**THE CONTRIBUTION OF SCOTS TO THE BUILDING OF BRITISH FILM AND TELEVISION INSTITUTIONS**

**Introduction: The Travelling Scot**

We are in an era when the relationship between Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom has become increasingly uncertain, due in part to growing levels of self-identified cultural difference on the part of Scots.[[1]](#endnote-1) But this is a relatively new phenomenon and it is instructive to consider the role played by Scots in the founding or development of institutions that in turn have helped propagate discourses of British culture and values. That contribution has been particularly significant in the sphere of film and television, arguably among the most potent propagators of a sense of national identity[[2]](#endnote-2), through institutions such as the BBC, the Associated British Picture Corporation, the British Film Institute, Granada Television and Channel 4. Indeed, the Scottish contribution to British film and television has been arguably far greater than basic demographics would have predicted, posing the question as to whether there has been a discernible ‘Scottish’ influence in the history and character of these institutions, and what this might means in terms of understanding the provenance of British cultural identity and its more common alignment with Englishness.[[3]](#endnote-3)

But this would appear to be in line with a wider phenomenon considered by the distinguished historian T. M. Devine who has argued that ‘the age-old tradition of wandering in search of work, opportunity and new horizons […]remains one of the key hallmarks of the Scottish identity.’[[4]](#endnote-4) As Devine also reminds us, Scots had also contributed substantially to the flourishing of the British Empire from the late 18th Century onwards, as adventurers, soldiers and administrators, achieving a profile and a share of imperial spoils considerably beyond their population size vis-à-vis that of England.[[5]](#endnote-5) By the 20th Century the Empire was in decline and Scottish energies and ambitions sought new avenues, including through involvement in the new mass media of cinema and broadcasting. Thus an appreciation of the central role played by Scots in media institution-building in the past is necessary to understanding the distinctly Scottish contribution to the ongoing propagation of ‘British’ national values, representations and narratives in a post-Imperial era. Moreover, it also sheds light on the (often relatively unproblematic) co-existence of these separate identities during the greater part of the 20th Century.

The phenomenon of the travelling Scot is a celebrated part of the national story, as famously articulated by Christopher Harvie in terms of his distinction between ‘red Scots’ and ‘black Scots’. The former, like David Hume, Thomas Carlyle, Patrick Geddes and John Reith, were ‘cosmopolitan, self avowedly ‘enlightened’ and, given a chance, authoritarian, expanding into and exploiting greater and more bountiful fields than their own country could provide.’ The latter, Harvie argued, were ‘demotic, parochial and ‘black’ reactionary, keeper of Tom Nairn’s ‘great tartan monster’, reader[s] of the *Sunday Post*.’[[6]](#endnote-6) In his magisterial and prophetic analysis of nationalism and the United Kingdom, *The Break-Up of Britain*, first published in 1977, Nairn also points to the mass emigration of the Scottish intelligentsia during the 19th century and the fact that their energies were subsequently channelled into the propagation of a British rather than a Scottish national culture.[[7]](#endnote-7) But both Nairn and Harvie’s rather withering depiction of the ‘stay-at-home’ Scots is consistent with the debilitating sense of inferiorism attacked by Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull in their 1989 collection of essays, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture.*[[8]](#endnote-8) This was part of a wider flourishing of cultural and intellectual activity in Scotland during the 1980s which set out to address the deficit identified by Beveridge, Turnbull and others, and provide an alternative and more progressive understanding of local traditions and ideologies.[[9]](#endnote-9)

Yet the migration of talented Scots to England and further afield has continued beyond the historical periods examined by Harvie and Nairn. Journalist David Stenhouse examined the phenomenon in his 2004 book, *How the Scots Took over London*, focussing on the considerable contemporary presence of Scots in the fields of politics – notably their domination of New Labour – the media and the legal system.[[10]](#endnote-10) Noting the irony of such conspicuous success occurring at the very time an increasing number of people in Scotland were less inclined to identify as British than ever before, Stenhouse points to a tension between new generations of red and black Scots, with the consequence that ‘those who relocate elsewhere are often seen as having abandoned their birth right for private profit.’[[11]](#endnote-11) A whiff of this same dismissive attitude can be discerned in the otherwise insightful and persuasive dialogues between Sandy Moffat and Alan Riach, *Arts of Independence,* published in the run-up to the 2014 independence referendum*.[[12]](#endnote-12)* While the authors do acknowledge the value of London as providing an inspirational environment for Scottish artists - similar to that of New York or Berlin, it is also vital to recognise that creative impact doesn’t just flow in one direction. The vitality of London – and indeed the virtue of cosmopolitanism more generally – lies not only in the way external elements are attracted, absorbed and assimilated by the centre, but also how these can also influence and transform the identity of the host. Just as the style and idiom of contemporary London street culture has its roots in immigration from the new commonwealth, so – I would like to argue - the nature and mission of certain London-based British media institutions have been profoundly shaped by travelling Scots, sometimes with direct benefits for those back home.

But Scottish identity is also necessarily subject to change and transformation over time and in recognition of this I will focus on three distinct generations of individuals with their own preoccupations and world view. The first group comprises figures born in the late 19th century whose formation was late Victorian/Edwardian Britain and who experienced the Great War before forging their careers in its aftermath. This coincided with a period when mass communications – notably cinema and radio - were growing in popularity and playing an increasingly important role in nation-building through providing both entertainment and information. The second group were born in the inter-war period and came to prominence after WW2, nurtured by the flourishing of the welfare state and a country characterised by relative material affluence and growing social mobility. As such they represent a Scottish cohort of Noel Annan’s ‘generation that made post-war Britain’, defined as one that came of age between 1919 and 1951, lived under the shadow of modernism and collectivism, and was sceptical of the establishment (despite subsequently becoming a part of it).[[13]](#endnote-13) This period was dominated by the rise of television as the pre-eminent mass-medium (part of a wider new culture of domesticity) and while cinema-going was in decline, films achieved a greater level of acceptance as a popular and serious art form. The third group is part of the ‘baby boomer’ generation, born after WW2, influenced by the liberalism of the 1960s, and who began to make their mark from the 1970s onwards. Their coming of age coincided with a fraying of the post-WWII consensus, with the tenants of social democracy challenged by the values of individualism, market forces and free enterprise. While the first shoots of neo liberalism began eroding the ideological foundations of the state and its institutions, the 1970s and 1980s also saw new forms of oppositional political and cultural activity and recognition of the progressive value of cultural difference, diversity and hybridity. This sense of greater pluralism was also to challenge the unitary British state and fuel nationalist movements in the Celtic nations.

