lofty aspirations of early cultural programming into shadows of the Reithian ideal.

Arts provision in the post-marketised settlement

The marketising rationale which had fragmented audiences and created niche channels on non-PSB provision was to be similarly ratified within the BBC by establishing a channel that broke away from the mixed programming ethos of

early BBC philosophy (Curran and Seaton, 2010, p.143). BBC4 was launched in 2002 as a digital channel with the attendant slogan of 'everybody needs a place to think'[7] and a remit to provide arts programmes, culture, and documentaries that tackled various topics 'in greater depth' than the approach taken on BBC2 (Genders, 2020, p.62). The new channel's mission was to 'stimulate, support and reflect the diversity of cultural activity in the UK', and its programming was tasked with covering topics which included 'painting, architecture, photography, literature and ideas', while also 'nurtur[ing] UK talent' (BBC Trust, 2016, pp.2-3). In consequence, BBC4 became the natural home for visual arts programmes focused either on art history or contemporary art, and simultaneously would develop new presenters to interrogate ambitious ideas and topics.

Yet, within two years of launching, the channel was criticised for its modest ratings and deemed apparently 'relatively poor value for money' (Barwise, 2004, pp.7, 31). The BBC was being critiqued for ratings 'failures' on a niche-audience channel. A BBC executive producer recently commented that 'In the early days they didn't really care how many people watched … now, it's very much a concern' (BBC executive producer quoted in Genders, 2020, p.64). Alan Yentob, BBC Creative Director between 2003 and 2015, suggested that the ABC1 demographic was 'super-served' in the arts magazine programme *The Late Show*, and that 'we need to talk to the whole audience. … That other audience is not so well served' (Wyver, 2007, p.64). Serving viewers, including those that were not the 'natural' demographic for arts programmes, became a key driver of production rationales as the new millennium unfolded. Yet, while BBC4's audiences were small numerically, its programmes were regularly covered by arts journalists in the national press, as the channel aired 'more than half' of the most-watched arts and music broadcasts each week (Tunstall, 2015, p.223). Hence, the channel was an important commissioner for arts producers, and a key site of cultural activity in the UK.

Beyond the BBC, purely commercial channels continue to broadcast arts programmes. In 2000 subscription satellite channel Artsworld launched 'in direct competition with the BBC' (Genders, 2020, pp.61-2). Sky Arts consequently took

[7] 'History of the BBC: launch of BBC Four'. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/historyofthebbc/anniversaries/march/launch-of-bbc-four/ (Accessed 11 July 2023).

over the channel recognising its potential to ‘build prestige’ for Sky’s brand and also as a means of accessing ‘middle- and high-income homes’ (Noonan, 2018, p.5). Costs are minimised by procuring content from external sources, including internationally, and its schedules are repeats heavy (Noonan, 2018, p.5). Although cable and satellite television therefore introduced commercial programming redolent of public service content (Collins, 2006, p.33), there is a caveat to the apparent overlap in genre values. In 2008 BSkyB Managing Director of Content Sophie Turner-Laing stated at the launch of Sky Arts 2 that ‘Our approach to arts is not about education, it’s about entertainment’ (quoted in Clarke, 2008, p.15).

Sky Arts merged their two arts channels in 2015, seeking to raise the genre’s profile within its brand, resulting in greater resources being dedicated to commissioning original programming (Noonan, 2018, p.5). Thus, the ABC1 demographic Yentob considered over-served by the BBC is precisely the cohort sought by Sky’s advertisers. However, Tunstall (2015, p.203) suggests that these commercial arts channels were competitive presences that squeezed out opportunities for genres such as arts to benefit fully from further channels on which to present content digitally.

A further sign of challenges experienced by PSB in the streaming era was the announcement in 2021 that BBC4 would cease commissioning new productions, instead, functioning solely as a repository of archived programming (Campbell, 2021, n.p.). The cost-cutting continued, and more recently, in 2022, the BBC announced that children’s channel CBBC and BBC4 were to be offered as online-only services – all ‘in order to focus on streaming services’ (Waterson, 2022, n.p.). Moreover, between 2008 and 2018 the number of independent producers who specialise in arts productions reduced significantly as budgets for the genre contracted and the number of commissions dwindled, thereby contributing to reduced profits and a sense from indie directors that ‘arts documentaries just don’t exist anymore’ (Noonan, 2018, p.7).

All told, there is now uneven provision of arts content across public service providers in the UK. The BBC and Channel 4 still produce for the genre, but with significantly reduced output. Visual arts programmes in particular have fallen victim to market forces assisted by the unwieldly and permissible definition of

'cultural' programming on PSB channels. The artist profile or television 'lecture' formats are avowedly no longer commissioned by Channel 4, although ITV did air *Great Art* (2018), a series of films introduced by art historian and broadcaster Tim Marlow, known for his series *Great Artists* (2001) broadcast on Channel 5 which he wrote and presented. Sky Arts premises its content on entertaining audiences, and its offer is not necessarily pertinent to the culture of the nations of the UK. Arts programming continues in attenuated form, but only the BBC still offers a space for broadcasting focused on the visual arts that is specifically Scottish in identity.

2.5 Situating the sub-genre of visual arts programming

John A. Walker's 1993 historical overview *Arts TV: A History of Arts Television in Britain* identified formats and contextualised televisual cultures of production of visual arts programmes between 1936 and the early 1990s on network British television. This expansive overview written before the full effects of marketisation were manifest in broadcasting offers a penetrating and conceptually rich mapping of visual arts coverage in the era of 'rationed television'. Further academic commentary has been concerned with the ability of audio-visual media to effectively convey the skills and creative energies of visual artists both on television and in film (Hayward, 1998; Wyver, 1998, 2007), while other writers have engaged critically with the sociological role of audio-visual media in reproducing hierarchies of cultural value that exalt and privilege visual artists and their creative practices (Pollock, 1980; Roberts, 1987). Walker (1998, p.87) updated his 1993 history in a chapter for visual arts programming anthology *Picture This*, acknowledging television's 'radical' shifts in the 1980s and 1990s and offering analysis of productions made between 1990 and 1995 across all UK PSB channels.

More recent commentary has taken a political economic approach to analysis of the broader genre, either tracing the impact of policy shifts on arts programming priorities or production culture challenges (Noonan, 2018; Genders, 2020, 2022). Additional approaches have investigated the histories of well-known series from a production studies' perspective (Conlin, 2009; Irwin, 2011; 2017; Lee and Corner, 2015), or through analysis of specific channels' impact on arts programming production (Boon, 2017).

This thesis focuses on presenter-led documentaries, whose forebear, the 'lecture' format, has a longstanding provenance on television, and as outlined in Chapter 1, is one of many visual arts programming formats. Arts programming broadly has come under the purview of documentary making as a televisual practice and has educational siblings in other factual genres such as science or natural history (Tunstall, 1993, pp.27, 30). 'Documentary' is also presented on the BBC's programme pages as a format within its factual offerings, thereby attesting to the use of the term 'documentary' as a 'loose and often highly contested label' (Corner, 1996, p.2).

John Corner (1996, p.2) offers some taxonomical clarity for these category overlaps by suggesting that documentary films 'reflect and report on "the real" through the use of the recorded images and sounds of actuality'. Arts programming fits with this empirical recording of cultural artefacts and events created for public communication. John Read, director of seminal visual arts films in the 1950s' BBC, acknowledged the influence of two filmmaking sources: the groundbreaking Scottish documentarian John Grierson, from whom he 'drew a recognition of narrative' in his filmmaking; and Italian artist-profile documentaries from the 1940s, which were examples of 'dramatic story telling' (Wyver, 1998, p.29). Read's filmmaking philosophy was instrumental in introducing 'certain crucial elements' that would come to characterise how arts programming would be approached in British television (Wyver, 1998, p.29). Principal was a focus on the interpretation and 'suggesting' of the emotion and poetry in artworks, which spoke to a 'preference for feeling over analysis and a reliance on linear narrative' (Wyver, 1998, pp.29-30). This merging of documentary filmmaking tenets with linear narrative, while tapping into the emotionality of visual artworks, anticipated contemporary approaches to the representation and analysis of visual arts on television.

Information about the visual arts comes to the public from various sources in televisual form; from 'sensational or high news value' artwork sales (Walker, 1993, p.14) through to single documentaries or series focused on a particular artist or art movement. Walker (1993, p.15) suggests that the latter type of 'specialist' programmes generally exist in a 'kind of art ghetto' on television. Coverage of visual arts adopts multiple educational perspectives, including

communicating knowledge of the topic, presenting 'values' around art and the 'qualities' inherent in artworks; notwithstanding that encountering art televisually is a 'substitute for the real thing', thereby offering a 'distanced or debased manifestation' of the artwork (Wyver, 2007, p.151). The role of the visual arts programme is to 'compensate' for this compromised experience (Wyver, 2007, p.151). However, as the arts occupy complex and often fractious social terrain, televisual productions are both subject to high expectations and inclined to critique.

Wyver (2007, p.8) was concerned with the vexed question of the 'mass audience' and how to preserve the 'ideas and values' of art when seeking to meet the former's 'expectations'. Other commentators of a more materialist disposition have bemoaned the 'ruling class paternalism and bourgeois ahistoricity' adopted by productions such as seminal art history series *Civilisation: A Personal View by Kenneth Clark* (BBC2, 1969), or John Read's early artist profiles (Roberts, 1987, p.118; Conlin, 2009). Art historian Griselda Pollock (1980) demonstrated from a feminist perspective how television and film mythologised the artist and stereotyped creative practices and creative lives.

Academic attention to the broader genre of the arts on television has implicitly addressed the broadcasting framework for visual arts programming in the particular period under analysis (Walker, 1998; Irwin, 2011; 2017; Lee and Corner, 2015; Noonan, 2018; Boon, 2017; Genders, 2020, 2022). Walker's 1998 analysis of a variety of UK arts magazine and visual arts programming introduces Producer Choice, independent production, and inclusion of 'popular' art forms as characteristics of the post-1990 landscape (p.87). However, the ensuing discussion of particular productions in these early moments of transition post-1990 testifies to the post-war legacy of Reithian intellectualism that continued to exist alongside innovations in competitive television's arts programming. Walker (1998, pp.89, 91) analyses early nineties' network productions overseen by BBC Scotland's erstwhile head of music and arts Keith Alexander; however, the production survey is relatively brief, therefore observations track the intellectual–aesthetic changes to the programmes reviewed, rather than examining the impact of structural change on professionals or the productions of culture. Nonetheless, it relays criticisms of the 'novelty' form of presenting for

art history typified by BBC2's *Sister Wendy's Grand Tour* launched in 1995 (Walker, 1998, p.90).

Genders (2020, p.67) tracked the demise of the magazine format in an era of digitisation and neoliberal economics, concluding that as a 'studio-based discussion programme' this sub-genre of arts programming, considered to offer 'important formats for disseminating and widening access to contemporary cultural debates', was a loss for a culture of critical debate around the arts in the broadcast arena. Addressed from the citizen-consumer paradigm, Genders (2022, p.192) argued that the niche-audience narrowcasting approach of BBC4 was further fragmenting small audiences.

David Lee and John Corner's 2015 overview of *The South Bank Show* (ITV, 1978-2010; Sky Arts, 2012-) tracked the shifts in provision and consumption of a flagship arts programme as the production moved from network ITV to Sky Arts' subscription channel (on Freeview since 2020). They identify the attributes of a niche-broadcasting audience that has come to programming 'as considered choices' when there are myriad channels and specialist offerings across the audio-visual landscape. Corner and Lee (2015, p.380) suggest that there are 'advantages' for producers when creating for these narrow-cast audiences in regard 'both to content and treatment', observing that this approach sits in contrast to the 'excitement' and 'mystery' of producing arts programming for mixed demographic audiences, 'no matter their background, education or previous knowledge'. Who the intended audience is for arts programmes, and how production teams approach these concerns, will also be investigated in this thesis.

Producing for the commercial sector is also addressed in Caitriona Noonan's 2018 analysis of commissioning and producing arts television in the UK. Noonan (2018, p.3) suggested that in analysis of a genre rather than an institution, there is analytical value in 'overcom[ing] the binary of … PSB versus commercial provision', citing Sky Arts as a form of value 'that might be created outside a PSB framework'. Appraising different economies in production culture addresses arts programming provision beyond the publicly owned BBC model, thereby offering an analytical opening for investigation of commercial sector production,

which is of conceptual value to this thesis as it seeks understanding of STV's role as a Scottish arts producer prior to 2003.

Production studies such as Jonathan Conlin's (2009) and Mary Irwin's (2017) explorations of the making of *Civilisation* in the late sixties address a visual arts production explicitly. Conlin's account re-evaluates the series with critical distance from earlier critiques, while the latter examines the introduction of high production values into arts broadcasting to create the 'blockbuster documentary' (Irwin, 2017, p.361). These various authors' analyses introduced above will be incorporated into discussion of productions in the remainder of the chapter.

Early presenting techniques and addressing the audience

Although exhibition reviews and critical commentary had been part of the radio speech arts landscape, Wyver (1998, p.28) identifies director John Read's 1951 documentary on sculptor Henry Moore as the 'first full-length arts film and … originator of the genre'. The magazine format progenitor was *Monitor* (BBC-tv, 1958-65), which 'embraced the profile form with enthusiasm' but also 'made its own significant contribution' to the televised lecture – in early television principally a studio-bound activity (Wyver, 1998, pp.31, 32).

A significant part of *Monitor*'s appeal lay in the personage of its presenter, editor, and 'public face', the Welshman Huw Wheldon, whose strengths included 'his ability to communicate with a television audience … and communicate his enthusiasm for the arts' (Irwin, 2011, pp.324-5). Wheldon believed that 'the BBC's core duty was to entertain the public', suggesting that viewers would only become engaged with a programme, and thence informed or educated, if it was 'agreeable' (Higgins, 2015, p.53). A *Monitor* programme producer observed of Wheldon that 'He loved presenting; his watchwords were that anything could be made accessible' (Irwin, 2011, p.325). Wheldon was neither an art historian nor had he a background in the arts; however, he had proved himself as both presenter and producer on series prior to *Monitor*, and '[w]ith Celtic eloquence and an extrovert personality he was a very good performer on screen' (Irwin, 2011, pp.326, 327). His lack of discipline expertise, therefore, did not impede his BBC career in the arts.

Wyver (1998, p.32) avers that the television lecture reached its 'apogee' with *Civilisation* on BBC2 in 1969, establishing the '"personal view" documentary blockbuster' as a mainstay of 'prestige television'. *Civilisation* was technically innovative and resourced handsomely to meet the feat of relaying location shots in all their aesthetic glory and doing justice to the opportunities afforded by the advent of colour television (Conlin, 2009, pp.41-3). Jonathan Conlin (2009) tracked the series' production and analysed contemporary responses to it. Owing to its status and being 'of its time', accusations have long been levelled that its presenter Kenneth Clark embodied the 'self-congratulatory "presenter as hero" model', and that, overall, the production epitomised the BBC's negative traits of the era, being, inter alia, 'patronising, orientalist, relentlessly Whiggish, overly didactic, and very, very slow' (Conlin, 2009, p.9). However, not all responses were negative (Bell, 1993, p.48), and the detractions were not borne out in the evidence of viewing. Clark 'hedged' rather than 'pontificated', and 'When he reaches the limits of his expertise … he frankly confesses as much' (Conlin, 2009, pp.9, 47). Thus, the disparagement meted out misrepresented both the series' content and Clark's presenting style (Conlin, 2009, p.11).

Although Clark was invited to write the script and present *Civilisation*, he required guidance to meet the vision planned by director Michael Gill and producer Peter Montagnon (Irwin, 2017, p.366). Conlin (2009) and Mary Irwin (2011; 2017) both draw attention to the importance of television executives, producers, directors, editors, and research staff in shaping the final artefact, whether a multi-part series or individual episode of a magazine strand. Raymond Boyle and Lisa Kelly in their examination of how business and entrepreneurialism are represented on screen for factual television, address the structure-agency dialectic in broadcasting institutions, noting that

> while structural forces remain central in shaping the trajectory of television as both industry and cultural form, television also remains shaped by key individuals working in particular genres at central moments in an organisation's history. (Boyle and Kelly, 2012, p.46)

These concerns fit both the key epistemological functions of a critical realist approach to knowledge building (Smith, 1998, p.297) which underpins this thesis and anticipates themes that come to light from interviewees' lived experiences as television professionals in particular broadcasting organisations.

While *Civilisation* was critiqued for its 'complacent elitism' and being detached from the social context of artistic creation (Bell, 1993, pp.48-50), John Berger's *Ways of Seeing* (BBC2, 1972) 'used television differently' (Bell, 1993, p.49) to address the broader matrix of visual art's symbolism in a consumer society. However, as Wyver (2007, p.148) observed, the impact of the latter series remained 'far stronger in the academy', as television productions continued to resist the theoretical interrogation that Berger invited, opting instead to proceed with the 'presenter as hero' model and avoid asking 'how and why art exists, as well as why we have certain attitudes towards it'. Hence, *Ways of Seeing* was an isolated foray into sociological interrogation of visual arts culture. And while *Civilisation* is oftentimes viewed 'as a cautionary catalogue of mistakes to be avoided' (Conlin, 2009, p.11), the series has sustained a reputation as the byword for successful visual arts documentaries and the template for 'landmark' factual television productions.

However, televisual art history can invite an 'intellectual approach' which 'was invariably from the populist ends of academic disciplines' (Wyver, 1998, p.33). Wyver (1998, p.33) therefore suggests that television has adopted a rather delimited approach to the topics that art history offers by focusing on the importance of 'High Art' over other forms that interrogation of the discipline could take. While Wyver's observation still holds true in respect of production decisions for the intervening decades since he commented on the topics adopted for television, without discussion of art created beyond the canon of 'British' art, and therefore without an analysis of programming beyond the metropoles, there is a disservice to producers who created a record of creative practice in the UK's small nations. The thesis seeks to redress this academic neglect.

2.6 Classifying presenters

Prior to the disruption of the post-1990 era, who to put in front of a camera and how the audience would react to the presenting personage was already a crucial production consideration (Tunstall, 1993, p.25). Producers pondered whether a familiar or unknown face would be appropriate, as well as whether more than one presenter would benefit the format (Tunstall, 1993, p.25). Presenter of *The South Bank Show* Melvyn Bragg was considered so synonymous with the show's brand that on his resignation in 2010 ITV decided to close the series (Lee and

Corner, 2015, p.369). Hence, the role of presenter is paramount in the success of a production's ability to effectively communicate the topics chosen for televisual attention. In effect, the traditional apprehension of the presenter in arts programming is recognisable as an embodiment of the cultural intermediary as theorised by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984). These intermediaries deploy their socially afforded cultural capital to combine 'high and popular cultural forms' (Nixon, 1998, pp.212-13); an activity that is especially salient in arts programming. Such intermediaries curate elements of the educational and cultural worlds for televisual consumption and interpret information in particular ways to facilitate viewer understanding. Simultaneously, they can seek to persuade the viewer of the attributes or shortcomings of the creative practitioner or work they bring to the audience's attention.

However, while Bragg was the face of a strand series, this research is focused on developments of the 'pundit' or 'expert' format, which in turn marked shifts from the 'television lecture' approach. However, there are a variety of formatting innovations that have been identified for knowledge sharing on television. Karol Kulik (2006) explored typologies in archaeology programmes and identified six variations in format and programme function. Three of these have also been adopted by visual arts production.

First is the 'detective', mystery-to-be-solved trope (Kulik, 2006, p.84), redolent of the concept adopted for BBC1's highly popular *Fake or Fortune?* (2011-) series, wherein artworks with misattributed or unidentified artists are investigated to establish their authentic provenance. A second recognisable format was the 'expository' style, which had 'an educational approach' with a 'distanced overview or "lesson"' on a chosen topic accompanied by expert interviews and 'omniscient' voice-over commentary (Kulik, 2006, p.84). The third relevant typology was the 'essay' format, which, although possessing expository aspects, has a focus on 'thematic rather than linear construction' of a single perspective, with the presenter often taking on a dual role as scriptwriter (Kulik, 2006, p.84). These latter two formats have been familiar approaches in visual arts productions, although research will be conducted on variations of the 'essay' programme type.

Visual arts productions requiring presenters for the lecture format have opted for a range of experts or pundits, including seasoned professionals such as Kenneth Clark, or authors who are also artists or art critics such as John Berger. Art historian Andrew Graham-Dixon and arts journalist Waldemar Januszczak, who have been regular presences on British television over the past three decades, similarly brought subject expertise to the films they scripted and presented (*The Art of Arts TV*, BBC4, 2008). Artist profiles have also opted for the voice-over format without an on-screen presence; an approach identified by Kulik as 'expository'. However, Corner noted that a presenter offers both continuity of presence over diverse locations and topics and simultaneously 'becom[es] familiar to the audience', consequently, inculcating 'something of the trust and the pleasure in expectation and recognition which familiarity can encourage' (Corner, 1996, p.74), although this is a different form of familiarity to that which Bragg embodied as anchor in a long-running strand format. In regard to single documentaries or series, Richard Klein, controller of BBC4 between 2008 and 2013, stated that

> You need to match names with the right subject matter, such as Stephen Fry on Wagner. BBC4 wants to empower people to understand the Arts. We seek to unpack, give context, and explain about a wide range of art and artists. … Very few people want only absolutely highbrow arts. My job is to appeal to a lot of people. (Richard Klein quoted in Tunstall, 2015, p.223)

Fry studied English literature at university and is a well-known UK comedy and dramatic actor, but he also has a profile as a broadcaster and presenter, garnering recognition as a 'polymath' and 'national treasure' by industry magazine *Broadcast* (2007). Paddy Scannell (1989, p.136) suggests that in broadcasting the audience's experience is enhanced as much by 'how things are said, as well as what is said', and Fry's erudite and wry contributions to panel shows such as *QI* (BBC2, 2003–) have cemented a public reputation as an authoritative intelligence. Klein's comments speak to the television executive's desire to broaden arts programming's audience and to do so by finding a personality that 'matches' the topic rather than providing a commensurate scholarly or professional background.

In the sixties, *Monitor* was recognised by producers of the science strand *Horizon* (BBC2, 1964–) as being particularly effective in communicating with an arts

audience, and science production teams aspired to create a similar rapport with their audience (Boon, 2017, p.332). Bringing in scientific practitioners with acknowledged expertise to *Horizon* backfired when it became evident that the expert presenters could be either 'cold fish' or 'two-dimensional' (Boon, 2017, p.332). Obviating these communicative pitfalls required both presenting experience and particular personalities. Scannell (1989, p.148) observed that 'monologue' rather than dialogue prevailed in early radio broadcast speech, but that later, more interactive, 'modes of address' on the part of presenters would engage an audience, creating 'intimacy at a distance' (Scannell, 1989, p.152; Moores, 1997, pp.220-4). Indeed, a more effective means of communicativeness was being addressed 'personally, simply, almost familiarly' (Hilda Matheson, Head of BBC Talks 1927-32 quoted in Scannell, 1989, p.149).

Kenneth Clark, as a seasoned presenter and producer of television, had appraised the qualities required of presenters and noted that viewers 'wanted narrative not "abstract musings"' (Wyver, 2007, p.26). Clark's experience as a BBC and commercial broadcaster on ATV led him to identify three presenting 'ground rules' for 'good' arts television: working to a script; delivering information not ideas to the audience; and supplying commentary that was 'clear and economical, and the delivery energetic' (Walker, 1993, p.23). 'Orating' or 'lecturing' were to be avoided, and the use of 'short sentences and staccato rhythms of conversation' was to be adopted (Kenneth Clark quoted in Conlin, 2009, pp.24-5).

Notwithstanding the communicative nous demonstrated by presenters such as Wheldon and Clark, accusations of 'patronizing elitism' and a 'paternalistic style' have been levelled at broadcasters such as Clark (Bell and Grey, 2007, p.120). Espen Ytreberg (2002), in an analysis of communication styles, raised questions about the validity of 'paternalism' as a classification:

> The paternalist is the most well-established of public service broadcasting's ideal types of self-presentation. Part theoretical concept, part analytical tool and part derogatory term, the merits of the paternalist have been hotly contested. In recent media policy debates, the image of the paternalist has frequently been invoked to characterize a kind of patronizing elitism. (Ytreberg, 2002, p.760)

Ytreberg invokes Raymond Williams's definition of paternalism, which as one of four 'ideal-typical' and historical systems operates under the ethos of protecting and guiding (Williams, 1976, pp.131-2 cited in Ytreberg, 2002, p.760). The pejorative traits ascribed to broadcasting's paternalists are that they '"do not care" about the audience's opinions and preferences', nor are they interested in 'reaching' viewers (Ytreberg, 2002, p.761). Moreover, the analogy between parental address to a child and how a broadcaster would communicate with peers 'seems strikingly inaccurate' (Ytreberg, 2002, p.761).

Scannell and Cardiff (1991, p.176) observed that the early broadcasting voice was 'formal, correct and unvarying', and so, the dominant institutional discourse of early PSB seems not so redolent of a father or teacher, but in being 'formal and deindividualized' suggested the formal address of a bureaucrat (Ytreberg, 2002, p.761). This 'restraint' in both emotionality and projecting of an individual's personality speaks of 'professional expertise', and is therefore a misunderstanding of the bureaucratic form of 'self-presentation' (Ytreberg, 2002, p.763). These precepts pertain to Marx Weber's 'legitimacy of bureaucracy' that relies on professional 'procedures that rigorously exclude all elements of the individual and the personal from judgment' (Weber, 1991, paraphrased in Ytreberg, 2002, p.763). These personality formations sit in stark contrast to the charismatic television personality emanating from the competitiveness of the post-1990 broadcasting era and the 'need to grab viewers' instant attention' (Ytreberg, 2002, p.766).

Richard Sennett's theory of the 'charismatic' suggests a personality who 'produces feelings of intimacy and rapport' in addressing an interlocutor, and therefore operates not through the 'distancing self' identified by Scannell and Cardiff (1991, p.176) but by 'persuading' in direct and emotionalised engagement which is purveyed 'intensely' from 'personal belief' (Sennett, 1992, paraphrased in Ytreberg, 2002, p.765). Janice Hadlow, when head of specialist factual at Channel 4 in 2002, opined that the 'desirable characteristics' for presenters were 'the ability to entertain and engage, to demonstrate a certain element of showmanship, and overall, "charisma for the camera"' (Janice Hadlow, 2002 quoted in Bell and Gray, 2007, p.121). However, Ytreberg (2002, p.772) cautions against framing presenting styles as a spectrum of 'paternalism toward charisma', as it overlooks the role of the 'distancing self'. He also

requests greater nuance in seeking to apportion typologies to different presenting personae, which has been adopted as a guiding principle for analysis of presenters' personalities in Chapters 7 and 8.

The charismatic personality is also evident in arts programming. Recent choices in presenter have focused ever more intently on personalities already well-known from activities not germane to the visual arts. A series of short films – *Private View* (BBC iPlayer, 2014-2016) – has various British cultural figures tour 'blockbuster' exhibitions,[8] representing a 'more democratic and sociological approach to the arts … at the forefront of the BBC's current cultural strategy' (Genders, 2020, p.61). Conversely, Channel 4 have abandoned the television essay form entirely, with their approach to culture and maintaining diversity typified by combining artists with factual programming:

> We don't make programmes about artists; we commission artists to make programmes about us. In other words, we ask artists (in the broad sense, i.e. singers, dancers, photographers etc.) to author the film [and] … to take as their subject matter broad, non-arts stories and themes of the kind that might appeal to a peak-time audience on a terrestrial channel. (Channel 4's News Release 'Arts' page[9])

Examples of these types of format include the ceramicist and visual artist Grayson Perry examining key stages of the human life-cycle in *Rites of Passage* (Channel 4, 2018). Such inversions of the 'pundit' programme speak to the '"alternative"' formats that Channel 4 has adopted throughout its broadcasting history (Genders, 2010, p.61), and are indicative of the channel's strategy for specialist factual generally: 'We don't want to be told things down the lens in a didactic fashion – we want to learn by watching people doing stuff. So, their role … is often more lead protagonist than conventional presenter'.[10]

The impact of seeking ratings while meeting their regulatory requirements is witnessed in Channel 4's move away from traditional formats. The implication being that such 'didacticism' is no longer appealing to audiences. However, their

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[8] *Private View* programme page. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p026c0n2 (Accessed 23 September 2023).
[9] Channel 4 News Release. Available at: https://www.channel4.com/press/news/arts (Accessed 24 June 2023).
[10] Channel 4 News Release 'Specialist Factual'. Available at: https://www.channel4.com/press/news/specialist-factual (Accessed 24 June 2023).

adoption of a ‘charismatic’ presenter in the form of Grayson Perry speaks to the personality-driven approach producers take to broadcast communication and, in seeking to ‘grab’ attention, to reformulating programming formats and repurposing presenters. Identifying the types of presenter deployed for visual arts documentaries, and the purposes to which they are put, are key objectives of this research.

2.7 Conclusion

As this chapter has established, the role of cultural programming in Scotland has been embedded in the UK’s pantheon of public service provision through the regional policies of the BBC radio broadcast and televisual era and, since the arrival of devolution, through the BBC’s nations and regions policy. Beyond the BBC, arts programming was also a regulatory requirement for PSB commercial broadcasting until 2003. Historically framing cultural programming has established the rationale for inclusion of visual arts programming within the broadcasting firmament.

Analysis of literature analysing visual arts programmes has demonstrated that commentators have addressed televisual content from three epistemological perspectives: textually, to interrogate the visual arts programme symbolically as a cultural artefact representing the status and role of the visual arts socially; from a political economy approach examining the policy dynamics impacting on the form programming has taken within a neoliberal political and policy environment; and from a production studies approach, wherein cultures of production and the personalities shaping the form programmes have taken were explored.

Each analytical perspective has brought to attention the historical matrix within which visual arts programming sits and the conceptual frameworks that advance understanding of the social and cultural terrain that visual arts programming inhabits. The chapter also mapped the impact of regulatory interventions that have reconfigured both the framework for cultural programming and the formats for visual arts productions. Finally, the pivotal role of presenters in factual programming has been situated in respect of theories of personality types and their application to broadcasting personae.

It is evident that research into arts programming addressing Scottish visual arts is entirely lacking. Hence, this thesis seeks to shed empirical light on an entirely under-researched area by addressing the production of presenter-led programmes about Scottish visual arts since television's arrival in Scotland. This requires investigating cultures of production in the period prior to the 1990 Broadcasting Act, a watershed moment in British television, and also addressing the production environment in the aftermath of this legislation and the 2003 Communications Act. Marketisation discourse underpinned these legislative initiatives, but while analyses of arts programmes have acknowledged the impact of digitisation and commercialisation in television production, the role of constitutional politics has not been conceptually accounted for in commentary on factual programming. This thesis therefore addresses these gaps in the literature to date.

Chapter 3 Methodology

The previous chapter established the conceptual terrain within which arts programming sits, while this chapter sets out the theoretical and practical means adopted to undertake research into the production of Scottish visual arts programmes. The chapter presents the underpinning armature of the research design – a critical realist case study approach using a qualitative methodology – and also discusses the methods used to gather data. The process of compiling a database of Scottish productions is outlined, and the process for sampling television programmes is contextualised. There is a section reflecting on the interview process with industry professionals, and, finally, the research limitations and ethical considerations of the project are addressed.

3.1 Critical realist case study and qualitative methodology

Critical realism was identified as an appropriate approach to investigating broadcasters as it addresses the 'social and cultural structures that shape people's options for action' (Deacon et al., 1999, p.10), thereby offering a framework for analysis that embraces issues of structure and agency inherent in bureaucratic and corporate work environments. As the research gathered data related to the experiences of professionals employed in television, critical realism affords engagement with the organisations creating 'states of affairs' that generate events actors 'make sense of' through 'perceptions' and 'sensations' (Smith, 1998, p.299). These events are generated by the 'structures, mechanisms, and powers/liabilities' inherent in the 'real' or 'deep' level of reality (Smith, 1998, p.299): in this research the political–policy realm. Acknowledgement of these phenomena takes the epistemological perspective of the thesis beyond the linguistic/symbolic and addresses the empirical reality of lived experiences in broadcast settings, thereby theoretically accommodating interviewee responses and emotions.

Undertaking empirical research of organisations adopting a critical realist case study approach (Vincent and Wapshott, 2014) offers the researcher autonomy in terms of methodology; there are no 'pre-determined methods' or concepts demarcated as specific to data gathering and analysis (O'Mahoney and Vincent,

2014, p.12). This thesis adopted a qualitative methodology to gather and analyse data, approaching investigation of the 'real world' via a focus on 'the complex issues of meanings, values, understanding and representation in social interactions' (Yates, 2004, p.133). Understanding the 'processes of production' at the BBC and also STV allows investigation of broadcasting practices which 'are themselves cultural phenomena in that they are assemblages of meaningful practices' (du Gay, 1997, p.7). Therefore, a qualitative approach enables in-depth understanding (Yates, 2004, p.138) of the actions of individuals who produce programmes as well as investigation of the programmes themselves as 'cultural texts'.

To this end, various sources of data were identified for the research. The first was professionals involved in the making of programmes about visual arts; the second was Scottish visual arts documentaries; and the third was a range of written and recorded documentations. A range of qualitative methods was used to gather and analyse the data. First, professional BBC staff and freelancers were interviewed using semi-structured elite interviews (Yates, 2004, p.155). Second, textual analysis was applied to unpack the symbolic meanings in television programmes (Deacon et al., 1999, pp.162-84). Third, document analysis was adopted to examine a range of documentations (Deacon et al., 1999, pp.14-39; Bowen, 2009, pp.27-8) comprised of the following: UK and Scottish government broadcasting and constitutional legislation or policy; BBC institutional policy publications, press releases, and speeches/announcements; BBC annual reports; Scottish and UK-wide newspaper, magazine, and broadcast-industry articles; online written and recorded interviews; newspaper readers' letters; and, finally, relevant websites and blogposts.

As data gathered solely from textual analysis of programmes could have introduced researcher bias, my 'readings' of the television programme texts needed to be tested against other data to achieve investigator triangulation in order to 'minimise biases' (Denzin, 1978, p.291 cited in Flick, 2018, p.529). Therefore, interviews introduced methodological triangulation to the research design (Flick, 2018, p.529) to corroborate interpretations of the data gathered from textual analysis of television programmes (Davies, 2001, p.78). A further

layer of triangulation was achieved through document analysis in order to test interview responses.

Documentations, as itemised above, served two purposes: first, different forms of documentation data contextualised the policy and historical periods in which programmes were being produced (Deacon et al., 1999, pp.14-15). On other occasions, documentation served a primary use (Deacon et al., 1999, p.15) where access to interviewees or television productions was not possible. Therefore, these forms of documentation were used as the principal means of gathering information about television productions that are not available for viewing; or were able to offer insight into key personalities who are no longer living. Online recorded interviews and newspaper obituaries were particularly fruitful forms of record for data-gathering purposes. These latter examples served the purpose of meeting the needs of a historical study where analyses were being made of the period between the 1950s and the late 1970s. Other items of primary-use documentation were scrutinised for textual analysis, 'where the organisation and meaning of the material itself are the major focus of research' (Deacon et al., 1999, p.15). Examples of these forms of data were YouTube videos of television productions that were not available for viewing through archival websites or broadcasters' catch-up platforms.

Finally, in order to analyse the data gathered from interviews and document analysis, thematic analysis was deployed (Braun and Clarke, 2017). These data were interpreted using semantic and latent codes; respectively, verbal expressions of meanings and 'underlying meanings' (Flick, 2020, p.286). This approach to processing of data is described as a 'form of pattern recognition within the data, with emerging themes becoming the categories for analysis' (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006 cited in Bowen, 2009, p.32). Thematic analysis enabled discovering key phenomena that shaped the experiences of professionals involved in programme production, and also served as a means of identifying parallel or divergent themes in respect of discourses emerging in institutional documents and government legislation. Hence, overall, a multiple qualitative methods approach was adopted for the research design (Natow, 2020, p.161).

3.2 Defining ‘the case’ for case study analysis

A case study approach offers a flexible methodology; however, it has been observed by John Gerring (2004) that confusion arises in defining the case study approach in a manner that ensures methodological rigour. Key to establishing a case study is to identify the research ambit for the project. This requires two key considerations. The first is to determine the time period for investigation and the second is to identify which cohort of the ‘population’ inherent across the broader research topic is to be focused on for ‘intensive study’ (Gerring, 2004, p.342). For this project, this pertains to which broadcasting organisations and which television genre formats were to be investigated.

Gerring (2004, p.342) argues that defining the ‘unit of analysis’ requires adhering to a ‘set of nested definitions’ in order that the phenomenon under analysis speaks to a broader ‘class’ or ‘population’ of cases. In this study, the single unit of analysis is presenter-led programmes about Scottish visual arts. The larger class of implied units is productions covering the wider grouping of arts programming within Scotland. Multiple productions were identified as ‘cases’ for analysis within the unit for this project, and the BBC and STV were identified as the organisations required to establish the second element of the case study’s ‘bounded phenomenon’ (Gerring, 2004, pp.341, 344).

As this project is premised on ‘Scottishness’, determining the cases for analysis required a definition of both ‘Scottish’ art and ‘Scottish visual art programmes’. The art historian Duncan Macmillan (1990, p.10) defines Scottish art as being ‘produced by Scottish artists, by artists in Scotland who have settled and become part of the culture of the place, or … art produced for Scottish patrons’, even if made outside Scotland. In addition, to provide a current administrative definition, Creative Scotland funding is open to all artists ‘based in Scotland’ (Creative Scotland, n.d.). These combined distinctions, therefore, enable definition of what constitutes programmes about Scottish visual arts. The following categories of programme were identified to serve the research purpose:

1. Programmes produced/commissioned by BBC Scotland or STV about art made by creative practitioners defined art historically or bureaucratically as 'Scottish artists'.
2. Programmes produced/commissioned by BBC Scotland or STV about, or that include, art covering Scottish topics – its history, landscape, or culture, for example – created by artists who are not 'Scottish'.
3. Programmes *not* produced/commissioned by BBC Scotland but by centralised BBC operations about Scottish art as defined in categories 1 and 2.

The final set of categories to be identified for inclusion in the cases takes account of visual arts practices and artistic styles. As the productions analysed were principally art historical in approach, artists whose works were 'figurative' or representational in style characterise the artworks discussed, with the fine art practices of painting and sculpture being the two art forms manifesting these aesthetic approaches. Therefore, non-representational/abstract artworks were not included as components of the findings chapters' textual analyses.

Determining the subunits of analysis

As a key objective of the research is to understand the relationship between representing national culture and marketisation discourse in BBC Scotland productions, the case study approach seeks to identify cause and effect dynamics: i.e. has marketisation discourse impacted on production culture in Scotland within the BBC and STV, and if so, in what way? To be able to evaluate these relationships, 'covariation' must be identified to ascertain if causal phenomena are occurring (Gerring, 2004, p.342). In order to evaluate in what ways marketisation impacted on cultures of production, programmes made prior to 1990 were analysed, as well as programmes broadcast after 1990.

After gathering data, it became apparent that within the overall unit of analysis were subunits (Gerring, 2004, p.343) which related to the time periods aligned with policy shifts. These were loosely based around decade-long periods, apart from the pre-1990 period, and would allow diachronic tracking of the impact of policy. As television came to Scotland in 1952, and the first manifestation of marketising discourse in the BBC was in 1992 with John Birt's introduction of an

internal market, the period of analysis for the first subunit exploring pre-1990 decisions was approximately four-decades long. This subunit covering the post-war-to-1990 period is investigated in Chapter 4. Subsequent chapters will be structured around approximately decade-long periods, covering principally BBC policy initiatives, but also UK government legislation. These post-1990-era time periods will be addressed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Creating the database to identify the programme population

To construct the sample of cases for each unit of analysis, productions were required from both the pre-1990 and the post-1990 eras. However, there is no ready-formed database of Scottish visual arts programmes from which to select a sample, or cases, nor has the topic ever been addressed in the literature to date. Consequently, establishing appropriate cases for analysis was impossible without knowledge of the characteristics of the 'population' of programmes that would allow investigation of my case. Constructing a database of Scottish visual arts programmes was necessary, and once identified and classified, a sample of presenter-led programmes was extracted from this wider population.

To this end, I undertook documentation analysis of several online television programme archives as well as archives of television listing magazines. Establishing this database enabled operationalising secondary data for re-analysis as a primary use set of data (Deacon et al., 1999, p.15). From the archives identified below, a database was compiled as an empirical source for secondary analysis purposes (Deacon et al., 1999, p.16). It is recorded in Appendix A of this thesis. This is a significant contribution to the academy as no such collation of programming of this nature exists. As such, the creation of this resource provides an extensive, and unique, chronology of the programmes made by British broadcasters about Scottish visual arts. As many of the productions listed are also generic arts programmes formats, the listings are a primary source of public information identifying a history of programming of arts strands and magazine formats, as well as series and single documentaries made about Scottish visual arts, the arts in Scotland more broadly, and arts programmes available to STV audiences in order to contextualise pre-marketisation arts scheduling. While the principal focus is on BBC productions, also included are programmes made by STV, other ITV franchisees, and Channel 4.

The archives searched are as follows: the BBC Genome Project pages – an online database of all BBC television and radio programmes listed in the *Radio Times* between 1923 and 2009 (https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk); The British Universities and Colleges Film and Video Council's Learning on Screen initiative, Box of Broadcasts (https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/) – an archive of 2.2 million programmes from free-to-air channels including, BBC1, BBC2, BBC4, ITV and Channel 4 from the 1970s up to 2020; the BBC iPlayer on-demand platform (https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer), which 'curates shows from the BBC Archives' (BBC iPlayer, n.d.); the BBC's programme website pages (https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/); the BBC Archive online pages on 'Art' (https://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/art/z4yymfr); Way Back Machine Archive BFI (https://web.archive.org/web/20090118114418/http://ftvdb.bfi.org.uk/sift/series/22013); and the British Film Institute National Archive (https://www.bfi.org.uk/archive-collections) – 750,000 television titles, including the BBC Television Archive. Hard copies of the STV listings magazine were also searched in the National Library of Scotland to contextualise data accrued in interviews, and to situate early STV arts offerings. This publication was titled the *TV Guide* between 1957 and 1961, *The Viewer* between 1962 and 1964, and the *TV Times* since 1965.

Once the database had been collated it became evident that there had been no series of presenter-led productions made prior to 1994, although there were single documentaries. In order to investigate the cultures of production in the pre-1990 Broadcasting Act era, it was necessary to expand the scope of the format of cases that would be analysed. Presenter-led formats that did exist were hosted within strands of general arts programming. Formats in the pre-1990 era included strands, magazine programmes, and non-presenter-led documentaries, as well as presenter-led items. Including this broader frame of reference in respect of production formats enabled analysis of the pre-marketisation era, thereby allowing for the comparison of pre-1990 approaches to programme making in Scotland when television resources were more meagre (Hetherington, 1992, pp.11, 77-8).

Therefore, with each of these key components established – the definition of Scottish art; the number of cases required, and the time periods operating as subunits of analysis; and the unique circumstances of the setting to be analysed

in the form of BBC Scotland and, where appropriate, also STV, 'the case' identified for this research is ***the production of visual arts programmes about art in Scotland before and after the 1990 Broadcasting Act***.

Once interrogation of the database was completed, six pre-1990-era productions were chosen to investigate the culture of production prior to marketisation, and ten presenter-led productions for analysis of the post-1990 period. The ten presenter-led productions of the marketised era represented a range of presenter types – both expert and non-expert – and a range of artistic movements and artists. As the sample for the period prior to marketisation includes presenter-led, magazine, and single documentary formats, while the post-1990 era is focused exclusively on presenter-led documentaries, this is a form of heterogeneous purposive sample (Yates, 2004, p.27). In order to accommodate each of these factors shaping and informing the analytical framework, the 'formal unit for intensive analysis' (Gerring, 2004, p.344) is defined thus: ***presenter-led visual arts programmes about art in Scotland commissioned by the BBC after the 1990 Broadcasting Act***. The chosen productions for analysis are as follows:

CASES: PRE-1990 PRODUCTIONS

1. *Counterpoint* (BBC-tv Scotland, 1959-1963)
2. *Scope* (BBC1 Scotland; BBC1 network, 1969-1977)
3. *Spectrum* (BBC1 Scotland, 1977-1984)
4. 'Two Painters Amazed', *Arena* (BBC2, 11 March 1986)
5. *NB* (Scottish Television/STV, 1989-1997)
6. *Saturday Night Clyde* (BBC2, 1990)

CASES: POST-1990 PRODUCTIONS

1. *The Bigger Picture* (BBC2, 1994)
2. 'Palin on Redpath', *Ex-S* (BBC2, 15 December 1997)
3. 'Michael Palin … on the Colourists' *Art Zone*, (BBC2, 8 October 2000)
4. 'Highlands and Glens', *A Picture of Britain* (BBC2, 5 June 2005)
5. *A Portrait of Scotland* (BBC4, 7 September 2009)
6. 'The Art of Witchcraft', *Secret Knowledge* (BBC2 Scotland, 29 August 2013)
7. *Stanley Spencer: The Colours of the Clyde* (BBC2 Scotland, 18 March 2014; BBC4, 28 May 2014)
8. *The Story of Scottish Art* (BBC2 Scotland, 2015; BBC4, 2016)
9. 'Aberdeenshire', *Britain's Lost Masterpieces* (BBC4, 5 October 2016)
10. *Mackintosh: Glasgow's Neglected Genius* (BBC2 Scotland, 5 June 2018; BBC4, 16 July 2018)

All of these productions are available to view on the Box of Broadcasts platform apart from *The Bigger Picture* and 'Two Painters Amazed', both of which were supplied by the productions' producer or director for viewing.

