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BURTON PAULU

A graphic on the left side of the cover consisting of a semi-circular base and four vertical bars of varying heights, all in red. Small black wavy lines are positioned between the vertical bars.

**BRITISH
BROADCASTING
IN TRANSITION**

BRITISH BROADCASTING IN TRANSITION

by **BURTON PAULU**

Recent developments in British radio and television broadcasting are of keen interest to those on both sides of the Atlantic who are concerned with the basic problems of broadcast regulation. Dr. Paulu gives a detailed account of these developments since 1955, when the new Independent Television Authority introduced commercial television in competition with the noncommercial service of the British Broadcasting Corporation. This volume, a sequel to his earlier book, *British Broadcasting: Radio and Television in the United Kingdom*, brings the study up to date and provides a comprehensive basis for an evaluation of the British system of managing the airwaves.

The author describes the legal and financial structures of both the BBC and the ITA and reviews their program policies and operations. He discusses the effects of television on other communications media and the reaction of

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the British public to both radio and television. He appraises current performances of the BBC and ITA, notes the effects of competition, and offers some recommendations for the future of British broadcasting.

With increasing numbers of Americans questioning the merits of their broadcasting system, with Britons considering possible changes in theirs, and with several Continental countries contemplating commercial support for television, this account of the British experience provides timely and needed data.

Dr. Paulu, an American, is a professor and director of the department of radio and television broadcasting at the University of Minnesota. He has spent several years in the United Kingdom and on the Continent studying broadcasting operations and was a member of the United States exchange group which observed Soviet radio and television in the U.S.S.R. in 1958. He is a former president of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

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UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS, Minneapolis

~ ~ British Broadcasting in
Transition

by

BURTON PAULU

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS
Minneapolis

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*Printed in the United States of America at the
North Central Publishing Company, St. Paul*



Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 61-8399

PUBLISHED IN CANADA BY THOMAS ALLEN, LIMITED, TORONTO

THIS BOOK IS ALSO PUBLISHED BY
MACMILLAN AND COMPANY LIMITED
London Bombay Calcutta Madras Melbourne

~ ~ Preface

THIS BOOK is a report on the effects of competition on the broadcasting services of a country that introduced commercial television after some thirty years of service from a noncommercial monopoly. It therefore is a sequel to my *British Broadcasting: Radio and Television in the United Kingdom*, which described and appraised British broadcasting as it was in 1955 when the British Broadcasting Corporation was joined by the Independent Television Authority.

The present book is intended for readers on both sides of the Atlantic. Thinking Americans are questioning their broadcasting system as never before, and some knowledge of what is done elsewhere may suggest solutions to a few of their problems. The British are appraising their system in order to plan for the years after 1964, so they may be interested in the comments of an American on their situation. Several Continental countries are cautiously introducing commercial support for television, for which reason an outsider's view of British television may interest them too.

The research for this volume was carried out in the United Kingdom and various Continental countries during 1958-1959 on a grant from the Ford Foundation. The writing was done in Minneapolis the following year with the assistance of a research grant from the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota. A list of all the other organizations and individuals who helped me in one way or another would be unmanageably long; therefore, the list of names which follows is not complete. Acknowledgments of assistance, of course, do not involve any shift of responsibility for content: I alone decided what facts should be cited and how they should be interpreted.

In England I interviewed many people connected with the British

BRITISH BROADCASTING IN TRANSITION

Broadcasting Corporation who gave me documentary material, answered questions in personal interviews, arranged for me to view various aspects of their work in progress, and read much of the book in manuscript form. This list is headed by Sir Arthur fforde, Chairman, Board of Governors; Sir Ian Jacob, former Director General; and Mr. Hugh Carleton Greene, formerly Director of News and Current Affairs and now Director General.

Other BBC staff members to whom I am indebted include Kenneth Adam, formerly Controller of Programmes, Television, and now Director of Television Broadcasting; Michael Barry, Head of Drama, Television; G. C. Beadle, formerly Director of Television Broadcasting; Sir Harold Bishop, Director of Engineering; M. A. Frost, Head of Transcription Service; Frank G. Gillard, Controller, West Region; W. F. Glock, Controller, Music; J. D. S. Greene, Controller, Talks, Sound; H. J. G. Grisewood, Chief Assistant to the Director General; S. C. Hood, formerly Deputy Editor, News and Current Affairs, and now Controller of Television Programmes; R. D. A. Marriott, Assistant Director of Sound Broadcasting; R. L. Miall, Head of Talks, Television; Alisdair D. G. Milne, Assistant Editor of the program, "Tonight"; E. L. E. Pawley, Head of Engineering Services Group; H. Rooney Pelletier, Controller, Programme Planning, Sound; Derek Russell, Representative in New York; John Scupham, Head of Educational Broadcasting; R. J. E. Silvey, Head of Audience Research; Mrs. J. R. Spicer, Head of Programme Planning, Television; R. C. Steele, Secretary, School Broadcasting Council; G. S. Strode, formerly General Manager, Publications; E. B. Thorne, former Representative in New York; R. E. L. Wellington, Director of Sound Broadcasting.

I am particularly indebted to the staff of the BBC's excellent library under the direction of R. L. Collison, and above all to Cyril Conner, formerly Head of Overseas and Foreign Relations Department, who more than anyone else arranged appointments, secured documentation, and assumed responsibility for reading or having other members of the BBC staff read and comment on a good deal of the manuscript.

The staff of the Independent Television Authority was equally hospitable and helpful. Those members interviewed included Sir Robert Fraser, Director General; Leonard Waight, Chief of Finance and Establishment; A. W. Pragnell, Secretary; and Noel Stevenson, Programme Administration Officer. The librarian, Miss B. J. Burford, proved a

PREFACE

thoughtful guide to the Authority's books and clipping file. My most frequent contact in the ITA, however, was the Deputy Director General, Bernard C. Sendall, who at all stages of research and writing proved commendably patient and consistently helpful.

Program company representatives who aided in my research include the following. ABC Television: Howard Thomas, Managing Director; George A. Cooper, Director; and Mary Field, Consultant on Children's Programmes (to both ABC and ATV).

Associated-Rediffusion: Paul Adorian, Managing Director; Enid Love, Head of School Broadcasting; R. D. Rotheram, Research Officer; and Alexander Galatzine, Public Relations Representative.

Associated-Television: Norman Collins, Deputy Chairman; Eric Crostyn, Assistant to the Deputy Chairman; Bill Ward, Production Controller.

Granada Television: Sir Gerald Barry, Director of Education.

Southern Television: L. V. Barnett, Publicity Manager.

Independent Television News: Geoffrey Cox, Editor; F. H. G. Taylor, General Manager.

Help also was received from Dr. Mark Abrams, Research Services, Ltd.; G. B. Audley, Television Audience Measurement, Ltd.; Barry Baron, Director of Television, McCann-Erickson; Dan Ingman, Young and Rubicam; and Michael Patmore, Director, J. Walter Thompson.

I am indebted to Anthony Wedgwood Benn and Christopher Mayhew, Members of Parliament, and to Sir William Haley, editor of *The Times*, for informative interviews.

My observation of broadcasting on the European Continent involved visits to twelve countries, in all of which I – and in some cases my family too – was received hospitably by far more people than can be individually enumerated here. High points of these trips included attendance at European Broadcasting Union meetings in Munich, Stockholm, Rome, and London; an International University of the Air session in Paris; and a conference on filmed and televised music in Salzburg. I also called on broadcasters in various cities in Western Germany (including Berlin), Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, and Denmark, and as a member of an official exchange group spent three weeks in the USSR.

While it seemed best not to extend the scope of this book beyond Britain, these Continental visits gave me increased perspective for un-

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derstanding both British and American broadcasting. Furthermore, they may have paved the way for more intensive study of additional radio and television systems at some future date.

Friends in the United States who read and commented on all or parts of the manuscript included Professor Eric Barnouw, Columbia University; Dr. Leo Bogart, Vice President, Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association; Dr. Walter Emery, Michigan State University; Dr. Harrison B. Summers, Ohio State University; Dr. Harry J. Skornia, President, National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Dr. John Turner, University of Minnesota; and Professor Hugh Wilson, Princeton University.

Completion of the manuscript owed a great deal to my ingenious research assistant, Alfredo Villanueva, as well as to several patient typists, the last and most enduring of whom was Kay Keough.

University professors necessarily do most of their research and writing in what is known as their "spare time." This circumstance inevitably involves their families too. Therefore, I now record my obligation to my wife Frances, and to the children, Sarah, Nancy, and Thomas, who became quite used to hearing me say, "I can't do it now. You'll have to wait until my book is finished."

Burton Paulu

Director, Department of Radio and
Television Broadcasting

University of Minnesota
April 1961

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BRITISH BROADCASTING IN TRANSITION

~ ~ I

British Broadcasting Today

BRITISH broadcasting is in a state of transition.

In 1954 the United Kingdom, after being served for many years by the noncommercial British Broadcasting Corporation, created the Independent Television Authority to provide a supplementary television service supported by advertising. The present Charter and Licence of the BBC, together with the Television Act which is the legal basis for the ITA, will expire in 1964, by which time the Pilkington Committee will have completed its extensive examination of all aspects of British broadcasting, and Parliament probably will have legislated for the future.

These developments are of great interest to people everywhere who are concerned with the basic problems of broadcast regulation. Britain's experiences may indicate the relative merits of monopoly and competition. The ITA's unique structure may contain the answers to some of the most difficult questions about the control of commercial television.

The decisions made as to the future of British broadcasting are important to all countries which are planning to introduce additional television services, or which are considering changes in technical standards. Therefore, as long as it remains in transition between its former monopoly status and the permanent structure it should attain in the late 1960's, British broadcasting will be an excellent laboratory in which to observe the development of radio and television.*

* Throughout this book the British Broadcasting Corporation is referred to as the BBC or the Corporation, and the Independent Television Authority as the ITA or the Authority. The entire Independent Television organization, including the ITA and the program companies, is identified as ITV.

BRITISH BROADCASTING IN TRANSITION

Britain's Two Broadcasting Agencies

The United Kingdom's first broadcasting agency was the British Broadcasting Company, formed in 1922 by a group of radio equipment manufacturers. This was succeeded in 1927 by the present British Broadcasting Corporation, which assumed sole responsibility for radio and subsequently for television broadcasting. A public corporation with its own Board of Governors, the BBC is highly independent of government control. It is supported by parliamentary grants, based on the yearly license fees paid by all users of radio and television receivers. The Corporation is not permitted to do commercial broadcasting.

With almost 16,000 full-time employees, the BBC is the world's largest broadcasting organization, with the possible exception of the broadcasting system of Soviet Russia. The Corporation now operates four radio services with national coverage: the Light Programme, which features entertainment; the Home Service (broken up into regional networks several times each day), with programs ranging from very light to very serious; the Third Programme, on the air evenings only, which concentrates on serious and demanding programs of very high intellectual caliber; and Network Three, which uses the Third Programme's transmitters to present instructional and special interest programs during several early evening hours each day. After some years of experimentation the BBC inaugurated the world's first permanent high-definition television service in 1936, and now has a network covering over 98 per cent of the country's population. The BBC also does all of Britain's international broadcasting.

In the United Kingdom the tradition was early established for a government commission to advise on policy as each BBC license period drew to a close. The most important of these was the Beveridge Committee appointed in 1949, which, after a very thorough investigation of all aspects of British broadcasting, recommended in 1951 the continuance of the BBC monopoly, though with certain procedural changes. For a number of reasons, however, the government did not act upon this proposal immediately, and the ensuing delay provided the advocates of commercial television with their opportunity to campaign for a supplementary service. Thereafter, intensive debate both in and out of Parliament culminated in the passage of the Television Act of 1954.

This law created another public corporation somewhat like the BBC to select and regulate the privately owned program companies that pre-

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pare and present the programs carried by the television transmitters which it operates. The eleven transmitters now on the air cover some 94 per cent of the population. These contractors pay the ITA for broadcasting rights, and meet their costs from advertising revenues.

Independent Television, however, is not commercial television American-style, in which sponsors may provide programs, but rather follows the pattern of the press, with editorial content and advertising matter sharply differentiated. This arrangement was the first of its type anywhere in the world. The public enthusiastically accepted ITV, and has consistently preferred its programs to those of the BBC. The continuance of Independent Television, therefore, is assured, and its opponents have modified their original position of outright opposition to one of criticising operations and profits.

The Problems of British Broadcasting

Ever since the ITA went on the air in September 1955, the British experiment has been of great interest to all countries faced with problems of broadcast regulation. Would the introduction of competition lead to improvement or deterioration in the United Kingdom's broadcasting services? How would it affect the BBC? What kinds of programs would ITV offer?

With competition the BBC faced some real challenges. It was impelled to provide public service, informational and cultural as well as entertainment programs; yet its television income is less than half that of Independent Television. But if it lost too many viewers to its rival — the current proportion is about six to four in ITV's favor — it might have to give up some of its license money, forego its balanced schedule, and suffer a decline in prestige.

Britain's new controlled commercial system is of interest in itself, as well as for its impact on the BBC. Its separation of programs from advertising material suggests one way to eliminate sponsor influence on programs. Above all, its legal structure may demonstrate how a regulatory body can maintain fairly close control of program standards without jeopardizing freedom of expression.

The British experiment also is significant because of the data it provides about the impact of television on such older media as radio, press, and cinema. Television set ownership in the United Kingdom has passed the two-thirds point, and more is known about audiences in Britain

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than in any other country except the United States. British trends in intermedia relationships, therefore, provide an important addition to mass media knowledge.

By 1964 decisions must be made which probably will determine the structure and pattern of British broadcasting for years to come. The future of both the BBC and the ITA must be decided. The introduction of commercial radio must be considered. The very controversial question of additional television services already has set off a major debate among proponents for their operation by the BBC, ITA, both, or neither. Educational television stations also have been proposed, as has subscription television.

Of great long range importance is the question of technical standards for television. Should Britain change from its present 405-line system to the 625-line system used in most of western Europe and move up into the UHF band as was recommended by its Television Advisory Committee, it would be the first country in the world to make an important change in technical standards after a large percentage of its population had acquired receivers.*

This book will set forth some basic facts about the legal and financial structures of both the BBC and the ITA, after which it will review their program policies and operations. It will discuss the effects of television on other media and the reaction of the British public to both radio and television. Finally, it will appraise the current performances of the BBC and the ITA, will note the effects of competition, and will offer some recommendations about the future of British broadcasting.

* The problems involved in making these technical changes are reviewed on pp. 209-214 below.

The British Broadcasting Corporation

ANY STUDY of British broadcasting must begin with the British Broadcasting Corporation. The BBC was Britain's first permanent broadcasting agency, and for a long time it was the only one. It still has a monopoly on domestic radio services; it is solely responsible for Britain's international broadcasting; and it operates the United Kingdom's most complete television service. Finally, it has been officially designated as the country's "main instrument for broadcasting," whereas the newer Independent Television Authority has been charged only with providing "television broadcasting services, additional to those of the British Broadcasting Corporation."¹

A Historical Review

Radio broadcasting in the United Kingdom began in February 1920, with experimental transmissions from a station near London, operated by the Marconi Company.² In Britain, as in the United States, the manufacturers of receiving sets led in the early development of radio, in the hope that the availability of a broadcasting service would stimulate the sale of receivers. Consequently, in May 1922, the Post Office, the government department which regulates broadcasting in the United Kingdom, called a meeting of interested manufacturers, and began discussions which led later that year to the creation of the British Broadcasting Company.

The Company, which began to broadcast in January 1923, was a private corporation controlled by the six largest manufacturers of broadcasting equipment, who in return for a virtual monopoly of the sales of receivers and receiver parts, guaranteed the firm's financial solvency.

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The Company's funds came from three sources: the original stock; royalties on the receiving sets sold by members; and a portion of the proceeds from the sale of broadcast receiving licenses which set users had to purchase annually at ten shillings each (then about \$2.43). Soon a program service was developed, and stations were operating in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Glasgow.

A few months after it took to the air, however, the new British Broadcasting Company encountered financial and other difficulties, which led the government to appoint a committee of inquiry headed by Major General Sir Frederick Sykes.³ The committee's report resulted in a reorganization and the extension of the Company's license to December 31, 1926. To draw up plans for a permanent broadcasting agency, the government appointed another committee in 1925 under the chairmanship of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.⁴ Its report led to the chartering of the permanent British Broadcasting Corporation for ten years from January 1, 1927, according to a pattern not materially altered until the coming of the ITA in 1955: broadcasting became a monopoly, financed by license fees on receivers, and administered by an independent public corporation. John C. W. Reith, who had been manager of the original company, became the first Director General of the new Corporation.*

BBC experiments with television date from 1929, although some British pioneers, notably John Logie Baird, had been experimenting for several years before the Corporation became officially involved.⁵ In 1932 a small studio in Broadcasting House was assigned to television. A government committee under Lord Selsdon recommended in 1935 that a London station should go on the air as soon as possible; that the BBC should have a monopoly of television as it already had with radio; and that the BBC's share of radio license revenue should be increased to pay for the new service. The committee also suggested that some commercial telecasting might be tried to help defray costs, but this was never attempted.⁶ Accordingly, the BBC began regular television transmissions on November 2, 1936, thus initiating the world's first high-definition program service. Telecasting was interrupted on September 3, 1939, because of the war, but was resumed June 7, 1946.

It is customary for a small committee of distinguished citizens to appraise the performance of the BBC as each license period draws to a

* Reith became Sir John Reith in 1927 and Lord Reith in 1940.

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close, and to make recommendations for the future. The first of these was the Ullswater Committee, appointed in 1935. Its report, taking for granted the basic features of the system, dealt mainly with operational problems.⁷ Charter and Licence were renewed accordingly, and the BBC's life assured to December 31, 1946. In 1946, both were extended to December 31, 1951, without inquiry, on the ground that the dislocation resulting from the war made a considered reappraisal impossible.

The Beveridge Committee, appointed in 1949, carried out by far the most exhaustive examination ever made of British broadcasting up to that time. Although it raised far more questions about basic theories than had any of its predecessors, it too recommended the extension of the BBC's Charter and Licence on the traditional basis.⁸ But the Labour government did not issue the new Charter and Licence before going out of office in October 1951, and since the new Conservative government had different ideas about television, it gave the BBC only a six months' extension, while permanent policies were debated within party councils.

When these were announced in May 1952, the Conservative government observed that the BBC had enjoyed a monopoly only because successive governments had never exercised their undoubted authority to license other broadcasting agencies, rather than because the Corporation had ever been guaranteed monopoly status. Therefore, radio would be continued as before, but "in the expanding field of television provision should be made to permit some element of competition." It was understood – though not so stated – that the new service was to be commercially supported.⁹ However, the new government proposed no basic changes in the British Broadcasting Corporation itself, so its Charter and Licence were renewed for another ten-year period, effective July 1, 1952. On July 13, 1960, it was announced that the expiration dates would be extended to July 29, 1964, so that they would coincide with the expiration of the Television Act of 1954, which serves as both charter and license for the ITA.¹⁰

The BBC as a Monopoly

A review of the reasons why British broadcasting was maintained as a monopoly until 1955 reveals a good deal about the men who created and ran it.¹¹ Monopoly operation of the original British Broadcasting Company was introduced in 1922 to suit the administrative convenience of the Post Office, which wanted to avoid the unpleasant task of choosing

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among twenty-four applicants for licenses. The Post Office also believed that monopoly control would facilitate the coordination of wireless telephony with other means of communication; that the shortage of wavelengths would be alleviated if there were fewer stations; and that by unitary operation the United Kingdom could avoid the chaotic experiences through which American radio was passing in the 1920's due to inadequate regulation.

In later years monopoly was justified mainly on the grounds that it would provide a better program service than would a competitive system. A great deal was heard about this during the debates of the early 1950's over the creation of the Independent Television Authority, and echoes appear even today in some public statements by BBC officials. The argument for monopoly had been most bluntly and dramatically stated by Lord Reith, the Corporation's first Director General, who wrote in his memoirs: "It was, in fact, the combination of public service motive, sense of moral obligation, assured finance, and the brute force of monopoly which enabled the BBC to make of broadcasting what no other country in the world has made of it. . . ." Lord Reith later stated: "If there is to be competition it will be of cheapness not of goodness."¹²

The BBC provided the most carefully reasoned case for monopoly in its presentation to the Beveridge Committee in May 1950. Monopoly, it wrote, could best be justified by "the crucial test . . . of standards," which it defined as "the purpose, taste, cultural aims, range, and general sense of responsibility of the broadcasting service as a whole." The BBC continued, "Under any system of competitive broadcasting all these things would be at the mercy of Gresham's Law [the tendency of bad money to drive good money out of circulation]. . . . The good, in the long run, will inescapably be driven out by the bad. . . . And because competition in broadcasting must in the long run descend to a fight for the greatest possible number of listeners, it would be the lower forms of mass appetite which would more and more be catered for in programmes."¹³

BBC Finances

Another basic feature of the BBC's structure dating from the 1927 Charter is its support by public funds derived from the sale of licenses to radio and television set users. The decision to do this was very deliberately taken. The Sykes Committee in 1923 rejected proposals that costs be met from general tax funds with the argument that only the

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owners of receiving sets should be required to maintain the broadcasting service.¹⁴ Thirty years later the Beveridge Committee went a step further and pointed out that the use of general tax funds might make the BBC too dependent on the government.¹⁵

The Sykes Committee also rejected advertising as a means of support. Advertising, it believed, would “lower the standards” of the programs; too much advertising “would tend to make the service unpopular, and thus to defeat its own ends”; and, because of its possible high costs, advertising would benefit large advertisers rather than small ones. There remained the possibility of special yearly taxes on receivers, which the committee recommended and which was adopted.¹⁶

The Beveridge Committee reaffirmed this position. It rejected a sponsor system, because that would put “the control of broadcasting ultimately in the hands of people whose interest is not broadcasting but the selling of some other goods or services or the propagation of particular ideas. If the people of any country want broadcasting for its own sake, they must be prepared to pay for it as listeners or viewers; they must not ask for it for nothing as an accompaniment of advertising some other commodity.”¹⁷ In view of the subsequent creation of the ITA, however, it is interesting to notice that four of the committee’s eleven members dissented from the majority on this point.*

As the law now stands, anyone who operates a radio or television receiver in the United Kingdom or who obtains service from a relay exchange is required to purchase an annual license from the Post Office.† A radio license sells for £1 (\$2.80). A combined radio-television license (there is no television-only license) costs £3 (\$8.40), to which is added a £1 excise duty for a total of £4 (\$11.20). One license covers all the receivers in a household, including portable sets, although a separate license (costing £1) is required for sets in automobiles.

Not all of this money reaches the BBC, however. The £1 excise tax, which was added in 1957, goes directly to the government. Between the founding of the BBC in 1927 and March 31, 1961, some net license revenue was withheld for general government expenses each peacetime year except 1950–1951.¹⁸ (During World War II the Corporation’s domestic services were supported by direct grants-in-aid appropriated by Parliament without reference to license revenues.)

* See pp. 31–32 below.

† For an explanation of relay exchanges see p. 175 below.

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Table 1. Summary of BBC Income for the Fiscal Year 1959-1960

	Radio	Television	Total
Gross licence revenue.....	£ 15,060,464	£ 21,149,216	£ 36,209,680
Minus			
<i>Post Office expenses retained</i>	999,262	1,394,798	2,394,060
<i>Treasury retention.....</i>	<u>1,051,459</u>	<u>1,478,008</u>	<u>2,529,467</u>
Deduction	2,050,721	2,872,806	4,923,527
Net income from Post Office...	<u>£ 13,009,743</u> (£36,427,280)	<u>£ 18,276,410</u> * (\$51,173,948)	<u>£ 31,286,153</u> (\$87,601,228) †

Source: *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 100.

* The total gross income of ITV's program companies for the same period was approximately £58,000,000. Net income was about £43,000,000, or roughly two and one-half times the BBC's net television income. For data on ITV's income, see pp. 68-70 below.

† Conversion to dollars is at the official rate of £1 = \$2.80.

Between April 1, 1957, and March 31, 1959, for example, after the Post Office deducted its administrative costs for collecting license fees and investigating complaints of electrical interference, the Treasury withheld 12½ per cent of the balance, the remainder going to the BBC. But the Treasury reduced its share to 7½ per cent during the fiscal year 1959-1960, and to 5 per cent in 1960-1961. In 1961-1962 the BBC will receive 100 per cent of the net receipts.* The Corporation states that if it could retain the net television income plus the excise tax, it could finance a second television service without further appropriations.¹⁹

In any case, once the BBC's share of license revenue has been determined, Parliament formally appropriates that amount for its use; the funds are not automatically transferred from the Post Office to the Corporation. In accordance with a proposal from the Ullswater Committee Parliament since 1937 has considered the BBC's appropriation as a separate item in order to have at that time an additional opportunity to debate BBC affairs. Theoretically, of course, Parliament has full power to reduce or otherwise change the recommended amounts, or to add

* *Agreement Supplemental to a Licence and Agreement* (Cmd. 80), 1957; *BBC Handbook 1960*, pp. 31-32, 195; *London Times*, March 12, 1960, p. 6.

Section XI of the Television Act of 1954 authorized the Postmaster General to give the ITA up to £750,000 (\$2,100,000) each year. The Act did not specify the grounds on which this money could be made available, but it was generally understood that it was to be used to defray the costs of such sustaining programs as might have to be produced in order to balance the program companies' schedules, and that it was to come indirectly from the portion of the BBC's license revenue retained by the Treasury. But no grant was ever made in the ITA's early financially precarious days, and there is no need for the money now. See p. 50 below.

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Table 2. Summary of BBC Expenditures for the Fiscal Year 1959-1960

	Radio	Television
Income receivable from the Post Office	£ 13,009,743	£ 18,276,410
Other income, publications, interest, etc. ° . .	644,868	588,920
Total income	13,654,611	18,865,330
Program expenses	6,584,581	8,194,751
Engineering expenses	2,769,206	5,021,084
Other expenses	2,548,232	2,600,069
Total operating expenses	11,902,019	15,815,904
Depreciation	580,676	911,535
Income Tax †	440,107	720,000
Total expenditure	12,922,802	17,447,439
Balance available for capital expenditure . . .	731,809	1,417,891
Net capital expenditure	30,716	1,790,147
Net variation in reserves	701,093	-372,256

Source: *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 101.

° "Other income" includes mainly revenue from advertisements appearing in *The Radio Times*, the Corporation's weekly program journal, whose 7,214,725 weekly circulation during the fiscal year in review made it a prime advertising medium.

† Ironically, the BBC must pay an income tax on any part of its income set aside for future capital expenditures or reserves, just as a private concern must pay a tax on its profits.

restrictive riders; but although it often discusses the BBC at such times, it has never done any of these things. The reason is not so much that the Treasury-BBC agreement is inviolable, as that the budget brought before Parliament by the Cabinet is seldom changed, even though there may be debates on the policy implications of individual items.*

A financial balance sheet from any recent year will illustrate how this works out in practice. Crediting £2 for each combined radio-television license to television, and apportioning the Post Office and Treasury charges pro rata, the license income for the fiscal year April 1, 1959, to March 31, 1960, is summarized in Table 1. The approximate expenditure of the BBC's income for the same fiscal year is shown in Table 2.

° *Broadcasting: Copy of the Licence and Agreement Dated the 12th Day of June, between Her Majesty's Postmaster General and the British Broadcasting Corporation* (Cmd. 8579), Section 17 (1-2) (hereafter cited as *1952 Licence*); *Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1935* (Cmd. 8116), Section 56 (hereafter cited as *Ullswater Report*); *House of Commons Debates*, 314:875 (July 6, 1936). Strictly speaking, Parliament appropriates for the BBC out of general funds; it does not turn over to the BBC the actual license money. The allocation for the Home Services is technically the Broadcasting Vote Subhead A; the External Services item is Subhead B.

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The costs of External Broadcasting — programs for audiences outside the United Kingdom — are met by a direct grant-in-aid from the British Treasury, although prior to World War II the BBC supported the service from its license-fee income. During 1959–1960, £6,387,940 (\$17,886,232) was provided for operating expenses, and £307,000 (\$859,600) for capital expenditure, a total of £6,694,940 (\$18,745,832). (During the period July 1959 through June 1960, the Voice of America allocation for operating expenses was \$17,525,658, and for capital expenditure \$2,285,450, a total of \$19,811,108.)²⁰

The BBC as a Public Corporation

The life of the BBC depends upon two legal documents: the Charter and the Licence. The former, issued by the government in the name of the Crown, creates the BBC as a public corporation. Authority to broadcast is given in the accompanying Licence, issued by the Postmaster General.

The BBC was set up in 1927 as a public corporation, because it was felt that the control of anything as important to the nation as broadcasting should not reside permanently with what was described as “an unrestricted commercial monopoly,” but “ought to remain with the State.”²¹ On the other hand, operation as a government department was considered equally undesirable, for which reason the Crawford Committee in 1925 recommended a public corporation “to act as a Trustee for the national interest,” because “Such an authority would enjoy a freedom and flexibility which a Minister of State himself could scarcely exercise.”

The committee went on to say that although “the State, through Parliament, must retain the right of ultimate control . . . we think it essential that the Commission [Corporation] should not be subjected to the continuing Ministerial guidance and direction which apply to Government offices. . . . [The Board of Governors, therefore,] should be invested with the maximum of freedom which Parliament is prepared to concede.”²² The public corporation which resulted does not have its exact counterpart in the United States. Perhaps the American Red Cross chartered by Congress but independently run by its own Board of Trustees, is the nearest equivalent, although the Tennessee Valley Authority and New York Port Authority also could be cited as analogues.

The BBC is controlled by its nine governors, who in strict legal fact

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are the Corporation. They are appointed for five-year terms by the Government, which may dismiss them at will (though none has ever been dismissed). Three are chosen to represent Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales, the remainder being chosen "at large,"* although there is no specific provision for balancing political parties as is the case with the American Federal Communications Commission; however, it is presumed that an approximate balance will be maintained.

The Licence declares that the Corporation is to broadcast every day, on those stations licensed to it by the Postmaster General, during such hours as he may prescribe. (The Post Office is the equivalent of the American Federal Communications Commission in matters of radio and television regulation.) There is only one specific program requirement: the Corporation is to broadcast daily "an impartial account" of parliamentary proceedings. In addition, "whenever so requested by any Department" of the government, it is to broadcast "any announcement . . . which such Department may request," and also, "whenever so requested by any such Department in whose opinion an emergency has arisen . . . any other matter which such Department may request the Corporation to broadcast." There is also a veto power: the Postmaster General may "require the Corporation to refrain at any specified time or at all times from sending any matter or matter of any class specified in such notice."²³

Certain sections of the Charter and Licence might make it appear that the BBC is entirely subservient to the government. Thus, the government may appoint and dismiss the governors; revoke the Charter for what it considers "reasonable cause"; assign or withhold radio frequencies and television channels; set the amount of money payable by the Treasury to the Corporation; nationalize the BBC in an emergency; or revoke its license for unsatisfactory performance. Especially menacing would appear the right to initiate or veto programs. Yet, if these things are considered in their British context, there is little cause for alarm.²⁴

The keynote was struck back in 1926, when the House of Commons was debating the BBC's first Charter and Licence. The Postmaster General then said that the clause requiring the Corporation to broadcast

* Wales and Scotland are particularly jealous of their representation on the board. In 1960, when a non-Welsh-speaking governor for Wales was appointed, two eminent Welshmen described the action as "deliberately spitting in the face of the Welsh people," and complaints were made in Parliament. (*London Times*, June 4, 1960, p. 5; June 9, 1960, p. 7; June 25, 1960, p. 5; July 1, 1960, p. 6; July 8, 1960, p. 9; July 12, 1960, p. 9.)

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“any matter” requested by a government department was only “a means of getting publicity for important objects which arise suddenly,” such as broadcasts for lost persons and weather warnings. He warned: “If any Government oversteps the line and goes beyond this, I have no doubt they will be . . . properly brought to book, in the House of Commons.”

Summarizing the position of the government, the Postmaster General said: “While I am prepared to take the responsibility for broad issues of policy, on minor issues and measures of domestic policy, and matters of day to day control, I want to leave things to the free judgement of the Corporation. I want to make this service not a Department of the State, and still less a creature of the Executive, but so far as is consistent with Ministerial responsibility, I wish to create an independent body of trustees, operating the service in the interest of the public as a whole.”²⁵

Various committee reports and white papers have restated the description of the relationship between the BBC and the government sketched as ideal by the first Director General, Lord Reith, who wrote: “The crucial point to me in 1930 was freedom from political or ministerial or civil service interference directly or indirectly in management as distinct from major policy. Parliament to control policy – in the wide sense of the term – remote control at that; to approve the type of constitution; the terms of reference. Obligations and limitations of one kind or another on the corporation; accountability at regular intervals, the nature and degree and method of that accountability to be defined. The position of the minister to be clear; his powers of intervention to be specified and for any exercise of them to be accountable. And neither he nor his ministry should go beyond them.”²⁶

Only four types of broadcasts have ever been prohibited: broadcasts on controversial subjects, a ban lifted in 1928; programs anticipating parliamentary debates (in the Fourteen-Day Rule, formally in effect only from July 1955 to December 1956); editorializing by the Corporation (a rule still in effect, which now applies to the ITA as well); and party political broadcasts for a single region of the country (although such programs are regularly broadcast on a national basis.)²⁷

During the period it was formally in effect, and also for a decade before when the BBC voluntarily applied the regulation, the Fourteen-Day Rule forbade the BBC (and the ITA too when it came on the air) from broadcasting discussions or talks on subjects currently debated

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in Parliament, or scheduled for debate within a period of two weeks.* The government has never vetoed an individual program, however, although the Corporation once canceled a broadcast in order to avoid a threatened veto.†

Periodically questions are asked in Parliament of the Postmaster General relative to BBC and ITA policies and programs, and there are other occasions when Parliament debates broadcasting policy, often at considerable length. But the Postmaster General, with the support of the government, usually refuses to answer questions on operational details. In practice, therefore, this aspect of the British system has been very successful. Although in theory the BBC, and now the ITA, are less free than is American broadcasting, in practice significant subjects of controversial nature are very adequately covered by both. All things considered, therefore, the BBC's public corporation structure has worked well in its British context, to provide a broadcasting agency, responsive to national needs, but not subservient to the government of the day.

The BBC Staff

The British Broadcasting Corporation is the world's largest broadcasting organization, with the possible exception of that of Soviet Russia. As of March 31, 1960, it had 16,889 employees, of whom 15,886 were full-time and 1,003 part-time. Program personnel totaled about 2,300; engineers 3,600; supporting and administrative staff 1,650; secretarial and clerical 4,400; and manual, custodial, and catering staff 4,200. There were approximately 7,000 on the television staff, 5,400 working for domestic radio, and 3,450 for External Broadcasting. The BBC has operated a Staff Training Department since 1936, which conducts courses in general administration, programming, and secretarial practices, and an Engineering School since 1941.‡

At the top of the BBC hierarchy is the Board of Governors, appointed

* For more information about the Fourteen-Day Rule, see pp. 94-97 below.

† This was in 1932, after the Cabinet had unanimously objected to a scheduled broadcast by the ex-commander of a German World War I submarine. (J. C. W. Reith, *Into the Wind*, pp. 160-161; *Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1949* (Cmd. 8116), p. 8 [hereafter cited as *Beveridge I*].)

‡ *BBC Handbook 1960*, pp. 64, 180-182. *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 93. These figures include a large number of musicians, since the BBC maintains 13 full-time staff orchestras, varying in size from 19 to 89 players, totaling over 500 members. In addition, the BBC hires hundreds of instrumentalists, singers, actors, writers, and speakers on a free-lance basis, both individually and in groups.

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by the government, consisting of nine men and women of ability, standing, and distinction. Generally speaking they represent the upper class of British society, which is to say, the "Establishment," the British equivalent of America's "Power Elite." There is no special attempt to appoint governors with trade union or working class backgrounds, and very seldom do members have experience in broadcasting, journalism, or related fields. Typical was the news story about the new chairman appointed in 1957, who had never had a television set in his home, which led a Labour M.P. to ask in Parliament "to what extent, in the appointment of governors to the British Broadcasting Corporation, consideration is given to their knowledge and experience of the use and services of the British Broadcasting Corporation."²⁸ Long-range policy rather than detailed administration is the province of the board.

Since 1934 the BBC has had a General Advisory Council of some fifty outstanding citizens who meet periodically to discuss general problems, and who provide a measure of liaison between the Corporation and the country. Since 1947 there also have been four regional advisory councils, representing geographical areas. There are some twenty-five advisory committees in such program fields as religion, music, agriculture, fund appeals, and broadcasts to schools.²⁹

The chief administrative officer, the Director General, heads the Board of Management, which consists of the directors of sound (radio) broadcasting, television, external broadcasting, engineering, administration, and the chief assistant to the Director General. The director of news and current affairs, a post created in 1957, also was a member of the Board of Management until the position was abolished when the incumbent became Director General in 1960.³⁰ The radio, television, and external broadcasting divisions are quite independent of each other, except for top administrative liaison, although the editor of news and current affairs is responsible for both radio and television program policy in those areas.

In the BBC there have been complaints that a conservative radio-oriented administration has held back the development of television, and various examples are cited to support these charges. Thus, the head of BBC television was made a director only in 1950; previously he had held the lower status of controller. When he left the BBC in 1950, Norman Collins complained of the neglect of television, while the former chairman of the Board of Governors, Lord Simon, wrote that

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although "four-fifths of the important decisions of the B.B.C. dealt with television . . . the Governors only gave to it one-fifth of their time." * However this may be, a comparison of key personnel in the radio and television programming departments shows on the whole a more conservative "establishment" influence in radio, and a younger-minded, more competitive and flexible group in television.

By and large, BBC employees are devoted to their organization and to its high ideals of program service. The radio staff does include some people, usually below the policy level, who are out of touch with today's television world, but most key staff members are quite aware of the facts of life in Britain's new competitive broadcasting environment. The principal department heads in both radio and television are truly dedicated to the cause of public service broadcasting. They believe in the BBC's noncommercial program structure, and they discharge their duties as a public trust.

The BBC's Physical Plant

BBC studios and offices are divided between London and the Corporation's various regional broadcasting centers. The main administrative offices, as well as the radio headquarters, are located at Broadcasting House in central London, built in 1932, and recently doubled in size through a large addition. For its domestic radio programs, the BBC has 167 studios, of which 63 are in London and 104 at various places in the regions. External Broadcasting is done several miles away from Broadcasting House in Bush House on the Strand, where there are 35 studios. Taken together, these many studios are equipped to originate all types of programs, from the simplest to the most complex.³¹

The headquarters of television broadcasting were recently transferred to the BBC's new Television Centre in western London, where the first of seven studios was brought into service on June 29, 1960. Like so many American networks and stations, the BBC at first had to improvise television installations. Alexandra Palace, the site of the Corporation's first regular television service in 1936, has been remodeled to become the headquarters of BBC television news. In 1950 the BBC purchased some film studios on Lime Grove (street) in western London, where it now maintains 5 studios, plus offices and related services,

* E. D. Simon, *The B.B.C. from Within*, p. 140. Collins later became the leader of the commercial television movement and is now deputy chairman of Associated TeleVision, one of the major program companies. See below, pp. 34, 63, 69.

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brought into use in 1953. Nearby is the old Shepherd's Bush Empire Theatre, acquired in 1953 for light entertainment programs with audiences.

In 1957 the Corporation took over the Riverside Film studios at Hammersmith, one and a half miles from Lime Grove, which was remodeled into two television studios. In addition, there are studios in six regional centers, and small studios for news originations at London airport, All Souls Hall (adjoining Broadcasting House), and St. Stephen's House, the latter being near the Houses of Parliament. The BBC also maintains a large film department in the London suburb of Ealing, where in 1955 it acquired the famous Ealing Film Studios. Here it has three studios, each of 9,600 square feet, and two of 6,300 square feet, besides dubbing, cutting, and editing rooms, film review theaters, and a film library. (The BBC is the world's largest consumer of motion picture film; seven million feet were shot in 1959.) Taken together, the facilities in these various studios vary in type, but for the most part the newer installations are well planned, incorporating fine equipment of modern and imaginative design, often the product of the BBC's own research and design departments.

The BBC's new Television Centre when completed will be one of the world's finest buildings designed originally for television broadcasting. The site covers thirteen acres and the main studio block three and a half acres. The scenery and restaurant blocks, the first "presentation" studio (roughly, "announcer's studio," in American terms), two other studios and many of the offices are already in use. Two more studios and another presentation studio are scheduled for completion during the summer of 1961. The remaining three studios, already in shell form, will be finished later.

When completed the building will cost about £10,000,000 (\$28,000,000). The largest of the seven studios will measure 108 by 100 by 54 feet. It will have a pit 7 feet 6 inches in depth, into which a part of the floor can be lowered. This pit can be filled with water for programs of an aquatic nature; yet, the floor will be strong enough to support several full sized, loaded double-decker London buses, or a chorus line of elephants.

Related facilities will be equally gargantuan. In addition to the large scenery construction and storage block, there will be some 200 offices, 120 dressing rooms with accommodations for 550 people, and a restau-

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rant that can serve 750 at a setting. The equipment for the studios and the control rooms will be ingenious in design and lavish in amount.³²

The BBC operates four domestic radio services, each with national coverage.³³ There are now some 28 transmitters radiating the Home Service, 11 the Light Programme, and 19 the Third Programme and Network Three, for a total of 58 amplitude modulation transmitters operating on 13 frequencies in the long and medium wave bands. In order to improve reception, the BBC began in 1955 to construct a national chain of FM stations operating in the Very High Frequency Band.* There are now such stations at 20 locations, each place having separate transmitters for the Light, Home and Third services, and among them they cover over 97 per cent of the population. These stations are important to the United Kingdom, not only because they offer a superior method of transmission, but also because interference from the Continent makes it impossible for many parts of Britain, especially at night, to receive the BBC's AM stations satisfactorily, if at all.

The BBC reaches over 98 per cent of the population with its 23 television transmitters. All of these operate on the five channels in Band I, between 41 and 68 megacycles, which includes approximately the portion of the television spectrum covered by America's discontinued Channel 1 (44-50 megacycles) plus Channels 2 through 4 (54-72 megacycles.) These stations broadcast with up to 200 kilowatts effective radiated power. (American stations in this band never exceed 100 kilowatts effective radiated power.) No more high-power stations can be accommodated in this band, but lower-power stations will be added to increase this coverage to over 99 per cent, and to improve existing reception.†

For External Broadcasting, the BBC uses 37 high-power short-wave transmitters in the United Kingdom, plus 2 for relay purposes near Singapore. When they are not needed for domestic programs, some long- and medium-wave transmitters in the United Kingdom are used for broadcasts to the Continent, along with 1 medium-wave transmitter in northeast Germany, 1 medium-wave and 1 FM transmitter in Berlin, and a number of medium- and short-wave transmitters in Cyprus.

* These are referred to as VHF stations in Europe because they broadcast in the Very High Frequency Band, and as FM stations in the United States, since they use frequency modulation.

† For more information about the technical aspects of British television, see the Appendix.

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BBC Program Policies

After almost thirty years as a monopoly, the BBC was confronted in September 1955 with the competitive television services of the ITA. In no case could a well established monopoly be expected to welcome a rival. But here was a commercially supported rival, whose very existence ran contrary to some of the most firmly held convictions of the BBC's hierarchy. Yet the Corporation now had to reappraise its entire output, in order to compete with an organization which had almost three times as much money to spend, and which questioned some of the oldest BBC concepts.

No broadcasting system anywhere in the world has higher program objectives than the BBC, although its Charter and Licence make very sparing references to programs. The Charter states only that the BBC is "to provide . . . broadcasting services . . . for general reception," because of "the great value of such services as means of disseminating information, education, and entertainment." Its Licence requires it to "send efficiently on every day," and specifically to "broadcast an impartial account day by day . . . of the proceedings in both Houses of the United Kingdom Parliament."³⁴ This is the extent of the exact program requirements imposed upon the domestic services of the Corporation by either Charter or Licence.*

Through the years the BBC's governors and staff have been guided by high concepts of public service responsibility. The BBC told the Beveridge Committee in 1949 that its purpose in programing for the British listener had always been to provide "information, education, and entertainment for the community at large . . . [while] playing its part in bringing about an informed democracy and in enriching the quality of public enjoyment." The Corporation's "policy with regard to programme structure" was "founded upon two basic conceptions": a balanced program service to meet the needs of all segments of the public, with reference to minority as well as majority tastes; and the broadcasting "at regular intervals of . . . the major musical and dramatic repertoire." Furthermore, broadcasting should be used constructively in the general social interest, and the "educational impulse" maintained.³⁵

The advent of competition did not turn the BBC from these ideals. In the fall of 1954, shortly after the ITA had been set up but a year before

* There remain, of course, the powers of the government to require the Corporation to broadcast emergency announcements, or to veto specific programs or classes of programs (1952 *Licence*, Section 15 (3-4)).

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it went on the air, Sir Ian Jacob, then Director General, wrote in the BBC staff magazine: "What will be the Corporation's programme policy in its Television Service in the face of competition? The answer to this is clear. The BBC has definite responsibilities under the Charter. It is our duty to provide a balanced and comprehensive output in our sound and television services, ranging from one end of the scale to the other and covering all types of material that can be conveyed by broadcasting. . . . The coming into existence of the I.T.A. in no way changes our responsibilities. . . ." ³⁶

Subsequently in a report to Parliament the BBC said that its "policy is to provide the widest possible range of programmes within the confines of a single service. The aim is twofold. One is, to present programmes which have a general appeal and which attract very large audiences, including people of all professions and kinds. Most people who view during the evening look to television to interest and entertain them after the day's work.

"The other is to provide programmes which provoke thought, widen people's horizons, and enhance their artistic appreciation. Something approaching half of the BBC's total television output in the past year consisted of material of this kind. It is the policy to present many such programmes at times when the majority of people are at home and free to view them—the peak hours between 7:00 and 10:30 P.M. These programmes would not serve their purpose fully if they were offered only at hours when relatively few are able to see them." ³⁷

The coming of the ITA has not deterred the BBC from its quest for a second television network. Although the Corporation placed higher priority on national coverage for one television service than on partial coverage for two, it nevertheless began shortly after the war to plan for a second network. The government, however, did not approve such a development, due to shortages of building materials and the general state of the economy.³⁸ Had the Corporation's request been granted, the ITA might never have gone on the air, since public demand for an alternate service was one of the factors favoring passage of the Television Act of 1954.