**Laying the Foundations: A Tale of Three Johns**

In a very significant essay published in 1986, John Caughie identified 1927 as a key moment of convergence in the histories of British film and television.[[14]](#endnote-14) This was the year when the BBC, under the commanding leadership of John Reith (1889-1971), moved from being a private company to a public corporation, independent from government but funded by the state and operating in the public interest. Around the same time, another Scot, John Grierson (1898-1972), began discussions with the civil servant Stephen Tallents, secretary of the Empire Marketing Board, that led to the establishment of a state-sponsored film unit under the auspices of the EMB, paving the way for the emergence of what came to be called ‘the British documentary movement’, with production subsequently transferred to the General Post Office in 1933 then the Ministry of Information following the outbreak of WW2.[[15]](#endnote-15) For Caughie, these simultaneous developments marked ‘the formal opening for both cinema and broadcasting of a relationship with the state and public which has as its common terms public service and independence.’[[16]](#endnote-16)

Caughie notes the significance of the Scottish background of these two pioneers, notably a shared cultural heritage which could have come straight from the pages of the kailyard: Reith was the son of a Glasgow minister; Grierson of a Stirlingshire dominie. Moreover, this overarching formation was fundamental to understanding their respective world views: underpinning Reith’s investment in a national broadcasting institution that ‘attempted to hold together authoritarianism, paternalism, moral guidance and public service’[[17]](#endnote-17) and Grierson’s belief in the use of documentary to further the cause of civic integration, universal education and a commitment to democracy. Both men had also emerged from a Presbyterian tradition that saw no contradiction between serving the interests of the people and those of the state, allowing them to argue for, and to utilise, public resources to further the national good.

Beyond their shared cultural heritage, the two Johns had rather different educational experiences. Reith attended Glasgow Academy and then the elite English public school, Gresham’s, before beginning a Civil Engineering apprenticeship. During World War One he served in the 5th Scottish Rifles and then as a Captain in the Royal Engineers. In 1922 following a period working as secretary to a group of London Conservative MPs during the general election, Reith successfully applied for the post of managing director of the newly-formed British Broadcasting Company.[[18]](#endnote-18) By contrast, the younger Grierson had a much more academic formation, studying English and Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow. His studies were interrupted by two years in the Royal Navy and he subsequently graduated in 1922. As Ian Aitken argues, university introduced Grierson to the tradition of philosophical idealism that came to underpin his conception of society and profoundly influence his subsequent work as a film-maker, producer and administrator.[[19]](#endnote-19) Grierson proceeded to postgraduate study in the United States at the Universities of Chicago, Columbia and Wisconsin-Madison, where he researched the psychology of propaganda and was further influenced by the reporter and political commentator, Walter Lippmann and the educationalist and social reformer, John Dewey. That experience further refined the young Scot’s sense of intellectual direction and creative purpose which he would channel through the medium of documentary film. His opportunity came when he was appointed as assistant films officer at the EMB in 1929.

Thus for Caughie, the concept of public service broadcasting, enshrined in Reith’s mission ‘to inform, educate and entertain’ and Grierson’s valorisation of realist and social engaged film-making were equally informed by a distinctive Scottish cultural influence. As he notes, ‘the same terms reverberate backwards and forwards between Reithian broadcasting and Griersonian cinema, forming an ideological and cultural nexus which comes to define the serious purpose of film and television.’[[20]](#endnote-20) Furthermore, this ‘serious purpose’ would inaugurate a tradition that would influence and underpin the development of British film and television until the 1990s.

While the 1930s saw both men operating at the height of their institutional powers, each subsequently continued to play an important role in institutions that enhanced the links between British film and television. Thus from 1948-51 Reith the broadcaster served as the first chairman of the National Film Finance Corporation, an organisation whose very existence was a direct acknowledgement of the value of state support for indigenous film production. Incidentally, one of the initiatives supported by the NFFC was Group 3, a production company specialising in low-budget social realism and run by John Grierson and John Baxter out of Beaconsfield studios in Berkshire. Group 3’s output included a number of Scottish set or themed features including *Your Only Young Twice* (1952), *The Brave Don’t Cry* (1952) and *Laxdale Hall* (1952).While Grierson the filmmaker exported his vision of the documentary during the 1940s by setting up and running the Canadian Film Board before returning home in the late 1950s to bring his distinctive ethos to the small screen through *This Wonderful World,* the popular factual programme he presented for STV between 1957 and 1966.

In terms of a making direct contribution to institutional and cultural developments in Scotland, Grierson undoubtedly carries greater weight than Reith, who remained part of the London establishment throughout his later life and career.[[21]](#endnote-21) In addition to his regular appearance on STV, Grierson exerted a major influence over the development of Scottish film culture via the Edinburgh Film Guild and its publication *Cinema Quarterly* (edited by Norman Wilson) and the Edinburgh Film Festival, founded in 1947, whose first director, Forsyth Hardy, was a life-long Griersonian.[[22]](#endnote-22) He was also involved in both Films of Scotland Committees. The seven films made for the 1938 initiative were produced through Grierson’s consultancy Film Centre, while he was a board member of second committee, set up in 1954. Grierson also produced the Oscar-winning, *Seawards the Great Ships* (Hilary Harris, 1960) and *The Heart of Scotland* (Lawrence Henson, 1961), which returned him to his Stirlingshire roots, for Films of Scotland.[[23]](#endnote-23)Along the way Grierson was also a mentor to several film-makers, including other Scots who played an important role in the history of documentary such as his sisters Ruby and Marion (pioneering women in a male-dominated industry), Harry Watt, who went on to become feature film-maker at Ealing studios, and Norman McLaren, an innovative experimentalist who followed Grierson to the National Film Board of Canada.