3.3 Elite interviews

Interviews have differing techniques, and this research adopted a semi-structured approach to the interview process, which involves establishing a 'pre-set agenda' which 'is used to define the flow of the interview' (Yates, 2004, p.156). However, these interviewees provided privileged information from within key cultural organisations – the BBC and STV. Elite interviews 'target actors who are in a privileged position in relation to a particular activity or area of policy, often having direct influence over it' and who can offer insight into the 'the motivations and perceptions of participants' (Huggins, 2014, p.2).

Triangulation is particularly important in research that involves elite interviews in order to obtain a fuller picture of the situation being investigated, particularly when researching areas that are politically sensitive (Davies, 2001). However, while access to industry professionals was necessary for the types of data required for validity of the research, 'elite interviews may be limited by elites' faulty memories, self-serving statements, misrepresentations, or elusiveness' (Natow, 2019, p.161). Triangulation with multiple sources of data addressed these issues by providing 'additional information' for corroboration (Davies, 2001, p.78). The production staff and freelancers interviewed are listed in Appendix B. In total, 18 interviews were undertaken. Sixteen of these were on Zoom, one by email correspondence and one by telephone.

During the interview process it became necessary to seek interviewees who could provide additional understanding of institutional decision making in the higher echelons of the BBC to contextualise commissioning decisions. Interviewees would therefore suggest appropriate colleagues, or ex-colleagues, to contact in what became a snowballing process of interviewee sourcing (Deacon et al., 1999, p.53).

The interviews took place between the autumn of 2020 and the spring of 2021. During this period, the UK was in lockdown measures during the Covid 19

pandemic. The imposition of social distancing regulations prevented travelling and meeting with individuals face-to-face. Initially, I was concerned that interviews would have to be postponed as optimum conditions for successful interviews included being able to read body language and physical cues in order to 'develop a rapport' with participants (Yates, 2004, p.169). However, as 2020 unfolded it became apparent that lockdown periods could be prolonged and also unpredictable. Therefore, it became necessary to continue with fieldwork plans notwithstanding the physical limits that characterised the UK public's lives during lockdowns. Online fieldwork became an imperative. Therefore, I decided to proceed with the interview process using Zoom meetings. This method did not suit all interviewees; hence conducting two interviews by alternative means.

By the time the first interview took place in October 2020, much professional and social life had been conducted online for a matter of months, including my own, therefore, interviewees and interviewer were habituated to communicating on Zoom, and working from home. Thus, interviews were conducted in familiar and comfortable surroundings for all participants. I would suggest that this enhanced the ability of interviewees to speak in a relaxed and unpressured environment, and to be more generous with their time than they would have been in standard interview circumstances.

As a production study piece of research, to understand programme structure and content, contributions would be required from professionals directly involved in the cases chosen. My initial list of prospective interviewees was focused principally on directors and producers. A key aim of the interview process was to discern who had written productions scripts. The only productions stating this information explicitly in programme credits were *The Story of Scottish Art* (Lachlan Goudie) and *A Picture of Britain* (David Dimbleby). Hence, I sought the participation of Goudie through the intermediation of an ex-colleague who had interviewed him for an organisational event. I decided not to pursue Dimbleby, as it was unlikely that a broadcaster of significant public profile would participate in a PhD project. Most other participants were located through professional social networking site LinkedIn, or through their workplace emails if available publicly. I approached several professionals who did not take part. Occasionally, they did not respond to emails, and on two occasions I discovered that those who expressed initial interest were intimidated by the participant

agreement information documents and withdrew from the project. Overall, these events did not impact on the data gathered as other avenues for accruing relevant information were identified.

When this PhD project began in the autumn of 2015, my intention was to focus on mythologisations of national identity in either news programming or history documentaries. By chance, in October of that year, BBC Scotland launched *The Story of Scottish Art*. Its airing on BBC2 Scotland arose in discussion during an early supervision meeting. As the research had yet to alight on a focused case study, my supervisors suggested examining Scottish arts programmes as I have a background as a visual artist. Redirecting the research towards a topic germane to my past professional endeavours was therefore entirely logical.

Once visual arts programming had been decided upon as the genre for investigation, my intention was to address articulations of Scottish identity in documentary programming. However, as interview data were being gathered, what became apparent was the salience of the broader political environment that programme makers were operating within, and so my focus shifted to seeking to understand the production decisions that were made at particular historical and policy moments. In essence, the research shifted from an initial cultural studies approach to investigation to a more political economic directed study.

Most interviewees had begun working in the BBC in the late eighties or early nineties, therefore, they were able to provide context for the policy arena within which their organisations operated both prior to, as well as after, the watershed moment of the 1990 Broadcasting Act. However, as it became necessary to gather data from time periods immediately preceding the year of production of any given case in order to understand commissioning and policy rationales, I had to seek decision makers from ever earlier periods of organisational operations. Consequently, locating and contacting interviewees became more challenging. Nonetheless, information gathered relating to earlier decades of broadcasting, particularly at STV in the sixties, provided rich comparative data for the two key Scottish broadcasters.

A set of questions that operated as a standard template for most interviewees was established following the textual analysis of the television productions. All interviewees were asked for background professional biographical information, then asked to provide information specific to the productions in which they were involved. On occasion, off-the-record information was offered, and this was respected. All interviews that were to be online were arranged for a one-hour session. Most interviews were longer in duration. Where requested, interview questions were forwarded to interviewees prior to agreeing to take part in order to ensure that participants were confident that they understood the process in which they were agreeing to participate.

3.4 Limitations of the research

The choice of case study enabled analysis of the topic within a clearly bounded framework. However, its limits and the limits of the aforementioned methods must be addressed. The nature of elite interviews precludes observation of professionals at work, and as all the cases for investigation were past productions, participant observation in creative processes was not possible. Arguably, without physical 'real world' observations, the account I present risks being 'distorted' (Walker, 1986 cited in Simons, 2009, p.24). Furthermore, a case study is characterised by professionals being interviewed for periods in the past and from which they have 'moved on', presenting a risk for data quality in terms of accuracy of recall (Walker, 1986 cited in Simons, 2009, p.24). Extensive desk research and policy documentation analysis were undertaken to corroborate interviewee data, and where information could not be corroborated, this is acknowledged.

Second, although the database of programmes afforded an overview of productions across seven decades, the research interests did not extend to seeking to numerically categorise different formats of production or make comparisons quantitatively across broadcasters. Further research would be required to do this with statistical rigour, particularly in regard to STV productions. The database functioned principally as a tool to understand chronology and to identify production formats and commissioning interests within specific policy periods.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Interviewees are entering into a 'participatory process' in non-elite interviews (Yates, 2004, p.170), yet, in elite interviewing situations, participants supply their experience and knowledge in their working time, therefore, the process can be regarded as a professional exchange with the researcher by the elite interviewee (Huggins, 2014, p.2). In acknowledgement of the willingness of interviewees to participate, respectful and ethical practice was adhered to by the researcher (Flick, 2018, p.34).

In a critical realist approach, mechanisms are being sought that drive action in an institutional setting, and findings may unearth practices that the actors within these settings are unaware of (Deacon et al., 1999, p.10). Yates (2004, pp.160–61) acknowledges that there are grey areas where being '100% open may have a detrimental impact on the research itself', as interviewees may harbour concerns that information is being gathered and interpreted in a manner that would cause them discomfort. As the critical realist approach understands that actors are operating within social structures, the ethics of a project can be 'insured' through the researcher 'maintaining a value neutral position' (Flick, 2018, p.34). The overriding principle therefore is that 'Rights-based theories justify their actions on the basis that every person must be treated with dignity and respect and that avoidance of harm must be the primary principle' (Flick, 2018, pp.34–5). To this end, participants were fully informed about the aims of the research. This included undertaking a 'pre-interview' discussion with one participant in order that they were clear about the research intentions and the role of their contribution. Other participants were provided with interview questions prior to interview and four interviewees were offered the opportunity to fact check chapters sections where it would enhance the empirical reliability of the findings. All interviewees were furnished with detailed participant information, and permission to use data was obtained from each individual taking part in the research.

The following four findings chapters present the data collected from the sources outlined above and analyses were made using the techniques and theoretical approaches discussed.

Chapter 4 Pre-1990 Visual Arts Documentaries in Scotland: Arts Programming from the 1950s until 1989

4.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes the context for televisual programming about Scottish visual arts by examining the production of arts programmes more broadly in the period between 1952 and 1989. The chapter contextualises relevant productions from the arrival of television in Scotland and prior to the advent of the 1990 Broadcasting Act. Within this time frame, the role of the Edinburgh International Festival and the impact of the 1990 European City of Culture being awarded to Glasgow are explored as pivotal events in Scotland's arts television provision. This chapter therefore addresses the first sub-research question of the study: What form did Scottish visual arts programming take prior to 1990?

Comprehensive situating of the presenter-led format also requires mapping arts programming in its broader-genred sense. Directors, producers, and heads of department work across the genre as a totality; there are no distinctive production roles attached to different art forms. Therefore, visual arts programming could not be separated from its departmental matrix as an object of analysis. Scottish television broadcasting is also analysed in relation to wider socio-political forces materialising in this post-war period. To understand the context from which programming arose in Scotland at this time, and to map the dynamics of marketisation in broadcasting, this chapter investigates the pre-1990 policy era of Scottish television history. Hence, STV's contribution to arts programming is also explored, as well as that of the BBC.

4.2 From the late 1950s to the early 1980s: the era of rationed television

Scottish television arts productions began in the late 1950s once broadcasters were established in Scotland from 1952 onwards. This 'rationed' era of television (Walker, 1993, p.19) was further characterised in Scotland as an infant television industry (Doyle, 2013, p.177). Nonetheless, arts programming, as a defining genre of the Reithian broadcasting schedule, was delivered north of the border

at both the BBC and STV. The commercial broadcaster provided opt-out productions created in-house for its Scottish audience and, in the pre-1990 period, these included arts programmes. STV also aired network arts programming produced by other ITV franchisees such as ATV, which supplied programming for the English Midlands and made numerous visual arts programmes with Kenneth Clark (see Appendix A).

BBC Scotland's early arts coverage

BBC Scotland's arts formats took time to mature and consolidate between the late fifties and the late eighties and, at its inception, BBC Scotland lacked a dedicated arts department. Prior to 1959, when its first arts series *Counterpoint* (BBC-tv Scotland, 1959–1963) was aired, London-based presenters such as actor and BBC announcer Leslie Mitchell[11] and BBC Light Programme Controller H. Rooney Pelletier[12] had covered the Edinburgh International Festival in network productions the *Edinburgh Festival Magazine* (BBC-tv, 1952) and *The Edinburgh Festival* (BBC-tv, 1953).

Coverage of the capital city's festivals in August and September of each year is a thread that runs continuously throughout Scotland's arts broadcasting history (see Appendix A). However, as productions that went out on the network – BBC-tv until 1966 when BBC2 arrived[13] – use was made of the outside broadcast unit to bring the Military Tattoo or classical music concerts to the UK-wide audience. The Edinburgh International Festival was a forum for events whose appeal extended beyond any specific national identity, and its focus on arts forms traditionally aligned with elite cultural production reinforced the class issues articulated within such metropolitan cultural expression (Bartie, 2013, p.219). It was not a platform for Scottish culture per se, notwithstanding that Scotland's arts community fully expected to be part of the offering (Bartie, 2013, pp.27-

[11] '(Scott Falconer) Mitchell' (2003) in *Gale Literature: Contemporary Authors*, Farmington Hills, MI: Gale. Available at: https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/H1000069328/GPS?u=wikipedia&sid=bookmark-GPS&xid=d2dea2ac (Accessed 24 September 2023).

[12] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-34285145 (Accessed 24 September 2023).

[13] BBC2 was launched in 1964 but did not begin regular transmission in Scotland until July 1966 (McDowell, 1992, p.167).

30). The Festival's elite arts focus was similarly mirrored in BBC cultural apprehensions of the time (Bartie, 2013, p.30).

While early Festival productions in Edinburgh were 'metropolitan' in nature, the televisual relaying of musical performances became a fulcrum around which arts programming from Scotland evolved in the coming decades. Nonetheless, in the mid-forties, fears still abounded in the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) – the Arts Council of Great Britain's predecessor - that the cultural nationalism being expressed in aspirations for the Edinburgh Festival was political manoeuvring rather than merely pride in Scotland's indigenous arts (Bartie, 2013, p.28).

In the forties in Scotland, political activity as a manifestation of national identity was not as salient as it was to become in later decades. The first SNP candidate was elected to Westminster in 1945, duly losing the seat weeks later, and the party was to remain outside parliamentary politics for another 15 years (Devine, 2012, p.565). The Labour Government of 1945 to 1951 was not interested in devolution (Mackie, 1978, p.370), while the SNP was numerically tiny and ideologically marginalised, notwithstanding that the 1949 Scottish Convention gathered two million signatures in support of 'Home Rule' (Devine, 2012, p.566). Hence, whilst an unformed and tentative force, Home Rule, later expressed in the devolved impulse, was an undercurrent of Scottish political life. The putative relationship between cultural expression and political sentiment in Scotland in the forties provoked wariness and suspicion from south of the border. But such tensions had already been evident in early radio production in Scotland (Hajkowkski, 2010, p.144), and such sensitivities arose after the inauguration of the Scottish National Party's forebear, the National Party of Scotland (Harvie, 1981, p.98), as discussed in Chapter 2.

The Edinburgh International Festival, therefore, played a role in foregrounding the relationship between arts and politics in Scotland while offering television in Scotland opportunity to develop outside broadcasting expertise (McDowell, 1992, p.85). Television production facilities' provision began modestly, with developments accruing incrementally and the first genre-specific BBC producers being employed in the late fifties (McDowell, 1992, p.86). By the early 1960s, BBC Glasgow staff had begun to operate within specific departments: music,

news, current affairs, religion, drama, light entertainment, sport, and outside broadcasts (McDowell, 1992, p.158). The eminence of music would suggest that 'the arts' were subsumed within the genre.

Arts programming was catered for between 1959 and 1984 in three long-running BBC Scotland series. The first, *Counterpoint* (BBC-tv Scotland, 1959–1963), was a magazine format (McDowell, 1992, p.155) which began broadcasting the year after *Monitor* in November 1959 and was fronted by Scottish broadcasting stalwart Magnus Magnusson[14] and presenter Maurice Lindsay.[15] It held a monthly slot and, as with the majority of arts slots across the decades, was relegated to the hinterland of the schedule. Two general arts strand series superseded *Counterpoint*.

Scope (BBC-tv Scotland) launched in 1969 and ran until 1976 and was supplanted by *Spectrum* (BBC-tv Scotland) in 1977, whose last episode aired in 1984 (McDowell, 1992, p.211). *Spectrum*, unlike its predecessor, had a more expansive overview, covering the arts and creativity beyond Scotland, as well as within. Both series offered half-hourly airings for single documentaries addressing a specific topic rather than the multi-itemed magazine format. Resource management and budget control had become concerns in the sixties owing to the BBC's expansion and the cost of introducing colour television (Carter and McKinlay, 2013, p.1229). In response, McKinsey management consultants in 1967 suggested strands – continuing runs of common-themed programmes which streamlined production and decision-making processes – as one cost-cutting solution (McDowell, 1992, pp.190, 191–2, 194).

Throughout its duration, *Counterpoint* brought a variety of noted Scottish visual artists to viewing attention, with its purview extending to, inter alia, regional theatre and amateur film festivals. The focus on contemporary art spoke to a curation of content that was as interested in the up-and-coming and non-professional as well as the established, and this broad-church open-mindedness is a salient feature of early Scottish programming. Nor were Scots artists ignored

[14] '*Counterpoint', Scotland On-Air*. Available at: http://wiki.scotlandonair.com/index.php?title=Counterpoint (Accessed 27 March 2021).
[15] 'Maurice Lindsay', *Scotland On-Air*:. Available at: http://wiki.scotlandonair.com/index.php?title=Maurice_Lindsay (Accessed 27 March 2021).

by the network at this time. In 1959, *Monitor* presented Ken Russell's film of the highly eccentric modernist figures, 'the two Roberts', Colquhoun (1914-1962) and MacBryde (1913-1966), who hailed from Ayrshire but were key artistic British artists of the 'neo-Romantic' post-war period (Bowness, 2015, n.p.). Therefore, Scotland's early television provision was a paradigm of Scottish artists of international renown gracing the network, whilst opt-outs showcased the nation's pre-eminent artistic figures whose reputations were not within the ken of a broader UK public – an approach which would endure into ensuing decades.

Whilst *Counterpoint's* 30-minute running time embraced a range of topics, short, presenter-led items were also part of the format. Art historian Colin Thompson, who began his career at the National Galleries of Scotland in 1954 and was director between 1977 and 1984 (Clifford, 2011, n.p.), was called upon over a three-decade period to present a variety of visual arts documentaries, beginning with a 1962 two-parter for *Counterpoint* entitled 'The Painter and the Paint'.

Thompson was a 'highly articulate' (Clifford, 2011, n.p.), Cambridge-educated Englishman with 'a humorous twinkle in his eyes, allied to a softly modulated voice that expressed itself with a clear and unforgiving intelligence' (Thomson, 2008, n.p.). He covered the art-historical Western canon, comprehensively represented by the National Gallery of Scotland's impressive collection.[16] Other prominent figures from their respective arts fields also offered insight on *Counterpoint*; in essence, further embodiments of the archetypal Reithian 'expert' called upon to communicate specialist knowledge.

When *Scope* began broadcasting in 1969, Alasdair Milne, then Controller of BBC Scotland, commented that budgets had been enhanced, more was to be produced for the network, and that the new arts programme was 'badly needed in Scotland' (Milne, 1969, p.10). The Broadcasting Council for Scotland had been criticised in Parliament for not guaranteeing programming that was distinctly Scottish in nature, in a period when only ten hours of programming per week was the target by 1970 (McDowell, 1992, p.155). However, magazine strands were inexpensive to produce if studio based and contributors did not require payment if promoting their cultural wares (John Black, interview, 31 March 2021). *Scope*,

[16] The National Galleries of Scotland's collection ranges from the early Renaissance period through to contemporary artwork: https://www.nationalgalleries.org.

as a producer of single, one-off films required greater resources, notwithstanding its budget-conscious strand format. Therefore, it was a step up in the world for arts documentary production in Scotland, and an opportunity to present more in-depth artist profiles – of whichever creative denomination – for a Scottish audience and, more ambitiously, also for UK-wide network consumption. McDowell (1992, p.282) also observes that by the 1970s the BBC's 'Scottish production teams originated more of their own material under their own control'.

STV early arts programming

Prior to *Scope*'s arrival, STV was simultaneously developing its Scottish cultural output, and, owing to its relationship to the building it operated out of – the Theatre Royal in Glasgow – aired various productions focused on music and theatrical performances. The Edinburgh International Festival was covered in 1962 by general news magazine programme *Here and Now* (STV, 1958-67), and in 1966 by an outside broadcast unit that had been deployed to transmit *The Festival Club* (STV, 1966) directly from the capital city. The latter production was aired for two weeks across August and September.

However, arts provision on the commercial broadcaster was not always consistent. As the Pilkington Report of 1962 had critiqued ITV output generally (McDowell, 1992, p.147), the Television Act of 1964 required that 'programmes of merit' be 'widely shown', giving the ITA the wherewithal to regulate the airing of 'serious' programmes (Wheatley, 2003, p.76). The 1964 awarding of ITV licences was offered with the proviso that that they supply a broad range of genres, including 'programmes on the arts' (Sendall,1983, p.213). Hitherto, the ITA had not been impressed by STV's performance, whose content at the time was considered 'cheap, almost shoddy' (Sendall, 1983, p.216; IBA Paper 362(80) cited in Potter, 1990, p.149).

By 1966 the impact of the ITA's interventions were apparent. STV produced three, half-hour documentaries, covering respectively, the People's Palace and the Burrell Collection (then in storage) in Glasgow, and the Society of Scottish Artists exhibition in Edinburgh (see Appendix A), in a year when *Tempo* (ABC TV, 1961-8), an ITV network offering, was also broadcast to Scottish audiences.

Whilst visual arts coverage was episodic, two episodes of *Kaleidoscope* (1966), produced by Five Companies Production, were aired, and classical music programmes were more regularly broadcast. Overall, the STV schedule in 1966 was richer and more eclectic than in the late fifties and early sixties.

John Black, who went on to become a director of *Dr Who,* began his television career at STV in 1967 – the year in which the ITA had called for an 'ITV2' (which did not materialise) and when Roy Thomson, the Canadian media mogul and Scottish Television franchise holder, was under threat of the new contract being awarded to a competitor consortium (Sendall, 1983, pp.347-8).

Black suggests that arts at STV would have been part of a wider department covering topics such as education and religion. Black has outlined how his arrival at the channel, and his involvement in arts programming, were premised on the politics of renewing the franchise licence in the mid-sixties:

> Probably as part of their pitch to get the licence back, STV had promised to create two graduate trainee reporter roles. At that time, the BBC in London produced *Late Night Line Up*.[17] STV developed their own version of this programme, and I presented it, along with others, as well as doing news reporting. (John Black, interview, 31 March 2021)

The programme to which Black is referring is *Scotland Late* (STV, 1967-8/9) which was an 11 p.m. complement to *Scotland Now* (STV, 1967-70), a news and current affairs programme which replaced *Here and Now* at STV on the arrival of George Reid at STV in 1967 as head of news and current affairs:

> George Reid[18] and Firth [Anthony Firth, director of programmes at STV 1969-76, previously a producer at ATV] … would have been open to doing things for the arts. STV would have good intentions but after doing the obligatory arts programmes for a year or two, they would fall away. (John Black, interview, 31 March 2021)

[17] An arts magazine programme fronted by, among others, Joan Bakewell, which ran between 1964 and 1972. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00bc399 (Accessed 24 May 2021).

[18] Now Sir George Reid, SNP MP from 1974 to 1979, SNP MSP from 1999 to 2003, and Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament, 2003-2007. He began his career as a broadcast journalist. In 1967 he was appointed head of news and current affairs at STV. Available at: https://news.google.co.uk/newspapers?id=Z2NAAAAAIBAJ&sjid=f6MMAAAAIBAJ&pg=3738%2C2173690 (Accessed 19 December 2023).

Throughout the latter half of 1967, Kenneth Clark's ATV visual arts productions were available on STV, therefore, a Scottish magazine programme that covered a variety of topics, including the arts, would have met stipulations from the regulator regarding the franchisee's programming quality.

However, not only STV was reluctantly obliging the regulator. Black comments that BBC Scotland in the late sixties was known then for being 'rather conservative' and feeling that the arts were 'rather inflicted upon them' (Interview, 31 March 2021). Therefore, both broadcasters were seemingly reluctant purveyors of cultural programming. As McDowell (1992, p.281) notes, managing transmitter expansion had superseded cultural considerations in the sixties, and infrastructure development 'was never governed to any significant extent by social and cultural factors'. It was not until 1974 that the 'social aspects of broadcasting coverage' were explicitly addressed by the Crawford Committee (McDowell, 1992, p.281), and broadcasting considerations that addressed these wider socio-cultural benefits would implicitly have included programming reflecting Scottish culture within their purview.

Politics and BBC Scotland development

While broadcasting was making incremental incursions into Scottish cultural life, by the late sixties, disgruntlement with the economically inferior situation Scots were living under was manifesting in the political landscape (Mackie, 1978, pp.376-7). Allegiance to Labour shifted in 1967 when Winnie Ewing memorably won a Westminster seat for the SNP. Following unpopular changes to local government organisation, by 1977 there were 11 Nationalists in Parliament (Devine, 2012, p.577). In 1974 a third of Scots had voted for the SNP while only 12 percent advocated independence (Devine, 2012, p.578). The Scots' somewhat contradictory voting patterns – which were simultaneously at odds with their constitutional intentions – were already evident long before the independence referendum of 2014. A proposal for a Scottish Assembly published in 1975 by the Labour government was considered a means of holding the SNP's independence clamour at bay with devolution (Devine, 2012, p.586). Hence, the latter part of the seventies would unfold with Scottish 'Home Rule remain[ing] at the top of the UK political agenda' (Devine, 2012, p.586).

Alastair Hetherington, who was BBC Scotland controller from 1975 to 1980, observed that BBC Chairman Sir Michael Swann and Lord Annan, chair of the 1977 Annan Committee on Broadcasting, 'both understood the political pressures in Scotland' at this time, but that BBC Director-General Sir Charles Curran 'was reluctant to take much account of them' (Hetherington, 1992, p.3). By 1975, 'there was broad agreement' that further devolution in broadcasting terms was required for the BBC regions (McDowell, 1992, p.236). Notwithstanding the remit of the Broadcasting Council for Scotland (BCS), BBC Scotland staff queried how the regionalist project could develop when excessive control was exercised from London (McDowell, 1992, pp.236, 251).

In respect of current affairs programming, Hetherington (1992, p.46) noted that all proposals from Scotland were rejected between 1978 and 1979, and in 1978 the BCS stated that they wanted 'bases of acceptance or rejection of material to be made more specific' (McDowell,1992, p.252). The reasons for 'anti-Scottish bias' were disputed. Hetherington suggested it was personality-driven at a centralised Board level, while others attributed the challenges as 'just the centralised nature of the BBC' (McDowell, 1992, p.252). However, as centralisation was a process and activity that was strategised for, and administered by, individuals with 'personalities', the nature of BBC bureaucracy was not faceless. Decisions to be intransigent or resistant in the face of devolving initiatives were made by particular BBC personnel. Notwithstanding the ongoing challenges, in 1977 the Annan Committee report called for an enhanced production base for the BBC in Scotland (McDowell, 1992, p.231). The Scottish broadcaster was consequently promised a sizeable increase in network output across all genres, including music and arts programmes (Hetherington, 1992, pp.10–11, 25).

The regionalist policy paradigm considered BBC regions as outposts of network priorities. As Hetherington's (1992) experiences testify, Scottish content was both sought by the network and simultaneously rejected by it. Yet, by 1975 BBC Scotland was benefitting from 'greater autonomy' in decision making for both production and scheduling (McDowell, 1992, p.242). Such developments occurred while financial exigences underpinned much of the centralised considerations. Continued technological advances and channel expansion, such as colour

television and BBC2, consumed budgets while, simultaneously, Westminster governments 'squeezed' revenues (Hetherington, 1992, p.22). Whether personalities or bureaucracy were the principal impediments bedevilling Scottish operations at this time, the institutional structures under which the BBC in Scotland laboured were challenging.

'Quality' of programming was a rubric that operated without standardised criteria – as had been the case since regionalism's inception (Hajkowski, 2010, p.144; Hetherington, 1992, p.46). In an era when great swaths of Scotland were without colour television transmitters and had limited radio access, Scottish executives were embattled by centralising tendencies which were not only bureaucratic but reflected fiefdoms of control over programming genres (Hetherington, 1992, pp.15, 43-4). Hence, notwithstanding Hetherington's efforts and successes and the augmented quantities and types of programming produced and offered to Scottish audiences, BBC Scotland throughout the 1970s was dominated by centralising forces and continued to be treated as 'almost a regional outpost' (Turok, 2003, p.559).

Thus, whilst McDowell (1992, p.242) suggests that 'some relaxation of administrative and financial control from London' would ameliorate these challenges, the seventies at the BBC in Scotland were indicative of a volatile dynamic in which a consensus on standards or content of programmes was lacking, and negotiations for resources were fierce. In spite of these forces, the BBC Scotland's arts remit benefitted from a shift in resources and personnel in 1976 when James Hunter, who went on to become BBC Scotland head of television in 1982, developed a 'new specialist Music and Arts Department'.[19] On Hunter's arrival *Scope* ceased broadcasting and *Spectrum* took its place in 1977.

Autonomy and taste: W. Gordon Smith the cultural intermediary

Both *Scope* and *Spectrum* were produced by W. Gordon Smith, a key figure in the Scottish arts and a pioneer of arts documentaries in Scotland, with over one hundred programmes to his production credit (Mansfield, 2021, n.p.). Gordon Smith, also a playwright and arts journalist, produced both series out of an

[19] 'James Hunter', *Scotland On-Air*'. Available at: https://wiki.scotlandonair.com/wiki/James_Hunter (Accessed 27 March 2021).

Edinburgh production unit until its closure and his redundancy in 1980. In the spirit of regionalism, BBC Scotland sought network commissions for the arts. However, Scotland lacked the advantages of England's regional production centres, which were better resourced and could combine both regional and network output without compromising the amount of programming for their 'local' audiences. *Scope* was a strand format, which as a regular slot on schedules absorbed production resources. The opportunity cost of strand production was that it diminished 'opportunities for Scotland to contribute single, quality programmes' to network programming (McDowell, 1992, p.211). Furthermore, the lack of colour facilities had handicapped Scotland, as it was 1971 before Glasgow could produce with the new technology (McDowell, 1992, p.212).

Scope's stand-alone films included profiles of painters and sculptors, tapestry weavers, potters, and fashion designers. Gordon Smith sought out Scots artists at home and abroad with a mission to 'creat[e] a rich and diverse picture of Scotland's cultural contribution to the world' (Mansfield, 2021, n.p.). This eclecticism reflected a prevailing ethos in his choosing of subjects. Often, the already-famous were overlooked in pursuit of early-career artists, including Sandy Moffat, future head of painting at Glasgow Art School, who was the subject of a 1972 broadcast when he was 'completely unknown' (Mansfield, 2021, n.p.). Gordon Smith was possessed of a 'maverick determination and a distaste for compromise not always to the liking of the BBC's bureaucrats' (*The Herald*, 1996, n.p.). This autonomous spirit and his endeavours to reflect lesser-known areas of Scotland's visual arts stand in stark contrast to the more risk-averse approach that was to develop in the post-1990 era. When controller at BBC Scotland, Alasdair Milne's ambitions for network success were fulfilled in a variety of genres (Milne, 1969, p.10), and *Scope* was the first Scottish arts production to achieve such recognition from London with its episodes broadcast on BBC1 until 1973.

Scottish artists were often the face of presenter-led films. In the 1970 network series *Canvas*, Scottish art was the focus of the 'A feeling for Scotland' episode (BBC2 England, 1970), in which Scottish painter James Cumming covered the Scottish School of the early nineteenth century from the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. This appears to have been the first time that

Scotland was covered art historically on the BBC. While *Scope* continued with its coverage of contemporary art and artists, in 1972 STV also launched a new production, *Painting in Scotland*.

While the international world of contemporary art through the fifties to seventies was in thrall to the avant-gardism and boundary-pushing work of Pop artists, conceptual work, happenings and performance (Fineberg, 1995, pp.188-91, 225, 336-48) television schedules were generally rather timid and conservative in subject choice. *Monitor*'s arrival in 1958 heralded a new inventiveness in tackling contemporary art televisually (Irwin, 2011), epitomised by Ken Russell's aforementioned 11-minute film[20] of Colquhoun and MacBryde. Generally, London producers were rather hidebound, capitulating to the already familiar and very historically well-trodden. *Omnibus* (1967–2003), BBC1's flagship art series, was criticised for paying 'too much attention to the past' and 'resembl[ing] a museum' (Walker, 1993, p.104). While key Scottish post-war sculptor and pop art progenitor Eduardo Paolozzi was included in network review programmes in 1965 and 1971, it would be 1987 before a single documentary would be devoted to him, and this was on Channel 4. The BBC followed suit in 2000 (see Appendix A). Internationally renowned Scottish sculptor and performance artist Bruce McLean, who in 1972 was already sufficiently noteworthy to have been given a 'one-day retrospective' at the Tate Gallery,[21] would not be covered until 1988 in a profile by BBC2 (see Appendix A). As the latter two artists were no longer resident in Scotland when coming to public acclaim, on balance, Scottish coverage was reflective of the nation's artistic practices.

Presenter Colin Thompson, as an Englishman of a certain class and education (Oxbridge), did not hail from Scotland's cultural geography, although *A View of Scotland* (BBC2 England), which he presented in 1978, examined 200 years of Scottish landscape painting – and made it on to the network. However, generally, it fell to artists to present films, whether in profiles about their own work or in appraising the work of others. As well as James Cumming's art-

[20] *BBC Arts*, 'Scottish Painters by Ken Russell'. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02j4ps1 (Accessed 25 May 2021).
[21] *CCA Galleries*, 'Bruce McLean'. Available at: https://ccagalleries.com/artists/34-bruce-mclean/biography/ (Accessed 24 September 2023).

historical overview, painter James Morrison had been a regular presence on Gordon Smith's programmes. *Scope* and *Spectrum*'s weekly artist profiles – from whichever creative discipline – offered the Scottish viewer a sense that the nation had an active, energised domain that generated and hosted a range of distinct and identifiable artistic figures and practices.

Therefore, through the pivotal role of Gordon Smith, Scotland stole a march on centralised productions in offering viewers a more penetrating appraisal of the creatives with geographic or emotional alignment to Scotland. His somewhat maverick stance was incongruous in a period in which centralising inclinations held sway – and were battled against. It could be argued that, unlike the current affairs genre (Hetherington, 1992, p.46), the politics around arts programmes were less contentious, thereby leaving programme makers greater latitude in editorial choices. BBC Scotland's arts programming was, therefore, an enclave of freer thinking whilst other genres were more closely scrutinised by London's BBC executives.

Political jolts and burgeoning identity: the 1979 referendum

As the seventies ended, Home Rule had moved beyond being ruminated upon and a controversially framed referendum was held in 1979 (Devine, 2012, pp.587-90). Notwithstanding a majority 32.9 percent vote for 'yes' (Hetherington, 1992, p.48), this did not meet the criterion of 60 percent of the electorate in favour for devolution's implementation (Devine, 2012, p.588). Hetherington (1992, p.48) stated there was a 'plethora of programmes made about Scottish issues' around this period, suggesting that as the seventies drew to a close, Home Rule's politics were making their mark. Addressing political debate and momentum televisually would have been evident in news and current affairs (McDowell, 1992, p.248), but beyond television studio confines, the swelling sense of national identity was seeking cultural and expressive outlet in a thwarted political landscape. In a biography of BBC filmmaker James Wilson, sculptor Kenny Munro suggests that the

> political unrest of the early 1970s was also driving a re-evaluation of Scottish culture. … This stimulated cultural lifeblood in venues such as the … Theatre Workshop, The Third Eye, Printmakers Workshops and the Sculpture Workshops. (Munro, 2017, p.530–31)

The painter Sandy Moffat aligned Gordon Smith's arts strands with the politico-cultural winds blowing through Scotland at this time:

> Television was the most modern of mediums in the 1960s and 1970s, and presenting local artists in this way was so important. It was reconstructing a new idea about Scottish art and Scottish culture. It was a time when Scotland was regrouping, we had moved on twenty-odd years from the end of the war, we were beginning to think about who we were. It coincided with new galleries popping up, printmakers' workshops, the Traverse Theatre, Scottish Opera. It was all part of a kind of cultural renaissance, all coming from the grassroots. (Mansfield, 2021, n.p.)

Donny O'Rourke, who arrived at STV in 1986 and became head of arts and documentary in 1989, outlines his reaction to the disappointment of the referendum vote going against devolution:

> At that point I said to myself, approaching my twentieth birthday, 'Okay what can I do?' And what I could do was get involved in youth politics, which I did, and what I could do as a university student was think about a career in television subsequently. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

O'Rourke was not alone in regarding television as an arena within which to weave political considerations and cultural life. Gus Macdonald, STV's director of programmes from 1986 to 1990, entered television in Scotland cognisant of the crucible of deindustrialisation and economic tumult that Scotland had experienced through the early eighties (Devine, 1999, pp.591-4). An *Independent* profile from 1999 identifies Macdonald's political rationale at STV:

> 'I think he saw his role as kick-starting Scottish politics when Scotland hit the doldrums after failing to get devolution in the 1979 referendum,' says George Rosie, who presented some of Macdonald's most controversial outputs. 'Programmes were made which would never have been allowed under previous management.' (O'Sullivan, 1999, n.p.)

This confluence of politics and culture within Scotland would sow the seeds of a more energised and fully formed presence to arts broadcasting in Scotland through the 1980s and nineties, reshaping the BBC in Scotland and offering a glimpse into what a commercial broadcaster can achieve when supported by dedicated programme makers and executives as well as regulatory heft. STV's arts documentary production, as Black had intimated, lapsed as the seventies unfolded, but in aftermath of the Broadcasting Act 1980 a new round of ITV

contracts was to be awarded covering 1982 to 1990 (Potter, 1989, p.305), and a new magazine series *Encore for the Arts* (STV, 1979-84) was launched, presented by John Drummond.

4.3 The Scottish cultural renaissance and late 1980s' arts television

Although a Department of Music and Arts overseen by James Hunter had been established in the mid-seventies under Hetherington, the visual arts were sparsely covered by BBC Scotland in the first half of the 1980s. McDowell (1992, p.264) details the impact of licence fee losses on the BBC at large, which also impacted on BBC Scotland. Concern that BBC Scotland was seeking 'disproportionate economies', including disbanding the Scottish Symphony Orchestra' (McDowell, 1992, p.264), suggests that purse strings would have tightened in the arts generally. *Spectrum* ceased broadcasting in 1984, but in the year prior, it fell to the network to air encounters with Scottish artists; one such production being *A Feeling for Paint* (BBC2 England, 1983), with the participation of Scots painters Elizabeth Blackadder (1931–2021) and Robin Philipson (1916-1992) (Walker, 1993, p.35). However, in 1985 BBC Scotland produced *How We Look: The Art of Making Faces* (BBC2 England) with Colin Thompson. Broadcast on network BBC2, it was produced by Keith Alexander, who had become head of music and arts in 1983.

As well as *Encore*, STV also produced the drama-documentary *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: Dreams and Recollections* (STV, 1984), with Scots actor Tom Conti playing the eponymous architect and artist; apparently the only occasion in which Scots producers deployed this format. But to date, no feature-length piece about living artists from Scotland had been produced. The 'golden age of rationed television' is deemed to have existed between 1953 and 1982 (Walker 1993, p.19), yet, from a Scottish perspective, programming operated in austere conditions (Milne, 1969; Hetherington, 1992). This was to change with the production of 'Two Painters Amazed' (*Arena*, BBC2 England, 1986) about the 'New Glasgow Boys' painters, Steven Campbell and Adrian Wiszniewski. Whilst the early eighties were a fallow period in televisual terms for the arts, the economic devastation wrought in Scotland through deindustrialisation (Devine, 1999, pp.593-4) had energised a wave of cultural activity that was to have

significant bearing on the possibilities for what could be brought to the television screen.

1980s' deindustrialisation culture: television and cultural renaissance

In Scotland's political reaction to Thatcherite deindustrialisation, the seeds of a national identity that sought expression in cultural activity were burgeoning. Liz Lochhead and Tom Leonard wrote poetry in Scots; Lochhead translated Molière into Scots for theatrical productions; Andrew Brown founded the 369 Gallery on Edinburgh's High Street in 1978,[22] and artists who rose to international prominence in the eighties began their commercial careers there whilst still students. Billy Kay wrote *Scots*: *The Mither Tongue* in 1988, setting out the linguistic and cultural credentials of the Scots language, while John Byrne, playwright and painter, penned *Tutti Frutti* (BBC1, 1987) – a story revolving around art school graduates – and captured a confidence in lowland Scotland's language and working-class heritage which brought BAFTA-award-winning acclaim.

In the visual arts, this flourishing culture predominantly revolved around 'New Image' painting (Macdonald, 2000, p.210), an approach to the creation of imagery which focused on the human figure as a vehicle for symbolic narratives inclined to different conceptual or ideological purposes and depicted in a range of styles. Although Glaswegian Steven Campbell was its principal exponent, the creativity provoked at this highly political moment in Scottish history also generated a notable coterie of sculptors, photographers, and installation artists who were coming to art-world attention, and in due course, to documentary-subject status. In 1985 Alistair Scott was newly graduated from the National Film and Television School at Beaconsfield. After discussing arts documentary ideas with James Hunter, a meeting with Keith Alexander was set up and Scott pitched a proposal to make a film about Campbell, whose work he had seen at Edinburgh's Fruitmarket Gallery the previous year. Scott has outlined BBC Scotland's arts characteristics at this time:

[22] *Summerhall*: '369 Remembered: The Men'. Available at: https://www.summerhall.co.uk/visual-arts/369-remembered-the-men/ (Accessed 24 September 2023).

> It was a kind of mixed department. It was called music and arts … but the department looked after classical music, so there were classical music specialists [and] … there was obviously a tradition of doing Scottish writers at that stage. Billy Kay was a kind of well-kent face … they did a series called the *Mither Tongue* … and just a kind of mix of different sorts of programme. (Alistair Scott, interview, 26 January 2021)

Eleanor Yule, director of the Palin-fronted arts documentaries, joined the BBC in 1988 as a graduate trainee and characterised BBC Scotland's output prior to 1990 thus: 'Yes, they cover the Edinburgh Festival, but they do these kinds of little tentative things' (Interview, 28 January 2020). The development of Scott's film was a more ambitious endeavour for Scotland, sufficiently so that Nigel Finch, one of *Arena*'s 'duumivarate' of executive producers (Anthony Wall being the other) was approached by Scott when in London. Scott recounts Finch's tongue-in-cheek response to his pitch:

> Nigel was a *fantastic*, fantastic filmmaker and really engaging person. So, Nigel was, 'Oh, you know, why should we make a film about living people? You know *Arena* only makes films about dead people? And we only make films about people once they've won the Nobel Prize, so why should we make a film about these two Scottish-based Glasgow painters who are just thirty?' But he agreed … and after that they came on board and put up some of the funding, which enabled it to be a slightly bigger production. (Alistair Scott, interview, 26 January 2021)

Finch was somewhat disingenuous, as *Arena* did cover artists both living and dead. However, he implies that *Arena* was taking a punt, and managing putative risk with early-career artists - which somewhat flew in the face of *Arena*'s experimental credentials (Walker, 1993, p.106).

Finch and Wall operated under a commissioning autonomy akin to Gordon Smith's; the vicissitudes of commissioning complexities are discernible in the pre-production discussion of Scott's film. Yet, this was an era of devolved commissioning when all BBC executive producers had the power to make programming decisions (Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 2007, p.295). Marked by elaborate processes of pitching and re-pitching, of 'working' and exploiting professional networks in Scotland and in London, the sanctioning of documentary ideas was neither exact science nor systematic. Yet, executive 'taste', scheduling, channel remits, audience expectations, and director persuasiveness

were all being articulated in the service of commissioning choice. Thus, commissioners exercised their discretion in regard to 'an entirely notional assemblage of tastes, needs and preferences existing among the population of the country' (Burns, 1977, p.48).

This would change between 1996 and 2000 when John Birt cleaved broadcasting from programme-making and only controllers could commission (Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 2007, p.295). Therefore, as identified by Burns (1977, p.245), in the pre-1990 era, commissioning was characterised as both a form of 'authoritarianism' and 'permissiveness'. Commissioners wielded power but they did so in a framework in which commissioners were producers/directors and made both programmes and strategic programming decisions. The cogency and appeal of an idea was the determining factor to greenlight a project, and the eclecticism of *Arena*'s slate attests to the unpredictable nature of what would pique a commissioner's interest. When broadcast, 'Two Painters Amazed' met instant critical acclaim, including garnering the approbation of *The Guardian*'s television-reviewing doyenne Nancy Banks-Smith (Alistair Scott, interview, 26 January 2021).

While Scott's film landed in a prestigious BBC2 series, *Scope*'s network successes were filler for day-time slots. However, Scotland's resources were still circumscribed, and arguably the accent on music over the decades rendered other art forms less readily catered for. The network series *Music in Camera* (BBC2 England, 1986–89), introduced by Orkney-based composer Peter Maxwell Davies, later Master of the Queen's Music between 2004 and 2014, had head of department Keith Alexander as series editor over a three-year period. Therefore, visual arts commissioning required a certain serendipity and the imaginative energies of filmmakers outside the BBC – Alistair Scott was a freelancer and remained so. However, this apparent visual arts neglect was to change. As noted, BBC Scotland, 'under more vigorous leadership' expanded its production base across all genres, including the arts, into the latter part of the eighties (Turok, 2003, p.559).