At present the BBC is competing with the ITA for the channels required for a second television network at the same time that it petitions the government for funds to support a second service. To justify the request, the former Director General, Sir Ian Jacob, observed that the

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BBC and the ITA “go their separate ways and the public is denied true alternatives. Competition in broadcasting inevitably produces this result.” A third network under commercial auspices would not raise the proportion of serious programs broadcast during peak hours. But programming its two networks together, the BBC would provide two truly complementary services, as it does now with its Home Service and Light Programme on radio, which are planned to supplement rather than compete with each other. “In a purely competitive situation the programmes that are not repetitive entertainment, and which are the hope for the future of television, tend to get poked away into the less convenient viewing times, and experimental work is hampered. Two services planned together provide the only means of removing these disabilities.”³⁹

Various proposals, mainly from ITA sources, have been made for the development of educational television stations in Britain, similar to America’s educational stations. But this development the BBC strongly opposes. “It seems to me to be essential,” commented the former Director General, “that all forms of broadcasting should be held within the framework of the normal programme services. Special types of broadcasts should not be handed over to a separate body, thus implying that the established broadcasting authorities can escape responsibility for their inclusion.”⁴⁰

Somewhat related to this is the suggestion that BBC television should give up its entertainment programs, becoming only an educational and cultural service. This proposal the Corporation also vigorously rejects, realizing that, without light entertainment shows to build audiences for its serious offerings it would lose its national importance and influence. “The business of the BBC has always included entertainment . . .” said the chairman of the Board of Governors. “The business of capturing and holding attention is the BBC’s just as much as it is the business of the men of the theatre, the concert hall, the opera house, the circus, or the cinema.” Such programs, he observed, not only attract viewers for other broadcasts, but are in themselves an important part of the BBC’s contribution to the British public.⁴¹

The BBC and Competition

Now that it lives in a competitive world, have the BBC’s ideas about the merits of competition changed in any important respects? Not a

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great deal. In 1958 the Director General could still write: "It cannot be said too often that there is a thoroughly bad analogy between competition in industry and competition in broadcasting." He concluded that, "In theory, the existence of the two channels ought to provide the audience with a sensible choice. In practice, however, this has not worked out. . . . If the public is to get the best out of two channels, then those channels should be planned in relation to one another. This is impossible when their control lies in different hands." *

BBC leaders have often spoken harshly about the new service. Thus, the former Director General, Sir Ian Jacob, wrote in 1958: "Independence for broadcasting means freedom from two kinds of pressure, the political and the economic." Economic pressures show themselves in an irresistible drive for large audiences, which threatens program standards, and eliminates programs for minority audiences. What is more, "the tendency is to avoid anything which is not generally acceptable or which might be found disquieting or uncomfortable. . . . Where the eye has constantly to be kept on the large audience, conformism is at a premium."⁴²

At about the same time, Hugh Carleton Greene, who was later selected as Sir Ian Jacob's successor, spoke to a group of German businessmen on the subject: "Two Threats to Broadcasting: Political and Commercial Control." Radio and television, he told his audience, "are too powerful in their potential long-term effects for their control to be entrusted to politicians – or business men." He believed that "when the object of a broadcasting system – the very reason for its existence – is to sell goods the programmes cannot possibly remain unaffected." He concluded that "commercially controlled broadcasting tends, in the long run, to undermine the intelligence, at any rate, of its constant listeners and viewers, and makes it more difficult for them to appreciate programmes which demand some thought and application."⁴³

The BBC's Director of Television Broadcasting spelled this out in direct program terms. "ITV is a branch – and a very important branch

* Ian Jacob, "Television in the Public Service," *Public Administration*, 36:313, 316 (Winter 1958). Jacob added the rather remarkable argument that just as it was good that the BBC alone spoke abroad on the airwaves for the country during World War II, so was it desirable for the country to have only one broadcasting voice at home. "At times of national crisis or at moments when the emotions of the nation are drawn together by a single event, as at the Coronation, the existence of a single authority to express the national mood is uniquely justified. It is a source of great strength to the nation." (*Ibid.* p. 317.)

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— of the sales side of British Industry,” he declared in a public address. Its task, therefore, is “to present a programme to the public which will secure a steady predictable audience — an audience which a client can buy in advance with confidence.” Therefore, ITV programs will “go for well-tried formulae — things which either the BBC or they or the Americans have devised and built up as popular favourites with big followings.” In contrast, the BBC follows “a completely different course — not because of any special qualities residing in those who run it — but simply because the BBC has an entirely different way of earning its living.” It therefore will continue to be “devoted to satisfying the requirements of an educated democracy in the making.”⁴⁴

What then will the BBC do about ITV? Ignore it? Compete? What? BBC spokesmen often claim that because the two systems have different objectives, they are not really in competition. Thus, Hugh Carleton Greene, in the course of an address given in March 1958 on “BBC Television and Commercial Competition,” paused to observe: “I have been speaking throughout of our ‘competitors.’ In a sense that phrase is only half true. The BBC is not competing with Commercial Television on Commercial Television’s own terms. But because of its nature Commercial Television *is* competing with the BBC. It has to compete with the BBC for audiences or it will fail in its task.”⁴⁵

But, semantics aside, the BBC must compete for viewers, whatever term it applies to the process. As Sir Ian Jacob stated, with real insight: “It may be argued that the BBC is in a position to ignore the relative size of its audience and that it is not obliged to compete with Independent Television. But, to some extent, it must compete for its audiences, or its audiences will diminish beyond that level at which the Corporation could continue to claim that it is the national broadcasting authority. This is the situation into which the Corporation has been placed by competition.”⁴⁶

Mr. Greene concurred, “The simple fact,” he said, “is that the BBC, too, has inevitably been affected by the coming of commercial television. It cannot afford to leave the majority audience all the time to its competitors.”⁴⁷ Nor can it indulge in wishful dreaming that ITV may drop out of existence. To quote Mr. Greene again: “Commercial television, after a difficult beginning, is now I believe a financial success and it has obviously come to stay, unless there is a major trade recession. The BBC and Commercial Television have to live together.”⁴⁸

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That fact is now generally recognized, both by farsighted BBC administrators and by keen observers outside the Corporation. The watchword, therefore, is that BBC television must compete for audiences, at least to the extent of maintaining a 35 per cent BBC-65 per cent ITV audience division among viewers with two-channel sets. Furthermore, it must do this with less than half the program companies' income, and a constant compulsion to do public service programming for minority audiences during peak viewing hours. The week the ITA took to the air, *The Radio Times* cover referred to "BBC Television: The New Pattern." There can be no doubt that the BBC has been very much aware of its rival ever since.

Competition for employees and programs began even before the ITA went on the air. This was natural, since the BBC was the only large source of television staff in the United Kingdom. At the outset some 500 people left to work for the ITA and the program companies, attracted largely by the higher salaries then offered. Costs were raised as the two organizations competed for employees, free-lance artists, films and big name stars, both American and British, as well as when they outdid each other in elaborate and lavish productions.

The BBC's *Handbooks*, which each year provide figures on the average cost of television programming, document this rise in costs. BBC television costs rose steadily from £1,916 (\$5,364.80) per program hour in 1953-1954, to £4,005 (\$11,214) in 1960-1961. However, programming costs rose much more rapidly - from £705 (\$1,974) to £2,075 (\$5,810), a 194 per cent increase, than did engineering costs - from £899 (\$2,517.20) to £1,272 (\$3,561), a 42 per cent increase.

Table 3. BBC Television Program Costs

Year	Program Hours per Year	Cost per Hour			Total
		Program	Engineering	Other	
1953-1954	2,083	£ 705	£ 899	£ 312	£ 1,916
1954-1955	2,306	852	1,016	320	2,188
1955-1956	2,629	1,166	1,122	387	2,675
1956-1957	2,794	1,538	1,242	476	3,256
1957-1958	3,215	1,730	1,204	534	3,468
1958-1959	3,708	1,923	1,247	603	3,773
1959-1960	3,949	2,075	1,272	658	4,005

Sources: *Handbook 1955*, p. 168; *Handbook 1956*, p. 219; *Handbook 1957*, p. 209; *Handbook 1958*, p. 222; *Handbook 1959*, p. 216; *Handbook 1960*, p. 213.

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Related to total costs, though not necessarily to costs per hour, is the increase in the amount of television broadcasting since 1955. Ever since that date the Postmaster General, who has authority to prescribe the hours television may be on the air, has been under constant pressure from the ITA to increase, and from the BBC to hold down, the amount of air time. The program companies, whose income is related to length of schedule, have through the Authority been urging the government to extend the broadcasting hours, while the BBC with less money has usually wanted them held down.

In 1954 the maximum was 40 hours per week; in 1955, when the ITA went on the air, it became 50 hours for both organizations where it has remained. Since these hours are exclusive of religious and school programs and some public events, the amount of time each service actually broadcasts is some 10 hours above the maximums cited. At any rate, additional hours of broadcasting require greater financial outlays. The BBC estimates that one additional hour per day costs it £1,000,000 (\$2,800,000) more annually, with no corresponding increase in license fee receipts, while the program companies probably could make more money from a longer schedule, or at least could develop minority appeal programs in additional off peak hours, while building a stronger entertainment schedule for the evening.*

The most important immediate effect of competition on the BBC, of course, has been the loss of audience to ITV. Whereas prior to 1955 the BBC's monopoly was sure of 100 per cent of the viewers, by 1960 it was being watched by only 35 or 40 per cent of the people whose sets could receive both networks, and at times it did even less well. As has been pointed out, even a noncommercial, license-fee-supported public corporation like the BBC cannot be entirely oblivious of audience ratings. Therefore, the loss of audience posed some important policy problems for the Corporation.†

As to BBC programming under competition, most observers agree with the admission of the Director General, "Perhaps competition has in some ways been a spur."⁴⁹ Some critics feel that certain BBC serious programs have been lightened or moved in order to keep up with ITV. Even if this were the case, many other programs have improved. The

* The question of hours on the air is discussed at greater length on pp. 78-81 below.

† Detailed audience data are given in Chapter IX.

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programs of both organizations are analyzed in later chapters, however, so that further discussion is unnecessary here.

The fundamental issue, of course, is that of the long-term effects of competition on the radio and television services of the United Kingdom. The problem is not whether competition has "livened up" the BBC, or brought a greater variety of programs to the country, but whether in the long run the nation is better served by monopoly or competition. Before an answer to this question can be attempted, however, we must first review the salient features of the new commercial system.

The Independent Television Authority

THE EXPRESSION “Independent Television” includes the Independent Television Authority and the private contractors who provide its programs. The advertisers and their agencies have a stake in the system too, as do such suppliers of services as television film companies and audience research organizations. But Independent Television, first of all, is the ITA itself.

The Background for British Commercial Television

Commercial television came to Britain, not spontaneously in answer to widespread public demand, but because a well-organized pressure campaign took advantage of the temper of the times to end the BBC’s television monopoly and to introduce a competitive system supported by advertising.¹

The British public had its first contact with commercial broadcasting in the 1920’s, when Radio Normandy beamed commercial programs towards the British Isles.² Although Radio Normandy went off the air permanently in 1939, Radio Luxembourg, which began broadcasting in 1933, resumed its English language schedule in 1946 and has continued on the air ever since. Some of the British firms and advertising agencies using these stations hoped that the BBC might carry advertising after the war, but it was not until 1952 that they seriously expected Britain to have a separate commercial system.

During World War II the government set up two committees to study the future of television in the United Kingdom. The official public com-

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mittee, headed by Lord Hankey, recommended at the end of 1944 that television should be resumed after the war as a BBC monopoly, supported by license fees. The other committee, a private off-the-record group of cabinet members headed by Lord Woolton, who as the post-war rebuilders of the Conservative party was very important in the creation of the ITA, never made a formal report, partly because its bipartisan membership of Conservatives and Labourites could not agree on the issues of monopoly and competitive broadcasting. However, the government accepted the Hankey Committee's recommendations in October 1945, and television broadcasting was resumed on June 7, 1946.³

With the BBC's Charter and Licence due to expire on December 31, 1946, the Labour government decided there was insufficient time for the usual inquiry, and so extended the Corporation's life for five years, until December 31, 1952.⁴ Parliamentary reaction to this decision, however, revealed the extent to which the Conservative and Liberal opposition, especially Winston Churchill, questioned the wisdom of continued monopoly operation without a full-scale inquiry. There also was considerable off-the-record objection within the Labour party itself to omitting the usual investigation. Churchill's motion to refer the matter to a committee of both houses was defeated, however, 271 to 137.⁵

Although the Beveridge Committee in 1951 recommended the continuance of the BBC's monopoly, the committee received evidence from a variety of sources advocating both competitive and commercial broadcasting. The majority report mentioned with favor the possibility of local noncommercial educational broadcasting in the FM Band, and also recognized the need, if monopoly continued, "of devising internal as well as public and external safeguards against misuse of broadcasting power." Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, one of the three parliamentary members on the committee, who was destined later to become Prime Minister Macmillan's Foreign Secretary, wrote a minority report strongly opposing any kind of monopoly.⁶

On the matter of commercial broadcasting the committee had more trouble reaching agreement than on any other basic point. In fact, feeling ran so high that ten of the committee's eleven members signed minority or supplementary reports on the subject. Selwyn Lloyd advocated competitive commercial broadcasting to supplement the BBC; Lord Beveridge and two other members proposed the limited acceptance of spot advertising by the BBC, somewhat on the pattern later adopted

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for the ITA; while six members issued statements strongly opposing any kind of commercial broadcasting.*

Nevertheless, the BBC's monopoly would have been continued had not an unexpected sequence of misadventures delayed action until the general election of October 1951 returned a Conservative Parliament. The Beveridge Report was published in January 1951, and there was every expectation that the Charter and Licence would soon be renewed. But the death of Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin on April 14, 1951, led to a cabinet shuffle which left the BBC without an influential champion, while pressing domestic and international affairs received major cabinet attention.

The Labour government's white paper on broadcasting policy, issued in July 1951, raised some thorny problems about the appointment of regional councils, which prevented action being taken before the August parliamentary recess.⁷ Parliamentary debates on this white paper showed much opposition to monopoly among Conservative members, but since Labour was then in power the BBC could easily have been rechartered as a monopoly at that time. Then came the October dissolution, following which a Conservative government was returned on October 25, 1951. Since Charter and Licence were due to expire on December 31, 1951, the new government arranged a six months' extension while permanent policies were debated within party councils.⁸

The Campaign for Commercial Television

In the early 1950's conditions were favorable for the success of a well-organized campaign for commercial television, although there was no great public demand for it, and many of its most ardent supporters were surprised at their eventual success. British Gallup Polls between 1943 and 1953 indicated a fairly even division of opinion on the issues of monopoly and commercial broadcasting. For the most part, the upper socio-economic groups opposed monopoly in theory, although they also opposed commercial broadcasting, which of course was one way of end-

* *Beveridge I*, pp. 213-228, 201-210. "Is there any good reason why a public service broadcasting agency should not set aside named specified hours for programmes admitting advertisement without changing or interrupting its other programmes, retaining complete control both over the kind of articles to be advertised and the manner of advertising, just as a paper which has its advertisement columns as well as its news and editorial columns, retains the right to refuse any particular advertisement?" (*Ibid.*, p. 226.) A system of this sort is now used in several Continental countries, including Italy, Western Germany, and the U.S.S.R.

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ing the BBC's monopoly. The lower groups, on the other hand, favored commercial broadcasting.

Paradoxically, although the Conservative party eventually supported commercial television, most Conservative voters as individuals opposed it, while Labour voters tended to favor commercial television in spite of their party's strong objections. In any case, the public wanted a second television service, while many people thought the BBC had been too slow in developing television. The poll figures, therefore, showed that while there was no overwhelming demand for commercial television, the ITA did not come into existence against the wishes of a majority.⁹

The position of the Conservative party against nationalization and for free enterprise, predisposed it generally to favor private commercial operations. However, like so many conservative parties coming back to power after a socialist regime, it could not return many nationalized enterprises to private control. Therefore, even though the BBC was originally chartered by a Conservative government, the party felt now that the introduction of competitive commercial broadcasting would be one way to show its preference for private enterprise. What is more, some dyed-in-the-wool old-line party members suspected certain BBC employees of left-wing tendencies, or at least assumed that a monopoly like the BBC was basically hostile to free enterprise. At the same time, this faction joined with many new Members of Parliament from the business world in feeling that a commercially supported broadcasting organization would be more apt than a BBC to look at the world as they did. But the party was by no means unanimous in its support of commercial television; in fact, it was split on the subject from the cabinet down to the lowest ranks.

The long time hostility of Winston Churchill to the BBC undoubtedly contributed to the victory of commercial television. Churchill by no means actively supported commercial television; but neither did he oppose it in the early stages when by taking a firm position he could easily have squelched the movement. Back in the days of the British Broadcasting Company, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had unsuccessfully advocated taking over the Company at the time of the General Strike in 1926. In the 1930's he was angry over being denied opportunities to broadcast on such controversial subjects as Indian policy and rearmament (although the parties rather than the BBC were

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to blame for this). In 1946, he objected to rechartering the BBC without an inquiry. Therefore, he was in no mood to come to the BBC's defense. Furthermore, in the early 1950's he was almost exclusively concerned with international affairs and plans for preserving world peace.¹⁰

Leadership for the movement was provided mainly by people who saw financial gains for themselves in a commercial system, although support also came from many disinterested people. Some of these were sincerely disturbed by the thought of a continued television monopoly, while others believed that competition would improve program service. Prominent among the proponents were several Conservative backbenchers in Parliament with advertising agency and electronics manufacturing connections. Funds for the campaign were provided by equipment manufacturers, including Pye Radio and Rediffusion, both of which later held stock in program companies. The Popular Television Council was formed to advance the cause, and a public campaign organized, supported by money from equipment manufacturers. There also was much lobbying in Parliament.

The most important single exponent of commercial television was Norman Collins, who left his position as Controller of BBC television in 1950 following a series of disagreements with the Corporation. Mr. Collins spent most of four years campaigning for commercial television. It is quite likely that if had he stayed with the BBC, Britain might never have had an ITA. Subsequently, Collins became Deputy Chairman of Associated TeleVision, one of the principal program contractors.* Another very effective worker was Mark Chapman-Walker, then secretary to Lord Woolton, chairman of the central office of the Conservative party, who played an important role himself. It was Chapman-Walker who prepared the original draft of the bill (complete with the non-sponsorship feature), which the cabinet then rewrote for submission to Parliament. He later became a director of the program company serving the west of England and South Wales.

* In his resignation statement Mr. Collins said that "a clash of principles" was at stake: ". . . whether the new medium of television . . . shall be allowed to develop at this, the most crucial stage of its existence, along its own lines and by its own methods, or whether it shall be merged into the colossus of sound broadcasting and be forced to adapt itself to the slower routine administration of the Corporation as a whole." (*London Times*, October 14, 1950, p. 6.) Another version has it that the BBC hierarchy had decided that Mr. Collins did not have the kind of talents required for the post of Director of Television; that they suggested he stay on in a subordinate position; and that he resigned in anger.

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Advertising agents were among commercial television's most prominent advocates, and much basic planning for the campaign was done by a committee of agency executives formed in 1952, following the encouragement given in the Conservative government's white paper issued in May of that year.* In spite of this, advertising agencies as a whole were divided in opinion. Some opposed commercial television entirely; others wanted straight sponsorship along American lines; while still others liked the idea of commercial television, but feared the American pattern would be too cumbersome, too expensive, and too difficult to operate.

Strongly opposed to commercial television was the "Establishment," that informal but effective coalition of the British power elite, drawn largely from the upper classes, and including among others the Church of England, Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and the major civil service heads. The vice-chancellors of most leading British universities sent letters to *The Times* opposing commercial television. Most churchmen took the same stand, as did the influential members of the BBC's several advisory councils and committees.

Many of these people probably opposed the extension of any kind of television. But in addition they felt that competition would force down standards, and they feared that a commercial system would be dominated by advertisers rather than by people interested primarily in public service. A National Television Council was created to expound their views.

Most newspapers opposed commercial television, too, such papers as *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*, and *The Observer* taking strong positions. Even a majority of the Conservative press — in spite of the Conservative party's advocacy — was against the proposal. But the attitude of the press was not disinterested, since a commercial television system obviously would provide competition for advertising budgets; and the British press had always opposed commercial broadcasting, whether over the BBC or over foreign stations like Radio Luxembourg.†

* There is doubt as to the date this committee was formed. Professor Hugh Wilson of Princeton University, who has made a detailed study of the political background of the ITA, has interviewed people who set its creation in 1948, 1952, and 1953, and he inclines to the earlier date, although my informants set it in 1952.

† Once the ITA was established, most of the principal program companies were partly owned by newspapers. In 1959 even *The Guardian*, as it was then called, became a stockholder in Anglia Television. Further details on press holdings in program companies are given on pp. 61–64 below.

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In May 1952, after it had been in office for seven months, the Conservative party issued a white paper on broadcasting policy which was incomplete and obviously written in haste, but which did forecast later developments. After stating that the BBC "should be the only broadcasting organisation having any claim on the revenue from broadcasting receiving licences," it went on to say: "The present government have come to the conclusion that in the expanding field of television provision should be made to permit some element of competition. . . ." Nothing was said about the competitive system being commercially supported, although that was clearly implied. A year-and-a-half and many debates later, the government issued another white paper which outlined its policy in considerable detail, advanced supporting arguments, and indicated the general nature of the broadcasting organization it intended to create.¹¹

Although broadcasting policy had never before been discussed with so much vigor and heat, the arguments used during the debates on the Television Act were repetitions or extensions of those which had been advanced for and against monopoly and commercial broadcasting ever since the founding of the British Broadcasting Company in 1923. Supporters of competitive television emphasized the theoretical disadvantages of monopoly in terms of potential limitations on freedom of speech, and performance shortcomings in the absence of competition. They argued that improved service would result from competition, and claimed that without commercial support there would be insufficient funds to operate an alternate service.

The opposition contended that, while a second television network was desirable, it should be run by the BBC, because any commercially supported broadcasting agency would inevitably fall under the control of advertisers with a consequent lowering of program standards. Anticipating discussions that took place after the ITA came on the air, some people expressed concern that in a contest for viewers BBC standards too might be lowered. American broadcasting was much referred to during the debates, its bad features being cited by the opposition and its good ones by the advocates of commercial television. In fact, hostility to Americanization was among the major barriers to commercial television that had to be surmounted.

The campaign for commercial television was unexpectedly aided by a strategical error on the part of the Labour party leadership. In June 1952,

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Patrick Gordon Walker told the House of Commons: "We shall certainly not carry on the policy implied in this non-exclusive Licence. . . ." we reserve our full right to frustrate this retrograde innovation. . . ." The following year party leader Clement Attlee made the position "official" by stating that, if the Conservative party allowed television "to pass into the hands of private profiteers," Labour would have to alter the situation when it returned to power.¹²

The Conservative minority enthusiastically seized upon such statements to make commercial television a party issue. Otherwise the Television Act would never have passed, since there were enough members against it on both sides of the House to defeat it in a free vote, in which members are released from party control and may vote according to their individual convictions. But the Conservatives strictly enforced party discipline, and the bill passed, 296 to 269.*

The Television Act of 1954 was not passed in response to wide public demand, or for the reasons given in and out of Parliament in its favor. It was passed because a well organized, out-of-sight campaign took advantage of the favorable atmosphere within the Conservative party for free enterprise, and the country's desire for a second television service, to garner sufficient votes in Parliament to create the ITA. Those people close to the movement are generally agreed that the public pressure groups and nationwide debates were not decisive, even though often dramatic.

Nevertheless, the nature and source of the opposition left their mark on the unique structure evolved for the ITA. The critics had in mind the BBC's tradition of excellent public service programming; they were afraid that in a commercial system advertisers would control the programs; they thought that the inevitable competition for audiences might lead to a lowering of standards; and they were sure that competition would result in the neglect of minority interests.

Therefore, Britain came up with a new pattern, the basic feature of which was the separation of responsibility for program content and

* After the 1951 General Election, the party division in the House of Commons was as follows: Conservative 320; Labour 296; Liberal 6. Most of the voting margins in the House were proportionate to this distribution. The government motion approving the 1952 *White Paper* on June 11, 1952, was carried 297 to 269 (*House of Commons Debates*, 502:335-342, June 11, 1952). The division on the 1953 *White Paper* was 302 to 280 (*ibid.*, 522:526, December 16, 1953). Voting on the second reading of the television bill was 296 to 269 (*ibid.*, 525:1553, March 25, 1954).

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advertising.* The model for the ITA was the press, in which news and editorial columns are kept entirely separate from advertising copy, rather than American commercial broadcasting, in which advertisers often provide programs, or at least participate in their development. The Director General of the ITA calls this, "editorial television," and the term is a good one.

The Structure of the ITA

The bill to create the Independent Television Authority was introduced into Parliament March 4, 1954, and became law July 30, 1954.¹³ All of the bill's basic features survived the debates, although a good many of the 206 amendments introduced (145 by the opposition) were incorporated into the final version.

The Act set up a public corporation much like the BBC to build and operate transmitters and contract with program companies to provide programs. It is the ITA itself, however, not the program companies, that is legally responsible for the service. "The Authority is thus the architect, the planning board, and the day-to-day governing body of the system."¹⁴

The Television Act charges the Independent Television Authority with providing "television broadcasting services, additional to those of the British Broadcasting Corporation." Corresponding to the BBC's Board of Governors is the Independent Television Authority itself, made up of from seven to ten members, appointed for not more than five years, and dismissable at will by the Postmaster General. The government of the day, therefore, has the same control over the governing boards of both organizations, and the Postmaster General is expected to provide information and answer questions in Parliament about the ITA and BBC in like degree. No one may be a member of the Authority if he is a BBC governor, a member of the House of Commons, or a member of either House of Parliament in Northern Ireland. The desire to safeguard the ITA from advertiser control underlies an elaborately phrased provision that no Authority member is to have any "financial or other interest" — particularly "in any advertising agency," broadcast equipment company, or program contracting group — that "is likely to

* Some participants in the campaign felt that without these nonsponsorship provisions, the Television Act might never have been passed.

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affect prejudicially the discharge by him of his functions as a member of the Authority.”*

The Act specifically empowers the Authority to do all the things reasonably necessary to engage in television broadcasting in the United Kingdom, although without the Postmaster General's approval it is not to manufacture or sell electronic equipment or do radio broadcasting. Government review of ITA affairs is facilitated by directions for annual audits and reports, and the stipulation that the Postmaster General or his representative may “at all reasonable times” examine the Authority's “accounts . . . financial transactions and engagements.”¹⁵

It is important to notice that, following the BBC pattern, the ITA was set up for a period of only ten years. It was expected that as 1964 approached, the government would appoint a committee to make a thorough investigation of all aspects of British broadcasting, after which would come parliamentary debate, leading to decisions about the future. This, of course, is what happened, since on July 13, 1960, the government appointed Sir Harry Pilkington as the chairman of a committee for this very purpose.

Program Requirements

Parliament's concern over the program performance of a commercial system is clearly shown by the many provisions in the law relative to program quality. The BBC's Licence merely requires it to “send efficiently”; America's Communications Act of 1934 refers only to stations serving the “public interest, convenience, and necessity”; but the Television Act devotes a page or more to program standards.

With ITV as with the BBC, the government has power to initiate or veto programs. The Postmaster General or any other minister of the Crown may “require the Authority to broadcast . . . any announcement . . . with or without visual images,” and he may “require the Authority to refrain from broadcasting any matter or classes of matter.” The Postmaster General also may stipulate the minimum, maximum, or the exact hours of broadcasting.¹⁶

The very first paragraph of the Act stipulates that the ITA is to pro-

* *Television Act, 1954*, Section 1. BBC governors are appointed and dismissed by the Crown in Council, and Authority members by the Postmaster General, although in effect decisions rest with the Postmaster General and the cabinet in both cases. Three members of each board are chosen to represent Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, respectively.

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vide broadcasting services “of high quality, both as to the transmission and as to the matter transmitted,” and later the instruction is given that all programs are to maintain “a high general standard of quality.” Parliament also decreed that nothing should be “included in the programmes which offends against good taste or decency or is likely to encourage or incite to crime . . . or which contains any offensive representation of or reference to a living person.”¹⁷

The Authority is required to see that the program companies comply with these requirements. Its contracts must “contain all such provisions . . . as the Authority think necessary . . . for . . . securing compliance with the provisions of this Act,” including the right to advance examination of scripts, as well as authority to “forbid the broadcasting of any matter.” Furthermore, program companies may be fined, suspended, or have their contracts canceled for cause.¹⁸ Religious programs and appeals for funds by charitable organizations are to be broadcast only with the prior approval of the Authority.*

One of the most widely debated clauses of the Television Act is that which requires programs to “maintain a proper balance in their subject matter.” This means that there should be sufficient serious and cultural programs to “balance” those of light entertainment. Parliament was so concerned about this that programs “for securing a proper balance in the subject matter” were among the few types which the Authority itself was allowed to produce, although it has never done so. Up to £750,000 of public funds can be given outright to the Authority each year, if necessary, to underwrite such programs.†

Several clauses of the Act require strict impartiality in all programs of news, politics, and opinion. As long ago as 1927 the Postmaster General used his veto power over the BBC to forbid editorializing, and impartiality in all controversial matters has been the Corporation’s policy ever since. It was not surprising, therefore, when the Television Act forbade editorializing in programs or publications issued by the Authority, or in programs produced by program companies.¹⁹

All news must be presented “with due accuracy and impartiality”;

* *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (4). The Authority has several staff members responsible for liaison with program companies, and it has developed a system for monitoring programs as they are broadcast. There even are special lines into the London headquarters so that staff members there may watch programs being broadcast by stations outside London (*ITA Annual Report 1958–59*, p. 26).

† *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (1b) 2 (2a), 11. For further discussion of this £750,000 grant-in-aid authorization, see p. 50 below.

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there must be impartiality in treating "matters of political or industrial controversy or relating to current public policy"; and, apart from formally scheduled political broadcasts, "no matter designed to serve the interests of any political party" is to be broadcast. There may be no advertisements on religious, political, or controversial subjects.²⁰

But this does not mean that ITV programs may not report opinions or present discussions. ITV covers all aspects of public events on its newscasts, and often airs documentary and dramatic programs dealing with sensitive and provocative issues. ITA stations may — and do — relay in their entirety, although not in part, the "party political broadcasts" originated by the BBC, and the program companies may themselves originate "properly balanced discussions or debates" on political and other controversial subjects.²¹

In response to fears that ITV might be inundated by American films and kinescopes, it is the obligation of the Authority to see "that proper proportions of the recorded and other matter included in the programmes are of British origin and of British performance."²² Pressure to limit the amount of foreign material comes mainly from two sources: people who fear that British traditions, cultural standards, speech, and moral values will suffer from an "American invasion"; and some fourteen labor unions and other employee groups, whose main interest is employment for their members. Accordingly, the ITA has developed rules limiting the amount of imported filmed material. It has no regulations about the number of live programs from abroad, or live originations in the United Kingdom by foreign performers, although it recognizes a general responsibility for encouraging British writers and performers.*

Foreign filmed material (including foreign inserts in other programs, but excluding newsreel material and all films made in the British Commonwealth) is limited by ITA regulations to an average of 14 per cent

* Although the expressions, "proper proportions," "British origins," and "British performance" are not defined in the Act, the ITA considers a film to be British "only when all the constituent elements in it are British." (*ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 23.) During the parliamentary debates Labour spokesmen suggested that the allowable amount of foreign material be set at not more than 20 per cent, but the government rejected a specific figure as administratively unworkable. (*House of Commons Debates*, 528:621, 639-640, May 27, 1954.) In determining national origin, a number of factors are considered. "If a studio is to be used in the production, this must be in British territory. If a film is made by a company, that company must be British and have a majority of British directors. Other relevant factors are the nationalities of producers, directors, writers, actors, composers, musicians and technicians." (*ITA Annual Report 1956-57*, p. 14.)

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of total transmission time, or 8 hours a week, whichever is less, averaged over three month periods, with never more than 10 hours during any one week. Actual percentages usually run a little less than that, however. Most of this consists of American television films, which provide ITV (and BBC too) with some of their most popular evening features. Since under the rules almost half of this may be, and usually is, scheduled between the peak viewing hours of 7:00 and 10:30 P.M., the number of foreign (that is, American) programs actually seen by ITV viewers seems more than this 14 per cent figure would suggest.

The Act also encourages the development of local broadcasting by requiring all stations to carry a "suitable proportion" of programs appealing to local tastes.²³ Implementing this, the Authority writes into all contracts the stipulation that program companies, once they are fully under way, must develop at least 15 per cent, or such other proportions as it may from time to time specify, of their total program output from local resources, the exact amount depending upon the availability of local material. This ruling also prevents any company from merely "riding the network," earning money by carrying other contractors' programs, without incurring the trouble or risks of developing its own.

Program companies are forbidden to emulate the American practice of buying their audiences, since no prize or gift of significant value is to be offered "which is available only to persons receiving that programme."²⁴ In order to prevent ITV from outbidding the BBC and getting exclusive rights to "sporting or other events of national interest," the law states that the Postmaster General may make regulations as to television broadcasting rights for such events.²⁵

In addition to laying down all these general and specific requirements about programs, the ITA is required to "appoint, or arrange for the assistance of" committees on religious programs, children's programs, and advertising. These are not merely advisory committees, either, since "it shall be the duty of the Authority to comply and secure compliance with" their recommendations. If after all these rules and advice the Authority still feels in need of guidance, it has Parliament's permission to create, or consult additional committees.²⁶

Advertising

The law and the rules for Independent Television's advertising are quite severe, as would be expected in view of the bitter debate which

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preceded the decision to set up a commercially supported broadcasting system. Advertising regulations came from several sources. There are the Television Act and the regulations promulgated by the Postmaster General under its authority. There also are the rules and interpretations laid down by the ITA after consultation with the Advertising Advisory Committee, as well as the regulations of the individual program companies.

First there is law, common and statute, applicable to advertising in all media, which applies to television too. Policy for television advertising, of course, is provided by the Television Act. Fundamental is the requirement for the complete separation of advertising from program content, one of the most important features of the whole system: "Nothing shall be included in any programmes broadcast by the Authority, whether in an advertisement or not, which states, suggests or implies, or could reasonably be taken to state, suggest or imply, that any part of any programme broadcast by the Authority which is not an advertisement has been supplied or suggested by any advertiser; and, except as an advertisement, nothing shall be included in any programme broadcast by the Authority which could reasonably be supposed to have been included therein in return for payment or other valuable consideration to the relevant programme contractor or the Authority."²⁷

This separation of functions is further reinforced by the requirement that "neither the Authority nor any programme contractor shall act as an advertising agent," as well as by the provision of the Second Schedule that "advertisements must be clearly distinguishable as such and recognizably separate from the rest of the programme."^{*}

The Television Act, therefore, prohibits an advertiser from declaring or suggesting on the air or elsewhere that he is in any way connected with the program for which he indirectly pays, and it also prevents performers from stepping out of character to give commercials, as is so often done in the United States. This rule is applied very strictly. For example, advertisers cannot insert announcements in newspapers inviting the public to tune in the programs during which their television commercials appear.† An advertisement utilizing a television character

^{*} *Television Act, 1954*, Section 4 (2), Second Schedule (1). However, orders for advertisements may be received by program companies, either through agencies or direct from advertisers.

† But the ITA does allow an advertiser to refer in a newspaper advertisement to a forthcoming commercial, provided the reference is only to the approximate

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like Robin Hood, for example, cannot be broadcast the same day as any program in which the character appears. A commercial in which an actor appears out of character in a neutral setting cannot be broadcast within a half hour of any production in which the actor plays a role.²⁸

What happens, therefore, is that programs are timed to leave several minutes free during each hour. During these periods, the program companies insert the commercials. An advertiser may select the time when his advertisement is to be broadcast, but he has no more control over the adjacent programs than he has over the news columns appearing on the pages of the newspapers in which he buys space.

The advertisements that do appear on ITV must conform to a formidable set of rules and regulations.* To ensure that the Authority will set high advertising standards, it is required to have a committee on advertising, including one medical expert, in order to exclude "misleading advertisements," and to draw up "standards of conduct." This committee's advice is binding on both the Authority and the program companies.²⁹ The resulting *Principles for Television Advertising*, issued originally in July 1955 and revised in May 1958 and January 1960, contains fifteen pages of instructions covering almost all conceivable situations with the force of law. On the one hand it lays down such general requirements as one that all television advertising "should be legal, clean, honest, and truthful," and another that the rules are "to be applied in the spirit as well as the letter." † At the other extreme are detailed lists of "do's and don't's."³⁰

time it will be broadcast and not to the program on which it will appear. Likewise, the ITA allows advance publicity in the press about participation in advertising magazines or advertising features, since these are purely advertising items, and not programs in the normal sense of the term.

* For a description of both spot commercials and advertising magazines, see pp. 48, 144–146 below.

† But British like American television faces the problem of what to do with the ingenious producer of commercials who feels that the real thing doesn't show up well enough on the screen. "But it is not cheating. . . . All we're doing is getting back to where you are with the naked eye." Hence, mashed potatoes (which don't melt) for ice cream (which does); plastic strawberries (when the real fruit is out of season); liver for cat food (so the cats will eat the sample voraciously enough to indicate how much they like the advertised product). (*The Observer*, January 3, 1960, p. 15.)

The Authority, after turning over this question to its advertising committee, observed that "there are certain products, such as ice-cream, table jellies, sparkling drinks and so on, which are of such a perishable, volatile, or otherwise unstable nature that it has always been virtually impossible to do them justice in a photograph." Therefore, advertisers may take "special measures to achieve verisimilitude

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The *Principles*, for example, contain very strict rules about children's programs, one of which is that "no method of advertising may be employed which takes advantage of the natural credulity and sense of loyalty of children." Another rules out the "tell your mother to buy our product" approach, so widely used on American programs.*

Medical advertising is very closely regulated, the following being a typical phrase: "Statistics, scientific terms, quotations from technical literature and the like must be used with a proper sense of responsibility to the ordinary viewer. The irrelevant use of data and jargon must never be resorted to to make claims appear more scientific than they really are. Statistics of limited validity should not be presented in such a way as to make it appear that they are universally true." There is to be no advertising at all in connection with some sixty illnesses which are listed.†

Certain programs may not contain advertising at all, either because of prohibitions by the Television Act, or as a result of Authority and program company policy. There may be no advertising in religious programs, in broadcasts of any formal royal ceremony or occasion, or in broadcasts to schools. Two-minute insulation periods without advertising are required before and after all such programs, except for school broadcasts, for which the separation requirement is two minutes before and one minute afterwards. Advertising is not inserted into news programs, although it is allowed immediately before and afterwards, and

in the reproduction of a product . . . so long as the resultant picture is fair and reasonable and not such as to mislead viewers about the quality of the product or its effects." (*ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 12-13.)

* *Principles for Television Advertising*, pp. 4-5 (hereafter cited as *Principles*); *ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 15. Nevertheless, the House of Commons Advertising Inquiry Committee raised questions about program company compliance with these requirements. (*London Times*, February 11, 1960, p. 7.)

† *Principles*, pp. 4, 14-15. In 1959 the Authority reported that although it believed these requirements were generally observed, "it asked the companies towards the end of the year to pay particular attention to all such advertisements to ensure that they complied fully" with their requirement relative to the proper use of statistical and scientific data. (*ITA Annual Report 1956-59*, p. 15.)

In March of 1959, in answer to complaints about "the continual advertising on the Independent Television Network by certain dentifrice manufacturers of some misleading claims" between 1955 and 1959 (*British Dental Journal*, February 17, 1959, p. 123), the Authority requested changes in certain dentifrice advertising (*ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 15-16). But later the same year, the American Dental Association charged that in the United States too, "some television tooth paste commercials were just as 'rigged' as the quiz shows exposed by Congress." (*New York Times*, November 13, 1959, p. 21; cf. *New York Times*, December 19, 1959, p. 49.)

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most discussion and short documentary programs contain no middle commercials.³¹

The Act directs the Authority and Postmaster General "to consult from time to time . . . as to the . . . goods or services which must not be advertised and the methods of advertising which must not be employed."³² Reference has already been made to the prohibition of certain types of medical advertising. Matrimonial agencies, fortune tellers, contraceptives, and undertaking are also among the "unacceptable products or services" specified.³³

In view of the widespread use of American radio and television for just such purposes, it is interesting to notice that the Television Act entirely rules out "opinion advertising," by excluding advertisements "inserted by or on behalf of any body the objects whereof are wholly or mainly of a religious or political nature," or which are "directed towards any religious or political end or has any relation to any industrial dispute."³⁴ Advertising is to be used only to sell goods, not opinions. This rule is strictly applied. No one may insert advertising designed to affect public opinion about pending legislation. A political party may not insert any sort of advertisement, even for staff or housing accommodations. A religious group may not even urge attendance, "next Sunday at the church of your choice." *

The amount of advertising also is regulated — though by no means to the complete satisfaction of all of the ITA's critics — as is the interval which must separate any two groups of advertisements. The second Schedule decrees that the "amount of time given to advertising shall not be so great as to detract from the value of the programmes as a medium of entertainment, instruction, and information." It does not, however, attempt to define how much would "detract," nor does it give the government authority to so decide. But it does empower the Postmaster

* *ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 15. In 1957, for example, the ITA refused to broadcast sixteen films about the achievements of British industry on the grounds they had a political objective, despite strong pressure to carry them, and it also turned down a fifteen-minute film on road safety because it sought to influence public policy. (*London Times*, May 19, 1957, p. 12; May 10, 1957, p. 9; May 29, 1957, p. 7; June 8, 1957, p. 4; June 12, 1957, p. 9; June 15, 1957, p. 7; August 2, 1957, p. 3.)

In November 1960 there was wide discussion of ITV's refusal to carry advertisements for the *London Daily Worker*. The Authority claimed that the objectives of the *Daily Worker* necessarily were "mainly of a political nature," whereas the *Daily Worker* insisted that it was no more political than most other newspapers. (*ITA Press Notice*, November 9, 1960.)

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General to stipulate the interval between any two periods given over to advertisements, and this has been set at not less than three minutes.³⁵

The ITA has decided that the amount of time given to spot advertising must not exceed six minutes per hour per day, averaged over an entire day's programs.* Under pressure from certain program companies during ITV's earlier and financially stringent years, the amount of advertising during peak hours sometimes got up to ten and even eleven minutes in some sixty-minute periods. But in response to complaints from the public, and from advertisers too, who objected to their messages being lost in a sea of commercials, the rule was subsequently adopted that in the mid-evening hours the allowance should not exceed eight minutes. In May 1960 it was announced that as of September 12, 1960, spot advertising was not to exceed seven and a half, and as of December 24, 1960, seven minutes per hour.†

Some critics have objected to a greater allowance of advertising time during evening hours, and have insisted that references made during the debates to six minutes an hour meant a maximum six minutes during any hour. In reply the ITA argues that since certain programs may not carry advertisements at all, it is proper to allow more during other periods; although it will be noted that the extended allowance always has been effective during peak hours only — that is, when the rates are highest. Actually, the whole day average runs from four to five minutes per hour, and the seven-to-ten-P.M. average prior to December 24, 1960, had been from six to eight minutes.³⁶

One of the most widely discussed provisions of the Television Act is the requirement of the Second Schedule that advertisements be placed only "at the beginning or the end of the programme or in natural breaks therein."³⁷ There has never been any question about having advertisements at the beginning or at the end of programs, but Britain has argued over "natural breaks" even more than the United States has discussed "middle commercials."

* This is in accordance with statements made in Parliament by the Postmaster General that not more than 10 per cent of program time would be devoted to advertisements, and it also conforms to the American Television Code figure of six minutes per hour. Advertising magazines, described on pp. 145-146 below, are excluded from this computation.

† To be exact, seven minutes during any "clock hour," such as between seven and eight o'clock, eight and nine, nine and ten, but not necessarily during any sixty-minute period during the evening. (*ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 14.) *ITA Press Notice*, May 16, 1960.

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It is not difficult to find places for commercials at certain points in athletic contests, or between the acts of plays. But what about plays written for television, when the writer is told beforehand to include a given number of "natural breaks?" How does one determine the places for advertisements during telecasts of theatrical films? What about discussion programs and documentaries?

Some critics have claimed that the problem is not one of "natural" but of "manufactured breaks," while the Authority defends itself by saying that "a break is not unnatural because it has been contemplated and foreseen; it must be judged, when it comes, for what it is."³⁸ Since the Gallup Poll reported in March 1959 that a good majority of British viewers favored the elimination of all middle commercials, it is clear that this is one problem that neither British nor American television has solved to everyone's satisfaction.

In addition to the short commercial announcements, usually from fifteen seconds to one minute in length, which provide commercial television with its main source of revenue, most program companies, on an average of five times a week, also broadcast "advertising magazines" or "advertising features." These consist of from twelve to fourteen minutes of solid commercial material in story or narrative form. Since many advertising magazines are preceded and followed by spot announcements for other products, ITA stations may at times carry as much as twenty-one minutes of advertisements, without intervening program material, although it is presumed that advertising magazines have some general audience appeal, and their fairly good ratings indicate that they do have considerable interest for many viewers.

Although some ITA critics complain a good deal about advertising magazines, such programs were intended by the government at the time the Television Act was introduced. The Assistant Postmaster General announced in the House of Commons in 1954 that, in addition to the percentage of time devoted to spot advertising, there also would be "the documentaries or the shoppers-guides, which might last for half an hour or so."³⁹

Elaborate machinery has been set up by the ITA and the program companies to regulate advertising in accordance with these various laws and rules. Filmed advertisements (most advertisements are on film) are censored in the central script and copy department of the Independent Television Contractors' Association, in addition to being

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examined by the continuity acceptance departments of all program companies concerned. The ITA has one man on its staff who devotes all his time to advertising policy and control, and the Authority monitors all programs, including commercials, as they are broadcast.*

ITA Finances

A distinction must be drawn between the finances of the Independent Television Authority itself and those of the several program companies. The Authority's income is derived entirely from rents paid by the program companies for the privilege of broadcasting over the ITA's transmitters. The rates, based on coverage, were set in 1954 before the extent of profits was foreseen, and therefore are low in terms of capacity to pay. Meanwhile, the companies are making fabulous profits charging what the traffic will bear, since there is no way the Authority or the government can share in or confiscate their profits, other than through normal tax processes. Yet, the ITA is doing very well financially even though its returns do not match those of the program companies.