In their Presbyterian high-mindedness, Reith and Grierson were both firmly against the values of commercialism and pandering to populist taste. But in the commercial domain we can identify yet another key Scottish contribution, in the figure of John Maxwell (1879-1940).[[24]](#endnote-24) Once again 1927 proves a talismanic date as this was the year that Maxwell registered a new production company, British International Pictures (BIP), which was to become one of the dominant forces in British cinema as the silent era gave way to the talkies. Initially a Glasgow-based solicitor, Maxwell became involved in cinema when his legal firm acquired a stake in several picture houses, beginning with the Prince’s Cinema in Springburn, Glasgow. By 1917 his interests in the industry were merged into a new company, Scottish Cinema and Variety Theatres, which by 1920 controlled twenty venues, making it the largest exhibition circuit in Scotland.[[25]](#endnote-25) Maxwell then turned his attention south of the Border, registering Savoy cinemas in London in 1924 and moving into both distribution, as chairman of Wardour films (from 1923), and production, as a board member of British National Pictures. The latter company was to provide the basis for his subsequent creation of BIP, which in 1929 was responsible for the production of the first British talking film, the Alfred Hitchcock thriller, *Blackmail*. By 1933 Maxwell had consolidated his various cinema interests with the formation of the Associated British Picture Corporation, a vertically integrated combine that included production via BIP at Elstree studios and British Instructional Films at Welwyn, the distribution companies Wardour Films and Pathe Pictures, and the ABC cinema chain.[[26]](#endnote-26) ABPC’s only rival was the Gaumont British Picture Corporation (formed round the same time as ABPC and later taken over by Rank), the two organisations comprising a duopoly that would dominate the British film industry for more than fifty years.

Maxwell’s reputation was that of a prudent, even parsimonious, businessman - invoking a rather different kind of pervasive Scottish cultural association from that commonly linked with Grierson and Reith. While initially a pioneer of ambitious pan-European co-productions with German and French partners, resulting in films such as *Moulin Rouge* (1928), *Piccadilly* (1929), *The Informer* (1929) and *Atlantic* (1930), Maxwell’s prevailing business strategy following the introduction of sound was a concentration on making films that could turn a profit in the British market. This meant devising efficient production methods that kept costs firmly under control and avoided unnecessary profligacy and excess, while at the same time prioritising exhibition, which provided ABPC’s source of income and profit. As Vincent Porter has noted, Maxwell operated a practice of calculating the precise book value of every film down to the nearest penny.[[27]](#endnote-27) While very successful in terms of company profitability and sustainability in a notoriously volatile industry – which allowed BIP to survive the slump of 1936 that affected many other British producers - this frugality meant that Maxwell would remain a less celebrated or prestigious figure than contemporary rivals like Alexander Korda, Michael Balcon or Basil Dean.[[28]](#endnote-28)

When John Maxwell died prematurely of diabetes in 1940, he was succeeded by his Paisley-born protégé Robert Clark (1905-84), who had joined Maxwell’s legal firm as a solicitor before subsequently moving to ABPC. During the 1930s Clark was placed in charge of Welwyn Studios before subsequently graduating to production head at Elstree, steering the studio through the difficult post-war years (which saw both Rank and Korda make substantial losses) by relying on the same kind of prudent management style associated with his mentor. While citing examples of what would now be seen as casual racism concerning Clark’s *modus operandi*, Vincent Porter also acknowledges that Clark ‘brought to film production the traditional qualities of the successful lowland Scot – organising ability, hard work, knowledge of finance and disinterested service to the community.’[[29]](#endnote-29) Consequently, during the 1950s, Elstree maintained a steady output of films in an increasingly difficult market. Moreover, in arguing for Clark’s unacknowledged significance in the annals of British cinema history, Porter notes that his ousting as ABPC Head of Production in 1958, primarily by the representatives of Hollywood major, Warner Bros. Warner acquired a 25% stake in the British company following Maxwell’s death, and soon after the closure of Michael Balcon’s Ealing studios, effectively bringing to an end an era of popular British film-making aimed solely at the domestic market.

**Institution Building and Consensus: The Post-war Generation**

The three Johns were all born in the late 19th century, products of an era during which Imperialism, Unionism and Protestantism ensured that Scots identity sat very comfortably within an overarching Britishness. The generation that was to succeed them felt no less British, although as David McCrone has argued, the determining factors were now the legacy of WW2, the coming of the welfare state and a period of political consensus.[[30]](#endnote-30) The role of public institutions in the rebuilding of a fairer and more equitable British society comprised a key part of the 1945 Labour Government’s programme of reform. This thinking assigned a new importance to the moving image as part of a wider mission of progressive cultural development and artistic expression. The period also witnessed a rapid growth in the popularity of television, leading to the introduction of ITV in 1955 – under the auspices of a Conservative administration more sympathetic to commercial television than the socialists. The brash new rival encouraged the BBC to improve the standards and audience appeal of their productions, paving the way for what, to many, represented a golden age in British Broadcasting.

The first important Scottish figure to emerge into this new world was Denis Forman (1917-2013). Born near Moffat in Dumfries, the son of an Episcopalian vicar and country gentleman who later became a Presbyterian minister, Forman’s upper class childhood was the subject of the memoir *Son of Adam* (1990), subsequently adapted as the feature film *My Life So Far* (1999). Alongside depicting a world of social and material privilege, the book charts Forman’s growing realisation of the perniciousness of class difference and ultimately his rejection of the devout religious beliefs associated particularly with his father. Forman was subsequently educated at Loretto School in Musselburgh (which had been attended by various other members of his family) and Pembroke College, Cambridge. Following a distinguished military career which saw him lose a leg at Monte Casino in 1944, Forman landed a production control officer job in the films division of the Central Office of Information, supervising the making of documentaries. This led to an encounter with John Grierson, who had become controller of Films at the COI in 1948. The older man recommended Forman for the vacant post of director of the British Film Institute, which he took up in 1949.[[31]](#endnote-31) As Christophe Dupin notes, this was an auspicious moment for the BFI and under Forman’s leadership it was transformed from a modest educational organisation into a key national cultural institution.[[32]](#endnote-32)

Forman himself noted that his brief at the BFI was very much to change the prevailing institutional culture, which was regarded as too profligate and largely irrelevant.[[33]](#endnote-33) The new director’s major achievements included: the modernising of the BFI’s in-house quarterly magazine, *Sight and Sound*, under the editorship of Gavin Lambert, making it a leading voice in international film criticism; the establishment of a repertory cinema on the South Bank as part of the 1951 Festival of Britain (that venue subsequently became the National Film Theatre and helped boost the BFI membership dramatically from 1953); and the initiation of the experimental film fund (the forerunner of the BFI Production Board) administered by Michael Balcon, which provided a modest but significant strand of public funding for non-commercial film production and the development of new talent. Forman also appointed the BFI’s first distribution officer, Karel Reisz (who subsequently became a celebrated film-maker), and first full-time education officer, Stanley Reed.[[34]](#endnote-34)