The late eighties and national identity

By the late eighties, commissioners north and south of the border and across all PSB channels had caught up with the impact Scottish art was achieving internationally (Ardenne and Vale, 1995). In 1986 a *Newsnight Special* presented *John Bellany: A Portrait* (BBC2 England), and in 1988 a four-part series *New Scottish Art* (BBC2 England) was aired on the network. Fronted by artist-playwright John Byrne, it devoted 20-minute programmes to artists Ken Currie, Stephen Conroy, Calum Colvin, and Gwen Hardie. Scheduled immediately afterwards were four John Archer executive-produced short films relaying in real time the creation of a David Mach sculpture. Channel 4 was also picking up on the welter of artistic activity in Scotland and produced both *E.P. Sculptor* about Eduardo Paolozzi in 1987 and *The Demarco Dimension* in 1988 about Edinburgh impresario Ricky Demarco – both directed by noted documentarian Murray Grigor. Two years later *Arena* commissioned 'Byrne on Byrne' (BBC2 England, 1988), in which the artist directed himself and a cast of actors, including Robbie Coltrane and Robert Carlyle, in a biography of his own life. An upshot of these cultural expressions bursting from the well-spring of politics and national identity was a disruption of certain stereotypes of Scottishness. Writing in 1990, academic John Caughie stated:

> [I]t seems to me that at the beginning of the nineties, there are more complex ways of being Scottish than there were at the beginning of the eighties ... [although there are] still some pretty banal and/or oppressive ways of being Scottish too. But one of the effects of the relative proliferation of representations is to take the edge off the demand that each representation meet the requirements of correct Scottishness. (Caughie, 1990, p.27)

The complexity of being Scottish identified by Caughie was a direct result of the disruption of deindustrialisation in the Scottish Lowlands and the relief that traditional tropes of identity had been thrown into (Devine, 1999, pp.593-4). Deindustrialisation was foregrounding an element of identity that was being lost, one that associated Scottishness with a heavy-industry manufacturing era. Ken Currie's tableaux of working men and women imbued with the rust tones of Corten steel spoke to a sense of a manufacturing collectivity, while Campbell and Wiszniewski's romanticised, elegiac imagery invoked a sense of physical and psychic dislocation. These respective representations explored what had gone before and what was being displaced. The loss of traditional male roles –

represented in the masculinised Clydesideism trope (Petrie, 2004, p.18) – was providing an opening for self-reflection on the part of artists of all disciplines; particularly in Liz Lochhead's 'feminist nationalism' (Koren-Deutsch, 1992). Deindustrialisation also fired another form of creative endeavour in the intentions of television makers at STV, as Donny O'Rourke outlined:

> But all of us [O'Rourke, Alistair Moffat, head of factual programming from 1989, and Macdonald] thought, this can't go on. Scotland is gonna buckle and break under the weight of Thatcherism and we need to find other fora now. … I think we were looking for bindings and mindings and ways of bringing the country together. And Scottish Television, although it didn't serve Grampian,[23] didn't serve the borders, I think [in] Glasgow and Edinburgh it gives you something to work with. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

Alistair Moffat, who had made his debut as arts correspondent at STV in 1981 after five years as director at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival was head of arts and documentaries when Macdonald and O'Rourke took up their posts at the Cowcaddens studios in 1986. STV's programme creators sought to use a delimited televisual space – the Central Belt – as an arena to 'bind' the nation. Television became a focal point for information about culture and, in its provision of a cultural viewing space premised on Scottishness, was involved in the project of producing identities 'in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices' (Hall, 1996, p.17). National identity was being evaluated in the face of profound economic upheaval and generating disruption in the social and political realms to boot. Donny O'Rourke considered broadcasting as a forum for political work:

> We were in a position, I think, to show a lot of leadership, direction, and management, not only within the television but - here you'll think I'm lapsing into actual delusion - in the culture. I think the culture was looking for leadership. Now this is a more contentious thing to say. I think it took quite a while for politicians to realise how much yearning there was for that leadership, and it took a while for politicians to work out how to provide that leadership, management, direction. As soon as they did, we got a parliament, we got our act together, but the people who were most sussed in all of this, in my opinion and experience, were artists. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

[23] Grampian TV was bought by STV in 1997 (see Newman, 1997, n.p.).

Television was therefore a site of discursive formations operating around a national identity in Scotland, and at this historical moment was creating a domain which articulated Scottishness in particular ways. One way was through bringing to public attention artists whose work addressed national identity. Arts programming also possessed its own symbolic currency, which was to lend a weight of authority to the culture it represented, thereby 'fixing' or 'stabiliz[ing] … cultural belonging' (Hall, 1996, p.17) through the televisual space.

O'Rourke is now an esteemed Scottish poet, tutor and Royal Literary Fellow in the Learning Enhancement and Academic Development Service at the University of Glasgow. Speaking from a personal perspective, his political disposition as an independence-supporting Scot has always been publicly espoused (O'Rourke, 1994). Furthermore, the cultural phenomena represented by artists and cultural practitioners at this moment were often explicit or implicit political reflections of the socio-economic disruption being experienced, particularly in the Central Belt of Scotland. And programme makers were simultaneously part of this burgeoning cultural expression. These were the 'discursive formations and practices' afoot in Scottish television at this time, and these also operated at the BBC in Scotland, even if producers in the publicly owned broadcaster did not proclaim affiliation to party politics or constitutional politics in any manner. O'Rourke's assertion that artists were political lightning rods who were more attuned to these phenomena than other sections of society requires analysis beyond the scope of this study, but the relationship between culture, television, and politics is nonetheless testified to from his experiences as a programme maker at a particular moment in Scotland's political history.

The BBC was also experiencing its own transformations under the auspices of ambitious individuals. In the early eighties, Pat Chalmers had been appointed controller at BBC Scotland in 1983 – a post he would hold until 1992. Under Chalmers's tenure the impact on arts production with Keith Alexander as head of department was substantial. In 1989 Eleanor Yule, director of 'Palin on Redpath', an episode of the *Ex-S* strand, and *Michael Palin on the Colourists*, joined the BBC on the assistant trainee programme and outlined some of the strategic shifts that were afoot at this time:

> What was interesting at that moment [was that] Pat Chalmers was the controller, and they had realised that BBC Scotland was a bit antiquated. It was about to get rid of its film unit at the time and was going through a massive revolutionary process in broadcasting and re-organising itself. And it wanted to prioritise young people coming through. They realised they didn't have enough managers, they didn't have enough kind of people that would become heads of department that were indigenous to Scotland. … And I think that Pat Chalmers was very much somebody who … had a vision for BBC Scotland, you know, understanding its own culture. Yes! Including people from the outside, but also having its own people that it trained. ... And I remember being in a room where they said, 'You will be the leaders of Scotland for the future in terms of what we do and how we broadcast.' (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

A matrix of external cultural factors, forceful personalities, and the steady increments in BBC Scotland's staffing resources paved the way for a new generation of programme producers to emerge. Hence, thoughts and concerns around leadership that put Scots in positions of key decision making was being enacted across the two Scottish broadcasters. One distinction, however, was that while Gus Macdonald was valued for his financial nous, at BBC Scotland, leaders also had to navigate the entrenched bureaucratic and 'British' culture of the BBC as experienced by Hetherington. Eleanor Yule outlined the personality types needed to tackle development at BBC Scotland:

> Pat [Chalmers] was a consummate politician … so whenever we had politicians at the helm it worked very well because they played them [BBC London decision makers] at their own game. … They needed to fight with London. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

This vibrant setting of Scotland's artistic scene and forceful phalanx of determined programme producers was to receive a further fillip on the arts front in the late eighties, and this was Glasgow's nomination as the European City of Culture for 1990, a decision which was to impact significantly on programming at both the BBC and STV.

4.4 Late eighties visual arts productions' development

In the same year that 'Two Painters Amazed' was broadcast, Donny O'Rourke arrived at STV from the BBC, where he had begun his television career in 1984 after having been 'discovered' on *Question Time* and instantly taken up by the Corporation as a presenter (Interview, 8 April 2021). Alistair Scott and O'Rourke

would go on to work together on STV's highly successful arts magazine strand *NB* (STV, 1989–97). The confluence of talent that was to underpin STV's arts output in the late eighties and nineties did so under Gus Macdonald, whose arrival from Granada television in 1986 to become STV's director of programmes was a pivotal moment for the commercial broadcaster. Macdonald would become the managing director of Scottish Television/STV in 1990.

As Alistair Scott outlined, there was a culture of confidence in the artistic and creative output at that time in Scotland, to the point that STV was comfortable including poetry readings on its airwaves (Interview, 26 January 2021). As McDowell (1992, p.239) notes, 'the arrival of ITV companies did represent a greater decentralisation of production facilities in Scotland in comparison with the BBC in Scotland'. Hence, there was an element of creative freedom at STV that would have been lacking at the BBC owing to the historic centralising and controlling forces that buttressed the Corporation in Scotland.

Discussions prior to the 1990 Act set out in the White Paper *Broadcasting in the 1990s: Competition, Choice and Quality* (Home Office, 1988) interrogated implications for both the BBC and its commercial rival, ITV. The latter was to continue to produce programming for the regions and in discussion of the Bill, proposals advocated a 'minimal' level of programming quality assurance (*Hansard*, 1988). The intervening period between Macdonald's arrival and the confirmed continuance of STV as franchisee in 1992 was a high watermark for the broadcaster across all genres, not just in the arts (Scott, 2017, pp.18–19).

Clare Henry, one of Scotland's pre-eminent visual arts journalists, was arts correspondent at STV between 1984 and 1987 (Clare Henry, email, 2 April 2021). Moffat notes that his first role at STV involved presenting on *Encore for the Arts,* 'STV's mandatory Arts programme, which meant I had to do stuff on *Scotland Today*, on the news programme' (Interview, The British Entertainment Project, 24 May 2017). He also co-presented arts programmes with journalist and broadcaster Sheena McDonald, and outlined the connection of arts programming with licence renewal at STV:

> One of the reasons I got hired was for appearances, in the sense that STV were applying for their franchise and having somebody who'd

> been in the arts at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe [as Director] and so on, it got a lot of coverage when I got appointed. […] So, that was the reason. (Alistair Moffat, interview, The British Entertainment History Project, 24 May 2017)

Moffat, who has gone on to be an author of historical non-fiction, had written the Mackintosh docu-drama of 1984, and was hired in the wake of the 1980 ITV licence renewal process.

Jeremy Isaacs (1997, n.p) commented that Bill Brown, the managing director of Scottish Television from 1969 to 1990, focused on PSB after Roy Thomson's departure in 1969. Therefore, STV's arts programming demonstrably signalled adherence to Reithian tropes of quality, even if the application of the licence proposal's provisions could be cynical or short lived. Nonetheless, securing the franchise in a commercial setting required commercial thinking. O'Rourke outlined how Gus Macdonald's employment by STV followed his career as an economics and finance journalist:

> This world really mattered to Gus and that's why the board appointed him. … They wanted someone who would get the share prices up, he would allow the franchise to be renewed. And Gus was certainly very, very good in that world. He went on to become an investment banker. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April)

Macdonald was appointed, alongside other STV colleagues, with the remit of retaining the 1992 franchise. In essence, the stakes for the 1992 licence renewal were higher, and 'quality' programming plans in PSB terms were equated with the arts. Donny O'Rourke commented on the contrast between Macdonald's approach to arts programming and that of the managing director Bill Brown:

> I don't think Bill thought it was STV's job to do that kind of stuff … but Gus and all of those around him really did think that we should be making those programmes. … So, this was not a bunch of people having to pretend to be interested. We were all *genuinely* interested, and we would have done it anyway. … Gus was … a patron of the arts, he was a consumer of the arts, and he made it possible for arts programmes to be made. And were you speak to … archivists … it is a matter of statistical fact that if you compare the sheer amount of stuff that was being made at STV to what was being made at BBC Scotland, it's that and that [signals with hands the significant quantity of STV output compared to the BBC's diminutive amount.] *Nightly*. In the heyday of all of this, there was an arts programme of some kind

> on Scottish Television every day. So, it was – it was special. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

In Gus Macdonald, STV had acquired a director of programmes who was cognisant of, and responding to, the politico-cultural activity that was palpable across Scotland in the ongoing processes of recovery from deindustrialisation and the social and political momentum that was generated in its wake. Simultaneously, in a personal capacity, he was supportive of arts programming and not merely because of licence requirements. Nonetheless, Brown's extra-curricular activities suggest he too was 'fond of the arts': between 1974 and 1991 he was director of Scottish Opera Theatre Trust, and Scottish Arts Council chairman between 1992 and 1996, and his sense of 'public obligation' underpinned his approach to oversight of the broadcaster (Isaacs, 1997, n.p.).

This commitment to arts programming disrupts the apprehension that as part of the ITV network, STV would only be producing programming which befitted a profit-seeking broadcaster. STV could have brought in network ITV productions to meet its ITA requirements (McDowell, 1992, p.202). That it went beyond its remit and served its Scottish audience as expansively and consistently as it did at this time, speaks to the agency of individuals superseding regulatory expectations and understanding cultural programming as being as important as political communication in serving a polity. As Johnson and Turnock (2005, p.3) observed: 'ITV has not been readily understood as a producer of "quality" programming', with programmes that garner critical acclaim being 'seen as the exceptions rather than the rule'. At this juncture in the broadcaster's history, 'the rule' was to provide programming redolent of PSB values as much as resources permitted.

The tenor of STV's arts programming output was part of a cultural zeitgeist born of the political awakening of the 1979 referendum, the upheaval of economic decline, and Scotland's antipathy towards Thatcherite government. A Campaign for a Scottish Assembly had been launched in the aftermath of the failure to secure devolution, although it was something 'of a voice crying in the wilderness' through the eighties (Devine, 2012, p.607). Roger Graef, editor of Channel 4's *Signals* (1988–1990) interpreted the relationship between the arts and politics thus:

> Where left of centre opposition is blocked, there's a diversion of energy into other areas … so people turn to art for descriptions which are more complex and contradictory. (Roger Graef, 1988, pp.33-4 quoted in Walker, 1993, p.178)

This particular period in Scotland's recent history signalled a symbolic shift in how Scottish culture was represented. Arts programming was not specifically political, although certain documentaries of STV's were flying closer to the impartiality sun in politicising Scotland's turbulent deindustrialisation (O'Sullivan, 1999, n.p.). With hindsight, these televisual cultural activities were a precursor to 1999's devolution almost twenty years later:

> And I thought I was in the optimism-of-the-will business, that we were going to try to will into existence an imaginatively feasible Scotland that would in turn become an actual political reality. And I edited an anthology of poetry entitled *Dream State: New Scottish Poets* and the introduction to that book … makes clear my views, so nobody could have been in any doubt about what I believed. … I was wearing my political and cultural heart on my sleeve, and I just thought here was a great opportunity to make programmes that working-class kids, like the working-class kid I was, might want to watch. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

STV's actions at this time, and the prevailing sense of cultural mission, were contiguous with the burgeoning politico-cultural activity in wider Scotland. Arts broadcasting in this environment also disrupted the conceptual alignment of arts programming to the upper echelons of class and metropolitan geography. However, it was not only the serendipitous interests of a group of the culturally inclined at STV who were shaping arts programming, it was also expediency by company executives to ensure the re-awarding of the franchise. Commercial imperatives to further financial interests dovetailed with policy imperatives which increased programming diversity, and arguably, programming quality. But this was also an era when arts programming was considered as a key plank in the democratic purpose of television even at commercial broadcasters.

The cultural nationalism discursively framing STV's output in the eighties surpassed the minimal requirement of the regulator but was also, very pointedly, the result of regulatory exigency. BBC Scotland was also expanding its remit as a nascent televisual production culture. Overall, the historical impact of political turbulence in wider Scotland was making for a richer diet of programming content across both broadcasters in respect of the arts.

Therefore, this was a moment in Scottish broadcasting when the ITV franchisee was offering the Scottish viewing public pluralism across all PSB genres, thereby disrupting the BBC monopoly in the fashion for which commercial television had first been conceptualised. However, this scheduling diversity was to be further consolidated by Glasgow's nomination as European City of Culture (ECOC) 1990 and programme makers' response to the production opportunities it offered. This event was a major contributor to the development of cultural programming in Scotland. Furthermore, and by historical happenstance, the Broadcasting Act of 1990 came into force in the same year. The conjunction of both events initiated Glasgow's evolution as a pre-eminent producer of arts programmes in the decades to come.

4.5 ECOC and developing cultural programming

Glasgow began to develop its ECOC bid in early 1986 with the announcement of its success in October of the same year (Edwards, 2018, p.149). The ECOC initiative was launched in 1985 and designed to '[h]ighlight the richness and diversity of cultures in Europe; … and [f]oster the contribution of culture to the development of cities' (European Union, n.d.). Glasgow was the first post-industrial city to take on the prestigious mantle (Mooney, 2004, p.328), awarded in prior years to cities such as Athens and Paris. Scotland's largest city had been seeking to shed its negative reputation – long associated with violence and poverty – since 1983's 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign, and the ECOC bid was a further advance in the strategy to positively 're-imagine' the city (Mooney, 2004, p.329).

Prior to 1990's ECOC event, Glasgow had hosted the National Garden Festival in 1988, an occasion which directed new resources at programming in BBC Scotland. According to Andrea Miller, who was BBC Scotland head of factual from 2000 until 2012, this was the year in which 'the big shifts started' at BBC Scotland (Interview, 9 February 2021).

Via ECOC, Glasgow was to be reinvented as an economic force 'by being strong in services fuelled by the talent and energy of its people' (Cullen, 1985, p.10 cited in Edwards, 2018, p.142). The people of Glasgow thereby became the bedrock on which its fortunes were to improve. 'Glasgow' in certain syntaxes

becomes synonymous with its 'people', thereby, symbolically fusing culture with an invocation of the grass roots and the city's residents, rather than of institutions – even though, as Edwards (2018, p.146) points out, 'the key actors in this process of turning the city's cultural assets into economic ones' were not 'the city's artists or arts institutions' but civic and business leaders.

This juxtaposition of arts and culture with deindustrialisation was stark in an era when unemployment in the Strathclyde region sat at 20.1 percent in 1986 (Fraser and Sinfield, 1987, p.147). Nonetheless, 'Throughout the 1980s, image, art and culture were used to refashion the city centre', with simultaneous retail and housing developments afoot (Mooney, 2004, p.329). Therefore, whilst culture was marshalled to salvage Glasgow's reputation, the improvement of its image was also intimately aligned with commercial and entrepreneurial endeavours. These facets of the city's revival along cultural-entrepreneurial lines were to impact on Glasgow's role as a broadcasting hub in the coming years.

ECOC events included Frank Sinatra at Ibrox Stadium and Luciano Pavarotti and the Bolshoi Opera at the SECC (Haugh, 2020, n.p.; Main, 1990, p.11). New venues included the Royal Concert Hall and the Tramway contemporary art space, whilst art exhibitions included 'The Age of van Gogh: Dutch Paintings 1880–1895' at the Burrell Collection, and the 'biggest free rock concert ever staged' was broadcast by Channel 4 (Fotheringham, 2020, n.p.). The prospect of a cultural event of such national and international significance required a concomitant response from Scottish broadcasters. Both BBC Scotland and STV expanded their arts programming base, employing new producers, presenters, and directors to deliver an augmented range of programmes. As a consequence, the ECOC project established practices of production and centres of decision making that were to endure through the decade.

ECOC: the BBC Scotland programming challenge

Prior to the personnel increase, certain precedents had already paved the way for covering cultural activity in Scotland. Andrea Miller, who had been manager of pop band Wet Wet Wet, was headhunted as a researcher/booker for indie music strand *FSd* (BBC Scotland, 1986–88; BBC2 England, 1988), which showcased

still-unknown Scottish bands. Miller commented that the production 'was seriously successful, and I think the success of that probably started to spark some confidence within the BBC2 team to have more coming out of Glasgow' (Interview, 9 February 2021). The *BBC Annual Reports and Accounts 1989/90* commented that Scottish daytime programming contribution to network 'was part of the quiet success on network during the year' (BBC, 1990, p.41), exemplified by *The Garden Party* (BBC1, 1988-91), a daily magazine show broadcasting from Glasgow's Botanic Gardens. However, to cover ECOC required increasing resources and capacity at BBC Scotland:

> Jim Hunter was about to retire, and they needed somebody to run the Music and Arts Department and they needed somebody who had enough knowledge to be able to bring the 1990 stuff in, including the Edinburgh Festival. … It was going to be global, and John Archer got the job and … he started to create an empire in Scotland that would rival London. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

John Archer joined the BBC in 1975, where he had considerable experience working on a breadth of arts-related documentaries and had won a BAFTA for *Did You See…?* in 1985.[24] Archer's credentials as a producer with ambitious ideas of international scope and award-winning nous earmarked him as a safe, and dynamic, pair of hands to be considered for the head of department post in Scotland. Approached by Alan Yentob to take on the key arts role, Archer recounts how they 'wanted somebody new in Scotland. And there were a lot of promises about growing the department and so on and budgets' (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021).

However, the impetus to expand production in Glasgow also required a cultural shift in working ethos at Glasgow, as well as scaling up of production resources. John Archer outlined how the competitive culture of London contrasted with programme production in Scotland:

> And so basically, yeah, there was the worst work ethic, I have to say. It was not the same as in London – people would leave at five-thirty. So, I'd say BBC Scotland was a bit sleepy, minimally resourced, not quite the pressure you were used to working with in London. There

[24] *Hopscotch Films*. Available at: http://www.hopscotchfilms.co.uk/meet-the-team/john-archer#:~:text=Before%20running%20Hopscotch%20Films%20John,producer%20for%20Did%20You%20See (Accessed 23 September 2023).

> were people slightly perhaps stuck in their ways. (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021)

As Archer suggests, culpability for the observed lack of dynamism could be laid at the door of Scotland's limited resources. However, as the 1990 *BBC Annual Reports and Accounts* illustrate, Scotland was underperforming in comparison with the other two 'national regions', Northern Ireland and Wales (BBC, 1990, p.92). Eleanor Yule elucidated the situation for BBC Scotland as ECOC loomed:

> Music and arts become massively important because they know that this Year of Culture is coming, and they don't really have the infrastructure to be able to cover it … and suddenly … they were going to have to cover this Year of Culture for the rest of the UK. And it was terribly important that they did this, that they didn't send people from London up to do it, that they owned this culturally. And we're doing really, really, big shows for this in a way that we hadn't seen before, and all of it was going to have to be covered and by a department that was not used to working like that. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

Reconfiguring responsibility within BBC Scotland therefore augured realignment of production 'ownership'. Staff in Scotland were being interpellated into a new paradigm of broadcasting premised on an expanding remit for Scottish cultural content within Scotland and, simultaneously, framing external perceptions of Scotland as a televisual site of cultural production. This symbolic configuration of television around Glasgow and Scotland's culture engendered a matrix for programming that would enhance Glasgow's role as a production centre. BBC Scotland's augmented role of promoting cultural activity occurring *within* the nation to the wider UK simultaneously launched an institutional project igniting prestige and profile raising. Scottish and British/international cultural events were symbolically intertwining to raise the status of Scottish culture within the UK, and concurrently raise the profile of BBC Scotland within the institution of the BBC.

The Music and Arts Department, therefore, became a key driver of cultural-status building aligned with Glasgow-qua-Scotland's geographic broadcasting identity. This was a moment of discursive and strategic realignment within arts broadcasting in Scotland and also in broadcasting in the wider UK.

BBC Scotland had not been systematically formed at its inception with infrastructure primed for significant output, nor did the 1981 Charter suggest any guiding parameters for the scale of production expected north of the border. Each National Broadcasting Council was tasked with 'controlling the policy and content of the programmes in the Home Services' (BBC, 1981, BBC Royal Charter, Section(4)(a)). These 'functions' were to 'be exercised with full regard to the distinctive culture, language, interest and tastes of Our People in the country for which the Council is established' (BBC, 1981, BBC Royal Charter, Section (4)). The lack of strategic detail at Charter level and the experiences of Hetherington in the late seventies and Archer's appointment in the late eighties indicate that BBC Scotland's development was propelled by exogenous events. However, in addition to these cultural events impacting particularly on BBC Scotland development, UK-wide legislation in the form of the 1990 Broadcasting Act was to precipitate further evolutions, if not revolutions, in programming in the first half of the nineties at the BBC.

4.6 Conclusion

In addressing the sub-research question, 'What form did Scottish visual arts programming take prior to 1990?' this chapter has established that overall, in regard to cultural programming, the parameters within which broadcasters operated in the pre-1990 era were broad and idiosyncratic.

Arts programming was a regular element of BBC schedules with weekly strands informing viewers of the creative activities occurring in contemporary Scotland, produced from Edinburgh, where the annual Festivals had cemented the capital's status as a key site of UK cultural activity. STV had no regular dedicated arts strands that were home produced; its reliance, principally, on ATV's arts programming highlights the benefits of being part of a national network. The commercial broadcaster tended to air its arts programming at more viewer-friendly times of day, however. ATV was licensed to provide for ITV's network at the weekends, hence, Kenneth Clark's programmes focused on painting being shown on Saturday afternoons, while STV covered the Edinburgh Festivals on tea-time broadcasts. BBC Scotland's scheduling parked its arts programming in late-night slots, apart from *Scope*'s network day-time airing between 1972 and 1973.

Therefore, the BBC in Scotland was reflecting contemporary Scotland's visual arts culture on a regular basis, while STV's coverage was desultory. There was regular coverage of music in a variety of styles and genres on STV, even if the visual arts were neglected. Therefore, BBC Scotland served its visual artists more effectively than STV. The BBC was guided by the Charter, whilst STV operated at the intersection between the interests of commercial imperatives and being chided by the regulator.

However, both broadcasters benefitted from the dynamism and cultural proclivities of key personnel at particular moments in the pre-1990 broadcasting period. Producers of programmes at both broadcasters in Scotland had editorial freedom to include lesser-known artists, or more niche or esoteric creative practices and content within the schedules, notwithstanding that the visual arts were approached rather conservatively. STV corralled executives of formidable energies in the late eighties who brought political passions and a keen sense of the broader political purposes to which cultural programming could be put. Across both broadcasters, the 'expert' was called upon to communicate the visual arts; whether arts journalists or eminent art historians. Artists, regularly deployed to narrate histories of art rather than just be the subject of artist profiles, were similarly considered expert enough to lend credibility to the topics they presented.

However, the broader culture of production realm was a fractious and embattled space for the BBC, if less so for STV. The relationship between culture and politics had long been feared in the centralised BBC, although the arts operated in politically less turbulent waters for the BBC in Scotland compared to other genres. Conversely, at STV politics were embraced, and the broadcaster was fully conscious of the 'binding' mechanism of a panoply of genre types in constructing a space of collective recognition and representation for a Scottish viewership. Whilst rationed television could not offer the welter of programmes contemporary audiences expect, in terms of pluralism of content and provider, the pre-marketised era possessed an independence of spirit at both broadcasters, and programme producers approached representing Scottish culture with an unbridled and expansive curation of cultural content.

As the nineties unfolded, these attributes of the pre-1990 policy era continued to infuse new productions generated under the impetus of ECOC. However, in due course the repercussions of the 1990 Broadcasting Act and the tilt from the public service, Reithian criteria of programming to 'consumer-focused' broadcasting began to impact on arts programming. These dynamics are examined in the following three chapters.

Chapter 5 The Impact of the 1990 Broadcasting Act: Marketisation in Scotland's Arts Television

5.1 Introduction

This chapter continues to map arts broadcasting operations at both BBC Scotland and STV while exploring in-depth how the 1990 Broadcasting Act impacted on the BBC's Scottish 'national-regional' broadcaster. Glasgow's status as European City of Culture offered opportunity for both STV and BBC Scotland to expand their arts programming output.

The deindustrialisation of the 1980s resulted in a shift from manufacturing to a more services-focused economy, and these economic transformations became aligned with rolling back the state and marketising private and public resources (Harvey, 2005, pp.2–3; Devine, 2012, pp.602–6). Between 1990 and 2000 – the focus of this chapter – these moments of rupture were signalled at the BBC by the 1992 *Extending Choice* report, which announced the 'Producer Choice' initiative. The BBC's response to the neoliberal environment in which the UK public sector found itself is examined through cases identified in the methods chapter as well as other germane PSB productions in Scotland.

This chapter argues that marketisation impacted on the format and content of visual arts programmes produced at the BBC, and notwithstanding the resultant disruption to the cultural intermediary voice of the televisual art expert, aspects of evolving formats opened up new methodologies for art history when explored televisually. Methods deployed in the service of knowledge construction included using the presenter-led documentary to unearth original findings in respect of key Scottish artists. However, the environment in which these changes were wrought was particularly challenging, and the shift from the 'esprit de corps' and collective forms of working familiar to producers trained in the BBC pre-1990 contrasted sharply with the 'efficiency-driven' mores that were introduced in the wake of Producer Choice.

5.2 Broadcasting reform and the reimagined visual arts programme

The 1990 Broadcasting Act had an explicit accent on competitive practices which would impact upon publicly owned as well as commercial broadcasters. The unsettled period after the Peacock Committee Report of 1986 (Carter and McKinlay, 2013, p.1229) was ending and marketisation forces were consolidating. The 1990 ECOC project therefore intersected with an intention to expand televisual provision in Scotland while, coincidentally, an internal market would be introduced into the BBC (Freedman, 2003, p.153). From 1990 there were two seemingly mutually exclusive phenomena – the branding of Glasgow as a cultural centre and the instigation of legislative upheaval for broadcasting. Both initiatives were responses to deindustrialisation and born of introducing economic rationales to cultural activity. Conjoined, they offered an opportunity for Glasgow to operate as a fulcrum around which arts programming was to flourish.

Expanding arts production in Scotland

Prior to the 1990 Broadcasting Act BBC Scotland was being required to increase output by 50 hours per year for Scottish audiences, the logic being that this was necessary if 'it was to respond to social and political circumstances and compete in the expanding television market' (BBC, 1990, p.40). However, the 'Funding the Future' review determined that savings of £7 million per annum in the following three years had to be found from English regions' network productions, while savings were also being sought for Welsh and Scottish services (BBC, 1990, p.96). These cuts were being implemented even though overall spending in the regions had increased by £17 million between 1989 and 1990 (BBC, 1990, p.103). Therefore, prior to *Extending Choice*, the regions were simultaneously being invested in, and facing budget tightening.

There were further political developments afoot in Scotland. The Scottish Constitutional Convention, set up in 1987, was comprised of 210 'prominent' Scots from the nation's political and civil life who published *A Claim of Right for Scotland* in 1988 to galvanise a cross-section of Scottish society in the cause of bringing an assembly in Scotland into being (Devine, 2012, p.607). How BBC

Scotland programme makers were to negotiate these wider Scottish shifts would prove a challenge within the London-focused Corporation, as this chapter explores. Such was the matrix within which BBC Scotland arts programming would operate in the nineties.

However, at BBC Scotland the key challenges were resource allocation and ever-shifting institutional priorities. BBC Scotland's output prior to the nineties often fell foul of judgements about staff capabilities, as Head of Arts and Music John Archer observed on his arrival north of the border:

> You'd get Scotland on the network in the summer, but it would be lower quality … partly because they were under-resourced, just partly because of who was working on them. I mean, that was the feeling … but not so in drama … they were doing well. So, there was the potential, but … I thought, my job is to give it a bit of a boot. (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021)

Bill Bryden (1942–2022), much lauded as a director (BBC News, 2022), was head of drama at BBC Scotland between 1984 and 1993, and his department's success indicated Scottish programming was not a priori of inferior quality. Archer quickly succeeded in introducing some metropolitan dynamism to Scottish arts productions, and he received fulsome praise for his efforts in the BBC's 1990 *Annual Report*, garnering laurels as 'a programme-maker of distinction' noted for 'consistently original and adventurous ideas' (BBC, 1990, p.40).

Prior to 1990, and anticipating ECOC, Archer presided over the arrival of the arts magazine programme *Saturday Night Clyde* (BBC Scotland, 1989), covering Mayfest[25] and fronted by musician Pat Kane and broadcaster Stuart Cosgrove. While Archer's 'adventurousness' was being praised at the BBC, its commercial rival STV was becoming a ratings competitor in the arts arena. Contentious as the auction process was to be for the ITV licences, legislation stipulated that programming would meet a 'quality threshold', which included content that would 'appeal to a variety of tastes and interests' (Holland et al., 2013, p.470).

[25] Mayfest, an international 'annual city-wide festival of popular theatre and music' ran between 1983 and 1997: https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/6aa62e69-ac80-34a4-b849-e0af9253a1ea (Accessed 17 August 2021).

As part of the ECOC impetus, STV premiered its arts magazine programme *NB* (Scottish Television, 1989–97), creating enough of a stir to merit press coverage:

> Hitherto, Scottish Television itself has not been renowned in native media-commenting circles for demonstrating that it knows what is going on in Scotland, appearing at different times in its existence to view Scottish popular culture as either tartan kailyard hokum … fluffy rural villages or guttural Glesca hard men. For Scottish [Television] there was no recognition of anything in between. Until *NB*, that is. (Belcher, 1989, p.30).

NB's triumph was therefore to move beyond threadbare mythologisations to address the interests of a changing contemporary Scotland. In addition, STV made single documentaries, such as *The Fall and Rise of Mackintosh* (1991), directed by Murray Grigor. Donny O'Rourke had also brought Alistair Scott, whom he held in high professional esteem, on board as *NB* series director (Belcher, 1989, p.30). Scott commented that the series had the

> ambition that you could make popular programming on an ITV/STV channel that could feature what's on at the SECC, what's on in the cinema, and a new play from Communicado, and a poem from Edwin Morgan and the Scottish Symphony Orchestra. We had that ambition that there was an appetite for this. (Alistair Scott, interview, 26 January 2021)

Scott and O'Rourke's ambition was borne out in ratings. *Saturday Night Clyde* achieved around 300,000 viewers across the network, while *NB* garnered circa 400,000 in Scotland alone (*The Glasgow Herald*, 1990, n.p.). Archer himself volunteered that BBC Scotland's programme was 'terrible' (Interview, 22 February 2021), but nonetheless, a sense was brewing at both broadcasters that arts programming was important to audiences as well as regulators.

As discussed in the previous chapter, during this period all key STV staff were disposed to support the arts. However, STV as a commercial entity did not operate within the institutional-political system that defined the BBC. Its challenges were not organisational politics but being cognisant of its two-sided market: 'We needed arts programmes that are sophisticated and polished and watchable and that the advertisers will be willing to invest in' (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021). STV straddled its commercial rationales and regulatory requirements with relative ease: 'Because our programmes were very modestly budgeted, within reason, if I thought it up, it would be on the telly within a

month' (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021). Conversely, the BBC picture was much more complex. For all the promises made to Archer, increasing commissioning and resources for BBC Scotland had to be 'constantly argued for'. But Archer's tenacity bore dividends as arts production from Glasgow tripled, and a monthly contribution to BBC2 flagship arts production *The Late Show* was also awarded (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021).

The Late Show (BBC2, 1989–95) was revered by programme makers. Director Eleanor Yule commented on how it was 'relevant' for audiences in moving on from the patrician condescension of earlier formats (Interview, 28 January 2021), while Donny O'Rourke was similarly impressed, considering it to be 'just masterly' (Interview, 8 April 2021).

The Late Show bore its intellectualism unabashedly, interweaving interviews with auteur film directors or explorations of Foucault with live broadcasts of indie bands. For Glasgow to be given ownership of the prestigious broadcast once a month was a considerable commissioning coup. While *NB* rose in prominence across the schedules (*The Glasgow Herald*, 1990, n.p.), STV also continued apace with single documentaries covering the arts. Janice Forsyth presented a one-off production highlighting the sculpture of Scots 'neo-classicist' Alexander Stoddart (Janice Forsyth, email, 20 April 2021). Both broadcasters' arts departments were reaping the benefits of ECOC and, in STV's case, garnering audiences for *NB* that were the envy of BBC Scotland. Nonetheless, BBC Scotland was proceeding with new-found confidence and increased production capacity. However, the early nineties also ushered in the Birt era at the BBC and the implementation of policies with profound implications for the direction arts programming would take at the Corporation.

5.3 *Extending Choice* and Producer Choice in Scotland

Three years after becoming deputy director-general of the BBC in 1987, John Birt launched Producer Choice, a form of delegating direct financial responsibility to programme makers. Described as a 'trading system, designed around an internal market' which would provide 'better value for money' at the broadcaster (McDonald, 1995, p.49; Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 2007, pp.292–3.), it was a further manifestation of the climate of marketisation and budget

watching that a neoliberal approach to economics in the wider political world had brought to public sector organisations. By 1993 it had been operationalised across all aspects of the BBC (Felix, 2000, pp.6–7). Producer Choice operated in stark contrast to the system preceding it, in which

> The producer had little idea of the real cost and often suspected, or knew, that the ITV company itself or the BBC did not know the real cost: so why should the producer? … The producer might have only a hazy idea of the intended audience, the real cost, or the real goal. … The producer was also likely to be unclear how 'success' could be defined. (Tunstall, 1993, p.9)

As the BBC sought to save money and rationalise production processes in highly bureaucratic ways across the institution, Producer Choice's morale-crushing tendencies became legion (McDonald, 1995; Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 1998; 2007; Felix, 2000; Deakin et al., 2009). In Scotland, Eleanor Yule noted that these 'seismic changes' had particular negative repercussions when the 'choices' available to the producer included being able to decide who worked on specific productions, rather than staff being allotted projects centrally:

> Because it's a smaller pool … it becomes personal when people don't get to work on stuff. … People were very, very unhappy about that, because I suppose it broke up that feeling of community on the one hand, and equality … this kind of competitive, more kind of, right-wing idea. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

Georgina Born (2004, p.151) also noted how Producer Choice had undermined 'the existence of common professional ethics and standards' that had operated prior to the 1990 Broadcasting Act, and one manifestation of ethical consensus being infringed was excluding professional staff from project teams. Yet in the *Extending Choice* (BBC, 1992) report, atomising, market-embracing 'choice' was publicly launched in tandem with initiatives for bringing the 'national regions' further into the wider BBC's fold.

Extending Choice incoherence and marketising the nations

Extending Choice (1992, pp.46-7) still referred to Glasgow as being among 'the regions' of the UK, and the overall 'beyond-London' framework as 'regional broadcasting'. *Extending Choice* had particular implications for BBC Scotland which were woven into the document's overall discursive formation. Two sections, entitled respectively 'Single Coherent Broadcasting Organisation' and

'Delivering Value for Money' (BBC, 1992, pp.41-9, 51-5), set out dual purposes. The first was to expand nations and regions provision by creating 'centres of programming excellence', and the second was the intention to commission for the network from throughout the UK – both while seeking 'efficiency and cost effectiveness' (BBC, 1992, pp.47, 52).

However, Producer Choice's internal market embodied competing and incompatible forces. A 'single coherent BBC' was proposed in the same document that emphasised 'fragmentation' and 'competition' by explicitly invoking a 'diversity' of directorates as responsible for programme production; namely, 'network television, network radio, news and current affairs, regions, external services' (Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 2007, p.294). As one of the regions, BBC Scotland became a cog within the integrated mechanism of a 'network' or 'quasi-market' (Deakin et al., 2009, p.56) and was, therefore, operationally situated within a matrix of competitive fragmentation, ideologically bound to the market. Also implied by Extending Choice-cum-Producer Choice was a parity of resources in the new 'network'. A key implication of these shifts was that the actual hierarchy between metropolis and periphery was ostensibly being flattened to create directorates of equal organisational weight. The 'choice' of operating within the market was being 'extended' to the regions.

These reframings offered BBC Scotland a novel position within the institution: the various sites of Scottish production were now embedded in a 'single coherent' framework. Hence, BBC Scotland was no longer merely an outpost of centralised operations serving Scottish audiences and contributing haphazardly to the network (McDowell, 1992, p.96; BBC Trust, 2008a, p.35); rather, it was symbolically integrated into a notionally non-hierarchical network serving the UK at large. Even though physically distant from institutional power's epicentre and historically under-resourced, BBC Scotland was now to operate with parity under the same 'tough-minded' (BBC, 1992, p.54) competitive structures that other directorates were expected to aspire to. Hence, the revised public service model integrated nations' production processes into a marketised discourse. *Extending Choice*'s implications for the BBC nations were appraised in 1993:

> Audio-visual geographies are becoming detached from the symbolic spaces of national cultures and realigned on the more 'universal' principles of consumer demographics and market geographies. (Robins and Cornford, 1993, p.10)

Whilst Robins and Crawford identify the putative repercussions for the small nations under the new BBC initiative, within Scotland the implications were less definitive. National culture north of the border was not to be forgone, notwithstanding that inherent in this intersection of regionalism and marketisation was the ideological alignment of culture with the market. In addition, parity of opportunity was now discursively conferred amongst other 'regional centres' in the quasi-market; namely, Belfast, Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, and Manchester (*Extending Choice*, 1992, p.47). These regional centres had, for BBC Scotland, *always* been competitors, and, whereby, having to compete, operate under 'efficiencies', and prove 'worthiness' had long been quotidian necessities. However, thriftiness and financial accountability had not been endemic in BBC arts programming:

> Things like *Omnibus* ruled on BBC1. … *Arena* was a huge thing, but … they were a few filmmakers that were allowed to go off for five years with a massive budget and just produce this kind of narcissistic thing. Not always, sometimes it was excellent. But, [they] basically had the budget and so it was seen as a kind of, a bit of an old boys' [network]. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

As an example of metropolitan myopia and cultural cliquishness, Yule offered the example of the London BBC executive who had not heard of Charles Rennie Mackintosh, the renowned Scottish architect: 'So we were trying to kind of get into that, and that's why it was so difficult' (Interview, 28 January 2021).

Yule's observations suggest budgeting latitude had existed pre-Producer Choice for London arts commissioning. Therefore, *Extending Choice*, putatively, was redressing historic imbalances born of centralising tendencies and regional penny-pinching. Within a UK-wide drive for efficiency the nations and regions could be integrated into economic rationalisation under the Producer Choice regime. However, as Yule's anecdote regarding Rennie Mackintosh accentuates, London gatekeepers had limited knowledge of key Scottish cultural figures. This centralised parochialism impacted on commissioning success and resourcing for BBC Scotland, as will be discussed further below.

Introduction of this quasi-market and disaggregated structure engendered a 'notion of organisational hybridity' (Harris and Wegg-Prosser, 2007, pp.290–1); however, 'hybridity' already operated in the regions in the endeavour to serve two audiences – the 'local'/national and the network/British. Consequently, arts programming, now integrated into consumer demographics and marketising rationales, required new models of appealing across the network while simultaneously garnering Scottish audiences. Inherent tensions within this matrix of regional production and a UK-wide quasi-market sowed seeds of institutional and production incoherence in regard to resourcing and commissioning during the nineties. These repercussions followed policy initiatives, notwithstanding that cultural programming also responded in innovative ways to the changing environment in which producers and commissioners were operating.

The post-1990 paradigm: re-imagining the arts audience

Eleanor Yule observed that in 1991 – the year of her directorial debut on *The Late Show* – as a product of a broadening competitive environment, BBC management 'became obsessed with audiences' (Interview, 28 January 2021). The BBC had tracked audience responses to broadcasts since 1936 (Genders, 2020, pp.62-3); however, after 1990, 'executives became increasingly aware of the huge significance of popularity, as measured by ratings, for the legitimacy of the BBC' (Born, 2004, p.62 cited in Genders, 2020, p.65).

Born (2004, p.72) describes how an emphasis on ratings was of a piece with the 'language of commercial management' that the Birt era ushered in, while Noonan (2012, p.366) highlighted the concomitant 'greater focus on audience demographics and channel positioning' that accompanied these particular executive perturbations. Even though it was 'accepted' that the arts were 'synonymous with specialist audiences', a heightened sense of competitiveness and intense concern with audience ratings pervaded the conditions that BBC television executives laboured under in these changed conditions (Genders, 2020, p.64). Hence the 'authoritarian and permissive' regime of commissioning in the pre-1990 era had given way to a dynamic of power that was taken outwith the purview of the executive producer and transferred to the domain of the higher echelons of the BBC's decision-making corps.

Yet, this power shift was not universally regarded as iniquitous. By the time Birt had split production and broadcasting in 1996, 'it [had] led to a better understanding of what the audience wanted, and greater efficiency through market testing' (Deakin et al., 2009, p.65). This audience focus was endemic. In market research pre-production for Channel 4 arts strand *Signals* (Channel 4, 1988–90), '70 percent of the public said they would watch more arts programmes if the latter abandoned "their off-putting tone"', and, furthermore, 'viewers said they wanted more explanation, but not from critics' (Walker, 1993, p.196). John Archer had worked on *Signals* (Interview, 22 February 2021), and Eleanor Yule also noted how BBC commissioners came 'under huge pressure to put bums on seats … everything was to be popular culture' (Interview, 28 January 2021), and cited the decision to cover David Bowie on *Omnibus* as means of ensuring significant ratings. STV was also gathering audience information in anticipation of the 1992 licence auction. As Donny O'Rourke recounts:

> Gus [Macdonald] really believed in focus groups and all of us were obliged to turn up to a focus group in our particular specialist area. … I didn't like any of that, but he was right, and I was wrong. … And it so happened that the kind of programmes that we wanted to make were also popular with focus groups and that meant that the franchise was likely to be got. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

Therefore, as the nineties progressed, such considerations contributed to the format for the three cases under analysis in this chapter. In seeking to provide an alternative to a potentially condescending tone from the art expert or professional critic and appease a pernickety audience, the response to these myriad factors was the arrival of the celebrity presenter in visual arts productions.