To cover initial expenses and to provide working capital, the Postmaster General was authorized to loan the ITA, at interest, up to £2,000,000 (\$5,600,000) within five years, of which not more than £1,000,000 (\$2,800,000) was to be advanced during the first year.⁴⁰ The Act provides that ITA balances at the end of any fiscal year, which are not needed as reserve funds or for debt payment, "shall be applied . . . in such manner as the Postmaster General, with the approval of the Treasury and after consultation with the Chairman . . . of the Authority, may direct," and that this may include paying "the whole or any part of any such excess . . . into the Exchequer."⁴¹ But the law does not direct the Authority to make a profit for the Treasury, and the government has no control over the amount or distribution of profits made by the program companies.

Arrangements for a capital loan proceeded very smoothly. During its first two years the Authority borrowed £555,000 from the government, subject to repayment by June 30, 1964. But its financial position was so good that the debt was discharged by July 1959, the fifth anniversary of the date on which the Television Act became law.⁴²

* The life of the officer in charge of advertising is not always a happy one, though, since ITV commercials are periodically attacked as inaccurate and misleading. See, for example, *World's Press News*, February 26, 1960, p. 6.

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When commercial television was being discussed in Parliament, some critics deplored its complete dependence on commercial revenue. Accordingly, the government introduced an amendment authorizing the Postmaster General to give the Authority outright as much as £750,000 (\$2,100,000) a year, subject to the consent of the Treasury. This was to be used in case the program companies were unwilling or unable to develop a sufficient number of educational and cultural "balance" programs.

But the story of the Authority's quest for such grants was not a happy one. The London station went on the air in September 1955. Initially the program companies sustained such heavy financial losses that in December 1955 and January 1956 they reduced their serious output by about one third, thus arousing much severe criticism. The Authority thereupon asked the government in January 1956 for a grant of £375,000 (\$1,050,000), but was refused because the current world recession imposed a need for rigid economy in government expenditures. The ITA was much disappointed by this, and there even were rumors that the chairman, Sir Kenneth Clark, might resign in protest. The Authority persisted, however, and in November 1956, the government offered £100,000 (\$280,000). But by that time receipts were picking up, so that the program companies turned down the offer, saying that it was too small to do much good, and that they could then operate without government funds anyway.*

There has been some public debate over the policy that should be followed by the Authority in setting rents for program companies. The Authority takes the position that the Television Act requires it to charge only enough to provide a surplus above operating costs adequate to repay its loan from the Treasury, amortize its capital equipment, and create a reserve fund to finance such possible future developments as a third television network, a change in line standards, or the introduction of UHF and color broadcasting.

The Authority does not consider itself legally obliged to build a surplus for the Treasury, and it objects on the grounds of policy to selecting

* *London Times*, August 2, 1956, p. 5; November 29, 1956, p. 10; July 28, 1959, p. 6; *ITA Annual Report 1955-56*, pp. 14-15; *ITA Annual Report 1956-57*, p. 12. Had a grant been accepted, the ITA probably would have commissioned one or more program companies to produce certain programs, thereafter reimbursing them for their costs.

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program companies through competitive bidding, fearing that this may lead to a deterioration in program performance.⁴³ Parliament's Committee of Public Accounts, on the other hand, following hearings in 1959 after very high program company profits were a matter of wide public knowledge, took the attitude that "in future contracts the rentals, representing the contractors' capacity to pay, should be arrived at by competition, provided that the Authority judge the highest bidder to be of standing and technically and financially competent to provide the service."⁴⁴ Subsequently, the Treasury reported that this was the only case known to the committee "where a franchise amounting to a monopoly, in this case highly profitable, is disposed of without financial competition and with no provision for the Exchequer to share in the profits."

In setting rates, however, the ITA first estimated its financial needs, and then evolved a formula for charging program companies the approximate rate of £100,000 per year per million viewers in primary and secondary coverage areas. It made no attempt to tie rental rates to program company profits. Rentals vary, therefore, from one part of the country to another, depending upon population density. Contracts with the first six companies provided increases on a cost-of-living basis; a one-twelfth rise after a certain period; and a 20 per cent increase anytime after 3½ years at the discretion of the Authority. Subsequent contracts, made after the profitability of commercial television had been established, set higher rates at the outset, and so did not contain these provisions for automatic or discretionary increases.*

Even though the ITA itself has had no returns comparable to those of the program companies, it nevertheless has done very well, since two thirds of its income now is in excess of costs. From each £3 received, it uses £1 for operating expenses, pays £1 in tax to the government, and puts the remaining £1 in reserve.⁴⁵ The accompanying tabulation shows how its gross income has grown since 1956.†

* *Committee of Public Accounts Report*, pp. 97, 291-292. The actual rates charged are not matters of public record, although a clue was given during a tax hearing in which it was reported that Associated-Rediffusion agreed, effective in 1955, to pay the ITA at the yearly rate of £495,600 for two-and-one-half years, and at the rate of £536,900 thereafter, with variations after March 31, 1956, proportionate to fluctuations in the average retail price index as reported by the Board of Trade. (*London Times*, February 10, 1959, p. 6.)

† *ITA Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 33; *1956-57*, p. 23; *1957-58*, p. 31; *1958-59*, p. 33; *1959-60*, p. 33.

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ITA Income, 1956 to 1960

<i>Fiscal Year Ending March 31</i>	<i>Income</i>
1956	£ 423,499
1957	1,702,152
1958	2,284,086
1959	2,871,293
1960	3,756,572

By March 31, 1959, the ITA not only had repaid its £555,000 government loan with interest, but also had £3,000,000 worth of stations and assets all debt free, plus a surplus for the year of £968,350. The ITA like the BBC must pay income tax on any excess of income over expenditures, and therefore during its first five years of operation paid £2,549,000 to the government in taxes. By 1964 it expects to hold free of debt, equipment with an original cost of £5,000,000, have £4,000,000 of reserves, and have paid the government £7,000,000 in taxes.⁴⁶

It is quite likely that after 1964, the ITA itself, the program companies, or both may be subject to special government assessments in the event of continued high profits. Current discussions about big program company profits — an average of 130 per cent in 1958 according to the Director General of the ITA — are all after the event of course.⁴⁷ Had such returns been foreseen in 1954 and 1955 when the original contracts were signed, some provision might have been made to limit them. As to the future, Lord Hailsham, the Conservative leader in the House of Lords, told the Lords on June 3, 1959, that “it would be wholly unrealistic not to consider that when profits on this scale have now been established, the terms upon which future franchises are given must be subject to review.” *

ITA Staff and Facilities

At the top of the ITV hierarchy is the Independent Television Authority itself, appointed by the Postmaster General. It consists of a chairman, deputy chairman, and from five to eight other members. Authority members are the kind of people who turn up as company directors, university regents, and foundation trustees the world over. At any one time they probably will include business and professional men, bankers, educators, trade unionists, and other public figures. On paper they ap-

* *House of Lords Debates*, 216:639 (June 3, 1959). Program company finances are discussed at greater length on pp. 66-72 below.

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pear to be the same sort of people chosen as BBC governors, although it may be presumed that they are more disposed to favor commercial broadcasting than are their opposite numbers at Broadcasting House.

The first Chairman was Sir Kenneth Clark, chairman of the Arts Council, who had been director of the National Gallery, professor of fine arts at Oxford, and a wartime member of the Ministry of Information. Such a person was well chosen, in view of the reservations about commercial television held by so many people. Since retiring as chairman, Sir Kenneth has done some fine telecasts about art for ITV. Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, formerly permanent undersecretary at the Foreign Office, succeeded him late in 1957. The chairman normally devotes about half his time to the Authority's affairs, receiving an annual salary of £4,000 (\$11,200) plus expenses. The other members, who devote much less time to the Authority's affairs, receive £1,000 (\$2,800) plus expenses, except for the deputy chairman, who receives £1,500 (\$4,200). These are the same rates paid BBC governors. The Authority meets an average of twenty times a year, and is concerned mainly with broad policy matters.

Heading the administrative staff is the Director General, Sir Robert Fraser, chosen, incidentally, from 332 applicants for the post.* Sir Robert, an Australian by birth, joined the Ministry of Information in 1939, and became Director General of the Central Office of Information in 1946. During his student days at the London School of Economics, he was a protégé of Harold Laski, who saw him as a potential Socialist cabinet minister. In 1930 he became an editorial writer on the staff of the Labour newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, and in 1935 he stood for Parliament as a Labour candidate. Such a background has inevitably led to comments about his changed status now as a central figure in a commercial television organization whose very creation was strongly opposed by the Labour party.†

Deputy Director General is Bernard Sendall, formerly assistant secre-

* Fraser's application resulted from his reading a newspaper advertisement for a director general (*The Observer*, July 6, 1958, p. 7), which was the same way John Reith first learned of the position of BBC director general. (Reith, *Into the Wind*, p. 81.)

† Those ITV critics who contend that the Authority serves more as a public relations apologist for the program companies than as their regulator have pointed out that the chairman made his mark as a diplomat, and the director general as head of an information office. This was the line taken by Beaverbrook's *Sunday Express*, always a bitter critic of ITV, in an article published December 20, 1959, entitled, "Are These Men Fit to Run TV?"

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tary in the Admiralty, who joined the ITA in 1955 after twenty years in the Civil Service. As principal private secretary to the Minister of Information from 1941 to 1945 he had some contacts with policy aspects of the BBC under war conditions. He later became controller of the Central Office of Information and controller of the Festival of Britain office.

The ITA does not have a large staff. On March 31, 1960, it consisted of 348 people, of whom 216 were working at the various transmitters run by the Authority. Of the rest, 118 were in London and the remaining 14 in regional offices. Key members of the London staff, in addition to the Director General and his deputy, include officers in charge of legal, program, advertising, financial, and engineering matters. Program production staff, of course, are employees of the various program companies, not of the ITA.*

Reference has already been made to the advisory committees on religious programs, children's programs, and advertising. In addition to these three committees which it is legally required to appoint, the Authority also has Scottish and Ulster committees to advise on ITV operations in Scotland and Northern Ireland respectively. The Authority's London headquarters is at 14 Princes Gate, S.W. 7, in the old Carnegie mansion, which was formerly the residence of the American ambassador.⁴⁸

Between July 1954, when the Television Act was passed, and September 22, 1955, when the London station went on the air, the ITA performed almost a miracle in organization. In this brief period it had to organize itself, build a staff, determine administrative, program, and commercial policies, select program contractors, and construct transmitters. Meanwhile, the program companies had to hire and train their staffs, build and equip studios, and develop programs. In addition, the vast commercial structure which was to support the ITA had to be activated: rates had to be set, advertisers secured, and the machinery for producing the commercials themselves put into motion. To make things harder, all this had to be done under the full glare of publicity, since the success or failure of the system was news, in the United King-

* In addition, studio engineers and camera men and remote pickup (in British parlance, Outside Broadcast or OB) crews are program company employees. Post Office employees are entirely responsible for the cables and microwave relays connecting the various stations, as well as for all studio-transmitter links. (*ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 26, 48.)

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dom and the United States, as well as in many other countries where the problems of television finance were beginning to involve the possibility of commercial support.

Political considerations stimulated this haste. Because there was a chance that the Labour party might repeal the Television Act if it were returned to office, the ITA wanted to begin broadcasting before the threat of a change of government was posed by the general election, which was originally expected to take place in October, but was later moved up to May. But whatever its motives, the ITA performed magnificently in getting on the air when it did.

Under the terms of the Television Act, the ITA is responsible for establishing and operating transmitters. All studios are owned and controlled by the several program companies, however, and links between studios and transmitters are supplied by the General Post Office, which in Britain is responsible for all telephone and telegraph services.

In the United Kingdom there are 13 VHF television channels, covering approximately the same frequency range as America's channels 1 (when there was a channel 1) through 13, although the exact spectrum space devoted to like-numbered channels is not the same in the two countries. The first five channels, which constitute Band I, are used by the BBC. Of the eight channels in Band III, four have been allotted to the ITA (channels 8, 9, 10 and 11), and the Authority has also been given limited use of two others for stations in remote parts of the country. The remaining are assigned to nonbroadcast uses.*

The Authority began by building one transmitter in each major population area, later adding stations in other parts of the country. Accordingly, the first station, located at Croydon near London, went on the air September 22, 1955, on Channel 9. This station now serves 12,490,000 people in the greater London area.

Second to go on the air, on February 17, 1956, was a station at Lichfield to serve Birmingham and the Midlands. There followed, in May and November, stations in the northern part of England, covering Lancashire and Yorkshire; and in August 1957, one in central Scotland, between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Then came five more high power stations to provide services for the other heavily populated areas in England and Wales, and one in Northern Ireland. In the future, at least ten low-power satellite stations will be added in areas which

* See Appendix for additional technical data.

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now have poor reception. At the beginning of 1961, the Authority's transmitters covered over 94 per cent of the population in the United Kingdom, a figure which compared very favorably with the BBC's coverage of over 98 per cent.*

* ITA signals are still not as strong or as clear in some parts of the country as those from the BBC, although improvements are being made as fast as possible. *The Annual Reports and Accounts* of the ITA provide up-to-date information on technical coverage, as does each edition of the *Commercial Television Yearbook*.

Independent Television's Program Companies

PARLIAMENT did not want the Independent Television Authority to produce programs as does the British Broadcasting Corporation, and so declared in the Television Act that with minor exceptions the programs broadcast by it should "be provided not by the Authority but by . . . 'programme contractors.'" To date, however, the Authority itself has produced no programs at all, nor is it likely to do so in the future.¹

Under the British system the program companies are somewhat the counterparts of America's broadcasting stations, and their contracts with the Authority are roughly equivalent to the licenses received by American stations from the FCC. But the rules in Britain are much stricter, and their enforcement is both quicker and more certain.

The Program Companies before the Law

The Television Act states that the program contractors (or companies as they are usually called) are to be British owned and controlled, and that they are to have absolutely no connections with advertising agencies. Once constituted, they may not change ownership "either in whole or in part without the previous consent in writing of the Authority." * There also must be "adequate competition to supply programmes be-

* *Television Act, 1954*, Section 5 (4). The Federal Communications Commission likewise must approve all ownership changes of American stations.

Since the Associated British Picture Corporation, sole owner of ABC Television, is 30 per cent owned by the American Warner Brothers Pictures Corporation, special provisions were inserted in its contract to ensure that the company would remain under British control. (*ITA Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 10.)

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tween a number of programme contractors independent of each other both as to finance and as to control.” *

The Television Act makes the companies responsible to the Authority for all aspects of their programs. First comes a general clause: “The contracts between the Authority and the various programme contractors shall contain all such provisions . . . as are necessary or expedient . . . for complying and securing compliance with the provisions of this Act. . . .” The law specifies that all contracts must enable the Authority to preview plans and scripts for both programs and advertisements, and to require companies to record programs and advertisements for review. The Authority must reserve the right to “forbid the broadcasting of any matter, or class or description of matter,” or to “require that nothing shall be broadcast without . . . its previous approval,” although it may do so only in reasonable anticipation of a breach of the contract.† For breaches of contract, program companies may be fined up to £500 for a first offense, £1000 for a second, and £1,500 for a third offense. Contracts also may be suspended or cancelled for cause.²

With only this law and the accompanying parliamentary debates to guide it, the ITA had to determine basic policies and select program contractors. The Television Act insists on competition between companies. But how can there be competition when there is only one ITA station in any area? The Authority, therefore, decided to choose contractors on a competitive basis; to divide the time on each of the three major stations between two different contractors; and to encourage contractors to compete through exchanging programs by network.

* *Television Act, 1954*, Section 5 (2). This does not prevent stockholders having small holdings in more than one company, but it does rule out major holdings in two or more companies. Thus, the theatrical firm of Howard and Wyndham has minority interests in both Associated TeleVision and Scottish Television. But the *Daily Mirror*, a big stockholder in Associated TeleVision, had to sell the stock it acquired in Southern Television as a consequence of buying the Amalgamated Press, which already was one-third owner of Southern Television. This resulted in no loss to the *Daily Mirror*, however, since it was reported to be asking around \$4,750,000 for its one-third holding in Southern Television. The *Daily Mirror* held about \$550,000 of loan stock, for which it was seeking par value as well as 33,333 ordinary shares worth \$2.80, for which it was asking about \$125.00 each. (*Variety*, May 6, 1959, p. 40.)

† *Television Act, 1954*, Section 6 (1), Third Schedule. The exact phraseology is “. . . the Authority shall not . . . exercise any such power . . . unless they are satisfied that it is necessary to do so having regard to a breach which they apprehend on the fact of the programme contractor of any provision included in the contract in pursuance of this subsection.” In this connection it should be recalled that the Postmaster General has authority to either initiate or veto ITA programs. (*Television Act, 1954*, Section 9 (1, 2).) See above, p. 39.

INDEPENDENT TELEVISION'S PROGRAM COMPANIES

Consequently the stations in London (Croydon), the Midlands (Lichfield), and the North of England (Winter Hill and Emley Moor) have two contractors each, one providing programs Monday through Friday and the other on Saturday and Sunday. This follows the traditional program division observed on both sides of the Atlantic as well as the press pattern, which already was drawn upon for ITV's program and advertising structure. However, it has been agreed that, if before the expiration of the initial contract in July 1964, second stations go on the air in these areas, the four first companies, as reward for having taken the initial risks, shall be given first refusal rights on seven day contracts in their respective areas. In such event, however, their contracts for other stations would be canceled, so that no company would be broadcasting to more than one area. Companies serving regions with smaller populations are given contracts for the whole week, in view of the limited resources and lower income potentials of such areas, and the precedent also has been set of allocating a satellite station to a contractor already operating in an adjacent area.³

The Authority also had to decide if it would accept applications from companies with newspaper affiliations, in view of the theoretical desirability of diversified ownership of mass communications media. This question received considerable public discussion when it was learned that Conservative newspapers were associated with two of the first four companies chosen. But the Authority reasoned that if Parliament had intended to exclude newspapers it would have said so; and that otherwise there was no reason to assume that a newspaper was less likely than any other organization to develop good television programs.* Furthermore, after thirty years of BBC monopoly, no one else had broadcasting experience, so it was natural to look to the other mass media for contractors. Although the companies chosen for the London,

* *ITA Annual Report 1954-55*, pp. 4-6. Although the Authority pointed out that no applications had been received from national newspapers except the two chosen, the parliamentary opposition nevertheless condemned the selection of two program companies associated with Conservative newspapers. The government denied collusion, and reminded its critics that in any case the ITA and its program contractors were denied the right to editorialize. The opposition even introduced a formal vote of censure, which the House of Commons rejected, 300 to 268. In the course of the discussion, the Postmaster General took a position similar to that previously taken on questions involving the internal operations of the BBC, and refused to interfere with the decisions of the Authority in selecting contractors. (*London Times*, November 3, 1954, p. 2; November 4, 1954, p. 4; November 5, 1954, pp. 2, 4; November 24, 1954, p. 8; *House of Commons Debates*, 533:1125, 1174-1182 (November 23, 1954).)

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Midlands, and Northern transmitters were national in basis, local ownership was important in choosing companies to serve the smaller areas.

Reference already has been made to the decision to select program companies for reasons apart from their capacity to pay.* This conforms to the Television Act in both letter and spirit, since the law does not place any responsibility on the ITA to earn money for the Treasury, while it does require the Authority to provide television programs of "high quality." In this connection, however, it should be recognized that when contracts were originally let, no one expected program company returns to be excessive. Wide concern over profits developed only after some three years of operation showed just how successful a commercial television monopoly can be.

On August 24, 1954, the Authority advertised for contractors and received twenty-five applications.† After interviews, four contractors were selected for the first three stations. The main criterion for choice was the ability "to produce as a long-term and continued operation balanced programmes of high quality." Since the outlook was for months or even years of deficit operation, it was announced that only groups with large capital resources should apply, even though this financial requirement greatly narrowed the field. "The Authority chose, therefore, from among the applicants who appeared to it to be adequately provided with finance, those it adjudged the most likely to put on well-balanced and high quality programmes."⁴

Another basic policy problem for the Authority was the relationship it would maintain between itself and the program companies. Should it be their leader, supervisor, or public relations spokesman? The law leaves no doubt of the Authority's ultimate responsibility, or of its legal obligation to enforce program standards. From time to time, however, the Authority has declared that it would rather work in partnership with the companies than sit in constant judgment over them. But this policy has been severely received by some of ITV's critics, who complain that although it is the function of the ITA to interpret and apply the rules, the companies have often taken charge themselves, to their financial advantage and to the detriment of balanced programing. On the outcome of this dispute may depend the future of British commercial television.⁵

* See above, pp. 50-51.

† A good many applications are received for all franchises, including applications from most of the existing program companies.

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The Program Contractors

At the end of 1960 the ITA had eleven transmitters on the air. These were programed by ten contractors as indicated in the accompanying list.

<i>Program Company</i>	<i>Area Served and Days of Operation</i>
Associated-Rediffusion	London, Monday to Friday
Associated TeleVision	London, Saturday and Sunday; Midlands, Monday to Friday
ABC Television	Midlands and North, Saturday and Sunday
Granada Television	North, Monday to Friday
Scottish Television	Central Scotland, whole week
Television for South Wales and the West of England	South Wales and West of England, whole week
Southern Television	Southern and South East England, whole week, two transmitters
Tyne Tees Television	North East England, whole week
Anglia Television	East Anglia, whole week
Ulster Television	Northern Ireland, whole week

In addition, contracts have been signed with the companies listed below, which are expected to take to the air on the dates indicated.*

Westward Television	South West England, whole week, two transmitters, spring 1961
Border Television	Scottish-English borders, whole week, two transmitters, autumn 1961
North of Scotland Television	North East Scotland, whole week, two transmitters, late 1961
Channel Islands Communications .	Channel Islands, whole week, early 1962

To these contractors may be added Independent Television News, operated jointly by all the program companies, which is responsible for all ITV network news programs, as well as for London local newscasts. †

ITV's program companies in the main are owned and controlled by

* Source: *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 2-10.

† The program companies are often referred to by their initials (AR, ATV, ABC-TV, TWV, ITN) or by shortened versions of their names (Granada, Southern).

In 1962 and 1963 the Authority hopes to add two stations in West and North West Wales, one in West Ulster, and others to eliminate small coverage gaps in various parts of the United Kingdom. (*ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 7.)

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big business, and predominantly by such related media as newspapers, cinemas, and the theaters. The important individual stockholders are mostly executives in companies which already have major interests in commercial television, and the principal executives are drawn mainly from such nonbroadcasting fields as finance, business, theater, bus transportation, publishing, and the cinema.⁶ Of the first nine contractors, for example, newspapers were involved in six; cinema interests wholly owned two and had minority holdings in two others; theatrical organizations had interests in three; electronics manufacturers were involved in two; and various other big business groups had stock in four.*

A brief description of one of the London companies will indicate how large and powerful such a combination can be. Associated TeleVision, which provides programs in London on Saturday and Sunday, and in the Midlands Monday through Friday, was incorporated in August 1952 as the Associated Broadcasting Development Company, before the Television Act was even introduced into Parliament. The word "Development" was then necessary in its title, because at that time the British Board of Trade would not allow the term "broadcasting" without qualification, since in 1952 the BBC's charter gave it a monopoly on broadcasting. In 1954 ABDC and the Incorporated Television Programme Company merged to become the Associated Broadcasting Company. This title was later changed to Associated TeleVision to avoid confusion with Associated British Cinemas Television. In 1956 the *Daily Mirror* group of newspapers purchased stock in Associated TeleVision.

In the middle of 1960, ATV's issued capital was £2,325,000, and ordinary voting shares were held approximately as follows: Moss Empires (theatrical productions), 26 per cent; *Daily Mirror Newspapers*, 13 per cent; *Sunday Pictorial Newspapers (1920)*, 13 per cent; Pye (electronics manufacturers), 11 per cent; *Westminster Press Provincial Newspapers*, 6½ per cent; *Birmingham Post and Mail*, 5 per cent; Associated Electrical Industries, 5 per cent; miscellaneous small holdings, 19 per cent.⁷

* The capital of the first eight companies was allotted approximately as follows: newspapers 23 per cent; cinemas 20½ per cent; theatrical enterprises 13 per cent; electronics manufacturers 11½ per cent; other big business 11 per cent; other large holdings 17 per cent; private individuals 3½ per cent.

An analysis of the boards of directors of the first eight companies shows that their 73 directors were drawn from the following fields: cinema 15; banking, insurance, investment 14; publishing 12; theater and variety 10; radio and television 9; industry 5; university and academic 3; others, including vacancies, 5. (*Daily Mirror Spotlight on the Future of Television*, pp. 9-12.)

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ATV's directors are men to be reckoned with in any situation. Chairman is Prince Littler of Stoll Theaters and other theatrical chains in Britain. Deputy chairman is Norman Collins, the only high-ranking commercial television executive in Britain with wide experience in the field, a former controller of BBC television, and one of the major protagonists for commercial television in the United Kingdom. Managing director is Val Parnell, formerly managing director of Moss Empires, the world's largest chain of theaters, including the London Palladium, billed as "the world's leading variety theater." Lew Grade, deputy managing director, formerly was joint managing director of the largest British firm dealing in the personal management of variety and entertainment stars.

Other important directors include the Earl of Bessborough, a banker long associated with important international groups in Britain; Hugh Cudlipp, editorial director of the *Daily Mirror*, a newspaper whose 4,550,000 daily circulation makes it the world's largest; Sir Robert Renwick, who holds fourteen directorships, largely in electronics manufacturing; and C. O. Stanley, chairman and managing director of some twenty companies making electronic materials, who also is a member of the Television Advisory Committee, appointed to advise the government on such basic matters as the technical standards for television broadcasting.

ATV does not, however, run the risk of putting all its financial eggs in the British television basket. In fact, like several of the other program companies, it is diversifying its holdings now when profits are high, and when the absence of commercial television competition imposes no need for extensive investments in program development. ATV, therefore, holds extensive shares in British Relay Wireless and Television, which operates television and radio relay services in Britain, as well as a television and radio rental service.* Its Incorporated Television Programme Company produces television films, like the "Adventures of Robin Hood," "OSS," and the "Adventures of William Tell." These filmed programs, in addition to being broadcast by the ITA network, have brought some \$15,000,000 into Britain through arrangements with American affiliates. ATV has a substantial interest in Pye Records, the record division of Pye of Cambridge, which in turn is one of Associated TeleVision's owners. It also has British rights to America's Muzak,

* For an explanation of relay services, see p. 175 below.

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which provides background music by wire to offices, factories, and other public places.

In 1958 ATV acquired substantial Australian radio and television holdings, including interests in television stations in Sydney. In the United States ATV owns the Independent Television Corporation, which produces "Ellery Queen," "The Halls of Ivy," and "Ramar of the Jungle." ITC, the third largest distributor and producer of television films in the world, owns the American Muzak, and controls various British and Canadian film production groups.

Obviously, Associated TeleVision is a powerful organization by any standards, British or American. It has tremendous financial resources. It is best situated of all the program companies to obtain talent, since outstanding national and international stars may be simultaneously engaged for theatrical and television appearances. Its newspaper connections give some assurance of press support, while its relationship with electronics manufacturers provides access to broadcasting equipment. Above all, its directors, staff, and affiliated companies can provide contacts and influence when and where needed.

Second only to Associated TeleVision in diversification is Associated-Rediffusion, the company that programs the London station Monday through Friday. In the beginning Associated-Rediffusion was owned by Associated Newspapers, publishers of the *Daily Mail* and other newspapers, and two companies in which Harold Drayton, the eminent British financier, is interested: British Electric Traction, a vast motor bus and laundry empire; and Rediffusion, in which British Electric Traction has over 25 per cent interest. The *Daily Mail* sold its large holdings in Associated-Rediffusion in 1956, when Associated-Rediffusion accumulated big losses during its first eighteen months of operation, although the *Daily Mail* is now participating in Southern Television. At present the issued capital is £5,000,000, and ownership is approximately as follows: British Electric Traction 50 per cent; Rediffusion (25 per cent owned by British Electric Traction) 37½ per cent; private individuals, mainly directors of various Drayton companies, 12½ per cent.

Here too is an important concentration of wealth and power. British Electric Traction, the principal stockholder, operates bus companies in the United Kingdom, Jamaica, and Africa, laundries in the United Kingdom, and has holdings in a variety of other enterprises. Rediffusion provides over half a million British homes with radio and television

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services by wire; manufactures, sells, and rents electronic equipment; and is involved in commercial broadcasting enterprises in various British possessions. Associated-Rediffusion, in addition to serving as a program contractor, publishes the *TV Times* (4,000,000 circulation), ITV's counterpart of the BBC's *Radio Times*; in 1960 purchased several weekly television magazines from Beaverbrook Newspapers, whose *Daily Express*, incidentally, is the core of press opposition to commercial television; owns the Keith Prowse Music Publishing Company; runs several film production agencies; recently paid £2,677,500 (\$7,497,000) for Wembley Stadium in London (although it does not intend to exclude the BBC from broadcasting stadium events); and has various overseas broadcasting commitments.*

The program companies have organized what is in effect another program company, Independent Television News, to provide network news and features for all stations. The four original program contractors supply two directors each to its board; the contractors for Scotland and Wales supply one each; while the other contractors merely subscribe to the service. The Authority appoints one person from its staff as advisor (the Director General himself), and the editor-in-chief holds office subject to Authority approval. The program companies furnish capital and operating funds for ITN, which has its own studios, equipment and staff.⁸

In order to ensure close liaison between the Authority and the program companies, all of the contracts provide for participation in a Standing Consultative Committee, made up of two representatives from the Authority, and one from each company. So that they may speak with one voice in relations with outside groups, the companies have formed the Independent Television Companies' Association with a governing board composed of officers from the program companies. The ITCA has an administrative officer and committees which deal with such things as advertisement acceptance, children's programs, overseas

* Space does not permit analyses of other program companies, although most of them too have connections with press, cinema, and industry, in addition to valuable foreign affiliations. The Granada theater chain, headed by crusading Labourite, Sidney Bernstein, owns Granada Television, and Associated British Picture Corporation owns ABC Television. Roy Thomson who has taken control of newspapers formerly owned by Lord Kemsley, including the *Sunday Times*, holds most of the stock of Scottish Television. The Rank film organization has a 37½ per cent interest in Southern Television. Among the major shareholders of Anglia Television is *The Guardian* which in 1953 and 1954 (when it was *The Manchester Guardian*) strongly opposed the introduction of commercial television in any form.

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relations, performance rights, and labor relations. Notable is the very elaborate machinery which has been set up to ensure the central scrutiny of all advertising scripts.⁹

Program Company Finances

At the outset, as was expected, the program companies lost a great deal of money. During its first seven months on the air, for example, Associated TeleVision lost £602,715, while Associated-Rediffusion lost some £2,880,349 in its first two years. But the companies began to show profits in the fall of 1956, and since 1957 their rate of earning has been so great as to delight their investors, appall their critics, and at times embarrass their defenders. In 1958, for example, the average profit before taxes of all the program companies then broadcasting was 130 per cent. And there is no way, short of special taxation imposed by Parliament, of curtailing these profits before the Authority's contracts with the program companies expire in 1964.*

ITV's advertisements are of two types. Most income comes from spot advertisements, usually sixty seconds or less in duration, which are quite similar to those broadcast by American stations. As previously mentioned, there also are advertising magazines and advertising features, ranging from five to fourteen minutes in length, "solid commercials," which extoll the merits of a series of products without intervening entertainment material.

The rates charged by Associated-Rediffusion for time on the London transmitter, Monday through Friday, as of January 1961 illustrate how the system works. Associated-Rediffusion divides the day into seven time categories. Class A time, the best and consequently most expensive, is from 7:25 to 10:35 P.M., while class G time, the cheapest, includes everything up to 1:55 and after 11:35 P.M. Categories B through F are in decreasing order of desirability and consequently of cost.

The charge for a thirty-second spot announcement in class A time is £1,100 (\$3,080); for class G time it is £110 (\$308). In addition, the advertiser must pay for the preparation and presentation of the advertisement itself, since the rates quoted are for air time only. Costs for

* The ITA has no control over advertising rates. The Second Schedule of the Television Act states that the tariffs shall be "drawn up in such detail and published in such form and manner as the Authority may determine," but the Act gives the Authority no control over the rates themselves. The government may confiscate the profits of the ITA, but not of the program contractors. (*ITA Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 21; *Television Act, 1954*, Section 13.)

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fifteen-second announcements are about two thirds as much, while longer periods are proportionate to the thirty-second rate. What are described as "7-second filmlets with recorded sound," normally transmitted in groups of six, cost £125 (\$350) apiece, including production costs.

Some program companies have "run-of-the-day" spots, broadcast at times convenient to the company, which have lower rates. Thus, Associated-Rediffusion has some five-second "flashes" for as low as £30 (\$84), although it warns that "flashes are subject to omission without notice." On the other hand, all the program companies will schedule advertisements in preselected program breaks for a surcharge of 10 per cent. The cost of participating in an Associated-Rediffusion advertising magazine ranges from £300 (\$840) to £600 (\$1,680) per minute, depending upon the hour of broadcast. But not all of this money reaches the program companies, since discounts of from 5 to 10 per cent are given for quantity bookings, while advertising agencies retain 15 per cent of all time costs as their commission.¹⁰

The rates charged also depend upon the size of the potential audience, as well as on the time of the broadcast. Thus, the highest rate for any ITA transmitter is £2,000 for sixty seconds on Sunday night in London, while at the other extreme is the £140 charge for one minute of evening time on Ulster Television, which provides programs for Northern Ireland.

After some overpricing at the start, and a consequent leveling down, the program companies steadily raised their rates from year to year, although they have lower charges during the summer, when in Britain as in America there is less demand for advertising time. At present the most favorable spots are often booked as far as sixteen months ahead. The over-all trend towards higher rates is illustrated by the accompanying list, which shows the progressively higher charges for a 30-second spot announcement on Sunday evening in London from 1955 through 1960.*

October 1955	£ 700
March 1956	700
October 1956	665

* *Television Audience Measurement.* The rates for thirty-second announcements have been quoted because most announcements are of that length, although Sunday evening is atypical, since rates are highest then.

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March 1957	770
October 1957	800
March 1958	800
October 1958	875
March 1959	875
October 1959	875
March 1960	875
October 1960	1,000

If a prospective advertiser has enough money in his advertising budget to pay the rates charged, however, the important thing is not the total amount asked, but the results as measured in the cost per thousand homes reached. Figured this way, the real cost of television advertising during peak hours has actually declined since 1956, since increases in audience size have more than offset raises in rates. Table 4 illustrates this.

The steady growth of television advertising is shown in Table 5, which also indicates the increasing proportion of British advertising expenditures devoted to television.

Of the £48,014,163 spent on television advertising in 1958, about 25 per cent came from three large corporations. First was Unilever (soaps, fresh and frozen foods, margarine and cooking-fat products). Second was Thomas Hedley (soaps and detergents). Third was the Beecham group (pills, patent medicines, and toothpastes). This concentrated pattern is an element of weakness in commercial television's financial structure, of course, since a radical change in advertising policy on the part of any one of these companies could very considerably affect the welfare of the program contractors.

Foods and food products are the items most widely advertised on television. Next in order are soaps and detergents, patent medicines, candy, nonalcoholic beverages, tobacco, and alcoholic drinks. Most of these, it will be noticed, are inexpensive, frequently purchased, and quickly consumed items. In Britain there is little television advertising of such occasionally purchased expensive products as automobiles, although washing machines and refrigerators are being advertised currently.¹¹

The financial record of the program companies was one of discouraging losses the first year, a big improvement the second, substantial profits the third, and tremendous returns ever since. To the extent they

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Table 4. British Television Advertising Costs for a Thirty-Second Announcement per Thousand Homes Viewing

	Off-Peak Cost (5:45 P.M.)	Peak Cost (8:45 P.M.)
October 1956	15/(\$2.10)	26/(\$3.64)
March 1957	9/(\$1.26)	19/(\$2.66)
October 1957.....	8/(\$1.12)	14/(\$1.96)
March 1958	7/(\$.98)	13/(\$1.82)
October 1958.....	8/(\$1.12)	11/(\$1.54)
March 1959	8/(\$1.12)	12/(\$1.68)
October 1959.....	9/(\$1.26)	11/(\$1.54)
March 1960	8/(\$1.12)	10/(\$1.40)

Source: *Television Audience Measurement*.

Note: "Off-peak" and "peak" costs per thousand homes have been calculated on the basis of audiences at 5:45 P.M. and 8:45 P.M. respectively. The figures have been rounded off to the nearest shilling and represent a weighted average of cost per thousand in the London, Midland, and Northern areas taken together.

Table 5. British Television Advertising Expenditures

Year	Total Expenditures in All Media	Total TV Advertising Expenditures †	Percentage of TV Increase over Previous Year	TV Advertising as Percentage of Total Expenditures
1955 °		£ 2,105,827		
1956	£ 308,800,000	13,044,674	†	4.2%
1957	333,500,000	32,009,764	145.3%	9.6
1958	364,000,000	48,014,163	49.9	13.2
1959	425,000,000	58,379,434	21.7	13.7

° September 22 to December 31 only.

† No percentage computed, since 1955 figure was for three months only.

‡ Total television advertising expenditures, provided by Media Records, are about 25 per cent more than the sums actually reaching the program companies, since they make no allowances for agency commissions or for quantity discounts. These amounts are for time only, being exclusive of production costs.

are available, profit and loss data for the first four companies illustrate this trend.*

The outlook is excellent for at least maintaining this profit level until

* Among the individuals who became wealthy from commercial television was Norman Collins of Associated TeleVision, the former Director of BBC Television, who was the most active campaigner for commercial television in the early 1950's. By the end of 1958, he had seen an investment of £2,250 (\$6,500) expand into share holdings worth £500,000 (\$1,400,000). (*Daily Mail*, November 19, 1958.)

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Table 6. Television Program Company Profits and Losses

Period	Associated- Rediffusion	Associated TeleVision	ABC- Television	Granada
Period ending April 30, 1956				
Net profit or (loss)°	(£ 1,946,176)	(£ 602,715)	(£ 97,355) †	
Percentage profit or (loss) †	(389.24%)	(78.27%)	(19.49%) †	
Year ending March 31, 1957				
Net profit or (loss)°	(£ 934,173)	£ 201,716 §	£ 158,400	(£ 176,928) §
Percentage profit or (loss) †	(186.83%)	13.27% §	24.28%	(176.93%) §
Year ending March 31, 1958				
Net profit or (loss)°	£ 4,889,015	£ 3,665,909°°	£ 2,400,480	£ 699,096 °°
Percentage profit or (loss) †	96.48%	110.21% °°	480%	349.01% °°
Accumulated net profit . . .	£ 1,943,666	£ 1,596,910°°	£ 1,109,525	£ 172,168°°
Year ending March 31, 1959				
Net profit or (loss)°	£ 7,133,948	£ 5,316,493 † †	£ 2,976,407	£ 801,686 † †
Percentage profit or (loss) †	95.12%	106.32% † †	595%	807% † †
Accumulated net profit . . .	£ 4,733,250	£ 4,198,327 † †	£ 2,620,932	
Year ending March 31, 1960				
Net profit or (loss)°	£ 7,849,198	£ 5,388,330 † †	£ 2,347,204	
Percentage profit or (loss) †	105%	107.8% † †	469%	
Accumulated net profit . . .	£ 4,190,541			

NOTE: Associated-Rediffusion went on the air in September 1955 (London); Associated TeleVision went on the air in September 1955 (London) and February 1956 (Midlands); ABC-Television went on the air in February 1956 (Midlands) and May 1956 (North); Granada went on the air in May 1956 (Lancashire) and November 1956 (Yorkshire).

° Before taxes.

† As percentage of issued share capital.

‡ Period to March 31, 1956.

§ Year ending April 30, 1957.

°° Year ending April 30, 1958.

† † Year ending April 30, 1959.

‡ ‡ Year ending April 30, 1960.

1964, if not of increasing it. Should the Postmaster General allow an increase in the number of hours of broadcasting, as the program companies are constantly urging him to do, some additional profits might result from the sale of more advertising. More important, though, would be the continued raising of rates because of the steady increase in the number of homes able to receive ITA programs. In September 1955, for example, the ITA's London transmitter could be viewed in only 180,000 homes. By September 1960, however, the eleven ITV transmitters then on the air could be received in 10,040,000 homes in most parts of the country, and the peak was yet to be reached, since that number

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represented only 86.3 per cent of all television homes in the area served by ITA, or 82.8 per cent of all television homes.*

There have been several reasons for commercial television's great financial success. Fundamentally, of course, television proved a very effective advertising medium. Furthermore, the program companies found themselves running a monopoly service in a seller's market. But underlying all this was the British tax structure. Under existing legislation all advertising expenditures may be considered a tax free charge against earnings, so that big corporations have been encouraged to spend large sums publicizing their products on television and in the press. With income tax rates for large corporations sometimes running as high as 97½ per cent, advertising costs have virtually been borne by the Treasury.†

If by any chance the government were to introduce a commercially supported third service before 1964, profits would undoubtedly drop, since there would be more broadcast time for sale, as well as a division of the audience. Income also could drop as a result of adverse economic or political developments. The international recession of 1955 and 1956, for example, reduced advertising budgets, thus contributing to ITV's early financial woes, while the Suez crisis in 1958 brought fuel rationing, and hence eliminated much gasoline advertising. Since advertising is a fringe industry, it is easily affected by economic reversals of any sort, although the outlook for ITV profits nevertheless remains very bright.

The propriety of these high profits is much discussed. Since ITV's income depends upon the private use under monopoly conditions of a public resource, it is claimed that very high profits are unconscionable. In reply, it is pointed out that those investors who risked large sums and even courted financial disaster in 1955 and 1956 deserve big rewards between now and 1964. They ran the risk of being nationalized had Labour won the 1955 election; they will have to advance large sums for new equipment if the government introduces the 625-line standard or UHF broadcasting; and they have no firm assurance of the extension of their contracts beyond 1964.

* See Table 8 on p. 176 for a more detailed breakdown of these figures.

† In this respect the present situation in Britain is not unlike that which prevailed in the United States during World War II, when a 90 per cent excess profits tax had the incidental effect of channeling unprecedented amounts of money into radio advertising, with such unexpected results as an all time high in sponsored network symphony broadcasts.

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These arguments, unquestionably, have much validity. Yet, general public reaction, rather than the opinion of the financial community alone, must be considered. How will voters react to still bigger profits? Sometime before 1964 Parliament will determine the future of the ITA, and the fact that the program companies have made so much money has led some people to question the good faith of the whole enterprise. Others conclude that this proves the ITA to be a tool of the program companies, not realizing that these profits are beyond control of the Authority.

Is it good policy to charge all that the traffic will bear? The tremendous profits of the program companies have led to wide-spread public criticism, and to some suggestions that the government should confiscate part of the profits, although as already mentioned this cannot be done except by special legislation before 1964. Advertising agencies have taken advantage of this sentiment to resist proposals for higher rates, even though some increases are justified by the growth of the audience.

As long as the Conservative party remains in power, generally sympathetic legislation can be expected, although Lord Hailsham indicated in the House of Lords on June 4, 1959, that after 1964 the government might try to get some of the profits for itself. On the other hand, a Labour government would do what it could to curtail program company earnings, although Labour no longer plans to eliminate the ITA as it originally said it would do when returned to power. But some Labour speakers have threatened among other things to impose a heavy tax on advertising budgets. In view of all these factors, it may be that some self-denial on the part of the program companies is called for at this point.*

* Now that they are prospering, the program companies are very wisely assuming the role of art patron, which is in the tradition of European broadcasting. The BBC, for example, has indirectly supported much of Britain's musical activity for many years. In 1958 the companies preceded their announcements of profits by donating £100,000 to the arts and sciences, and similar grants were made again in 1959 and 1960. The recipients have included theaters, dramatic schools, musical groups, and art and literature generally. Associated-Rediffusion has contributed generously to the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester, and to the Sadler's Wells Opera Company; Granada set up a professorship at the University of Leeds, and provided financial backing for a visit by the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra to the Edinburgh Festival in 1960; Southern has contributed to repertory theaters, symphony orchestras, and universities; while ATV has made grants to theaters and festivals. (*Financial Times*, July 12, 1958; *The Stage*, October 8, 1959, p. 1; June 30, 1960, p. 1; *London Times*, February 28, 1958, p. 5; *London Times*, December 2, 1959, pp. 4, 9; June 29, 1960, p. 3.)

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Studios and Staff

Each program company maintains separate offices and studios. Initially improvisation had to be the order of the day. The experiences of Associated-Rediffusion, which received its contract in October 1954, are typical. During its first few months it had temporary office space in central London, meanwhile purchasing the former Twentieth Century-Fox film studios at Wembley in the London area. These were converted into four television studios at a cost of £650,000 (\$1,820,000). In February 1955 it leased a London office building on Kingsway which had been occupied by the Air Ministry since 1919, renamed it Television House, and turned it into offices and studios. For several years, Associated TeleVision rented office space in this building from Associated-Rediffusion, while Independent Television News still has both offices and studios there.

In the fall of 1956, when it was losing £10,000 (\$28,000) a week, Associated-Rediffusion reduced its staff of 1200 by 300, sold or put into storage £300,000 (\$840,000) worth of equipment, and shut down several studios as well as its Television Theatre at Television House, into which it had put £180,000 (\$500,000). But things improved, and on May 7, 1959, Associated-Rediffusion laid the cornerstone for its new Studio Five at Wembley, adjacent to the site it already occupied.

According to Associated-Rediffusion, Studio Five, completed in the summer of 1960, is "the largest in Europe," and cost nearly £1,000,000 (\$2,800,000). It measures 140 by 100 feet, and has no obstructions up to a height of 30 feet. Adjacent to it are twenty thousand square feet of ancillary space for dressing rooms and offices. Equipment is equally lavish. Yet, at the cornerstone ceremony, an Associated-Rediffusion official forecast that the new studio would be inadequate within six years.¹²

London's other program company, Associated TeleVision, began life in a dingy office over a fruit wholesaler's shop in Covent Garden, before renting space from Associated-Rediffusion in Television House. In 1959 it completed the first stage of an impressive office building of its own on Great Cumberland Place, not far from Hyde Park.