One of BFI board members during this period was Cecil Bernstein, who along with his older brother Sidney had set up and run the successful Granada cinema chain. In 1955 Granada obtained the broadcasting license for the North of England as part of the new ITV network, and from its Manchester base quickly grew to become one of the most adventurous and respected of the new broadcasters. While commercial television presented an alternative to the publicly-funded BBC, influenced by developments in the United States, ITV was nevertheless established as a ‘regulated public service’.[[35]](#endnote-35) And according to Raymond Fitzwalter, ‘(u)nder the Bernsteins Granada treated broadcasting as a moral and cultural imperative’.[[36]](#endnote-36) Dennis Forman was an early recruit to the new company, and as Peter Goddard, John Corner and Kay Richardson argue, ‘serious’ programming was his principal are of interest.[[37]](#endnote-37) This was evidenced by his masterminding of many of Granada’s reputation-making programmes including *What the Papers Say* (1956-2008), *Searchlight* (1959-60), *Coronation Street* (1960- )and *World in Action* (1963-98). While produced by a commercial company, such programmes were informed by the ethos of public service broadcasting. However, this was increasingly tailored to the needs and expectations of a new age, one which was less patrician and more socially inclusive (and critical) than in the Reithian original. *World in Action* in particular became a major benchmark in the history of current affairs, guided by Granada’s reputation for ‘social enquiry, location reporting and provocativeness’.[[38]](#endnote-38) It also combined the best of the British documentary tradition initiated by Grierson with new technical standards being set by American documentary film-making, particularly the shift towards more observational forms of reportage epitomised by ‘Direct Cinema’.[[39]](#endnote-39)

Forman subsequently became managing director of Granada Television in 1965 and then Chairman from 1974-87 and his significance to the broadcaster’s history and identity cannot be underestimated. As the producer David Plowright notes, ‘the name of Dennis Forman must be coupled with that of Sidney Bernstein as architects of the environment which encouraged so many creative people to excel.’[[40]](#endnote-40) Forman also retained a connection to the BFI, chairing the Institute’s board of Governors from 1971-73. Moreover, in the early 1990s he also served as part-time chairman of the Scottish Film Production Fund. This was a moment when momentum was growing in terms of the development of the film industry north of the border, and which would subsequently blossom in the latter half of the decade, creating the idea of a New Scottish Cinema and launching the careers of film-makers like Lynne Ramsay, Peter Mullan and David Mackenzie.[[41]](#endnote-41)

As Denis Forman was making his mark at Granada, so another talented Scot was rising through the ranks at the BBC. The son of a schoolteacher,Stuart Hood (1915-2011) was born in Edzell and educated at Montrose Academy before going on to read English and Italian at Edinburgh University. He served as an intelligence officer during the War but was captured in North Africa and sent to a POW camp in Italy. Hood escaped captivity following the brief 1943 armistice and became a leader of the Tuscan partisan resistance, an experience recounted in the memoir, *Pebbles from My Skull* (1963). His post-war career saw him join the BBC, becoming a protégé of Hugh Carleton Greene and working for the Corporation’s German and Italian service before promotion to head of the World Service and then editor-in-chief of radio news. When Greene became BBC Director General in 1960, Hood was promoted again, this time to director of programmes. In this role he supervised one of the most innovative periods in the Corporation’s history, overseeing landmark programmes like *Z Cars* (1962-78), *That Was the Week That Was* (1962-63) and *Dr Who* (1963- ), as well as the preparations for the launch of BBC2 in 1964.

Following a short period as controller at Associated Redifussion, the ITV weekday franchise holder for London, Hood became a writer and teacher and in 1972 was appointed director of the Royal College of Art’s School of Film and Television. His main achievement at the RCA, which had begun teaching film production in the late 1950s, was to establish an identity and mission for the College’s film school that was suitably distinct from that of the recently created National Film School. He did this through an emphasis on experimentalism and political film-making, which in turn was to have an enormous impact on the development of British independent film-making and culture in the 1970s and 1980s via graduates like Keith Griffith, the Quay Brothers, Richard Woolley, Ed Bennett, Phil Mulloy, Thaddeus O’Sullivan, Pat Murphy, Jan Worth, Sue Clayton and others.[[42]](#endnote-42) A committed left-wing intellectual (Brian Winston suggests that his impeccable war record protected him from the MI5 vetting that affected the careers of other radicals at the BBC[[43]](#endnote-43)), Hood also wrote several books including some key contributions to the critical study of the medium of television, and translated the works of the Italian film-maker and poet Pier Paolo Pasolini[[44]](#endnote-44) and the dramatist Dario Fo.[[45]](#endnote-45) While an avowed internationalist, Hood still retained a close identification with Scotland as seen in the 1988 biographical documentary, *A View from Caterthun.*

An even more substantial contribution to the development of moving image education and training was made by Colin Young (1927- ), the founding director of the National Film School which was established at Beaconsfield studios (former home of Group 3) in 1970. Young grew up in Glasgow and after taking a degree in the Philosophy of Morals at the University of St. Andrews he worked for a short stint as a film journalist on *The Aberdeen Bon Accord and Northern Pictorial.* Then he moved to the United States, initially to study for a doctorate at the University of Michigan, before gravitating to Los Angeles in 1952 where he became first a student and then a teacher in the department of Theater Arts at UCLA. In 1958 Young became the LA editor of the journal *Film Quarterly,* which provided a lively forum for film criticism and debate involving theorists, historians and practitioners.[[46]](#endnote-46) As a teacher, his primary focus was to encourage students away from Hollywood orthodoxy and towards alternative forms of story-telling guided by a greater sense of social engagement. This helped pave the way for the emergence of the ‘Movie Brat’ generation that included UCLA graduates such as Francis Coppola, Paul Schrader and Haskell Wexler.[[47]](#endnote-47) Young was also an advocate of observational cinema, a form of documentary he initially developed at UCLA via a programme in ethnographic film-making run in partnership with the Anthropology department.

Young’s reputation led him to be asked to set up a National Film School in Britain, whose mission would continue his preoccupations at UCLA. The NFS focussed on the formation of all-round film-makers rather than specialist directors, writers, cinematographers, editors, and so on. Young’s investment in the social potential of documentary was also fundamental to the development of the School. As he argued:

The first generation of film students at Beaconsfield just couldn’t bear to think of working anywhere in the world except Hollywood. So I had to start trying to indoctrinate them towards finding glory and comfort and joy in their own culture, in their own landscape. A willingness to find subject matter around them was not strongly developed. They found it very hard to believe that anyone would be interested in their own stories and their own background. So one of the things I was trying to do was promote that – and documentary was a way to do it.[[48]](#endnote-48)

In addition to broadening the range of work being produced within the school, this emphasis had a more profound impact, arguably creating the school’s major transformational impact on the wider development of the documentary form via film-makers like Nick Broomfield, Molly Dineen and Kim Longinotto.