5.4 Independent production and the advent of the non-expert presenter

The first of these celebrity-led productions was *The Bigger Picture* series, fronted by Scottish comedian Billy Connolly and broadcast as six, half-hour episodes on network BBC2 in 1994. It was the first presenter-led production of the post-1990 Broadcasting Act policy era at BBC Scotland, although not the first

celebrity-fronted visual arts production at the BBC.[26] Covering Scottish art from the 1600s through to the end of the twentieth century, it was historically ambitious, with major movements and/or exponents included, although the principal focus was on painting.

John Archer, its executive producer, had foreseen an opportunity to increase production from Scotland by identifying how to marry the need to address the 1990 Broadcasting Act quota with what impressed BBC central commissioners:

> And so, the trick was always to be trying to expand, and one way to do that was to move slightly out of the genre you were meant to be working in. So, I'd done that with Billy Connolly's *World Tour of Scotland* [BBC1, 1994]. … He *performs*, that was one way of expanding, and then independent production was just starting, and one of the things I wanted to do – you're constantly trying to do something a little bit more 'landmark' in BBC speak – and Duncan Macmillan had just brought out his book on Scottish art and I had a meeting with him thinking we'd make a programme. … Anyway, we were talking about [a] treatment, and then I had a call from an independent producer Douglas Rae, who is Scottish … and he said he wanted to do a programme about Scottish art presented by … Robbie Coltrane. And I immediately thought, well, that's better than I've been thinking. (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021)

Scottish Art: 1460-1990 was published in 1990. Its author, Duncan Macmillan, was Reader in Scottish Art and Curator at the Talbot Rice Gallery at the University of Edinburgh, where he is now Emeritus Professor of History of Scottish Art. A year later, the publication won the Saltire Society Scottish Book of the Year Award. Billy Connolly took over when Coltrane proved unavailable, and Archer had firm convictions about why the comedian would be an appropriate frontman for the first major television series on Scottish art:

> Well, I liked the idea. It was a bit of a risk because, obviously, I mean he's a comedian … I just thought, he should be on the channel. He should be on all the time really because he's just so engaging. (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021)

[26] In the late 1960s and 1970s the comedian Barry Humphries, a noted bibliophile and avid collector of late-19th century artists and authors, presented BBC arts documentaries. Available at: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2023/04/24/obituary-remembering-barry-humphries-art-lover-artist-and-creator-of-dame-edna-everage-who-has-died-aged-89 (Accessed 5 June 2024).

Having a comedian present such a series was a less obvious choice than Coltrane, an art school graduate and actor, but the initial proposal convinced Alan Yentob, then controller of BBC2, to take the production for the network (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021). However, this was not an uncontroversial decision. After being approached 'properly' by John Archer, Duncan Macmillan had set out a treatment in anticipation of being involved in a production that he would present:

> And I prepared, I did all the groundwork, got the proposal together, and then he decided that it was better to have a comedian. … It's why I was so cross … because that was my project. (Duncan Macmillan, interview, 19 February 2021)

John Archer, unprompted, commented: 'I'm sure Duncan is very nice, but he didn't naturally strike me as the right presenter. [I'm] sure he could have done it very well' (Interview, 22 February 2021). From Archer's perspective, the issue in the Birt era wasn't just 'doing the job well', it was introducing format-expanding aspects to the genre and, simultaneously, providing instantly digestible familiarity in the form of an already-known face, and one known for his capacity to entertain: in essence, consumer demographics in action. Macmillan, an academic, lacked this form of public profile. However, more concerningly, as Macmillan brought to light, it was not only his publication that was the impetus for the project. He had already laboured extensively on fleshing out a workable structure for a television series. And, as researcher on *The Bigger Picture* Mhairi McNeill pointed out, the script that was eventually drafted for Connolly used Macmillan's publication for fact-checking.

Therefore, while the shift to audience-pleasing presences befitted the ratings and 'popularity' drive, the Reithian expert was being both overlooked as presenter while his scholarly weight and labour were exploited in the competitive urge for novelty; the latter being served in drafting the services of an independent producer and using a celebrity with no connection to art history to present.

Ultimately, notwithstanding the lack of transparency at pre-production stage, this novel approach was vindicated. Archer recounted that 'It became quite a big thing culturally as well, and it made a good splash' (Interview, 22 February

2021), with scriptwriter Andrew Gibbon Williams co-authoring an accompanying book, *The Bigger Picture* (1993), with Andrew Brown, while Glasgow's McLellan Galleries held an accompanying exhibition. Douglas Rae, *The Bigger Picture* director, became celebrated as a feature film producer (*The Scotsman*, 2009) and his production company, Ecosse Films, still operates.

The Bigger Picture and seeking a broader audience

Now almost 30 years old, *The Bigger Picture* exhibits characteristics which speak to its position in this liminal period between the patrician remnants of Reithian orthodoxy and before the full force of audience fragmentation was manifest in BBC4's 2002 advent. While inserting a comedian into an art history role was unusual, the script, conversely, took the traditional 'television lecture' approach to content.

Connolly's presentations to camera were scripted by Andrew Gibbon Williams, who had studied art history in the mid-seventies at Edinburgh University under Duncan Macmillan and painting at Edinburgh College of Art. Both he and Andrew Brown had initially begun co-writing the series (Mhairi McNeill, interview, 1 February 2021) and both were practising artists with journalistic backgrounds: Gibbon Williams as art critic for *The Sunday Times Scotland* and *The Times*, while Brown had been art critic for the *Mail on Sunday* (*The Bigger Picture*, 1993 fly cover). *The Bigger Picture* also covered contemporary Scottish art, and the authors' knowledge of Scotland's visual arts would have been extensive from their respective press-reviewing and gallery-owning experiences.[27]

The Bigger Picture was an evolution of the '"personal view" documentary blockbuster' (Wyver, 1998, p.32), and, as such, is characterised by 'the presenter popping up in situ around the world', communicating 'a chronological over-view of the area of knowledge' (Wyver, 1998, p.32). *The Bigger Picture* adopted these idioms, although certain episodes did disrupt the traditional 'pundit' approach, for example, by inviting John Bellany to paint Connolly's

[27] Andrew Brown had founded Edinburgh's 369 Gallery in 1978.

likeness in portraiture-focused third episode. This ‘prestige television’ format, as well as embodying features redolent of dramatic film, also depended on a

> positivist conception of knowledge [whereby] … the acquisition of knowledge is dependent on direct experience of a place or canvas or a fresco. … And so, the words of the narrator or lecturer, and (usually) his [sic] thesis, are validated in the most convincing way possible. (Wyver, 1998, p.32)

Such ‘empiricism’ (Wyver, 1998, p.32) underpins this televisual identification of ‘the truth’: Italian locations and disquisitions on neoclassicism in *The Bigger Picture*’s first episode typify this approach. However, Connolly is patently reciting words that are not his own. Stylistically, the dense and wordy script is formal and academic, redolent of written prose rather than verbal communication. It also digresses frequently into tangential information. Consequently, the force of its narrative drive is undermined by a lack of coherent communicativeness. While Connolly’s ‘engaging’ persona was being deployed to bring ‘a more informal relationship with the audience’ (Corner, 1996, p.74), the ‘personal view’ component is compromised by knowledge that these are not Connolly’s own observations and interpretations.

Archer commented that on location, Connolly ‘was really enjoying himself, throwing himself into it’ (Interview, 22 February 2021), and while there were snippets of Connolly’s own linguistic vernacular at play in the use of ‘wee’, glottal stops, or colloquialisms such as ‘hammer the Hanoverians’, his persona was serious and demeanour earnest. Yet, Connolly’s modest informal interjections were not sufficient to temper the overabundance of academic discourse that constituted the presenter’s words. The researcher on the production, Mhairi McNeill, an Edinburgh University art history graduate, recounted that ‘there were problems with the script’ (Interview, 1 February 2021) involving lots of rewrites overseen by Archer, who, as commissioner, ‘would go through rough cuts [and] could sign them off’ (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021). McNeill ‘relied a lot on Duncan Macmillan, who of course had published his tome at that point’ for fact checking, and she produced the scripts ‘in conjunction with Andrew [Gibbon Williams] who had kind of written the scripts. And so, I was doing all the script checking’ (Interview, 1 February 2021). Archer was overseeing an ‘innovative’ approach to art history on television.

However, amalgamating academic art-historical knowledge with engaging communication was evidently proving challenging, and required input of a team.

Notwithstanding the new audience-focused era and Connolly's presence, the register of delivery for the script was still predicated on lecturing and disbursing facts rather than 'linking presenter and audience into an "us"' (Corner, 1996, p.74). Corner (1996, p.74) also notes that 'the majority of the presenter/narrators of television documentary output were not experts or specialists … but were *reporters* and *interviewers*'. However, Connolly was neither spontaneously interviewing nor reporting, nor was he fashioning his own interpretation and presentation. And this foregrounds a key skill of the television scriptwriter required for fluent and logical delivery of a specific message; namely, addressing the viewer as a listener while ordering and editing information to function effectively in the dialogic space of documentary television: *The Bigger Picture* was, conversely, rather monologic in delivery style.

Therefore, as a scholar, educator, and the pre-eminent figure in giving Scotland's art history canonical weight, Macmillan had been institutionally and personally sidelined, and Reith's broadcasting maxim that the nation would be accessing first-hand sources of knowledge subverted. Macmillan's authoritative text was used for fact checking, but questionably this was not acknowledged in the programme credits.

The cultural nationalist politics of art history

Although there were evident challenges that 'innovating' a genre posed when incorporating a writer and a presenter who, respectively, were new to the medium of television and the subject of art history, the production package succeeded at the level of gaining plaudits. Archer's 'expanding' of the format paid dividends in garnering a commission from the network, and in terms of the production's broader symbolic meaning, it can be regarded as a continuation of the Scottish cultural renaissance brewing from the mid-eighties. 'Scottish art history' was not a formed subject matter until Macmillan had begun to theorise it as such. A letter to *The Herald* in 2015 is testament to the approach to Scottish art history prior to the eighties:

When I studied Fine Art at Glasgow University in the 1970s, there was no course on Scottish art. Individual artists and architects, such as the eighteenth century's Lanarkshire-born Gavin Hamilton, and Robert Adam, were part of the study of Neo-classical art and architecture in Britain and Continental Europe. (George Fairfull-Smith, *The Herald*, 7 September 2015)

Macmillan alluded to battles at Edinburgh University to have Scottish art history taken seriously (Interview, 19 February 2021), and he expounded on his rationale for undertaking a writing project that would propel art history beyond the confines of academia:

> Well, I did establish Scottish art in the popular consciousness as being something to be proud of, which was my intention. It is political, ultimately. … Put it this way, that nations, like people, depend on their self-respect. With Scotland, self-respect and self-esteem, which were low, and having a proper tradition in art, is very good for the national self-esteem and that was my objective. It was to put the self-esteem back in, and now it's got it as a subject. … That book, I mean … it established [Scottish art] in the popular consciousness. (Duncan Macmillan, interview, 19 February 2021)

Scottish art as a field with pedagogic status was achieved by Macmillan, and, while his involvement in *The Bigger Picture* was not publicly acknowledged, the series was a further pillar in the edifice of Scotland's sense of its own distinct identity in an expanding realm of television genres. Even the production's title symbolically addressed this burgeoning sense of pride. Archer recalls being inspired by a Waterboys[28] song when seeking a series title, and also being aware that the title was 'claiming more for Scotland in a UK context, and there hadn't been a programme yet on British art – that was to come – so Scotland was doing it first' (John Archer, interview, 22 February 2021). Archer, an Englishman, was therefore also party to raising BBC Scotland's profile by dint of being responsible for Scottish content in the competitive arena of arts programming, and his ambition for Scottish broadcasting prowess was similarly evident.

Notwithstanding what was being achieved or lost through a non-expert presenter, the format for art history and visual arts presentation on television had been profoundly disrupted. Macmillan's overriding concern was that Scotland's art history was not being taken seriously if presented by a comedian:

[28] 'Bigger Picture' was a track on The Waterboys' 1990 album *Room to Roam.*

‘What they don't realise is that the populace is much keener on being serious. It's sort of looking down at their audience, actually’ (Interview, 19 February 2021).

Macmillan had not watched the production, concerned that the topic would not be done justice (Interview, 19 February 2021). However, *The Bigger Picture* was not, in fact, comedic or even unserious. When focused on art history, the series was tonally both erudite and given academic veracity by Macmillan’s own scholarship. But the ‘seriousness’ it evinced sat uneasily in the delivery from a ‘personality’ whose talents lay in comedic improvisation and spontaneous performance. The scholarly expert was thus being overlooked, and deprived of commensurate credit, to achieve ‘competitive’ television. The ascendency of personality-presenting had trumped having knowledge delivered from a direct source. Moreover, the source of the scholastic input was opaque as programme credits obscured the full scope of information sources for the script, while Macmillan’s scholarship was arguably plagiarised and intellectual property infringed.

However, the celebrity-presenter per se was not inimical to educational television; indeed, as other productions attest to, it was a format that could bring new, and less well-known, artists to public attention, as exemplified in the documentaries made by BBC Scotland with actor and broadcaster Michael Palin.

5.5 Feminism, art history, and monopsony: implementing *Extending Choice*

Mhairi McNeill’s time on *The Bigger Picture* garnered her a reputation as the Scottish art history go-to production assistant, hence, her involvement in the latter two case studies of the chapter, ‘Palin on Anne Redpath’ (BBC Scotland, 1997) and *Michael Palin … on the Colourists* (BBC Scotland, 2000) directed by Eleanor Yule. The former production was a one-off film produced for the long-running *Ex-S*[29] strand (BBC Scotland, 1991–2002). May Miller, *Ex-S* series editor, had come to Glasgow at the behest of John Archer via director roles on seminal series *The Old Grey Whistle Test* (BBC2, 1971–88) and *Top of the Pops* (BBC1, 1964–2006). Miller subsequently became editor of arts and entertainment in the

[29] See Appendix A for *Ex-S* productions.

nineties, then creative director of arts and factual at BBC Scotland between 2001 and 2005, and, as executive producer, was pivotal in the production of the Palin films. The successful production team of Yule and McNeill forged an enduring working relationship which produced numerous Palin arts documentaries, most recently *Michael Palin's Quest for Artemisia* (BBC4, 2015).

The first artist to be covered by Yule, Anne Redpath, is a critically acclaimed mid-twentieth-century Edinburgh artist who greatly influenced painting in Scotland (Macmillan, 1990, p.199). Yule had been approached by Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art curator Philip Long when a retrospective of the Edinburgh artist's work was in planning.[30] Yule wanted to 'celebrate' a painter who had come to public attention as a middle-aged 'woman with grey hair in a bun and pearls and a twin set' (Interview, 28 January 2021). The initial pitch to May Miller, also *Ex-S*'s commissioning editor, was unsuccessful owing to the subject matter being an unknown, 'older' female artist. Yule's preference for the film format was to have no presenter. However, Philip Long suggested Palin – a collector of Redpath's work – for the role. Yule confessed to not then being a 'fan' of Palin's.

Palin, like Connolly, had no credentials as an art expert. However, by the late nineties he had already had a rather illustrious career as a member of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* (BBC1, 1969-74) comedy team, an actor in films such as *A Fish Called Wanda* (1988), and presenter on a series of highly regarded travelogue documentaries, beginning with *Great Railway Journeys of the World* in 1980 on BBC2 (Novick, 2001, pp.111-14). Palin commented that as presenter 'You also have got to have a sense of wonder, which I think I probably do have. I am not a great cook, I am not a great artist, but I love art and I love food, so I am the perfect traveller – always on the cultural scrounge' (Michael Palin quoted in Novick, 2001, p.115). Palin was therefore by the mid-nineties a somewhat revered celebrity and highly engaging presence on British television, 'having taken a new approach to the business of presenting a television show' (Novick, 2001, p.115).

[30] The Scottish Gallery, *Anne Redpath: Fifty*. Retrieved from: https://scottish-gallery.co.uk/publications/detail/anne-redpath-fifty (Accessed 31 October 2021).

Notwithstanding her reservations, Yule relented: ‘I just thought, I don't care. If he can get this film to happen, I'll do anything’ (Interview, 28 January 2021). Via brokering from Long, the actor-broadcaster in due course contacted Yule announcing that he was interested in the project. Yule recalls when she and McNeill met with Palin:

> We had the most wonderful lunch, and all we talked about was Anne Redpath. I mean he loved her, you know, he was totally authentic. … And I just thought, yeah, this is the right person for this. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

Yule and McNeill embraced working with Palin as an opportunity to subvert well-worn formats: both had a shared disdain for what Yule termed ‘traditional’ presenter-led approaches, which would have been the ‘expert’ style of didactic opinion-dispensing that often beset art-critic-led productions. Palin’s lack of expertise was considered a boon:

> He never ever set himself up as anybody who knew anything about art, he only knew that he liked it, and he wants to find out more about it. So, in that sense he's the perfect journeyman. … All the audience research shows that people who are class ABC1 … they watch the expert telling them what to think about an artist. And that's fine for them, but of course they miss loads of ordinary people who might want to just find out something about art and don't want this horrible intimidating sort of TV format of being told what to think, and ‘I'm an expert and you have to listen’. So, the whole idea was that Michael wouldn’t be that kind of presenter. (Mhairi McNeill, interview, 1 February 2021)

Palin represented a new persona in the expanding universe of non-expert presenters. Personalising the presenter’s connection to the topic and creating a detective-like sense of discovery was a different approach to the artist-profile format. As the BBC programme page declares: ‘Michael Palin travels to France in search of the Mediterranean view on his wall captured by his favourite artist, Scottish painter Anne Redpath.’[31]

As well as seeking to appeal to a broader audience, Yule was also intent on bringing original content to her documentaries:

[31] ‘Palin on Redpath’ programme page. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00twwbr (Accessed 31 October 2021).

> Mhairi and I always agreed that if we were going to make a film, we would find out things that had never been found out before, because we hated this parasitical arts thing where all they did was just ingest everybody else's research and add nothing to the debate. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

McNeill's research revealed that during a period in France when neither painting nor exhibiting, but raising her children, Redpath had completed a mural in a Carthusian Monastery north of Toulon that the artist's architect husband had been commissioned to paint. The conjunction of art-historical discovery and celebrity was successful: 'The film went down very, very well … and it did get a decent audience, because Palin's in it. And the network took it' (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021). Such success generated 'pressure' for another Palin documentary, and although averse to 'industrialising' their working relationship, the first experience had been positive for all (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021). Consequently, McNeill suggested the Scottish Colourists for the next project, confident that their 'being such a bunch of characters', Palin would be enthused, and enticed, once more (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021).

Anti-competitive television and the regions

Becoming ever more popular culturally in the UK in the nineties after art-historical obscurity, the Scottish Colourists – Francis Cadell (1883-1937), Samuel Peploe (1871-1935), John Duncan Fergusson (1874-1961), and Leslie Hunter (1877-1931) – were a source of national pride.[32] *Michael Palin… on the Colourists* was first broadcast in 2000 as an opt-out on BBC2 Scotland and later broadcast within the *ArtZone* strand (BBC2, 2000) on the network, and expectations were then raised for representations of such artistic heroes. In a *Herald* review, then SNP Shadow Education and Culture Minister Mike Russell bemoaned that Palin was 'no Kenneth Clark', and that 'what should have been a ground-breaking opportunity to present serious Scottish culture was a confused and shallow disappointment' (Russell, 2000, n.p.).

[32] An exhibition, *The Scottish Colourists 1900–1930*, took place in 2000 at the Dean Gallery, Edinburgh (National Galleries of Scotland).

The film examines the lives of the artists through a biographical lens and brings to audience attention the family and political environs in which they operated rather than expounding art historically. Paintings are presented without attributions, and chats with relatives barely address painting or art history. However, what is communicated *visually* is that these artists were from very middle-class if not upper-middle-class backgrounds, and their activities are contextualised as happening at a time when 'socialism was sweeping Scotland' (Robert Boyle, Cadell enthusiast, interviewed in the production). These sociological aspects of artistic life are oftentimes overlooked by more 'television lecture' approaches to art history, being premised on the traditional epistemological framings of art history itself. Art historian Griselda Pollock's feminist critique addresses these issues:

> Crucial questions have not been posed about how art history works to exclude from its field of discourse history, class, ideology, to produce an ideological, 'pure' space for something called 'art', sealed off from and impenetrable to any attempt to locate art practice within a history of production and social relations. (Pollock, 1980, p.57)

The Palin film therefore took a different methodological approach to art history: through an exploration of biography and historical lived experiences, the production of art was explored through an oral history of people who knew the artists personally. McNeill outlines the production team's approach:

> [Palin] needed the research and back up – that was 'the expert' – and we didn't have any scriptwriters or academics. … What we did is a combination of me doing really thorough research and making sure that everything was accurate and art-historically accurate and then obviously pushing the boundaries in terms of who we could find. … Michael came to it very much when the script was set … and then where he really came into his own would be his pieces to camera. ... So, Eleanor would write skeleton outlines … and then he would sometimes rewrite them loosely or write them in his own words or change a few sentences, always in collaboration with Eleanor, and always fact checking with me. (Mhairi McNeill, interview, 1 February 2021)

In contrast to *The Bigger Picture*, the Palin scripts were an organic process of redrafting the material to fit the persona of Palin, while fitted around the biographies of the four artists themselves. There was also keener consideration of the viewer and the communicative purpose of the script. Palin, as a seasoned broadcaster, understood these processes. Therefore, his function in the

production exceeded merely being ‘famous’. The personal enthusiasm he held for the artists as personalities, combined with broadcasting knowledge, brought a new articulation of an ‘us’ between production and viewer (Corner, 1996, p.74) to art-historical formats. Bell and Grey (2007, p.130) addressed forms of epistemology distinguishing presenter styles in history programmes as either 'he who knows' and 'he who wants to know', a framing device which, in the case of the latter form, ‘includes non-experts offering experiential accounts which are valued as knowledge’.

The network was initially pitched *The Colourists* – as it was referred to by the production team – but rejected it (May Miller, email interviews, 6 February 2021). Yule contextualised this within the shifting approach to arts programming at the BBC during this period, epitomised by *Omnibus* controversially being moved from BBC1 to BBC2 in 2001. In defending the move, Roly Keating, BBC Controller of arts commissioning, stated that for a production to grace BBC1 schedules, it ‘would have to have a sense of the scale and excitement to feel like a national event’ (Deans, 2001a, n.p.). Therefore, in the shifting imaginary of what would be ‘UK-event’, audience-generating television, Scottish arts topics were not necessarily considered UK-national in scope, and Scottish productions had to be further filtered through the regionalist system in seeking a place on the network. Productions such as *The Colourists* had to address both Scottish culture and meet with network approval:

> So, then what happens is something like *The Colourists* and Michael, which actually would get audiences … well, it isn't really kind of the esoteric stuff that they do in *Arena*, but it's also not going to get five million people because nobody knows these people. It's a turn off, and he's [Palin] not in the Himalayas, so it doesn't really fit. So, basically, what [BBC executive] said, [and] I was so angry, was, ‘We don't want it because it's a BBC2 subject with a BBC1 presenter … we might think about it if you drop Palin.’ (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

Yule was not inclined to ‘drop’ Palin, and in the absence of network commissioning and financing, the production team ploughed ahead, amalgamating two regional production budgets. Yule outlined the impact on working conditions of creating ambitious productions on tight budgets:

> So, I then had to go off and make it for very, very little again. And that was no joke ’cause you're filming in Iona, the South of France.

> You can't put Michael up in a shit-hole. I mean he's a great guy, but he's not going to stay in a youth hostel. So, it was always enormously stressful. (Interview, 28 January 2021)

Producer Choice putatively introduced transparency into programme financing by implying that whether centrally or regionally produced, productions would proceed under a standardised approach to budgets (BBC, 1992, p.53). For Yule, failure initially to curry centralised commissioners' favour meant falling back on regional resources. However, as had happened with her previous Palin documentary, 'the network decided they were going to take it, now we'd made it for 90 grand … and they got it for no money' (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021).

Producer Choice positioned the BBC within a framework for business transactions premised on contractual fairness across all its activities (Cave et al., 2004, p.264). Alistair Scott, when commissioned by *Arena*, was provided with extra funding (Interview, 26 January 2021), while Yule's account of the Palin productions highlights how regional filmmakers were expected to make programmes 'of quality', yet, were only provided top-up fees if commissioned outright by the network. Yule commented that 'There's this thing between London and Scotland where we were always being asked to make stuff for less money than everybody else' (Interview, 28 January 2021).

In an analysis of anti-competitive practices on the part of the BBC, Cave et al. (2004, pp.256-7) suggested that notwithstanding that BBC commercial subsidiaries such as BBC Worldwide are, for competition law purposes, not considered independent economic 'undertakings', the BBC still demonstrated a '"business-like" nature' in its marketised activities. Under Producer Choice, programmes could not be taken to the external market as this would have been considered an anti-competitive activity (Deakin and Pratten, 1999, p.342). However, PACT had accused the BBC of operating as a monopsony post-1990 by having too much market leverage in deciding rates for independent production companies' intellectual property (Cave et al., 2004, p.268). In the post-war era in BBC radio, sociologist Tom Burns (1977, p.50) identified a monopsonistic relationship between Output and Supply departments, whereby the former operated as the 'single buyer' of Supply content. In the 1990s' business-like

arrangements, network BBC was, in essence, the single buyer of regional programming.

Hence, were *the regions* hypothetically to be considered subsidiaries within the BBC internal market, they would not be receiving the market rates required to properly resource production: arguably, contrary to the fees being paid to external independent companies. Travelling to New York, as Alistair Scott did for 'Two Painters Amazed', or to the Continent and working long, family-unfriendly hours, as Yule did, suggest substantial costs were incurred by both productions, but Scott's film was provided with additional financing from *Arena* producers. Yule recounts 14-hour days being worked to meet the production schedule. Both films took around 10 days to shoot, but 'stringer' production staff based in New York were available to support Scott, while Yule had to transport a production team abroad as well as pay a celebrity presenter.

Therefore, as producers in Scotland worked with lower budgets than those offered to central producers, in practice these productions were costed as cheaper when supplied by the regions. Such *ex post facto* commissioning by the network essentially meant the national regions were subsidising network content. In short, regionalism, as an ostensible monopoly-disrupting mechanism, was not working. The network was the only acquirer for directorates' outputs within the internal market, and whatever the market price contractually stipulated for external suppliers, central BBC extracted greater value from the 'price' paid for Scottish content. London was not merely operating hypothetically as a monopsony as in the fifties; in the nineties, the effects were material, and greater labour hours were extracted from the regions for the equivalent production 'fees'.

In regard to the post-war situation between Output and Supply, Burns (1977, p.50) suggested that 'a de facto subordinate relationship … was superimposed on the de iure equality of the two'. Therefore, similarly, a de iure landscape of parity across an internal market in the 1990s was still underpinning a hierarchical relationship imposed on the national-regional service. The quasi-market of Producer Choice was theorised as 'an alternative to both hierarchies and markets, with some of the advantages of each, but without some of their disadvantages' (Starkey et al., 2000, p.299 quoted in Deakin et al., 1998, p.6).

However, this quasi-market operated only to the advantage of London: hierarchies continued to operate, and in an anti-competitive environment. Scottish producers' content was undervalued, but still acquired and broadcast alongside content on the network that would have incurred greater costs as central BBC productions.

Thus, the underlying competitive rationale driving production to new, audience-ratings success was also generating further discord between Scotland and London regarding what was considered culturally appealing to audiences and which presenters were considered the 'property' of specific channels or directorates. Ultimately, these ongoing disparities manifestly undermined the avowed intentions of the *Extending Choice* manifesto and the economic rationales of Producer Choice.

Marketisation and genre disruption

This marketised underpinning to cultural programming was therefore proving to be effective in garnering audiences for Scottish content on the network, but simultaneously, Producer Choice was a fig-leaf for continued disequilibrium between central and peripheral production arenas.

Introducing celebrity presenters to arts programmes was 'innovative' and pleased commissioners, but concurrently severed the Reithian legacy that 'expertise' would be directly accessed from the fount of knowledge. Viewers knew Connolly was not an art historian but were permissive in accepting his role as a conduit between some non-identified source of information and themselves. Yule and McNeill wished to bring a more demotic format to the entire genre, contrasting with Duncan Macmillan's observations that the BBC was not taking art history seriously. Commissioners did seek an imagined undifferentiated 'general' audience, even though historically such factual topics drew niche, specialist audiences. The question is, therefore: Should both types of audience be catered for? In the post-1990 paradigm, resources were not being made available for the obscure or abstruse; unless, in the case of the former, a celebrity could be found who could still attract an audience. The limits of traditional approaches to art history on television had been noted elsewhere:

with regard to ‘the profile, biography and the lecture’ formats, John Wyver observed that:

> Each has been enormously valuable for the discussion and appreciation of the arts, but each has been restricting. For the three forms share certain fundamental features which can offer only a narrow and limited range of understandings of culture. And combined with the dominant assumptions about culture within British thought, they have, for all the delights and insights offered, created a tradition which is in significant ways an impoverished one. (Wyver, 1998, p.28)

Thus, by circumventing the pre-1990 Reithian approach to presenting information via an ‘expert’, McNeill and Yule sought to avoid the ostensible pitfalls of the ‘traditional’ approach to visual arts subjects: namely, speaking to the already knowledgeable; using television to repeat what was already available in publications; and patronising an audience via the presumption that they required being ‘educated’ via the ‘taste’ opinions of an appointed cultural intermediary. Therefore, Yule’s feminist, non-stereotypical position in regard to Scottish culture brought both popular and educational inflections to ‘audience-centred’ programming.

5.6 Producer Choice’s impact and constitutional politics

As the decade drew to a close, the disruption wrought by marketisation at STV, Producer Choice at the BBC, and the advent of the referenda for devolution was personal as well as institutional.

Once the franchise was won and the force of marketisation had made its impact on commercial broadcasting, STV’s factual programmers sensed the tide turning against their priorities. Donny O’Rourke left STV in 1994 to join *The Late Show* at the BBC as an executive producer managing the Scottish monthly contribution. He recounts the aftermath of his success at STV:

> It wasn't before long things began to change and at that point, by that stage in the story, I'm ready to leave Scottish Television. And when I look back here, and now it's with great sadness, because it was a brief period, maybe two and a half years, three years, but it was in some ways a kind of Golden Age. (Donny O’Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

O’Rourke was not alone in his sentiments. Alistair Moffat remained till 1999 but became aware that ITV’s corporate consolidation was leaving STV ‘on the

sidelines' and that the era of 'the Programme Maker's paradise' was over (Alistair Moffat, The British Entertainment History Project interview, 24 May 2017). Gus Macdonald had left in 1998, and a year later was ennobled and installed as Transport Minister in Prime Minister Tony Blair's New Labour cabinet (O'Sullivan, 1999, n.p.).

And whilst this halcyon period in STV arts programming had come to an end, the BBC also experienced disruption: both O'Rourke and Yule had left the BBC by the end of the decade. The structural shifts in the organisation had taken a heavy toll on many, and the simultaneous emphasis on seeking to popularise the arts while shunting them to less-viewed channels was anathema to Yule:

> And I just thought, I don't want to be here anymore because it's been a constant battleground. It doesn't matter who you know, what you do, it doesn't make any difference … and so, I left the BBC. … *The Colourists* was the straw that broke the camel's back for me. I'd been in the BBC for 12 years and I fought constantly over everything. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

Producer Choice has been roundly criticised. Decried as an 'abysmal act of vandalism', in the year of its introduction 5,000 BBC staff lost their jobs (Plunkett, 2006, n.p.). The balance of power also shifted from programme makers to commissioners in terms of creative impetus. 'It is now a question of filling in slots, rather than programmes arising from the ideas of producers', and these 'slots' were then filled by 'bright, creative people on short-term contracts' (McDonald, 1995, p.50), and Eleanor Yule chose to leave and became one of their ranks. Her subsequent Palin films were independent productions.

A similar sense of battle fatigue befell Donny O'Rourke once at the BBC. Working between Scotland and London on *The Late Show*, he was to observe different facets of the institutional and cultural make up which impacted on the relations between centre and periphery, with the added complication of constitutional politics rearing their head:

> Obviously, I'm speaking in a very biased way here, but my perception was that for some of those people [London programme producers] we were Uppity Jocks and that within broadcasting, tensions that had become very apparent in the polity were now having to be dealt with. And to that extent, I was on the wrong side of the line really, I think, because my view of Scotland as an independent, interdependent self-

> determining country founded on subsidiarity was not shared by the people working in in the London office of *The Late Show* or the senior managers in the arts at the BBC at that time. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

O'Rourke also described his monthly trips to London as executive producer on *The Late Show* as being 'for another ritual humiliation, and the power play of all of this was crude, it really was, it wasn't subtle' (Interview, 8 April 2021):

> On the Festival programme, although it was made in Scotland, the BBC in London insisted on packing the production team for the show with people up from London. This is not about being agin England, this is about a culture that leaves people who are in situ working very hard feeling suddenly marginalised, because new people are brought in, and they are put to one side. And, of course, I had opinions about all that. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

Thus, the BBC continued to struggle to reconcile the rumblings of independence or a desire for devolution in wider Scottish society within the regionalist matrix of the BBC. In O'Rourke's experience, undermining work created by Scottish teams contributed to the sense that 'Uppity Jocks' were being brought down a peg or two. Yule also commented on the culture of antagonism that prevailed in this period:

> I mean, you won't get anyone to own up to it, but there was an absolute ideological and political war going on between London Music Arts and a lot of it would have been … that they [Music and Arts in Scotland and London Music and Arts] were competing for the same slots. … I want this to come out because I think it was disgraceful the whole thing … just dirty games. I mean it's all power politics and crap. (Eleanor Yule, interview, 28 January 2021)

Burns (1977, pp.222-3) observed a lack of cooperation between BBC departments in the seventies and how entrenched 'inter-departmental rivalry' was in the Corporation; and that these dynamics, which could become 'nasty', had a 'direct appeal to management, because it seems to impart the classic merits of competition into the organisation'. Harris and Wegg-Prosser (1998, p.297-8) also note that Producer Choice 'did not displace the "tribalist" loyalties which segmented the BBC, and nor did it usurp the ritualised "supplicancy" of the commissioning process', as experienced by Yule. However, the threat of devolution, or greater Scottish political autonomy in any form, was profoundly threatening to the BBC's sense of mission and there was unease around

incorporating Scottish colleagues' contributions into programming, or having Scotland co-produce key programmes.

Yule and O'Rourke's experiences were not universal. May Miller recounts only a positive period of working at the BBC in contrast to the disappointment and challenges encountered working with commercial broadcasters (Email interview, 6 February 2021). However, Yule and O'Rourke's experiences speak to the profound and unsettling tumult unleashed as institutional politics intersected with the marketisation agenda that Birt had promulgated, compounded by the constitutional politics simmering in wider Scottish society. O'Rourke's synopsis of STV's organisational ethos sits in contrast to the BBC's longstanding and much-noted bureaucracy:

> Whereas at the BBC I just found fixity, rigidity, hierarchy, the lack of breadth in the organisation, the way in which that structure not only allowed people to be cruelly ambitious but kind of encouraged it, STV's structure was much less managerial, much less bureaucratic, a lot freer I thought. ... It was down to earth … it was competitive, but not quite in as fierce, indeed ferocious a way as the BBC has been. (Donny O'Rourke, interview, 8 April 2021)

For BBC programme makers, the amalgamation of historical institutional rivalry with marketised as well as regional competitiveness, butting up against UK constitutional politics was a destabilising brew that wrought insurmountable challenges and so forced creatives out of the BBC. The Weberian sense of the *esprit de corps* that theoretically underpinned the public sector BBC is, on investigation, less indicative of actual working practices than theoretically assumed. Such was the institutional *incoherence* delivered in the aftermath of Producer Choice.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has assessed the impact of the 1990 Broadcasting Act on arts programming in Scotland. The broadcasting events described unfolded in the decade in which the referenda for Scottish and Welsh devolution took place, pitching the 'national regions', and especially Scotland, into a politically febrile moment. In 1990, the cross-party Constitutional Convention report stated that 'The *Claim of Right* … reflects the growing conviction that the present system of

Government does not take account of Scotland's needs or the strong sense of identity that has developed over the years' (Paterson and McCrone, 1992, p.84). The 1990s was the period in which the culmination of decades of social, cultural, and political activity manoeuvring for Home Rule were to distil into a historically momentous event for Scotland with the affirmative vote for devolution in 1997, paving the way for implementation of a Scottish Labour government in 1999. The strong sense of Scottish identity that was intrinsic to these activities across Scottish society was keenly expressed by key participants interviewed for this chapter.

Eleanor Yule's philosophy was to present a celebratory approach to Scottish culture in contrast to the 'Scottish miserabilism' she critiqued in print (Yule and Manderson, 2014). Her exploration of the lives and creativity of both Redpath and the Scottish Colourists promoted Scottish visuals arts in the service of a sense of pride in artistic achievements. STV made a significant cultural impact with its arts programming, and *NB*'s magazine format created a vehicle for a self-confident form of cultural expression that was novel for Scottish audiences. Donny O'Rourke and Duncan Macmillan both used their individual professional arenas to identify Scottish cultural activity, whether contemporary or historical, and present it to Scottish televisual or literary audiences to engender a sense of cultural wherewithal that consolidated politically and culturally around Scottishness and Scotland's polity. Scottish arts programming was taking its place in a phalanx of political and social forces which were increasingly salient, and had been manifestly disruptive, to the prevailing constitutional settlement.

Although not adhering personally to a sense of Scottish identity, John Archer succeeded with *The Bigger Picture* in bringing Scottish art to a broader audience through the insertion of Billy Connolly. As the first foray into an independently produced, non-expert-fronted series, and the first to tackle Scottish art history as expansively, it tested new ground on various fronts. From a twenty-first-century perspective, the sum of its parts was not entirely successful in providing viewers with a presenter whose presence would provide both identification with the audience and simultaneously convey authority with conviction.

Scottish programme makers did not respond uniformly in the positive manner of John Archer to the changes wrought by the Broadcasting Act. Eleanor Yule found

the competitive culture of production inculcated by Producer Choice to be anathema to the sense of working ethics that she had embraced on entering the BBC. Both Yule and O'Rourke, as well as Macmillan, encountered aspects of the BBC which contradicted the 'ethical' organisation that the Weberian *esprit de corps* embodied. By comparison, from O'Rourke's experience, STV was a more nurturing environment in which to work. However, marketisation principles were insinuating their way into operations at the commercial broadcaster nonetheless, just as they were in different form at the publicly owned Corporation. Following the Broadcasting Act, cultural programming at STV was less vibrant, but *NB* lasted until 1997. At the BBC, programme makers embraced new approaches to production processes and formats. The films made by Yule and McNeill with Palin offered a visual and historical record of elements of Scotland's visual arts' proponents that went beyond what had been art historically accounted for at that period in time.

The referendum on Scottish devolution in 1997 brought enhanced democratic representation to Scotland. However, the political culture at Westminster had changed since the disruption and marketisation of the Thatcher and Major governments that underpinned the programming environment examined in this chapter. Once New Labour was in government, a new policy formation of creative industries was to be enacted. Creative industries discourse was to bring its own inflections and challenges for Scottish programme makers at the BBC, as well as opportunities for expansion. These are explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 The New Millennium at BBC Scotland: Devolution and Creative Industries Discourse

6.1 Introduction

The first decade of the new millennium opened at the BBC with the appointment of Greg Dyke as director-general, and a reinvigorated focus on television production outside of London. New Labour's economic policy underpinned creative industries discourse, which in turn, transformed national-regional broadcasting locales into 'creative cluster' production hubs in the decade's latter half. Furthermore, the 2003 Communications Act created a new regulator in the form of Ofcom, inaugurating key discursive shifts underpinning relationships between the BBC and its audiences. Further BBC restructuring introduced by Mark Thompson, Dyke's 2004 replacement, alongside policy initiatives accompanying the renewed 2006 Royal Charter and the 2008 Network Supply Review expanded BBC Scotland production.

Challenges presented by the confluence of expanding nations' production while meeting the economic expectations of creative industries imperatives generated unexpected opportunities and pressures for BBC Scotland factual staff. Overseeing the twists and turns in Glasgow's arts productions was Andrea Miller, head of factual at BBC Scotland between 2001 and 2012. This chapter tracks the impact of UK- and Scottish-government economic policy and BBC policy initiatives on arts programming from 2000 to 2010 and explores productions which generated new presenter-led personae in visual arts documentaries.

6.2 Developing the nations and regions: devolution and the creative turn

Although *The Colourists* was broadcast in 2000, its format of celebrity-presenter-embraces-lesser-known-artists was emblematic of the hybridity of marketisation and residual producer autonomy over programme subject matter. In the same year, John Birt's tenure ended and Greg Dyke's began, precipitating adjustments to arts programming priorities. Dyke sought to 'reach out to audiences under-served by the BBC' (Schlesinger, 2010, p.279), while the BBC published

reinvigorated intentions for nations and regions production expansion (BBC, 2001, p.42).

Dyke was ideologically aligned with the New Labour Party and connected to its 'inner circle', which stirred controversy (Gibson, 2004, n.p.; Schlesinger, 2010, p.275). The Party had a broadly 'economistic' approach to cultural policy (Lee et al., 2014, p.224), and Dyke's 'creative turn' and championing of programme makers was nonetheless underpinned by a commitment to New Labour 'third way' approaches to managing publicly owned services (Schlesinger, 2010, p.277). Furthermore, he maintained a belief from his days in commercial broadcasting that television was a 'business' (*The Economist*, 2000, n.p.).

Dyke's tenure was marked by a key policy initiative, 'One BBC - Making it Happen', which had four objectives, including 'simplification of the internal market system', as well as increased 'focus on audiences, creativity and collaborative work' (Dyke, 2002 cited in Deakin et al., 2008, p.66). More pointedly for Scottish broadcasting, the erstwhile Broadcast directorate was refashioned into four divisions consisting of 'Television, Radio, New Media and Nations and Regions' (Deakin et al., 2008, p.66). The redefinition of the category under which Scottish broadcasting sat indicated acknowledgement that the 'nations' differed from the regions, and in a post-devolution polity, it was important to apply constitutional terms with accuracy.

Nations and regions expansion became quantifiable under 'Tier Two' quotas targeted at the 'levels and range' of nations and regions production (BBC, 2016, p.1), and measurable through 'a new commissioning process with minimum output guarantees', which ostensibly would allow production locales beyond London 'to plan better and build for future success' (BBC, 2001, p.17). BBC Scotland, BBC Wales, and BBC Northern Ireland benefited in 1999 from a £21 million investment to meet the challenges of devolution, including coverage of the new Parliament and National Assemblies (BBC, 2001, p.17).

This reconfiguration of commissioning priorities was explicitly aligned to constitutional processes, signalling a production emphasis that addressed 'the whole of the UK as part of the BBC's ongoing response to devolution and regional diversity' (BBC, 2001, p.42). The implication for Scottish arts programming was

positive and explicit: ‘The BBC’s response to devolution and regional diversity is moving beyond news and political reporting to entertainment and factual programming’ (BBC, 2001, p.42). Andrea Miller commented that her role as head of factual at BBC Scotland was created in 2000 in response to these machinations, ‘So there was a huge emphasis on either who could move or who could do those jobs in Northern Ireland, in Cardiff, and in Glasgow’ (Interview, 9 February 2021).

Before taking up the BBC Scotland role, Andrea Miller had produced content in the London arts department for 12 years. Her responsibilities incorporated oversight of a variety of genres, including arts and science. Having executive produced, among other productions, *The Late Show*, and ‘huge co-produced blue-chip, multi-star kind of shows’, Miller’s experience denoted a trusted and accomplished programme maker at the helm of factual. The transference of resources to the arts, alongside Miller’s transfer to Scotland, made organisational sense (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021).

Miller’s appointment indicated the ongoing intention to expand Scottish BBC production was now underpinned in a key department by a leader possessing a long-standing track record of producing network arts programmes. Miller also alluded to ‘government strategy’ being behind the creation of her role (Interview, 9 February 2021), underscoring that these initiatives took place in devolution’s aftermath and suggest the political dimension at play in the purposes to which broadcasting was being put; namely, New Labour’s creative industries policy.

This reimagining of government’s role in a range of ‘creative’ practices possessed ‘dimensions’ that were symbolic in nature in ‘treat[ing] the nation as though it were a brand’ and, in respect of cultural policy, ‘promoted creative industries not only as an assertion of national identity but also as a key form of economic competition’ (Schlesinger, 2007, p.378). In England, Regional Development Agencies created by New Labour to facilitate competitive business practices had identified the sub-sectors of film and television for policy support (BOP Consulting, 2007, p.22 cited by Lee et al., 2014, p.220), foregrounding the interconnectedness between the economy, creative industries policy, and the role of cultural organisations, including broadcasting.