Associated TeleVision's original London studios consisted of two variety theaters about fifty years old, and one converted film studio, all quite separated from each other and from the master control point, which also had a small studio. It would be hard to find more ramshackle looking studios than those of Associated TeleVision in London. Yet,

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all are well and ingeniously supplied with fine modern equipment, and production standards of the programs surely belie their origin.

In time, however, Associated TeleVision's London installation will be superb. Plans are underway for an elaborate building on the south bank of the Thames to cost about £1,750,000 (\$5,000,000). Matching the descriptions which have been supplied in turn by BBC and Associated-Rediffusion for their new studios, Associated TeleVision forecasts that its South Thames building will be "London's newest and most modern television studio centre."^{*}

Except for Granada, which had until May 1956 to prepare for its debut and therefore was able to start off with specially designed studios in Manchester, the other program companies also all began by adapting film studios or theaters, afterwards building new studios, often at costs of over £1,000,000 (\$2,800,000) each. Southern Television, in Southampton, one of the smaller companies, managed in six months to turn a cinema theater into three television studios and a suite of offices. The result is a neat, efficient, and well-equipped unit, with adequate cameras, film-making and editing facilities, and two Ampex Video tape recorders. Since getting the contract for the adjacent Dover transmitter, Southern has built a new studio in Dover too, for the origination of local items.

Each program company has the equivalent of the staff of a large American television station, except for transmitter personnel. Associated TeleVision, for example, between London and Birmingham, employs approximately 1,250 people, including administrators, producers, directors, camera men, studio engineers, artists, carpenters, lighting supervisors, make-up and wardrobe experts, accountants, lawyers, public relations personnel, audience research specialists, salesmen, and secretaries. Associated-Rediffusion's staff contains approximately 1,112 people, Granada employs 850, and ABC 700. Regional stations have from 100 to 350 employees.[†]

Any comparison of ITV with BBC staff reveals certain basic differences. Reference already has been made to the dedicated public service attitude which characterizes so many BBC employees. ITV has such

^{*} Since Associated TeleVision also has the Monday through Friday contract in the Midlands, it maintains offices and studios in Birmingham, too, sharing space there with ABC Television, which has the Saturday-Sunday contract for the Midlands.

[†] For negotiation with employees' unions, the program companies deal through their own Independent Companies' Association mainly with the Association of

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people too; but in addition, various other approaches are represented. Among the Authority itself and the program companies, there of course are many dedicated workers; and some of these are just as much "Establishment" as any at the BBC. But in the program companies, and especially in the advertising agencies, the prevailing attitude is that of business and entertainment, and there is far more talk of ratings than at the BBC. This has both its good and bad points. It is good if a strong ITA can channel these diverse talents into good programs; it is bad if a sales point of view is allowed to predominate. But in any case, with its staff as with its programming, ITV has greatly broadened the scope of British television.

Advertising Agencies in Independent Television

The Television Act did its best to isolate both the ITA and the program companies from advertising agency control or influence. Yet, the very clause of the law which prohibits program companies from serving as advertising agents, makes the agencies that much more indispensable, since someone must provide liaison between the program companies and the advertisers.

Some advertising agency personnel were greatly involved in the early development of ITV, since certain members of Parliament with agency connections provided leadership for the campaign which led to the passage of the Television Act. Yet, at that time, agency opinions on the desirability of commercial television varied widely. Some agencies opposed any sort of commercial television, feeling that they were well enough off with the older media.

Those who did favor commercial television included supporters of the American system, in which advertisers are closely identified with programs, and supporters of the plan finally adopted which limited advertiser participation to the preparation of the commercials themselves. Now that the ITV has been in operation for several years, however, almost all agency people are happy about the separation of programs and advertising, holding that this relieves them of much unrewarding work, worry, and responsibility. The controversy in 1959 and

Cinematograph Television and Allied Technicians and the National Association of Theatrical and Kine Employees, as well as with the several performers' (actors' and musicians') unions. The BBC is concerned mostly with the Association of Broadcasting staff, to which many ITA employees also belong. But there are some variations in the terms of the contracts between the several unions and employees involved.

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1960 over quiz shows on American networks, which was fully reported in the British press, reinforced this conviction.

Television advertising in Britain is handled by the same agencies which previously worked in the other media. Agencies with American affiliations have been particularly active, however, in view of their trans-Atlantic connections, but they by no means dominate the field.

Normally, an agency assumes responsibility for all aspects of its clients' advertising, coordinating work in the several media according to agreements reached with clients. The agencies buy time from program companies, draw up plans for commercials, and write the scripts. They provide their own producers, directors, and performers (mostly engaged on a free-lance basis) when the commercials are filmed, usually in the studios of companies specializing in such work. When the commercials are done live in program company studios, the agencies are responsible for talent and supervision.

Advertising agencies derive revenue both from program companies and clients. They hold back from payments to the companies 15 per cent of the value of the air time purchased, and in addition charge the clients 15 per cent to 20 per cent above all production costs. The bill to the client, therefore, consists of air time, plus production costs and agency charges. For a thirty-second filmed spot announcement broadcast at 9:00 P.M. any week night on the London station, for example, charges would be as follows: air time (quoted here at the full rate, without quantity discount) £1,100; production costs (for an average thirty-second film, these would range from £300 to £1,500 so the mid-point is taken here) £900; agency charge (here computed at 17 per cent of the £900 production cost) £153; total £2,153 (\$6,028.40).*

* A note on package producers: Most ITV programs are prepared by the program contractors themselves rather than by package production units such as supply so many American radio and television programs. For a time impresario Jack Hylton produced light entertainment shows for Associated-Rediffusion, although that arrangement has now been terminated. There have been other package producers too, but their number is diminishing.

There are several reasons for this. The whole legal structure of the ITA emphasizes the direct program responsibility of the contractors. Furthermore, their staffs and studios are quite adequate for the number of hours per week they now transmit. Package producers, therefore, have never been an important aspect of British television, and will probably become even less so in the future.

This generalization, of course, does not apply to the production of films for television. Some of these are produced by companies in which various ITV contractors have financial interests, but most are purchased outright from foreign producers and networks, especially in the United States.

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Television Programs in the United Kingdom: News and Opinion

THE British Broadcasting Corporation and the Independent Television Authority are the only organizations responsible to the government for television programming in the United Kingdom, although they are not the only agencies involved in program production. The BBC of course does all of its own programming, but the ITA delegates responsibility to its program contractors.

Most ITV viewers do not differentiate among the several program companies, although knowledgeable critics have come to recognize certain differences in their output. Thus, Associated Television, because of its entertainment and theatrical affiliations, is noted for light entertainment. The other London company, Associated-Rediffusion, has a good over-all output, with much fine drama, and it produces most ITV programs for schools. Granada Television has been called "the company with a social conscience," and Sidney L. Bernstein, its liberal director, has been dubbed "the knight in shining armour." The success of "Armchair Theatre" is a credit to ABC Television. Yet these are only generalizations, since all these companies have diversified outputs.

Limitations on their resources make it impossible for the regional companies to develop many programs of national appeal, so they emphasize local material, as the ITA intended they should. The problem of the regional contractor was well stated by Roy Thomson, the Canadian who runs Scottish Television, who after observing that his original intention of having 25 per cent Scottish material had to be scaled down

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to 15 per cent, expressed the hope that it would not all be “bagpipes and heather.”¹ But in spite of differences in approach among the companies, and their independence of one another, network exchange usually brings the best programs of each to the audiences of all.

Hours on the Air

The chairman of one company expressed the views of the entire commercial television organization when he said: “It seems to me ludicrous that the viewing habits of the public should be fixed by official regulations and not settled by the viewers themselves.”² Yet the hours British television is on the air are determined by the government, not by the broadcasters, and the BBC and ITA have quite different ideas on the subject.*

The short broadcast day is typical everywhere outside North America, which is the only place stations stay on the air from early morning to late night. There were both practical and theoretical reasons why the BBC’s schedule had always been curtailed. The absence of competition clearly was not the determining factor, since the coming of the ITA led merely to a strong reaffirmation of the basic principle. Shortages of funds, space, equipment, talent, and personnel were all reasons, as was the fear — formerly but no longer held — that too much television would be bad for the public.³

More recently the BBC has been concerned about the financial consequences of more programing, as well as with the quality level of output. Each additional hour per day costs it £1,000,000 (\$2,800,000) per year, at the same time putting an additional strain on available talent and production resources. The Corporation’s new Director General explained that the BBC believes “it would be better to strengthen existing programmes by spending more money on them rather than dilute the service by increasing hours. Our competitors wanted to fill the gap for the sake of more advertising revenue and they gained the day.”⁴

* The Postmaster General has legal power to prescribe the maximum, minimum, or the exact hours of broadcasting for both radio and television. The BBC’s Licence states that the Corporation shall broadcast “during such hours as after consultation with the Corporation the Postmaster General may . . . prescribe” (Section 15 (1)). The *Television Act of 1954* says: “The Postmaster General may from time to time . . . give directions to the Authority as to the maximum time, the minimum time, or both the maximum and the minimum time, which is to be given each day to broadcasts. . . . and as to the hours of the day in which such broadcasts are or are not to be given” (Section 9 (3).)

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But the ITA and the program companies argue that longer hours would permit the development of programs of limited appeal for special classes of viewers, and they deny that profits are their principal motivation; in fact they claim that the additional income might not even offset the costs. They also maintain that the public should have the same freedom to determine the amount of its television viewing that it has with radio listening or newspaper reading; that there is no talent shortage; and that in the twentieth century no government should presume to protect its citizens against the hazards, real or imagined, of excessive television viewing. In their view the solution is for the government to remove all limitations on television hours, after which ITV and BBC may broadcast as much or as little as they wish. After all, the Corporation is not compelled to keep pace with ITV, although for competitive reasons it might want to do so.⁵

BBC television reopened after the war with an average schedule of 28 hours per week, and by 1954 had gradually increased this to 41 hours. Effective with the ITA's debut date in September 1955, the BBC, the ITA, and the Postmaster General agreed on a maximum schedule of 50 hours a week and 8 hours a day, exclusive of religious programs, remote pickups of sporting or public events, broadcasts to schools, and some other special features. Because of this elastic clause, therefore, both BBC and ITA are usually on the air about 60 hours per week. The agreement also provided for closed periods on weekdays between 6:00 and 7:00 P.M. (the "toddlers' truce," a continuation of BBC practice, to facilitate getting small children to bed), as well as on Sundays before 2:00 P.M. (except for religious programs) and between 6:15 and 7:30 P.M.⁶

From the very beginning, however, the ITA pressed for an extension of these hours, and effective February 16, 1957, the Postmaster General allowed the use of the 6:00 to 7:00 P.M. period on weekdays, subject, however, to maintaining the former maximum of 50 hours per week and 8 hours per day. In June 1958 the ITA formally asked the Postmaster General to raise the weekly maximum from 50 to 71 hours, and the daily maximum from 8 to 11 hours, although this request was not granted. In March 1960 the Authority and the BBC joined in asking for an increase in the weekly maximum of 3½ hours and in the daily maximum of ½ hour, together with some minor relaxations of the rules for excepting public service broadcasts from time limitations, but the government

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refused to pass on the matter until after the Pilkington Committee had reported.⁷

Since they are competing for the same audience, the BBC and ITA are on the air at approximately the same hours. On Sunday morning, the ITA always and the BBC sometimes televises a church service. Both return to the air at 1:15 or 1:30 to broadcast continuously until 11:00 or 11:30 P.M. All programs between 2:00 and 4:00 P.M. on Sunday must be for adults, under the terms of the agreement with the Postmaster General, since those are the hours when British Sunday Schools are in session, and television may not compete for children's attention at that time. There are children's programs, though, from 5:00 to 6:00. The period from 6:15 to 7:25 P.M. is devoted almost entirely to religious programing, after which there is varied adult fare for the rest of the evening.*

On weekdays there are no regular morning programs except for schools, although ITV tried unsuccessfully to introduce morning viewing during its first few months on the air. Some ITA stations broadcast at lunchtime, however. In the afternoon the only broadcasts on either service are for schools, women, or small children at home with their mothers. Both services return to the air with children's programs at 4:45 or 5:00. Between 6:00 and 7:30 the BBC presents some news, along with its highly successful "Tonight" series, while between 6:00 and 7:00 ITV usually introduces news along with a few programs dealing with topical subjects.

From 7:00 to 10:30 or 11:00 P.M., ITV's schedule is devoted mainly to entertainment for adults, while the BBC more often varies its evening fare with serious features. ITV regularly schedules news from 9:25 to 9:35, while the BBC broadcasts a fifteen minute news program at approximately 10:00 P.M., following its main program of the evening. Most week nights at 10:30 or 10:45 ITV again introduces "balance programs," while both services sign off between 11:05 and 11:30, ITV always in most areas, and the BBC sometimes, with a religious epilogue. The Saturday schedule departs from this pattern most significantly in the large number of sport events broadcast during the afternoon.

ITV follows the better audience building practice of scheduling major

* Between 6:15 and 7:25 P.M. there may be broadcasts of special events occurring outside the studios or of programs in Welsh, but the Central Religious Advisory Committee, which serves both BBC and ITA, would frown on the regular use of this period for other than religious programs.

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programs at exactly the same time week after week, while the BBC, in order to cover important special events, often varies from five to fifteen minutes in successive weeks' presentations of the same series. ITV adheres to its announced schedules as strictly as does an American network, and for the same reasons: the need to coordinate the programming of independently run stations; and the inflexibility resulting from the sale of commercial time. The BBC too now allows very little latitude in program timing.

Thus far there has been no effort by ITV and BBC to plan their schedules jointly, except in the case of broadcasts for schools, with the inevitable result, as in the United States, that conflicts have occasionally arisen between programs of similar type. The managing director of Associated-Rediffusion has appealed publicly for cooperation between the BBC and the commercial companies to eliminate such conflicts, particularly between minority appeal programs, but so far without results.⁸

Networks in British Television

Both BBC and ITA stations are connected by coaxial cable or microwave relay (rented from the Post Office, which operates all of Britain's telephone and telegraph services) to make possible simultaneous network broadcasting, in addition to which all except a few BBC low-powered satellite stations are equipped to originate live, filmed, and in many cases video-taped programs. The BBC is a highly centralized organization, with final responsibility for programming resting in London, whereas the program sharing that takes place among the ITA's companies is an exchange among independent and often highly competitive corporations. The process by which network exchanges are developed, therefore, differs from one to the other; but in both cases the best programs are carried by all stations.

All BBC stations carry the principal programs produced by the London headquarters, such as national events, drama, light entertainment, sports, and school broadcasts, along with certain regional originations intended for national distribution.* During the year ending March 31, 1960, for example, the Corporation's London station broadcast 3,202 hours of television programs. Of these, 2,722 hours (85 per cent) were originated live or from recordings in London, while the remaining 480

* See pp. 143-144 below for information on regional broadcasting.

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hours (15 per cent) came from one or another of the six regions. Programs produced by the regions for their own services ranged from 79 hours in the Midlands up to 199 in Wales, so that the regional services carried from 1½ to almost 4 hours a week of local material, the remainder of their weekly 64 hour average being of network origin. During the same period all of the regions except Northern Ireland produced some programs for the national network, Wales contributing the fewest with 48 hours and the Midlands the most with 145, the total for all 6 regions being 480 hours during the year.⁹

Whereas the BBC is highly centralized and unified, the several program companies are entirely independent of each other. Except for the general regulations applying to all ITV programs, therefore, the contractors are free to plan and exchange programs as they wish, although there is the ITA's requirement that they carry 20 minutes a day of national ITN news from London. They have separate studios, although they do some borrowing back and forth, and they maintain quite separate and competitive staffs. The network operation which results, therefore, is a mutual exchange rather than a centralized operation.

The best programs of the big four are networked to the entire country, since it is advantageous to do so for reasons both of program quality and cost, although the smaller companies have been less successful in obtaining national distribution for their output, which fact has disappointed them keenly on various occasions. Each week ITV originates a total of some 120 hours of programs, although the actual transmission time in any one area never exceeds 60 or 65 hours.

Program Balance and Emphasis

Since program planning at the BBC is centralized in London, while at the ITA it is divided among the several program companies, it is easier for the BBC to achieve a well-balanced and integrated schedule. The Corporation can plan its offerings months ahead, drawing as desired on London and regional resources, while ITV's schedule is necessarily a compromise among the plans of a dozen separate entities, despite the attempts of the liaison committees and the Authority to provide coordination.

Both BBC and ITV publish program guides, with detailed listings and articles about current broadcasts. The BBC's *Radio Times*, covering both radio and television, comes out in seven regional editions. It

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has the largest circulation of any weekly magazine in the world, average net sales in 1959 being 7,214,725, and each issue is read by over 20,000,000 adults, or more than half the total population.* The *TV Times*, published by Associated-Rediffusion for the largest of the ITV areas, is issued in five editions, and in 1960 had an average weekly circulation of over 4,000,000. The combined circulation of the four program guides covering the areas not served by *TV Times* is about 1,000,000 more.¹⁰

The BBC's more serious approach to broadcasting is reflected in the columns of its journal, which emphasizes the serious rather than the trivial, as so often does the *TV Times*. Take, for example, the covers on the two magazines for the week of August 30, 1959. On August 31, President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan broadcast from Number 10 Downing Street, and the program was listed in both journals. But whereas the *Radio Times*' cover carried a picture of the two men, the *TV Times*' cover showed five bathing girls who were appearing on a program called "Holiday Town Parade." *TV Times*' articles, in fact, often emphasize sex and cheesecake. Thus, the issue of November 20, 1959, included pictures of the six hostesses on the quiz show, "Double Your Money." The caption on one picture read: "Jean walks with a wiggle. June walks without one."¹¹

But it should be pointed out that the extreme statements made during the debates on the Television Act about the poor program services to be expected from commercial television have not been borne out by experience. Both ITV and BBC have their good and inferior programs. The BBC has improved by having to compete with ITV, while ITV standards are kept up through frequent public comparison with the BBC. Nevertheless, there are some important differences in emphasis, if not in program type or quality.

The Television Act states that ITV programs "should maintain a proper balance in their subject matter." It also lays down an elaborate set of instructions which, in the last analysis, are largely a spelling out of the American Communications Act's "public interest, convenience, and necessity" clause.† Among other things, these regulations mean

* This was a decline from the all-time peak of 8,800,715 in 1955. The *Radio Times*' circulation has declined each year since the advent of commercial television, and is expected to undergo additional losses in the future. (*BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 164; *Television Mail Supplement*, June 3, 1960, p. 3.)

† The program provisions of the Television Act are reviewed on pp. 39-42.

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that there should be enough serious programs to satisfy a reasonable range of audience interests. There are no such detailed requirements for the BBC, although the Charter does refer to the value of broadcasting as a "means of disseminating information, education and entertainment"; but the Corporation has always accepted the obligation of providing a full range of entertainment and instructional programs.

Each BBC annual report includes an analysis of the programs transmitted during the previous year. In the twelve months ending March 31, 1960, the London television service was on the air 3,202 hours. Of this time, 24.0 per cent was devoted to what the BBC calls talks, demonstrations, and documentary programs; 14.0 per cent to sports; 11.6 per cent to light entertainment including musical comedy; 9.1 per cent to drama; 7.0 per cent to news; and 8.6 per cent to entertainment films. (The combined total for live light entertainment, including musical comedy, and entertainment films, was 17.7 per cent.) Lowest ranking were serious music, 2.5 per cent; broadcasts to schools, 2.9 per cent; and religious programs, 2.2 per cent. This distribution has not varied materially since 1955. In statistical terms, therefore, BBC television program types have been altered very little since the advent of competition.*

Unfortunately there are no ITV data drawn up according to the same standards, so that direct comparisons are impossible. The ITA's Director General wrote in the summer of 1958 that the number of serious programs on the two services was almost exactly the same.¹² But at about the same time the chairman of the BBC's Board of Governors compared the BBC and ITV serious output during the hours from 7:00 to 10:30 P.M., between January and June 1958, and concluded that, on the average, 35 per cent of the BBC's, as opposed to only 8.4 per cent of ITV's output, was devoted to serious programs.¹³

When Associated TeleVision analyzed programs during the week ending October 24, 1959, it decided that in London the proportions of serious programs were, ITV 45 per cent; BBC 52.97 per cent, with the peak-time figures (7:30–10:30 P.M.) being ITV 36.1 per cent, and BBC 41.2 per cent.¹⁴ Replying to the adverse reception given these figures

* *BBC Annual Report 1955–56*, p. 102; *BBC Annual Report 1959–60*, p. 124. Claims that competition has improved the BBC's output are widely made from the Independent Television side, along with others from monopoly supporters that competition has lowered BBC standards. In evaluating such arguments, it must be recalled that BBC television's hours on the air increased from 41 in 1954 to almost 61 per week in 1959, so that some increase in the number of programs in every category is inevitable. The percentage distribution remains about the same, however.

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in certain circles, Associated TeleVision later observed that one of the difficulties in making such comparisons is the impossibility of agreeing on program classifications, but that, in any case, more people view ITV's than BBC's serious productions.¹⁵

Whichever service may offer more serious programs, there is no question but that the BBC schedules more of them in prime viewing time. The BBC's official policy is "to present many such programmes at times when the majority of people are at home and free to view them — the 'peak' hours between 7:00 and 10:30 P.M. These programmes would not serve their purpose fully if they were offered only at hours when relatively few are able to see them."¹⁶

On the ITV side, however, there are divided counsels, with the Authority saying one thing and some of the program companies another. During its first months on the air ITV broadcast more serious programs during peak viewing hours than it does now. Then, following major financial difficulties, such programs were cut by one third, and many balance programs moved out of peak periods.¹⁷ Recently the ITA referred to "the duty of the Authority and the programme companies to take account of serious interests," and went on to state that it wished "serious programmes to be spread as evenly as possible and the introduction during the year of regular monthly hour-long documentaries in the middle of the evening was a welcome step to this end."¹⁸

But the general manager of Associated-Rediffusion believes that "a majority programme should be transmitted when the majority are viewing. Enthusiastic minorities must give way to the majority and adjust their viewing hours accordingly."¹⁹ The chairman of the same company put the matter even more bluntly when, during Associated-Rediffusion's financially turbulent first year, he complained about the "obligation to put on 'minority' programs of small advertising value."²⁰

On a somewhat more sophisticated plane it is argued that since ITV's over-all audience is greater by virtue of a more attractive entertainment schedule, the number of people who actually view its serious programs before 7:00 or after 10:30 P.M. is considerably greater than the number who view BBC serious programs in midevening, so that ITV provides more people with serious material than does the BBC. In fact, this line continues, if ITV balance programs were moved to 9:00 P.M., thus competing with BBC light entertainment shows, they would have fewer viewers than at present. Nevertheless, ITV does regularly schedule

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some excellent serious programs during peak hours. The difference is only that the BBC schedules more of them at such times.

All of this will sound very familiar to observers of the American scene, where audience-losing programs have been canceled, even when they had enthusiastic sponsors, as was the case with the Firestone Hour on NBC. This is one place where the ITA and America's Federal Communications Commission must work with enlightened leaders in program companies, stations, and networks, to obtain balanced programing.

But what of the real test of the theories, the programs themselves? In the remainder of this chapter and in the next two, the major types of British television programs will be reviewed in turn, from news, opinion, and politics, through education, religion, drama, and entertainment, to international and regional originations.

BBC News and Special Events Programs

Developments in news and political broadcasting from the early 1920's to the present dramatically illustrate the emergence of British broadcasting from a state of cautious control by government, pressure groups, and parties, to one of freedom and independence. Much of this has happened since the ITA went on the air, and surely the trend has been aided by the ITA's presence and policies. Yet the record clearly shows that the BBC had gone a long way by itself before 1955, and unquestionably would have continued to advance without the spur of competition. But competition greatly hastened, if it did not always bring about, these important changes in British broadcasting.

The BBC had an uphill fight from the very beginning to utilize its full resources in order to broadcast all of the news at times the public wanted to hear and see it.²¹ In fact, it took fifteen years of effort and a world war to put day-round news bulletins on BBC radio, and commercial competition to introduce a real newscast on television. Yet, there always has been a great need for responsible news reporting in Britain, in view of the relatively limited circulation of such quality newspapers as *The Times* and *The Observer* (the *Daily Telegraph* is the only such newspaper selling as many as a million copies a day), and the very slight coverage of significant news in such widely read papers as *The Daily Mirror*, and the *News of the World*.

In Britain, as in the United States, the press feared competition, and therefore opposed the broadcasting of radio news in the 1920's. It also

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tried unsuccessfully to hinder the Corporation's plans to publish the *Radio Times* and *The Listener*. In 1922 newspapers managed to have inserted in the British Broadcasting Company's original license a provision forbidding it to broadcast news unless purchased from the news agencies, which they controlled. Pressure also was applied to limit news programs to the hours between 7:00 P.M. and 1:00 A.M. — that is, after the evening newspapers had been distributed and before the morning editions had appeared.

The newspapers tried unsuccessfully to extend these restrictions to the new British Broadcasting Corporation in 1927, but its Charter nevertheless authorized the collection of news, together with a free choice of news agency memberships, in almost the same terms used by the present one. However, the BBC did agree to limit news broadcasts to the period between 6:00 P.M. and 2:00 A.M., and also to broadcast no more than four hundred eyewitness accounts of public events each year. In the early 1930's, when some European commercial stations broadcast descriptions in English of the cricket test matches in Australia, the press was so concerned that it sent a delegation to the Postmaster General requesting him to ask all European stations to confine such broadcasts to the language of their respective countries. This, however, he refused to do, and the BBC subsequently began to broadcast such commentaries itself.²²

In 1938 the Corporation made a new agreement with the press which contained no limitation on broadcasting eyewitness accounts, but did impose a 6:00 P.M. to 2:00 A.M. limit on radio news broadcasts. It took the European crisis of September 1938 to put daytime news bulletins on the BBC's domestic networks. Yet even as late as 1949 the Newspaper Society, speaking for the proprietors of provincial and suburban newspapers, told the Beveridge Committee "that it would view with very great concern any further extension of news broadcasting, especially in the form of extended broadcasts of regional news." *

BBC television news also was slow to get under way, and its most rapid growth has been since 1955 as a direct result of competition.

* *Beveridge II*, p. 55. In the United States, too, the press tried to restrict news broadcasting, but with considerably less success. Ever since 1934 there has been at least one full-time news service available to American stations. In the United States, as in Britain, it was the Munich crisis and World War II that overcame the last press opposition to radio newscasting. (Mitchell V. Charney, *News by Radio*, pp. 1-39.)

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Although the BBC had introduced an excellent newsreel in 1948 it made no attempt to broadcast straight television news until 1954. During these years an internal struggle ensued between television program planners at Lime Grove and radio-minded executives in Broadcasting House. It should be noted that for a long time television news broadcasting (along with programs for schools and religious broadcasting, two other areas in which the Corporation's development lagged) remained administratively responsible to the Director General rather than to the director of television broadcasting. Therefore, in 1949, while American stations were experimenting widely with television news techniques, the BBC ventured only so far as to put typed news bulletins on the screen, although from 1946 to 1955 it concluded the television day by broadcasting sound-only news bulletins with a darkened screen. Not until July 1954 did the Corporation attempt a straight television newscast.

Experimentation and development were hindered by attempts to observe the standards and values of BBC radio news. Some of these were admirable: the selection and emphasis of items of basic intrinsic importance; absolute integrity, accuracy and objectivity; and the dominance of content over format. But the BBC radio news ideal that objectivity required the minimizing of the news reader's personality — that he be both anonymous and colorless — created a real dilemma. At best, television is a medium through which it is difficult to transmit "hard news": not all news is logically pictorial, and much news must be broadcast before pictures are available. American stations solved this by putting on the screen moving and still pictures, plus the news reader himself, but this was inadmissible by BBC radio standards, which insisted on eliminating the personality of the news reader.

Beginning July 5, 1954, BBC television broadcast a twenty-five minute program every evening, which combined a five-minute news summary with a newsreel and a weather forecast. During the news summary, an announcer read headlines, while the screen showed maps, captions, and still pictures — but never the announcer. Finally, though, the Corporation adopted the American pattern of putting the news reader in vision for much of the program.

BBC news times vary from day to day depending upon the duration of other programs. Generally speaking, though, at the end of 1960, on Sundays there were five-minute summaries at 6:10 and 7:25 P.M., as

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well as a fifteen-minute newscast at about 10:00 P.M. Weekdays there were news programs at 6:00 P.M., with the main fifteen-minute program at approximately 10:00 P.M., in addition to brief summaries at 7:29 P.M. and at sign-off time, around 11:00 P.M.

BBC television news maintains very high standards. It obtains copy from news agencies and picture services, maintains film-exchange agreements with various foreign television organizations, and has its own correspondents in the principal countries of the world. Special camera teams cover such major events as foreign tours by British royalty and the Russian visit of Prime Minister Macmillan in 1959.²³

BBC television news also has improved in content and presentation. Primary emphasis is still given to items of long-term value, but there now is coverage of human interest stories which previously were either ignored or minimized. Much more than in earlier years, the BBC seeks out news on its own and likes to have important events break on its programs. What is more, people in the news now are given an opportunity to speak for themselves, instead of the stories being told impersonally by the BBC's "industrial," "diplomatic," or "labor" correspondents.

During transmissions, viewers see the news reader and some pictures, usually on film, although BBC like ITA makes little use of maps and diagrams. Television news readers are introduced by name, although the Corporation still regards them as readers rather than as reporters or journalists, except for some specialist correspondents. Perhaps this explains why they do not have such vivid personalities, and do not project so well as do their opposite numbers on Independent Television News.

Since this great development in television news is the principal example of how competition has improved the BBC, it is interesting to notice a statement made early in 1958 by the then director of administration, who became the BBC's first director of news and current affairs later that year, and Director General on January 1, 1960. "Perhaps competition has in some ways been a spur," he said. "For instance it might be claimed that our television news programmes have benefited from the stimulus of competition in the method of their presentation — but one cannot be sure that they would not have attained today's standard even without competition."²⁴ Unquestionably, BBC television news would have improved in any case. But the presence of the ITA surely helped, since under competitive conditions the progressive elements within the

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BBC were able to assert themselves, and eventually to control news policy.

Closely related to news is the broadcasting of public events. Next to its World War II news services, the international reputation of the BBC largely depends upon its excellent radio and television coverage of such spectacles as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953; and the Corporation, now along with ITV, continues to broadcast superbly many of the state occasions which are such colorful aspects of British life, ranging from the annual Trooping the Colour to the marriage of Princess Margaret in 1960. Its arrangement to broadcast the opening of Parliament was another milestone in the development of news, discussion, and public-affairs broadcasting in the United Kingdom.

When the Canadians televised the opening of their Parliament in October 1957 with the Queen participating, the BBC was encouraged to repeat the request it had made for several years to televise the opening of the British Parliament in November of the same year. But the answer was "no." *The Times* explained in an editorial that people viewing the program might not understand that the Queen was merely reading the speech prepared for her by the government of the day, and "that many people, seeing the Queen announcing, for instance, that rents were to go up, would think either that this was her personal decision or that as she had proclaimed it the move was unquestionably a desirable one." The argument continued that this innovation might lead to the broadcasting of parliamentary debates, which could only result in demagoguery.²⁵

But the BBC persisted, and in November 1958 the state opening of Parliament was televised for the first time. In order to prevent any possible public misunderstanding, however, BBC and ITA announcers read a short prepared statement explaining that the Queen was not really expressing her own opinions when she read the "Gracious Speech," but that the government, in accordance with long established custom, was in that way outlining its legislative proposals for the session.²⁶ The opening of Parliament was televised again in 1959, but when live television was excluded in November 1960 it was argued that since color films were being made, there was not enough room for television cameras too.

Since then there have been proposals by various Members of Parliament, including the late Aneurin Bevan, when deputy-leader of the

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opposition, who spoke without consulting Labour head Hugh Gaitskell, that regular sessions should be televised, and that perhaps one channel should be set aside solely for that purpose. Thereafter thirty Labour back-benchers introduced a motion urging the government to appoint a select committee to investigate the proposal, while thirty-nine Conservatives introduced one deploring it.²⁷

Amidst warnings that day-long television might jeopardize Parliament's position as the nation's forum and turn it into a political show where members spoke to the nation and their constituents rather than to each other, there came a common-sense reaction from Robin Day, then with ITN and now with BBC, who suggested that the practical thing to do would be to set up a parliamentary television unit, financed out of public funds, which would edit film recordings of parliamentary debates for daily broadcast, somewhat as BBC radio reports parliamentary proceedings in its program, "The Day in Parliament."²⁸ But Prime Minister Macmillan put all speculation at rest when he announced on March 1, 1960, with Hugh Gaitskell's approval, that for both technical and financial reasons parliamentary proceedings would not be televised.²⁹

ITV News

In contrast to the situation prevailing at the BBC, ITV news was free to develop without the help or hindrance of tradition. Except for the requirements of the Television Act that news be presented "with due accuracy and impartiality," and that there be no editorializing, the Authority could make its own rules and set its own standards.³⁰

It was decided to assign all responsibility for network news to a separate company, Independent Television News, in order to assure objectivity, uniformity, and freedom from pressures by program companies. The Authority retains control, however, through its veto over the selection of the editor, and by being represented at meetings of ITN's board of directors.*

But despite the good intention of developing a news service which would combine the integrity of the BBC with greater freedom to exploit the resources of the medium, ITN got off to a rocky start. The first head of its 162-member staff was the former member of Parliament and BBC commentator, Aidan Crawley. His chief assistant was Richard Goold-

* For more information about ITN, see above, pp. 61, 65.

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Adams, formerly of the *Economist*, and the news readers included Christopher Chataway, the champion runner.

Originally ITN had bulletins at 12:00 noon and 7:00 P.M., plus a fifteen-minute summary at 10:00 P.M., but these periods were soon shortened, and the 10:00 P.M. program moved to 10:45. In January 1956, therefore, Mr. Crawley resigned to accept a two-year contract with the BBC, giving as his main reason the "conviction that a board composed of representatives of contractors who differ so widely in their outlook towards television is incapable of maintaining a consistent policy towards the news." He recommended that the ITA itself take over the news operation. His deputy editor, Richard Goold-Adams also resigned, explaining that his action was a result of "the inadequate role allotted to the news company." Presently Christopher Chataway went to the BBC too.*

Thereafter the ITN was more thoroughly discussed by the British press than any other ITA development of the year. It was reported that Crawley and Goold-Adams wanted to emphasize serious news, while some program company heads preferred to stress entertainment and feature items. After extended consideration the ITA decided not to take over the direction of news programs itself. But assurance was given that there would be at least twenty minutes of news every day, exclusive of sports results and film-magazine material, and all recent contracts with program companies have required them to carry that much network news each day.³¹

The current head of ITN is Geoffrey Cox, previously assistant editor of the *London News Chronicle*, who has a very competent staff under his command. ITN gets news from Reuters and the Press Association, assigns its own man to the parliamentary press gallery, has reporters available for special stories over much of the world, and exchanges news film with CBS. Like the BBC it sends out special camera teams to cover such major stories as Prime Minister Macmillan's Russian visit in 1959. On Sunday there normally are 5-minute ITN network news summaries at 6:05, 7:25, and 9:00 P.M., and on weekdays, there are 15 minutes of

* *London Times*, January 16, 1956, p. 6; *Evening Standard*, January 13, 1956, p. 6. Mr. Crawley has remained with BBC news. Richard Goold-Adams later returned to be the link man in Associated-Rediffusion's "This Week," while Christopher Chataway, after serving as an interviewer on one Conservative broadcast during the 1959 general election, was elected to the House of Commons in that year.

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news and weather at 5:55, a 10-minute program at 9:25, and 2 minutes of news headlines at 11:00. Up to the fall of 1959 ITN late-evening newscasts were scheduled at 10:00 P.M., but this was moved back to 9:25, and the regular evening schedule resumed at 9:35, in the hope of breaking the habit of turning off sets following the news. Only time will tell if ITV can postpone the bedtime of the British public and thus increase its income by lengthening the broadcast day, although the time change did lead to an increase in ITN's audience. In addition to these national programs, ITA stations all carry some ten to fifteen minutes a day of regional news, originated by local program companies.

ITN tries to include some news background material on each program through sound-on-film interviews, rather than assigning all "news-in-depth" to separate programs, as is usually done in the United States. Unlike the BBC, ITN set out from the very beginning to build up its news broadcasters as individuals. Accordingly they usually are of vivid personality; they are encouraged to rewrite the news in their own styles, provided they make no changes in meaning or emphasis; and they are urged when possible to end each program by reading an item of lighter nature, "with a smile." While these may not appear startling innovations to people familiar with the American pattern, they were to Britain in 1955. ITN must be given credit for extending both the subject range and presentation techniques of British television news.

ITN's output in every way compares favorably with that of the BBC and of the better American networks. Since it selects news items with attention to intrinsic values as well as to public interest, there are few content differences between the two services. The fears often expressed in 1954 that ITN news would exploit the sensational and neglect the important proved entirely unfounded. ITN has attracted more viewers than BBC news, somewhat in the ratio of 2 or 3 to 1, although this is more the result of over-all ITA program popularity than of preference for ITN news as such. Surveys show, however, that even while preferring to watch ITN, the public ascribes more prestige to BBC news, largely because of the BBC's past performance, especially during World War II, and that it tends to increase its BBC viewing during periods of international crisis. But opinion leaders — or, to use the British expression, Top People — are more apt to watch BBC news, as they are in fact to view the BBC at all times.*

* See pp. 178, 187-188 below.

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Programs of Opinion and Controversy

Programs of opinion and controversy provide another example of the way in which the scope of British broadcasting has been greatly expanded in recent years. Historically, British governments and political leaders have always been reluctant to let radio and television deal freely with controversial issues. Not that they ever forced the BBC to favor one side or the other, or that the Corporation was ever less than fair. But they often curtailed the area within which the BBC and later the ITA could work.

Using its power under the Licence to prohibit the broadcasting of any class of material, the government in 1926 forbade the BBC to express its own editorial opinions, or to "broadcast by speech or lecture . . . matter on topics of political, religious or industrial controversy." The ban on political and controversial programs was lifted "experimentally" in 1928 and never reimposed, but the prohibition against editorializing has remained, and undoubtedly will continue in effect, since the Television Act extends the same rule to the ITA.*

In dealing with political controversy, of course, the BBC has always been in a vulnerable position. The BBC's status as a public corporation over which the government held certain reserve powers of control, required it to be very careful in its references to government policies and procedures, lest its broadcasts be taken as official statements.³² The ITA may have a certain advantage here over the BBC, even though it too is a public corporation, subject to exactly the same program controls by the government. Its formative years were spent in a much freer climate than were those of the BBC, in addition to which it is entirely independent in its financial base. But however this may be, government caution has always been a factor in holding down first the BBC and then the ITA. The Fourteen Day Rule, canceled only in December 1956, illustrates this very well.

The Fourteen Day Rule forbade the broadcasting of talks, discussions, or debates on any issues being discussed in Parliament, or for two weeks before such a debate was scheduled. It also forbade members of Parliament to broadcast on any topic which was currently the subject of legislation. Therefore, whenever parliamentary discussion of an issue was announced, the BBC and ITA had to cancel any programs they might have arranged on the subject. This regulation, of course, did not

* For a review of these potential government controls, see pp. 15-16, 39, 40-41.

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prevent either organization from reporting parliamentary proceedings in its news programs; in fact the BBC's Licence required it to broadcast such a program on radio every day Parliament was in session. But it did seriously curtail broadcasts on important controversial issues at the very time the public most needed enlightenment.*

The principle of the Fourteen Day Rule was introduced voluntarily by the BBC in 1944, in order to avoid pressure from ministers wishing to broadcast on matters of current legislation, especially as issues of postwar reconstruction began to strain the wartime coalition, and as the postwar election grew closer. It was formalized in 1947 by the BBC, the government, and the opposition in an "Aide-Mémoire," although the BBC was soon to realize that what at first appeared an ingenious way to ration air time to ministers anxious to go on the air was becoming a troublesome boomerang.

BBC subsequent dissatisfaction with the agreement was reflected in a strong recommendation against it by the Beveridge Committee in 1951, and two years later the Corporation asked to have the rule revoked, promising to adhere to its spirit, and to avoid scheduling talks or discussions on important controversial subjects during the fortnight period. When the party leaders refused to give up control, the BBC requested a formal directive, which was given by the Postmaster General, with the full support of the Labour opposition, though against the protests of the Liberal minority, on July 27, 1955.†

The Fourteen Day Rule was opposed by groups and people with such varied points of view as the BBC, the ITA, the Liberal party, the *London Times*, *The Observer*, and many individual members of Parliament. Objections were based on the grounds that the rule was a limitation on freedom of speech, a gag rule on individual Members of

* The rule did not apply, however, to programs for overseas listeners produced by the BBC's External Broadcasting Services.

† The pertinent portions of the instruction, which applied equally to the ITA, read as follows: ". . . I hereby require: (a) that the Corporation shall not, on any issue, arrange discussions or *ex-parte* statements which are to be broadcast during a period of a fortnight before the issue is debated in either House or while it is being so debated; (b) that when legislation is introduced in Parliament on any subject, the Corporation shall not, on such subject, arrange broadcasts by any Member of Parliament which are to be made during the period between the introduction of the legislation and the time when it either receives the Royal Assent or is previously withdrawn or dropped." (*London Times*, July 28, 1955, p. 8; *Handbook 1956*, p. 16; *Beveridge II*, 109-110. The most complete description of the Fourteen Day Rule's history is in *Report from the Select Committee on Broadcasting (Anticipation of Debates)*, pp. 23-31.)

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Parliament, and a deprivation of the public's right to hear discussions of legislation while it was under consideration in Parliament.

The reason formally assigned for the limitation was that it would safeguard the position of Parliament as the national political forum. Many people in Britain believed that American radio and television had usurped some congressional prerogatives, and they wanted to avoid such developments in the United Kingdom. Thus, Winston Churchill told the House of Commons on February 23, 1955: "I am quite sure that the bringing on of exciting debates in these vast, new robot organizations of television and BBC broadcasting, to take place before a debate in this House, might have very deleterious effects upon our general interests, and that hon. Members should be considering the interests of the House of Commons, to whom we all owe a lot."³³

The basic principle of the Fourteen Day Rule was upheld by a free (nonparty) vote of 271 to 126 after debate in the House on November 30, 1955. Leaders of both parties favored the rule, with the opposition coming from back-benchers on both sides.³⁴ This division supports the hypothesis that another — and perhaps the real — reason for the rule was to enforce party discipline by removing opportunities for back-benchers and nonconformists to appeal directly to the country by radio or television. As the *London Times* put it: "This is a case of the Parliamentary party wishing to have a closed shop for debate. They cannot enforce it on the ordinary citizen. They cannot enforce it on the press. They cannot talk convincingly about wanting any form of democracy while they behave in such a fashion."³⁵

On February 9, 1956, the House of Commons appointed a select committee to review the whole matter, although the committee was not authorized to consider the principle of limitation, but only changes in the rule's application.³⁶ Both BBC and ITA testified in favor of abolishing the rule, and the committee unanimously recommended a Seven Day Rule, with restrictions reduced as much as possible. It also questioned the justification for more limitations on broadcasting than on other media.

On December 18, 1956, the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that the government had decided to suspend the Fourteen Day Rule for an experimental period of six months, and that he hoped the broadcasting organizations would do nothing to "derogate from the primacy of Parliament as the forum for debating the affairs of the na-

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tion." On July 25, 1957, this was extended for an indefinite period. Thereby ended one unfortunate limitation on the freedom of radio and television to serve their public.³⁷

The rule against editorializing is the reason neither BBC nor ITV have developed news commentators on the American order, since such spokesmen might soon come to be regarded as the voices of their respective organizations. But both BBC and ITV report opinion on their newscasts, and each has programs on which exponents of different points of view confront each other in debate. Such programs range from film surveys of the week's news to earnest discussions of its most controversial aspects.

The practice is well established of submitting people with newsworthy opinions to panels of questioners. Like its American counterparts is the BBC's "Press Conference," on which Prime Minister Macmillan was first quizzed before television cameras on February 21, 1958. In this series, journalists now ask some very pointed questions; gone are the deference and caution of earlier years. On "Who Goes Home?" M.P.'s are questioned — often sharply — by their own constituents.*

The ITA's program companies also have done a great deal with programs of opinion and controversy, although here, as in so many other areas, BBC patterns served as the starting point. In its second annual report the ITA frankly stated: "The technique of balanced discussions as a means of enlightening and informing the public on current affairs had been developed over a long period by the B.B.C. and there were no significant departures by the companies during these early months of independent television from patterns with which the viewing public were already familiar." †

* The extremely wide range of the BBC's many programs of information and discussion is barely suggested in these paragraphs. For more data, see any of the Corporation's annual reports or handbooks, such as *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 9-11, 46-47, 122-123; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 10-11, 58-59, 127-128. The BBC's various talk and discussion programs involve a great many participants from all walks of life, ranging from international celebrities to local eccentrics. The list of Members of Parliament alone, for example, shows that in 1956-1957, 179 took part in 413 BBC radio and television broadcasts (apart from party political broadcasts); in 1957-1958, 177 took part in 387 broadcasts; and in 1958-1959, M.P.s appeared on a total of 499 programs; in 1959-1960, 487 M.P.s participated. (*BBC Annual Report 1956-57*, p. 44; *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 14; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 52; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 61.)