While Young became an active figure in the British film industry, he took a keen interest in the development of Scottish talent as Alastair Scott has shown.[[49]](#endnote-49) During his 22-year tenure at Beaconsfield, Scottish graduates included Gillies Mackinnon, Michael Caton-Jones, Ian Sellar and Douglas Mackinnon, all of whom helped establish the idea of a New Scottish cinema in the 1980s and 1990s. And, in addition to serving on the boards of a variety of UK organisations including the BFI, the National Film Finance Corporation, British Screen and BAFTA, Young also retained a strong personal connection with Scotland via the Edinburgh Film Festival, the Scottish Film Production Fund and Scottish Screen.[[50]](#endnote-50)

In their very different ways, Colin Young and Stuart Hood helped to maintain an intellectual rigour and moral seriousness that had underpinned the Griersonian and Reithian traditions of cultural production. Another figure who also merits some consideration here is Lindsay Anderson (1923-94). Born in India and the recipient of a classic English public school education at Cheltenham College – an experienced which inspired his most famous film, *If….* (1968) - followed by Oxford University, where he founded the film magazine *Sequence* with Gavin Lambert, Anderson is rarely thought of as Scottish. Yet his father’s family hailed from Stonehaven[[51]](#endnote-51) and he identified with Scotland throughout his life, albeit more as a means of reinforcing his declared position as a principled and inveterate outsider.[[52]](#endnote-52) As Paul Ryan notes:

Lindsay’s sense of himself as a Scot grew over the years and allowed him to make sense of his position as an outsider – morally, emotionally and socially – in the English middle-class world into which he was expected to take his place.[[53]](#endnote-53)

This deep antipathy towards Englishness was also a recurring theme in Anderson’s critical analysis of British cinema. In the 1957 essay, ‘Get Out and Push!’, he poses the question: ‘What sort of a cinema have we got in Britain?’ The response is somewhat unsurprising: ‘First of all it is necessary to point out that it is an *English* cinema (and Southern English at that), metropolitan in attitude, and entirely middle class.’[[54]](#endnote-54) These same perceived shortcomings were to provide the inspiration for Anderson’s film-making and in his idea of Free Cinema, which he formed with Tony Richardson, Karel Reisz and Lorenza Mazzetti in 1956. This resulted in the production of a series of poetic documentaries on aspects of contemporary working class life, work and leisure that expressly sought to challenge the patrician stance of the Griersonian model. Indeed, Anderson explicitly criticised this as ‘always more preachy and sociological than it was either political or poetic’. This stance also informed the Free Cinema manifesto (1956), which proclaimed that ‘no film can be too personal’, ‘perfection is not an aim’ and ‘An attitude means a style. A style means an attitude’. Such advocacy of film as a mode of personal expression resonated with developments in Continental Europe and helped to usher in a new wave of Art cinema and the concept of the ‘auteur’ that was further developed by the likes of Colin Young and Stuart Hood. Anderson also played a key role in mentoring fellow Scot Bill Douglas, whose autobiographical trilogy *My Childhood* (1972), *My Ain Folk* (1973) and *My Way Home* (1978), gave Scotland its first *bona fide* auteur.[[55]](#endnote-55)

A final key individual born in the interwar years is the Glaswegian Jeremy Isaacs (1932- ).[[56]](#endnote-56) While primarily known as the founding Chief Executive of Channel 4, Isaacs began his career in television in 1958 at Granada where Denis Forman played an important mentoring role as the younger man cut his teeth on programmes like *What the Papers Say*, *Searchlight* (1959-60) and *All Our Yesterdays* (1960-73, 1987-89)*.* Later, Forman would invite Isaacs to become a governor of the BFI and Chair of the Institute’s Production Board, further enhancing their connection. After five years in Manchester, Isaacs made his reputation as a current affairs producer, initially with *This Week* (1956-92) at Associated Redifussion and then as editor of the BBC’s flagship *Panorama* from 1965-68*.* In 1967 he returned to Redifussion as Head of Features, continuing the role when the company became part of Thames Television, during which time he helmed the seminal documentary series, *The World at War* (1973-74). In 1974 Isaacs was promoted to director of programmes at Thames. Then, came a brief period as an independent producer where his projects included the feature-length drama, *A Sense of Freedom* (1980), based on the memoir by the Glaswegian Gangster-turned artist Jimmy Boyle. In 1981 Isaacs was appointed Chief Executive of the newly created Channel 4, and he would mastermind the new broadcaster’s fresh and revolutionary approach to innovative programme making and serving diverse audiences.

Isaacs had made a strong pitch for the job in a speech at the 1979 Edinburgh Television Festival, presenting his vision of a Channel that would extend choice to viewers by catering for neglected minorities and embracing a wider spectrum of political opinion.[[57]](#endnote-57) Operating as a publisher-broadcaster, Channel 4 also broke the mould by commissioning most of its programming from independent producers, both those based in London and in non-metropolitan production centres including Glasgow and Edinburgh. Thus Issacs played a key role in ushering in a new era in British broadcasting that re-invigorated the virtues of public service and independence while at the same time shifting these away from a singular or monolithic view of the national culture to one characterised by a greater pluralism and diversity.[[58]](#endnote-58)

Channel 4’s policy towards the support of British cinema marked a new manifestation of convergence between film and television, throwing a lifeline to an ailing industry while at the same time re-energising a tradition of contemporary, socially engaged British film-making that had arguably been initiated by Grierson decades earlier. Dorothy Hobson asserts Isaacs’ contribution to the Channel in no uncertain terms: ‘In the same way that Lord Reith was responsible for the tone, content and ambience in the establishment of the BBC, so Isaacs’ contribution to creating and enabling the ethos of Channel 4 was inspirational, ubiquitous and fundamental’.[[59]](#endnote-59) Indeed,Isaacs begins his memoir of working in television, *Look Me in the Eye,* with an anecdote about Lord Reith’s speech at the Glasgow Academy Prize-giving in 1950 and towards the end confirms his belief that Channel 4’s mission was ‘the unapologetically neo-Reithian role of stretching minds.’[[60]](#endnote-60)