Dyke's 'neo-management' philosophy and his 'open style of communication and minimal formality, interacting with staff in an expressive way' (Schlesinger, 2010, pp.275, 277) were swiftly brought to bear on the day-to-day running of the BBC. However, his tenure was short lived. Following the Hutton Inquiry into BBC reporting on the intelligence gathered to support the Iraq War, the broadcaster was severely criticised for its journalistic standards, which resulted in Dyke, and the then BBC Chair Gavyn Davies, resigning their posts (Norton-Taylor, 2004, n.p.). His precipitous demise in the aftermath of the Inquiry impacted throughout the BBC:

> And that was really awful for all concerned because Greg was very instrumental in this push out-of-London, hugely instrumental, and knew all of us by name immediately. … We would go to London and present our shows to his senior team. He was so supportive, he was unbelievable. Unbelievable leadership. And so, him going really changed the nature of the task quite a lot. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Dyke had signalled the importance of the BBC as a 'regional' supplier in light of ITV's shifting broadcasting status and consolidating corporate structure (Dyke, 2000), which was redirecting its focus from 'local' programming to addressing the UK more broadly as commercial pressures intensified. Miller's comments indicate the sense of 'mission' and of being valued Dyke instilled in nations and regions personnel.

As the decade evolved, policy objectives in Westminster dovetailed with policy initiatives at Scottish Parliament level. The then Scottish Executive had instigated the Fresh Talent Initiative 'to recruit the "creative class" to Scotland' and to enhance 'entrepreneurial culture as well as redress population decline' in Scotland (Morgan, 2006, p.197). The Fresh Talent Initiative was established to 'enable Scotland to compete and succeed in the global economy' by 'developing products … superior to our competitors' (Scottish Executive, 2004, pp.1, 20 quoted in Skilling, 2007, pp.103, 104). This policy explicitly sought to 'encourage people with energy, ideas and a spirit of enterprise to come to Scotland' (Scottish Executive, 2004a, p.7 quoted in Skilling, 2007, pp.102-3).

Hence, at the start of new millennium, New Labour economic policy, the dynamics of devolution, and tailored policies emanating from the new Scottish

Parliament sought to address challenges faced by a post-industrial Scotland. The Labour Party's eventual embracing of devolution 'reflect[ed] electoral expediency in its own heartlands … and partly a genuine conversion on the part of sections of the party' (Tomaney, 2000, p.682). Arguably, New Labour, electorally vulnerable to nationalist sentiments and the SNP, could therefore be seen to be looking after its own political interests in Scotland, as well as seeking to bolster its devolving policies; particularly given that that broadcasting was a power reserved to Westminster. Hence, the increased resources coming BBC Scotland's way were entirely 'coincident with devolution' (Turok, 2003, p.559).

Propulsion of expanding nations and regions output was a result of Westminster discursively framing broadcasting as a creative industry explicitly aligned with economic growth, while population 'growth' premised on the 'creative class' was an employment policy of the then Scottish Executive: a remit which devolution did have dominion over (Schlesinger, 2008a, p.157). Dyke's leadership style was a manifestation of ongoing managerial philosophies intersecting with public services' delivery, while 'third way' approaches to broadcasting would also be woven into Scotland's television production culture. Branding of the nation would also come to underpin the branding of cities, particularly relevant as Glasgow's role in broadcasting became ever more pivotal to arts programming. This is the framework within which the visual arts productions examined within this chapter sit.

6.3 Visual arts coverage until 2006: abandoning elitism and expanding production

While there may have been less prescriptive expectations being brought to bear on programme makers and greater 'freedom' to create under Dyke, implementing expanding nations and regions policies was logistically and operationally complex. Andrea Miller recalled how from early in her tenure consideration needed to be given to how genres were apportioned across the nations. In a meeting with the head of factual in Wales, and similar Northern Ireland counterparts, Miller notes that:

> Because I felt, we were at that point all in competition for ideas across the slate, I said, 'Listen, I think we need to try and differentiate ourselves ... I think we should go into science, and we

> will pull back from (what was then called) features'. … And so, we started to differentiate ourselves, did more history, did more science. We did a lot of art simply because we were the biggest arts department anyway. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

General arts provision continued under BBC2's *The Late Show*, subsequently replaced in 1995 by *Late Review*. After a year-long stint entitled *Review* within the short-lived *ArtZone* strand (BBC2, 2000) it became *Newsnight Review* in 2001. Scottish presenters included Kirsty Wark and Hardeep Singh Koli. *Ex-S* continued as BBC Scotland's dedicated arts strand, with the only single documentary for a visual artist by BBC Scotland in the first half of the decade being *Eduardo Paolozzi* (BBC2 England, 2000). The perennial coverage of the Edinburgh Festivals continued in August. Meanwhile on the network, *Omnibus* delivered art-historical content until 2003 on BBC2; *Imagine…* (2003-) launched as BBC1's 'flagship' arts strand and a vehicle for Alan Yentob as presenter. More mainstream interpretation of visual arts coverage served up *Rolf on Art* (BBC1, 2001-7) and *Star Portraits with Rolf Harris* (BBC1, 2004-7), both broadcast on early-evening Sunday slots, with the former attracting audiences of around 7 million viewers – the most popular series in arts television history as of 2008[33] (*The Art of Arts TV*, BBC4, 2008).

BBC Scotland's arts department had also gained a track record in film programmes, initially on the back of *Scene by Scene* (BBC2, 1996-2003) with Mark Cousins. Success was cemented by winning the commission in 1999 to produce the long-running cinema review series *Film…* (BBC1, 1971-2018) with Jonathan Ross presenting, 'and that then led to us also getting more commissions with him … but we definitely had that continuity of film shows' (Pauline Law, interview, 13 January 2021). In 2004 the arts offering from BBC Scotland was further boosted by the arrival of *The Culture Show* (BBC2, 2004-15):

> And then the really big thing that happened was when the network decided to go ahead with *The Culture Show*, and again they decided, 'Okay, we will make this out of two bases'. So, there's a London team, there's a Glasgow team in its early origination, when it is set at the

[33] Since *Fake or Fortune?* ratings have not exceeded 5 million viewers, it is arguably the BBC's most watched visual arts production.

> replica sets in Glasgow and in London. (Pauline Law, interview, 13 January 2021)

May Miller, editor of arts at the time, was attuned to the complexities of productions across two sites:

> [Regarding] *The Culture Show*, bearing in mind that although items for these programmes might be made out-of-London, the editorial control tended to rest with London. I was in at the birth of *The Culture Show*, so very aware of the pros and cons. (May Miller, email interview, 21 June 2021)

Miller's observations echo the experiences of Donny O'Rourke when executive producing for *The Late Show* in Scotland, but Andrea Miller outlined the importance of the new strand to BBC Scotland resourcing:

> The bigger percentage of the in-house staff were arts, so the arts department were a staff base who were already there, and they grew, because we were doing *The Culture Show*, we were doing a whole bunch of [programmes] … On BBC4 we must have had four or five million spend a year … for Scotland, for that department. … And again, this is consistent with what I was saying about how you manage the production, is that having strands, even many strands … is really helpful, because they don't need to keep redeveloping a new idea all the time, which is really difficult and expensive. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

In 2004 Mark Thompson, Greg Dyke's successor, had inflicted a restructuring initiative on BBC staff incurring 'the loss of several thousand jobs' (Deakin et al., 2008, p.19). However, expectations were that 'opportunities for nationally and regionally based programme makers … [would] continue to grow' (BBC, 2004, p.19). Therefore, the arts team in Scotland had been spared from Thompson's savage cuts. While commitments to a £1 billion per annum spend beyond the M25 (BBC, 2004, p.19) were welcomed in Scotland, expediting expansion required consideration of resource allocation. With traditionally fewer staff and more limited technical infrastructure than London, out-of-London centres had to adapt and find ways to spend increased budgets:

> The way that we expanded in the first instance was with independents … and in that way, because the money is there from the BBC, and the big indies have reputation … you … have to have the capability and trust from the commissioner to deliver that idea. And so, with the in-house team, we were like a start-up, we were untried. So, it's much harder for us to expand faster. So, one school of thought at the

> beginning was, ring up these big indies, have these shows running out of Glasgow, create loads of jobs, have huge hits, win awards, etcetera, and we absolutely did all those things. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Therefore, arts programme production sat within an ongoing BBC organisational disruption–expansion paradigm in confronting the fulfilment of 'indie' quotas and meeting nations and regions ambitions. *The Culture Show* would permit exploitation of Glasgow arts department expertise. However, within the wider factual remit the demands of meeting hybrid models of production, while seeking to expand production with limited resources and reputation in genres outside of arts programming, set significant challenges for BBC Scotland. Furthermore, May Miller highlighted that arts programming as a public service obligation was forever being reformatted to deliver larger audiences (Email interview, 21 June 2021), while as Andrea Miller outlines, more strategic energies were devoted to programming genres that were gathering larger audiences and greater laurels both within and beyond the BBC.

The Culture Show had a mixed reception both from audiences and critics (Holmwood, 2009, n.p.), and was accused of 'dumbing down' (Frost, 2009, n.p.). However, this was not unique to BBC output. Accusations of capitulating to the 'low brow' were also levelled at ITV's *The South Bank Show* with its coverage of Dolly Parton, Moby, and Cliff Richard (Wyver, 2007, p.44), which had also broadcast 'Jack Vettriano: The People's Painter' in March 2004. *Imagine…*, which had launched in 2003 on a late-night slot on BBC1 on Tuesdays, brought attention to an eclectic range of international visual artists both living and dead. Nonetheless, the BBC had been accused of neglecting the arts under Dyke by 'shunting' them on to BBC4, while Mark Thompson had confirmed critics' fears by stating 'elite culture is just one more niche, and one which appeals to a diminishing minority' (Cox, 2000, n.p.). Overall, there was a sense that in countering accusations of being 'elitist' (Noonan, 2012, p.366), the BBC was shifting priority from the eclectic but intellectually ambitious early days of *The Late Show* and, instead, seeking to serve Dyke's remit of serving a 'diverse' audience while turning away from topics that would be considered beyond the interests of a majority of viewers.

6.4 Covering Scottish art on the network – *A Picture of Britain*

The modest coverage of Scottish visual artists was redressed in 2005 when BBC1 produced *A Picture of Britain*, a six-part series written and presented by political broadcaster David Dimbleby. Adam Kemp, the Corporation's commissioner for the network for arts, music, and religion during this period asserted that 'the BBC has given me carte blanche to take risk, reinvent and reinvigorate these important arenas in public service TV' (Dowell, 2009, n.p.). The 'reinvention' in this case was offering Dimbleby the opportunity to investigate hybrid arts forms for a mainstream channel aired on a peak slot. Billed as a 'journey through Britain to explore the connections between landscape, art and identity', the 'landmark' production was a collaboration with Tate Britain, which accompanied the series with a major exhibition (BBC Press Office, 2005).

A Picture of Britain was structured around different geographic entities of what – according to the series' opening episode – encompasses 'the British Isles'. Composers, poets, novelists, and visual artists from both the UK and the Republic of Ireland were celebrated. However, the series covered the Republic of Ireland, not only 'Britain', suggesting that post-colonial considerations and onomastical specifics had been abandoned in the series' conceptualisation. Notwithstanding any offence that could be taken by Irish viewers from the Republic being categorised under the demonym 'British', the presumption lacked geographical and political accuracy.

Dimbleby's credentials as presenter of an arts series mirrored Michael Palin's: both were long-standing broadcasters with firm relationships with the BBC, and neither were art historians. The Tate Gallery's press release announced the collaboration with the BBC by stating that Dimbleby, 'brings to the project his extensive knowledge of British culture and identity combined with a lifelong passion for art'.[34]

[34] 'BBC and Tate Britain present *A Picture of Britain'*, Press Release, 20 January 2005. Available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/press/press-releases/bbc-and-tate-britain-present-picture-britain (Accessed 6 December 2020).

There was no long-gestated process to develop Dimbleby as a presenter outside of political programmes: 'I was phoned by the BBC out of the blue and asked if I would make the series … it took me about 30 seconds to agree' (David Dimbleby quoted in the *Manchester Evening News*, 2007, n.p.). Ear-marking the political broadcaster to take on such a role suggests that the key driver of the decision-making process was Dimbleby's identity as an ambassador for the BBC brand; one who possessed an authoritative, trusted air and who could attract a new, mainstream BBC1 audience to an arts programme. Dimbleby set out his credentials thus:

> Though I do not pretend to be an expert, I have always enjoyed the countryside and landscape as well as paintings, music and poetry, so working on this project, which brought all these strands together, was irresistible. … In *A Picture of Britain*, I explore these links and look at their impact on our national character, seeking out the countryside we admire and the reasons we cherish it. (David Dimbleby quoted in *Manchester Evening News*, 2007, n.p.).

The itinerant-rover trope permitted Dimbleby to journey around Scotland and the island of Ireland in the 'Highlands and Glens' episode. Informing and educating is combined with entertainment, and the discussion of art is generally a premise for anecdotes; painters are name-checked but without discussion of their art or art history. *Monarch of the Glen* (c.1851) painter Edward Landseer (1802-1873) is identified as a bad shot in a protracted sequence discussing deer-stalking; Scottish Colourist Cadell is celebrated as being 'flamboyant' rather than a painter of Iona; and Walter Scott's bankruptcy is discussed, while his novel *Rob Roy* (1817) is only briefly alluded to. The viewer is also regaled with Dimbleby's full-throated rendition of 'The Bonnie Banks o' Loch Lomond'. However, Victorian paintings, often derided as being sentimental art historically, are neither lauded nor denigrated; they are deployed in the service of illustrating the anecdotes related. Dimbleby does not presume to tell his audience what they should think about the paintings, and the value-free discussion of artworks is refreshing.

Marring the equilibrium was stereotyping. When opinion was sought of Scotland and the Scots, an older Englishwoman replies, 'Can't understand a lot that they say, mind. But apart from that, fine!' Even when introducing Ayrshire-born Robert Burns, the narration intones over imagery from Glencoe and Loch Rannoch. Discussion of Scotland is principally a paean to Highlandism with

repeated resort to images of mountains and glens. The stereotypes are not only Scottish. Participants at a broadcasting conference in Salford discussed the 'ignorance and insensitivity of some representations of "Out of London"' in the same Dimbleby series. Broadcaster Stuart Maconie noted that 'Yorkshire was represented by a brass band trekking to the top of a hill to perform "On Ilkley Moor". Surely one of the most patronising sequences in the history of television' (quoted in Strachan, 2009, n.p.). The series' historical elements provide more robust content, with an even-handed portrayal of the bloodier moments in Scots–and Irish–English relations. In essence, it was an illustrated travelogue-cum-history programme. Director Robin Dashwood, at an early stage in his career in 2005, went on to produce and direct numerous history series and productions (IMDb).

In summation, the series was a further iteration of a general-audience production with a well-known broadcaster as presenter. But Dimbleby had a didactic delivery style even if he did not venture into art critic terrain – and was a brusque interlocutor. His persona was identical to that displayed for political interviewing: functional and impersonal. And unlike Palin undergoing a journey of discovery in the Scottish productions, the impression was given that this was a vehicle for Dimbleby to purvey his preferences and opinions on topics in which he had no scholastic background – his undergraduate degree was in Philosophy, Politics and Economics. Nor, as a broadcaster did he possess the kudos that Kirsty Wark, also a BBC political journalist, had built up over years anchoring arts magazine strands for the Edinburgh Festivals. The overall narrative thrust was of a southern Englishman abroad in alien geographies ridden with clichés of melodramatic Highlandism, Arcadian Irish ruralism, and hackneyed northern-English musical interpretation. Director Sandy Raffan, in discussion of an unrelated production, commented on qualities a Scottish director would bring to Scottish topics:

> So, I would say it is slightly different making a programme about art if it's about your art from your place, where you live and are from. It's not just, 'Here's a picture'. It's actually why was that picture created in the first place. … And I think someone from another country who was making a programme about Scottish art, they might make it a bit more tartan and shortbread. They might. (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021)

Extensive stereotyping aside, Dimbleby's road-trip excursions into arts terrain functioned effectively as a preliminary foray into well-known figures such as Burns or Scott in Scotland, and did offer televisual space to less well-known artists from other parts of the United Kingdom – and of the Republic of Ireland. That its identification of geography could have been more accurate was very much indicative of the malaise endemic in London-generated content roundly critiqued in the Anthony King report into BBC impartiality and coverage of the UK's four nations (BBC Trust, 2008c).

A Picture of Britain was a case study in the shortcomings of programmes produced from *within* the M25 about 'regional' topics. It capitulated to an outdated Reithian 'speaking to the nation as one man' approach while reproducing the limited knowledge and understanding of cultures in the UK's small nations and English regions in centralised BBC production processes. It was therefore a salient example of why nations and regions expansion was required, and why cultural representation was more effectively served by production teams familiar with, and sensitive to, the nuances and subtleties of culture relevant to specific geographies within the UK.

By way of scholarly input, *A Picture of Britain* namechecked three consultants in the credits, all of whom were curators at the Tate Gallery. Numbers for attendance at the London gallery increased considerably in the aftermath of the programme, many of whom were visiting for the first time (BBC Head of Arts Mark Harrison, interviewed in *The Art of Arts TV*, BBC4, 2008). Therefore, writer Dimbleby can be lauded for his enthusiasm for a choice of landscape and artists from beyond the south of England, while the partnership with the Tate offered opportunity to bring lesser-known artists to attention and new attendees to publicly funded galleries. Yet, as the Tate Gallery's press release indicated that the accompanying exhibition would be arranged around 'six regions of Britain', the ideological bent of the entire collaboration appears to have been founded on geographical shortcomings that found their way into Dimbleby's script.

6.5 The Window of Creative Competition and Network Supply Review

As the second half of the decade began, new strategies were afoot to assist the nations in augmenting their output capacity. The 2006 Royal Charter introduced the BBC's five 'public purposes', which included intentions to 'represent' the nations while simultaneously 'stimulating creativity and cultural excellence' (DCMS, 2006a, p.2). Implementing objectives that coupled delivering representational programming alongside target-oriented 'creativity' required commensurate policy mechanisms. Andrea Miller reaffirmed that the confidence inspired in commissioners and executives in the aftermath of nineties' Scottish programming successes had developed directing and production talent in the arts strands. However,

> This kind of piecemeal approach had given people some confidence, and I think it had also proved *not* to be the dramatic change that was needed … in order to hit targets. … And so, if you imagine being in production … that's your little company as it were, that's a *lot* of output to refresh all the time. So that is quite a big task, just to keep that amount going is a big deal … a million or two million or three million [pounds] every single year, keeping that going was a huge endeavour, difficult to deliver. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Therefore, merely having BBC Scotland contribute to strands for centrally controlled productions editorially was not producing the anticipated production expansion, and institutional and political pressure was brought to bear, as well as solutions:

> And there were government targets, BBC targets. You had to be bigger, bigger, *bigger*. I had a set of targets every year that I had to hit, and I had to explain why I hadn't hit them. And, so there was a lot of commissioning money just moved, and that was much more effective. … Nancy Braid was instrumental in this piece of strategy and Colin Cameron[35] …. so they were part of making that argument for that to happen. And the follow-the-money strategy, which was just moving a whole chunk of money [to BBC Scotland], and then the commissioners, in order to access that money, had to commission Scottish production companies, that really drove a much faster and

[35] Cameron was controller of network development for BBC nations and regions 2001-5; Braid BBC Scotland head of network development 2005-10.

> more fundamentally successful expansion. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Miller's account of assigning ringfenced financial resources to Scotland identifies a decisive mechanism in decentralising control in the London-periphery relationship. However, struggling to hit targets is borne out in Ofcom's 2010 report which identifies that both the BBC in Scotland and STV had reduced expenditure 'by just over a third (31%) in real terms from £72m in 2004 to £50m in 2009', and this reduction was principally in genres not within news or current affairs (Ofcom, 2010, p.55). These reductions in spend were evident across all genres and across all nations and regions. Miller also commented on the culture of accountability, outlining an encounter with Chancellor of the Exchequer Alistair Darling between 2007 and 2010:

> The thing that was important to us in the BBC was jobs. It was all about jobs. … You know, Alistair Darling sat, *stood*, at the end of my desk in PQ [Pacific Quay][36] and said, 'How many jobs have you created in the last two years?' You had to have those numbers and success was measured in carpet-tile squares in PQ. How big was your department?! How many people were you employing? And I think we went from about just under 100 to about 200 jobs, generally speaking [in Factual]. That was not all staff base but also freelancers. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Miller's encounter with Darling, who also represented Scottish constituencies in the Westminster Parliament, demonstrates that the Labour government kept a close eye on BBC Scotland affairs, particularly as by 2007 the SNP were in government in Scotland.

Once devolution had been established, the conflicts around valorising or denigrating Scottish culture which had marked relations between Scottish programme makers and London commissioners or executive producers in the nineties were not mooted post-devolution. Contradictions did arise, but these were of a different nature, as foregrounded by Miller's experiences with BBC Scotland executives:

> So, there was a gap between me and the BBC Scotland people … that was a little bit uncomfortable because it was money that was coming from elsewhere, and … although it didn't really have a different

[36] BBC Scotland's new television and radio studio complex in Glasgow, opened in 2007.

> agenda … it was perceived to have a different agenda. … And so that was the other thing that I always felt was strange about the role. … Despite structurally trying to make it more of a coherent set of goals for both local and network, they didn't ever really come together as effectively as you would have hoped. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Under creative industries rationales Miller was seeking to justify the expanded BBC Scotland resources by 'growing jobs' through winning commissions for the network, but this culture of production was characterised by a BBC whose horizons were increasingly marketised in scope; and BBC Scotland was incorporated into this competitive market philosophy. Miller commented that '[BBC Scotland managers] and Donalda McKinnon were much more pleased when we made things like *History of Scotland* [BBC1 Scotland, 2009] and a little bit more dumbfounded when we did *Jimmy's Food Factor*y [BBC1, 2009-10].[37] They didn't really see the point of it' (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021). Hence, according to Miller's testimony, as head of a large department, she was simultaneously being held to account by BBC Scotland executives who questioned the dualistic nature of the commissioning imperatives factual programming faced while carrying out her institutionally ascribed role.

However, nations and regions viewers were not equitably accounted for in respect of budgets: 'Spend per head in the English regions was much lower … compared to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland' (Ofcom, 2010, p.56). Andrea Miller commented thus:

> [Head of factual] was much more a nations thing than a nations and regions thing. The English regions, whose heads who I got to know really well through *Restoration* [BBC2, 2003-6][38] were resentful of the emphasis that the three nations had in that. Because they, as they said, are 80 percent of the population. (Interview, 9 February 2021)

Hence, the nations' focus suggests that devolution's aftermath resulted in broadcasting priorities tilting towards the Celtic fringes rather than English regions. The drivers of these dynamics were diverging audience attitudes to the broadcaster: 'Average levels of affection for the BBC are noticeably lower the further people live from London' (Sir Michael Lyons quoted in BBC Trust Press

[37] BBC Scotland-produced popular science programme on network examining production of supermarket food.
[38] Endemol production for BBC in which members of the public voted to repair listed buildings.

Release, 2008b, n.p.). Mark Thompson declared that the BBC had a 'duty to reflect the whole of the country', which necessitated 'investing over the long term to ensure our production centres outside of London are sustainable' (quoted in BBC Trust, 2008b, n.p.).

Increasing BBC Scotland production engendered a shift in genre prioritisation. In 2006 new recruits were brought on board Miller's factual team: Jill Fullerton-Smith became creative director science and Neil McDonald creative director factual, with the latter overseeing history and documentary:

> Neil and Jill started to really expand during that period. That was when we started to do this science strategy, because we were trying to figure out if it was all about just us and not about the indies, how could we grow, particularly jobs, super-fast ... to start hitting targets? And so, starting at science was really critical, because we could double our money, therefore, effectively nearly double the staffing. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Miller's allusion to a situation in which 'it was all about just us' refers to a policy shift in respect of independent companies instigated by Mark Thompson on replacing Greg Dyke:

> Mark Thompson came in … and had a much more, 'It's all about the in-house staff expanding'. And so, the indie expansion continued, but separate from that. So, my job became less about managing … bringing Endemol [in]. … But Mark's influence on the whole thing meant that the work kind of dried up for Endemol, because he saw success much more in the success of the in-house teams. … But then it became much more about the in-house winning BAFTAs, and RTS [awards] and Emmys. And so, all that energy started to go into trying to win big commissions, keep growing the slate, get profile. So that could point to something that was successful, the success of such-and-such-a-title from Northern Ireland or from Cardiff or from Glasgow. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Therefore, addressing sustainability in the nations involved not only increased budgets, but a realignment of production priorities, which was more focused on in-house rather than independent production. Realigning priorities in this manner also disrupted relationships with independent producers:

> [Thompson] saw the indies as separate to the BBC, whereas we hadn't seen it like that before. … Everyone knew everyone else in Scotland, and we'd all started at the same time, so we felt we were a

> community of programme makers. … And that change, that set, for instance, Hamish [Barbour] at IWC[39] and me, BBC Scotland, in competition much more directly with each other, which was really difficult, I think, and possibly not good strategy. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Thompson's policy paradigm for sustainability was premised on the 'Window of Creative Competition' (WOCC), an initiative set out in the 2006 Royal Charter White Paper, *A Public Service for All* (DCMS, 2006b). The WOCC's purpose was both to expand opportunity for indie production and 'other external producers' while shoring up the 'public service contribution' of in-house BBC production. This was to be achieved by an 'in-house guarantee' mechanism which would ensure that there were sufficient BBC production commissions 'to provide the scale the BBC needs to deliver its wider public service contribution', a target set at 50 percent (DCMS, 2006b, p.41). There was a similar 50 percent target for in-house *and* independent production for production from beyond London (Bennett, 2008).

The implication, therefore, is that Mark Thompson's focus on in-house production was to ensure the factual element at BBC Scotland was part of the 'in-house guarantee' that was a 'principle' of the WOCC. Thompson had publicly declared in 2006 that a

> large-scale value-for-money programme was leading … to many thousands of people leaving the BBC. The point of that programme is to release the funds to pay for the future vision of the BBC laid out in Creative Future. (Mark Thompson, RTS Fleming Memorial Service quoted in *Broadcast*, 2006, n.p.)

Thompson's focus was on consolidating the 'public service' arm of the BBC output. However, this involved cutting 4,000 staff and reducing budgets by 15 percent (Gibson, 2005, n.p.). May Miller's roles as editor of arts and creative director of arts and factual both 'ceased to exist when I left' (May Miller, email interviews, 6 February and 21 June 2021). A further addition to the Glasgow arts team was Marcus Herbert, *The Culture Show* series producer (BBC Press Office, 2006, n.p.) after May Miller had left, but the strand was already part of the arts production slate.

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[39] IWC Media was sold in 2005 when Scotland's largest independent television producer to RDF. IWC is now part of the Banijay Group, the French television conglomerate.

Thompson was forging a factual output base of prestige in Scotland. In the rationalising processes that beset the BBC at regular intervals, Andrea Miller, in effect, became both head of factual and de facto arts creative director. However, within factual, a hierarchy was also being created. Science documentaries were not only representative of a prestigious in-house slate, they were also sellable beyond the BBC, therefore, possessed of an explicitly commercial potential other factual genres lacked:

> So, we couldn't access development money unless we were selling stuff right, which was really, I felt a bit mad, but anyway, that was the way it worked. … Once you've got the BBC commission, selling to beyond [London] becomes really easy. I mean not completely 100 percent easy, but pretty doable … and my senior team, my science people in particular, became extremely expert in that. And so, we were well placed to bring in that extra money. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Therefore, the restructuring of BBC Scotland's factual arm to expand science and history speaks to the value of certain public service genres economically, while the arts operated entirely within the Reithian paradigm of producing positive externalities of educational and cultural value. As Tunstall (2015, p.203) observed, the factual sub-genres of documentary, history, and travel programming 'succeeded in sustaining strong, and idiosyncratic, British identities, and have broadly prospered since 1990'. However, Tunstall (2015, p.222) also identified science, although 'necessary', as one of the genres in decline, 'attract[ing] only about one percent of BBC expenditure'. Yet, between 1994 and 1999 the BBC's science department had trebled in size (Kinnes, 1999 cited in Kulik, 2006, p.77). The competitive-television and consolidation-of-creative-industries mantras were to continue to drive operational rationales, but at this juncture strategic decisions were being taken in respect of genres that were considered to have greater viability in a marketised arena. Factual television's role in the PSB firmament was no market-failure enclave; by 2011 a channel- and content-producing multi-national could declare:

> Overall, the UK remains the most important source of factual programming, and we acquire a significant amount of hours - in history, science, natural history, social history, cooking, travel and lifestyle - from producers and distributors based in the country …. [including] FremantleMedia, BBC Worldwide, DRG, All3Media and Target Entertainment. (Interview, Susan Elkington, Chellomedia

executive vice-president of entertainment development, quoted in *Broadcast*, 13 January 2011)

Therefore, by the second half of the decade, the BBC was one of many players in an internationalised television market. However, notable by its absence in this list of factual programming is arts. Andrea Miller suggested why this was:

> You can't co-produce them, you can't double your money on it, we can't get an extra twenty to twenty-five percent of the budget through because it's something that's going to play on Netflix, and therefore it's going to be all over the world. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

In a 2012 speech to the Royal Television Society, Thompson remarked that he was 'incredibly proud of the new emphasis we've given to science on the BBC' (BBC News, 2012, n.p). BBC Scotland had undertaken an expansion into science, history, and 'story-driven' documentary (Neil McDonald, BBC Scotland creative director factual, interview, *I Am Do Filmmaker Podcast*, 2013), while art strands were delivering on the arts genre requirements and BBC Scotland's *ArtWorks Scotland* produced Scottish-specific fare. In the second half of the decade, visual arts single documentaries were aired annually or twice yearly on the opt-out, with Tracey Emin, Steven Campbell, Jack Vettriano, Alison Watt, Douglas Gordon, and Albert Watson, as well as Rennie Mackintosh, all meriting commissions.

The policy change outlined by Miller in regard to how resources were managed in the central–peripheral relationship did bring the increase in production sought, and expenditure in the regions duly increased by 38 percent after 2006, with Scotland benefitting from a £15 million rise in spend by 2009 (Ofcom, 2010, p.61). Furthermore, 'Scotland was the only nation to see increased spend on programmes between 2008 and 2009' (Ofcom, 2010, p.54). The nations continued to operate in favoured, if demanding, conditions in the mid noughties, while central production was buffeted by demanding government expectations and limited licence fee income.

Overall, the implication from Andrea Miller's testimony is that science and history could generate faster production growth than arts within the target-driven culture now defining devolved nations' operations. Yet, the expertise and

production base for the arts continued to serve Scotland well. Established and prestigious strands were produced for the network, while at 'local' level, Scottish audiences were being served by a consistent delivery of programming about the nation's cultural activity, and more network productions were being commissioned than had been the case prior to the 1990 Broadcasting Act.

That factual was being marshalled into the service of this 'sustainability' policy demonstrates that focus on the nations was becoming part of an ever-more complex picture in which there was an implicit demarcation of genres categorised under a 'public service' paradigm now ideologically defined in contrast to 'non-public service' genres. Factual was avowedly 'public service', and concomitantly to be protected from indies overly encroaching on commissioning terrain as set out in the WOCC policy. However, although in a category of programming with selling potential the arts was a genre considered not to have market value. Therefore, maintaining Reithian principles of educating and informing while also meeting the public purposes of reflecting culture continued to be firmly embedded in BBC policy and enacted accordingly in Scotland.

6.6 Pacific Quay and the advent of creative clusters

Changes prior to Charter renewal were augmented in 2008 by a further out-of-London policy, the Network Supply Review commitments, which related to the 'levels' and conditions of regional and nations production within Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland (BBC, 2016, p.1). An initial 17 percent network production target for out-of-London production by 2016 was revised in 2009 to an interim 12 percent target by '2012 at the latest' (BBC Trust, 2009, n.p.). Announced by Director of BBC Vision Jana Bennett (Bennett, 2008), the expanded production commitment was complemented by a request for 'ITV and Channel 4 to join us in developing the creative clusters that are at the heart of our strategy'. These clusters were to be based in 'sustainable production centres across the UK … stimulating the creative economy across a wide region' (Bennett, 2008, n.p.).

By 2007 Pacific Quay was operational, contributing to the economic geography of Glasgow as a production site 'where programme makers can be more

collaborative and creative, instead of secluded in the West End' (Turok, 2003, p.559). Bennett further noted that BBC Scotland was 'already a strong centre for the Arts … We shall be reinforcing that capacity with more returning strands', which, according to Noonan (2018, p.8), are 'the foundations of a genre's production ecology'. As well as *The Culture Show* being produced on alternative weeks from Glasgow and London, *Imagine...* (2003-) was also to share production with Glasgow, where it would be executively produced by Andrea Miller, and *Newsnight Review* was to be replaced by *The Review Show* (BBC2, 2010-14), which operated entirely out of Glasgow from 2010 (BBC Press Office, 2008, n.p.; Holmwood, 2009, n.p.).

However, as well as arts, Bennett outlined further BBC Scotland genre priorities: children's, comedy, entertainment, and drama; hence, focus on ensuring 'sustainability' still involved each production 'centre' being responsible for myriad programming types. David Okuefuna, an editor in the London BBC arts studio (Tryhorn, 2007b, n.p.), joined BBC Scotland in 2009 as creative director of arts specifically in response to the 'growing portfolio' of arts production for which Scotland would be responsible in the aftermath of the Network Supply Review being announced (BBC Press Office, 2009, n.p.).

The Scottish Broadcasting Commission (SBC), set up by the SNP Scottish Government to investigate the state of the television industry in Scotland, had objected in its report to the long lead-in time before the BBC met its nations' quotas commitments (SBC, 2008, p.8). The SBC's key gripes about lack of proportionate spend of the licence fee in Scotland were predicated on the 'many millions of pounds … being lost to the creative economy in Scotland' (SBC, 2008, p.8). Scottish Enterprise (2012, n.p.), similarly, was making a case for increased television production explicitly underpinned by 'the development of a vibrant ecosystem of companies, projects and skills essential in supporting both high growth companies and the broader supply and value chains of the industry'. The notion of Glasgow as a creative cluster was, therefore, being promulgated within the New Labour government creative industries discourse around broadcasting, which was now endemic across devolved government, non-departmental public bodies, as well as the broadcasting industry itself.

Thompson's endeavour to demonstrate that devolved approaches to broadcasting were garnering success was disrupting the potential for indies to thrive in Scotland as intimated by Andrea Miller. However, the 2006 Charter required an *increase* in independent production. Andrea Miller's experiences heading up factual foreground the contradictory and at times opposing forces underpinning nations' production. The SBC's indictment of the BBC as guilty of not spending enough in the regions was therefore more complex than merely being about a shortage of funds. As commented on in *Broadcast* in 2008, the Scottish television sector was 'healthy enough', with 'more than 100 Scotland-based production companies and more than 300 facilities companies generating a combined turnover of £1.2bn per year', resulting in a production base whose 'output is among the highest in the UK outside London' (Burns, 2008, n.p.).

The interplay of politics, devolution, and an apparent ambition to have Thompson's tenure as D-G marked by in-house success was impacting negatively on the increasingly symbiotic relationships between BBC and indie production bases. The Network Supply Review brought further opportunity, but also challenges, to the nations and regions. Bennett's allusion to creative clusters was not only a managerialist invocation to honour hybrid production models; Glasgow's identity as a 'creative' city fed into analyses of art-historical events in Scotland.

6.7 BBC Scotland post-2008: visual arts programmes and the creative city

Prior to the construction of Pacific Quay and since the 1990 Broadcasting Act, Glasgow's rebranding through the success of the ECOC year had borne dividends for film and television sectors. Chosen as an independent producer location 'partly because of its improving image and amenities', it was also considered 'a dynamic place to which staff might be willing to move' (Turok, 2003, p.562). The increasing number of Glasgow-based television producers also met the criterion of 'a reasonable critical mass' of independents which would 'persuade commissioning editors from London to take the city seriously' (Turok, 2003, p.563).

The economic benefits of ECOC are much contested (Mooney, 2004). But, as Beatríz García (2005, p.843) identified, the reason Glasgow is considered a 'key referent' in evaluations for ECOC cities is not the economic outcomes but rather 'the formal and informal narratives created around this event' which consequently 'demonstrate that these are the most important sources of current pride and belief in the city's potential as a creative centre and are thus its more sustainable legacy'. Notwithstanding the contested nature of the ECOC's legacy, television production and Glasgow's art scene did generate a cultural matrix that was intrinsic to the professional development of future BBC staff. As Pauline Law, a key producer in the Glasgow arts department for over 20 years, recalled:

> I graduated in '89 and I was really lucky that Glasgow 1990 had a million things to get involved in in the arts and culture. … At that point in Glasgow … it was a really exciting time when a lot of artists were emerging like Christine Borland. And … being involved in the Film and Video Workshop [while] there was a real culture of artist-run organisations, the workshop was doing film, Street Level was doing photography, Transmission obviously was doing visual arts, that's why I pretty much became involved in that world. (Pauline Law, interview, 13 January 2021)

The ECOC project has been interrogated through the ideology of 'place-marketing' and the nature of the 'myths' of the '"new" Glasgow' (Mooney, 2004, pp.330, 332). However, the rhetorical fashioning of 'new' Glasgow was established in tropes of creativity and culture communicated and embedded discursively over a number of years by institutional voices (García, 2005). And, as exemplified by Pauline Law, BBC staff who forged their early careers in Glasgow's post-ECOC cultural scene were also attuned to the artistic activities taking place in the city. Therefore, the ECOC initiative and the project to cast Glasgow as a locale that was intrinsically cultural became central to the development of broadcasting in Scotland in the coming decades.

A new strand and reviving the presenter-led documentary

Production of dedicated visual arts documentaries had been neglected by BBC Scotland between 2001 and 2005 – they had been produced on an annual basis through most of the nineties. This was to change in June 2007 with the launch of a new weekly strand, *ArtWorks Scotland*. Notwithstanding the centralised strategic focus on science, and the targets Pacific Quay was obligated to meet,

at BBC Scotland the output in arts was consistent and multifaceted, both in terms of subject matter and format.

The pundit presenter-led approach was less in vogue, but a format of one-renowned-cultural-figure-meeting-another was adopted, as well as individual artist profiles. One example of these couplings of key figures from either identical or different creative backgrounds was 'When Ian Rankin met Jack Vettriano' (*Artworks Scotland*, BBC2 Scotland, 2009). Across the series, the programming content is impressive in its coverage of figures who were of British or international acclaim, not only renowned in Scotland: Bobby Gillespie; Irving Welsh; Christopher Kane; Nicola Benedetti. Although a hierarchy of genres has been identified at the BBC, whereby less 'strategically important' departments were hived off to the regions in order to preserve broader BBC strategy (Noonan, 2012, p.367), during this decade, and up to Miller's departure in 2012, arts productions continued to flourish in Scotland. Visual artists were again given an annual production for single documentaries within the strand. However, *Artworks*' productions were for the most part aired on the BBC2 opt-out. Andrea Miller outlines the challenges of producing single documentaries:

> Things like all of those singles and short series that you've been looking at, that is all development money, every single time, developing new ideas. Even when you're in-house, of every hundred that you develop, ninety-nine go in the bin and one gets done. So, the attrition rate in development is huge. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

While hyperbolic, Miller's observation nonetheless identifies the considerable resources expended on development within the arts genre and the ongoing commissioning challenges. However, there were diverse network options for BBC Scotland's productions, and these included BBC4, as well as co-producing strands with London's arts department.

Discussion around BBC4 in the years following its launch pertained not only to its ratings, as covered in Chapter 2. Commentary also focused on whether it was being 'dumbed down' or had become an exercise in branding (Goblot, 2013; Herman, 2013; Andrews, 2016). However, considering the modest outing for *Artworks Scotland* on the network, BBC4 was evidently a challenging space for

which to gain commissions. Andrea Miller discussed the dynamics at play across factual in the latter part of the decade:

> With the BBC, a lot of their cultural money was in BBC4, which is much more a kind of bespoke channel, and didn't have those big strands running. … By the time BBC4 had matured and we were doing this strategy in the 2000s, they were really looking for much more landmark-y, tent pole as they would say, products which make something that they could cut through with. (Andrea Miller, interview, 9 February 2021)

Small nations would lack 'tent pole' appeal if programmes were too culturally specific, and therefore hypothetically unappealing to non-Scots audiences. However, the 2006 Charter renewal White Paper proclaimed that public consultations had foregrounded 'the importance of reflecting nations, regions and communities to the whole of the UK, and not just back to themselves' (DCMS, 2006b, p.19). With a policy objective that implied nations' cultural programming would be offered to the network, not only broad-appeal 'British' topics, BBC Scotland could therefore hope for a reversal of fortune in winning a BBC4 commission for visual arts productions.

A Portrait of Scotland (BBC4, 2009) was one such production to benefit from the policy. Commissioned by BBC4 Controller Janice Hadlow, this was a 90-minute feature-length documentary presented as part of the themed season, 'This is Scotland'. Comprised of 13 original factual productions alongside feature films and archive television series, the season was critically well received (Graham, 2009, n.p.).

Scottish actor Peter Capaldi presented the documentary. He had attended The Glasgow School of Art (GSA) in the late seventies, but without completing his studies. Known then for his role as splenetic spin doctor Malcolm Tucker from *The Thick of It* (BBC2, 2005-12), Capaldi was gaining public attention, even if not yet possessed of the household-name status that playing *Doctor Who* (BBC1, 1963-) would bestow upon him in 2014. Mhairi McNeill, who at this point was an arts development producer, recounts getting Capaldi on board:

> We were basically pitching to London all the time … and so I remember … Andrea came to me and said, 'Oh, you did *The Bigger Picture* twenty years ago, Mhairi. What about another one, doing it

> again?' So, then I started rehashing it, and then, Sandy [Raffan, director] took over, but I went to meet Peter Capaldi in London at his club … before it became commissioned and, yeah, he said he'd do it. (Mhairi McNeill, interview, 1 February 2021)

Sandy Raffan, akin to many of the directors interviewed, studied at Glasgow University, but in science rather than an arts subject. She was series producer on BBC2's art magazine strand *Inside Culture* (BBC2, 2020-22), presented by historian Mary Beard. Raffan recounts how the series developed from a general Scottish art history production to portraiture:

> Peter Capaldi was in a meeting with Janice Hadlow … and he was doodling on his notepad, and she noticed how brilliant it was. So, she talked to him about that and that he went to Glasgow School of Art for a couple years, then he bailed out. So that's why they focused on Scottish portraiture. (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021)

Therefore, from Miller's initial idea to the eventual focus on portraiture appears to have been contingent on Capaldi's draughting skills. Raffan expanded on Capaldi's attributes:

> So, someone with the stature of Peter, he's really experienced and he's smart. It's different with every presenter. In the end, the bottom line is you have to set it up, and you write the script … but some presenters have more input than others. And he would change the wording of it, but not much about the content. He wasn't so hot on the history of what happened … but he was aware of all these people, [Allan] Ramsay and all that. (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021)

A Portrait of Scotland was written by Raffan using art-historical publications as research material. Duncan Macmillan is credited as a script consultant, but both he and Raffan reported in interviews that his input was limited to fact checking. This is not without precedent, as Kenneth Clark's credited academic advisors on *Civilisation* were the art historian Ernst Gombrich and the historian John Hale, although 'he hardly consulted them' (Conlin, 2009, p.38).

The production was a 90-minute exploration of 'the portrait', and Capaldi opened the film commenting that his disposition to attend art school was premised on an interest in the human face. The overall format was of celebrity presenter leading the viewer chronologically through Scotland's history, interspersed with conversations with either art historians or artists. Whilst

situated in a variety of settings to discuss Scottish portraiture, Capaldi with sketch pad was the leitmotif that connected scenes but also a device to take the viewer 'into' the artworks.

Raffan described how the script was structured as three acts: seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artists were covered in the first half hour; portraitists of the nineteenth century in the second; and the final 'act' explored post-nineteenth century art. However, the portraiture thesis and focus on the human face was arguably disrupted on two fronts. First, by inclusion of Edwin Landseer's (1802-1873) famed 'portrait' of a stag, *The Monarch of the Glen* (c.1851), and then through inclusion of depictions of human figures drawn from artistic imagination rather than studies of observed identifiable individuals.

Whilst the film deployed the trope of other itinerant celebrity presenters, Capaldi's erstwhile student background added a prodigal-son trope to the narrative layers. As he enters the iconic front door of the Mackintosh-designed Glasgow School of Art, he states: 'I turned my back on the place, but now, with this programme, I've been offered a second chance, a chance to learn anew about the great traditions and history of Scottish painting.' Thus, the narrative was established on the redemption Capaldi would undergo through discovering the appeal of an artistic heritage he abandoned in his youth, and his actorly presence successfully interprets and articulates the various scenarios he navigates.