† *ITA Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 17. Under the rather negative title of "Programme Balance," ITA annual reports review the gamut of the program companies' serious output. See, for example, *ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 16-17; *ITA*

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One of Independent Television's most widely publicized discussion programs is ATV's Sunday afternoon "Free Speech," which has derived some of its impetus from the fact that several of its participants allegedly were put off the air by the BBC in response to pressures from the Conservative and Labour parties, because the program (then called "In the News") was built around several party irregulars, who did not satisfactorily reflect party policy. Whatever the merits of the case, this is an example of the different approaches to broadcasting of the parties, who want to disseminate orthodoxy, and the broadcasters, who prefer to select panelists on the basis of their broadcasting skill. As a program, however, "Free Speech" sometimes sacrifices orderly procedures to theatrical bombast.*

In contrast is the same company's "Right to Reply," on which prominent people are given a chance to answer public criticisms against them. "Right to Reply" has presented such people as John Foster Dulles (who was filmed in Washington); General Lauris Norstad, supreme allied commander for Nato in Europe; Selwyn Lloyd, British secretary of state for foreign affairs; Aneurin Bevan, foreign affairs spokesman for the Labour Party; and Jacques Soustelle, minister-delegate to the French prime minister's office.³⁸ Also significant is Associated-Rediffusion's "This Week," presented during a mid-evening hour each week, with Brian Connell as link man.

Granada Television, most advanced and experimental of the companies in its handling of social, political, and economic issues, had a lively feature called "Under Fire," in which government and opposition spokesmen in London answered questions from a studio audience in Manchester. When the program dealt too roughly with the Conserva-

Annual Report 1959-60, pp. 14-15. The program companies have published some of their best scripts. Thus, Granada has published "Homosexuality and the Law," "Thou Shalt Not Kill," "A Blessing or a Sin?," and "The Troubled Middle East." Associated TeleVision has published "As the World Sees Us," "TV Documents of Our Time," "Education for the Modern Age," and "John Foster Dulles Talks to Britain," as well as several talks on modern history by A. J. P. Taylor.

* Simon, *The BBC from Within*, pp. 133-135. The committee appointed to consider the Fourteen Day Rule also took testimony on this program, but decided that "the British Broadcasting Corporation has not been subject to any improper pressures and can safely be relied upon to defend itself from political differences." (*Report from the Select Committee on Broadcasting (Anticipation of Debates)*, pp. iv, 108-118.)

The BBC makes two contentions in regard to programs such as this: (1) it must have complete freedom to choose its own speakers, regardless of party wishes; and (2) it does not wish to irresponsibly set up irregulars who, by reason of frequent broadcast appearances, may seem to upset the functions of Parliament.

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tive party, Sidney Bernstein himself came under fire in June 1958 from Lord Hailsham, the party chairman. Hailsham charged that Granada packed the studios with an audience hostile to the government and the Establishment; that government defenders were cut short in answering difficult questions; that Conservative participants were given less notice than Labour spokesmen; and (echoing a frequently made charge) that Granada collected obscure back-benchers rather than party leaders in making up its programs.

Things reached the point where Lord Hailsham and Mr. Bernstein met to discuss the program. No communiqué was issued following their conference, although the program was continued for a while on the same basis as before. Thereafter *The Times* came to the defense of the program companies with the observation: "Front bench politicians no longer have to wait for a set-piece party broadcast before they have a chance to explain themselves to a television audience; the party organizers have been hustled out of their timid scruples and by-elections have become matter for television. It is now firmly established as a factor in public life." "Under Fire" was later succeeded on Granada's schedule by "Searchlight," which exposes various aspects of contemporary life to critical scrutiny.

The BBC has had marked success with several programs which subject the main events of the day to expert comment and analysis, notably "Panorama," a weekly series initiated in 1955, and "Tonight," developed to fill the 6:15 to 7:25 gap, five nights each week, beginning in February 1957, and now broadcast from 6:50 to 7:29. "Panorama" is a forty-five minute evening program whose several sections consist of interviews, discussions, and documentary film treatments of current political, social, and economic events. The program is built around Richard Dimbleby, whose reputation was established as a special-events radio and television reporter. †

"Tonight," won the British Guild of Television Producers' Award as

* London *Times*, June 26, 1958, pp. 10, 11. Granada also has dealt in a forthright manner with such subjects as homosexuality, artificial insemination, and euthanasia. In its feature, "What the Papers Say," journalists survey the varying treatment given by the press to the main stories of the preceding week. *Pravda's* London correspondent has been a regular participant in this series.

† On February 15 and 23, 1960, "Panorama" interviewed representatives of both sides in a dispute over alleged Communist rigging of an electrical trades union election. Thereafter there was wide newspaper discussion, with many letters back and forth, over whether the process constituted trial by television, or an important exposé of irregularities in union affairs. But in either case, "Panorama" was obvi-

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the best factual program during both 1957 and 1958, and its master of ceremonies, Cliff Michelmore, was chosen by the guild as the Television Personality of 1958. "Tonight" looks "for serious, funny, or provocative aspects of the truth," and features crisp and challenging interviews with people – from celebrities to eccentrics – who are in the news.³⁹ The BBC also has "Monitor," a program about the arts, painting, sculpture, theater, films, books, and architecture, broadcast alternate weeks since February 1958.

The BBC does very well too in its film and dramatized documentaries, treating in a forthright and honest manner such topics as the European common market, the battles of World War II, prison life, British classes, Commonwealth relations, psychiatry, prostitution, homosexuality, alcoholism, and loneliness.⁴⁰ Field Marshal Montgomery contributed a peppery series on World War II strategy which evoked international retorts as other generals' reputations came under attack. There also have been strong reactions to programs built around less exciting things, like fishermen's lives ashore, electronics, and small towns.⁴¹

ITV produces fewer documentaries than does the BBC, but now that the program companies have seriously entered the field, they are obtaining some splendid results. ITN's "Roving Report" takes its viewers by film to foreign lands for some penetrating analyses of world trouble spots. Associated-Rediffusion presents occasional documentary specials such as: "Tyranny," about Hitler; "Israel Rises"; and "United They Stand," a study of British trade unions. Associated Television has turned out documentaries on abortion and polio, and Granada on Western Germany and mental health.

In opinion, discussion, and documentary broadcasting, the BBC and ITV have had a good influence on each other. The BBC's tradition for integrity and fairness, and the reputation of its documentary programs, provided some good standards against which to measure the ITV output, while the program companies' ingenuity and aggressiveness has been a spur for the BBC. Thus, "Tonight" was developed after ITA forced the use of the 6:00 to 7:00 P.M. period, although its merits as a program were entirely to the credit of the BBC. Likewise, the enlarged scope of some BBC discussion and press interview programs

ously proved to be dealing courageously with a vital issue. (London *Times*, February 16, 1960, p. 6; February 23, 1960, p. 7; February 27, 1960, p. 7; March 1, 1960, p. 11; March 2, 1960, p. 11; March 5, 1960, p. 7; *The Observer*, March 6, 1960, p. 16.)

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is in part the consequence of competition, as has been the continued development of "Panorama" into such a fine series.

In many respects the presence of two television authorities makes it easier for either to accomplish certain objectives held in common. Without doubt, the BBC's long struggle contributed in a major way to the suspension of the Fourteen Day Rule in 1956. So did the general political climate of the day. Yet, the lifting of such limitations, and the even greater freedom displayed during the past few years on discussion, interview, and documentary programs, must also be credited to the presence of two television organizations, vying with each other to develop interesting and exciting programs.*

* Objective evidence as to the general improvement in British radio and television news and interview programs is provided by their increasing quotation in newspaper stories. Thus, following an ITN television interview, Field Marshal Montgomery was quoted as to his retirement plans (*London Times*, November 18, 1957, p. 8). Also receiving wide press coverage were interviews with Prime Minister Macmillan (BBC, *London Times*, February 22, 1958, p. 3; ITV, *London Times*, February 24, 1958, p. 3); Hugh Gaitskell (BBC, *London Times*, August 3, 1957, p. 6; ITV, January 27, 1958, p. 5); Jacob Malik (ITV, *London Times*, February 3, 1958, p. 5; *New York Times*, February 3, 1958, p. C3); Richard Nixon (ITV, *New York Times*, March 10, 1958, p. 16C).

Television Programs in the United Kingdom: Political Broadcasting

BECAUSE broadcasting is always a reflection of the society it serves, no system of radio and television can be appraised apart from its political and social setting. In no respect is this more true than in regard to political broadcasting. In the United Kingdom, the recent developments in political broadcasting are important as a reflection of general social change, at the same time that they are among the most significant new features of broadcasting itself.

British political parties are directly involved in three types of programs: party political broadcasts; noncontroversial reports to the nation by government spokesmen (ministerial broadcasts); and election broadcasts.

Party Political and Ministerial Broadcasts

“Party political broadcasts” are the formal, prearranged broadcasts in which the three principal parties, Conservative, Labour, and Liberal, present their official points of view on current political issues. Radio and television time is assigned on the basis of party strength in the House of Commons, and speakers are chosen by the parties. Since 1947 the BBC has reserved “the right, after consultation with party leaders, to invite to the microphone a member of either House of outstanding national eminence who may have become detached from any party,” although it has never done so.¹

This latter provision resulted from the unfortunate situation of the 1930's, when the parties were able to keep Winston Churchill off the air. Significant in itself, the affair was important also because it turned

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Churchill against the BBC, predisposing him to remain aloof during the important early stages of the commercial television controversy, when he might easily have killed the movement.

In the 1930's Churchill was a dissenting member of the Conservative party. He felt deeply and was very anxious to express his views about British rearmament and India policy. He did make a number of BBC broadcasts – ten or twelve – between 1928 and 1938, but he wanted to make more and pressed the BBC for air time. However, the Conservatives did not want Churchill to broadcast his (to them) unorthodox views; the opposition did not intend to nominate a Conservative as one of their speakers; and the BBC was not willing to invite Churchill to broadcast in the face of obvious objections from his party. Accordingly, he was kept off the air, although his views were frequently reported on BBC news broadcasts.*

The Television Act forbids the ITA to originate programs “designed to serve the interests of any political party,” but does give it permission to carry “relays of the whole (but not some only) of a series of the British Broadcasting Corporation’s party political broadcasts.” Accordingly the Authority and the program companies decided to take the broadcasts, despite scheduling inconveniences, even though they would have preferred to originate their own.²

The first party political broadcasts took place in the autumn of 1933, although there were not many of them, and they did not assume much importance until after World War II.³ The arrangements for the period July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960, are typical of those followed in recent years. During that year the Conservative party had four television and four radio broadcasts, the Labour party four television and three radio broadcasts, and the Liberal party one of each. No other parties participated, and no time was given for regional party political broadcasts.†

* In another case, in 1931, the government itself – as distinct from the parties – brought pressure on the BBC to cancel a projected series on India in which Churchill wished to participate. In the words of the then Director General, after Churchill asked “to be allowed to broadcast his views,” the chairman of the Board of Governors and Reith “went to see the Secretary of State [for India]. He was most apprehensive of the effect of such a series of talks at that time; it would do immense harm in India. The board [of Governors] decided to accede to the request so emphatically made by the minister responsible for dealing with a particularly delicate and critical situation. One does not need to endorse his attitude and apprehensions to understand the board’s decision.” (J. C. W. Reith, *Into the Wind*, p. 151; cf. pp. 176, 216, 357.)

† In July 1955, in response to a request from the Welsh National Broadcasting Council, the Postmaster General formally decreed that there should be no party

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The telecasts were carried simultaneously by all ITA and BBC stations at 9:30 P.M. Two each of the Conservative and Labour television programs were twenty-five minutes long, and the rest fifteen minutes in duration. The radio programs, all fifteen minutes long, were broadcast nationally by the Home Service, and then repeated in sound-only at the end of the day's BBC television programs. Subjects and speakers for these programs were chosen by the parties concerned. During the week when the budget was presented to Parliament, two additional radio and television broadcasts were made by spokesmen for the Conservative and Labour parties.⁴

Now that the parties take broadcasting seriously, they vie with each other in developing effective presentation techniques. The Conservatives and Labourites have committees on broadcasting, and in their London headquarters maintain closed-circuit television systems to instruct their members in the most effective use of the medium. In earlier days party political broadcasts on radio and television were straight talks, but now they incorporate cartoons, films, drama, and other production devices. Attention has been paid to American models, too.

The programs themselves share one characteristic of political broadcasts everywhere: reasonable and temperate men, in Britain as in America, are apt to use one tone in most of their communications with the world, and quite another when engaged in political controversy. Following two bitter party political broadcasts in September 1959, for example, which appealed strongly to class feelings, *The Times* noted: "Heads shook and lips curled last week at the medicine Dr. Charles Hill [Conservative] ordered for the television masses; heads shook and lips curled yesterday at Mr. Anthony Greenwood's [Labour] antidote to it on Wednesday night." The story went on to say that the Conservative party's reaction to its own program was "chillingly unfavorable."⁵

"Ministerial broadcasts" are the second type of program in which the parties are involved. In the United Kingdom, as in the United States, the government uses television and radio to make factual and presumably noncontroversial reports to the nation on matters of general interest, as well as to rally support for national enterprises. In 1958-1959, there were only four ministerial broadcasts, one on television and three

political broadcasts in the Welsh Home Service of the BBC, a ruling which in effect excludes all regional party political programs by BBC or ITV. (*Handbook 1960*, pp. 161-163.)

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on radio. In 1959–1960, there was only one, it being a radio talk by the foreign secretary on United Nations Day.

Such programs, of course, sometimes lead to disputes as to whether a government spokesman has really been impartial, or if he has justified his party's position in a controversial matter. If the opposition – or anyone else – feels that a reply is in order, it requests time on the air, and the BBC is ultimately responsible for judging the validity of the request. When a reply is scheduled it usually follows the original broadcast within three days.

In 1956, for example, Hugh Gaitskell presented the Labour party's views on the Suez question the day after a ministerial broadcast on BBC and ITV by Prime Minister Anthony Eden on the same subject.* There was a flurry of interest over the possibility that the Labour party might ask for "equal time" following the national radio and television broadcast by Prime Minister Macmillan and President Eisenhower on August 31, 1959, during the President's visit to the United Kingdom. This informal "fireside chat" (it was not counted as a "ministerial broadcast") gave the Prime Minister an opportunity to appear with the President of the United States under conditions almost certain to enhance his prestige several months before an important general election. Accordingly, there were some men in the Labour party who favored a request for equal time, but party leaders decided otherwise.⁶

Election Broadcasts

There is no better way to appreciate the development of British broadcasting in recent years than to compare its coverage of the 1955 and 1959 general elections. Stringent regulation by politicians, who in 1955 ran radio and television electioneering from the front benches of Parliament, gave way in 1959 to a much wider and more democratic use of both media.

Although election broadcasting was slow to develop in Britain, the first general election broadcasts took place as long ago as 1924 over the facilities of the British Broadcasting Company, when Ramsay MacDonald (Labour) and Herbert Asquith (Liberal) broadcast from public meetings, and Stanley Baldwin (Conservative) talked from the

* *London Times*, November 3, 1956, p. 6. Both of these broadcasts were probably a violation of the Fourteen Day Rule, which was then in effect. (*House of Lords Debates*, 200:229–230 [November 13, 1956].)

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studio. The prohibition of any political broadcasts by the new British Broadcasting Corporation in 1927 temporarily eliminated such programs, but this ban was lifted in 1928 in time for talks by spokesmen of the main parties during the general election of 1929.⁷

The basic principles followed in assigning time on the air, which evolved during the next decade, had become quite well fixed by 1939. As each general election approached, there were conferences between the BBC and the three main political parties. Broadcast periods between the dissolution of Parliament and election day were divided among the parties in accordance with their strength at the previous election. In 1955, for example, the Conservative and Labour parties had four broadcasts each on radio and three on television, while the Liberal party had one on each.* These were scheduled in rotation at peak audience periods, the government appearing first and last, with no political broadcasting at all during the last several days before the poll. The radio talks were broadcast by short wave to members of the British armed forces and other voters overseas, and the texts of all talks were printed in *The Listener*. The parties, not the BBC, selected topics and speakers, although the BBC offered assistance in program preparation and rehearsal.

Except for these official party broadcasts, however, the BBC operated during all general election periods prior to 1959 as though no election were in progress, since it carried no other broadcasts which could conceivably influence voter opinion, hardly referring to the progress of the campaign in its news bulletins. This ban applied to all talks, discussions, plays, documentaries, and even comedy scripts, which might have any possible political implications. In addition, all parliamentary candidates were kept off the air, except during the allotted election broadcast periods.†

Clearly these arrangements represented only limited utilization of the country's broadcasting facilities, and then under conditions not fair to

* Any other parties with fifty or more parliamentary candidates were entitled to one ten-minute Home Service radio broadcast, with a repeat an hour later on the Light Programme. No minority parties met the fifty-candidate requirement in 1955, although in 1945, when the requirement was twenty candidates, the Commonwealth and Communist parties did, and in 1950 the Communists did again.

† During the 1955 election, for example, the BBC canceled a scheduled debate by the Oxford University Union Society on the subject, "Resolved that the methods of science are destructive to the myths of religion," on the grounds that it might bear on some election issues. The debate was recorded, however, for presentation after the election. (*London Times*, April 25, 1955, p. 9.)

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all of the parties, all of the candidates, or the public. The Conservative and Labour parties were given almost identical treatment, but except for the Liberal party, which was barely allowed on the air, the others were ignored. Within each party complete control rested with the party leaders, who decided whom the public should hear and see. Worst of all, broadcasting was blacked out as a source of election information, except for the official party broadcasts.

The reason that broadcasting could be so strictly controlled, while the press was left free during general election periods, was that the BBC depended for its existence on licenses and legislation enacted by the parties in Parliament, in addition to which the party in power, through the Postmaster General, had a veto on programs. Each of the two major parties was particularly concerned that the system did not operate to the advantage of the other, and neither wanted a strong third party to threaten its ascendancy. Although radio and television were never used to favor one major party over another, the parties did force the broadcasting authorities into a policy of neutralism.

As the 1959 election approached, however, various forces combined to bring a reform in these procedures. The temper of the times was different. The presence of two competing broadcasting entities was another factor. There were back-bench pressures within the parties, together with an increasing awareness among party leaders that radio and television — especially television, now that there were sets in over two thirds of all homes — might be better employed to their benefit.

To hasten solutions to these problems an informal meeting was arranged at Nuffield College, Oxford, in January 1958, attended by front-bench representatives from the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal parties, as well as by some other members of the House of Commons concerned with broadcasting; the directors general of the BBC and the ITA; the head of Independent Television News; and several people from Nuffield College who had made special studies of British election procedures. Various aspects of political broadcasting in Britain were discussed, and out of the meeting grew a new atmosphere which had much to do with the revised rules later adopted.⁸

While all this planning was in progress, there came the television coverage of the Rochdale by-election in February 1958, which broke much ground for the general election eighteen months later.⁹ Rochdale is a small cotton textile town near Manchester. The death of its Member

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of Parliament led to a by-election on February 12, 1958, in which were entered Conservative, Labour, and Liberal candidates.* Sidney Bernstein, head of Granada, a real innovator in television programming, proposed that the candidates appear on several programs before the election, a suggestion that broke with all tradition, since the BBC had never done more than report the results of by-elections.

Mr. Bernstein's proposal raised several difficult legal problems. The Television Act of 1954 required the exclusion from ITA programs of "matter designed to serve the interests of any political party," although there could be "programmes of properly balanced discussions or debates where the persons taking part express opinions and put forward arguments of a political character."¹⁰ But would these programs be "designed to serve the interests of any political party"? The decision, after much discussion, was that they would not, although Granada's original proposal to present the candidates separately on different programs was ruled out, so that the requirement for "properly balanced discussions or debates" would be met. All would have to appear on each program, and if any one of the three refused to broadcast, the whole project would have to be dropped.

There also was the Representation of the People Act, dealing with election procedures in general, which conceivably might be interpreted to mean that if a candidate took part in a broadcast, the full cost of his portion of the program could be charged against his election expenses. Since the allowable limit is low, this in effect would exclude television appearances by candidates, or might lead to the unseating of the victors in suits brought by their opponents charging them with not reporting the costs of broadcast appearances as election expenses.

Sections 63 and 64 of the Act require that no expenses shall be incurred to promote the election of a parliamentary candidate by anyone except the candidate himself, his election agent, or persons authorized by his agent, but that these limitations do not "restrict the publication of any matter relating to the election in a newspaper or other periodical." No exception was made for radio or television, which fact was generally agreed to have been an unintentional oversight by Parliament.

The law further stated that all campaign expenses must be reported,

* The candidates were John E. Parkinson, Conservative, a real-estate man and auctioneer; John McCann, Labour, a diesel engineer; and Ludovic Kennedy, Liberal, an ITN newscaster.

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and that the amount spent by any candidate must not exceed £450 (\$1260.00), plus some additional allowances that seldom put the total above £800 (\$2,240). The ITA argued that this Act did not rule out the programs either: it was never intended that television program costs should be counted as campaign expenses; and the broadcasts would not support any one candidate, but rather would be balanced discussions of the election and its issues.

In view of the legal as well as policy implications of Granada's proposal, the national as well as the Rochdale headquarters of the three parties were involved, along with the ITA, the BBC, and the law officers of the Crown. Finally, though, the lawyers decided that the proposal was legal, or at least legal enough to be worth the risk, while the party heads agreed to take the plunge, even though the experiment was expected to set a precedent for television in all future elections.

At last the plans were set, although the BBC decided not to take part. The broadcasts were seen in Northern England only, however, in spite of national interest in the experiment. The first program, televised February 5, 1958, opened with a description of Rochdale, followed by interviews with voters and a filmed sequence of an election argument between two voters. Then came fifteen minutes in the council chamber of the town, where all three candidates discussed the main election issues under the chairmanship of Brian Inglis, then deputy editor of the *Spectator*. To stay within the law, it was agreed that the three should represent their parties, rather than speaking in behalf of their own candidacies; and for practical reasons they were allocated equal time, instead of following the general election and party political pattern of approximately equal time for the Conservative and Labourite, with the Liberal spokesman having about one fifth as much.

On the second program, broadcast February 11, the night before the election, the candidates were questioned by three local journalists. The third program, which represented no policy break with the past, was a report on the outcome of the voting. While the campaign was in progress, however, ITN reported it day-by-day on its national news programs, as did the BBC in its North Regional television newscasts, something never before done during any election.

The Labour candidate won with 22,133 votes. Next came the Liberal with 17,603, while the Conservative trailed with 9,872. There was an 80 per cent turnout, almost unprecedented for a by-election. Audience

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ratings for the broadcasts were quite good. Over 40 per cent of those people with multichannel sets watched the first program, and this number included 36 per cent of all Rochdale voters.

The Rochdale experiment broke the dam, and a few weeks later the BBC joined ITV in providing radio and television coverage of a by-election in Kelvingrove, a town near Glasgow, Scotland, while both services reported the campaign on their newscasts.* In March 1958, during the by-election in Torrington, North Devon, and the general election in Northern Ireland, the BBC gave broadcast time on regional stations to the main parties and candidates, in addition to reporting the course of the elections on local news programs.¹¹ But plans to cover the East Harrow, South-West Norfolk, and Galloway by-elections were dropped, since not all of the candidates were willing to appear, and it was feared that broadcasts under those conditions would violate Section 63 of the Representation of the People Act.¹²

The 1959 General Election

The changes in procedure for the general election broadcasts announced in March 1959 followed directly from the experiences of the previous year's by-elections.¹³ The time allotted for party television programs between Dissolution Day (September 18) and Polling Day (October 8) was increased from the 1955 total of 135 to 215 minutes, although the radio allocation remained at 180 minutes. The Conservative and Labour parties had four 20-minute telecasts and one 15-minute telecast each (a total of 95 minutes apiece), while the Liberal party was assigned one 15- and one 10-minute telecast (a total of 25 minutes). These programs were to be carried simultaneously by both BBC and ITV at 10:00 P.M. on the appointed days.

On BBC radio the Conservative and Labour parties each had four 15-minute programs and four 5-minute programs (80 minutes each), and the Liberal party one 15-minute and one 5-minute program (20

* London *Times*, February 28, 1958, pp. 3, 4; March 7, 1958, p. 7; March 12, 1958, p. 10; March 13, 1958, p. 7. This time a dispute broke out between two of the candidates after the program had left the air. One candidate accused the other of making a vicious and unsubstantiated charge against her during the broadcast, after she had used her allocation of time and was unable to reply. The studio was in confusion as Mrs. Katharine Elliot, the Conservative candidate, shouted to Mr. David Murray, the Liberal Home Rule candidate, "I want an apology." To this he replied, "Madam, you called me a freak and a jolly buccaneer even before you met me, and I am not going to apologize to you." (London *Times*, March 12, 1958, p. 10.)

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minutes). The 15-minute radio programs were on the Home Service at 9:15 P.M., and the 5-minute programs on the Light Programme at 7:00 P.M. The several parties rotated on the air with radio and television between September 19th and October 6th. The government broadcast first and last, and in accordance with long-established custom, there were no programs on Sundays, or during the last two days before voting, in order to minimize the effect of having the "last word."

This time division was reluctantly accepted by the Liberal party, which held that with 220 candidates standing for the 630 Parliamentary seats at stake it deserved more time. But the division continued the tradition of assigning time relative to party strength in the old Parliament. Any other party entering fifty or more candidates would have had one or two periods assigned to it too, but no other party met this requirement.* All told, this arrangement made for 6 hours and 35 minutes of radio and television time allocated to official party programs, although the total broadcasting time given to politics considerably exceeded this, in view of the national and regional programs originated by the BBC and ITV, and the news coverage of the election.

A real innovation was the agreement permitting regional programs, whose participants not only were selected by the BBC and ITV, but also included representatives of more than the three main parties. It also was agreed that the BBC and ITV should cover the election in their news bulletins, although both adhered to precedent and canceled certain programs with possible political implications.

Prime Minister Macmillan opened and closed for the Conservatives, while Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the Labour party, appeared on all but one of the Labour broadcasts. Other politicians, prominent and obscure, appeared too, and there was much use of cartoons, interviews, and films. The Conservative's second television broadcast, on September 23, 1959, for example, used a film which traced the career of a young architect from childhood to marriage in order to develop the thesis that life was better under the Conservatives. Thereafter, the actors who played the roles of the young architect and his bride-to-be turned up in

* On the dissolution date of September 18, 1959, the division in Parliament was Conservatives 339, Labour 278, Liberals 6, Independent Conservative 1, vacancies 6. In the 1955 general election, 76.8 per cent of the electorate voted, and the voting division was Conservative 49.8 per cent, Labour 46.3 per cent, Liberals 2.7 per cent, others 1.2 per cent. In the 1959 election, 78.7 per cent of the electorate voted, and the division was Conservative 49.3 per cent, Labour 43.6 per cent, Liberal 6.0 per cent, others 1.1 per cent.

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the studio, where several leading members of the Conservative party enlarged on the film's message.

In the course of the program there was reference to social services, education, housing, opportunities for leisure, and provision for old age. A shopping spree was introduced to show how free enterprise brought a rising standard of living, and how stable prices (most likely to be achieved under the Conservatives, of course) made it possible for everyone to have such things as refrigerators and washing machines. In his windup, Mr. R. A. Butler underlined four principles for which the Conservative party stood: independence and responsibility in home ownership; opportunity in education; care of the aged; and a sense of realism about the standard of living.¹⁴

At the time the Labour party was judged to have made more effective use of television, and there was much favorable comment on its lively, smooth, and polished presentations, built around three Labour Members of Parliament with extensive backgrounds in broadcasting, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Christopher Mayhew, and Woodrow Wyatt. In retrospect, though, the verdict was less enthusiastic. "Slick" rather than "smooth" became the adjective used to describe the programs, and there was amused comment on the use of four public-school and Oxford men — Gaitskell, Benn, Mayhew, and Wyatt — to represent the Labour party.

On September 26, in the second of Labour's five telecasts, all under the general title of "Britain Belongs to You," Anthony Greenwood took his audience on a filmed tour of the slum home of a working-class couple in the hope of erasing the effect of some of the sunny Conservative films which had recently been seen. This program emphasized austerity and discomfort, and stressed the distance yet to be covered in providing housing for the depressed classes. After the film Hugh Gaitskell discussed such things as the taxation of capital gains and the need for educational reform.¹⁵

In its "BBC Hustings" the BBC had a series of forty-minute question and answer programs broadcast from a dozen regional centers which broke with precedent in several important respects. The programs were arranged by the BBC, not by the parties. They included some spokesmen for minority parties, since each political party which contested one fifth or more of the seats in any region was invited to participate. Political spokesmen of different parties appeared on the platform together

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(a new feature for general election broadcasts), and the studio audience had a chance to question the politicians directly.¹⁶

ITV's program companies also arranged network and regional programs. Young people questioned young candidates; women candidates were questioned by women voters; and there were several programs on which journalists discussed campaign issues. Even Lord Hailsham, chairman of the Conservative party, allowed himself to be cross-examined by a panel of Welsh students during a T.W.W. regional program on the subject "Is the Tory Party Obsolete?"¹⁷

Granada Television, enterprising as ever, offered air time to every candidate in the Granada area in the North of England. There were some 500 in all, of whom 229 candidates from 100 constituencies accepted. Granada's "Marathon" appeared twice daily each weekday from Monday, September 28, to Tuesday, October 6, from 4:45 to 5:25 P.M., and again beginning at 11:30 P.M., for a total air time of 11 hours and 41 minutes. To wind things up, Granada staged from its Manchester studios "The Last Debate," two days before election day, with top spokesmen from the three major parties.¹⁸

BBC and ITV reported the election day-by-day, in national and regional newscasts, and both stayed on the air well past midnight on election day with elaborate programs to report the results. For its part the Corporation displayed a degree of courage not always evident in its past. As Hugh Carleton Greene, then director of news and current affairs and later Director General explained: "We are going to cover the election, nationally and locally, like any other news story — on the basis of news value. There will be no time within the individual news periods to provide an exact balance between the different parties and their statements. . . . It was already becoming clear at the time of the last election that previous BBC policy — probably right in its time, attempting not to influence people in any way — cannot stand up to the needs of today. Undoubtedly the coming of competition played its part, but I am convinced that we should have taken this step at this election if there had been no competition."¹⁹

But despite these great strides nonpolitical programs with only very remote political implications still were canceled just as they had been during previous elections, although it was ITV rather than the BBC which felt impelled to play it safe. Between dissolution and polling day, Associated-Rediffusion dropped "This Week," and ITN "Roving Re-

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port,” while Associated TeleVision’s “Right to Reply” scheduled a safe series from North America. Granada’s “What the Papers Say” and “Searchlight” were suspended.²⁰ Because Sir Winston Churchill appeared in the documentary film, *Desert Victory*, which was scheduled for the evening of September 30, Associated-Rediffusion substituted *Burma Victory*.²¹ Several days later the same company replaced the play, *Night of January 16th*, with the film, *My Favorite Wife*, because the drama contained some similarities to the Jasper case, which had been the subject of an official inquiry by the Board of Trade, and which had been mentioned in some Labour party election speeches.²² Sir Robert Fraser, the ITA Director General, informed the Labour party that ITV would not broadcast any don’t-forget-to-vote appeals on election night, lest such announcements be regarded as unneutral.²³

Although television policy was at no time an important election issue, one London newspaper raised it against the Labourites. In its campaign tract, “Leisure for Living,” published on August 30, 1959, the Labour party had clearly stated its policy: “We do not intend to repeal this Act. We believe, however, in the light of the experience of the past 3½ years, that steps must be taken to ensure that the intentions of the Act are carried out, that its provisions are enforced, and that evasions by the programme companies, such as those exposed in Parliament by Labour M.P.s, are stopped.”

On October 6th, however, a popular London newspaper, the *Daily Sketch*, carried the front page headline, “Secret Labour Plot to Kill Channel Nine” (the commercial television channel in the London area), and charged the Labour party with a scheme to eliminate commercial television by prohibiting all middle commercials (“natural breaks”), and by taxing advertising expenditures to the point where advertisers could no longer afford to use commercial television. This scare story proved to be a distorted version of a statement by Morgan Phillips, secretary of the Labour party, that if it won the election Labour would introduce legislation to control certain advertising excesses, including expenditures on political advertising by industrial firms.²⁴

It was a standing joke in broadcasting circles for months before the election that if either ITV or the BBC wanted to be really partisan, it could broadcast a very popular entertainment program on election night, thus keeping Labour voters from the polls. Beginning September 17 the American western, “Rawhide,” was scheduled for a new time,

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Thursdays at 7:00 P.M. Thereafter it was reported in the British press that Hugh Gaitskell was upset over the fact that this would put it on the air during one of the last polling hours on October 8, and that some Labourites asked to have the program canceled for that reason.²⁵ But "Rawhide" went out on ITV as usual, and no Labour spokesman ever asked for an investigation.

According to the BBC the average audience for the twelve official party telecasts was 21.9 per cent of all people in the United Kingdom over sixteen years of age. On the whole the Conservative and Liberal programs drew half their audiences from each service, although Labour broadcasts attracted more viewers on ITV, which was to be expected in view of ITV's generally greater appeal to the working class public.²⁶ Audiences ranged from 19.5 to 27.5 per cent of the adult population, the largest being for the Prime Minister's concluding broadcast on October 6th. It was the size of the preceding program's audience, however, rather than the merits of the individual political broadcasts which determined these differences.

In all cases audiences for the official party broadcasts were smaller than for the programs they replaced. According to its figures, the BBC, with a more serious-minded clientele, lost on the average only one tenth of its normal audience to ITV's loss of one quarter, although Television Audience Measurement, the semiofficial ITV audience measurement organization, denied this, claiming that BBC viewers were less interested than were ITV viewers.*

The audiences for party telecasts in 1959 averaged half again as large as they had in 1955, although allowing for the increase in the number of sets the proportionate amount of viewing was actually less. The change in broadcast time from 7:45 to 10:00 P.M. was the explanation given, since there always is a drop in audience after 10:00 P.M. As would be expected, people were much more apt to watch and hear programs with which they expected to agree; and in every case research indicated that supporters liked, opponents disliked, and uncommitted voters took a middle position, in appraising the effectiveness of individual programs. Yet, there were no significant differences in size among the audiences for programs by the three parties.

The BBC reported that audiences for its 6:45 P.M. "BBC Hustings"

* For a more complete review of British television audience research, see Chapter IX, The Audience for British Radio and Television.

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were less than for "Tonight," normally broadcast at that time. About 6.5 per cent of the population over sixteen years of age watched the program on September 29th, and 8.9 per cent on October 1, compared to normal "Tonight" audiences of 12.9 per cent and 11.3 per cent. The BBC's 6:00 P.M. television news attracted more, but the 7:25 P.M. summary fewer viewers than usual. The radio audiences were relatively small, ranging from 1.1 to 5.4 per cent of the total adult population. Radio audiences were largest for the Conservative programs.

Television Audience Measurement (TAM), a commercial organization which surveys homes equipped to receive both BBC and ITV programs, gave ratings for the twelve official broadcasts of from 52 to 64.* Although these were very respectable ratings, only three ranked among the nation's first ten for those weeks in audience size, these being one Liberal and two Conservative programs, two of which placed fifth and one eighth during its week. Some programs ranked between first and ninth in one or another part of the country, although the highest rating in London was fourth.†

According to TAM, viewers with sets able to receive both services preferred ITV by a ratio of from 2 to 1 or better, despite the fact that identical programs were carried by both. This was mainly a reflection of the general preference for ITV programs: more people with multichannel sets were already turned to ITA stations or wanted to see the following program, and so just left their sets on.

It is difficult if not impossible to determine the real impact of television on the 1959 general election. It surely was a television election in the sense that television was used more than ever before; but this was inevitable, since the number of sets had more than doubled since 1955. Television unquestionably was more effectively employed than previously, even though there was less viewing than before, probably because of the later hour for the official party broadcasts.

But no one has come forth to contend that in the over-all, television affected the outcome. The campaign manager of the Labour party spoke for all when he said that television had not changed the pattern of

* A Tamrating for any minute is the percentage of sets capable of receiving both BBC and ITV transmissions which are actually tuned to the given program for that minute. A Tamrating for any longer period is the average of Tamratings for each minute of that period.

† It should be noted that all BBC-TV and ITA stations carried the official party broadcasts simultaneously, whereas normally top-ten ratings, except for a few national events and major athletic contests, are achieved in the face of competition.

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electioneering: "Not only has there been more television and radio than in any other time in our history," he stated, "but there has been more interest in public meetings and a greater desire for more public meetings than we have experienced for a very long time." Some of this, of course, could have been a direct result of television, although he did not speculate on that possibility.*

In any case, more people got more and better information about the candidates and the issues from television than during any previous election, and surely Britain will never again circumscribe the freedom of radio and television as it did in 1955 and before. But there is no absolute proof that Britain's first real television election raised the overall level of public interest or knowledge, increased the voting turnout, or affected the results.

However this may be, there is no doubt at all but that the 1959 general election provided the climax to some important developments in British broadcasting. The greater freedom and range in radio and television news that had been emerging since 1955; the elimination of such anachronisms as the Fourteen Day Rule in 1956; and the extended radio and television treatment of the 1958 by-elections all combined to provide the background for British broadcasting's new freedom in covering the 1959 election. At last the strangle hold of the parties over political broadcasting was broken, and broadcasting became free to discuss the issues, present the candidates, and report the progress of an election.

Whatever the impact of television on the election, there can be no doubt of the impact of the election on television.

* London *Times*, October 8, 1959, p. 3. Dr. Mark Abrams pointed out in a note to me that the Labour party increased its support among old age pensioners, even though they are a section of the electorate with negligible television ownership. The BBC concluded, however, "Audience Research can offer no evidence about the extent to which the broadcasts . . . affected the results of the election, either by increasing (or decreasing) the turn-out or by changing the distribution of the votes ultimately cast." (BBC, *The General Election: The Campaign and the Results on Television and Sound Radio*, p. 33.) On more subjective grounds, the following two writers come to much the same conclusion: Edward R. Murrow, "Television and Politics," *Communication in the Modern World*, pp. 47-80 (available in abridged form in, *The Twentieth Century*, 166:382-387 (November 1959)); John Beavan, "Television and Politics (II)," *The Twentieth Century*, 166:388-393 (November 1959).

Dr. Joseph Trenaman of the University of Leeds did research during the 1959 general election which may provide further information as to television's role.

Television Programs in the United Kingdom: Information, Education, and Entertainment

PROGRAMS of information, education, and entertainment form the major portion of any broadcasting organization's output. To the serious person, the informational and cultural programs may seem most important, and indeed they are important. But the significance of entertainment features should not be overlooked. Because they attract the most — and often least sophisticated — viewers, they may have the greatest public impact, at the same time that they build audiences for serious programs. Finally, it is their success that determines a commercial station's income level, for which reason many of the principal program policy decisions in any commercial broadcasting organization concern the entertainment output.*

Informational Programs for Adults

In Britain as in America, people who look for them can find programs of information and culture to please the most sophisticated tastes. By no means all or necessarily the best of these are from the BBC, although the Corporation offers more such programs, especially during the peak viewing hours from 7:00 to 10:30 P.M., than does ITV.¹

* BBC programs in these categories have not changed materially since the author's *British Broadcasting* was published in 1956, and except as noted in the following pages ITV's additions do not depart from the Corporation's pattern. Accordingly, treatment here is relatively brief, and readers in search of background information and detail are referred to Chapters 10 and 11 of the earlier book.

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Most outstanding programs on either service have their counterparts on the other. Science, for example, is the subject of a weekly twenty-minute ATV series provocatively entitled, "It Can Happen Tomorrow," while BBC has "Science Is News" and "Eye on Research" to explain scientific developments to the lay public.* Dr. Jacob Bronowski, who turns up often on both services, did a regular thirty-minute series for AR in which he very clearly elucidated various basic scientific concepts. Always ready to do its bit on official occasions, the BBC received a great deal of publicity in June 1957 when Prince Philip introduced "The Restless Sphere," to mark the beginning of the International Geophysical Year; and it gave special treatment to the crossing of the Antarctic by Sir Vivian Fuchs and the British Commonwealth Expedition in 1958, of which expedition, in fact, it was a patron. In 1958 it also observed the centenary of Darwin and Wallace with six programs about evolution entitled "Five Hundred Million Years."

Both services periodically carry art programs. The BBC has had "Masterpieces of Painting," introduced by Sir Gerald Kelly, plus an occasional film, such as the one on the sculpture of Sir Henry Moore narrated by Sir Ralph Richardson. But here the palm must go to ATV's series by Sir Kenneth Clark, formerly chairman of the Arts Council and director of the National Gallery, and the first chairman of the ITA, who filmed a really outstanding series on "Art and Artists," and who also received much acclaim for his series on "Five Revolutionary Painters."

Mention was made in the last chapter of talks and documentaries on political and economic subjects, to which should now be added the BBC's "On Call to a Nation," a seventy-five-minute filmed documentary about the first ten years of the National Health Service, and "Does Class Matter?" five programs by Christopher Mayhew, member of Parliament, about the effects of class on individuals and the nation. Another ingenious program is "Lifeline," which examines contemporary psychological and moral problems. In this series a psychiatrist may discuss religious hysteria from snake worship to evangelism, or debate medical theory with Christian Scientists. In programs like this, the BBC always does a conscientious and reliable, and sometimes brilliant, job.

In 1958 ABC introduced "The Book Man" on Sunday afternoons to

* The following abbreviations are used throughout this chapter: ABC Television — ABC; Associated-Rediffusion — AR; Associated TeleVision — ATV; Independent Television Authority — ITA; Independent Television — ITV; Television for South Wales and the West of England — TWV. See also footnotes on pp. 3, 61 above.

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show "the faces behind the pages." This well-done series would be intelligible to any serious-minded English-speaking person. Too upper class British for most Americans, and of slight appeal to the majority of British viewers too, is "The Brains Trust," which, after a successful run on British radio during the war was transferred to television in September 1955, presumably to strengthen the Corporation's Sunday afternoon schedule, although as an audience builder it operated in reverse. It is now presented at a late evening hour on Thursdays. Here several intellectuals comment on topics suggested by the audience, ranging from Elizabethan literature to current educational theories. The result is a program uniquely representative of the British Establishment which is certain to intrigue any student of British types. It is not, though, the kind of program likely to turn up on ITV, even if it had a fair audience rating.²

Although any conscientious viewer can learn a great deal by watching the right programs on British television, he will never encounter any telecourses such as are offered by many American educational stations as well as by some commercial stations and networks. Informal rather than formal education is the policy, and a person seeking college credit must find it elsewhere than before the television screen. Nor will he ever find a series entirely produced by one educational institution: Oxford and Cambridge dons often broadcast; but there is no Oxford Hour or Cambridge Commentary.*

Programs for Schools

Independent television was expected to outdo the BBC with entertainment programs; in fact, during the parliamentary debates the critics often forecast that its programs would consist of little else than entertainment. But the program companies, while never neglecting their light entertainment schedules, wisely decided to emphasize news, school, and religious programs too; and they have done very well with all three. Parenthetically, it should be noted, these were the three important areas of BBC television's output which were administered, not by the director of television broadcasting at Lime Grove, but by the executives in Broadcasting House.†

* It is programs like these that ABC, for example, would present on Saturday or Sunday mornings if ITV were allowed more time on the air.

† Programs for schools and religious programs are not counted against the fifty hours of broadcasting allowed each week. The ITA prohibits advertising during

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Radio broadcasts to schools were begun by the BBC in 1923, and constitute one of the proudest chapters in its history.³ Through the years an elaborate structure grew up, within which the BBC's School Broadcasting Department planned and produced programs, while the School Broadcasting Council, representing the educational establishment, and aided by a large staff seconded to it by the BBC, assisted in policy determination and evaluation.

In view of its success with radio school services, it is surprising how slowly the Corporation moved into school television. It first talked of television for schools in 1944. In 1952 it conducted a month-long experiment in which twenty programs in five fields were broadcast on a closed circuit basis to six schools in the London area. Although the results were favorable, the BBC did nothing else until November 1955, when it announced that in September 1957 it would begin what was still cautiously described as an "experimental school television service."

But in December 1956 Associated-Rediffusion, whose managing director, Paul Adorian, has demonstrated a keen interest in telecasts for schools, announced that it would broadcast a trial series in May 1957, which might lead to regular programs. The company appointed a temporary head of school broadcasting and on the advice of the ITA Children's Committee set up its own Education Advisory Council and School Broadcasts Committee, representing the major educational interests in the country. To these bodies was delegated continuing responsibility for determining policy. In March 1959 AR engaged as head of its school broadcasting department Miss Enid Love, who previously had been in immediate charge of BBC school television. Public relations effect was undoubtedly one reason for the suddenness of AR's announcement, which had not been discussed in advance with the educational community. Yet the long-range objective was a good one, and AR's action was a spur to the BBC, even though its earlier programs clearly showed the haste with which they were organized.*

both religious and school programs, and requires intervals of at least two minutes without advertising before and after religious programs, and of two minutes before and one minute after school broadcasts. However, in computing the day-long average of six minutes per hour of advertising time, the Authority may count both school and religious programs.

* The ITA's annual report for that year remarked: "Whilst welcoming the initiative and enterprise of the company in undertaking such an important venture, the [Children's Advisory] committee was obliged to place emphasis on the need for careful consultation with representatives of the principal organisations which speak for these interests." (*ITA Annual Report 1956-57*, p. 9.) The general manager of

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The problem of receiver distribution in schools proved an early drawback to both services. The National Ministry of Education rather unenthusiastically agreed to support the project by making funds available to local education authorities to cover half the cost of receivers for secondary schools, on the basis of one receiver for each 100,000 of the population up to a maximum of six receivers for any one authority, the remaining money to be supplied by local education authorities. About three quarters of the United Kingdom's local education authorities agreed to participate in the experiment, and some 350 secondary schools were initially equipped in this way. AR and ATV helped by loaning 150 sets between them, provided the recipients would appraise those ITV programs which they viewed, and Scottish Television made sets available at reduced prices. By 1960 over 2,000 of the nation's 23,000 schools had television receivers.

Although Associated-Rediffusion went on the air with regular broadcasts before the BBC, the latter now provides more school programs per week. Exclusive of repeats, AR originated first four and then six new series during each school term. At present it has programs for all age groups from 9 to 18, dealing with English literature, science, geography, French, art, and other subjects. These are on the air between 2:45 and 3:50 P.M. daily during the school year, each program being repeated at least once during the week it is first broadcast. Occasional programs about Scotland are contributed by Scottish Television. AR's programs originate in London and are distributed by network to seven of the other eight weekday program companies. The eighth, Granada, ventured into school broadcasting on its own in September 1959 with an advanced science series. This program is repeated once during the week in which it is originally broadcast, and it is also carried by TWW. ATV now is planning to go into school broadcasting too.