While enjoying a career that was entirely based in England, Isaacs maintained an interest in and an awareness of Scottish-based producers. As Glasgow-based producer Paddy Higson noted:

When Channel 4 was set up Jeremy consciously brought all the commissioning editors up to Scotland. I think that was the first time that anyone had taken the trouble to say there might actually be people up here who can do things. It helped film culture in Scotland and allowed people to make relationships with the various commissioning editors.[[61]](#endnote-61)

The results included a number of Scottish features, including *Living Apart Together* (Charles Gormley, 1982)*, Scotch Myths* (Murray Grigor, 1982), *Ill Fares the Land* (Bill Bryden, 1983)*, Hero* (Barney Platts-Mills, 1982) and *Another Time. Another Place* (1983)*,* directed by Colin Young protégé and NFS graduate Michael Radford.  Channel 4 also gave a welcome boost to the workshop sector in Scotland during the 1980s and by 1986 had started providing a subvention to the Scottish Film Production Fund.

**Independence and Deregulation: The Baby Boomers**

The third group of key Scottish figures within British film and television achieved prominence in a period marked by new forms of institutional transformation increasingly informed by the so-called Thatcherite revolution which ushered in neo-liberal economics and industry deregulation. Despite its initial focus on cinema, graduates of the National Film School were also to find their way into small screen production, which led to a name change in 1982 to the National Film and Television School. One of the first success stories was the Glasgow-born Edinburgh University graduate Steve Morrison (1947- ). While working on his graduation project in 1973, Morrison was given the opportunity to join Granada before he had completed the course. But with Colin Young’s support, he was able to follow in the footsteps of Denis Forman and Jeremy Issacs while also graduating from Beaconsfield.[[62]](#endnote-62) Morrison’s training clearly pointed towards documentary and he subsequently specialised on factual strands including *World in Action*, which between 1972 and 1975 was edited by another Scot with a formidable reputation in broadcasting, Gus MacDonald. By the early 1980s Morrison had risen to the company’s Head of Features and in 1985 he set up Granada Film, the broadcaster’s first venture into big-screen production inspired by the success of Channel 4. This coincided with the beginning of a new era of deregulation and marketisation in the UK television industry, but Morrison continued to thrive in the changing environment, initially as Director of Programmes and then from 1996 as Chief Executive of Granada Media Group/Granada PLC. His association with the company came to an end in 2002, and Morrison subsequently became Chief Executive of All3Media, at that point the UK’s largest independent production group. In this way Morrison was to play a key role in the consolidation of ITV and its movement into the digital realm.

One feature uniting a number of the individuals under consideration here is a commitment to critical discourse and the propagation of a serious appreciation of the moving image. Despite their many differences, this is what unites Grierson, Hood, Young and Anderson in their activities as practicing critics and pedagogues. But it is also reflected in the institutional priorities of Forman and Issacs during their respective tenures at the BFI and Channel 4. This interweaving of theory and practice was also a distinctive aspect of the Edinburgh International Film Festival during the directorship of Lynda Myles (1947- ). Born in Arbroath, Myles studied at the University of Edinburgh where she co-ran the University’s film society with David Will. Following their criticism of the conservatism of the Edinburgh International Film Festival in a letter to the *Scotsman*, Myles and Will were hired by director Murray Grigor in 1968 and they set about re-energising the programming. Inspired by French film criticism and cinephilia, this led to a new focus on American genres and maverick film-makers like Roger Corman, Samuel Fuller and Douglas Sirk. A greater engagement with politics resulted in Myles, along with Laura Mulvey and Claire Johnson, organising the UK’s first ‘women in film-making’ event in 1972.[[63]](#endnote-63)

The following year Myles succeeded Grigor as EIFF director, becoming the first woman to run a major film festival in the process. Over the next seven years Myles continued to build Edinburgh’s position as the UK’s foremost showcase of contemporary international and independent cinema, but also established its reputation as a forum and meeting place for film-makers and intellectuals, which in turn had a significant impact on the growth of intellectual film culture and the serious study of cinema in the UK. As Peter Stanfield notes, ‘from the outset, Myles strove to be inclusive in her programming decisions, and to maintain a good flow of receipts at the box office.[[64]](#endnote-64)

Myles’ on-going engagement with American cinema was also reflected in her influential book, *The Movie Brats: How the Film Generation Took Over Hollywood* which Myles wrote with Michael Pye and was published in 1979.[[65]](#endnote-65) This study charted the contribution of the generation of film school graduates such as Francis Coppola, Martin Scorsese, George Lucas, Brian De Palma and Steven Spielberg to the renaissance of American cinema from the late 1960s. This indirectly links back to the pioneering work of Colin Young and his transformation of the curriculum at UCLA to foster a greater sense of personal expression and social engagement among his students. After leaving Edinburgh in 1980, Myles followed in Young’s footsteps by moving to the USA where she was director and curator of the Pacific Film Archive at the University of Berkley, followed by a stint as a studio executive at Columbia during David Puttnam’s brief tenure as production chief from June 1986 to September 1987. On returning to the UK, Myles worked in the drama department at the BBC before becoming an independent producer. In 2004, she was appointed as Head of Fiction at the National Film and Television School, seeing a career that had effectively begun in one educational institution (the University of Edinburgh) entering its late phase in another.

**Concluding Remarks**

This brief survey of the contributions made by Scots to the founding and development of British film and television institutions, and thus to wider processes of cultural production and transmission across the UK, raises a number of interesting issues. Mindful of the shortcomings of the ‘great man’ view of history, it is still important to acknowledge that leadership plays a vital role in establishing and propagating the values and identity of institutions. Thus, the leadership provided by Scots in establishing and/or developing these UK institutions is a remarkable phenomenon. Secondly, two kinds of institution stand out: public service broadcasters like the BBC, Granada and Channel 4, and educational/cultural organisations such as the British Film Institute, the National Film and Television School, the Film School at the Royal College of Art (Bob Dunbar, the key player in the development of the London Film School as Principal from 1962 to 1975, was also of Scots heritage)[[66]](#endnote-66), and the Edinburgh Film Festival. Thirdly, the significance of these institutions in the development of British culture during the course of the 20th century is enormous. All are underpinned by a shared commitment to the public good and to the propagation of the kind of progressive social democratic values enshrined in the Reithian concept of Broadcasting, the Griersonian tradition of documentary and subsequent iterations – notably a greater sense of inclusivity, diversity, criticality and irreverence – from the late 1940s onwards. Within this the role of Scots in the development of the documentary film and factual television is particularly strong, with Grierson, Anderson, Young, Hood, Forman, Isaacs and Morrison all integral part of the story. Fourthly, the values and aspirations enshrined within and propagated by these institutions reflected the world view of those who led them – bringing us back to the individuals who are the focus of this essay.