A notable encounter with Scottish religiosity emerges in St John's Kirk in Perth, the mooted site of John Knox's Calvinist's sermon which ignited the Scottish Reformation. Capaldi bellowed demonically from the pulpit, channelling a convincing zealot:

> Peter did a very good John Knox in the pulpit in Perth. We all jumped out of our skin! We didn't know he was going to do that. We thought he was just going to read it. I mean, I loved it, I thought it was brilliant. (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021)

Capaldi brought other performing nuances to his presenting role:

> So, what I need to do is maximise [Capaldi], because anyone could have said that on screen for me. What he brought was the sketching,

> which was brilliant, and storytelling. I mean, there's that magical story told about James the Sixth … but [Capaldi] told it really beautifully as he was sketching, and he was quite funny sometimes when he was sketching. (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021)

Capaldi's 'sketching' persona is therefore exploited to cover an art-historical topic. However, the actor's personability also served the production well:

> The other thing I thought he was brilliant at was talking to the artists. And with Peter Howson [Scottish painter and one of 'The Glasgow Boys' of eighties' fame] … he's unpredictable. So, you can't really say, 'This is what I want, and we'll start here'. So, [Capaldi] just said, 'Turn the camera on', and it was great. … So, the way we told the story was helped and was different because Peter brought a lot of Peter Capaldi to it and his personality. I mean, it was an odd one for him because he's used to acting, so being himself was not easy. He would even say, 'Is this any good?', and I'd be going, 'Oh my God, it's brilliant! Don't worry.' (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021)

Raffan's observation was corroborated by camera operator on the production, Alastair McCormick:

> Howson … invited us into his studio while he's painting Dante's *Inferno*. And we literally just ran the camera for about an hour and fifteen minutes, and Sandy and I just danced around and intervened very little and … I suppose it's like lighting the touchpaper and just letting it happen in front of you, and it was great. … You just have one camera ... but it is *because* we don't have full coverage, that from a film point of view what was happening between the two of them was so good. You don't want to start chipping in and going, 'Oh, by the way can you do—?' because he would put his brush down and go. And you will never pick it up the same way again. (Alastair McCormick, interview, 16 December 2020)

In essence, an element of observational documentary filmmaking was incorporated into the itinerant-celebrity format. Raffan and McCormick both had to manage artistic personalities who were being asked to 'perform' while seeking to bring the televisual best from challenging interpersonal and technical circumstances. The editor on *A Portrait of Scotland* (and also on the Palin-presented productions), Phyllis Ironside, discussed the ethics of representing individuals on screen:

> But this thing I sometimes call the burden of truth, you have to make it truthful. And that can be truthful if you're in current affairs in terms of being absolutely sure it's correct what's being said. But it's

> also if you've got an arts programme, you want to be truthful to the material. Basically … you don't want to be making fun of people … not misrepresenting people. … I think ethics comes into it a hell of a lot actually in editing, because of the fact that the way you cut something can totally change the meaning or how it comes across, so you have to be very careful. … With Michael [Palin], you want to make sure that his viewpoint comes across and you want to make sure that … with the people you interview, you try and make the best out of what they say, which can be difficult at times. … I don't want to skew anything in any particular way or try and make it fit [a director's] scenario. … I just refuse. (Phyllis Ironside, interview, 12 February 2021)

As a testament to her skills as an editor, in 2020 Ironside was awarded an Outstanding Contribution to Craft by BAFTA Scotland. Jude McLaverty, BAFTA director commented: 'Phyllis Ironside is … renowned for her editing skills as well as her integrity.'[40] Ironside's comments highlight that in narrative-led approaches to documentary, particularly when living subjects 'represent' themselves, ethical editing is key to respecting participants' contributions. Living artists will be attuned to how their observations and practices could be interpreted by an audience unfamiliar or antipathetic to their work or manipulated by a production team. The potency and spectacle of the moving image and the editorial control of a director or executive producer, when combined, wield power requiring representational responsibility. Yet, while the sensitivities of the production crew and editor to historical and personal 'truth' were borne out in *A Portrait Scotland* through background research and expert-voice involvement, the production dipped into an element of mythologising in its romanticisation of Glasgow.

BBC Scotland visual arts productions following 2008 were heavily skewed to Glasgow topics. *ArtWorks Scotland* produced several single documentaries with a Glasgow focus either with regard to the Art School or the artist's identity, or both: 'Mackintosh's Masterpiece: The Glasgow School of Art' (2009); 'The Madness of Peter Howson' (2010); and 'The Glasgow Boys' (2010). In addition, 'This is Scotland' broadcast *Mr and Mrs Mackintosh* in 2009. Finally, *Imagine* … in

[40] BAFTA, 17 November 2020 British Academy Scotland Awards Outstanding Contribution Award Winners Announced. Available at: https://www.bafta.org/media-centre/press-releases/british-academy-scotland-awards-outstanding-contribution-award-winners (Accessed 28 December 2021).

2012 produced ‘Glasgow: The Grit and the Glamour’, Andrea Miller’s final executively produced film for the BBC.

At risk in unreflexively portraying Glasgow multiple times in arts documentaries was discursively reproducing the branded profiles of the creative city; what has been referred to as ‘brandscaping’, and a feature of the ECOC that many Glasgow artists resisted (Mulholland, 2008, p.292). The late-twentieth century witnessed The Glasgow School of Art produce a disproportionately high number of artists who have achieved extraordinary international success (Mulholland, 2008), some of whom are covered in *A Portrait of Scotland*. However, the repeated focus on Glasgow as a creative site across a slate of programmes risks exceptionalising the city and playing into the Glasgow ‘myths’ discussed by Mooney (2004).

In deploying The Glasgow School of Art iconically in the opening sequence of *A Portrait of Scotland*, the narrative thrust establishes the institution as a foundational metaphor for artistic creation. The city was explored conversationally between Capaldi, also Glaswegian, and Howson in the scene alluded to by Raffan and McCormick:

Capaldi: I just wonder how much Glasgow is a part of your work?

Howson: It’s a massive part of my work, really. It’s the only place I could really ever work is in Glasgow.

Capaldi: You seem to take it and expand it, and turn it into a biblical, kind of, epic sort of place?

Howson: What I wanted to do with Glasgow is turn it into a mythical place, like a kind of Blakean place. … [Howson then expands on the philosophical approach taken by him and his co-painters in the new Glasgow Group of the 1980s.] What is it like to live in Glasgow? What’s Scotland really like? How can we bring in the whole world into this, but still make it Glasgow?

Capaldi: Obviously there were elements that l recognised because I come from Glasgow. But I thought the work was totally universal. And that was the exciting,

kind of dazzling thing, was to see aspects of your own culture, that you were familiar with, exploding into this world.

Glasgow, Howson's muse, was eulogised as a place of universal values imbued with a mystical, humanist soul. The city was presented as an elemental force of creativity, and representative not only of Scotland, but 'the whole world'. Sandy Moffat, who had been head of painting and printmaking at the GSA was interviewed and discussed the role of the Art School in Howson's life, while Capaldi's 'redemption' was to be achieved by revisiting the GSA and acknowledging that which he abandoned to other forms of creativity. The creative connection between the city, the Art School, and the life-artistic were symbolically embedded in the film's narrative. Through imagery, conversations, and structure, the emotional connective nodes in the film were discursively attached to Glasgow the city and its Art School. Glasgow, in Howson's imagining, is a site of 'mythical' values. His vision of and for the city is however entangled in the representation of the essentialised nature of Glasgow as 'creative' crucible, which pervades the production.

Edinburgh, conversely, was historically celebrated as the seat of the Enlightenment, but not as a place of inspiration or creative energy. Implicit in the title is an exploration of portraiture *in Scotland*, but the symbolic thrust of the film's imagery suggests the genre's epicentre was Glasgow. Art historically, artistic achievement in portraiture emanated predominantly from Edinburgh (Macmillan, 1990; Macdonald, 2000).

Notwithstanding the exceptionalising of Glasgow's creativity in the documentary, the art is pithily but robustly contextualised in Scottish historical periods, and the expert voices are illuminating and eloquent. Overall, *A Portrait of Scotland* is a highly engaging and beautifully produced film: Alastair McCormick is one of the most lauded and rated of the UK's documentary camera operators and crucial to the successful outcome for the production (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021). However, the mythologising of Glasgow in image and conversation symbolically disrupts the nuances of art-historical context in respect of portraiture in Scotland. The 'brandscaping' identified by Mulholland (2008) was a discourse that had extended its influence beyond the art-world milieu and infiltrated the programme makers at BBC Scotland.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the impact of devolution on the cultures of production at BBC Scotland and the ways in which the 2003 Communications Act reconfigured policy priorities at the BBC. How television production ecology operated in Glasgow through New Labour's creative industries discourse was also analysed.

As the decade drew to a close, BBC Scotland's markers of success in arts programming for both Scottish audiences and the network were evident. In the second half of the decade, arts productions were regular on the opt-out slot, even if single visual arts productions had been less prominent in schedules between 2001 and 2006. The visually rich imagery of the eighties 'new image' artists had not found a twenty-first century parallel, and the work of Glasgow's internationally known neo-conceptual artists was less televisually friendly, although it was to receive coverage in 2012's *Imagine…* episode 'Glasgow: The Grit and The Glamour' (BBC1). Yet, across the decade, high-profile strands were co-produced with London. Gaining access to the network for single visual arts programmes was challenging, notwithstanding the arrival of BBC4. Addressing a broad audience – as was expected for arts documentaries – in terms of class, cultural interests, and national identity added complexity to the task of getting produced for network. Sandy Raffan expanded on the considerations *for A Portrait of Scotland*, commissioned for the network:

> You have to remember that this was for UK transmission, so ninety-five percent of the audience, probably are not Scottish. So, they have their own images of Scotland, and so you want to draw them in with some of that familiarity. Because, one, we did feature the *Monarch of the Glen*, which everybody loves, and for a very good reason. (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021)

Raffan was therefore bringing in 'crowd-pleasing' elements to hook a less knowledgeable, and simultaneously, possibly non-Scottish audience. Hence, after 2003, when commercial channels were no longer under arts productions quotas, BBC Scotland was simultaneously benefitting from Greg Dyke's approach to nations and regions broadcasting and continuing to demonstrate its expertise in arts programming by producing for the network and being commissioned by network channel executives. STV's energies were no longer being steered towards cultural programming following the end of arts programming quotas;

therefore, BBC Scotland became the solitary source for arts productions serving a Scottish audience.

While Dyke's rescinding of the internal market had engendered a less depersonalised work environment, the trace of marketised discourse manifested in other forms. Production culture in the second half of the decade would have operated under the 'public value' dictum. Raffan situated the rationale for taking the audience into account as the primary driver of how a production is approached:

> I mean the main thing is you think about how you're spending your budget *all the time*, and you're thinking about the audience *all the time*, because they're paying for that budget. … But you're not trying to make money, you're trying to make the most *out of* your money. And it's an absolute headache for you as an individual producer-director, but those are the kind of decisions you have to make. … So, public service broadcasting, the biggest thing is just how you're spending the licence fee, it's such a responsibility and that just dictates everything you do. (Sandy Raffan, interview, 3 December 2021)

None of the research's interviewees discussed public value, but it defined Raffan's professional modus operandi. She also discussed in detail how she put a team together and how they operate subject to stratagems of efficiency. In evidence is a Foucauldian self-discipline which has internalised the marketised expectations of the institution, a position that sat in stark contrast to the frustrations that abounded in the nineties when faced with Producer Choice. The ideology of public value and explicit public purposes served to corral production 'creatives' into a self-disciplined approach to serving the BBC in the creative industries era.

Overall, between the first nations and regions step change under Dyke and the introduction of the Network Supply Review, BBC Scotland became a key site among the centres producing for BBC1, BBC2, and BBC4. BBC Scotland continued to expand and forge credentials as a trusted locus of production. Scottish producers brought diversified formats to visual arts productions. Scottish visual artists were given their place on the opt-out through *ArtWorks*, but they were principally already-known subjects for television rather than the unknowns that

would have been championed by W. Gordon Smith in the seventies, John Archer in the eighties, or Eleanor Yule in the nineties. Glasgow's neo-conceptualists were covered once in their late forties and internationally famous.

Capaldi as a presenting persona was a key development in respect of the 'authenticity' of the personage communicating with viewers. As an erstwhile art student, he conveyed a sense of empirical rigour in 'reporting' on a topic of which he did have academic understanding, if not expert knowledge. Capaldi was both celebrity and a kind of 'artist-expert'; his acting prowess served the production as effectively as his drawing skills.

Devolution had also augmented BBC Scotland's status as a producer of notable content across the factual slate. At the 'local' level of television production in Glasgow, New Labour could point to a success story aligned with its creative economy discourse where BBC Scotland, as a recipient of public funds, was proving to be a successful example of broadcasting policy measures. That these machinations operated either in parallel to or conjoined with the expanding independent sector (Doyle and Paterson, 2008) was not a contradiction of New Labour's third-way economists' thinking.

Therefore, accommodating creative industries rationales within New Labour's devolution project had served BBC Scotland's arts programme makers well. The pressures of expanding production bases into specific factual genres and measuring job creation outcomes spoke to where marketising discourse dovetailed with New Labour economic policy. However, in 2010 thirteen years of Labour rule ended, replaced by the Conservative-Liberal Coalition government. This change of government brought new pressures to bear on the resourcing of the BBC in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis, yet resources for the arts continued to be channelled to BBC Scotland under new policy initiatives. These themes are explored in the next chapter through the arts productions produced between 2010 and 2018.

Chapter 7 Glasgow's Apogee in Arts Production: 2010-2018

7.1 Introduction

The new decade witnessed the arrival of yet another policy initiative from the BBC, with the announcement of 'Delivering Quality First' in 2010. As with previous significant initiatives, reductions in budgets and staff came in its wake. In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crash, the 2010 Conservative–Liberal Democrat Coalition government's policy agenda heralded swingeing cuts to public spending, implementing an era of 'austerity' the UK that was to endure until 2019 (Inman, 2019, n.p.). The decade was thus marked, and marred, by impecuniousness across a range of public services. The SNP continued governing Scotland, and a White Paper, *Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland* (Scottish Government 2013, pp.315-20), accompanied the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, outlining the SNP's aspirations for Scottish broadcasting.

Notwithstanding such heightened political activity, the resulting logic of the creative hubs' arrival was a flourishing of BBC Scottish visual arts productions as the decade unfolded. This chapter tracks this high-water mark in BBC Scotland's role in UK visual arts programming, but also analyses how marketised formats impacted on presenter types and assesses to what extent this differs from the pre-1990 era, thereby addressing the final sub-research question posed for the study. Evidence suggests that the contrasts between programming created prior to and after the 1990 Broadcasting Act were less emphatic than previous analyses have indicated.

7.2 Delivering Quality First and the pan-UK initiative

The 2008 international financial crisis precipitated an era of significant UK national debt (Lee, 2011, pp.61, 67-8), thus, when a new Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government took up the reins of power in 2010, Chancellor George Osborne observed that 'while private sector was the cause of this crisis, public sector debt is likely to be the cause of the next one' (2010 quoted in Lee, 2011, p.67). Notwithstanding the complexities of the causes behind the financial

crash, in a politicised response to the debt crisis focused on tightening public sector spending, the new government also stipulated terms under which the BBC would operate. Mirroring Coalition political ideology and reflecting D-G Mark Thompson's disposition to 'focus on the long-term future of the BBC', in October 2010 the Corporation accepted a four-year licence fee freeze and agreed to shoulder financial responsibility for the World Service and a major part of funding for S4C, the Welsh language channel (BBC Media Centre, 2011, n.p; Robinson, 2010, n.p.).

In the wake of these funding decisions came Thompson's policy initiative 'Delivering Quality First'. Presented as a consultation process focused on 'deliver[ing] the highest quality programmes and content' (BBC Media Centre, 2011, n.p.), it nonetheless imposed severe cuts on staff numbers. Hence, the austerity discourse brought the BBC under its purview, with the latest 'efficiencies' also impacting north of the border.

BBC Scotland Director Ken MacQuarrie outlined Delivering Quality First's implications to Scottish staff, which included a 16 percent budget reduction and up to 120 lost jobs, as well as planned areas of expansion (*The Drum*, 2011, n.p.). Network production resources were to be ringfenced and investment would continue, with Pacific Quay to 'be firmly established as one of the BBC's five creative UK hubs', while, simultaneously, there was to be a new strategy of productions made for Scottish audiences to be broadcast on the network with '£10 million worth of nations' programming to transfer to the networks by 2015' (Ken MacQuarrie quoted in *The Drum*, 2011, n.p.). There were particularly significant announcements for arts programming, with BBC Scotland to 'become a major centre for Arts network production', with the concomitant announcement 'that the Head of Arts network production for the whole of the UK will be based in Scotland' (Ken MacQuarrie quoted in *The Drum*, 2011, n.p.).

The 'pan-UK' strategy that was being adopted for the arts was also the model to be adopted for comedy, drama, entertainment, and factual genres as part of Delivering Quality First. As a consequence, head of factual roles across production hubs in the UK ceased to exist. Among those to announce their departure was Andrea Miller, bringing her successful tenure to an end (Neilan, 2012, n.p.).

Production hubs were not a novel concept; by 1970 there were three 'Regional' centres in Birmingham, Bristol, and Manchester, wherein 'each centre specialised in a particular type of programme output' (McDowell, 1992, p.201). Therefore, Delivering Quality First and the pan-UK production model established Scotland discursively and, in fact, as part of a more 'British' framework of production rather than in a centre-to-periphery model. For Scotland, this was a mixed blessing. Production funds ring-fenced for BBCs 1, 2 and 4 ensured the abiding priority was network-focused, meanwhile, 'local' programmes were to suffer cuts (Ken MacQuarrie quoted in *The Drum*, 2011, n.p.).

Establishing the arts production hub

In May of 2012, Jonty Claypole, previously an executive producer running the in-house BBC4 arts productions unit, was announced as the new UK BBC head of arts (Jonty Claypole, interview, 1 March 2021). Subsequent to Claypole's arrival, programming changes ensued. *Artworks Scotland* ended in June 2013, and by August a new strand had been developed under Claypole's oversight: *What Do Artists Do All Day?* (BBC4, 2013-18). In 2013 *The Review Show* was relegated from BBC2 to BBC4. The long-established strand only lasted another year before being cut from the schedules entirely (Parker, 2014, n.p.). As outlined in previous chapters, policy decisions had brought long-running arts strands to Glasgow, but the new pan-UK approach to arts production avowedly privileged Pacific Quay:

> It was just a very singular strategy … but the programme budgets were divided quite strictly along certain lines, a certain percentage of the money had to be spent in Scotland, and it was quite a high percentage. … So, yes, I think it would be fair to say there was definitely a Scottish kind of inflection at the time and … it was definitely a source of positive bias towards Scotland, towards Glasgow. (Jonty Claypole, interview, 1 March 2021)

Claypole highlighted that Wales and Northern Ireland's arts teams had a focus on Welsh or Northern Irish cultural activities; therefore, neither was in competition with Scotland for network commissions. However, while Glasgow was accorded this pre-eminent arts status, it was not the genre's exclusive production locus as London still produced arts. But as Claypole clarified, the weight of influence of and status for Glasgow at this period tipped the scales towards greater

opportunities for Scottish arts subjects being commissioned for the network than hitherto had been the case (Interview, 1 March 2021). And notwithstanding the fanfare that greeted the head of arts being located in Glasgow, in 2014 Claypole moved back to London having been appointed the BBC's UK director of arts as part of the 'BBC Arts at…'[41] strategy, touted as having 'arts at the very heart of what we do' by new Director-General Tony Hall. There was no commensurate replacement of Claypole's head of arts production role in Scotland, instead, there was 'a sort of head of factual production with arts leading exec producers reporting into them' (Jonty Claypole, interview, 1 March 2021).

Claypole also adopted managerial practices he had developed within BBC4, including speedily promoting personnel (Interview, 1 March 2021). The initiative witnessed Pauline Law progress from series producer on a variety of BBC Scotland arts programmes, including *The Culture Show*, to the enhanced temporary role of commissioning executive 'across all BBC channels and platforms' and then to executive producer from 2013 to 2017 on productions covered in this study:

> So basically, those years after *The Culture Show*, I think that the reputation we had as a centre of excellence was great because we were just making loads of stuff. So, for BBC Scotland I would say there's a whole load of single documentaries if you look back over that time. … I definitely made more BBC Scotland stuff and Richard [Bright] made more of the BBC4 stuff. (Pauline Law, interview, 13 January 2021)

The increase in BBC4 production was also directly accountable to Delivering Quality First, which had also determined that the increase in arts and music output from 100 to 150 hours per annum would be possible by moving arts content from BBC2 (BBC Trust Report, 2012, p.28). Importantly, for BBC Scotland, the initiative to make Glasgow a production hub was not tokenistic:

> I felt we were able to shift the balance of power a bit. And so, there were people coming to Glasgow rather than what used to be the case more. … And certainly, in the area of arts, you guys had some of the best directors and production people thinking, 'Well, I'll go and live in

[41] 'Tony Hall announces greatest commitment to arts for a generation', *BBC Media Centre*, 25 March 2014. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2014/bbc-arts-release (Accessed 19 July 2023).

> Glasgow', and a lot of them are still there. (Jonty Claypole, interview, 1 March 2021)

Hence, the creative cluster policy of the previous decade continued to operate and bear dividends in Glasgow. However, commissioning power was still sited centrally, notwithstanding Claypole's position as head of arts: the 'famous double tick system' needed 'a genre commissioner and a channel controller [to] double tick the project together' (Interview, 1 March 2021). However, Claypole was not entirely powerless:

> What I did have was a lot of influence. Because I was running the single largest arts production base and it was in-house to the BBC, I was able to do a certain amount of 'This is something we really need to do, so can you just let me do it?' and, you know—! [laughs]. (Jonty Claypole, interview, 1 March 2021)

Despite Claypole's status, the pan-UK model was somewhat stymied. If the power imbalances between centre to periphery were to be emphatically redressed, it would require transferring 'some commissioning roles and channel executive and channel management roles out to the nations as well' (Jonty Claypole, interview, 1 March 2021). Nonetheless, under the pan-UK model Scottish-focused visual arts topics had an undoubted halcyon period for the remainder of the decade on the network.

Nurturing new talent

What Do Artists Do All Day? (BBC4, 2013-17) was a new take on the artist biography, but the presenter-led format continued to bring new faces to the visual arts documentary. Executive producers could cherry pick from a roster of presenting talents, including the Cambridge University art historian Dr James Fox, and art historian and journalist Alastair Sooke. Claypole also nurtured and mentored new talent, including, most saliently for this study, Scottish visual artist Lachlan Goudie (Jonty Claypole, interview, 1 March 2021). Goudie has presented on several BBC Scotland and network arts productions, but the following have been chosen as cases for analysis in this study: *The Story of Scottish Art* (BBC2 Scotland, 2015), 'The Art of Witchcraft' (BBC2 Scotland, 2013), *Stanley Spencer: the Colours of the Clyde* (BBC2 Scotland, 2014), and

Mackintosh: Glasgow's Neglected Genius (BBC2 Scotland, 2018), which was nominated for the best single documentary at the Celtic Media awards 2019.[42]

Goudie, an oil painter whose first degree was in English literature from Cambridge University, also studied Fine Art at London's Camberwell College of Art. Born and raised in Glasgow, his father was the renowned Scottish portraitist Alexander Goudie (1933-2004). Goudie junior's route to television presenting was circuitous and somewhat convoluted. He had already begun radio broadcasting, presenting short radio-essays for Radio 4's *From Our Own Correspondent* (BBC Radio 4, 1955-), when serendipity and the right social connections propelled his televisual arrival:

> My wife's boss, who is a television producer, came to our wedding, and I did my … groom's speech, and it went quite well! So, he approached my wife and said, 'Lachlan, has he ever thought of doing telly?' And I was simply a painter at this time. (Lachlan Goudie, interview, 14 October 2020)

The unnamed producer-wedding-guest spotted in Goudie 'those talents that connected through warmth and confidence' and also identified 'what performers would work within the confines of the small screen' (Boyle, 2018, p.49). Goudie, in multiple respects, followed a well-travelled route into television: he had a background in the creative arts, was 'talent spotted' via personal networks, and had been educated at an elite university (Boyle, 2018, pp.56, 70). Goudie's initial submission of a proposal and taster tape to the BBC was unsuccessful; however, persistence brought about an initial meeting with one of Claypole's staff. Although the encounter concluded without seeming to develop in his favour, unbeknownst to Goudie, the BBC had a plan of action for his role as 'talent', as Claypole indicated: 'The first thing we did with my brief for on-screen talent was getting him the BBC4 single as quickly as possible' (Interview, 1 March 2021).

The 'single' was 'The Art of Witchcraft', an episode of *The Secret Knowledge* strand on BBC4 (2013-14), a slightly wordy, but very eloquent, analysis of art

[42] The Scottish Gallery, Edinburgh, *Once Upon a Time* exhibition catalogue. Available at: https://issuu.com/scottishgallery/docs/tsg_lachlan_goudie_once_upon_a_time (Accessed 14 February 2023).

inspired by the supernatural. His next pitch was an exploration of English painter Stanley Spencer's sojourn in Clydeside shipyards during World War Two. Pauline Law executive produced the film and was part of the team developing Goudie's on-screen career:

> So, Lachlan came to us, and it was very much his passion and his idea, and we felt he really had the potential to be a presenter, but we also really liked that he could bring the practical artist to it as well, that he would talk about it as an artist, that he could also do the sketching. (Pauline Law, interview, 13 January 2021)

Stanley Spencer: The Colours of the Clyde (BBC2 Scotland, 2014) introduces Goudie as the artist-presenter 'type' sketching in situ in Govan shipyards, mirroring Spencer's practices and revisiting the format instigated by Capaldi. Goudie, both writer and presenter in all BBC productions he appeared in, deploys less dense language for this latter film, but invokes a poetic connection between Port Glasgow and Cookham, Spencer's home and muse, to carry the documentary narrative. A positive working relationship developed between Goudie and director Bill MacLeod, who commented on how such a collaboration is managed when the presenter is also the writer:

> So, you need to come to an understanding. You need to work out between the two of you what the story is going to be. But as a producer-director, of course, you've also got all the practical limitations of budget … so it's kind of juggling all the ambitions with the practicalities, and all the while trying to derive a compelling story [from the script]. (Bill MacLeod, interview, 23 October 2020)

MacLeod elaborated on the storytelling aspect of arts programming:

> With factual programming, arts programming … You start with quite often a nebulous idea or just one line and then you create from that the story. So, it's a different kind of storytelling. Arts production is the creation of story. Drama production, or at least, drama direction, is the interpretation of story. (Bill MacLeod, interview, 23 October 2020)

Andy Twaddle was the director-producer on the 2018 production *Mackintosh: Glasgow's Neglected Genius* (BBC2 Scotland, 2018). Twaddle outlined the role of director in the collaborative process:

> In the top class of presenter … with somebody like Lachlan, we would work a long time on writing lines together. And … there's just television grammar things that I'm keeping an eye on, that his delivery's right, that his words are right, that it's not too fast, the framing's right in the camera, all that kind of business. (Andy Twaddle, interview, 30 November 2020)

Both MacLeod and Twaddle's comments foreground the pivotal input of directors, notwithstanding Goudie's high-status writer-presenter role (Boyle, 2018, p.3). Goudie himself was eminently conscious of the nous required to order content: 'I think that's where the director really shows their skill. I'm not as strong at structuring the argument as I am writing, communicating pieces to camera, and communicating ideas' (Lachlan Goudie, interview, 14 October 2020). However, he was also cognisant of his contribution:

> But as a writer-presenter, a major part of this job is, again, you're using a visual medium or performance to communicate ideas. And I can only really commit to words and say them with authority if they follow my patterns of speech or if they represent my patterns of thought. So, I find it impossible to be given a script to say it, unless I've actually written the stuff. (Lachlan Goudie, interview, 14 October 2020)

Goudie's reflexivity echoes Van Dijck's (2006, p.8) contention that 'Viewers are more likely to trust claims made by the very persons who researched them and whose authority is institutionally legitimate'. Twaddle also lauded Goudie's communicative skills:

> There's this amazing piece-to-camera Lachlan does in Vienna … and that's just something you can't teach someone. That's just him. … So, I think if you were working with less natural presenters, they might need to bring themselves out of themselves a bit, but somebody like Lachlan, he's so good at just about everything. … In Lachlan, you know, he's doing the passion … and you don't always get that with all presenters. (Andy Twaddle, interview, 30 November 2020)

Goudie therefore brought a novel dimension to presenting, being a hybrid artist-writer and presenter. His wordsmithery is evident in his articulate phrasing; and as a personality with vouched-for energy and personability, his broadcasting talent is an amalgam of these intellectual, personal, and practical skills. Goudie's abilities were recognised by the Royal Television Society Scotland in 2016 when he was nominated for On-screen Personality of the Year Award, losing

out to comedian Elaine C. Smith.[43] The passion that Andy Twaddle alluded to was developed in the filming of *The Story of Scottish Art* and became a defining characteristic of Goudie's presenting style: 'Because he's crazy. I mean he's just a force of nature to work with' (Andy Twaddle, interview, 30 November 2020). Prior to working with Twaddle in 2015, Goudie had presented his most high-profile documentary, which was *The Story of Scottish Art*. Pauline Law, as the series executive producer, commented: 'Because we felt Lachlan was a great new talent and could present, but also knew his art history, putting him on a pitch which was the big four-part landmark history of Scottish art was the way to get that commission' (Interview, 13 January 2021).

Commissioning the landmark series

Jonty Claypole was the progenitor of *The Story of Scottish Art*, commenting that with 2014 being the independence referendum year, it 'was the big year for focusing on Scotland' (Interview, 1 March 2021). The production was therefore envisaged as a landmark series, considered an opportunity to 'make a big splash', and, furthermore, the BBC hadn't 'told that story for a while' (Pauline Law, interview 13 January 2021). Responsible for commissioning the series at BBC Scotland was Ewan Angus, who held the role until 2017, although his deputy commissioner was David Harron, who, as the commissioning executive, had a programme credit as executive producer, as 'It's good obviously to keep your commissioner across [the production]', as they ultimately are 'the editing point … they get a chance to feedback' (Pauline Law, interview, 13 January 2021).

The alchemy of political events, scheduling patterns, and the executive acknowledgement of Goudie's potential ensured the two-tick imperative had been met, and the series was greenlit. The ring-fenced monies alluded to by Ken MacQuarrie suggests this was where the bulk if not entirety of the production funding would have come from. Goudie suggested the series was generously budgeted, at possibly around £200,000[44] per episode, trumping by a considerable

[43] Available at: http://www.allmediascotland.com/media-releases/117561/media-release-royal-television-society-announces-winners-of-scotland-awards-2016/ (Accessed14 February 2023).
[44] Tariffs for factual ranged from £30K-£500K/hour for network and £5K-£200K/hour for nations and English regions. Available at: http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/site/tariff_prices_for_independents.pdf (Accessed 6 July 2022 – file updated August 2023).

margin the expenditure for his previous BBC films, and a key attribute in the production's success (Interview, 14 October 2020). Andrea Miller commented that a Scottish audience 'like any other … has a very, very low tolerance for low production value' (Interview, 9 February 2021). Hence, *The Story of Scottish Art* was accorded a prestige budget and aired initially as an opt-out on BBC2 Scotland in October 2015, then on the network in January 2016, courtesy of BBC4. The series spanned four episodes, each produced by a different director.

In relation to the prestige productions examined thus far, *The Story of Scottish Art* was the most ambitious, both in terms of hours of transmission – four – and the scope of its focus. *The Bigger Picture* and *A Portrait of Scotland* had followed the time span of Macmillan's *Scottish Art* publication by beginning in the fifteenth century. *The Story of Scottish Art* production adopted Murdo Macdonald's point of origin, the Neolithic period. Macdonald's 2000 publication was also entitled *Scottish Art*. The series concluded with contemporary Scottish artists, thereby spanning five millennia of creativity rather than the 500 years from the Renaissance that previous productions had tackled.

The organising principle was four chronological time periods – by contrast, *The Bigger Picture* had organised by genre. However, these were not continuous. The first episode began with Neolithic standing stones and finished at the Reformation. The second episode focused principally on the eighteenth century and key Enlightenment figures, thereby omitting George Jameson (1589/90-1644) – the first prominent Scottish portraitist – and the seventeenth century in its entirety. The penultimate programme covered the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, encompassing the televisually familiar Glasgow Boys, Scottish Colourists, and Charles Rennie Mackintosh. The final episode addressed the arrival of modernism in Scottish art and culminated in an engagement with the post-modernism typified by the 'Glasgow Miracle' neo-conceptualists – visual artists such as Douglas Gordon, Jim Lambie, and Christine Borland. The series was therefore mostly covering art-historical content explored in previous years or even decades, but with added archaeological focus. Notwithstanding this revisiting of well-trodden topics, in its fusion of writer-presenter and freelance directors, *The Story of Scottish Art* also represented a shift in the scope of visual arts programming as a sub-genre.

7.3 The role of narrative and disrupting genre boundaries

The presenter-explorer format adopted in the Palin and Capaldi films is premised on storytelling, whether through tracking Anne Redpath's artistic development, documenting Colourists' biographies, or re-enacting John Knox's sermons. Goudie's stated endeavour was to 'plac[e] Scottish art in an international context' while 'telling a compelling story about Scotland's social and political history'.[45]

With expansive historical periods to cover, *The Story of Scottish Art* lacked time to narrativise individual personalities or provide a comprehensive art-historical chronology. Instead, the series was premised on conveying an overarching narrative of what Scottish art *means*. In the first episode, Goudie proposes that Scottish art has 'never been just a mirror in which Scots can see themselves. Instead, it has always revealed the power of art to interrogate and celebrate, on behalf of us all, what it means to be alive' (Goudie, Episode 1, *The Story of Scottish Art*). Such a declamation instantly sets a rhetorical register for the tenor of words and phrases that will lead the viewer through the series. The narrative intention is to proffer archaeological and artistic artefacts as symbolic of the human condition's perilous existence. Goudie outlined the premise for this approach to interpreting the objects he would encounter:

> My knowledge of art history had been largely limited to work from the fourteenth century onwards. This was quite intimidating … but turned out to be the most liberating of all the experiences. Because we were talking about art that is just so powerful, because it comes from a time which we know so little about, so few concrete facts, that your imagination is allowed to wander. … And to look at something from 5,000 years ago as we did in that first programme … it was absolutely mind-blowing! (Lachlan Goudie, interview, 14 October 2020)

Art objects lacking named creators or contemporary records of how or why they were created offer the presenter opportunities for untrammelled interpretation to draw an audience into a compelling, even spell-binding tale. Goudie

[45] BBC Media Centre, *The Story of Scottish Art.* Available at: https://www.bbc.com/mediacentre/proginfo/2016/01/story-of-scottish-art (Accessed 25 August 2022).

elaborated on the transition from undertaking photographic research to encountering objects first hand:

> The more experienced I've become, the more important I've realised is tapping into who you are, that turning up your emotions to eleven [amplifying an activity beyond the usual limits]. And you're going to these places, and you're getting access to these objects, and it's nuts. You're so privileged. And you've got to communicate that to the viewer, and in my case, so often it was easy. Because I genuinely had my socks knocked off. (Lachlan Goudie, interview, 14 October 2020)

Indicative of 'turning up your emotions to eleven' is Goudie's interpretation of the images on a Pictish stone slab, which he performs to camera in an animated and highly energised sequence:

> What we have here is a carved picture book. And it's telling us about a battle, a moment when two armies come together. … The swords are flying, the blood is splattering, and there's a pile of growing bodies. The further up we move, we have retribution - the victors decapitating their enemies. And at the top of that great triumphal parade, I mean if this was made of flesh, not stone, the blood would be oozing through the pores. (Goudie, Episode 1, *The Story of Scottish Art*)

Goudie's choice of phrases was especially vivid, and even gratuitous, and the discomfiting imagery was reinforced by his performance of the script. *The Story of Scottish Art*'s invocation of fierce and lurid battle imagery engages intertextually with other audio-visual genres, both factual and fictional. Such tales are more recognisably the domain of the historical documentary, although the graphic battle account also invoked the violent, fictional war film. The generally rarefied and emotionally contained ambit of the art-historical object was transmuted into an imaginary of mortal physical extremes, where battles and societal violence threaten and imperil life.

Documentaries focused on popular history emphasise 'biographies, battles and high political drama', wherein 'military conflict hold[s] centre stage' (Hunt, 2006, pp.844, 846). *The Story of Scottish Art*'s capitulation to dramatic warring imagery emulates historical documentary strategies, whereby attaining 'good' televisual moments becomes the driving rationale for format and content:

The unrivalled human drama of warfare makes it irresistible television. As the veteran UK television producer Steve Humphries suggests, 'Television history is at its best when telling epic stories. And there are few true stories that have more drama, pathos and tragedy than those of war'. (Hunt, 2006, p.846)

The intense theatricality of Goudie's presentation continued apace before an image of the Crucifixion at the Church of Fowlis Easter near Dundee. As most painting and sculpture was destroyed in the Reformation in Scotland (Macmillan, 1990, p.8) the existence of this panel was a rare example of an iconoclasm-surviving artwork. Stood before the painting, Goudie unleashes a volley of Gothic, foreboding commentary:

> This is a painting that presses you into the armpit of a visceral, twisting tragedy. Can you feel it? I bloody well can. I can feel the drama, I can feel the might. This is medieval folk art from the fifteenth century, and it gets you in the gut. (Goudie, Episode 1, *The Story of Scottish Art*)

Goudie's dialogical inquiry asks questions of the viewer, whose ripostes he infers via an imagined reply, before building an argument using the empirical evidence of the painting. He also exploits the torture and gore of Christ's Passion to metaphorically invoke repulsion in the viewer, who is imaginatively transposed into a fetid scene of 'twisting' weaponry and visceral piercing of flesh.

Metaphors and similes invoke a life and death binary fashioned to inculcate and reinforce the rhetorical polarity. The script is once again an intertextual oratory, this time invoking horror film through the choice of language. Goudie's animated performativity also stretches generic bounds: this is not the cool, disinterested delivery of the 'bureaucratic' presenter, but an intensely gestural and actorly form of delivery. Furthermore, the emphasis on the hyperbolic interpretation of the image sidelines the more orthodox art-historical focus on form, composition, or materials. Instead, the painting serves as the impetus for extemporising emotively before the artwork. Being in situ with artworks was an innovation of *Civilisation*, wherein the director Michael Gill determined that Kenneth Clark 'had to see the things he was talking about and that by being there he would react more brilliantly' (Irwin, 2017, p.367). Goudie's comments and actions mirror Gill's hunch which served the 1969 series so effectively.

Ytreberg (2002, p.768) suggests that charismatic self-presentation was an aspect of most 'latter day genres', although without analysing specific genres. Bell and Grey (2007) interrogated the phenomenon via historical documentaries. Goudie's presentational style evokes such charismatic behaviour. Art history is thereby dovetailing with elements of popular historical representation or invocations of horror-film graphic violence, all combined to fascinate and enthral the viewer with the extremes of compelling stories of human experiences of war and social upheaval. Art history is thereby transcending the boundaries of its own pedagogical realm, moving into combining generic conventions.

However, across the series, not only the presenting style and choice of lexicon are emotive. Artists identified are similarly deployed in the service of discursive formations. Episode 2 was focused on Enlightenment artists, and the narrative trajectory related Scottish art's uniqueness to artists' disposition to venture beyond British shores to Italy: a distinguishing feature impliedly differentiating Scots from their English counterparts. Goudie recounted that painter and satirist William Hogarth remarked pejoratively that Allan Ramsay's (1713-1784) painting style revealed a 'foreign flourish'. Goudie rebuked Hogarth's slander and praised the Scottish artist's wanderlust: '[Ramsay's] most important lessons hadn't been learnt in Presbyterian Scotland, nor were they honed here in London, but in a much more torrid climate' (Goudie, Episode 2, *The Story of Scottish Art*). Rome was introduced panoramically bathed in stark chiaroscuro light generated by glowering storm clouds. A pen portrait of Ramsay related his temperament:

> On the surface, his greatest portraits appear to be all about restraint and pose, but in actual fact this isn't porcelain perfection, this isn't emotional sterility. Beneath that precision, there are really powerful emotions churning in Ramsay's portraits. … I get the impression that the feelings pulsing beneath that fragile film of paint are so violent they threaten to burst through at any point. (Goudie, Episode 2, *The Story of Scottish Art*)

The enthusiasm with which Rome was embraced is narratively augmented by including the decision of neoclassical painter Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798) to take up residency in the Italian capital, 'so powerful' was the experience of encountering the city. Even Robert Adam's (1728-1792) neoclassicist mausoleum – inspired by rational architectural order – is 'full of passion and sensory

intensity' (Goudie, Episode 2, *The Story of Scottish Art*). Scottish artists are deemed to produce works at the behest of their emotions and intuition, and encountering Rome was the Promethean event igniting their essential creative being. Mediterranean culture dispels Church of Scotland fustiness, unleashing an exuberance of artistic response. These artists embody adventurousness and perspicacious emotional literacy. Across the first two episodes the vitality of 'life' as emblematic of creativity is juxtaposed against the perils of impending death, whether in battle or via religious tumult.

Hence, *The Story of Scottish Art*'s curation of certain objects to tell specific stories and omission of given artists or substantial time periods suggest a comprehensive historical overview was adjudged insufficiently engaging for the general audience. Goudie also recounted that artists he was very keen to have included were cut in the final edit, therefore, the overall narrative decisions were not exclusively his choices. Nonetheless, the febrile content of these early episodes suggests that not only the intellect is to be engaged, the audience's imagination and bodily reactions must also be stimulated. The metaphors deployed in the grisly, body-horror language endeavour to precipitate synaesthetic connections between beholding an artwork and experiencing a concomitant somatic response through a televisual experience. Goudie invites the viewer to react physically as well as intellectually to the story woven around the objects.

Overall, thematically, sweeping 'grand narratives' are invoked to beguile the viewer. Scottish art either embodies the most violent and psychologically disruptive moments of Scotland's history, or the forces propelling the nation's artists to create are exceptional ones, and encountered beyond Scotland. In Italy the limits of Scotland's climate and religious rigidity are transcended to intuit and commune with universal phenomena of humanist existence. Goudie fashions a discourse of exceptional creativity born of history's dramas or citizen-of-the-world adventurousness and Dionysian dispositions. Scottish creativity becomes a matter of life and death.

Goudie simultaneously was developing and refashioning the charismatic presenter persona. Factual television is witnessing the introduction of various tropes to deliver greater narrative frisson to excite viewers and hold their

attention. As well as introducing presenters' drawing skills, these art-historical iterations have also populated their productions with ever more dramatic rhetorical and visual components. Production sensibilities may be pushing the parameters of the art history programme into multi-hybrid genres, but underlying these narrative and performative devices is a lack of faith in art history's intrinsic ability to engage viewers in the endeavour to serve the general audience.

7.4 The charismatic presenter and dramaturgical configurations

However, these discursive shifts are not entirely attributable to Goudie. Bell and Grey (2007, p.121), in their examination of history documentaries, observe that it was 'difficult for a professional historian to maintain physical authority on screen unless they are allowed to do so by the producers'. In the production format established for *Civilisation*, Irwin (2017, p.366) draws particular attention to the roles of series' producers Michael Gill and Peter Montagnon. The former 'understood how to make subjects televisual' and impressed on Kenneth Clark that to 'capture the audience's attention and imagination, the latter could not simply give a series of lectures to camera' (Irwin, 2017, p.366). Clark had to be schooled by Gill to adapt his script to meet the communicative values and non-studio format of this seminal series (Irwin, 2017, p.367). BBC Scotland directors were also key to the structuring of content to ensure its communicative clarity. However, Goudie acknowledged the particular personality of director Tim Niel, director of Episode 1, in suggesting a heightened and more unbridled approach to delivery of lines in *The Story of Scottish Art*. He described Niel as

> very experienced and rather eccentric, a wonderful man. And he didn't really do scripts at all. ... There is a convention for how you present a script for screen … and Tim's weren't like that. It was like some kind of performance poetry. … And I was like, 'What the hell is going on?!' And I almost lost it. And because my wife is experienced in TV, she was like, 'Don't worry, just work with it', and once I relaxed into it, Tim was just so wonderful … because he would make the process of filming quite free. (Lachlan Goudie, interview, 14 October 2020)

Goudie was thus given scope to ramp up emotionalism and intensity under Niel's tutelage, and the director was therefore pivotal in bringing Goudie's televisual persona to a point of maturation, and arguably pushing the genre parameters of art-historical programming into new realms. Bell and Grey (2007, p.122) observe that 'The charismatic presenter does not arrive ready formed; their television persona often develops and builds over time'. Furthermore, this 'freeing' of Goudie is arguably a more authentic manifestation of the presenter. Twaddle elaborated on Goudie's 'passionate' persona:

> He would do that absolutely naturally … so I suppose sometimes that's the job, it's that you try and harness this. Let's make sure we put the camera on so there's the chance to capture this. But yeah, he's so good at that. (Interview, 30 November 2020)

Therefore, both writer-presenter and director are focused on 'creating story', and the capturing and guiding of Goudie's personality traits as well as his writing and presenting acumen were critical to the form the productions took. Although not all presenters on visual arts documentaries embraced this approach to script delivery and directing. Critics of the changes that competitive television had wrought on presenting styles were scathing in appraisals of these particular innovations:

> On the whole, if you have got any authority and if you have any expertise, and if you have sophistication, you're pretty much asked not to bore people with it on TV. You're asked to pretend to be a child. And to fakely emote, or fakely enthuse, and to put great dollops of fake sentiment and passion into every sentence that you deliver to the camera. And if you fail to do that those bits will be cut out. (Matthew Collings, Arts Broadcaster, interview on *The Art of Arts TV*, BBC4, 2008)

For Goudie, delivering in this register was an extension of his personality, therefore he did not consider such directing styles inimical to an authentic presentation of himself and his connection to the subject matter. Furthermore, not all of *The Story of Scottish Art* episodes were directed in such emotionalised registers. Episode 3 was a much more tonally measured programme within which topics are covered with greater nuance, and as each episode had a different director, the varied directing styles would elicit different types of delivery from Goudie.