The BBC increased the number of its programs from five to nine per week effective September 1960. It too serves all age groups and covers all aspects of the school curriculum from science to Commonwealth relations. BBC school programs are broadcast mornings between 10:30 A.M. and 12:00 noon, and afternoons from 2:00 to 2:30.⁴

Associated-Rediffusion commented: "We are not under obligation to go through an elaborate series of hoops, as the corporation inevitably is." Another member of his staff added: "The BBC has been planning this for four years. Well, we are going to shock auntie by showing her how fast things can be done if you try." (*The Manchester Guardian Weekly*, January 3, 1957.)

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Both BBC and AR state that their programs are designed to supplement the work of the teacher by bringing into the classroom things not normally available to schools, which will enrich the curriculum, arouse children's interest, and stimulate further activity. Partly because teachers in Britain as elsewhere have approached television cautiously as a possible competitor, AR in introducing its first series stated that "television will certainly not be invited into classrooms in order to do the teacher's job for him, or even to do the job of the missing teacher."⁵

The head of educational broadcasting for the BBC echoed this approach when in commenting on the direct-teaching experiment in Hagerstown, Maryland, he said: "To use television in that way here would be to deny the British tradition of diversity and independence in education and at the same time to divert the medium from those tasks for which it is best equipped."⁶ Yet the School Broadcasting Council points out that programs often are direct teaching after all. The television teacher tries to make a number of points by using film sequences, by commenting, and by introducing guest specialists. "He has in fact assumed the mantle of a teacher, and is not his teaching fairly 'direct' too?"⁷

The outlook is for good programs from both services. Initially the BBC's offerings were better designed, by a staff which obviously was closer to the actual needs of the school, whereas AR's presentations were encumbered by the unnecessarily complicated production which often creeps into programs whose producers know more about television than teaching. Lately, however, AR's programs show the influence of a more sophisticated hand. This judgment of equal excellence is confirmed by the records of school use, since those schools with a choice view BBC and ITA to the same extent.*

Children's Programs

The record of the BBC in broadcasting to children had been a very good one, and there were fears that ITV might compete for the child

* School Broadcasting Council, *BBC School Television Broadcasting*, p. 57. Although Britain is a small and less wealthy country than the United States, its school programs are much better than most American school broadcasts because they are national rather than local in both scope and budget. In 1959-1960, for example, the BBC spent £430,000 (\$1,204,000) for all its school programs, of which over £160,000 (\$448,000) was for television, and its current rate of expenditure is still greater. Associated-Rediffusion spent £150,000 (\$420,000) on school programs during the year 1959-1960. £1,000 (\$2,800) is considered an average cost for one program by AR.

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audience with programs of low standards, thus forcing down BBC levels too. Accordingly, the Television Act requires that the ITA appoint and follow the advice of a committee on programs for children and young people, and the *Principles for Television Advertising* impose special requirements for the advertising on programs intended for children or which large numbers of children are likely to see.⁸

Violence in children's programs has been a problem for both services, as it also has been for American television, and special regulations have been drawn up to control it. The many American films used by ITV, especially during its earlier days, led to strong complaints, so that the program companies soon established procedures to preview and edit all filmed material.⁹ In June 1958 the Children's Advisory Committee listed the principles to be observed in children's programs. Efforts should be made, it declared, to provide drama in which problems are resolved peacefully, and to select films with plots concerned with the ordinary, rather than only with the new, exciting, and unusual problems of daily life. There also should be more literary classics, and more telecasting of actual events. At about this time ATV and ABC engaged Mary Field, internationally known authority on children's films, as their consultant.

Thinking about children's television was further advanced by the publication in December 1958 of a study sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation entitled *Television and the Child*, by Hilde Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim, and Pamela Vince. Although limited in scope, because it was based on data obtained in 1956 or earlier when ITV was in its first year, the book nevertheless contained much valuable information about children's television, which was especially important in view of the relative scarcity of mass media research in Britain. Among other things, the report suggested that the BBC and ITV coordinate their schedules so children could not avoid constructive programs by switching from one channel to the other. It also called for delaying to later hours certain dramatic programs of violent nature, and suggested that scientists and explorers, as well as cowboys and sheriffs, be made heroes in children's programs.

The book was widely discussed in the press, and led to the appointment on April 6, 1959, of a joint BBC-ITA committee to study the whole problem of children's television.¹⁰ The committee reported in July 1960 urging that the BBC, the ITA and the program companies regard the period from six to nine each evening as a family viewing time, broad-

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casting during this period only such programs as would be suitable for a family audience. The committee proposed the establishment of a "joint advisory body" of experts on children to advise on all programs aired during these hours.

Replying, the BBC, the ITA and the program companies, in a rare display of agreement on program procedures, all rejected these proposals, saying that "the needs of children can [not] be allowed to determine the nature of all television output up to 9:00 P.M. There is a part which only parents can play." The suggestion of an additional special committee likewise was refused. Thereafter the report of the committee and the rejoinder of the broadcasters was widely discussed in the press.¹¹

Meanwhile, however, in March 1960 the BBC had issued a television code of practice with a special section on children's programs, which it commended "to all those concerned with programmes up to 9:00 P.M." Children and grownups, it said, live in different worlds, and what is right for one may be wrong for the other. Children, for example, are upset by representations of family insecurity and marital infidelity. Villainous actions easy to imitate, like sabotaged bicycles and trip wires, are dangerous. "Good characters" should avoid such bad habits as chain smoking and hitting below the belt.

Above all, brutality, as opposed to healthy combat, should be avoided, or at least not emphasized in closeup shots; and easily obtained weapons like knives, whips, and bottles should not be used. Stories need conflict, and this requires heroes and villains, but not necessarily violence.¹² To indicate its interest in similarly high standards, the ITA announced at this time that its Children's Advisory Committee had renewed study of the problem.¹³

The BBC broadcasts over eight hours a week of programs for younger viewers. In mid-afternoon it has "Watch with Mother" for children aged three to five, a television adaptation of a long-time radio fixture. The period from 4:45 to 6:00 on both networks is designed for children, with the BBC scheduling fewer programs calculated to disturb the critics than does ITV. The Corporation features serialized classics, current affairs, and general knowledge quizzes. The BBC also offers a puppet theater and encourages children to engage in such spare-time activities as sketching and model making. Somewhat more than ITV it emphasizes live programs of British origin, although it uses almost as many Ameri-

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can films as ITV, including the "Lone Ranger," "Wells Fargo," and "Range Riders." *

ITV schedules many excellent children's features, too. ITV used to provide its viewers with two half hours a week of "Popeye," in which one film followed another separated only by advertisements, but "Pop-eye" has now been cut down to size, and holds forth much less of the time. Other films made in America, or in Britain jointly by American-British companies, have told the exciting stories of "William Tell," "Rin-Tin-Tin," "The Cisco Kid," and "Robin Hood." The juniors have their own "Criss Cross Quiz," patterned on adult British television's version of America's "Tic Tac Doe." But there are also programs of sports, books, and games. Though more successful than the BBC in attracting child viewers, the program companies have not developed as many programs calculated to please discriminating parents. ITV is steadily improving, but despite its elaborate paraphernalia of committees and advisors, it does not yet consistently equal the BBC's standards.

Religious Programs

Religious broadcasting was another area for which Parliament laid down special rules, thus reflecting the opposition of many British religious leaders to the introduction of commercial television. The Authority must appoint an advisory committee "representative of the main streams of religious thought in the United Kingdom," and must follow its advice on all matters pertaining to religious programing. The law also specifies that no "religious service or any propaganda relating to matters of a religious nature" shall be broadcast without "the previous approval of the Authority.†

The Postmaster General's ruling on broadcasting hours also shows the influence of the churches. Religious programs do not count in computing the fifty-hour weekly maximum. There must be no children's programs between 2:00 and 4:00 on Sunday afternoons when British

* *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 50-51. Pressure for British-originated programs has its trade-union as well as philosophical aspects. Thus, Dudley Leslie, honorary secretary of the British Screen and Television Writers Association, wrote to *The Times* to say that even if American films were good in themselves, they were objectionable because of their non-British concepts. Why supply British children with American films any more than British schools with American textbooks, he asked? (June 11, 1959, p. 11.)

† *Television Act, 1954*, Sections 8 (2a), 3 (4a). Publicity for charitable and benevolent organizations is the only other program area for which prior permission is required.

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Sunday schools normally meet, while only religious programs (except for occasional broadcasts of special events occurring outside the studios or Welsh language programs) may be transmitted between 6:15 and 7:25 on Sunday night, to avoid a conflict with evening services.* Obviously, the British government intends religion to be well served by television.†

Before the ITA ever came on the scene the BBC had developed an elaborate policy structure for religious programs.¹⁴ There was a Central Religious Advisory Committee made up of representatives from the main Christian faiths. Services of worship and religious talks could be given only by “churches in the main stream of historic Christianity,” that is, the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church, and the churches in the Free Church Federal Council (Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian). However, what the BBC called “controversial religious broadcasts,” including actual controversy as well as programs by groups outside the “main stream,” occasionally brought to the air most other religious groups with any considerable British membership. This policy, which parallels that applied in political broadcasting in greatly favoring the established majority groups, is defended by the BBC on the ground that, since there is agreement on the role of the Christian tradition in British life, broadcasting should assert positive Christian leadership, its obligation to the minority and non-Christian sects being discharged through the occasional “controversial” programs.

With religious even more than schools broadcasting, the ITA apparently decided to outdo the BBC both in the amount and range of its programs. It chose to use the same Central Religious Advisory Committee, however, in order to ensure uniformity of policy and procedure. Since September 1957 several program companies have joined forces to telecast morning services every Sunday from churches of different denominations. The BBC, which had broadcast such programs from time to time over the years, began to do so every Sunday at the end of 1960.‡

* See also footnote on p. 80 above.

† Up to July 1959 only religious programs, broadcasts of outside events, or Welsh language programs could be telecast before 2:00 P.M. on Sunday, but this rule no longer holds. (London *Times*, July 9, 1959, p. 4.)

‡ *BBC Annual Report 1958–59*, p. 53; *ITA Annual Report 1957–58*, pp. 10–11; *ITA Annual Report 1959–60*, pp. 20–21. ATV's approach to religious programming is clearly a practical one. As Michael Eddington, a man with a theater background

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Both services have religious talks and discussions Sunday evenings from 7:00 to 7:25.* Monday through Friday ITV stations in most areas conclude each day's programs with a short religious *Thought for the Day*. Both services have special programs and much religious music during such major religious festivals as Easter and Christmas.

By all means the most unique experiment in British religious broadcasting was the original format of "The Sunday Break," an ITV series broadcast from 6:15 to 7:00 P.M. three Sunday evenings out of four, which was produced by ABC from its Birmingham studios. Program company dissatisfaction at having to sign off for a period every Sunday evening led to a proposal that the churches support a request to the Postmaster General to allow the broadcasting of religious programs during that period, and accordingly, "The Sunday Break" was introduced, beginning on March 16, 1958. This series is an attempt to supplement conventional religious programs, whose audiences are presumably made up of people who already have religious affiliations, with programs for young people outside any church, who are uncommitted in their religious beliefs.

Accordingly, "The Sunday Break," which was broadcast from a simulated youth club, consisted of noisy renditions of popular music, interspersed with "heart to heart" talks between representative young people and personable religious advisors. Inevitably, a program of religion with a jazz music setting can evoke a fair amount of criticism, and in March 1960 a British religious journal severely attacked the whole project. The support of the religious community had been enlisted, so it stated, with the promise of a religious series without advertising. There was no advertising, but the small amount of religion "included in the promised 'religious' feature is negligible and all too obviously only there on sufferance. . . . Why should the greatest drama of history be the mere tail to the kite of a third rate show of half-baked youth—in the name of religion?"¹⁵ In reply to such blasts the ITA pointed out that the series had the support of the Central Religious Advisory Committee;

who is now their television producer, put it: "The Church entered television with the salesman, the canvasser and the entertainer. It had, to put it crudely, to become part of show business." (Michael Eddington, "Television and Religion," *The Twentieth Century*, November 1959, p. 394.)

* The range of topics on this ITV series is indicated by the complete list of subjects from June 1956 through August 1958, in Associated Television, *The Story of the Shroud*, pp. 14–21. For a list of BBC religious programs, see *BBC Annual Report 1959–60*, pp. 151–152.

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that it regularly reached some 6,000,000 viewers, of whom 1½ million were under sixteen; and that the audience included many teenagers who did not go to church and might not tune in ordinary religious programs. Subsequently, however, the program changed its format and adapted a more conventional approach.

Whatever may be the merits of the "Sunday Break," ITV must be credited generally with some outstanding religious programming. When Parliament debated the Television Act, Anglican church leaders strongly opposed commercial television, but by now many of them probably have changed their minds. In fact, ITV has shown more initiative in religious programming than has the BBC, and in addition has led in organizing workshops on religious television. In the fall of 1958 ABC Television offered three courses, each lasting five days, for Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Free Churchmen, respectively. In May 1959 at an ABC workshop for thirteen Anglican churchmen, the BBC's head of religious broadcasting lectured about the Corporation's programs and policies, this being the first time a BBC executive had ever visited a commercial television studio to talk about BBC programs.¹⁶

But it is time for both BBC and ITA to re-examine certain basic policies in religious programming. Why limit act-of-worship broadcasts to the main-stream churches? In their so-called controversial religious programs, both the BBC and ITA offer little time to non-Christian groups. It would seem that the same reasoning which brought minority political candidates to the air should apply to religious minorities too. The majority religious faiths should no more impose a veto on dissenting sects than should party whips on dissident politicians.

Programs of Serious Music

The BBC does much more with serious music than does ITV, even though the Corporation devotes only 3 or 4 per cent of its total air time to concert music, opera, and ballet combined. In Europe as in America, there are differences of opinion as to the merits of televised instrumental music, and audiences seem to show no more enthusiasm for high-cost television than low-budget radio music. Nevertheless, the BBC continues to try, while ITV conducts only sporadic experiments.¹⁷

In the course of a year, the BBC broadcasts all kinds of music. It relays symphony concerts, such as the opening and closing Promenade Concerts; presents studio broadcasts with "music appreciation" com-

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mentaries; telecasts opera and ballet direct from such noted theaters as the Glyndebourne and Covent Garden opera houses; and periodically presents short solo recitals by such international celebrities as Elizabeth Schwarzkopf, David Oistrakh, Emil Gilels, and Claudio Arrau.

BBC experiments with television opera date back to prewar days. The Corporation favors live studio performances of operas composed or adapted for television in which the singers are both seen and heard, although it occasionally telecasts an opera like *Madame Butterfly* with Japanese actors to mime the roles while off-screen European voices sing. In recent years it has commissioned operas for television (for example, Arthur Benjamin's *Mañana*, and Sir Arthur Bliss' *Tobias and the Angel*); relayed operas from British and (via Eurovision) from European theaters; and presented elaborate studio versions of such varied fare as Lehar's *Merry Widow*, and Richard Strauss' *Salome*.*

In ballet too the BBC has a record of good works extending back to 1936 and before, which has brought to its screen the best dancers and ballets of the age. Each year there are first class stage pickups of such groups as the Bolshoi, Royal Danish, and Royal Ballet Companies; outstanding studio originations of standard ballets like *Coppelia*, *The Nutcracker*, and *The Sleeping Beauty*; and adaptations, such as Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf*.

At times, with music as in other areas, there are interesting parallels between the two networks' programs. Thus on Good Friday in 1957, ITV presented a film of Baroque sculpture in Bavarian churches with appropriate religious music, and on Christmas Eve broadcast a similar program based on Flemish religious art. The BBC during the same Christmas season accompanied a performance of the *Messiah* with examples of German Baroque religious art.¹⁸

On its opening night Associated-Rediffusion telecast music by the Hallé Orchestra of Manchester, and during the following year often brought the orchestra to its screen. But the problems of producing instrumental music on television, together with low-audience ratings, led to fewer symphony broadcasts in later years, and then during off-peak hours only, although ITV has recently had concerts by the Hallé Orchestra, Scottish National Orchestra, National Youth Orchestra, and Philadelphia Orchestra.

ITV has no programs on the order of the BBC's Celebrity Recitals,

* For a description of Eurovision, see pp. 141-143 below.

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and little classical ballet; however, soloists like Maria Callas, Joan Hammond, Jussi Björling and Julius Katchen, plus occasional ballet features, are sometimes introduced into variety programs like *Chelsea at Nine* and *Sunday Night at the London Palladium*. But credit must be given to AR for the first full-length opera seen on ITV, Benjamin Britten's *The Turn of the Screw*, presented in two installments on December 25 and December 28, 1959. When Granada telecast the Royal Ballet in Prokofiev's *Cinderella* on April 13, 1960, press reaction to the performance was highly favorable.¹⁹

Dramatic Programs

Drama can be anything from philosophical tragedy to hilarious farce, and therefore cannot easily be classified as "balance programing" or light entertainment. In fact one reason for the differences between BBC and ITV data on the proportion of serious material broadcast by each, is that ITV counts some whereas the BBC usually excludes all dramatic programs. But in any case, British television offers all kinds of drama, both live and on film.

BBC television inherited from radio an enviable reputation in broadcast drama, particularly in adaptations of the classic repertoire, and it was ably advancing this tradition before the ITA ever came on the scene. But ITV quickly established itself, and broadcast its first full-length play during its opening week in September 1955. At the outset ITV inclined towards lighter material, but as the years have gone by it has presented serious drama to compete with the BBC's best.

During a typical week, British television offers a wide range of drama during peak evening hours. ITA stations carry an average of one 90-minute, five 60-minute, and two or three 30-minute light and serious dramatic programs, the major productions bearing such names as "Arm-chair Theatre," "Play of the Week," and "Television Playhouse." BBC television will come up with several 90- and 60-minute plays, with names like "Sunday Night Theatre," "Twentieth Century Theatre," "World Theatre," and "Saturday Playhouse," plus serialized dramatizations of novels and some light entertainment drama.

With drama, more than almost any other type of program, it is unfair to lump together the entire ITV output without reference to the originating companies. Howard Thomas of ABC Television observes in an excellent essay that ATV, because of its theatrical associations "tends to

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favour stage plays and to revive successes of the theatre"; Granada, "sociologically inclined, has specialised in presenting stage plays with a serious message"; AR provides "first class entertainment, mostly in the lighter vein but often mirroring the contemporary scene;" while his own ABC has stressed originality in "Armchair Theatre" "by experimenting with writers new to television, in the process making both losses and gains."²⁰ However, to American readers these distinctions among companies are not very meaningful, while it is doubtful if many British television viewers, excepting for a few very knowledgeable drama fans, are aware of whose play they are watching.*

Without equal in its class is the BBC's "World Theatre," the name and idea for which were borrowed from BBC radio. Here one may see ninety-minute adaptations of the familiar and unfamiliar plays of Shakespeare, Chekov, Euripides, Shaw, Gogol, Ibsen, O'Neill, Gorky, and their equals.²¹ ITV has not stressed adaptations of stage plays or novels to anything like the same degree, although it does do some classical drama. Outstanding was AR's ninety-minute version of Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman*, starring Sir Laurence Olivier in his television debut. Also broadcast have been classics by Ibsen, Shaw, Wilde, Strindberg, and O'Neill.

The two services compete evenly in their repertoire and performances of contemporary drama; in fact, a list of the plays and actors of either would be a list of the best plays and performers of the day. The BBC can point with pride to Wouk's *Caine Mutiny*, Connelly's *Green Pastures*, and Dylan Thomas' *Under Milk Wood*, while ITA's companies can counter with Anderson's *Winterset*, Christopher Fry's *A Phoenix Too Frequent*, and Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*. Granada's production of Thornton Wilder's *The Skin of Our Teeth* marked the television debut of Vivien Leigh, and ATV's presentation of N. C. Hunter's stage play, *A Day by the Sea*, was Sir John Gielgud's first British television appearance.

Despite sincere attempts by both the BBC and ITV to develop television dramatic writing, Britain has not turned out writers in the class with Paddy Chayefsky, Reginald Rose, and Rod Serling, whose names have become household words in America and elsewhere through television and cinema, although such authors as Clive Exton and Iain

* A Pulse survey for Associated-Rediffusion supports this assumption. See p. 188 below.

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McCormick definitely are on the way up. But in reviewing the year ending March 31, 1959, the BBC proudly noted that over 50 per cent of its television drama had been especially written for the medium, including contributions by thirty-one writers new to television, while Associated-Rediffusion pointed out that 85 per cent of all the plays it screened during the same period were written or adapted by British writers. On May 1, 1959, when AR transmitted the 190th play to be produced live in its studios since transmissions began in September 1955, it turned out also to be the 79th play to be written for Independent Television by a British author.²² Granada and ATV encouraged new writers by offering prizes totalling £4,105 for television plays in a contest which attracted 2,812 entries.*

Note should also be taken of the ambitious plans of one of the regional program companies, Southern Television, which hoped to develop over a period of two years the Old Vic "Theatre of the Air," to consist initially of twelve full-length plays, most of them especially commissioned for television. Accompanying this was an agreement that Southern Television would have exclusive television rights to productions by both the Old Vic in London and the Bristol Old Vic.²³ Anglia also has entered the field of drama and periodically supplies plays for the network, usually with high-audience ratings.

The expression "serial" has meant quite different things to British and American broadcasters ever since radio days. The British have nothing to parallel America's stereotyped soap serials, but they do have serialized dramatic programs, including some continued stories written especially for radio and television, and frequent adaptations of literary classics. Appropriately enough for a television service with London studios on a street named "Lime Grove," the BBC had the "Grove Fam-

* *ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 18. Commercial television when buying a dramatic script usually asks that it fall into two or more sections in order to accommodate as many commercials as possible, and that each section end with a dramatic situation sufficiently tense so that the audience will not tune to the other channel during the interval. (London *Times*, January 29, 1959, p. 7.) Although British television has no sponsors to bring pressure on writers, as sometimes happens in the United States, there has been censorship on the grounds of morality and taste, as in the case of ABC Television's "Armchair Theatre" program, *Three on a Gas Ring*, by the American writer, David Osborne, which told of premarital love in London's Bohemian Chelsea. After being videotaped for presentation at a cost of some £5,000 (\$14,000), *Three on a Gas Ring* was canceled following a private showing to ABC Television and ITA officials and the Anglican Bishop of Coventry. (London *Times*, February 12, 1960, p. 12; *News Chronicle*, February 11, 1960; *Daily Express*, February 15, 1960.)

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ily" serial intermittently between April 1954 and June 1957. At almost any time BBC television will be presenting in installments one or more literary classics on the order of *Pepys' Diary* or Dickens' *Our Mutual Friend*, although ITV does very little with such programs. The BBC also has produced some mystery series, outstanding of which was one built around a fictional character named Quatermass.

Notable in its class has been Associated TeleVision's "Emergency-Ward Ten," broadcast on Tuesdays and Fridays from 7:30 to 8:00 P.M. since February 1957. This human interest serial recreates life in a typical British hospital. The program has been well received by the medical profession and its acceptance by viewers is indicated by large audiences (it is usually among the top ten), as well as by frequent requests to its cast for medical advice. The program achieved additional status by being made into a motion picture, in which most major roles were played by the actors who appear in the television version.²⁴ Roughly comparable to "Emergency-Ward Ten" are ITV's "Boyd, Q.C.," a series of criminal trials in which the jury's verdict is delayed until after the last commercial; "Probation Officers," with the probation service as its background; "Deadline Midnight," based on the lives of newspapermen; and "No Hiding Place," with Scotland Yard as inspiration. Both services offer many one-time 30-minute mystery and crime programs.

The BBC has done some highly imaginative work with its "drama documentaries," which are fictionalized treatments of factual material. An interesting example was "You Take Over," "which sought to give the viewer a subjective insight into the problems and situations confronting men in positions of great responsibility." After a convincing dramatization of a difficult situation, involving a decision by perhaps an airport traffic controller, a medical worker, or a judge, the viewer is asked to make the decision himself.²⁵ The BBC also had "Your Life in Their Hands," a documentary series about medical and surgical problems in hospitals. The vividness of its ten sections attracted audiences of from seven and a half to ten million, although some doctors and parliamentarians questioned the wisdom of such candor in a medical program.²⁶

An old story was re-enacted on February 20, 1959, when Associated-Rediffusion's presentation of Lester Fuller's play, *Before the Sun Goes Down*, gave British viewers their first television *War of the Worlds* experience. The play began as an actor, impersonating a newscaster, inter-

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rupted the program "for an urgent announcement" that a new and "terrifying space ship . . . hangs stationary over London." Many people took this to be a real news announcement and were terrified. There followed calls to the stations carrying the program, the police, and the newspapers, as well as to the BBC, to see if they too had news of the "invasion."

In due course there were letters to the newspapers, questions in Parliament, and an explanation from the ITA that there had been an error of judgment which would not be repeated. The play by itself created little or no comment, the reviewer for the *London Times* dismissing it as "beneath critical attention." However, the lesson was learned, and a simulated news broadcast scheduled to introduce Thornton Wilder's *The Skin of Our Teeth* a month later was eliminated at ITA instructions.*

There is no doubt that British viewers are better off for the addition of ITV's drama to that of the BBC. But this improvement is the result of a multiplication of services, rather than of a higher level of output from the newer system. In fact there is little choice between the two, except for the BBC's greater emphasis of the classics. In casting and performance comparison must now be made on a program-by-program basis, with first one and then the other service ahead, and with both steadily raising their already excellent standards.

* London *Daily Express*, February 21, 1959, p. 1; London *Daily Herald*, February 21, 1959, p. 1; London *Times*, February 21, 1959, pp. 6, 7; February 24, 1959, pp. 5, 7, 11; *Sunday Times*, February 22, 1959, p. 4. The most famous case of this sort, of course, was the CBS *War of the Worlds* scare in 1938. But back in January 1926, an imaginary BBC news bulletin had reported that rioters were wrecking the BBC studios, had blown up Big Ben, and were sacking the government offices on Whitehall. Consternation followed, and people all over the country called up their friends, the BBC, and the newspapers to make frenzied inquiries.

On Monday, September 10, 1945, during a flashback in a BBC radio dramatic program, a well-known BBC voice reread the announcement of the previous May that Tuesday, May 8, and Wednesday, May 9, would be VE Day holidays. This led to such widespread assumption that Tuesday and Wednesday of the week of the program also would be holidays, that explanations had to be made over the air and in the newspapers. (*Yearbook 1932*, p. 96; *Daily Mirror*, September 11, 1945, p. 1.)

In September 1957 a half-hour television program in Hartford, Connecticut, opening Civil Defense Week, showed so realistically what might happen if Connecticut experienced an enemy attack, that many people were frightened into believing the country was actually being invaded. The program was only on one local station, but before it was over, more than 100 telephone calls had been received by the town's newspaper, and other calls were made to the police. (*New York Times*, September 16, 1957, p. 33c.)

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Light Entertainment and Sports

In view of the frequent discussions of the relative amounts of light entertainment on BBC and ITV, it is unfortunate that there are no similar data on which to base comparisons. The BBC classifies about 11.6 per cent of its programs as light entertainment, and another 8.6 per cent as entertainment films. In addition, some of its 9 per cent drama category consists of very light material.

The ITA's annual reports do not contain such data, but when Associated TeleVision made an analysis of both services for the week ending October 24, 1959, it gave the BBC a ratio of approximately 53 per cent "serious" to 47 per cent "lighter" programs, compared to an ITV ratio of 45 per cent "serious" and 55 per cent "lighter." Grouping together such programs as feature films, short films, light entertainment, light music, and quiz programs, the same report assigned 42.6 per cent of the ITV output to this category against 27.7 per cent for the BBC. For the peak viewing period 7:30 to 10:30 P.M. the figures were ITV 63.9 per cent light material and BBC 47.7 per cent.²⁷ Taken together, these figures indicate that there is more light entertainment on the commercial service, and that the BBC intersperses more serious features among its entertainment items in the course of an evening than does ITV, an impression which is confirmed by even casual viewing.

Compared to American television, Britain has fewer program series built around single stars or companies. There are some, of course. ATV has "The Larkins," a domestic situation comedy series; both BBC and ITA have had "Life with the Lyons," a family serial built around Ben and Bebe Lyons and their two children; Granada originates "The Army Game," much like America's "Sergeant Bilko," which the BBC carries by kinescope; and the BBC features the excellent British comedian, Tony Hancock, in "Hancock's Half-Hour," along with other shows built around Jimmy Edwards, Charlie Drake, Eric Sykes, and other British stars. But all in all, this type of program is done less frequently and less well in Britain than in America, perhaps because Britain has fewer good comedians and ingenious script writers than the United States (some British television executives would reject this generalization).

But shows on the order of America's Ed Sullivan series are among British television's fixtures. Outstanding are Associated TeleVision's "Sunday Night at the London Palladium," and Granada's former "Chelsea at Nine." The Palladium show, which has usually ranked among the

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top ten since its debut in September 1955, originates in the London Palladium, "the world's most famous variety theatre," whose director, Val Parnell, is also managing director of ATV. Each program is normally built around a star of international reputation (often an American), and incorporates a chorus line, a short audience participation game with prizes, and a few vaudeville acts, tied together by a master of ceremonies, or to use the British term, a "compere." Similar in pattern was Granada's "Chelsea at Nine," named after the part of London which corresponds to New York's Greenwich Village. Though "Chelsea at Nine" did not attain such high ratings as the Palladium show, when on the air it often came up with more sophisticated entertainment. Regular programs like these are supplemented by specials, such as circuses and ice shows, broadcast direct from theaters, auditoriums, and ice rinks.

Hardly an evening goes by without one or more programs of light music. Featuring a single orchestra or singing star, they are similar to many American programs, though they are seldom as lavishly staged. ITV program titles include "The Song Parade," "The Melody Dances," "The Sunday Serenade," and "Bandstand," while the BBC comes up with "The Musical Fifties," "Make Mine Music," and "Vera Lynn Sings." The BBC also makes a good deal of ballroom dancing exhibitions and contests.

Several programs have been developed using recorded music. AR's "Cool for Cats" is a half-hour series, which alternates between a disc jockey's comments, and a ballet group's pantomiming after the pattern of America's "Hit Parade." On the BBC's "Juke Box Jury," a young studio audience watches as several popular music experts discuss current records from which brief excerpts are played.*

Both the BBC and ITV have audience participation programs; the BBC's scope is seriously limited, however, by its self-imposed rule against giving large prizes, although ITV follows the American pattern

* "Payola" has been suspected but not discovered in British broadcasting. The BBC is not involved in record manufacturing apart from the overseas distribution of some of its own programs, although Associated TeleVision has an interest in Pye records, which issues British and American popular music on the Pye, Vanguard, and Nixa labels. Wide coverage in the British press of the American payola and quiz scandals led to questions in Parliament as to whether there was discrimination in the selection of records for BBC or ITV. However, the government placed this in the category of subjects left to the broadcasters to regulate, and refused to become involved. Both the Corporation and the ITA denied any implication. (London *Times*, November 26, 1959, p. 4; *Variety*, December 2, 1959, p. 31.)

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and has big purses.* For years the BBC has broadcast "What's My Line?" and now has "Ask Me Another," based on its own radio series, in which questions of "Information Please" caliber are used to select the best regional teams and eventually the "Brain of Britain."

ITV quiz shows have included a number based on American patterns, such as "Twenty-One," and the "Sixty-Four Thousand Question," which, when it was on the air, had a top prize of 64,000 shillings (approximately \$9,000). There also are "Spot the Tune" (derived from the American "Name that Tune"), "Criss Cross Quiz" ("Tic Tac Doe"), as well as "Double Your Money," and "Beat the Clock," the latter being a part of "Sunday Night at the London Palladium." There also is "Dotto," in which contestants guess the identities of well-known people on the basis of dots on a sheet of paper.

Britain had its inquiry into rigged quiz programs before the United States did, although the results were much less dramatic. In the fall of 1958, Lord Beaverbrook's newspaper, the *Daily Express*, which seldom misses an opportunity to embarrass ITV, claimed that some participants on Granada's "Twenty-One" had advance knowledge of the questions. There was a flurry of excitement, reflected even in parliamentary questions, and an unofficial investigation was headed by a distinguished lawyer. The program producer was judged to have used "highly imprudent" methods in order to make the program more exciting, and thereafter the ITA issued a new set of rules to govern all quiz shows. "Twenty-One" had previously been scheduled to end its run in December 1958, anyway, and its contract was not extended although other quiz programs have continued on ITV.²⁸

Despite continued – and increasingly – vigorous efforts by the BBC, ITV on the whole leads in the light entertainment field according to most critics, and surely according to audience ratings, although in 1960 BBC light entertainment ratings were steadily gaining. But in any case the BBC has established priority in sports broadcasting.

When the Television Act was passed, it contained a provision to enable the Postmaster General to intervene in the event ITV used its superior financial resources to buy exclusive rights to big sporting events. But in practice, it has been the BBC which usually is ready and willing

* In December 1959, though, the Corporation's "Panorama" program offered a prize consisting of a two-week holiday for two people on the Island of Sark. (*Daily Mail*, December 8, 1959.)

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to spend the money to obtain such rights. The main problem, in fact, has not been rivalry between the BBC and ITV, but the reluctance of promoters to let their events be televised. Sometimes they exclude television entirely, and on other occasions insist on blacking out local stations, though permitting national coverage.

Britain being a sports-minded country, the Saturday and holiday afternoon schedules of both services from about 1:00 until 5:00 are devoted mainly to sports events, the audience being given a sequence of cricket, tennis, football, horse races, automobile racing and climbing contests, skiing, boxing, and swimming meets in season. The BBC is more willing than ITV to interrupt its normal evening schedules for major boxing and wrestling contests, as well as for Eurovision sporting events originations. The BBC also carries more sports news programs. It wants to be—and is recognized as—Britain's television sports network. Yet in the fall of 1960 ABC offered the Football League over £142,000 (almost \$400,000), a good deal by British standards, for one season's telecasting rights, in addition to guaranteeing the gate receipts against any loss due to television. This price the BBC described as "absurd."²⁹

Films

It was inevitable that British television should turn to the United States for films. The common language is an obvious reason, although American television and theater films, with translated sound tracks or subtitles, are broadcast in continental Europe too. An even more important reason is that the large American market has available for export many good films at low prices, whereas British television cannot afford to make elaborate films for its own use unless it can arrange some sort of foreign distribution.

There is a difference, of course, between films made for television and film recordings of what originally were live television programs. The ITA's program companies have used such American television films as "Highway Patrol," "Wagon Train," "Alfred Hitchcock Presents," "M Squad," "Rawhide," "Gun Law," "Wyatt Earp," "Maverick," and "Have Gun, Will Travel." The BBC, however, depends more on film recordings of American television shows ("kinescopes" in America; "tele-recordings" in Britain), including the "Perry Como Show," "Sergeant Bilko," "Jack Benny," "Burns and Allen," and "The Bob Hope Show."

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But BBC too carries many American television films, among which are "Laramie," "Philip Marlowe," "Wells Fargo," and "Small World."³⁰

The nature and amount of violence in many of these American imports is a favorite subject with British critics. Since ITV carries more such programs it receives most of the brickbats, but BBC comes in for its share too. ITA has not written out its policies in this matter, although the Television Act requires that programs shall not offend "against good taste or decency," nor do anything "likely to encourage or incite to crime or to lead to disorder."³¹ But the BBC in March 1960 issued a *Code of Practice* which deals mainly with this problem, though it applies to live studio dramas as well.

The *Code* declared that "scenes of violence, brutality or horror" must be "valid and essential to their theme," and should actually heighten the meaning of the program. "Scenes of physical violence are an almost invariable ingredient of all American importations other than comedy or musical shows," went on the *Code*, although they are permissible only if they arise naturally from the story and are not "unduly prolonged." What is more, "No sequence should include shots which dwell upon the more gruesome and bloody physical aspects of a combat. . . . Sound effects . . . should not distort or magnify the impact of violence, e.g., the breaking of bones, the cracking of skull or jaw. In a fist fight, neither contestant should engage in tactics of a vicious or bestial nature. Violence inflicted on a woman or animal must require special scrutiny."³²

With this set of rules as both stimulus and guide, the public and the critics set about appraising British television's treatment of violence. The BBC canceled two episodes of "Philip Marlowe" along with two of "Laramie." But what was left still evoked a fair share of criticism as falling short of the *Code* in certain respects. Meanwhile ITV, which uses even more American imports than does the BBC, looked to its defenses. But the public at large, in Britain as in the United States, continues to keep westerns among its top ten favorites every week of the year, codes or no codes.

Jokes about old theater films on television are heard less frequently in Britain than in the United States, for the good reason that British television uses fewer of them. Relatively few American films have appeared on British television, and until very recently hardly any postwar British films. British cinemas in 1958 set up a Film Industry Defense Or-

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ganization (FIDO) to block the sale of British film features to television. Financed by a levy on box office receipts, it is prepared to buy up films which producers may offer to television.* FIDO members, operating most of the country's theaters, also hold the threat of boycott over producers who sell to television.

Consequently, until 1960 British television could use only American films, even though American viewers often saw British features on their screens. By the late 1950's the BBC was televising only some 30 films a year, while the program companies among them averaged about two each week. But the dam was broken in January 1960, when Associated-Rediffusion purchased fifty-five postwar British films from Romulus Films for £500,000. Thereafter, FIDO threatened to boycott all Romulus films in theaters, and to induce strikes among projector operators employed by ITV, while both the television and film industries awaited the outcome.†

Because of their difficulties in obtaining cinema films both BBC and ITV have developed programs based on short film excerpts. For some years the BBC has done a fortnightly 30-minute program of film excerpts called "Picture Parade," for 9 months each year. It also has "The Cinema Today," plus film profiles of cinema actors. For example, to mark the 70th birthday of Charlie Chaplin on April 17, 1959, it broadcast a 60-minute program introducing artists who had known and played with him in earlier years, along with excerpts from his most famous films. AR does a 15-minute series called "Close Up" consisting of interviews with stars together with short scenes from their current films. Such programs are permitted by the film producers, since they promote current productions without showing enough of the films to discourage theater attendance.

Eurovision

The world's outstanding international program exchange project is Eurovision, initiated by the BBC and developed under the aegis of the

* In the United States such a procedure would probably be held an illegal restraint of trade in violation of the antitrust laws.

† London *Times*, August 30, 1957, p. 3; *Variety*, October 7, 1959, p. 59; *New York Times*, January 24, 1960, p. X7. The BBC follows a firm policy of never cutting a film, though in some instances films have been cut before it acquires them. The program companies nearly always cut films to fit into their schedules and in order to introduce advertising material. The "natural breaks" made in films designed to be seen without interruptions have brought ITV some of its sharpest complaints.

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European Broadcasting Union. Eurovision provides for the interchange of live and filmed television programs among most of the countries of western Europe, and it hopes soon to extend this to eastern Europe as well.³³

The technical problems involved are enormous. The distances are not great by American standards, since it is only 1,275 miles from Rome at the southern terminus of the network to Glasgow in the north, whereas it is 1,375 miles from New York to Dallas. But Eurovision has to contend with three television standards: the British 405-line system; the French 819-line system; and the 625-line system in the rest of western Europe. When Eurovision is extended to eastern Europe, a fourth standard will be involved too.*

The BBC carried its first cross channel program in 1950, when the Corporation sent its own cameras to Calais and microwaved back to London the ceremonies marking the centennial of the laying of the first underwater telegraph cable between England and France. Subsequent technical developments made it possible to convert incoming pictures from either the 819-line or 625-line standard to the British 405-line standard, and vice versa, with little or no apparent loss in picture quality.

The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953, which Eurovision brought to all Europe, gave great emphasis to program exchange, and since then there has been a regular flow of programs in both directions. During 1958, for example, the technical center in Brussels co-ordinated 233 transmissions, of which the BBC originated 52 and relayed 111. All sorts of programs are exchanged, although state events (British Royal coronations and weddings; Coronation of the Pope) and sports are the major items.† In June 1959, twelve countries joined forces to produce a single entertainment program, while periodically the BBC uses Eurovision circuits for special features of its own, such as "Press Conference" and "The Brains Trust" from Paris; "Tonight" from Venice, Copenhagen, and Geneva; and a three-cornered "Panorama" discussion from Paris, Cologne, and London. Eurovision also makes pos-

* The USSR and its satellites operate on a 625-line standard which differs in several important respects from the 625-line standard used in western Europe, and hence is not compatible with it. See the Appendix for information about the technical features of the world's television systems.

† The language problem is met by having multilanguage announcements; by transmitting separate commentaries by wire line from the point of origin; or by sending out pictures only, announcements being added by each country.

sible the transmission of news and current events material which is recorded in London for delayed use in news and magazine programs.

Thus far Eurovision has been of more help to the BBC than to ITV. For some time the rules of the EBU required a three-minute period without advertisements before and after each program received from or supplied to member countries. Early in 1958, however, the rules were modified so that only a thirty-second buffer was required, provided the programs themselves contained no advertising matter. But ITV makes relatively little use of Eurovision programs anyway, because there are few live programs it wants to relay which the BBC does not carry.

Regional Broadcasting

Since the United Kingdom is only as large as New York and Pennsylvania combined, it may seem strange to an American to speak of its regions. Yet, as anyone who has made the mistake of calling a Scotsman an Englishman has learned to his regret, the various sections of the country maintain strong traditions of separate identity. The United Kingdom is a country with an astonishing amount of regional diversity, a fact recognized in the legal structures of both broadcasting organizations.

The BBC's Board of Governors includes three members designated respectively as the national governors for Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.³⁴ Scotland and Wales also have their own broadcasting councils, which enjoy considerable autonomy. The BBC has divided the United Kingdom into six regions in addition to London, each of which has its own radio and television production facilities. One seventh of the BBC staff, or over 2,000 people, is employed outside of London.

The Television Act requires that three members of the Independent Television Authority must be chosen to represent Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, and further stipulates "that the programmes broadcast from any station or stations [must] contain a suitable proportion of matter calculated to appeal specially to the tastes and outlook of persons served by the station or stations."³⁵ In selecting program companies the ITA purposely supplemented its four national contractors with others that were regionally oriented, and requires them to originate some 15 per cent of their programs locally.³⁶

There has been rivalry between the BBC and ITV to develop programs from and for regions. In fact the ITA claims that there has been increased BBC regional activity following the opening of each ITV

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outlying station. However this may be, the regional production units perform the dual function of producing special interest programs for local reception, and regionally based programs for national distribution. Both services have local news programs in each area; special events and political programs of local and regional nature; Welsh-language programs for Wales; in-school programs for Scotland; much coverage of local sports events; and a fairly wide range of entertainment and cultural programs which reproduce on the local level most of the formats used in programs distributed to the nation from London.

In addition, local resources are used to develop programs for the entire nation. The BBC centers its agricultural programs in the Midlands and its natural history output in the West Region. Old Vic productions for the ITA network are handled by Southern Television in Southampton, while John Grierson, the noted authority on documentary films, originates a unique film commentary in Scotland. During the year ending March 31, 1959, the BBC's six outlying regions produced 548 hours of television programs for their own use which were not distributed nationally, while they turned out 474 hours for the national network.³⁷ In the same period ITV cut-of-London originations for both regional and national use totalled about 2,500 hours.*

The Commercials

Almost all ITV spot commercials are on film, although a few are now done on video tape and from time to time some are produced live. Recordings are preferred, however, since costs are reduced if several are made at one time, and more attention can then be given to production and timing. Although rates for air time are quoted from 5 to 60 seconds, most spot commercials are 30 seconds long.

Anyone familiar with American television commercials will be prepared for those broadcast by ITV, although an exact comparison cannot be made since the audiences have different needs, tastes, and income levels. Americans not used to British sales methods, and especially not to British accents, may find some ITV commercials strange or amusing at first; but when viewed over a longer period, one reacts to them as to American commercials.

* These are not comparable situations, however, since two of ITV's major program companies are based in the Midlands and the North of England, while the BBC's principal productions are centered in London.

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Spot commercials are made by advertising agencies rather than by the program contractors on whose schedules they appear, using the same basic techniques employed in the United States.* There are dramatic sketches with live actors, cartoons, voice over film, and some jingles, though not as many of the latter as in the United States. ITV commercials tend to be soft- rather than hard-sell, are somewhat on the subtle side, and frequently are humorous – at least to British viewers. Developed by British advertising agencies and given the same “creative” treatment as their American counterparts, they arouse the same reactions as do American commercials, ranging from the advertising-is-our-religion approach of the agencies themselves to severe criticism from these groups predisposed to object.†

With very few exceptions spot commercials are inserted locally by the individual stations rather than being sent out from one point to the entire network, even though many of the programs on which they appear are network programs. During a given break on a network show, therefore, not all stations will be carrying the same commercials. Programs are planned to leave an average of six minutes free during each hour, the exact times being known in advance to all stations, and the commercials are then broadcast during these prearranged breaks. This process obviously places a great premium upon exact timing, thus presenting another reason for the commercials being filmed.

The ITA requires that advertising magazines and features be clearly identified as such, and that any linking material be strictly subsidiary to the advertising theme.‡ Occasionally, but not often, one advertiser is responsible for a whole magazine or feature, although nothing may be done to imply that the advertiser is supplying entertainment material, as sponsors do in the United States.§

* For a brief description of the procedures followed by the agencies in making commercials, see p. 76 above.

† Information about reactions to ITV commercials is given on pp. 44–49 above.

‡ An advertising magazine consists of a series of advertisements for different products or services. The advertisements may originate from one advertiser or from a number, usually the latter. An advertising feature, on the other hand, deals with a single product or service, or with the products or services of a single company or industry, presented not in series, as in an advertising magazine, but as a unified whole. There are very few advertising features, however.

§ The Authority in a recent annual report referred to “the continued misunderstanding which still existed in some quarters about those advertising magazines which dealt with the products or services of a single advertiser who was responsible for their production. Advertising magazines of this type presented special problems in that, as their production was not in the hands of the programme companies who

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In a typical advertising magazine, a master or mistress of ceremonies (some former BBC announcers have gone into the business, incidentally) demonstrates a series of products in turn. To add interest the programs sometimes use such simulated settings as an English "pub." Typical titles are "Shop on the Corner," "Jim's Inn," "What's In Store," and "Over the Counter." In contrast to spot commercials, advertising magazines and features usually are produced by the program contractors themselves.*

were fully aware of the . . . provisions of the Act, there was sometimes a tendency for the advertisers to give insufficient emphasis to the primary advertising end of their magazines. . . . The companies therefore agreed that they would not normally accept 'single advertiser magazines.'" (*ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 15.) For a review of other legal and regulatory aspects of advertising magazines, see p. 48 above.