But within the general direction of travel, different kinds of ideological positions were adopted by particular individuals. These include patrician and paternalistic figures like Forman, Young and Isaacs, who tended to operate from within the media establishment, playing key roles on the boards of various organisations in the process; self-styled radical and oppositional personalities like Anderson and Hood, who were often vocally at odds with the organisations they worked for or that supported them; and post-68 cultural activists like Myles, who created new opportunities by directly challenging the prevailing status quo. At first glance, the more overtly commercially oriented John Maxwell and Robert Clark appear to have been motivated by different priorities. Yet this runs the risk of ignoring the business and managerial skills that also helped Forman turn around the BFI and, along with Steve Morrison, contributed to Granada’s position as arguably the most influential and successful company in the ITV network.

Scots have also been at the forefront of the more recent transformation of UK broadcasting towards a greater emphasis on private enterprise, market forces and deregulation. This has been particularly notable at ITV where Charles Allen (1957- ), former Chief Executive of Granada Television and Chairman of the Granada Media Group who masterminded a series of take-overs and mergers before become the first Chief Executive of a new single integrated ITV company in 2004. Allen’s Chairman was fellow Scot Sir Peter Burt (1944- ), former Chief Executive of the Bank of Scotland. And, from 2010-17, the CEO post has been filled by Adam Crozier (1964- ), formerly Chief Executive of Royal Mail and the Football League. This shift indicates that a background in business, rather than a formation in film or television, increasingly appears to constitute the relevant qualification for a top job in media institutions. But then again, this was also true of pioneers like John Maxwell and John Reith.

While the clear Presbyterian character of the oldest generation discussed above does not easily map onto the subsequent cohorts, whose largely progressive and socially reformist views were in line with wider contemporary intellectual and cultural trends, the Scottish dimension remains significant nevertheless. Moreover, the direct commitment of Grierson, Forman, Young, Isaacs and Myles in particular to various Scottish moving image institutions and developing talent has been profoundly important in terms of providing experience and leadership. This has in turn stimulated and encouraged the growth of a local infrastructure, funding initiatives and production activity within Scotland – from the proliferation of sponsored documentaries facilitated by the second films of Scotland Committee from the mid-1950s to the early 1980s, via the boost to Scottish independents given by the arrival of Channel 4 in the 1980s to the emergence of a New Scottish Cinema in the 1990s underpinned by the impetus towards devolution and the expansion in local production funding.[[67]](#endnote-67) This has in turn stimulated the careers of countless other writers, directors, producers, actors, technicians and other associated media professionals, both in Scotland and beyond.

Of course, the hypothetical question remains as to what might have happened if these travelling Scots had remained at home and contributed their talents to more local endeavours and initiatives? The immediate difficulty with this musing is that most if not all of the subjects were profoundly metropolitan in their intellectual orientation and personal ambition, with several of the ‘Noel Annan generation’ even attending English Universities. Moreover, their world view was more likely to be influenced by centre-left and socialist politics than by (Scottish) nationalism. However, if one of the chief arguments made in favour of Scottish independence is that it offers the chance to reject the neo-liberal consensus that has dominated Westminster in favour of a more democratic and participatory social democracy, then the legacy of these travelling Scots can perhaps be cast in a different light. For as a blueprint for the good society, such sentiments hark back to the progressive values and aspirations that once underpinned and motivated the mission and development of some of Britain’s key media institutions which as we have seen were frequently shaped and led by Scots.

In his informative and thought-provoking blog, Robin Macpherson has recently identified the opportunities for film and television to develop in an independent Scotland.[[68]](#endnote-68) While the discourse around the promotion of the creative industries tends to laud their economic benefits, they also contribute to a more representative and participatory public sphere which remains essential for a healthy and forward-looking democracy. Consequently, policy makers and those currently in charge of Scotland’s media institutions could do worse than look to the considerable legacy of their wandering predecessors if they are to have any relevance and efficacy in making the future.