Hence, Goudie's development as a presenter, and his ability to communicate with clarity as well as dramatic invocation are factors attributable to discursive processes at specific socio-historical periods and in respect of different directing styles. Goudie's presenting style under Niel's style of directing is more redolent of Goudie's personality, and indicative of Ytreberg's (2002, p.760) observation on the importance of idiosyncrasy in presenting and that 'ideal types of self-presentation can be both plural at any given instant and subject to change over time.' Yet Goudie's idiosyncrasies were encouraged and given a platform in a post-marketisation era where the urgency to maintain an audience generates novel and potent reworkings of the ideas of the 'charismatic' as distinct from the 'distanced-self' bureaucrat. While directing styles had been advocating for 'enthusiasm' in the presenting persona prior to the arrival of *The Story of Scottish Art*, Goudie's ecstatic exuberance was an authentic response to the artworks with which he was confronted. Moreover, his artistic knowledge allied with his scriptwriting contribution lent greater authority to the pronouncements he made. Goudie's presence was a return to the artist-expert familiar to programming in the sixties and seventies, but with the inflection of contemporary production preferences for new presenting personae.

Creating dramaturgy in presenter-led programming

The storytelling referred to by Bill MacLeod speaks to the 'narrativization' of factual programming as explored by Hansen et al. (2016, pp.43-9) in their analysis of television news bulletins in which they identified a specific 'dramaturgy' at play. In its theatrical rather than sociological meaning, dramaturgy as 'the art or technique of dramatical composition or theatrical representation' (Merriam-Webster, n.d.) offers a helpful tool to understand the construction of narrative in factual programme settings.

Hansen et al. (2016) identified the contextual and temporal elements of a news report underpinning its dramaturgical logic. These structural dynamics added tension to the news item's presentation. Benford and Hunt (1992, p.37) analysed key components of dramaturgy evident in social movements, which included, inter alia, 'sustaining dramatic tensions and orchestrating emotions'; impacts similarly identified in analysis of performed drama (Kantola, 1998 cited in Hellman and Lerkkanen, 2019, p.40). Hence, the theorisation of the connections

between emotionalism and the structuring and presentation of information in theatrical and non-theatrical settings can be transposed to factual programming.

In science programming Van Dijck (2006, p.9) identified the 'expository and explanatory' narrative modes deployed to communicate educational information around a science concept. Expository events are evident in visual arts documentaries in artefact presentation and contextualisation, and were also identified by Kulik in archaeological programming (2006). However, rather than the 'explanatory' mode of science genres, what is evident in visual arts documentaries is a 'performative' mode as the presenter provides an interpretation of an artefact or artistic movement through either an emotionally heightened or urbanely restrained demeanour while physically situated in diverse physical backgrounds, as exemplified respectively by Goudie and Clark.

While intertextual elements of the production were identified in Goudie's presenting style and script content, the choice of presenter can also serve an intertextual purpose in the post-1990 era. Drawing on the theories of Bakhtin in discussion of literature, Graham Allen (2011, p.29) suggests that 'The discourse of characters in a polyphonic novel … exemplifies the intertextual or dialogic nature of language by always serving two speakers, two intentions … but always within the single utterance'. In the post-1990 television era, the utterances of the non-expert similarly serve two intentions. The first is to communicate information – the expository intention – and the second is to be 'two speakers', in that they address the viewer both through the already-known identity as a comedian, actor, or broadcaster, thereby inculcating familiarity and instant identification with the presenter, while also exposing to the viewer a novel, unknown aspect of their persona; one that relays information from a field they are not professionally connected to. This intertextuality occurs through the presence of the celebrity presenter, which is achieved by different means in different productions. Connolly's art history intermediary being 'performed' in *The Bigger Picture* simultaneously speaks to his approachable and genial comedic persona. Dimbleby's presence as he interprets artworks is in dialogue with his authority as a political broadcaster. Such are the intertextual elements in these productions. The travelogue format of *A Picture of Britain* brought a further layer of genre intertextuality to the production dramaturgy.

What is created in celebrity productions (Connolly; Dimbleby; Capaldi; Palin) is an overall dramaturgical impact that acknowledges the audience has a ready-formed relationship with these personalities and their body of professional work. In essence, there is a temporally and spatially elastic televisual universe that the audience is immersed in when tuning into a programme. Viewers can then be moved imaginatively around this symbolic space by tapping into the pleasures that are experienced in other viewing moments. The familiar persona provides an already-present element of entertainment for the audience by virtue of the professional skills inherent in the chosen celebrity. A priori 'entertainment' is essential to the celebrity's purpose. Goudie himself did not exhibit an intertextual relationship through his celebrity. The performance of 'being an artist' sufficed to add an element of entertainment to the production dramaturgy – as tried and tested historically with Rolf Harris. *The Story of Scottish Art* delivered genre intertextuality via the script and its performative interpretation.

The purpose of bringing non-art history experts into productions is to obviate the didactic, hectoring voice that certain 'elite' experts were accused of possessing (Conlin, 2009), and quite avowedly to seek better ratings in a competitive televisual arena (*The Art in Arts TV*, BBC4, 2008). It is also noteworthy that Clark, a history graduate, was not deemed sufficiently 'expert' by his art historian contemporaries (Conlin, 2009). The 'charisma' is already present from the celebrity's performing nous established elsewhere, or in the case of Goudie, it is developed in the directing process. However, as *The Bigger Picture*'s script performance was rather rigid, and Dimbleby's interpersonal skills retained journalistic 'distance', the post-1990 era has created hybrid presenting types rather than establishing a marked leap from one polarity to another; i.e. from the bureaucratic to the charismatic. Furthermore, notwithstanding the charisma that has been theorised for the era of competitive television, as interrogated above, the celebrity presenter at times has performed the script in a more restrained manner.

Therefore, I suggest that this post-1990 era presenter, characterised by lacking art-historical expertise and at times more involved in biographical interests rather than aesthetic, as was the case with Palin, is more helpfully identified as an *intertextual storyteller*. Therefore, in respect of the post-1990 presenter, I

would argue that categorising their role as intertextual storyteller addresses both the element of playing with genre boundaries that the productions adopted and acknowledges the focused emphasis on 'story' alluded to by Bill MacLeod.

In respect of the pre-1990 era, Conlin (2009) sets out the various ways in which Kenneth Clark was neither hectoring nor didactic. Indeed, Clark is cognisant of, and sensitive to, the putative audience he addresses. The feelings of viewers in terms of anticipating their responses were being taken into account. Therefore, while the pre-marketised era presenter has been theorised as inhabiting the bureaucratic personality, on examination of the landmark, grand-narrative production, a fixed distinction between what is charismatic and what is bureaucratic begins to break down.

Analysis of the dramaturgy of the pre-marketised era establishes that Clark was the singular voice of information: there were no interlocutors to substantiate or contextualise his thesis. Similar to Clark's single viewpoint, John Berger in *Ways of Seeing* or Robert Hughes in *Shock of the New* (BBC2 England, 1980) were the single authors of their arguments in other early landmark series. A 2008 BBC4 production, *The Art of Arts TV*, analysed across three episodes the single arts documentary, the magazine format, and the landmark visual arts series. The latter focused heavily of the nature of how presenting style has changed since Kenneth Clark's *Civilisation*. Leslie Megahey, arts programme director and an editor of both *Arena* and *Omnibus* in the late seventies and early eighties made the following observation of the landmark series:

> We believed in authorship. Grandiose though it sounds we believed that we were the authors of these films. Or when we made a film with a Simon Schama or a John Berger, we allowed them this authorship. We were very, very intent on television being able to publish ideas for the first time. (Leslie Megahey, interviewed in *The Art of Arts TV*, BBC4, 2008)

In the landmark production, the pre-1990 presenter, by virtue of their unassailable authority, is permitted televisual space to be the solitary voice within the production. However, in seeking to address an unseen audience, these presenters were not 'monologic' as framed by Allen (2011, p.25); instead, through performance of the script they communicated with a hypothetical interlocutor – the viewer. Although Schama is described as being permitted

authorship by Megahey, he was also theorised as a 'charismatic' presence by Bell and Gray (2007, p.22) in his mature presenting persona. Hence, the complexities and nuances of presenting types proliferate and are more flexible than theorised.

Thus, the highly personal approaches to presenting outlined above may be characteristic of distanced selves, but open to question is whether they are bureaucratic personalities in the pre-1990 era. Cognisance of the 'informal' nature of televisual communication was firmly grasped by Kenneth Clark (Conlin, 2009, pp.24-5). Therefore, rather than categorising these presenting approaches as 'bureaucratic', the key determinant that distinguishes their approach to information sharing is that it is 'authorial'; an attribute compounded by the 'presenter-hero' status. I therefore define the pre-1990 approach to presenting in the landmark series as the *authorial hero*.

A further aspect of the dramaturgy addresses the nature of the knowledge construction. Clark had acknowledged that he was a 'hero-worshipper' and *Civilisation*'s focus on a 'collection of a few individuals' lent an accusation of elitism to the framing of his arguments (Conlin, 2009, p.56). However, Clark's programme was not as myopic in its conceptualisation as popular criticism suggested. Conlin's evaluation of the production observes that 'civilisation' as an 'identity' is 'both less stable and less unified', and as such is not a 'single story' (2009, p.49). This element of dialectical investigation in Clark's approach belies the accusations of a didacticism levelled by critics.

In addition, when analysed further, the distinction between the landmark production pre- and post-1990 is not sharply defined. The charismatic qualities of the celebrity presenter thematically have points of convergence with the pre-marketised era. The pre-1990 landmark production was not studio-bound and visually static. Inventive use of visuals such as montages and confected mise-en-scènes in *Shock of the New* or *Ways of Seeing* demonstrate that an armoury of visual tactics was being deployed to create as stimulating an experience as possible for the viewer (*The Art of the Arts TV*, BBC4, 2008). *Civilisation* has been much lauded for its spectacular visuals and technical brio, and the use of musical score to accompany images added the theorised 'orchestrating emotions' to the dramaturgy.

Ultimately, the authorial hero was dramaturgically put to similar production ends as the celebrity or 'charismatic' personality of the post-1990 era. Within the spectacle of a landmark visual arts documentary, all components interact to dazzle and draw in the viewer. The overall dramaturgy of a visual arts documentary is dependent on multiple aspects of production that converge to fashion the charismatic spectacle in a landmark production. The cinematic epic-theoretical or storytelling narrative expositions of both eras' production approaches contain as many areas of overlap as points of divergence.

A principal point of departure that does exist across the two eras relates to the discourses that were generated in the two different presenting formations. *Civilisation* has been famously and repeatedly critiqued for its elitism. Yet, visual arts documentaries have continued to draw only modest, specialist audiences, even in the highly marketised era, notwithstanding the various formatting innovations brought to bear on productions. What has to be acknowledged is that the visual arts remain a niche interest if presented as interrogations of history or theory. Only swiftly created pastiches of Impressionist paintings, for example, as created for *Rolf on Art* (BBC1, 2001-7), or the detective trope of *Fake or Fortune?* are sufficiently entertaining to bring in significant audience numbers.

In pre-1990 era productions, a discourse was constructed of visual art's intellectual and social importance – whether it was being celebrated or critiqued by the authorial hero. In the post-1990 era, 'superiority' formations have generated different discursive outcomes. In *The Story of Scottish Art* the discursive formation created articulates a sense of 'Scottish art history' or 'Scottish art' as being exceptional. Scottish art is defined, even if implicitly and symbolically, in relation to English–British art history. This is the key rationale for undertaking a survey of Scottish art within a 'nations' television framework. Yet, without the inclusion of an investigation of British or English or Irish or Welsh art, *within the same programme,* 'Scottish art' as a topic becomes isolated from its broader geographical-cultural ambit. Without discussion of other nations' art forms, there is no scope to compare or contrast with other nations' cultural heritage or cultural production. Unanswered questions arise in the viewer's mind: Is Scottish art 'better' than 'English' art? Were English, or Welsh, or Irish artists not impassioned, innovative, adventurous? Are these other

nations' artists inferior to their Scottish counterparts? The cultural nationalism is overt in these national-identity-focused pedagogies. Consequently, the Scottish art history programme becomes a promotion of Scotland's art, rather than a contextualisation of the topic. The risk is that the general audience viewer who is new to the topic of 'art' is presented with a partial analysis.

Hence, such single-nations-based approaches are formations which generate narratives around cultural identity as much as art history: they are by their very policy and public-purpose nature educationally delimited. The 'grand-narrative' landmark art history production falls prey to a discourse of the superiority of Scottish art by the very act of seeking to narrativise a particular topic under a grandiloquent, national-identity theme. In the pre-marketised era, offering authoritative space to the 'expert' expressed a confidence in the visual arts topic itself, and a presumption that it would gain an audience. Conversely, the discourse generated in the marketised era is of art history being insufficiently intriguing or stimulating in its own right to hold the audience's attention. The dramatic interventions of the hyperbolic or stereotypical script, and/or the inclusion of a celebrity, speak to the anxiety that a general audience could not be held – and entertained – by a more ambitious conceptualisation of art-historical themes. The recourse to intertextuality was a crisis of confidence in the discipline in the era of competitive television.

In the final case study, covered in the next section, art-historically trained presenters were brought once again to the visual arts genre, and in doing so, further elements of pre-1990 broadcasting personae re-emerged in visual arts programming.

7.5 *Britain's Lost Masterpieces*: beyond the general audience

In 2016, the year BBC Charter Renewal was afoot, *Britain's Lost Masterpieces* (BBC4, 2016-2022), a new art-historical series, was to grace BBC4's schedule. The brainchild of historian and art dealer Bendor Grosvenor, it ran successfully over a six-year period, albeit in five short, sporadic series. Operating as working title 'The Art Detectives', the production was redolent of a dramaturgy structured around mystery-solving: Grosvenor and art historian Jacky Klein

‘scour museums and great houses for lost or forgotten art … restore the pieces [to] identify and value the works before returning them to the nation’s museums and galleries’ (Gannagé-Stewart, 2016, n.p.). The series was independently produced by Scottish company Tern TV, where its executive producers were Harry Bell and Brendan Hughes. Emma Cahusac executive produced for the BBC. The final ‘detective’ in the series was London-based paintings conservator Simon Gillespie.

As the final case study in the thesis, *Britain’s Lost Masterpieces* provides the opportunity to analyse a more ‘traditional’ art history production. The series had two key presenters, in certain episodes covered art that is both Scottish and located in Scotland, but did so without seeking an overt ‘storytelling’ approach promoting national identity or grand theses around the purpose of the visual arts. The series therefore offers a point of comparison with the case studies produced by BBC Scotland.

‘The Art Detectives’ was one of many arts programmes commissioned for BBC4 in 2016 produced by independent production companies (Gannagé-Stewart, 2016, n.p.). Indies had generally experienced challenges by 2016 owing to Delivering Quality First, but Tern Television had increased its quantity of programming and income and had ‘had an excellent year’ (*Broadcast*, 2016, n.p.). Based in Scotland and Northern Ireland with offices in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Belfast, in 2005 Tern was the biggest ‘indigenous’ Scottish independent producer (*Broadcast*, 2005, n.p.). David Strachan, co-founder and managing director, declared in 2017 that ‘there’s never been a better time to be a nations producer’, with Tern’s staff having multiplied fourfold since its incorporation into Zinc Media Group in 2017 (Ibekwe, 2019, n.p.).

Grosvenor, who is based in Scotland, was a contributing expert to *The Story of Scottish Art*. He also presented *The Lost Portrait of Bonnie Prince Charlie: A Culture Show Special* in 2014 (BBC2 England). However, his presenting career had begun on *Fake or Fortune?* (BBC1, 2011-), the BBC’s most-watched arts programme, with audiences of up to five million viewers (Chesters, 2016, n.p.).

BBC Head of Arts Commissioning Mark Bell greenlit *Britain’s Lost Masterpieces* (Gannagé-Stewart, 2016, n.p.), although there was controversy when the new

series was announced, with the *Fake or Fortune?* team allegedly 'in dispute' over *Britain's Lost Masterpieces'* similarities to the Philip Mould and Fiona Bruce-hosted show (Chesters, 2016, n.p). Grosvenor had also been part of the presenting team on *Fake or Fortune?*, a series focused principally on privately owned artworks, while *Britain's Lost Masterpieces* sought works in public collections. Grosvenor's doctorate is in history – although known for his art-historical knowledge on television – and considered an Anthony van Dyck expert following his decade-long period working with Philip Mould, a recognised authority on painting attribution, in the Pall Mall London gallery where the latter deals commercially in paintings (philipmould.com, n.d.). Fiona Bruce is a well-known BBC news anchor and, since 2008, presenter of schedule stalwart *The Antiques Road Show* (BBC1, 1979-). The BBC insisted that the two series were distinct and ploughed ahead with commissioning the Grosvenor brainchild.

Britain's Lost Masterpieces was produced and directed by Spike Geilinger, who began his television career at TV-am in the eighties as a camera operator and moved into directing in the 2000s (Interview, 24 February 2021). Despite being based in Brighton, most of Geilinger's career has been spent either working for BBC Scotland or Scottish independent production companies. Although each series of *Britain's Lost Masterpieces* covers galleries and sites from across the UK, as a BBC 'centrally' commissioned series the production's motivating rationale was not necessarily to be representative of the nations or regions (Spike Geilinger, interview, 24 February 2021).

Geilinger observed that 'the basic premise of the films [lies] with Bendor finding a painting, taking it to Simon and restoring the painting, showing it to an expert and seeing if it really is what we think it might be' (Interview, 24 February 2021). Grosvenor's point of departure from the *Fake or Fortune?* format is that he uses the *Art UK* website, which is a database of every artwork in public collections in the UK, to seek out potentially misattributed artworks. Grosvenor outlined an impetus for the production, the status of being a 'connoisseur', and correctly attributing their creations to the appropriate artists:

> One of the reasons I do this programme is to try to show to people that it's not this sort of mystical, elitist, strange practice, but something that you can demonstrate clearly how it works and why it works. The other reason I

do it is because it's actually a fantastically useful way of getting people engaged in art history. (Bendor Grosvenor quoted in Gipson, 2018, n.p.)

Geilinger noted that there was 'nervousness' about the production as its premise was rather high-stakes both in terms of finding 'lost masterpieces' and following the detective work, as 'sitting and watching a picture being restored doesn't immediately strike you as a gripping piece of television' (Interview, 24 February 2021).

As well as the sleuthing element, *Britain's Lost Masterpieces* also required a shift from the sustained focus on a single charismatically framed presenter to multiple protagonists. In regard to formatting decisions, Geilinger observed that:

> Harry's [Bell] got a very broad understanding of what makes television programmes work, but I'd say inevitably if you're running a production company like that, what you're looking for is things that are going to be popular. And so, every commissioner in indie like that is going to have a better radar for what's going to make it watchable to a broader public. (Spike Geilinger, interview, 24 February 2021)

Grosvenor's original proposal included Simon Gillespie, as they had worked together professionally outside of television. However, art historian Jacky Klein was already on board by the time Geilinger was hired. As 'there was no kind of clear blue water between Jacky and Bendor', with two presenters to script for, Geilinger found it challenging to ensure each had 'a balanced presence in the film' (Spike Geilinger, interview, 24 February 2021). Grosvenor undertook the technical and detective-work challenges and also identified pertinent artworks in pre-production research. Klein contextualised the art history. Scriptwriting was Geilinger's domain, 'which is my favourite part of the process. … We need to tell the story of the artist and make people worry, "Can we get this [attribution] through?"' (Spike Geilinger, interview, 24 February 2021). Geilinger clarified that although the production is 'very strictly scripted', there was scope to extemporise on the part of the presenter if deemed necessary (Interview, 24 February 2021).

The case study episode

The case selected was an episode from the first series entitled ‘Aberdeenshire’, which was both focused on Scotland and included work by a Scottish artist. Aired on 5 October 2016, artworks were investigated from National Trust for Scotland property Haddo House, north of Aberdeen, and Montrose Museum (despite the title, the latter is in Angus, not Aberdeenshire).

Grosvenor was intrigued by a portrait hanging above a doorway attributed to a Renaissance artist, Innocenzo da Imola (1490-1550). Convinced it was ‘far, far too good’ to be by this minor Italian player, he suspects it could be a Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, 1483-1520). The National Trust for Scotland had also queried the provenance of a painting attributed to Claude Lorraine (1604/5?-1682). Grosvenor’s interest was also piqued by a portrait ‘after Allan Ramsay’ of the physician Dr Richard Mead in storage at Montrose Museum. ‘After’ suggests a copy made by another artist; however, from the photographic evidence Grosvenor suspects that the work could be by Ramsay himself.

All ended well in sleuthing terms, as it transpired the Ramsay was the ‘lost original’ of 1739. The Claude guru Professor Marcel Roethlisberger conferred attributed status to the Claude Lorraine, while Sir Nicolas Penny, ex-director at the National Gallery in London, stopped short of unequivocal declaration of a Raphael having been discovered and requested further investigation. The programme’s mystery-solving therefore reached a successful denouement, and humble municipal galleries and publicly owned collections instantly gained more noteworthy visitor attractions.

Britain’s Lost Masterpieces operates very much in the vein of traditional art history in respect of its artists and historical periods. Furthermore, the focus on more famous names ensures remaining within the canon: producers were reluctant to bring more obscure artists to the viewer’s attention (Bendor Grosvenor, interview with Ferren Gipson, 2018). Nonetheless, content is granular with abundant dates and contextualising information. Ramsay, as an eighteenth-century artist had his educational and financial situation contextualised, while Italy was represented as a seat of learning rather than a metaphor for the romantic sensibilities of the artists who studied there.

Tonally, the series is restrained. Within the framework of 'connoisseurship' Grosvenor was not on a journey of emotive or dramatic intensity, but on a mission to recalibrate art-historical knowledge and the economic value of artworks. The drama of the series' format lies in the jeopardy inherent in seeking to uncover unknown valuables in public collections. Therefore, operating outwith the public purpose requirements of the nations and regions to 'reflect' and 'represent' culture, the art detective narratives are decoupled from any need to vaunt Scottish art's cultural value at the implied expense of any other small nations or English regions' offerings.

Britain's Lost Masterpieces stands in contrast in presentational style to the other productions covered in this study. Essentially, viewers witness professional people undertake a job of work. Each personality on screen is calm, controlled, contained. The tone in delivery performance is measured, erudite, and unabashedly art historical. There's no desire to excite or invoke delirious attachment to objects or historical personalities, nor generate a 'grand narrative' under an overarching theme.

The dramatic premise is not achieved through intertextuality, but through the risk of an educated hunch being wrong. The whodunnit format is seeking to uncover the authentic hand behind a painting's creation, and in doing so increase the material and cultural value of the object under investigation. A discursive undercurrent does persist, however, in foregrounding an elite historical world of aristocratic fortunes that could form collections of Italian masters, while concurrently, there is unspoken knowledge of the monetary value of these paintings in contemporary art markets. The additional layer of symbolic meaning gives prominence to the cultural position of provincial and regional public art collections and pays tribute to the historic connoisseurship of local noteworthy figures. The allusion to 'Britain's' masterpieces simultaneously unifies the disparate pockets of the UK under a Reithian national identity and reinforces the 'cultured' status of the UK at large.

The programme possesses an air of confidence in respect of its ability to engage without hyperbole. The production wears scholarliness on its sleeve more emphatically than *The Story of Scottish Art* or *A Portrait of Scotland*. There are in-depth and involved back stories developed for the artworks being

investigated; and with the focus on towns or collections that lie beyond major cities, there is an opportunity to incorporate less well-known historical figures in greater detail than in the grand narrative project. Overall, there was an investigative depth and a quantity of information that differed from the general audience approach adhered to by late post-1990 productions. I asked Geilinger about the focus on ratings and seeking to appeal to a broad constituency:

> I'm absolutely not interested in that at all. I'm really not interested how many people watch it. If I'm gonna make it, I'd like to do it so it works for me. … So, there's a bit of friction sometimes about the level of information in a film, and Harry's [Bell] the arbiter as the exec of that, you know, whether we've made it too complicated. … What's always an issue is that they think I assume prior knowledge that people don't have. I just think if you don't know who Leonardo da Vinci is, go and watch something else. (Spike Geilinger, interview, 24 February 2021)

Geilinger elaborated on the friction with executive producers he had encountered throughout his directing career who commented that he 'overwrote'. He also expressed great admiration for *Civilisation* and also for John Berger, noting that:

> The thing they have in common is that they address really difficult ideas, and it will be overwritten, and there's no possible way they could have been made today. … And I think people are perfectly capable of caring about big ideas, and I don't know that you even necessarily reduce your audience. I don't think people who are not interested in art are going to watch something as esoteric as *Lost Masterpieces* anyway. (Spike Geilinger, interview, 24 February 2021)

Executive producer concerns were unfounded; the series was very successful for a BBC4 visual arts programme. 'As it turned out, people absolutely love it', commented Geilinger (Interview, 24 February 2021). The highest audience overnight rating was 600,000 in the 2017 outing and the 2018 iteration was BBC4's 'best commissioned series' (*Broadcast*, 2018, n.p.). BBC4 arts documentaries generally hover around the 300,000 viewers mark.

Britain's Lost Masterpieces is therefore an antidote to the post-1990, general-audience approach in unapologetically tackling an elite art form in elite environments. As Geilinger highlights, he was not seeking an undifferentiated

broad audience and doggedly pitched the series at the art-interested and already-knowledgeable. Ratings suggest viewers *are* drawn to more specialised and scholarly programmes, although this audience is already-identified as specialist and niche. The detective trope already had proven its ratings worth in *Fake or Fortune?*, therefore, the success is arguably also attributable to the novel and enticing premise of 'treasure' being revealed in the obscurer ends of public collection catalogues.

In respect of presenting typology, Grosvenor and Klein are redolent of the bureaucratic presenter in their measured and English middle/upper middle-class personae, which remain in 'scholarly neutral' mode in performance style. However, they are not authorial, as Geilinger was script writer. Grosvenor is of aristocratic heritage and as a tall man with a bass timbre to his voice delivers his words understatedly, and remains almost diffident in demeanor as he communicates with other figures or in direct-to-camera sequences. He has had a long-standing working relationship with Simon Gillespie, and each was at ease with the other on screen. Klein has an authoritative but warm, communicative manner. However, without the presence of Klein, the programme would have been notably gender imbalanced. In the 'Aberdeenshire' episode, a preponderance of men was involved: primogeniture hereditary males, 'external' experts, tour guides, and gallery spokespeople were all male.

Notwithstanding, the discursive range is deeply conservative: these are after all histories of elites both social and cultural. History-based programmes take the viewer 'into the castles and cathedrals, through the country houses and fields, into the bedrooms and private places. Portraits, tapestries, skulls, coins, statues, all speak of whom the dead once were' (Champion, 2003, p.153 cited in Bell and Grey, 2007, p.118), but those with the means to acquire artworks of great value even in the period they were created, are represented on screen by their title-bearing descendants. The artworks serve as portals into histories of less-represented localities, but wading through the opulent surroundings of stately homes and gilt-framed galleries, the realm of cultural creativity being explored is within a conservatively circumscribed arena. Presenters were contiguous with aristocratic surroundings in socio-demographic terms, reproducing class relations that have marked the presentation of art history through much of television's existence.

The success of *Britain's Lost Masterpieces* ensured it was recommissioned, although the presenting line-up changed in the latter four series. In 2017 Klein was replaced by social historian Emma Dabiri from the Republic of Ireland and of Nigerian-Irish heritage. Spike Geilinger recounted that Klein, who had 'done a very good job' and had displayed 'screen presence' became pregnant as recommissioning was discussed. Geilinger was not party to the decisions in respect of new on-screen talent being brought on board, 'but it's always been presented to me as the BBC having made the decision' (Spike Geilinger, interview, 24 February 2021). Hence, notwithstanding that Dabiri's presence would have enhanced the diversity in terms of representation of the presenters before the camera, as a social historian rather than art historian, the levels of expertise and scholarship pertinent to the topic were, once again, being broadened but also diluted. Notwithstanding Geilinger's determination to write for the art interested, Duncan Macmillan considered art history broadcasting that analysed artworks in a theoretical manner, thereby amplifying the ability to understand the underlying philosophies of particular art-historical periods and artistic impulses, as being entirely underdeveloped on television (Interview, 19 February, 2021).

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed in detail how the presenter-led format served Scottish visual arts productions. A key aim of the chapter has been to analyse the role of presenters and dramaturgically map the relationships between non-expert characteristics as theorised for the marketised era of television production and to compare these characteristics with the dramaturgy of the visual arts pundit who operated in the pre-1990 era.

As is evident from Appendix A, this decade marked a period of sustained and extensive production for visual arts programming, much of it being produced in Scotland. The pan-UK policy initiated at the BBC in the early part of the decade combined with D-G Tony Hall's 'BBC Arts at…' strategy offered Glasgow a privileged situation in respect of arts programming. The resulting productions were the televisual outcomes of decades of Scotland honing production skills and meeting the requirements of network-worthy broadcasting.

The general audience was to be addressed as an arts novice, therefore, the ambitiousness of what I have termed the theoretical-dialectical script of the pre-marketised era had been abandoned to the dramatic-dialogical approach of the post-1990 period in the presenter-led production (see Appendix C). However, this was specifically related to landmark or grand-narrative productions. Although Lachlan Goudie's productions operated within the dramatic structure identified, the authorial approach based on scholarship was still evident in other productions. One such example is Cambridge University art historian Dr James Fox, whose analyses[46] of various aspects of contemporary and historical visual arts practice were broadcast throughout the decade on BBC4.

Yet, the pleasure in being entertained in an educational format continued to be embraced by producers. Therefore, diverse approaches were taken to how the audience was to be addressed and by whom. Although the role of celebrity has been analysed, new talent, such as Goudie, was a hybrid artist-expert in the Capaldi mode, but as scriptwriter for his films, a more autonomous and arguably authorial presence than those who were only performing the words of others. However, Goudie's talent was being developed to present much more emphatically 'story-driven' factual programming, and most of the artists he covered had already been given televisual coverage in previous decades. The 'authorship of ideas' of the pre-1990 era had given way to televisual re-interpretations in the marketised era.

Productions pre-marketisation also required delivering their more theoretical approaches with logical narratives, but the emphasis on dramatically inflected scripts is a notable shift of the post-1990 era. The key distinction is that landmark television, with its charismatic tropes, capitulated to production approaches that embraced music, cinematographic grandeur, and grand narratives – whether theoretical or dramatic – to create television that sought to impact emotionally as well as educationally on the audience. This is apparent both pre- and post-1990. *The Story of Scottish Art* was an amalgam of landmark television tropes with a specifically Scottish inflection.

[46] *Dr James Fox* website. Available at: https://www.drjamesfox.co.uk/broadcasting (Accessed 29 January 2024).

Therefore, the visual arts in the marketised era were served by a variety of presenting styles and myriad topics were covered, both contemporary and historical. Television producers have long sought novelty to bring a topic to televisual life. Yet, art historians and artists like Goudie, Grosvenor, and Klein continued to be developed as presenting talent. Goudie's emotionalised scripts and delivery were authentic expressions of his passions and personality, and he was always an articulate and communicatively cogent presence – Kenneth Clark, at times, was hesitant and occasionally tripped on his words.

But oftentimes in the marketised era, script writing had been delegated to the director. Structuring narrative and communicating clearly to a televisual audience was a skill that those who had been academically trained in a topic did not necessarily possess. The permissiveness of the pre-1990 era, which placed choice of subject in the director's domain, had passed, but the director had been accorded new powers, which were to be the creator of the 'specialist' content for factual television. Such was Spike Geilinger's role for *Britain's Lost Masterpieces*, and in previous decades, Sandy Raffan and Eleanor Yule had been scriptwriters for their art history productions.

Ytreberg's ideal type of 'the formal and deindividualized' presenter found in early broadcasting (2002, p.761) does not accommodate Billy Connolly or Michael Palin's broadcasting personalities. Both were employed emphatically because of who they were as individuals. Connolly also rather uncomfortably straddled the formality of the art-historical presenter. Palin's broadcasting personality was premised entirely on his lack of formality. Hence, Connolly was 'formal and *individualised*', while Palin was *informal* and individualised, as was Peter Capaldi.

David Dimbleby's persona was akin to Connolly's – formal and individualised – for different reasons: his political broadcasting persona was already established. The exceptions to this paradigm were Goudie, Grosvenor, and Klein. As professionals connected to the visual arts outside of television, their personae were more redolent of the Reithian expert. All were talents developed within BBC arts broadcasting, and each differed from already-known celebrities by representing a formal and deindividualised persona, although Goudie morphed into a more informal presenter as his ease in front of the camera evolved and his

directors' guidance shaped new forms of performance and modes of addressing the audience.

Since viewers in the 1980s had expressed a desire to be addressed in a less opinionated and didactic fashion, producers had taken this feedback into account. These new iterations of presenter personae and production approaches may have lacked the authenticity of scholarship early Reithian principles would have dictated, but viewers were being more sensitively and imaginatively considered in the fashioning of formats and scripts that exemplify post-1990 visual arts programmes.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has established the televisual cultures of production underpinning Scottish visual arts programmes in the pre-1990 and post-1990 media policy eras. The former period is defined as the post-war democratic media era by Van Cuilenburg and McQuail (2003, p.194) and the latter begins with the Broadcasting Act of 1990, identified as the precipitating event which profoundly disrupted UK television production.

Through a historical approach to tracking the political context within which policy was fashioned for television broadcasting in Scotland, this thesis has offered new insights into entirely neglected areas of academic interest in the field of production studies. First, the research focused on a specific television arts programming sub-genre – visual arts – that had not been afforded a historical account since John Walker's 1993 overview, nor had marketisation been addressed since Walker's brief analysis of 1990 to 1995 arts and visual arts productions. Moreover, 'regional' productions were entirely overlooked in Walker's commentary. Amy Genders has analysed the demise of the arts magazine format since marketisation, thereby updating formats explored in Walker's analyses. Furthermore, the impact of marketising on nations and regions television programming has not been investigated in any academic commentary. A key finding of the research was establishing the pivotal role that BBC Scotland played in providing arts programming in the UK since the late 1990s.

Whilst principally focused on visual arts programming, the research has nonetheless produced a rich historical account of Scottish arts programming more broadly in both the pre- and post-1990 media policy eras. The pre-1990 policy era was investigated via the construction of a database of over 250 arts programme episodes (see Appendix A); document analysis of newspaper articles and online written and recorded interview archives; textual analysis of television programmes; and industry and professional elite interviews. The post-1990 media policy era was analysed through textual analysis of presenter-led programmes, industry elite interviews, document analysis of UK and Scottish

government legislation and policy publications, and BBC policy publications and initiatives. The post-1990 era was also mapped by reference to the aforementioned database of Scottish visual arts programmes.

Through interviews a 'hidden history' of programming production was unearthed, particularly for the post-1990 policy era. Literature to date has provided accounts from executive level attesting to the struggles of BBC Scotland controllers historically, but granular examinations of the work-life experiences of production staff in STV and BBC Scotland's arts department are under-researched. Genders's (2020) analysis of arts magazine programming includes interview data from BBC Scotland contributors, but a specific focus on Scottish production is absent in the literature. This thesis has addressed these gaps.

The main findings of the research are: establishing a database that covers seven decades of arts programming in Scotland; producing a historical account of the programming cultures and content that characterised Scottish visual arts productions, thereby bringing to light the politics of working environments as well as shifts in programming formats; identifying the qualitative differences between presenting styles in the pre- and post-1990 eras in the visual arts sub-genre; and, accounting for the role of constitutional politics and its relationship to policy enactment for Scottish cultural programming.

Having established through the findings chapters the role of constitutional politics and marketisation discourse in the decision-making processes at Scotland's broadcasters and how they impacted on the type of programmes made, the following sections of the chapter explore the broader implications of these findings and interrogate the ways in which the research methodology determined the nature and scope of what could be brought to empirical light.

First, the role of the case study methodology is explored to evaluate the benefits and limits of a historical narrative. Second, the territorial institutionalist theory is mobilised to situate the relationship between constitutional politics and the production of arts programmes in Scotland; third, the dynamics of nations and regions policy meeting marketised discourse are analysed. Fourth, the role of Scotland as a provider of cultural programming is

reflected upon within given policy frameworks and an assessment offered of the role of presenter-led documentaries. The final sections address the research's implications and its limits, as well as opportunities for further research.

8.2 Establishing the epistemological role of a case study

The case study framework sought points of comparison or divergence across the time periods of each of the findings chapters. From Chapter 4 to Chapter 7, political and policy shifts were identified as the 'causal mechanisms' impacting on broadcasting's productions of culture (Gerring, 2004, p.349).

Thus, the case study approach enabled a tracking of both political and policy activity at specific time periods, which added layers of analytical nuance and granularity to the role marketisation discourse and broader political culture played in television production. Hence, the research established that dynamics of cultural activity beyond television interacted with political developments in Scotland to articulate particular programming production outcomes underpinned by marketisation drivers.

Without a historical perspective, the rationale for specific cultures of production could not have been identified. Furthermore, the case study approach is accommodating of diverse methods and methodologies, and the marriage of a programme database with elite interviews generated entirely original data in respect of the insight into, and overview of, arts programme production in Scotland. Interviewee accounts of the eighties and nineties in particular brought granular data centred on lived experiences of hierarchical dynamics to theories of spatial geographies and centralised elitism. These emotional memories, which were still vivid in the recollections of certain interviewees, were put on the record and given weight as personal testimonies of specific historical policy periods within BBC Scotland and STV. These were voices which hitherto had not been given an opportunity to be heard. In effect, this was an opportunity for a form of 'cultural memory' to be created within a production studies approach. In order to address themes neglected historically in research, '"remembering" (a cognitive process which takes place in individual brains) [was] metaphorically transferred to the level of culture' (Erll, 2010, p.4). In essence, these accounts become part of the BBC in Scotland's, and STV's 'memory', as well as

establishing audience memory connected to the viewing of television programming. Therefore, a key original contribution of this research is to institute understanding of how arts programming played a key role in cementing television in the Scottish polity.

Whilst the pre- and post-1990 policy periods have been distinguished as distinct and generated different programming formats and content, what has been identified is that evaluations seeking to glorify the 'rationed television' era of pre-1990 as one that was intellectually richer with greater offerings for viewers omits acknowledgement of the limited nature of arts programming that was available on public service television for the small nations and regions of the UK. The BBC in Scotland had regular strands of half-hour length but lacked stand-alone single documentaries. STV had principally relied on the wider ITV network to offer visual arts programming, but bucked the trend briefly in the late eighties and early nineties in a moment of fortuitous convergence of regulatory obligation and force and disposition of individual personalities. Within the structures of the commercial or publicly owned organisation the agency of individuals played a decisive role in directing the proliferation and form of arts programmes on television. Yet, as the case of STV demonstrates, without genre or quota requirements, coverage of the visual arts will disappear entirely from the schedules.

Through Chapters 5 and 7, which tracked the impact of post-1990 policies principally within the BBC, there is a discernible evolution in terms of quantity and status of productions being produced in Scotland by the BBC. From the internecine conflicts of the nineties until the shift post-devolution to less combative working cultures, the BBC in Scotland had been a particularly potent site of conflict. Yet, a UK polity that could accommodate decentralising the British political system was mirrored in a broadcasting culture which similarly absorbed the new political realities of the twenty-first century, and concordantly instituted policy mechanisms that served Scotland's programme makers well.

8.3 Territorial institutionalism and broadcasting

In seeking to map the trajectory of the BBC in Scotland's development as an arts production 'centre of excellence', Carter and Smith's (2009) territorial institutionalism offers an appropriate epistemological framework. Carter and Smith's (2009, p.322) research sought to understand 'more abstract policy–polity relationships' through utilising 'sector–territory dialectics as intermediary concepts' to investigate industries' operations. Whilst their focus was on whisky and fisheries, a sector–territory dialectic can be mapped on to Scottish broadcasting by designating 'broadcasting' as the sector element of the dialectic, and 'Scotland' as the territory. Within BBC broadcasting, these two components had been conceptually irreconcilable within certain strands of institutional 'regionalist' thinking. Hence, the institutional relationships identified in BBC Scotland can be interrogated in order to understand how cultural programming was conceptualised in the aftermath of the 1979 failed referendum and then beyond the 1997 devolution referendum. As analysis of STV was limited principally to the years before 1990, application of the territorial institutionalist approach cannot be articulated to the same degree for the commercial broadcaster. Therefore, the following discussion will refer principally to the BBC in Scotland as representative of the 'sector' under investigation.

Within the BBC, 'legitimised rules, norms and expectations' (Hall, 1986 cited in Carter and Smith, 2009, p.319) can be interpreted as the BBC policy instruments, such as Extending Choice or the Network Supply Review, that were delivered to meet regional/nations and regions policy goals. By applying a 'production' of goods approach taken by Carter and Smith (2009, p.319) to production of television, this framework facilitates an understanding of the broadcasting policy realm within the context of constitutional politics. The contradictions of the sector–territory dialectic inherent in Scottish broadcasting are that broadcasting in the BBC – the 'sector' – was obdurately British ideologically and essentially reproduced political intransigence around desires for Home Rule until the arrival of New Labour.

Centre-periphery disputes within the BBC typify the disruptive nature of 'institutional orders', which are defined by Carter and Smith (2009, p.326) as a

sector's 'policy instruments and configuration of actors'. The pairing of policies and actors generated activity at the BBC in respect of centre-periphery relationships that created institutional dynamics that can be 'difficult to reconcile and at worst contradictory' (Carter and Smith, 2009, p.326). Examples of strategies to mobilise institutional orders at BBC Scotland included, at times, antagonistic relations in co-production of arts magazine programmes with London or battling to have programmes commissioned by the network. Such tensions speak to 'the examples of politicisation and depoliticization' (Carter and Smith, 2009, pp.322, 326) that respectively characterised broadcasting in Scotland prior to the 1979 and 1997 referenda and in the aftermath of devolution.

However, nations and regions policy as an institutional mechanism was mandated to deliver specifically Scottish programming, and to provide for the network. Therefore, the territorial nature of Scotland was the conceptual framing acknowledged by central BBC forces and adopted by BBC Scotland professionals. Not all BBC Scotland staff were avowedly independence-minded or inclined to cultural nationalism, therefore, 'territory' became an institutional concept that was dependent on external political events in order for it to become 'depoliticised'. Thus, territory was the resource mobilised by programme makers at all echelons of the BBC to meet the internal policy requirements of centralised BBC policy, notwithstanding the antagonism encountered in fulfilling institutional requirements at different historical periods within Scottish broadcasting.

Hence, once devolution was enacted, tensions over external politics impacting on internal BBC relationships eased, as Chapters 6 and 7 attest. Carter and Smith (2009, p.318) report that sectors they analysed became 'entrepreneurs of policy' once devolved powers were accorded to these previously reserved matters. Broadcasting policy remained a reserved power, nonetheless, 'territory' was implicitly the mobilising factor in nations and regions policy. Only once the politics of Home Rule had been resolved beyond the BBC was the institution disposed to absorb the realpolitik of a devolved settlement – and these realities chimed politically with Greg Dyke as director-general and affiliate of New Labour. In consequence, devolution at this point in the history of BBC Scotland

was able to develop sector building, in Glasgow in particular, through the 'evocation' of territory (Carter and Smith, 2009, p.315).

'Territory' therefore also became 'a resource for mediating conflict between competing interests' (Carter and Smith, 2009, p.326) once devolution had been enacted. Carter and Smith (2009, p.329) note that even in reserved matters the Scottish Government and Parliament were able to 'draw resources from devolution' to bring legitimacy to their claims to 'achieve policy goals' at European level of engagement. Similar dynamics have been observed in the research in respect of Scottish broadcasting.

While remaining a reserved matter, it can be argued that in broadcasting, devolution similarly afforded an 'eligibility' (Carter and Smith, 2009, p.329) to television production in Scotland. Hence, the BBC's regionalism paradigm was superseded by a policy approach – nations and regions – which lent itself to a discursive shift which both acknowledged the democratic realities of Scottish devolution and integrated those political shifts into the institutionalised policy rules and norms of BBC operations. Programming production activity may have had overt political overtones for certain research participants. However, identity- and polity-building (Carter and Smith, 2009, p.315), as facets of BBC institutionalisation, were also in play prior to devolution. The identity-building was not national-identity building – this already existed – but rather building an identity of BBC Scotland as an arts television production site of note.