* For an appraisal of British television programs, with special reference to the effects of competition on the over-all output, see Chapter X below, especially pp. 191-194, 199-200, 202, 219-221.

~ ~ VIII

The Impact of Television on Radio, Press, and Cinema

ALL OVER THE WORLD, the growth of television has affected the public's use of radio, press, and cinema. In the United States, where 87 per cent of all homes have television receivers, television has led to revolutionary developments in radio programming and economics, important changes in publishing, and drastic reorganizations in the film industry. The United Kingdom, with television in two out of every three homes, is repeating these experiences, as British radio, press and cinema re-examine their policies and realign their operating procedures for better services and assured survival in the television age.

The Early Years of Radio

High standards of public service responsibility guided BBC radio from its very earliest days. During its first years on the air, under the leadership of John (later Lord) Reith, the Corporation announced its program policy to be "Give the public something slightly better than it now thinks it likes."¹ In 1949 the BBC told the Beveridge Committee that its purpose was to provide "information, education, and entertainment for the community at large . . . [while] playing its part in bringing about an informed democracy and in enriching the quality of public enjoyment."

It was the Corporation's policy to present a balanced program service to meet the needs of the entire population, with reference to minority as well as majority tastes, and to broadcast "at regular intervals . . . the major musical and dramatic repertoire." Furthermore, broadcasting was

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to be used constructively to advance the welfare of society, and always was to maintain the "general educational impulse." *

Since it was founded, BBC radio has passed through three quite distinct stages and now has entered a fourth. The first, from 1922 to 1938, saw the Corporation grow from modest beginnings to a service of national scope and international reputation; the second included the war years; readjustment and expansion between 1946 and 1957 constituted the third; while the fourth period began in the late 1950's, as the development of television — both BBC and ITA — posed the problem of adaptation and survival in a television world.

For nearly twenty years — 1927 to 1946 — the BBC was able to offer its listeners a choice of only two networks, mainly because of a shortage of broadcast frequencies. From 1930 to the outbreak of World War II, there were the National Service, uniform throughout the country, consisting mainly of London programs of national appeal, and the Regional Service, made up of a London key station feeding six regional networks, which often cut away for local programs.

World War II revolutionized British broadcasting. On September 3, 1939, television was suspended for the duration, and radio broadcasting consolidated into a single Home Service. In February 1940, an armed forces network was introduced, again giving the United Kingdom a choice of two national services; this General Forces Programme also was beamed to British servicemen throughout the world.

Postwar Reorganization

Following the war radio was reorganized on a three-network basis to provide Britain with the best program services it had ever had. The General Forces Programme, which naturally had included a great deal of entertainment, was succeeded by the Light Programme, while the wartime Home Service became the permanent Home Service, with six regional variants. The opening of the Third Programme in September 1946 completed the postwar pattern.

These three networks were intended to be complementary, rather than competitive in the American tradition. The relationship between them was stated — rather too optimistically it turned out — by the Di-

* *Beveridge II*, pp. 24, 198. For additional information about the development of BBC radio, see Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 143–154. The Corporation's program objectives are described in greater detail on pp. 22–24 above.

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rector General, Sir William Haley, who described “the community as a broadly based cultural pyramid slowly aspiring upwards. This pyramid is served by three main Programmes, differentiated but broadly overlapping in levels and interest, each Programme leading on to the other, the listener being induced through the years increasingly to discriminate in favour of the things that are more worth-while. Each programme at any given moment must be ahead of its public, but not so much as to lose their confidence. The listener must be led from good to better by curiosity, liking, and a growth of understanding. As the standards of the education and culture of the community rise so should the programme pyramid rise as a whole.”²

The Home Service was the keystone – the broad middle strand – of British radio broadcasting, and offered the widest program range of the BBC’s domestic services. It carried the principal newcasts and news analyses; programs for in-school use; the children’s hour; much serious music and some light and popular music; variety and other entertainment features; dramas; religious programs; and many talks and discussions. In addition, the Home Service was usually first with important public events and ceremonials, originated the major political broadcasts on radio, and broadcast many sporting events.*

The Light Programme offered a type of radio fare which the BBC previously had neglected. Before the war, the Corporation had developed two networks of the Home Service type, although never with the skill shown since 1945; but the public was not satisfied, and accordingly listened a great deal to Radio Luxembourg and other Continental commercial stations. It was partly to win back this portion of the audience, and partly to provide a needed service, that the BBC realistically set out to develop the Light Programme for people “who look to broadcasting purely for relaxation and amusement.” But a social objective as well as entertainment was aimed at: “Having gained the attention and confidence of this broad base of listeners,” said the BBC, “it is the aim of the Light Programme to interest them in life and the world around them and to use a strong foundation of light entertainment as a support for more serious things.”³

* Each of the BBC’s six regions has its own studios and staff, and for a time every day drops out of the Home Service network to carry its own programs. Although all must take the London-originated news and certain programs of national importance, including all political talks, the regions have considerable autonomy in program planning, especially the national regions of Scotland and Wales.

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Variety programs, comedy, light music, dance music, and other entertainment have always been the staples of its schedule. The Light Programme formerly shared its variety and light music shows with the Home Service, each network repeating many of the other's most popular programs. Yet, before the change of policy in 1957, serious things were often sandwiched in among the lighter items, and the staff noted with pleasure that as the years went by, the amount of time devoted to talks and discussions could be extended, and the difficulty of plays and music increased, without a loss of audience.

The world has read and heard most about the Third Programme, inaugurated on September 29, 1946. At the time, Sir William Haley outlined its purpose as follows: "A public service such as the B.B.C. has to feel that it is covering the whole range of its possibilities, that it is providing for all classes of its listeners, and that it is, among its other functions, presenting the great classical repertoire in music and drama, and — so far as they are broadcastable — in literature and the other arts.

"To do this within the two services already existing . . . is not possible. Quite apart from the already great pressure upon their time, the basic conceptions of ordinary broadcasting with its news bulletins and other fixed points, its desire in the course of the limited peak listening hours every evening to give some service to every possible taste, restrict to a hampering extent the possibility of devoting the necessary time to the full and frequent performance of great works in their entirety or to the development of those highest forms of music and drama which while they have a major importance have, as yet, only a minority audience.

...
"The Third Programme will have no fixed points. It will devote to the great works the time they require. It will seek every evening to do something that is culturally satisfying and significant. It will devote occasional series of evenings to some related masterpieces, a Shakespeare historical cycle, all the Beethoven quartets, or a series of Mozart operas. It will, so far as circumstances permit, be international. Concerts, operas, plays will be taken from abroad. . . . Its talks will include contributions from the great European thinkers. Its whole content will be directed to an audience that is not of one class but that is perceptive and intelligent."⁴

The Third Programme, of necessity, has always been for the serious man, although selective rather than continuous listening is intended. In

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theory it has tried to serve intellectually curious people rather than specialists, although in practice its programs often have had meaning only for specialists. At all times the Third Programme makes great demands on its listeners, not only because it offers such serious material, but also because it often is so reluctant to adapt its material to the requirements of radio presentation. But the Third Programme is not "educational" in the sense of an American educational station, with sequential lectures, lessons, and direct teaching. According to the BBC's own description, "it is a programme for the educated rather than an educational programme."⁵

One continuing factor in BBC radio policy has been the shortage of broadcast frequencies on first the AM and now the FM band. Under the Copenhagen allocation agreement, which came into effect in 1950, the BBC was assigned 14 frequencies, including the exclusive use of 1 frequency in the long- and 2 in the medium-wave bands, and shared rights on 11 other medium-wave frequencies.⁶ On twelve of these frequencies, and on one international common frequency, the BBC operates for the United Kingdom listeners, 58 AM transmitters at 44 locations, carrying the Home Service, Light Programme, Third Programme, and Network Three.

These new allocations caused a further deterioration in what was already an unsatisfactory situation; and since there now are more than twice as many stations on the European air as were intended by the Copenhagen plan, things are getting worse rather than better. After dark, especially, when there is much interference from Continental stations, many sections of the British Isles have very poor AM reception. Accordingly, FM broadcasting is being developed in the United Kingdom, as it is on the European Continent, not so much for high fidelity as to provide interference-free reception.*

In Britain the frequencies between 87.5 and 100 megacycles are available for FM, whereas in the United States the space between 88 and 108 megacycles is so assigned. But with FM radio as Band III television, the government holds back some frequencies for such nonbroadcast uses as police, fire, and other public services, so that in fact only the spectrum space from 88 to 95 megacycles is used. This curtailment threatens to

* *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 82-83. The British use the abbreviation VHF - referring to the Very High Frequency Band in which the broadcasting is done, rather than the American term FM (for Frequency Modulation), which refers to the type of modulation used.

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limit the development of FM radio just as the need to share frequencies with Continental countries affected British use of the AM band.

The BBC began experimental FM transmissions in London in 1950, and started to build a national chain in 1955. Stations have been added each year since then, so that by March 31, 1960, the BBC covered over 97 per cent of the population with its three networks of FM stations, consisting of sixty transmitters in twenty locations.⁷ These stations usually duplicate the AM services, however, rather than being programmed separately, since they were installed to provide improved reception of already existing programs, rather than as outlets for additional services. But with increasing pressure for local broadcasting, the BBC is already asking about the frequencies above 95 megacycles for additional FM stations.

The Influence of Television on Radio

Even without television, the late 1950's would have brought new challenges to BBC radio. A broadcasting service must always be re-appraised, its faults corrected, and its policies revised, in order to conform to the everchanging environment. But in addition to this, BBC radio had to adapt to television and prepare for 1964. In Britain, as in the United States, the rapid growth of television affected the public's use of radio. The inquiry into Britain's broadcasting services, which will culminate in new legislation for the ITA and rechartering for the BBC in 1964, will cover radio, as well as television. The introduction of commercial radio at that time is a distinct possibility; and if BBC radio is deemed inadequate or its audience too small, it may lose out in the final reckoning.

During the 1950's, therefore, there was much soul searching within the BBC. Among other things, there was a thorough re-examination of the basic theory underlying the relationship among the three networks. The postwar plan had regarded the audience as a cultural pyramid, and there had been hopes that the pyramid might someday be inverted, as the public's intellectual status rose. Accordingly, the Light Programme contained a fair amount of hidden education; Light and Home exchanged many entertainment features; while much intellectual material was segregated in the Third Programme.

But as the decade wore on, weaknesses appeared in the structure. It was felt that competition among the three networks and among the pro-

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gram departments had led to a lack of co-ordination as well as to much duplication. Furthermore, the Light Programme's serious features had driven a portion of its audience to Radio Luxembourg; the Home Service had become too serious; and the Third Programme was too limited in appeal. Accordingly, a general over-all revision was essential if the entertainment seeker was to be held by the Light, the middlebrows better served by Light and Home, and more intellectuals attracted to the Third Programme.

The inroads of Radio Luxembourg posed a real problem. One of the reasons the Light Programme was introduced in 1946 was to keep the audience away from Radio Luxembourg, with an entertainment-oriented schedule which would include some news, culture, and other serious items. But as television began to draw off the audience for light entertainment, just as it had done earlier in the United States, many British listeners found in Radio Luxembourg's nightly English language service the equivalent of the disc-jockey stations which dominated American radio. So, the Light Programme and Home Service lost audience to Radio Luxembourg as well as to television, although the audience for the Home Service's serious features, and for the Third Programme remained about as before.⁸

The Third Programme has been a problem as well as a boon to the BBC, combining as it does such laudable ambitions with such small audiences. The Third Programme tied up two of the thirteen AM frequencies used by the BBC for domestic broadcasting, and it accounted for some 10 per cent of the radio budget as well as 10 per cent of the Corporation's total radio hours.

Yet its audiences always have been extremely small. Seldom has it attracted at any one time more than 50,000 listeners out of the entire country's 38,500,000 adults. This is only about 2 per cent of the average evening audience, or a bit more than one tenth of 1 per cent of the United Kingdom's population over the age of fifteen. The Third Programme, of course, was designed for selective rather than continuous listening so that a steady turnover of listeners is expected. The BBC estimates that during a typical month, half a million people hear the service at one time or another. But this still is a small return in view of the transmitters, personnel, and budget involved.

Any serious program service is bound to have a small following, but in this case the programs themselves also were at fault. Despite the

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avowed objective of having specialists talk to intelligent nonspecialists, too much of the Third Programme's output consisted of professors reading papers suitable for graduate seminars and learned journals rather than for radio broadcasting.

The reputation of the Third Programme has always been all out of proportion to its actual importance. Many people—including some American and European intellectuals living far beyond the range of the Third Programme's transmitters—were so impressed by the presence of a radio service with such noble objectives, that they judged the results without reference to the facts of performance. Others took the strange and illogical position that the Third Programme should be maintained for the articles in *The Listener* which resulted from its talks. Because the Third Programme is often supported as a principle rather than as a radio service, by people who unrealistically fail to appraise the major problems of survival facing BBC radio today, the BBC has been subject to much pressure to maintain it without change, in the absence of an audience commensurate with its cost in terms of facilities, resources, and money.⁹

But radio's main problems stemmed from the development of television. As shown in Table 7 on page 174, there was a steady growth in the number of radio-only licenses up to 1950, with a yearly decline thereafter at the rate indicated in column 2, even though the total number of homes licensed to use radio has steadily increased. While the number of radio-only licenses dropped from a high of 11,875,566 in 1950 to 4,535,258 in 1960, the number of television (that is to say, combined tele-

⁹ Lest it appear that this is only the opinion of a visiting American, it should be pointed out that prominent Britishers critical of the Third Programme have included the first Director General of the BBC and a recent chairman of the Board of Governors.

In 1950 Lord Reith, the Corporation's first Director General, told the Beveridge Committee: "The Third Programme, positively and negatively is objectionable. It is a waste of a precious wavelength; much of its matter is too limited in appeal; the rest should have a wider audience. Its existence is taken to condone the absence of policy elsewhere; it is an easy way out." (*Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1949; Appendix H: Memoranda Submitted to the Committee* (Cmd. 8117), p. 364.)

Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, after retiring as chairman of the Board of Governors, reported "a rather remarkable consensus of opinion among many people with whom I have discussed this matter," that Third Programme audiences could be increased several fold "by making the Programme less specialized without in any way lowering standards." This, he also stated, was the opinion of the Board of Governors in 1951, the year before his term of office expired. (E. D. Simon, *The B.B.C. from Within*, pp. 85-86.)

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vision-radio) licenses rose from 14,560 in 1947 to 10,469,753 in 1960. The BBC estimates that by the end of 1964, the number of television licenses will have risen to thirteen or thirteen and a half million, and the number of radio-only licenses will have declined to one and a half million. At that rate, there would be nine television licenses for each radio-only license.*

At the end of 1958 the BBC reported that 95 per cent of all adults in the United Kingdom had access to radio receivers. Multiple set ownership was not common, however, as it was in the United States, since 70 per cent of all homes had only one set, 22 per cent had two, and only 8 per cent three or more receivers. The fact that most homes have only one set is a disadvantage to the BBC, since it has been found in the United States that much radio listening in television homes is done on second, third or fourth sets, by people engaged in household activities which take them from room to room. The relative absence of automobile radios is another disadvantage; only 4 per cent of all British people have car radios, whereas almost 70 per cent of American vehicles have radios. The percentage of the public having FM receivers is 15, the incidence being higher among television (17 per cent) than among nontelevision (12 per cent) owners. (The American figure is 30 per cent.)⁹

As would be expected, the effect of television on radio listening has been drastic, particularly during the evening hours. In 1949, the BBC's average evening radio audience was 8,850,000 adults.† By 1958 it had dropped to less than half that figure, or 3,350,000, of which three fourths were people without television sets, and only one fourth television set owners who were listening despite the counter attraction of television. This decline in audience was mainly due to television, although the ever-wider choice of leisure pursuits resulting from the constantly rising standard of living, and competition from Radio Luxembourg, were factors too.

If by 1964, as the BBC expects, 90 per cent of the population have television sets, the average evening listening audience will be stabilized at about one and a half million people, of which less than half will be people without television, the rest being television owners who at the moment prefer radio for one reason or another. Even when all homes

* Much more complete data on the effects of television on radio listening are given on pp. 178-182, 183, 189-190 below.

† BBC Audience Research determines the "average audience" by dividing the total size of all audiences during a period by the number of programs broadcast.

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have television, however, the BBC still counts on an average evening audience of at least one million out of a total adult population of some forty million people.*

The effect of television on daytime listening has been much less pronounced. The amount of listening between 7:00 and 9:00 A.M. has hardly changed at all during the last ten years. At present, in fact, BBC radio reaches its maximum audience during those hours, although listening between 9:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. dropped from an average of 4,000,000 adults in 1949 to 2,850,000 in 1958. The BBC reports that television has had little effect on the character or tastes of the radio audience. But if the British had day long access to disc-jockey and capsule news services like those available in most American cities, their tastes might change. As it is, Radio Luxembourg, the only station which offers such programs, does not begin its English language transmissions until 6:00 P.M., and not all homes get good reception from its distant transmitter anyway.

The division of audience among the three services was established soon after the 1946 reorganization in the approximate ratio of 66 per cent for the Light Programme, 32 per cent for the Home Service, and 2 per cent for the Third Programme. Despite television these proportions have been maintained since the 1957 realignment too, with an average of 2 per cent of the audience falling to the Third Programme or Network Three, whichever is on the air. Serious programs, such as symphony concerts, chamber music, discussions, and serious talks, have lost fewer listeners to television than have light entertainment programs.

The British experience accords with the increased audiences of many American educational and FM good music stations. The BBC points out that the average age of the radio-only population is higher than that of the television population, and that older people are more apt to like serious programs. But it also may be that in Britain, as in America, many discriminating people are dissatisfied with television's predominantly light fare. People in search of information are often better served by radio than television; others may want serious music as a background to household activities.

* The American experience parallels that of Britain. Morning listening has maintained about the same level as before (even though American television stations broadcast in the morning whereas BBC and ITV seldom do), and afternoon listening exceeds afternoon viewing. But in the evening, listening is less than half of what it used to be. (Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television*, p. 117.)

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The rapid development of television also posed some financial policy problems. The BBC has always counted as radio income its share (after Post Office and Treasury deductions) of all the £1 radio-only license fees, plus one third of the net proceeds from each television-radio license, assigning to television the remaining two thirds. Under this system, it was only in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1958, that television license income exceeded radio license income (£13,312,680 for television, £11,984,847 for radio). That also was the first year in which television expenditures exceeded those for radio, and then only by a slight margin (£12,396,023 over £12,346,011).¹⁰

But the assignment of one third of the combined license receipts to radio is a somewhat debatable policy. Most television license holders obviously devote a good deal less than one third of their BBC consumption time to radio listening. Yet, the relationship of radio to television expenditures is still maintained on this basis.

In view of these various considerations, a restructuring of BBC radio could have taken any of several forms. The Corporation could emphasize radio as much or more than before, or it could minimize its importance and reduce its budget. It could retain the three networks, or radically alter them. FM might be continued as a supplementary distribution system for the programs on AM, or it could be programed separately. The BBC could introduce one or more music services, light or serious. It could greatly intensify local broadcasting on AM, FM, or both. It even could ask the government for permission to introduce its own brand of commercial radio. The range of possibilities, therefore, was great.

The New Pattern

The BBC decided early in 1957 on the general outlines of its radio reorganization, but it was destined to introduce the intended changes only after wide public discussion of its entire programing. In February there were press reports that the Corporation had “decided that some adjustment of the existing pattern of programmes is desirable.”¹¹ Word having gotten around that this would involve a lightening of the Light and a curtailment of the Third Programme, the supporters of the *status quo*, and particularly of the Third Programme, initiated a carefully planned public campaign which received much attention. It began on March 24, 1957, when several hundred enthusiasts set up “The Third

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Programme Defense Society," subsequently renamed "The Sound Broadcasting Society."

When in April the BBC outlined its plans substantially as finally adopted, the Society reported that this was merely "a retreat on all fronts in the face of the advance of competitive television," and branded the whole thing a "disaster" for radio. *The Times*, whose editor had been BBC Director General when the Third Programme was introduced, carried various editorials on the subject, one of which concluded with a pun on Goethe's last words, "More light." These said *The Times*, "must not be the B.B.C.'s."¹²

The Society enlisted support from a number of outstanding intellectuals, most of whom probably knew the Third Programme more by reputation or as an exponent of their works, than as a day-to-day broadcasting operation. Men of the order of Sir Arthur Bliss, Sir Adrian Boult, Christopher Fry, Sir John Gielgud, Lord (Bertrand) Russell, Ralph Vaughan Williams, T. S. Eliot, Sir Harold Nicolson, Albert Camus, Jean Cocteau, and Darius Milhaud, signed letters declaring that the Corporation "had fallen woefully short of its duties to the public," especially in its "truncation" of the Third Programme.¹³

Performing musicians also were among the objectors, since the proposed changes called for a reduction in the amount of live serious music, although the BBC pointed out that service to the public rather than the employment of musicians was the important criterion for a broadcasting service. University professors were another group involved, which led some cynics to point out that many academicians were beneficiaries of the Third Programme's heavy reliance on talks at the going rate of a guinea (\$3.00) a minute, plus extras for recorded repeats and for publication in *The Listener*.

In due course the Sound Broadcasting Society met with the chairman and several members of the BBC's Board of Governors. The Society's seven-man delegation was headed by composer Ralph Vaughan Williams, actor Sir Laurence Olivier, and writer T. S. Eliot, whose views on the BBC were set forth in a booklet entitled "Unsound Broadcasting." In brief, their proposals were for the maintenance of the BBC's radio services much as before, with the Third Programme to broadcast at least from eight in the evening until midnight, without reduction in staff or budget, while Network Three operated only on an experimental basis.¹⁴

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During this running exchange, carried on through the newspapers, in public speeches, and even on the floor of the House of Commons, the BBC vigorously denied that it was lowering its standards, and maintained "that the division between majorities and minorities of time, money, and resources represented by this plan is fair and just when considered in terms of what is known as the tastes and habits of the community as a whole. It is a plan for the whole community and deserves to be considered as a total plan."¹⁵

But in spite of its critics, the BBC put the new format into effect on September 29, 1957. The reorganization assumed that the Corporation must supply a complete service for those who rely on radio alone, as well as a supplementary service for television viewers. It must serve special interest minorities, at the same time that it provided light entertainment for the majority. It must be flexible and realistic in order to meet the constantly changing needs of its audience; and it must do all these things within its operating budget.¹⁶

The plan was in no sense a revolution in programing, representing instead a shift of emphasis within the already existing framework. The three networks were retained much as before, and a fourth added to take over some existing programs and to specialize in a new type of minority service. No all-music network was introduced, nor were low-power local stations set up, and FM was continued as a technical supplement to AM rather than as a separately programmed service. Nothing at all was said about BBC radio going commercial.

Under the new policy, the Light Programme is "undemanding," with the "guiding principle . . . that it shall never cease to entertain," since "comedy, light drama, and light music are its basic ingredients."¹⁷ Audience-losing serious features are moved to the Home Service or Network Three, or dropped entirely, while audience builders like "Radio Newsreel" are retained. Most ten- and fifteen-minute newscasts have been replaced by short news summaries, every hour on the half hour (except for Saturday afternoons and Sundays). The Light Programme's opening time is moved up from 9:00 to 6:30 A.M., and this period filled with light instrumental music.

The Home Service is continued on much the same basis as before, which means that it overlaps on each side with the Light and Third Programmes. It has taken over a few of the Light Programme's heavier features, such as the mid-day concerts, while some of its talks are moved

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to Network Three, although its main current affairs programs are retained. In the early morning, when there is no television competition, the Home Service added to its schedule fifteen minutes of news at 7:00 and 8:00, and a new program called "Today," broadcast at 7:15 and 8:15, the second edition being largely a repetition of the first. This "magazine," to use the British term, is a talk and interview program in light vein about current affairs. The principal Home Service programs are nationally distributed although for some periods every day each region cuts away for its own originations, which are local and regional in appeal.*

Finally, there are two services on the frequencies formerly used by the Third Programme. Network Three is on the air from 6:00 to 8:00 P.M., Monday through Friday, 2:30 to 4:30 P.M. Saturday, and 3:00 to 5:00 P.M. on Sunday; and the Third Programme from 8:00 to 11:00 P.M. Monday through Friday, 6:00 to 11:00 Saturday, and 5:00 to 11:00 on Sunday.

The new Network Three is Britain's nearest approach to America's educational stations. It carries most of the instructional programs which were formerly on either the Home Service or Light Programme. In addition, many special interest programs, most of them not "culturally" oriented, have been introduced for the first time to British radio on a regular basis. There also are hobby programs about motoring, hi fi, bridge, chess, stamp collecting, and other fields.

Alterations in the Third Programme are quantitative rather than qualitative. Its time on the air is shortened from 40 to 24 hours a week, although the actual amount of its program material is not materially reduced. Some repeats are eliminated, however: whereas dramatic features and talks often had been repeated two or three times, under the new policy they are repeated once if at all.

In making these changes the BBC put aside the concept of intermingling instructional and entertainment programs in order to accomplish "education by stealth." As long as people were compelled to listen to radio in their search for entertainment, it was felt that some instructional

* Effective September 19, 1960, the BBC moved its famous "Nine O'Clock News" to 10:00 P.M. and followed it with a fifteen-minute news analysis. The decision to change the time of the program, which became a national institution during World War II, was taken because of declining audiences and in order to leave a longer unbroken mid-evening period for plays and concerts. (London *Times*, May 12, 1960, pp. 14, 15; June 7, 1960, p. 11; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 11.)

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material could be inserted into the Light and Home Services, and thus be assured of a fair-sized residual audience; but when radio lost its compelling attraction, the BBC had to be content just to satisfy the existing tastes of the public, rather than to change them surreptitiously. Therefore, it offered several contrasted program services and let the public take a choice.

Under the new policy, however, few important changes have been made within program categories. Entertainment and sports coverage remains as before; religious and children's programs, as well as services to schools, follow the same highly commendable lines; basic music policy is not altered; and dramatic and documentary programs still maintain standards deserving study by serious producers everywhere. News programs definitely are improved, however, moving away from the stilted editing and reading of former years towards a style more suited to the medium and the audience.*

Several months after inaugurating the new policy, the BBC was pleased to note an increase in the size of its audience. But the Sound Broadcasting Society remained critical. According to its calculations, the Third Programme had lost 37 per cent of its serious music, 22 per cent of its drama, and 35 per cent of its talks, while the Light Programme had lost all of its serious music, 40 per cent of its drama, and all of its serious talks (although it should be noted that the Light Programme had never carried many programs in any of these categories). *The Times* correspondent decided that the new policy involved "the dominance in sound radio of quantitative values at the expense of quality."¹⁸

But a comparison of BBC figures on the combined output of all radio services for the year ending March 31, 1956, with the output for the year ending March 31, 1959, indicates few very significant over-all differences in program balance. Thus, in 1955-1956, 19 per cent of the total time was devoted to serious music as against 16.0 per cent in 1959-1960. Other main categories compare as follows (with the first figure for 1955-1956, the second for 1959-1960): light music, 19 per cent and 23.0 per cent; documentaries and drama, 13 per cent and 10.0 per cent; variety, 7 per cent and 5.0 per cent; dance music, 9 per cent and 9 per cent; talks and discussions, 11 per cent and 13.0 per cent; news, 8 per cent and 10.0 per cent.¹⁹

* The various categories of programs are reviewed in detail in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 155-234.

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In view of broadcasting's changed environment, largely as a consequence of television, there is no reason to accept the complaints of the critics that BBC radio was downgraded to meet competition. Rather, there were realistic changes of policy to meet new conditions. When "education-by-stealth" did not work out and Radio Luxembourg was steadily increasing its audience at the expense of the BBC, it was reasonable to make the Light Programme into a responsibly run entertainment medium. Unfortunately, though, the programs now segregated on Network Three have much smaller audiences than when they were sandwiched between other types of programs on the Light Programme and Home Service. The Home Service, despite some lightening of its schedule, still probably offers a wider range of programs than any other English language radio service in the world.

The main features of the Third Programme, whose defenders continue to be vocal out of all proportion to their number, are still present, although repeats have been curtailed. The extent of the BBC's resources, in terms of frequencies, time, and budget devoted to the Third Programme, continues to be grossly disproportionate to the audience. However, since the new policy went into effect, the quality of Third Programme broadcasting has greatly improved, and its talks often attain their original objective of being meaningful to the intellectually curious, rather than being for experts only.

The BBC, like any broadcasting organization, has its faults as well as its problems, and it does not always meet its challenges in the best possible way; but its critics should be reasonable in passing judgment. For many of them, television may not even exist; and the threat of commercial radio taking away BBC frequencies and income may not appear real. But to the men in Broadcasting House, these are major concerns, and Britain's intellectuals might better help the BBC meet and solve its problems, rather than merely campaigning for the *status quo*. Within the Corporation there is a progressive element trying to lead the way towards better service and survival in changing times. The intellectuals should support rather than embarrass this liberal faction.*

Television and the Press

THE PRESS has always feared that competition from the electronic mass media would lead to a decline in readership and a loss of advertising

* There is further discussion of the future of BBC radio on pp. 205-207 and 220-221 below.

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revenue. As far back as 1922, the British press intervened to prevent the original British Broadcasting Company from collecting news, although the British Broadcasting Corporation shed this restriction in 1927. But it took the European crisis of September 1938 to remove the barriers imposed on BBC news broadcasts before 6:00 P.M. ° Prophetically, the press, which had always opposed commercial radio in Britain, told the Beveridge Committee: "If broadcast advertising is introduced into this country, the newspapers will claim the right, either jointly or individually, to take part in the running of it." 20 And they did! In 1960, newspapers held about one quarter of all television program company stock, being involved in six of the ten companies then on the air. †

There were some significant changes in both the circulation pattern and advertising revenue of British newspapers and magazines in the late 1950's, although it is difficult to establish the exact relationship of television to these developments. In the United States, which preceded Britain in the television cycle, magazine circulation was definitely reduced as a result of television viewing, the effects being greatest on family-type magazines of entertainment rather than informational character, presumably because of television's emphasis of entertainment programs. Thus, *Collier's*, the *American*, and *Woman's Home Companion* died, and many light content magazines declined in circulation, while there were gains by certain magazines aiming at serious or specialized audiences too small for television to serve. Television has had much less effect on American newspaper reading; and where there have been big circulation losses, they usually involved papers which stressed entertainment, sex, and crime, rather than serious news.²¹

Since television has become widespread in the United Kingdom, several British newspapers and magazines have ceased publication, while others have undergone drastic declines in circulation. At the same time, a few have improved their status, and several magazines have commenced publication. Television may or may not explain the failures, though the evidence suggests it may be a factor, especially since British trends largely parallel those observed in America.

The London quality papers, both Sunday and weekday, have gained circulation, while afternoon papers and Sunday sensational papers have lost. Among the morning dailies published Monday through Saturday,

° For further details see pp. 86-87 above, and Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 155-156.

† For analysis of program company ownership, see pp. 61-65 above.

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The Times rose from 221,972 in 1955 to 254,684 at the end of 1959, while *The Guardian* (formerly *The Manchester Guardian*) rose from 156,154 to 190,134, and *The Daily Telegraph* from 1,055,666 to 1,154,768.²²

Meanwhile, Britain's top circulation daily paper, the *Daily Mirror*, which stresses sex and sensation, declined from 4,725,122 in 1955 to 4,545,036 in 1959; but this was somewhat offset by the increase in the circulation of the *Daily Sketch*, patterned on similar lines, from 950,286 to 1,152,449. During the same four-year period, Labour's *Daily Herald* went down from 1,759,098 to 1,467,214, but the *Daily Express* (4,036,137 and 4,130,069), *Daily Mail* (2,068,167 and 2,084,378) and *News Chronicle* (1,232,778 and 1,206,309) remained about the same. (In October 1960, however, the *News Chronicle* was absorbed by the *Daily Mail*.) Taken together, these nationally circulated morning newspapers, representative of Britain's "popular press," had a circulation at the beginning of 1955 of 14,791,588, and at the end of 1959 of 14,585,455, a slight decrease in contrast to the quality press increase.

However, two London evening papers suffered big losses, the *Evening Standard* going down from 710,776 to 586,097 and *The Star* from 1,010,809 to 744,265, and in October 1960 *The Star* was absorbed by the *Evening News*. Certain national Sunday newspapers also lost circulation, especially the *News of the World*, from 7,971,020 to 6,432,896; *Reynolds News* from 579,180 to 313,771; the *Sunday Dispatch* from 2,549,228 to 1,519,296; and the *Sunday Graphic* from 1,220,056 to 886,059. In October 1960 the *News of the World* absorbed the Sunday *Empire News*, which at the time had a circulation of about 2,000,000. But like their morning counterparts, the two outstanding quality Sunday papers increased circulation, *The Observer* rising from 564,307 to 677,856, and the *Sunday Times* (which is not associated with the daily *Times*) from 606,346 to 900,077.*

These data point to the conclusion that the circulation of general in-

* *The Newspaper Press Director and Advertisers' Guide*, 1959, pp. 67-88. *London Times*, October 12, 1960, p. 12; *Variety*, October 26, 1960, p. 3. The circulation increases among these quality papers are in line with the tendency for television to help specialist publications, while harming the general interest press. But one American scholar has pointed out that these increases came after *The Guardian* and *The Times* had engaged Research Services Ltd. to improve their publications. What is more, both papers engaged in extensive promotional advertising, so that it is difficult to isolate television's influence. (Raymond B. Nixon, "Journalism Research around the World," *Journalism Quarterly*, 35:144-146, Winter 1958.)

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terest newspapers is not much affected by television. However, the decline of the two London afternoon papers and the subsequent merging of *The Star* and the *Evening News*, probably were the result of television. Much of their circulation consisted of newsstand sales to homebound commuters, and informed opinion agrees that with two television services, people buy fewer afternoon papers to read on the train or at home.

The biggest loser of all has been the *Sunday News of the World*, a paper noted for sex and gossip, which prints little hard news. Analysis indicates that it has held its younger and older readers, while losing readers in their thirties and forties. It also has lost much advertising revenue, particularly for branded consumer goods, although it has kept its football pool advertising. Now that it has taken over the rival *Empire News*, of course, it may regain some circulation, for a time at least.

The real casualties among British publications have been magazines and regional newspapers. Several picture and general interest magazines have been discontinued, including *Picture Post*, *Illustrated*, *Home Notes*, *Everybody's*, *TV Mirror*, and *Home Chat*, along with three regional newspapers, the *Yorkshire Observer*, the *Liverpool Evening Express*, and the *Glasgow Bulletin*. Of course, some publications would have failed in any case, because of competition from other magazines, or because of the rising costs of labor and newsprint which have plagued the British press ever since the war. It should be noted, also, that in 1958 two women's magazines made successful debuts: *Woman's Realm* and *Woman's Day*. But on the whole, the available data, as interpreted by British mass media experts, seem to reflect the American experience: general interest and family magazines have declined in circulation, while specialist publications have gained, with television at least influencing the trend if not actually causing it.

There are even more fragmentary data on the effects of television on book reading, although here too the evidence suggests that television has hurt light fiction while aiding the circulation of serious books. The chairman of one British publishing house stated that book sales had risen 25 per cent since television became general. Television kept people at home, widened their horizons, and stimulated their curiosity. Sooner or later many of them turned to books, especially about current affairs, science, history, archeology, and astronomy, to learn more about many subjects in which television had aroused their interest.²³

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Total advertising expenditures have risen steadily since 1955, although the percentage increase in television has been much greater than the gains for other media.* National newspapers, trade and technical magazines, and window displays gained, although provincial newspapers, magazines, cinema, and billboard advertising actually lost. Hardest hit have been the advertisements run during breaks in cinema programs (a much more important aspect of British than of American advertising), and billboard advertising. Whereas a few years ago there was no space to be had, many billboards are now blank.

Advertising agency executives report that funds for television advertising have been taken out of general advertising budgets, rather than being met from new appropriations. Therefore, the combination of a loss of audience and the splitting of advertising appropriations has had an adverse effect on other advertising outlets, particularly on the provincial press, general circulation magazines, cinema, billboards, and Radio Luxembourg. These trends may be expected to continue for at least several years, partly because they are long-term developments, and partly because many space buyers are conservative and habit-ridden men, whose thinking lags behind circulation figures.†

Like broadcasting, the British press is now in a transitional period as it readjusts to the television age. It is reasonable to forecast, therefore, that as more British homes get multichannel television receivers, this readjustment process will continue, with stabilization coming perhaps in the mid 1960's.

Television and the Cinema

Next to radio, the cinema has been the medium hardest hit by television. Again, the American experience pointed the way. Ever since 1947, American television families have done less movie going. Average weekly motion picture attendance in the United States dropped from 82,000,000 in 1946 to 34,000,000 in 1956, and one quarter of the 19,000 cinemas in operation in 1946 had closed by 1953.²⁴

* See Table 5 on p. 69 above.

† Advertising agencies in London report that the coming of ITV has reduced advertiser interest in Radio Luxembourg. There has been no loss in the station's audience, and the advertiser's cost per thousand listeners is only about one shilling (\$.14) which is much less than the London program companies off-peak rate of 8 shillings (\$1.12) per thousand. (See p. 69 above.) Yet, the station is hard to sell to British advertisers, though at this stage there is no reason to call it a casualty to television.

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British data point to the same conclusions. Between 1951 and 1957, annual attendance declined 38 per cent. Increases in admission prices raised gross box office receipts from £108,300,000 in 1951 to £110,000,000 in 1954; but thereafter, price increases did not offset the attendance decline, so that by 1957 gross receipts fell to £92,700,000, the lowest since 1942. Consequently, 93 cinemas were closed in 1955, 224 in 1956, 215 in 1957, and approximately 250 in 1958.²⁵ Consistent with this is the fact that not a single new cinema was built in any of the new towns, or on any of the big housing estates of the London County Council that have gone up since the war, although in all cases cinema sites were provided in the original plans.

Television appears to be the principal cause of this decline. One statistician estimated that three fourths of the drop in attendance between 1950 and 1952 was due to increased television viewing. He assumed an average loss of sixty-five admissions per year for each new television license, while another observer put it as high as a hundred for each new license. British Board of Trade figures show that in the areas within range of the London, Birmingham, and Manchester ITA stations, cinema admissions fell by 23 per cent between the first quarter of 1956 and the third quarter of 1957, while admissions for the country as a whole fell only 17½ per cent. Cinema admissions fell more in those regions that had television first, while those areas with both ITA and BBC stations experienced the greatest decline of all.

Even though there is almost complete agreement that television is primarily responsible for this drop in movie going, there have been other contributing factors. British observers have theorized that since the average level of housing has improved, people now do more entertaining, and that in the summertime there is more work to be done in the new and larger gardens. There clearly has been a renewed interest in dancing, particularly among married couples in their middle forties and older, so that in some cases the dance hall is replacing the cinema as the place to go on nights out. The great increase in the number of motor cars is another reason, as is the extensive purchase of consumer goods — including television receivers — on the installment plan (“hire purchase” in Britain), which requires economy in order to meet payments while providing free entertainment at home via television.

But in any case, the problems of the British film industry antedated television. Competition from American films led some years ago to the

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imposition of a legal quota to assure the showing of a certain number of British films. Rising costs, plus an entertainment tax levied on gross receipts, have also proved major burdens. Even without television, it appears, the movies would be in trouble.

The inroads of television have been made particularly galling by television's use of theatrical films. Reference has already been made to FIDO (Film Industry Defense Organization), set up to prevent the showing of films on television. In spite of this, however, British television does use theatrical films, and undoubtedly will acquire more in the years ahead.*

But the film industry like the press has to live with the new medium. To date British producers have not gone into the production of television films as extensively as have many American studios, but they have become financially involved in commercial television. Of the first eight program contractors 20 per cent of the stock was held by cinemas, and film companies owned outright two of the present ten contractors (ABC Television and Granada Television), and 37½ per cent of the stock in one other (Southern Television).

At the same time, the film industry has diversified its holdings in other fields. For example, the Rank organization, which had an ordinary dividend of 10 per cent for 1958–1959, reported that during the previous five years 35 per cent of its profits had come from manufacturing and other noncinema activities. On that occasion Lord Rank stated: "I believe that it will not be too long before our profits from non-cinema interests exceed those from the cinema activities." †

Television unquestionably has had a great effect on the public's use of all the other mass media, although it is difficult to determine the exact nature and amount of its influence in every case. There is no doubt that the reduced status of radio is largely a consequence of television, although the changes in cinema going and reading cannot be explained without reference to general environmental factors as well as to developments in the media themselves. Television, therefore, has influenced current trends in the other mass media, but it should neither be credited nor blamed for every change that has taken place. But regardless as to television's exact role, the British experience appears to be a repetition of the American record.

* See pp. 140–141 above.

† *London Times*, September 17, 1959, p. 16. Rank has had interests in phonograph record manufacturing as well as in the radio and television relay field.

The Audience for British Radio and Television

THE CREATION of the Independent Television Authority provided great impetus for the development of audience research in the United Kingdom. Before 1955 there were only the BBC's studies of its own audiences and the Gallup Poll reports on Radio Luxembourg. But the BBC was very reluctant to publish its findings, and the Radio Luxembourg data were intended primarily for prospective radio advertisers. The whole field was enormously expanded, therefore, when the coming of the ITA brought into being British Pulse and Schwerin, along with Television Audience Measurement (TAM) and some research by the program companies. Inevitably, much of this new research serves the obvious commercial interests of ITV rather than providing basic qualitative data about people and programs; and much of it is only a logical extension and reinforcement of previous BBC and American findings. Nevertheless, it is important for its own sake, as well as for the comparisons it affords with earlier American studies.*

Sources of Information

The British Post Office is the official source of information about the number and location of licensed radio and television receivers, although the surveys conducted by the BBC and the several commercial research organizations supply supplementary data about such things as multiple-set ownership (which is quite legal in licensed households) and the

* Chapter VIII contains material on the effects of television on radio listening, newspaper reading, and cinema going. Data on the audiences for the 1959 general election broadcasts are given on pp. 109-110, 115-117 above.

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operation of sets without licenses (which is not). Post Office licensing data go back to the early 1920's, although most references to the number of licenses in force begin with 1927, the year when the present British Broadcasting Corporation began operations.

It was not until 1936 that the BBC set up a department to conduct audience research, and it was only in December 1939 that regular field work began. The noncommercial monopoly status of the Corporation was the basic reason for this slow beginning, since there was no competition to stimulate an interest in comparative data. What is more, BBC executives in those days did not appreciate the value of audience research. But its importance was increasingly recognized during the post-war years, and competition greatly accelerated this trend.¹

The BBC's division of audience research is probably the largest department of its type maintained by any broadcasting organization in the world. It has a full-time professional staff of 25, plus some 60 secretarial and clerical employees, maintains a corps of 1,200 part-time field interviewers, and enlists some 6,000 unpaid volunteers in its listening and viewing panels. To measure audience size for all domestic radio and television programs, it uses an aided-recall method to interview between 3,000 and 4,000 adults each day — almost 1,500,000 per year — in all parts of the country. In addition, the department has listening and viewing panels to obtain qualitative reactions to many radio and all Third Programme and BBC television broadcasts; makes special studies of such subjects as the psychological and sociological effects of television; conducts field inquiries to determine the needs and interests of audiences for projected programs; and carries on experiments to improve its research techniques.*

For some years the BBC published hardly any of its findings, although in 1953 it began to release the data cited in Table 9 on page 180, and since 1955 it has been much more willing to share audience data with the public. The old policy was justified on the grounds that an individual program rating has no meaning unless interpreted in the light of certain information usually possessed only by professionals, such as which service carried the program, the time of day it was broadcast, and the number and kinds of competing programs. Critics replied, however, that the

* The Department of Audience Research is concerned only with out-of-school audiences in the United Kingdom. Studies of BBC school reception are made by the School Broadcasting Council, while External Broadcasting conducts its own surveys of foreign audiences.

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real reason was a generally conservative approach on the part of the BBC, plus concern over possible disapproval of its policy of often providing extensive—and expensive—services for small minorities. The Corporation's attitude has changed now, although as recently as 1959 during the general election, *The Times*, in congratulating TAM for "publishing at once and without fuss their first ratings on the election campaign television broadcasts," went on to remark: "The B.B.C. would be well advised to follow TAM's example." Whereas TAM data were released almost daily, BBC figures were not published until November 27, 1959, seven weeks after polling day.²

The principal commercial audience research organization is Television Audience Measurement, which began operations in April 1955. TAM is in a sense the "official" ITV audience survey organization, since it has the approval of the Television Audience Research Advisory Committee, which represents the program companies, plus many advertisers and advertising agencies.* Although TAM gathers certain data from random interviews, its principal reliance is on Tammeter Panels, consisting of 850 representative homes in all parts of the country, equipped to receive both BBC and ITV programs. In each of these households a Tammeter records the channels to which the set is tuned, and the exact times it is used. In two thirds of these homes the meter data are supplemented by viewing diaries (Tamlog Panels) which provide audience composition information.

In April 1959 it was announced that a new device called INSTAM, much like America's Arbitron, was being developed, which would report on viewing while programs were in progress. Wire connections between homes making up the panel and a centrally located machine would make it possible to record instantaneously the number of Band III sets tuned to ITV and BBC at any moment. Television screens would show the programs being transmitted by each service, while illuminated graphs indicated ratings at the moment as well as for several minutes previous. Meanwhile, a permanent record would be made of audience trends during the entire program. INSTAM is not yet operating however.

TAM reports are issued weekly, showing minute-to-minute audiences for ITA and BBC, together with considerable supplementary data, in-

* During its first year on the air, ITV subscribed to the BBC's rating services, but it no longer does so.