1. David McCrone, *The New Sociology of Scotland* (London: Sage, 2017,) Chapter 18. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. The perspective developed by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991) have been influential on studies of cinema and national identity: see Alan Williams (ed.), *Film and Nationalism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press 2002) and Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie (eds.), *Cinema and Nation* (London: Routledge, 2000). [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Rebecca Langlands, Britishness or Englishness? The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain, *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 53-69. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. T.M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland’s Global Diaspora, 1750-2010* (London: Penguin, 2012), p. 291. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. T.M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2003) [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Christopher Harvie, ‘The Devolution of the Intellectuals’, New Statesman, No. 90, 28 November, 1975, pp. 665-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain,* (London: Verso, 1977). [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. See Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989). [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. See also Cairns Craig, *Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and English Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), Angus Calder, *Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994) and Beveridge and Turnbull, *Scotland After Enlightenment: Image and Tradition in Modern Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1997). [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. David Stenhouse, *How the Scots Took Over London* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2004) [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Ibid. p. 238. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Alexander Moffatt and Alan Riach, *Arts of Independence: The Cultural Argument and Why it Matters Most* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2014) [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Noel Annan, *Our Age: Portrait of a Generation* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2000). [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. John Caughie, ‘Broadcasting and Cinema 1: Converging Histories’, in Charles Barr (ed.), *All Our Yesterdays: 90 Years of British Film* (London: BFI, 1986), pp. 189-205. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. See Elizabeth Sussex, *The Rise and Fall of the British Documentary Film : The Story of the Film Movement Founded by John Grierson,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) and Paul Swan, *The British Documentary Film Movement, 1926-46* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989). [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Caughie, ‘Broadcasting and Cinema 1: Converging Histories’, in Barr (ed.), *All Our Yesterdays*, p. 191. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Ibid., p. 192. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Andrew Boyle, *Only the Wind Will Listen: Reith of the BBC* (London: Hutchison, 1972) [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. See Ian Aitken, *Film and Reform: John Grierson and the Documentary Film Movement* (London: Routledge, 1990); Ian Aitken, ‘John Grierson, Idealism and the Inter-War Period’, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television,* Vol. 9, No. 3, 1989, pp.247-258.  [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Caughie, ‘Broadcasting and Cinema 1: Converging Histories’, in Barr (ed.), *All Our Yesterdays,* p. 193. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. During the War Reith was briefly Minister of Information, then First Commissioner of Works. After the conflict he became Chair of the Commonwealth Telecommunications Board and then the Colonial Development Corporation which he held until 1959. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Forsyth Hardy, *John Grierson, A Documentary Biography* (London: Faber & Faber, 1979) [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Duncan Petrie, *Screening Scotland* (London: BFI, 2000), pp. 112-4. See also Forsyth Hardy, *Scotland in Film* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1990), pp. 101-140. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Petrie, *Screening Scotland,* pp. 24-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. See Trevor Griffiths, *Cinema and Cinema-Going in Scotland, 1896-1950*, (Edinburgh: EUP, 2012) [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. See Alan Eyles, *ABC: The First Name in Entertainment* (London: BFI, 1993), pp. 14-27. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Vincent Porter, ‘All Change at Elstree: Warner Bros., ABPC and British Film Policy 1945-1961’, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2001, p. 6. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. See Rachael Low, *Film-Making in 1930s Britain* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985). [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Vincent Porter, ‘All Change at Elstree’, p. 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation* Second Edition (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 158-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. See Dennis Forman, *Persona Granada: Memories of Sidney Bernstein* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1997) [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Christophe Dupin, ‘The Postwar Transformation of the British Film Institute and Its Impact on the Development of a National Film Culture in Britain’, *Screen*, Vol. 47, No. 4, winter 2006, pp. 443-451. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Interview on-line, <http://www.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/news-bfi/video/denis-forman-1917-2013> [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. See Dupin, p. 448. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. Cathy Johnson and Rob Turnock, ‘From Start Up to Consolidation: Institutions, Regions and Regulation over the History of ITV’ in Johnson and Turnock (eds.), *ITV Cultures: Independent Television Over Fifty Years* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2005), p. 16. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Raymond Fitzwalter, *The Dream that Died: The Rise and Fall of ITV* (Leicester: Matador: 2007), p. 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Peter Goddard, John Corner and Kay Richardson, *Public Issue Television: World in Action 1963-98* (Manchester: MUP, 2007), p. 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Peter Goddard, John Corner and Kay Richardson, ‘The Formation of *World in Action:* A Case Study in the History of Current Affairs Journalism’, *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2001, p. 76. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. See Brian Winston, *Claiming the Real: The Griersonian Documentary and its Legitimations* (London: BFI, 1995). [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. David Plowright, ‘Preface: Granada 1957-92’ in John Finch (ed.), *Granada Television: The First Generation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. x. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. See Duncan Petrie, *Screening Scotland*, pp. 172-221. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Duncan Petrie and Rod Stoneman, *Educating Film-Makers: Past, Present, Future* (Bristol: Intellect, 2014), pp. 145-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. Brian Winston, ‘Stuart Hood Obituary’, the *Guardian*, 22 December 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2011/dec/22/stuart-hood> [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. Pier Paolo Pasolini, *A Dream of Something* (London: Quartet, 1988); *Theorem* (London: Quartet, 1992); *Letters: 1940-54, Vol. 1* (London: Quartet, 1992). [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Dario Fo, *Fo Plays 1* (London: Methuen, 1992)’The Formation of *World in Action:* A Case Study in the History of Current Affairs Journalism’*, Journalism*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2001, p. 76. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. See Duncan Petrie, ‘British Film Education and the Career of Colin Young’*, Journal of British Cinema and Television,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 2004, pp. 78-92. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. See Duncan Petrie, ‘Interview: Colin Young’, *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, Vol. 7, No. 2, August 2010, pp. 311-323. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. Young, interview with author, 2003. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. Alistair Scott, ‘What’s the Point of Film School, or, What Did Beaconsfield Film Studios Ever Do for Scottish Cinema?’, in in Jonathan Murray, Fidelma Farley and Rod Stoneman (eds.), *Scottish Cinema Now*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009, pp. 206-–221. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. See Petrie ‘British Film Education and the Career of Colin Young’, *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2004. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. John Reith was also born in Stonehaven during a family holiday to the seaside town. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. See Duncan Petrie, ‘Lindsay Anderson and Scotland: Identity and the Inveterate Outsider’, in Erik Hedling and Christophe Dupin (eds.), *Lindsay Anderson Revisited: Unknown Aspects of a Film Director* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 187-202. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Paul Ryan (ed.), *Never Apologise: The Collected Writings of Lindsay Anderson* (London: Plexus, 2004), p. 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. Lindsay Anderson, ‘Get Out and Push’ in Ryan (ed.), *Never Apologise,* p. 234. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. See Eddie Dick, Andrew Noble and Duncan Petrie (eds.), *Bill Douglas: A Lanternist’s Account* (London: BFI/SFC, 1993). [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Jeremy Isaacs, *Look Me in the Eye* (London: Little Brown , 2006) [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. Jeremy Isaacs, *Storm over Four: A Personal Account* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989), pp. 19-20 [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. See Sylvia Harvey, ‘Channel Four Television: From Annan to Grade’, in Stuart Hood (ed.), *Behind the Screens: The Structure of British Television in the Nineties* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1994), pp. 103-32. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. Dorothy Hobson, *Channel 4: The Early Years and the Jeremy Isaacs Legacy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), p. vii. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. Jeremy Isaacs, *Look Me in the Eye*, p. 423. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. Duncan Petrie, *Screening Scotland* (London: BFI, 2000), p. 125. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. See Karol Kulik, ‘After School’, *Sight & Sound,* Vol. 46, No. 4, 1977, pp. 200-204. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. Peter Stanfield, ‘Notes Towards a History of the Edinburgh International Film Festival, 1969-77’, *Film International,* Issue 34, 2008. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. Ibid. p. 68. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. Lynda Myles and Michael Pye, *The Movie Brats: How the Film Generation Took Over Hollywood* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1979). [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. See Duncan Petrie and Rod Stoneman, *Educating Film Makers: Past, Present and Future* (Bristol: Intellect, 2014), pp. 123-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. See Duncan Petrie, *Screening Scotland*, pp. 172-190. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. Robin MacPherson, ‘Independent Screens’, *The Producer’s Cut,* 18 May 2014. <http://robinmacpherson.wordpress.com/2014/05/18/independent-screens/> [↑](#endnote-ref-68)