Whether actors involved in television mobilised culture overtly for political purposes is incidental: culture has a relationship to politics notwithstanding the disposition of television producers. Yet, the energies applied to cultural programming at the BBC in Scotland (and STV as a competitor) contributed to sector-building north of the border, leading to Glasgow becoming a key contributory producer to cultural programming for the whole of the UK. In summation, the putative and formally institutionalised nature of the 'polity' of Scotland pre- and post-devolution was a decisive factor in the creation of BBC Scotland's pivotal role in arts programming.

8.4 Devolution and marketisation

This thesis has established that marketisation as an ordering principle within broadcasting at the BBC in the era of competitive television was simultaneously served by the polity-building of devolution as an institutionalised ordering principle. Concomitantly, 'devolved broadcasting' in the nations – most saliently represented by the pan-UK model operating under nations and regions policy – was better served by seeking efficiencies through specialised production hubs than by regionalist competition. However, these strategies were not fashioned wittingly as policy mechanisms to achieve these particular outcomes. Their occurrence contemporaneously was entirely coincidental. Marketisation was not a founding principle of PSB. In the UK, public service's founding tenets are public ownership and providing programming for all audience constituencies within a bounded geography. Cultural programming therefore has been a mainstay of broadcasting since the BBC's inception. Such values are inimical to discourses of commercialisation. However, ideological Britishness was historically troubled by ceding further institutional power to non-centralised operations in other parts of the UK. The combination of neoliberal economic philosophy in the 1980s, which manifested as a marketised discourse in broadcasting, converged with devolution at the end of the twentieth century to create propitious circumstances for BBC Scotland in the realm of arts broadcasting.

The caveat in respect of this relationship is that this was an identifiable phenomenon only during the periods of post-marketisation under analysis – 1990 to 2018. By way of case studies, the thesis offers 'insight' into how marketised discourse operated as a causal mechanism at a particular period or unit of analysis, but it is not a 'causal relation' operating outwith the time period of the research's case study period (Gerring, 2004, p.341). As the wider population being served by the sample of visual arts productions, it can be inferred that arts production across BBC Scotland similarly fared well in this very specific production climate. Particular economic and political conditions combined to create a conducive environment for cultural production in Scotland during this time period.

Furthermore, the hierarchy of the centre-periphery spatial model was attenuated under marketisation, even if not dismantled, to give way to a more identifiable networked set of relations throughout the UK. These initiatives accommodated Scottish culture and afforded its programme makers' greater agency over the resources allocated to cultural programming production in Scotland, but sector-building in Scotland for arts programming involved opportunity costs for other production centres. The imbalance of genres apportioned through production hubs arguably impacts on the plurality of cultural representation as Genders (2019) highlighted in respect of the lack of English-language cultural programming in Wales, and this speaks to the ongoing, and historic, tensions inherent in the BBC broadcasting model. However, these dynamics of a sector-territory dialectic, overlaid with marketisation mechanisms, attest to the specific combination of political-cultural events which, within a particular time period, witnessed the flourishing of arts programming in Scotland.

The visual arts sub-genre contributed to Scottish and UK audiences being well served culturally during the era of the pan-UK policy. Scotland's moment in the network and cultural-programming sun was attributable to a conjunction of policy and politics that had a particular inflection owing to Scotland's historical legacy of arts broadcasting. The outcomes for both the BBC Scotland channel and the future life for cultural programming in the UK will be determined by future policy goals and policy mechanisms, as well as the impact of technology on PSM production priorities.

8.5 Presenter personae and the role of visual arts documentaries

The above analyses were the outcomes of evaluating data that came to empirical attention through interpretations of presenter-led programmes. The 1990 Broadcasting Act has been identified as fundamentally disrupting force in UK television. Focusing on a specific format of a sub-genre enabled interrogation of the malevolent or benign aspects of competitive television inaugurated by this key piece of legislation.

Most pointedly identified in the thesis, the presenter-led programme is no longer the domain of the expert or pundit. The impetus to engage a general audience created new typologies of presenter. These experiments with celebrity continue. Black British rapper Tinie Tempah presented BBC1's *Extraordinary Portraits*[47] (2022-3), wherein dramatic personal stories were discussed, and the participants were then the subject of paintings, sculpture, or photography. The foray into bringing personalities who hypothetically can attract new viewers to arts programming continues, and such productions speak to the ongoing instability of, and innovation in, programming formats.

As only one format in the visual arts programming pantheon, it could be argued that the presenter-led approach is a residual deference to Reithian principles that are arcane and outdated in an era of streaming platforms and PSB diminishing audiences. Conversely, concerns abounded that 'dumbing down' occurred in factual programming to meet marketised agendas (Walker, 1998; Kulik, 2006). The political and theoretical case for defending or critiquing PSB content as a cultural legacy in the UK is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, observations can be made in respect of the function of presenter-led visual arts documentaries.

The pitfalls of the televisual approaches to art history have been addressed by commentators such as John Wyver, and in this thesis, the grand narrative production was revealed to be culpable of taking art history into ideological terrain on occasion. Three key areas were identified in the research where the landmark visual arts documentary falls prey to lapses in rigour. The first is in the selective use of events that disrupts historical chronology and comprehensiveness; second is in the risks to academic nuance that can manifest in a non-expert-authored script; and, finally, is the inclination to hyperbolic representations that distort art-historical contexts in respect of understanding Scotland's role more broadly in the art-historical firmament. Yet, notwithstanding these shortcomings, the visual arts are ideal subjects for televisual interpretation.

[47] *Extraordinary Portraits* programme page. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m001503v/episodes/player (Accessed 16 January 2024).

The narrative offerings in representational paintings or sculpture are myriad. Carrying depictions, inter alia, of the mythical, historical, or biblical, in the Western canon, visuals arts' subject matter offers scenarios for consumption that are as dramatic or compelling as those to be found in cinematic form. Moreover, for audiences new to the visual arts, there is the attraction of being able to marvel at the creative skills possessed by artists of diverse periods. Compounding this level of heightened experience through spectacular visuals is an additional function of two- or three-dimensional artworks in an educational framework. As pedagogical artefacts, paintings and sculpture offer portals into particular historical periods, such as those explored in Chapters 5 to 7. Thus, these dual narrative elements of the art-historical/aesthetic and the socio-historical offer an educational 'hook' to focus and direct the mind of the viewer as they absorb facts and information around a specific topic. In other factual genres – science, for example – producers require the services of graphics and ideograms to visually explain the phenomena viewers require for comprehension of complex information. Spectacle is therefore guaranteed as a component of the visual arts viewing experience, further augmenting the televisual appeal of this historically enduring sub-genre of broadcasting.

In respect of Scotland, presenting historical, social, and cultural information to an audience through the lens of artistic practices and protagonists is a meaty proposition for commissioners and producers seeking compelling narratives that hold *visual* appeal. Thus, from the perspective of public service values, there is ample opportunity within the presenter-led visual arts documentary format to educate, inform, and entertain.

Visual arts productions have never commanded the audiences of other less specialised genres. The televisual behemoth that was *Civilisation* drew around 2.5 million viewers per episode (Irwin, 2017, p.368), but this was in an era of three channels and the prospect for viewers of a series specifically created for the still-novel presence of colour television in 1969. Overviews of Scottish art history can capitulate to cultural nationalist tropes in their exceptionalising of Scotland's culture, but art galleries report increased attendance in the aftermath of prominent productions (*The Art of Arts TV*, BBC4, 2008; Conlin, 2009). The researcher's own experience of working in the National Galleries of Scotland in Edinburgh and encountering members of the public who had never

visited an art gallery but felt entitled to do so following the ‘accessibility’ that television offered viewers to an art history experience is evidence of Scannell’s (1989, pp.46–8) theorisation of television’s democratisation of cultural spaces.

But as the compilation of the database for the research brought to attention, television serves as a visual witness to the cultural activity of a nation through particular historical periods. One is cognisant of the documentary value of visual arts programmes as defined by John Corner: audio-visual productions that ‘reflect and report on “the real” through the use of the recorded images and sounds of actuality’ (Corner, 1996, p.2). This quasi-ethnographic and bearing witness function more commonly associated with social and geo-political upheaval has a coterminous role in visual arts documentaries. Michael Palin’s interviews with family and friends of the Scottish Colourists, productions covering Mackintosh’s Glasgow School of Art just prior to its near destruction by a fire, and Goudie interviewing a fellow worker of Stanley Spencer from the painter’s time sketching in Port Glasgow, were all opportunities to commit to visual record important cultural events, personages, and monuments that otherwise would be lost to future generations of viewers. As putative future archives of Scottish cultural activity and achievement, visual arts documentaries are an invaluable contribution to the collective memory of a national culture.

8.6 Limitations and future research possibilities

While the case study approach offered a methodologically rigorous approach to data collection and analysis within a designated time frame, limitations exist in respect of this approach, as well in relation to the specific methods adopted.

The first is in respect of the scope of the project. The case study approach required establishing firm boundaries to the time period of investigation in order to be able to answer the research questions within the bounded framework they established. Two profound shifts occurred in broadcasting at the BBC once the PhD project was underway. The first was the inauguration from 2016 of BBC Studios, the entirely commercial arm of the Corporation’s activities, and the second was the launch of the new BBC Scotland channel in 2019, whose approach to arts programming is much more community-focused and marks a shift away from the landmark or art-historical approach to formatting and

content. Both occurrences were disruptive to arts production in Scotland as was brought to light during interviews. However, they are significant events in the history of the BBC, and this research project could not accommodate within its scope these tumultuous moments in Scottish broadcasting. Focusing on either one of these transformations would have required fresh scoping and consideration of methodologies and conceptual frameworks to tackle these phenomena with appropriate academic depth. However, addressing the impact that these upheavals have had on arts programming at BBC Scotland would be a logical development of the research undertaken for this thesis.

The second consideration for limits of the thesis pertains to the outcomes of the interview process. There were industry professionals who were contacted but did not respond to invitations to participate. Hence, the data derived from interviews is partial and, as such, limited the arguments developed and analyses made on the basis of this particular form of evidence. To compensate for the subjective nature of testimonies, extensive desk research was undertaken to contextualise, query, and corroborate the personalised accounts contributed by participants.

The third consideration is the utility of the database. Its principal purpose was to offer a longitudinal mapping of visual arts production across the decades as determined by the case study. Comprised of a diversity of formats and visual arts content, production types and titles could be tracked and evaluated in regard to policy decisions and the agency of key personnel in influencing programming decisions. The database was sufficiently comprehensive to achieve these aims. However, its principal focus was the BBC. A future fascinating subject for further research is STV, which has been woefully neglected in the literature. The Scottish commercial broadcaster offers copious opportunities for researchers seeking to situate ITV's regional broadcasters with regard to their role within the federal structure under which the commercial network first operated, and to give due empirical scrutiny to the many arts productions that were produced while licence holders were under regulatory obligation to do so.

Finally, only presenter-led programmes were analysed in-depth, therefore, the research framework did not accommodate artist-profile productions or exhibition reviews that materialised in magazine formats. As set out in the

research's findings, the presenter-led format had been well-served in the marketised era. However, Pauline Law, who moved to IWC in 2019, was still pitching ideas for new arts documentaries to channel commissioners in conjunction with Lachlan Goudie, but when interviewed in 2021 had noted a shift in priorities or preferences from channel commissioning executives:

> I just don't know whether it's partly just been hard to get any commissions anyway, but it's been frustrating because he's got some really good ideas he's come to me with … and we just haven't been able to get anything over the line. (Pauline Law, interview 13 January 2021)

Law suggested that there are cycles of preferred genre types and highlighted the challenges that arts producers now face in an era of streaming. With global markets being viewed as the consumers of diverse productions, 'presenter-led documentaries are now less commissionable as not all presenters appeal in all territories' (Pauline Law, email, 24 January 2024). There has also been a shift to what Law termed 'participatory' programmes such as *The Great Pottery Throw Down* (BBC2, 2015-17; More4, 2020; Channel 4, 2021-) and *The Great British Sewing Bee* (2013-), offering space on television to craft forms that have gathered solid audience numbers (Jackson, 2015, n.p.). Therefore, the impetus to innovate does also mean that new topics will be embraced for arts programming – as well as new formats. The golden era of presenter-led productions revealed in this thesis represents specific policy goals and particular aesthetic and production values at particular moments in television's history.

8.7 Implications and contribution to knowledge

This research has shed empirical light on various aspects of television broadcasting of interest to industry professionals UK-wide as well as in Scotland, to academics pursuing research in the broadcasting production field, and to policymakers seeking to understand the dynamics at play within a highly regulated public service arena which continues to be buffeted by marketisation and commercialisation agendas.

The research has generated original insights into the dynamics of key policy areas. First, it theoretically mapped the contours of how a statewide

broadcasting institution operates in a stateless nation such as Scotland; second, it brought understanding of, and conceptually accounted for, the impact of marketisation on a publicly owned sector; third, it traced the relationship between constitutional politics and its articulation within the production of culture in television in Scotland; fourth, and finally, this thesis has mapped the development of new typologies of visual arts programming and new presenting personae in the marketised era of public service broadcasting. The kind of contribution to knowledge of television production studies within a devolved nation is distinctive and, to date, adds a new perspective to research on UK and Scottish broadcasting, and specifically to arts programming.

However, the sector-territory dialectic is not fixed. It will continue to be transformed by the dynamics of Scotland's political ambitions and the vagaries of BBC policy, as well as by the technological disruption of streaming services. Televisual representations of Scottish culture continue to evolve within these political and policy matrices. This thesis has mapped out the vicissitudes of cultural representation that formed around devolution and the imperatives of economically driven policy within a particular time period. As new political manoeuvres are afoot both globally and within the UK and Scotland, future research will uncover new developments in cultural programming.

Appendix A: Programmes Database

DATE	SERIES/ STRAND TITLE	PROGRAMME/EPISODE/ DESCRIPTOR	CHANNEL
27/08/1952		EDINBURGH FESTIVAL MAGAZINE	BBC-tv
03/09/1953		THE EDINBURGH FESTIVAL	BBC-tv
28/08/1955		EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL: A LIFE IN THE SUN	BBC-tv
05/09/1957	ON STAGE	A weekly programme about the theatre	STV
25/10/1959	MONITOR	SCOTTISH PAINTERS	BBC-tv
27/11/1959	COUNTERPOINT	Benno Schotz; Basil Rocke and James Cumming discuss The Society of Scottish Artists.	BBC-tv Scotland
04/12/1959	COUNTERPOINT	Visit to the Glasgow School of Art to hear the opinions of students on their work and future. Introduced by Principal Douglas Percy Bliss.	BBC-tv Scotland
28/08/1961	EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL 1961	BERLIN PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA FROM USHER HALL, EDINBURGH	BBC-tv
31/01/1962	COUNTERPOINT	Anne Redpath at home.	BBC-tv Scotland
28/02/1962	COUNTERPOINT	The Painter and the Paint: Colin Thompson and Robin Philipson.	BBC-tv Scotland
21/03/1962	COUNTERPOINT	The Painter and the Paint: Colin Thompson and Robin Philipson.	BBC-tv Scotland
20/08/1962	HERE AND NOW	(from Edinburgh International Festival)	STV
21/08/1962	HERE AND NOW		STV
22/08/1962	HERE AND NOW		STV
23/08/1962	HERE AND NOW		STV
24/08/1962	HERE AND NOW		STV
27/08/1962	HERE AND NOW		STV
09/09/1962		STARS OF THE EDINBURGH FESTIVAL	BBC-tv
31/10/1962	COUNTERPOINT		BBC-tv Scotland
04/11/1962	A GOLDEN HOUR	Maria Callas And others From Royal Opera House	STV
12/12/1962	COUNTERPOINT	Arts Council of Great Britain	BBC-tv Scotland
30/01/1963	COUNTERPOINT	Two painters of Glasgow and the North-East: Joan Eardley and James Morrison with comment by Robin Philipson.	BBC-tv Scotland
27/02/1963	COUNTERPOINT	Architecture. J.A. Coia & Michael D. Laird	BBC-tv Scotland
05/11/1963	TEMPO	MORNING AT EL ALAMEIN	STV
12/11/1963	TEMPO	A WORLD FULL OF GREY	STV
19/11/1963	TEMPO	LES CHANSONS IMMORTELLES	STV

26/11/1963	**TEMPO**	MARION WILLIAMS	**STV**
03/12/1963	**TEMPO**	SALTIRE IN THE WIND	**STV**
10/12/1963	**TEMPO**	THE LIFE I SING ABOUT	**STV**
17/12/1963	**TEMPO**	THE MARK OF FEAR: THE PAINTER'S VIEW OF TERROR	**STV**
23/12/1963	**TEMPO**	TALES FOR CHRISTMAS	**STV**
01/01/1964	**NEW RELEASE**	(created for new BBC2 channel)	**BBC2**
20/04/1964	**LAUNCH OF BBC2**	(1966 in Scotland)	
31/08/1964	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**	**Music, theatre, films, art-news and discussion about performances and personalities.**	**BBC1**
01/09/1964	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
02/09/1964	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
03/09/1964	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
04/09/1964	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
30/08/1965	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
31/08/1965	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
01/09/1965	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
02/09/1965	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
03/09/1965	**EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**		**BBC1**
21/08/1966	**TEMPO ENCORE**		**STV**
22/08/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**	**20TH EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**	**STV**
23/08/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**		**STV**
24/08/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**		**STV**
25/08/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**		**STV**
26/08/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**		**STV**
28/08/1966	**TEMPO ENCORE**		**STV**
29/08/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**	**20TH EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**	**STV**
30/08/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**		**STV**
31/08/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**		**STV**
01/09/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**		**STV**
02/09/1966	**FESTIVAL CLUB**		**STV**
04/09/1966	**TEMPO ENCORE**		**STV**
11/09/1966	**TEMPO ENCORE**		**STV**
25/09/1966	**TEMPO ENCORE**		**STV**

02/10/1966	**TEMPO ENCORE**		**STV**
09/10/1966	**TEMPO ENCORE**		**STV**
13/10/1966	**FROM SCOTLAND**	**PICTURE PALACE**	**STV**
16/10/1966	**TEMPO**		**ITV**
16/10/1966	**TEMPO**	MITFORD'S VERSAILLES	**STV**
20/10/1966	**PICTURE PALACE**	**GLASGOW'S FABULOUS BIRRELL [SIC] COLLECTION**	**STV**
23/10/1966	**TEMPO**	RADA ACTORS	**STV**
30/10/1966	**S.S.A. '66**		**STV**
06/11/1966	**KALEIDOSCOPE**		**STV**
13/11/1966	**KALEIDOSCOPE**	**A magazine of the arts**	**STV**
20/11/1966	**THE QUEEN'S GALLERY**	ANIMALS IN THE ROYAL ART COLLECTION	**STV**
27/11/1966	**CONTRAST**	A study of four painters: Alice Berger Hammerschlag, TP Flanagan, Raymond Piper and James Watson	**STV**
01/01/1967	**RELEASE**	WEEKLY MAGAZINE ARTS PROGRAMME	**BBC2**
03/06/1967	**FIVE REVOLUTIONARY PAINTERS**	GOYA	**STV**
10/06/1967	**FIVE REVOLUTIONARY PAINTERS**	PETER BREUGEL	**STV**
17/06/1967	**FIVE REVOLUTIONARY PAINTERS**	CARAVAGGIO	**STV**
24/06/1967	**FIVE REVOLUTIONARY PAINTERS**	REMBRANDT	**STV**
01/07/1967	**FIVE REVOLUTIONARY PAINTERS**	VAN GOGH	**STV**
08/07/1967	**LANDSCAPE INTO ART**	NO.1 BACKGROUNDS	**STV**
15/07/1967	**LANDSCAPE INTO ART**	NO.2 FRIENDLY NATURE	**STV**
22/07/1967	**LANDSCAPE INTO ART**	NO.3 UNFRIENDLY NATURE	**STV**
05/08/1967	**LANDSCAPE INTO ART**	NO.5 THE TWO PATHS	**STV**
12/08/1967	**THREE FACES OF FRANCE**	GUSTAVE COURBET	**STV**
19/08/1967	**THREE FACES OF FRANCE**	EDOUARD MANET	**STV**
21/08/1967	**FESTIVAL CLUB**	**(Until 8 September)**	**STV**
26/08/1967	**THREE FACES OF FRANCE**	EDGAR DEGAS	**STV**
29/08/1967	**LANDSCAPE INTO ART**	NO.4 THE NATURAL VISION	**STV**
02/09/1967	**REDISCOVERING THE IMAGE**	PAUL GAUGIN	**STV**
09/09/1967	**REDISCOVERING THE IMAGE**	HENRI ROUSSEAU	**STV**
16/09/1967	**REDISCOVERING THE IMAGE**	EDVARD MUNCH	**STV**
13/10/1967	**OMNIBUS (till 2003)**		**BBC1**
13/12/1968		**NO BEAUTY WITHOUT MELANCHOLY: [aka 'MACKINTOSH']**	**BBC2**
01/01/1969	**SCOPE**		**BBC-tv Scotland**
23/02/1969	**CIVILISATION**	(13 episodes; repeated 1971 BBC1)	**BBC2**
01/01/1970	**AQUARIUS**	**till 1977**	

15/07/1970	CANVAS	A FEELING FOR SCOTLAND	BBC2
26/08/1971	CANVAS	THE MONARCH OF THE GLEN, EDWIN LANDSEER	BBC2
01/01/1972	PAINTING IN SCOTLAND		STV
24/04/1972	SCOPE	MICHAEL TAIN	BBC1
23/11/1972	SCOPE	POT POPULI	BBC1
10/09/1973	SCOPE	JOAN EARDLEY	BBC1
17/09/1973	SCOPE	ELI MONTLAKE	BBC1
24/09/1973	SCOPE	BILL GIBB	BBC1
01/10/1973	SCOPE	BENNO SCHOTZ	BBC1
08/10/1973	SCOPE	WILLIE TURNBULL	BBC1
15/10/1973	SCOPE	AT HOME WITH THE CRAWFORDS	BBC1
01/01/1974	ARENA	(launch)	BBC2
08/01/1974	SCOPE	JOHN MCGLASHAN	BBC1 SCOTLAND
22/01/1974	SCOPE	SANDY BROWN	BBC1 SCOTLAND
19/02/1974	SCOPE	JOHN LAURIE	BBC1 SCOTLAND
23/04/1974	SCOPE	TOM WHALEN, SCULPTOR	BBC1 SCOTLAND
30/04/1974	SCOPE	ARCHIE BRENNAN, TAPESTRY DESIGNER	BBC1 SCOTLAND
29/08/1974		EDINBURGH FESTIVAL	BBC2
09/04/1975	SCOPE NETWORK	SANDY BROWN (rpt from Scope)	BBC2
21/02/1976	SCOPE	GEORGE GARSON (mosaic artist)	BBC2 SCOTLAND
02/04/1976	SCOPE	THE ARTS IN SCOTLAND	BBC2 SCOTLAND
09/04/1976	SCOPE	EILEEN MCCALLUM	BBC2 SCOTLAND
02/02/1977	ARENA	(Rousay Film Society)	BBC2
18/02/1977	SCOPE	ARTS MAGAZINE	BBC1 SCOTLAND
15/08/1977	PORTRAIT	ALEXANDER GOUDIE	BBC2
07/09/1977	ARENA	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL	BBC2
21/10/1977	SPECTRUM	THE TROUBLE ABOUT OLD MASTERS	BBC1 SCOTLAND
04/11/1977	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
18/11/1977	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
25/11/1977	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
02/12/1977	SPECTRUM	DESIGN ON THE LINE (fashion)	BBC1 SCOTLAND
16/12/1977	SPECTRUM	A DOUBLE BILL	BBC1 SCOTLAND
01/01/1978	THE SOUTH BANK SHOW		ITV
13/01/1978	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
03/02/1978	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND

15/02/1978	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
17/02/1978	SPECTRUM	DESIGN ON THE LINE	BBC1 SCOTLAND
05/11/1978		A VIEW OF SCOTLAND	BBC2
12/01/1979	SPECTRUM	MADE IN SCOTLAND	BBC1 SCOTLAND
19/01/1979	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
08/03/1979	ENCORE FOR THE ARTS		STV
30/03/1979	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
10/07/1979	PORTRAIT	BILLY CONNOLLY	BBC2
09/11/1979	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
30/11/1979	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
14/12/1979	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
18/01/1980	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
25/01/1980	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
01/02/1980	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
07/03/1980	SPECTRUM	LOUIS FREMAUX CONCERT	BBC1 SCOTLAND
19/10/1980	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
02/11/1980	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
30/11/1980	SPECTRUM	THE MOVING PICTURE SHOW	BBC1 SCOTLAND
07/12/1980	SPECTRUM	BESSIE BROWN	BBC1 SCOTLAND
01/01/1981	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
18/01/1981	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
15/02/1981	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
22/02/1981	SPECTRUM	UPPIES AND DOONIES	BBC1 SCOTLAND
08/03/1981	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
01/11/1981	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
17/01/1982	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
07/02/1982	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
14/02/1982	SPECTRUM	BORDER CRAFTS	BBC1 SCOTLAND
28/02/1982	SPECTRUM	SIBELIUS'S FIFTH	BBC1 SCOTLAND
04/03/1982	OPEN UNIVERSITY	CHARLES RENNIE MACKINTOSH HILL HOUSE	BBC2

21/03/1982	SPECTRUM	ISLAND CRAFTSMEN	BBC1 SCOTLAND
21/11/1982	SPECTRUM	EDITH SITWELL	BBC1 SCOTLAND
28/11/1982	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
16/01/1983	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
20/02/1983	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
01/04/1983		FOUR ARTISTS AND THEIR WORK	BBC2
18/12/1983	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
01/01/1984		CHARLES RENNIE MACKINTOSH DREAMS AND RECOLLECTIONS	STV/?CH4
15/01/1984	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
22/01/1984	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
29/01/1984	SPECTRUM		BBC1 SCOTLAND
28/05/1984		A FEELING FOR PAINT	BBC2
02/05/1985		HOW WE LOOK: THE ART OF MAKING FACES	BBC2
11/03/1986	ARENA	TWO PAINTERS AMAZED	BBC2
29/10/1986	NEWSNIGHT SPECIAL	JOHN BELLANY: A PORTRAIT	BBC2
01/01/1987		E.P. SCULPTOR	CH4
20/08/1987		FESTIVAL VIEW 87	BBC2
27/08/1987		FESTIVAL VIEW 87	BBC2
25/10/1987	REVIEW		BBC2
01/01/1988	SIGNALS	(until 1990)	CH4
01/01/1988		THE DEMARCO DIMENSION	CH4
01/04/1988	ARENA	BYRNE ABOUT BYRNE	BBC1
24/05/1988		MACH I	BBC2
24/05/1988	NEW SCOTTISH ART	KEN CURRIE	BBC2
25/05/1988		MACH I	BBC2
25/05/1988	NEW SCOTTISH ART	STEPHEN CONROY	BBC2
26/05/1988	NEW SCOTTISH ART	CALUM COLVIN	BBC2
26/05/1988		MACH I	BBC2
27/05/1988		MACH I	BBC2
27/05/1988	NEW SCOTTISH ART	GWEN HARDIE	BBC2
19/08/1988	FORTH FIESTA	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
23/08/1988	FORTH FIESTA	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC3
26/08/1988	FORTH FIESTA	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC4
30/08/1988	FORTH FIESTA	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC5
02/09/1988	FORTH FIESTA	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
17/01/1989	THE LATE SHOW	(until 1995)	BBC2
27/04/1989	NB [until 1997]	ARTS AND CULTURE MAGAZINE SHOW	STV
21/08/1989	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2

27/08/1989	THE GREAT PICTURE CHASE:	Robbie Coltrane, Pat Nevin, David Mach, Adrian Wiszniewski, Peter Howson	BBC1 LONDON
01/01/1990		THE WHY?S MAN: IN PURSUIT OF THE QUESTION MARK	CH4
05/05/1990	SATURDAY NIGHT CLYDE		BBC2
12/05/1990	SATURDAY NIGHT CLYDE		BBC2
19/05/1990	SATURDAY NIGHT CLYDE		BBC2
26/05/1990	SATURDAY NIGHT CLYDE		BBC2
09/06/1990	SATURDAY NIGHT CLYDE		BBC2
16/06/1990	SATURDAY NIGHT CLYDE		BBC2
14/08/1990	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
01/01/1991		THE FALL AND RISE OF MACKINTOSH	STV
15/07/1991	XS	BRIAN COX; EDDIE READER	BBC2
12/08/1991	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
28/04/1992	EX-S [till 2002]	ANNIE LENNOX	BBC2
17/06/1992		TOUCHING EARTH: ANDY GOLDSWORTHY	BBC2
23/11/1992	EX-S	THE STORYTELLER	BBC2
31/12/1992	EX-S	RICHARD WILSON	
16/08/1993	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
23/11/1993	40 MINUTES	WAR ARTIST: PETER HOWSON	BBC2
10/01/1994	THE BIGGER PICTURE		BBC2
14/01/1994	THE BIGGER PICTURE		BBC2
17/01/1994	THE BIGGER PICTURE		BBC2
24/01/1994	THE BIGGER PICTURE		BBC2
31/01/1994	THE BIGGER PICTURE		BBC2
07/02/1994	THE BIGGER PICTURE		BBC2
22/02/1994	EX-S	I KNOW WHERE I'M GOING	BBC2 SCOTLAND
12/08/1994	EX-S	STANLEY SPENCER: A KIND OF HEAVEN	BBC2
15/08/1994	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
26/08/1994	EX-S	ALBERT WATSON	
06/10/1994	LATE REVIEW	(until 1999)	BBC2
28/03/1995	EX-S	JASPER CONRAN	BBC1 SCOTLAND
14/08/1995	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
14/08/1995	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
23/08/1995	EX-S	JENNY SAVILLE	BBC2
30/08/1995	EX-S	ANDREW NEIL	BBC2
06/09/1995	EX-S	VIDEO PIRATES	BBC2
01/01/1996	EX-S	CRACK FROM THE PAVEMENT	BBC2 SCOTLAND
17/06/1996	EX-S	ALEXANDER TROCCHI A LIFE IN PIECES	BBC2 SCOTLAND
18/06/1996	A HISTORY OF BRITISH ART	(6-part series)	BBC2

28/07/1996		CHARLES RENNIE MACKINTOSH, A MODERN MAN	BBC2
16/08/1996	EX-S	OLD INDIANS NEVER DIE	
28/08/1996	EX-S	WEATHERING THE STORM	BBC2
19/12/1996	THE WORKS	THE STONE DIARIES	BBC2
11/08/1997	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
15/12/1997	EX-S	PALIN ON REDPATH	BBC2 SCOTLAND
19/07/1998		STONE, WOOD, WATER	BBC2 ENGLAND
20/07/1998		STONE, WOOD, WATER	BBC2 ENGLAND
27/07/1998		STONE, WOOD, WATER	BBC2 ENGLAND
18/08/1998	EDINBURGH NIGHTS	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2 ENGLAND
17/03/1999	EX-S	THE MOVING WORLD OF GEORGE RICKEY	BBC2 SCOTLAND
23/08/1999		EDINBURGH UNCOVERED (Festival show)	BBC2
19/03/2000	ART ZONE	(Weekly strand)	BBC2
27/08/2000	EDINBURGH REVIEW	EDINBURGH FESTIVAL PROGRAMME	BBC2
21/09/2000	(FIRST SHOWN BBC SC)	MR AND MRS MACKINTOSH	BBC2
08/10/2000	ART ZONE	MICHAEL PALIN ... ON THE COLOURISTS (opt-out 'The Bright Side of Life with Michael Palin')	BBC2
07/12/2000		EDUARDO	BBC2
23/02/2001	NEWSNIGHT REVIEW	(until 2010)	BBC2
02/02/2002	LAUNCH OF BBC4		
12/03/2002	EX-S	DISASTER AT THE PIT	BBC SCOTLAND
22/08/2002		THE EDINBURGH SHOW	BBC2
11/06/2003	IMAGINE...	SAATCHI	BBC1
27/08/2003		ESSENTIAL EDINBURGH (Festival Show)	BBC2
21/03/2004	THE SOUTH BANK SHOW	JACK VETTRIANO	ITV
11/11/2004	THE CULTURE SHOW	(Until 2015)	BBC2 ENGLAND
01/02/2005	EX-S	THE GLEN CINEMA DISASTER	BBC1 SCOTLAND
19/06/2005	A PICTURE OF BRITAIN	'HIGHLANDS AND GLENS' (Episode 3)	BBC1
02/09/2007	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	STEVEN CAMPBELL	BBC2 SCOTLAND
31/05/2008	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	ALISON WATT	BBC2 SCOTLAND
13/08/2008	THE EDINBURGH FESTIVAL SHOW		BBC2
30/08/2008	THE EDINBURGH FESTIVAL SHOW	THE CULTURE SHOW	BBC2
01/09/2008	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	TRACEY EMIN	BBC2 SCOTLAND
08/05/2009	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	WHEN IAN RANKIN MET JACK VETTRIANO	BBC2 SCOTLAND

21/07/2009	THIS IS SCOTLAND	MR & MRS MACKINTOSH	BBC4
13/08/2009	THE EDINBURGH FESTIVAL SHOW	THE CULTURE SHOW	BBC2
14/08/2009	GREAT ARTISTS		CHANNEL 5
07/09/2009		A PORTRAIT OF SCOTLAND	BBC4
21/09/2009	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	MACKINTOSH'S MASTERPIECE: THE GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART	BBC2 SCOTLAND
22/01/2010	NEWSNIGHT REVIEW		BBC2 ENGLAND
09/03/2010	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	WHEN SHIRLEY MANSON MET DOUGLAS GORDON	BBC2 SCOTLAND
05/04/2010		JOHN BELLANY	BBC2 SCOTLAND
03/06/2010	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	THE GLASGOW BOYS	BBC2 SCOTLAND
22/11/2010	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	PETER HOWSON	BBC2 SCOTLAND
08/03/2011	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	WHEN PETER CAPALDI MET JOHN BYRNE	BBC2 SCOTLAND
15/03/2011	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	WHEN HARRY BENSON MET ALBERT WATSON	BBC SCOTLAND
29/08/2011	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	GERRY RAFFERTY	BBC SCOTLAND
01/01/2012	THE SOUTH BANK SHOW		SKY ARTS
17/07/2012	IMAGINE...	GLASGOW: THE GRIT AND THE GLAMOUR	BBC1
30/08/2012	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	RUNNING AT THE SPEED OF LIGHT (NVA PUBLIC ART)	BBC2 SCOTLAND
07/01/2013	WATCHING OURSELVES	VITAL SPARKS (Episode 3 of 4)	BBC1 SCOTLAND
08/04/2013	WHAT DO ARTISTS DO ALL DAY?	JACK VETTRIANO	BBC4
29/05/2013	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	THE MAN WHO COLLECTED THE WORLD: WILLIAM BURRELL	BBC2 SCOTLAND
05/06/2013	ARTWORKS SCOTLAND	SPINNING A YARN: THE DUBIOUS HISTORY OF SCOTTISH TARTAN	BBC2 SCOTLAND
22/08/2013	WHAT DO ARTISTS DO ALL DAY?	JOHN BYRNE	BBC2 SCOTLAND
29/08/2013	SECRET KNOWLEDGE	THE ART OF WITCHCRAFT	BBC2 SCOTLAND
29/12/2013		MICHAEL PALIN IN WYETH'S WORLD	BBC2 ENGLAND
22/02/2014	THE CULTURE SHOW	THE LOST PORTRAIT OF BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE: A CULTURE SHOW SPECIAL	BBC2 ENGLAND
04/03/2014	WHAT DO ARTISTS DO ALL DAY?	FRANK QUITELY	BBC2 SCOTLAND
11/03/2014	WHAT DO ARTISTS DO ALL DAY?	ALBERT WATSON	BBC2 SCOTLAND
18/03/2014		STANLEY SPENCER: THE COLOURS OF THE CLYDE	BBC2 SCOTLAND
20/07/2014		SCOTLAND'S ART REVOLUTION: THE MAVERICK GENERATION	BBC4
07/10/2015	THE STORY OF SCOTTISH ART	Episode 1	BBC2 SCOTLAND

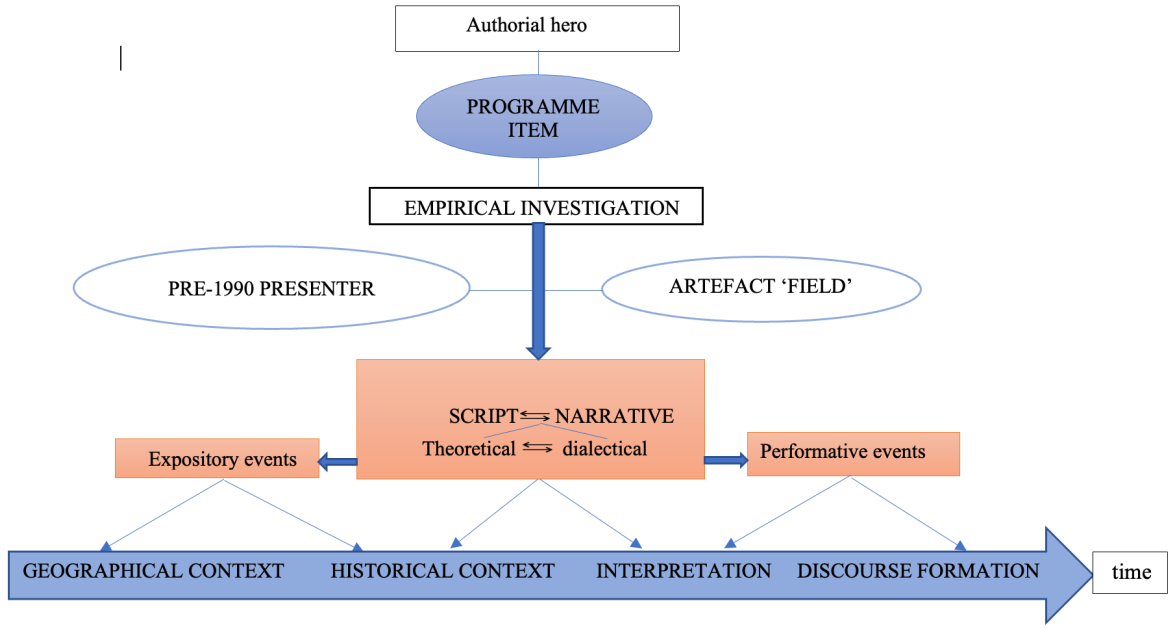
14/10/2015	THE STORY OF SCOTTISH ART	Episode 2	BBC2 SCOTLAND
21/10/2015	THE STORY OF SCOTTISH ART	Episode 3	BBC2 SCOTLAND
28/10/2015	THE STORY OF SCOTTISH ART	Episode 4	BBC2 SCOTLAND
28/12/2015		MICHAEL PALIN'S QUEST FOR ARTEMISIA	BBC4
03/05/2016		FOREST, FIELD AND SKY: ART OUT OF NATURE	BBC4
07/05/2016	WHAT DO ARTISTS DO ALL DAY?	KATIE PATERSON	BBC4
05/10/2016	BRITAIN'S LOST MASTERPIECES	ABERDEENSHIRE (Series 1, Episode 2)	BBC4
12/02/2017	THE BIG PAINTING CHALLENGE	(6 series until 2020)	BBC1
16/03/2017	WHAT DO ARTISTS DO ALL DAY?	DOUGIE WALLACE	BBC4
14/07/2017		BILLY CONNOLLY: PORTRAIT OF A LIFETIME	BBC1 SCOTLAND
29/08/2017		AWESOME BEAUTY: THE ART OF INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN	BBC4
27/09/2017	BRITAIN'S LOST MASTERPIECES	GLASGOW	BBC4
18/10/2017	BRITAIN'S LOST MASTERPIECES	ARBROATH	BBC4
27/12/2017		ALASDAIR GRAY AT EIGHTY	BBC2 SCOTLAND
30/03/2018	PAINTING THE HOLY LAND		BBC1
01/04/2018	PAINTING THE HOLY LAND		BBC1
05/06/2018		MACKINTOSH: GLASGOW'S NEGLECTED GENIUS	BBC2 SCOTLAND
07/08/2018		MACKINTOSH'S TEA ROOM	BBC2 SCOTLAND

Appendix B: Interview Participants

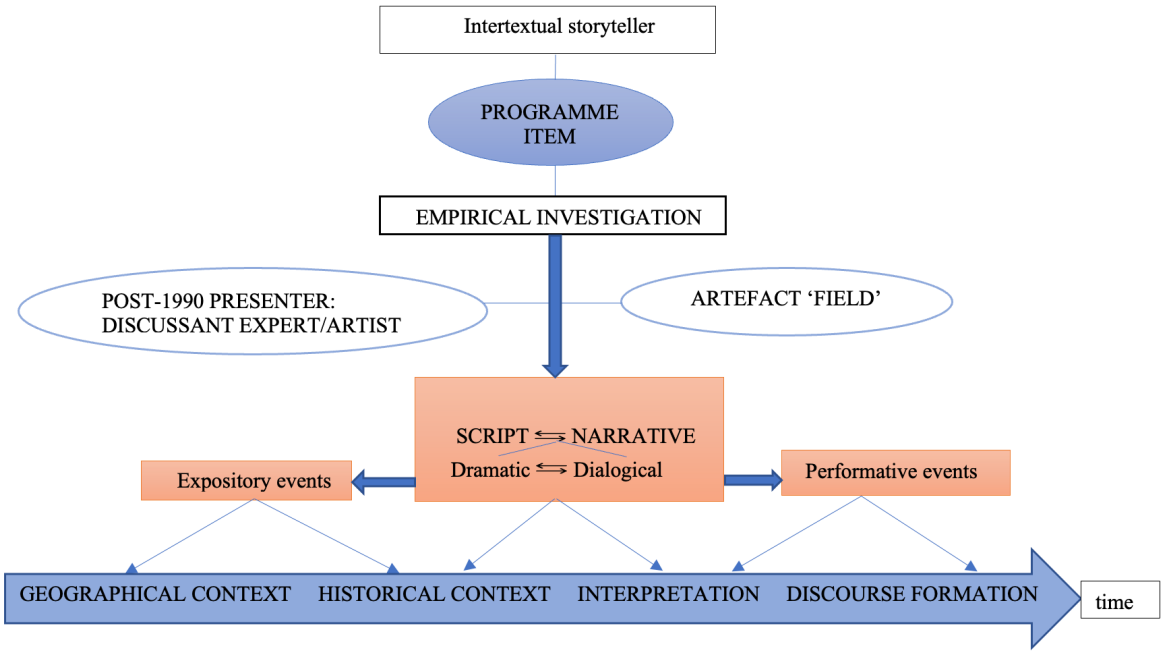
INTERVIEWEE	ROLE	PRODUCTIONS
Alistair Scott	Freelance Director; Director	'Two Painters Amazed'; *NB*
Alastair McCormick	Freelance Camera Operator	*A Portrait of Scotland; The Story of Scottish Art*; *Mackintosh: Glasgow's Neglected Genius*
Andrea Miller	BBC Scotland Head of Factual	*A Portrait of Scotland*
Andy Twaddle	BBC Director-Producer	*Mackintosh: Glasgow's Neglected Genius*
Bill MacLeod	BBC Director-Producer	*Stanley Spencer: the Colours of the Clyde*
Donny O'Rourke	*STV Head of Arts and Documentary; **BBC Executive Producer	*NB**; *The Late Show***
Duncan Macmillan	Freelance Script Consultant	*A Portrait of Scotland*
Eleanor Yule	BBC Director-Producer	*Michael Palin on the Colourists; Palin on Redpath*
John Archer	BBC Scotland Head of Music and Arts	*The Bigger Picture; Saturday Night Clyde*
John Black	STV Reporter	*Scotland Late*
Jonty Claypole	BBC Director of Arts	*2012-18 arts programming*
Lachlan Goudie	Freelance Writer and Presenter	*The Story of Scottish Art; Stanley Spencer: the Colours of the Clyde; Mackintosh: Glasgow's Neglected Genius; The Art of Witchcraft*
May Miller	*BBC Executive Producer ** BBC Series Editor	*Michael Palin on the Colourists**; *Palin on Redpath***
Mhairi McNeill	*BBC Producer **BBC Researcher	*Michael Palin on the Colourists**; *Palin on Redpath**; *The Bigger Picture***
Pauline Law	BBC Executive Producer	*The Story of Scottish Art; Stanley Spencer: the Colours of the Clyde*
Phyllis Ironside	BBC Film Editor	*Michael Palin on the Colourists; Palin on Redpath; A Portrait of Scotland*
Sandy Raffan	BBC Director-Producer	*A Portrait of Scotland*
Spike Geilinger	Freelance Series Producer/Director	*Britain's Lost Masterpieces*

Appendix C: Diagrammatic Models of Programme Dramaturgy

Dramaturgical model of pre-1990 'grand narrative' presenter-led visual arts production. Source: author



Dramaturgical model of post-1990 'grand narrative' presenter-led visual arts production. Source: author



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