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cluding the cost per thousand homes for each commercial. There also are monthly summaries of trends in audience size and composition; the TAM Interpretation Service, which analyzes these trends from the standpoint of the buyer of television advertising; and a Consumer Panel, which reports on the purchases and consumption of advertised products in both ITV and BBC-only homes, as well as in homes without television.*

The Pulse and Schwerin are examples of two American companies which successfully extended their operations to the United Kingdom. In the United States, The Pulse, Inc., measures radio and television audiences, although in Britain it concentrates on studies of audience composition and retailer attitudes. The Schwerin Research Company makes qualitative appraisals of individual commercials, and helps advertisers plan their television campaigns. Affiliated with the British Gallup Poll is Social Surveys, Ltd., which for some years has conducted surveys for Radio Luxembourg, using aided-recall methods similar to those of the BBC, and Television Research, which works in the same field as Schwerin.

The major program companies also have developed research departments which understandably concentrate on projects pertaining to television advertising. Associated TeleVision has published brochures on the methodology of research, while Granada underwrote an impressive viewership analysis which it expects to repeat biannually.³ Associated-Rediffusion utilized its relationships with Rediffusion to develop a simultaneous measuring device called IBAC (Instantaneous Broadcast Audience Counting) which records the percentage of sets tuned to ITV and BBC at any given moment in a sample of homes which receive wired television service from Rediffusion. At first IBAC was connected to two hundred homes in the London area only, but it was planned to cover a representative nationwide sample within two years.

Associated-Rediffusion commissioned The Pulse to conduct a very

* From 1955 to 1959, the A. C. Nielsen organization operated a rating service in Britain using meters attached to sets just as it does in the United States, together with an instantaneous measurement device of its own on the order of INSTAM and IBAC. (Arthur C. Nielsen, *Television Audience Research for Great Britain*.) After several years of intensive competition with TAM, however, Nielsen ceased operations during the summer of 1959. At that time TAM became a wholly owned subsidiary of a new company, United Broadcast Audience Research, Ltd., which was jointly owned by Nielsen and TAM, but in which TAM had a controlling interest. The new company does audience research in Britain and the whole of Western Europe.

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elaborate series of inquiries into the composition, attitudes, tastes, and habits of London viewers. The several volumes which resulted contain much information of value to the social scientist, although in the program company's own words, "these surveys are primarily intended to give agencies and advertisers a clear and honest picture of the audiences they will get for their advertisements and some of these audiences' characteristics."⁴ Associated-Rediffusion and Associated TeleVision also have made surveys of their in-school audiences.

Mass-media research gets much less help from British than from American universities, although progress is being made. One example is the Granada research fellowship in television at the University of Leeds, filled by Joseph Trenaman, who made a study of television in the general election of 1959. Another is the inquiry into children's television made by Hilde Himmelweit and others from the London School of Economics, although this was in no strict sense a university project.

In Britain as in the United States audience data are often in conflict, and the resulting arguments sound much like those reported in the American trade press. On both sides of the Atlantic the differences stem largely from the fact that the competing organizations measure different things in different ways. Thus, the BBC bases its figures entirely on personal interviews, whereas TAM (like Nielsen when it was still operating) works from meters on sets and from viewers' diaries. Inevitably, therefore, the BBC questions the reliability of data based on meters and diaries, while TAM supporters doubt the results obtained from aided-recall surveys, in which interviewers introduce themselves with the line, "I'm from the BBC. . . ." Differences also arise from the fact that BBC and TAM often cover somewhat different geographical areas, and that the reports of both inevitably contain sampling errors. In the following pages, however, most of the important conclusions arrived at are supported by evidence from all the surveys available.

Distribution of Radio and Television Receivers

On March 31, 1960, there were 15,005,011 receiving set licenses in force in the United Kingdom. As is shown in Table 7, 4,535,258 of these were for radio only, and 10,469,753 for radio and television combined.*

* There are three types of licenses, one for radio only, one for radio and television combined, and one for permanently installed automobile radios. There is no television-only license. Licenses cover all the sets in a household, including portable sets. If a portable set is used in an automobile, it is covered by the general house-

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Table 7. Broadcast Receiving Licenses in the United Kingdom, 1946-1960

At 31st of March	Radio Only		Radio and Television		Total Number
	Number	Percentage of Total Licenses	Number	Percentage of Total Licenses	
1946	10,395,551	100			10,395,551
1947	10,764,144	99	14,560	1	10,777,704
1948	11,134,112	99	45,564	1	11,179,676
1949	11,620,881	98	126,567	2	11,747,448
1950	11,875,566	97	343,882	3	12,219,448
1951	11,605,086	93	763,941	7	12,369,027
1952	11,304,246	88	1,449,260	12	12,753,506
1953	10,749,779	83	2,142,452	17	12,892,231
1954	10,187,901	75	3,248,892	25	13,436,793
1955	9,476,730	67	4,503,766	33	13,980,496
1956	8,521,958	59	5,739,593	41	14,261,551
1957	7,558,843	52	6,966,256	48	14,525,099
1958	6,551,347	44	8,090,003	56	14,646,350
1959	5,480,991	37	9,255,422	63	14,736,413
1960	4,535,258	30	10,469,753	70	15,005,011

Source: *BBC Annual Report 1959-1960*, p. 120. Radio figures include automobile radios too, although these have never exceeded 8 per cent of the total. What is popularly known as a "television license" is actually a combined radio-television license, since a television license cannot be purchased separately.

Since almost all homes with television sets have one or more radio receivers too, the number of households with radios approximately equals the total number of licenses sold, except for unlicensed sets, while the number of television households is indicated by the number of combined licenses.*

About 97 per cent of the United Kingdom's population is covered by the BBC's radio signals, both AM and FM, and over 92 per cent of all homes have one or more radio receivers.† On March 31, 1959, the proportion of radio-equipped households in Great Britain ranged from 89 per cent in Scotland and Wales to 99 per cent in western England.

hold license. A radio license sells for £1 (\$2.80) and a combined radio-television license for £4 (\$11.20).

* The actual number of households with sets is always somewhat greater than the number of licenses, because some people do not take out licenses, even though there is a legal penalty for operating unlicensed receivers, and others delay purchasing them. The TAM data quoted in Table 8 on p. 176 assume that the actual number of television households is from 6 to 12 per cent greater than the number of licenses outstanding.

† Over 96 per cent of American homes have radios. (*Sponsor's Air Media Basics 1960*, p. 44.)

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Northern Ireland had only 63 per cent radio saturation, but since its total population is small, its figures do not greatly reduce the national average.⁵ Of Britain's radio receivers 95 per cent are conventional sets, 4 per cent are battery operated, and 6 per cent are wired radio, consisting of loud speakers to which programs are fed over special telephone lines. Approximately 1,000,000 British homes subscribe to radio relay services, although their number is steadily declining.*

In contrast to the American situation, where multiple set ownership is the rule rather than the exception, 70 per cent of British homes have only one radio receiver, 22 per cent two receivers, and only 8 per cent three or more. Only 4 per cent of all British people have access to car radios (as of June 30, 1960, there were 445,258 car radio licenses in the United Kingdom). Fifteen per cent of the public have FM receivers, including 12 per cent of people without and 17 per cent of people with television.†

The growth of television has been just as dramatic in Britain as in America; in fact, among countries with large populations the United Kingdom is second only to the United States in extent of set ownership and use. On March 31, 1960, when over 98 per cent of Britain's population was covered by BBC television and 94 per cent by ITA, 64 per cent of all homes were licensed to use television receivers. Set distribution ranged from 33 per cent of all homes in Northern Ireland and 59 per cent in Scotland, to 63 per cent in Wales, 64 per cent in the London region, 66 per cent in western England, 68 per cent in northern England and 69 per cent in the Midlands.⁶

Table 7 illustrates the rapid growth of television since World War II. In 1947, only 1 per cent of all licenses were for television and radio

* BBC, *The Public and the Programmes*, pp. 5-12. Radio relay services developed originally because of their low costs (now less than three shillings (\$42) a week, including maintenance), and also because they assured interference-free reception not only of the BBC, but also of such foreign stations as Radio Luxembourg, which has its main audience among the lower income groups. The lucrative field of radio and television relay services is dominated by three companies: Rediffusion, with about half the country's subscribers, which owns much of the stock of Associated-Rediffusion; British Relay Wireless; and Radio Rentals. The history of radio relays is reviewed in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 26-31; see also Joseph Sebag and Company, *Relay TV*.

† In the United States, 84 per cent of all radio homes have sets in bedrooms, 71 per cent in kitchens, 53 per cent have outside sets (including automobile sets), 36 per cent have sets in living rooms, and 16 per cent have portable sets. Seventy per cent of American cars have radios, and 30 per cent of homes have FM receivers. (*Sponsor's Air Media Basics 1960*, pp. 45, 70.)

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combined. The halfway point was reached in 1957, while by March 31, 1960, 10,469,753 or 70 per cent of the total were combination licenses. It will be noted that the successive introduction of 11 ITA transmitters since 1955 has not affected the steady yearly increase rate of 7 or 8 per cent maintained ever since 1953. It is expected that by the end of 1964 the number of television licenses will have risen to thirteen or thirteen and a half million, while radio-only licenses will decline to one and a half million. At that rate, there would be nine combined licenses for each radio-only license.

Almost 84 per cent of the television homes in those areas served by ITA transmitters and covered by TAM surveys were able to tune in ITV programs, and it is only a matter of time before the distinction between BBC-only (Band I) and BBC-ITA (Band III) homes will be ended.* Table 8 shows how rapidly this change-over is taking place, as additional transmitters bring ITV to more and more sections of the country. In those areas able to receive ITA signals, the percentage of

Table 8. British Homes Equipped to Receive ITV Programs

Date	In Areas Surveyed by TAM				In Entire United Kingdom	
	BBC Only, Band I Homes (in millions)	ITV-BBC, Band III Homes (in millions)	Total TV Homes (in millions)	Percentage of ITV-BBC, Band III Homes	Total TV Homes (in millions)	Percentage of ITV-BBC, Band III Homes
Sept. 1955.....	1.10	0.18	1.29	14.7	5.18	3.0
March 1956.....	1.66	0.98	2.64	37.1	6.08	16.1
Sept. 1956.....	2.10	1.89	3.99	47.4	6.51	29.0
March 1957.....	2.29	3.16	5.45	58.0	7.38	43.0
Sept. 1957.....	2.22	4.19	6.41	65.4	7.84	53.4
March 1958.....	2.22	5.37	7.59	70.8	8.58	62.6
Sept. 1958.....	2.24	6.08	8.32	73.1	8.93	68.1
March 1959.....	2.08	7.24	9.32	77.7	9.81	73.8
Sept. 1959.....	2.03	7.71	9.74	79.2	10.30	74.9
March 1960.....	1.82	9.39	11.21	83.8	11.75	79.9
Sept. 1960.....	1.60	10.04	11.64	86.3	12.12	82.8

Source: Television Audience Measurement, Ltd. The figures for the total number of television homes were arrived at by adding from 6 to 12 per cent (depending upon current research findings) to the number of licenses to allow for unlicensed sets and for delay in taking out licenses.

* For an explanation of Britain's use of television channels, see the Appendix.

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Band III homes has steadily risen from 14.7 in September 1955, when the ITA's first transmitter went on the air in London, to 86.3 in September 1960, when the ITA covered about 94 per cent of the population. This growth appears even more dramatic when it is realized that in September 1955, only 180,000 or 3 per cent of the entire United Kingdom's 5,180,000 television homes were equipped to receive ITA programs, whereas just five years later in September 1960, 10,040,000 or 82.8 per cent of the 12,120,000 sets then in operation could do so.

The BBC has gathered some information about the kinds of people who owned radio and television sets in the United Kingdom at the end of 1958. It divides the public into three general groups: the 30 per cent of the population with radio but without television (the radio-only public); the 20 per cent who have television receivers capable of picking up the BBC only (the Band I public); and the 48 per cent with television sets that can receive both BBC and ITA (Band III public).^{*} Both television publics have radio sets as well. It is anticipated that the Band III public will gradually absorb the Band I public, while the radio-only public will shrink until it consists of only about 1,500,000 households.

The radio-only public is somewhat older than the television public, and it includes more women and more retired workers. Its members are much more likely to be of higher educational status, and to read serious as opposed to popular newspapers; and yet at the same time, they are more apt to be semi- and un-skilled workers than of higher occupational status. Television receivers are more apt to be found in professional and skilled occupation families, and television families are both younger and larger than radio-only families.

Obviously, these several factors are related, since there are both cultural and economic reasons for resisting television. Older people, who naturally include more women than men as well as many retired workers, tend to prefer radio because it is long familiar, in addition to which they, like younger people of lower occupational status, often lack money to buy television sets. Children predispose families toward television, both because parents have less freedom to seek leisure time activities out of the home, and because children want television for

^{*} BBC, *The Public and the Programmes*, pp. 8-12. The remaining 2 per cent had access to no receiving facilities at all. TAM, which reports on households rather than individuals, states that 28 per cent of households have radio but no television, 12 per cent have television receivers capable of picking up the BBC only, while 60 per cent can receive both services.

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themselves. Finally, it should be recognized that intellectuals the world over are inclined to resist television, and this is especially true in Britain, where one encounters frequent references by the intelligentsia to the "idiots' lantern." *

Roughly, Band I families stand in somewhat the same relationship to Band III families, as do radio-only to television families. The Band I public is older and includes more women than does the Band III public. It has higher educational but lower occupational status, and it consists of smaller households. There are both financial and cultural reasons for this. Older people and those with lower incomes often cannot afford new television sets, while the better-educated people, in addition to using television less anyway, are apt to prefer BBC to ITV. †

Total Consumption of Radio and Television

The worldwide problem for radio is the loss of audience to television, and the British experience has been a repetition of the American one.⁷ Table 5 on page 69 shows the rapid increase in the number of television receivers, and Table 9 supplements this by indicating the decline in evening radio listening. Column 1 of Table 9 shows that during successive first quarters, the period of the year when radio and television use is normally greatest, the average level of evening radio listening among the entire adult population declined steadily between 1953 and 1960 from 29.9 per cent to 6.6 per cent. However, the corresponding figures for the radio-only public indicate that its evening listening dropped off only slightly from 24.4 per cent to 22.1 per cent. Some decline was to be expected, since the heavier users of radio are among the first to buy television sets; but all things considered, the level of listening among the radio-only public has held up very well.

But these data about evening listening do not forecast a complete abandonment of radio for television by any means. On an average day in the first quarter of 1958, for example, radio was still reaching more

* These British developments closely parallel American experiences. In the United States television set ownership occurred first in younger and larger families of above-average income and social status, and for a long time college-trained people lagged behind high school graduates in set ownership. (Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television*, pp. 13, 14, 16.)

† The Pulse study made for Associated-Rediffusion in 1958 concluded that "the London 'I.T.V. population,' as we may call those living in I.T.V. households, is more strongly weighted towards the skilled manual class . . . or lower middle class . . . than is the London population as a whole." (Associated-Rediffusion, *First Audience Study, Volume I*, p. 11.)

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people in Britain than was television, since twenty-two million persons heard something on the radio each day, compared to twenty million who watched television. During that year, in fact, in both the United Kingdom and the United States, just under 60 per cent of the adult population heard one or more radio broadcasts on an average day.

Asked late in 1958 how much they would "miss" radio if deprived of it, 69 per cent of the British radio-only public replied "very much," 20 per cent "quite a bit," and 9 per cent "not much." But the television public also showed considerable devotion to radio, since their answers to the same questions were: "would miss radio very much" 34 per cent; "quite a bit" 22 per cent; and "not much" 29 per cent. While it is not surprising that only 2 per cent of the radio-only public said they "would not miss radio at all," it is interesting to notice that only 15 per cent of the television public agreed with that statement, despite the over-all decline in their radio listening.*

What has happened is that radio now serves two publics: the radio-only public with a primary service, and the television public, which is almost 100 per cent radio equipped too, with a secondary service. Half of the television public never listen to any evening radio programs, and those who do confine their listening to occasional single items, but in the daytime both groups listen a great deal. BBC radio, in fact, reaches its principal audience before 9:00 A.M., when there is no television broadcasting in Britain, and when radio still predominates in the United States too, even with all-day television. Before 9:00 A.M., approximately 70 per cent of both the radio-only and television publics listen to the radio. Of these listeners 77 per cent tune in to hear the news, 62 per cent to check the time, and 28 per cent to hear other programs. In 1958, for example, the biggest regular audience for a radio news bulletin, about five million adults, was for the 8:00 A.M. news, exceeding by 1,000,000 the number of listeners for the 6:00 P.M. news, which for many years had commanded the largest news audience of the day.

There also is much radio listening between 9:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M., although the effects of television are shown by the fact that whereas

* In 1953 an American study asked people to classify various household items as "necessities" or "luxuries." (At that time 72 per cent of the American respondents had television sets, and 95 per cent radio receivers, about the same as the level of British radio and television ownership at the time the 1958 British study was made.) Forty-nine per cent of the American respondents rated radio a "necessity" and 31 per cent a "luxury," while 23 per cent called television a "necessity," and 66 per cent a "luxury." (Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television*, p. 129.)

Table 9. Adult Consumption of BBC and ITV Evening Broadcasts by Quarters from January 1953 through June 1960

Yearly Quarter	Average Level of Radio Listening		Average Level of Television Viewing by Percentage of Total Population					Average Level of Television Viewing by Percentage of Television Public			(10) Ratio of BBC to ITV Viewing by Band III Public (BBC Data)	(11) Ratio of BBC to ITV Viewing by Band III Homes (TAM Data)
	(1) Percent- age of Total Popula- tion	(2) Percent- age of Radio- Only Public	Average Level of Television Viewing by Percentage of Total Population			Band III Public			(9) Band I Public			
			(3) BBC	(4) ITV	(5) Total	(6) BBC	(7) ITV	(8) Total				
	Jan.-March 1953.....	20.9	24.2	8.1	°	8.1	°	°	°	43.1		
Apr.-June 1953.....	17.1	20.3	8.1		8.1				37.0			
July-Sept. 1953.....	15.9	18.8	8.5		8.5				36.9			
Oct.-Dec. 1953.....	16.9	20.4	10.1		10.1				41.7			
Jan.-March 1954.....	18.4	22.5	11.5		11.5				45.0			
Apr.-June 1954.....	14.4	18.2	10.4		10.4				38.8			
July-Sept. 1954.....	13.6	17.3	10.5		10.5				36.9			
Oct.-Dec. 1954.....	14.8	19.5	13.0		13.0				41.5			
Jan.-March 1955.....	16.1	21.6	14.9		14.9				43.8			
Apr.-June 1955.....	13.2	17.8	13.1		13.1				36.2			
July-Sept. 1955.....	11.6	15.7	11.2		11.2				30.0			
Oct.-Dec. 1955.....	12.8	19.0	15.1	.07	15.8	20.0	16.9	36.9	38.1	54:46	44:56	
Jan.-March 1956.....	13.1	20.0	15.4	1.6	17.0	16.5	23.9	40.4	39.6	41:59	38:62	
Apr.-June 1956.....	11.1	17.3	12.7	2.3	15.0	14.3	20.0	34.3	32.1	42:58	40:60	
July-Sept. 1956.....	11.0	17.4	15.4	4.7	20.1	13.0	22.0	35.0	30.6	37:63	32:68	
Oct.-Dec. 1956.....	12.5	20.5	12.0	3.1	15.1	15.5	25.4	40.9	39.8	38:62	31:69	
Jan.-March 1957.....	11.9	21.3	14.4	6.0	20.4	12.8	26.0	38.8	37.7	33:67	26:74	

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Apr.-June 1957.....	9.2	16.9	10.7	5.2	15.9	10.0	20.3	30.3	28.1	33:67	28:72
July-Sept. 1957.....	9.4	17.2	9.3	5.6	14.9	8.1	20.4	28.5	24.7	28:72	25:75
Oct.-Dec. 1957.....	9.6	19.5	12.4	7.2	19.6	11.3	21.9	33.2	32.9	34:66	27:73
Jan.-March 1958.....	10.4	22.3	13.7	8.2	21.9	13.4	22.1	35.5	35.6	38:62	29:71
Apr.-June 1958.....	8.5	18.2	11.1	7.8	18.9	10.9	19.7	30.6	28.4	36:64	28:72
July-Sept. 1958.....	7.7	16.4	9.3	7.8	17.1	9.2	18.5	27.7	24.0	33:67	27:73
Oct.-Dec. 1958.....	8.9	21.0	12.6	11.0	23.6	12.2	23.2	35.4	33.4	34:66	27:73
Jan.-March 1959.....	8.1	21.7	13.0	12.9	25.9	12.8	24.1	36.9	34.9	35:65	28:72
Apr.-June 1959.....	6.7	18.2	9.2	11.2	20.4	9.2	19.9	29.1	24.8	32:68	28:72
July-Sept. 1959.....	6.3	16.8	9.0	10.3	19.3	9.3	17.8	27.1	23.2	34:66	28:72
Oct.-Dec. 1959.....	7.2	21.8	12.8	13.2	26.0	13.0	21.1	34.1	33.0	38:62	32:68
Jan.-March 1960.....	6.6	22.1	13.2	15.3	28.5	13.6	23.0	36.6	33.8	37:63	33:67
Apr.-June 1960 *.....										35:65	33:67
July-Sept. 1960 †.....										37:63	35:65

Sources: BBC Press Service, *Quarterly Releases of Listening and Viewing Trends*, columns 1 through 10; TAM, column 11.

NOTES: The expressions "Average Level of Radio Listening" and "Average Level of Television Viewing" may be explained by reference to the figure 20.9 at the head of column 1. This indicates that in the first quarter of 1953 the total quantity of evening listening to BBC radio by the entire adult population (all people sixteen years of age or older), with all its ups and downs, was equal to 20.9% of the adult population listening all of the time. This figure was arrived at by averaging the figures for listening to all BBC radio evening broadcasts.

Column 1 reports the average level of radio listening by the entire adult population, whether or not they have radio receivers.

Column 2. "Radio-only public" refers to people with radio but without television sets.

Columns 3, 4, and 5. The average level of television viewing by the entire population, whether or not they have television receivers, categorized separately as to BBC (column 3), ITV (column 4) and total viewing (column 5).

Columns 6, 7, 8, and 9. The average level of television viewing by the public in households with television sets, divided into Band III public (households with sets capable of receiving both BBC and ITV) and the Band I public (households with sets capable of receiving only the BBC.)

Column 10. The ratio of BBC to ITV viewing, according to BBC data, as shown in columns 6 and 7.

Column 11. The ratio of BBC to ITV viewing according to TAM data. Notice that whereas the BBC data given in column 10 pertain to adults over age fifteen, the TAM data in column 11 are for households.

* Since the ITA did not go on the air until September 1955, there are no entries in these columns prior to that date.

† Data for columns 1 through 9 are no longer issued by the BBC in a form comparable with those for the period January 1953 through March 1960.

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70 per cent of the radio-only public listens sometime during the day, only 55 per cent of the television public does. Radio has held up well in the daytime on Sunday too, when 44 per cent of the public listens "a fair amount" and only 17 per cent do not listen at all.

In 1960 the average person in a radio-only home listened 1 hour each evening, which represented no change from 1955.* Dividing the British radio-only public into light listeners (those listening less than 7 hours a week), medium listeners (7 to 13 hours), and heavy listeners (over 13 hours), it appears that people of higher educational and occupational level listen less, and that they are more selective and sophisticated in their program choices than are people of lower educational and occupational status.

The total amount of television viewing has risen enormously with the great increase in the number of sets, although the average level of viewing by the television public has remained about constant.⁸ As is shown in column 5 of Table 9 the average level of viewing by the total population grew steadily from 8.1 per cent in 1953 to 28.5 per cent at the beginning of 1960. Although columns 8 and 9 would seem to indicate that the average amount of viewing by people with television sets had declined in recent years, this drop is apparent rather than real, if one realizes that the amount of television broadcasting is greater. Time on the air gradually increased up to October 1955, when it was stabilized at 28 hours per week for the 7:00 to 11:00 P.M. period. When the 6:00 to 7:00 P.M. gap was closed in February 1957, evening broadcast time was increased to 35 hours a week, where it has remained ever since. If this is kept in mind, the average level of viewing is seen to have remained about constant, quarter-by-quarter, since the beginning of 1957.

One might theorize that people whose sets can receive both ITV and BBC would view more than those limited to BBC alone, but this is not the case. A comparison of the first quarter figures for both groups from 1956 to 1960, drawn from columns 8 and 9 of Table 9, shows no significant differences in the amounts of viewing (Band I figures are given first in each case): 39.6-40.4; 37.7-38.8; 35.6-35.5; 34.9-36.9; 33.8-36.6. In the United States, too, it has been found that while individual program ratings decline as more stations come on the air, the total number

* In the United States in 1956, radios in radio-only homes were turned on for 3.3 hours per day, and in television homes, 1.8 hours, a decline from 4.0 and 2.0 hours respectively in 1951. (Bogart, *The Age of Television*, pp. 114-115.)

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of sets in use remains almost exactly the same, whether there are one or five television stations in an area.

The greater appeal of television over radio is shown not only by the over-all preference of the public for television, but also by the much greater extent of its use. TAM reports that the average British television receiver is turned on from 3½ hours (in the summer) to 5 hours (in the winter) each day, and that the average adult in a television home views a little less than 2½ hours each evening.* But there are wide variations in the amount of viewing. The BBC divides viewers into three groups of approximately equal size: light viewers, who watch less than 10 hours a week; medium viewers, who watch from 10 to 18 hours a week; and heavy viewers, who watch over 18 hours a week. Women tend to view more than men, and younger more than older people. As with radio, light viewers are more selective, heavy viewers less so, and viewing increases as one goes down the educational and occupational scales. Unfortunately for the BBC, those people who prefer ITV programs normally view more than those who prefer the BBC.†

Program Preferences

Program preferences in radio and television are basically the same the world over. A great many Americans believe that public taste in Britain is more sophisticated than in the United States, but a comparison of the consumption of radio, television, films, and newspapers in the two countries does not support that thesis. A case could be made that Britain's top 5 per cent, as a consequence of the type of education they receive, know more about Shakespeare, Bach, and Rembrandt than do their American counterparts, but surely the national average is no higher, if as high.⁹

The accompanying lists indicate the order of preference of radio program types in Britain in 1943 and 1958. Hardly any changes took place during this period, since light entertainment and light music headed both lists, with dance music at the mid-point, and opera and

* On the average, American sets are on from four hours per day in summer to six in mid-winter, and the average person in a television home watches a little more than two hours each day. (Bogart, *The Age of Television*, pp. 70-71; *Sponsor's Air Media Basics*, 1960, p. 98.)

† Insofar as the data are comparable, the findings of the Granada Viewership Survey (p. 33) generally support these BBC data as to the relative amounts of viewing by people of different social and economic classes.

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symphony concerts at the bottom. In 1958 dance music and talks were tied in rank.*

1943	1958
Variety	Plays
Plays	Light music
Light music	Variety
Religious services	Religious services
Discussions	Discussions
Dance music	Dance music
Talks	Talks
Features	Documentaries
Opera	Opera
Symphony concerts	Symphony concerts

These preferences become more meaningful if the range of reactions to the various categories is noted. On a scale which would rate as +100 programs that were “particularly liked by all respondents,” and as -100 those “particularly disliked” by all, plays in the 1958 ranking received a rating of +51, and symphony concerts of -7. In the case of plays, 33 per cent of the radio public “particularly liked” them, 44 per cent “liked,” 16 per cent were “indifferent,” 7 per cent “disliked,” while no one “particularly disliked” them. But only 6 per cent “particularly liked” symphony concerts, while 19 per cent “liked” them, 30 per cent were “indifferent,” 44 per cent “disliked,” and 1 per cent “particularly disliked.”

Sex, age, and education all affect program preferences. Thus, men listed sports programs third with +42 points, while women put them 12th with -5 points. Other sex differences were slight, although men rated news, discussions, talks, documentaries, and variety higher than did women, while women gave higher ratings to plays, religious services, and all kinds of music, from dance bands to symphony orchestras.

Popular music was much better liked by younger than older listeners, whereas older listeners rated higher programs of news, light music, discussions of current affairs, talks, and especially religious services. The latter received only a +19 from the 20-29 age group, while getting a +48 from the 70 and older group. Going up the educational scale, there was preference for plays, discussions, talks, documentaries, and serious music, and less interest in light and dance music, variety, and sports.

* BBC, *The Public and the Programmes*, p. 60. These ratings did not cover news programs, which would have received a high place had they been included.

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Interest in religious services declined markedly with higher educational status. Higher educational and occupational status were accompanied by less and yet more selective listening.

Given these data about program preferences, it is not surprising to learn that the division of the radio-only public among the four radio services during the evening hours when all are on the air is in the approximate ratio of Light Programme 66 per cent; Home Service 32 per cent, and Third Programme-Network Three 2 per cent.* But the Light Programme does not always outdraw the Home Service. Before 9:00 A.M. the majority prefer the Home Service's news to the Light Programme's music, and following the Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt and Israel at the end of October 1956, the audience for the 6:00 P.M. Home Service news jumped from its normal five million to nine million a night, while that of the 9:00 P.M. news nearly doubled. This necessarily involved some increased radio listening in television as well as in radio-only households. These audiences remained above normal for many weeks before subsiding to their normal levels.¹⁰

The average British listener shops around for his programs rather than patronizing just one service. The several choices available may be arranged in a continuum from very light to very serious as follows: Radio Luxembourg, Light Programme, Home Service, Third Programme-Network Three. Of the radio-only public 1 per cent listens only to Radio Luxembourg; 13 per cent to Radio Luxembourg and the Light Programme; 21 per cent to the Light Programme only; 1 per cent to the Home Service and Radio Luxembourg; 10 per cent to the Home Service, Light Programme and Radio Luxembourg; 35 per cent to the Home Service and the Light Programme; and 11 per cent to the Home Service only. Age, sex, educational level, and occupational status correlate with these choices in accordance with the general principles noted earlier in this chapter.†

Radio and television program preferences are usually the same, except for a few differences directly attributable to the media themselves. The accompanying lists compare listener and viewer preferences for

* The radio listening of the television public veered slightly more in the direction of lighter fare: Light Programme 70 per cent, Home Service 29 per cent, Third Programme 1 per cent.

† BBC, *The Public and the Programmes*, pp. 18-19. The 20 per cent of the sample who "ever listen" to the Third Programme or Network Three are well-educated people, high on the occupational scale. They are very selective listeners, and they are apt to own FM sets. (*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.)

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nine types of programs, as they were in 1958, and rates each category on a scale ranging from +100 to -100.*

<i>Television</i>	<i>Radio</i>
Plays +57	Plays +51
News +44	News +45
Variety +35	Light music +35
Sport +35	Variety +34
Documentaries +29	Religious services +31
Light music +24	Sport +14
Religious services +19	Documentaries +10
Serious music - 6	Opera -6
Opera -15	Symphony concerts ... -7

The two lists are almost the same, although sporting events and documentaries are more popular on television, probably because vision adds considerably to their enjoyment. It is interesting to notice that the like-dislike range is greater among viewers (from +57 to -15) placing plays at the top and opera at the bottom, than among listeners (from +51 to -7) placing plays at the top and symphony concerts at the bottom. It is surprising, though, that viewers rate opera lower than other types of serious music, while listeners put opera ahead of symphonic music, in view of the visual aspects of opera; but this may stem from differences in the levels of sophistication of television and radio audiences.

As it was noted previously with radio, light viewers tend to be more selective and more inclined toward serious programs, while heavy viewers are less selective and are apt to prefer such lighter fare as variety, quizzes, and feature films. Again as with radio, sex, age, and education are related to viewer preferences. Men rate sporting events at +63 while women give them only +13. Otherwise, men prefer westerns and science programs, and women like plays, quizzes, and religious services, although the rating differences with these programs are much less than with sports.

Age is most of all a factor with religious programs, which are rated

* BBC, *The Public and the Programmes*, pp. 30-43, 53-55, 62. Audience preference ratings are on a scale of +100 (all "particularly like") to -100 (all "particularly dislike"). There are no data from ITV that exactly parallel these from the BBC, although the TAM top ten usually support these BBC figures. The Pulse's study for Associated-Rediffusion found the best-liked programs to be comedy, quiz, crime, western, human interest, and variety. (Associated-Rediffusion, *First Audience Study*, Volume I, p. 14.)

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only +4 by people aged 20 to 29, but +45 by viewers over 70. Otherwise, age brings greater preference for programs of news, quizzes, and programs about animals and birds, while youth wants feature films, crime programs, westerns and programs about science. Only plays, news, and light music enjoy the same popularity at all educational levels. Otherwise, the higher his educational level, the more a viewer will like programs about science, opera, serious music, current affairs, documentaries, travel, animals and birds; and the less he will favor variety, quizzes, westerns, comedy, feature films, crime programs, sporting events, and religious services.

It is normal for people with Band III sets to divide their viewing between both services rather than sticking to just one, although in the over-all the ITV audience is much the larger of the two. There are, however, some significant differences between those people with Band III sets who voluntarily view mostly one or the other service. Those who are mainly ITV viewers, as would be expected, show preference for those programs in which ITV specializes, and vice versa. Comparative ratings are these: quizzes (mainly ITV viewers +42, mainly BBC viewers +14); Westerns (ITV +44, BBC -3); variety (ITV +42, BBC +9); crime programs (ITV +35, BBC -1); feature films (ITV, +34, BBC +17); and comedy films (ITV +27, BBC +2). On the other hand, people who view BBC much more show greater interest in programs of news (ITV +38, BBC +52); travel (ITV +29, BBC +47); animals and birds (ITV +25, BBC +42); current affairs (ITV +21, BBC +36); documentaries (ITV +14, BBC +38); science (ITV +5, BBC +15); serious music (ITV -21, BBC +5); and opera (ITV -22 and BBC -7). All this, of course, simply documents the fact that people tune to the service which provides them with the programs they want to see.

Generalizations as to the types of people who usually choose BBC or ITV are difficult to make. Essentially, people choose programs rather than channels, so that at a given moment each service attracts that portion of the public which happens to prefer its current offering. But on the whole, there is a tendency for people who are older and of higher educational and occupational status to prefer the BBC, and vice versa. There also is a tendency for heavy viewers to prefer ITV.

Related to this is the brand image of BBC and ITV held by those people who are predominantly ITV viewers. A Pulse inquiry made in

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1958 showed that to this group the BBC represents the Establishment, along with rigid, strict, and upper-class society. The Corporation is conceded to be patriotic and educational, but it also is regarded as pompous and dull; whereas ITV is regarded as young, lively, friendly, understanding, and tolerant. To this group, even though the BBC was regarded as the voice of authority, the ITV would be preferred in a national emergency, if only one of the two could be maintained, although the upper economic and social group would choose the BBC over the ITV in such a situation.

In view of the generally larger audiences for ITN over BBC-TV news, it is interesting to observe that the same study concluded that the larger audiences for nonnews programs, rather than the basic merit or appeal of the newcasts themselves, explained the higher ratings received by ITN. But despite their general preference for ITV, these people had only a very hazy idea of how ITV works, what the Authority itself does, and which contractor produces which programs.¹¹

There remains the question of comparative BBC-ITV audience size. As columns 3 and 4 of Table 9 indicate, until 1959 the total United Kingdom audience for BBC television exceeded that for ITA television, because of the BBC's wider coverage and the greater number of sets that could receive BBC transmissions. Even though more people with multi-channel sets watched ITV, therefore, there at first was an over-all balance for the BBC.

But those people with a choice of services preferred ITV from almost the very beginning, according to both BBC and TAM figures, although the BBC's share has gradually risen in recent months. Column 10 of Table 9, compiled from BBC sources, shows that during the third quarter of 1958 the ratio was BBC 33, ITV 67, but that by the third quarter of 1960 it had become BBC 37, ITV 63.

TAM figures are consistently more favorable to ITV, which may or may not be related to the fact that the BBC uses aided-recall interviews to compile data on individuals, while TAM combines information obtained from meters on sets and viewer diaries to measure household units. At any rate, the trends are the same with both sets of data, even though the actual figures are different. TAM too (Table 9, column 11) gave the BBC a relatively low rating for the third quarter of 1958 (BBC 27, ITV 73), and higher ratings for the third quarter of 1960 (BBC 35, ITV 65).

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Conclusions

Fundamental to any survey of broadcast audiences in the late 1950's and early 1960's is the transition from radio to television. In country after country the greater appeal of the newer medium has been demonstrated. The transition has gone farthest in North America; in Europe the United Kingdom leads; while on the Continent the public is demanding that governments surmount economic barriers so that they too may initiate the cycle.

Predominant, therefore, in this survey of the British audience have been data on the rapid growth of television: on the number of new sets, the extent of their use, and the accompanying decline in radio listening. Yet, in Britain as in the United States, there is unmistakable evidence that radio is here to stay. Since the penetration of television in Britain is not yet as great as in the United States, monthly reports on television growth are proportionately greater than in America, where a plateau in set ownership is closer at hand. But interpreting the British data in the light of American experience, there is no reason whatsoever to doubt the continued healthy existence of radio, even though it has not yet found its permanent role in the television age.

The acceleration given to both the collection and dissemination of audience data by the coming of the ITA has supplied much new material about the nature of the British audience. One of the most interesting aspects of this concerns the cultural and economic differences among the people constituting the radio-only, the Band I, and the Band III publics. The radio-only public tends to be older and to include more women, smaller families, and people of lower income than does the television public, while the Band I public is older, better educated, and more selective in viewing than is the Band III public. Yet, these statements are true only in a general sense, because there are all sorts of people in each of these publics.

Given a choice between several services, most people shop around for programs, although television is such an attractive medium that viewers with no choice view almost as much as those with access to both BBC and ITV. Program preferences are much the same in Britain as in the United States and elsewhere, with radio listeners and television viewers seeking entertainment and avoiding culture. Therefore, those services emphasizing lighter fare—the Light Programme and ITV—outdraw the Home Service and BBC television by a good mar-

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gin, while the BBC's radio services for the educated and the educatable — the Third Programme and Network Three — hardly show in the ratings at all. Sex, age, occupational status, and education are all factors in program choice. By and large, people of higher cultural level, who prefer serious programs, use radio and television less than the average, and are more selective in their choices.

In the last analysis, of course, the important thing is not the research results, whatever they may be, but the way they are used in determining program policy. The advent of commercial television in Britain brought additional survey organizations into being because a great premium was suddenly placed on audience size. Almost frightening are the implications of such machines as INSTAM and IBAC, which show audience trends, second-by-second, as programs are being broadcast.

Democratic broadcasting requires that the broadcasters know as much as possible about their audiences, and that they share this information with the public. But it also is necessary for that knowledge to be used so as to serve the long-range interests of society. More is known now than ever before about the public's consumption of radio, television, beer, breakfast food, and bicycles. It remains to be seen how well this information will be used in the continued development of responsible broadcasting services.

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The Future of British Broadcasting

THE RECENT HISTORY and the future of British radio and television are matters of importance to people everywhere who are interested in the basic problems of broadcasting. By replacing what probably was the world's best broadcasting monopoly with a competitive system, Britain created an excellent laboratory in which to observe the relative advantages and disadvantages of monopoly and competition. The British experiment also is significant because its unique commercial system may contain some of the answers to the universal problems of commercial broadcast regulation.

British broadcasting also has an exciting future. If the United Kingdom changes from a 405- to a 625-line system and moves from Bands I and III (VHF) to Bands IV and V (UHF), it will be the first country in the world to make significant changes in television standards after a large segment of its population had acquired receivers. At the same time that these technical problems press for solution, decisions must be made about the permanent administrative structure for British broadcasting, the nature of the broadcasting organizations, and the introduction of one or more additional services.

Monopoly versus Competition

When Parliament was debating the Television Act of 1954, all Britain joined in discussing whether competition or monopoly is better in broadcasting. Would the introduction of a commercial competitor raise or lower program standards? Americans too have often wondered if competition is all for the good, especially after radio stations began to fight bitterly over the segment of the audience left them by television,

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and when television producers resorted to deception in order to increase the audience appeal of their quiz shows. The American example was quoted by proponents of both sides in Britain in 1954. What does the British experience now indicate?

In the first place, it is clear that the presence of two competing broadcasting organizations has helped—or at least hastened—to bring about certain improvements in the environment in which broadcasting is done, so that radio and television now do their work more effectively and enjoy more status than ever before. Outstanding are the great improvements in the coverage of politics and controversy. In the 1958 by-elections and the 1959 general elections, for example, the party leaders had to surrender control of the media to the broadcasters, while BBC and ITV were for the first time permitted to develop their own election programs and to cover the daily progress of the elections in their news bulletins. This new freedom had been presaged by the suspension of the Fourteen Day Rule, which had so seriously limited the coverage of parliamentary news. Along with these advances goes a more active and bolder approach to all sorts of news, discussion, and public-events broadcasting. While there undoubtedly would have been progress without the ITA, certain advances—such as the by-election broadcasts—were definitely ITV contributions, while the others were at least hastened by the greater pressures generated by competition.

All things considered, Britain's over-all television program service has improved as a consequence of competition. Two networks naturally provide a wider range of choice than one—and this is the case with religious, school, documentary, and discussion programs as well as with light entertainment. That would have been true no matter who operated the second channel; but competition brought a greater range of programs than would have resulted had the BBC run both services. The hours of broadcasting were extended and the early evening gap closed. In a few instances small minorities may have suffered in the inevitable competition for viewers, but on the whole standards have improved. The BBC has given better service than ever before, and ITV has offered many good programs in all categories.

Of course these advances have had their costs. Broadcasting has become more expensive, with two systems competing for programs. BBC hourly television expenditures, for example, rose from £2,188 in 1954–1955 to £4,005 in 1959–1960, with competition the principal reason.

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Spokesmen for each organization, in fact, charge the other with irresponsibly bidding up the costs of staff, talent, and films. The over-all travail, in terms of strain on all the participants, has been considerable too. But on the whole, things are better now than they were in 1954. Some of the reasons will be more apparent as the individual performances of the BBC and ITV are reviewed.

THE BBC UNDER COMPETITION

No one expected the BBC to continue unchanged in the face of competition, and indeed it has not done so. The coming of the ITA presented the Corporation with a set of dilemmas calculated to try any board of management. The BBC had been and was expected to remain primarily a public service organization, and it was judged accordingly by the responsible leaders of the country. Yet, in spite of commitments to do serious programming for minority groups, the BBC always knew that if its light entertainment schedule sagged too badly, two things would happen: it would lose so many viewers as to invite attacks on its right to receive the license money; and the audience for its serious features would decline.

Therefore, the BBC had to compete to some extent for the general audience, while still trying to retain the approval of special minority groups. This would be hard to do in any case, but the BBC's position was made more difficult by the fact that its competitor had vastly greater financial resources, and yet did not feel compelled to do a great deal of its public service programming during peak viewing hours. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Board of Governors and top management sometimes vacillated while trying to determine policy.

On the whole, though, competition spurred the BBC to better work. The more progressive and bolder elements within the Corporation were able to assert themselves, so that the television service attained more independence from the often conservative and radio-minded executives in Broadcasting House, at the same time that a more realistic group within the radio branch forged to the top because of the development of television and as a result of the potential threat from commercial radio.

The best single example of this was in the field of news and public affairs. In 1954 BBC television news represented a rather amusing attempt to preserve the traditions of radio news, which in turn had not yet entirely shaken off the traditions of the press. But after 1955, com-

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petition led to the development of a really first class television news service utilizing the full resources of the medium, while radio news also improved. Coverage of public affairs and controversial issues has shown a degree of freedom and ingenuity never present before; religious programs, school broadcasts, and regional services have benefited from competition; presentation has improved and timing tightened; and programming generally, to use a British slang phrase, has been "gingered up."

Furthermore, these improvements have not been accompanied by a general lowering of standards, as the opponents of competition feared in 1954. Any comparison of the pages of *The Radio Times* in 1954 and now will show how much better, more varied, and complete is the BBC's service today. Surely it has achieved higher standards than ever before in light entertainment. Complaints are heard that some very limited appeal offerings like ballet and opera are slighted, although the Corporation's yearly reports indicate no general decline in the percentage of serious programs.

But competition has brought its problems too. At the very outset the BBC lost some five hundred employees to ITV, and it has competed ever since for staff, talent, and programs, at ever increasing expense. Higher salaries probably were justifiable from the standpoint of the employees, but they did pose a financial problem for the Corporation. Another important effect of competition is the loss of from 60 to 70 per cent of the audience to ITV. This hurts the BBC's pride at the same time that it lessens its influence. In the long run, the loss of too many viewers could seriously undermine the BBC's financial position, and voices have been heard arguing that since the Corporation usually has much less than half the audience at any one time, it should receive less license money.¹ But the only change so far has been an upward revision in the BBC's share of the net receipts from 92½ to 95 per cent, effective April 1, 1960, and up to 100 per cent effective one year later.

BBC radio can easily be appraised with reference to television, but it is virtually impossible to do so in regard to ITA television alone. The introduction of television into any country initiates a cycle which goes through successive stages as people buy more and more television receivers, and listen to the radio less and less.

BBC radio has had to contend with competition from television and from Radio Luxembourg, at the same time that it had to do what it

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could to forestall proposals that the government sanction the introduction of commercial radio. It therefore developed a primary service for the radio-only public together with a supplementary service for television households. In the course of this, the Light Programme dropped most of its serious material; the Home Service was brightened, although retaining most of its demanding features; the Third Programme was shortened, but not otherwise materially changed; and Network Three was set up to carry educational and special-interest programs.

While it was unfortunate that the Light Programme had to drop its culture-by-stealth approach, experience in the United States also indicates that if radio is to compete with television it must offer mostly undemanding fare, to be used as a background by people whose primary interest at the moment is something else than listening to the radio. Nevertheless, the Home Service probably remains the best over-all radio broadcasting service in the world—surely in the English-speaking world. The Third Programme has actually improved in recent years, despite loud complaints from some quarters. For some time it had departed from its original purpose of serving intelligent people with thought-provoking general interest programs, to concentrate on esoteric programs, many of which were not suitable for radio anyway. This trend was reversed in 1958 and 1959, and without any deterioration in content.

In meeting their radio problems, BBC administrators were hindered by the highly organized pressure campaign developed by a handful of intellectuals for the maintenance of the *status quo*. At the same time that it was trying to adapt to television and forestall the introduction of commercial radio, the Corporation had to wage a highly publicized battle with a handful of unrealistic but very vocal critics, whose fundamental concern was the continuance of a very specialized service for a tiny minority of listeners like themselves. Their tactics could only hinder the work of the progressive element in the BBC while giving aid and comfort to the Corporation's real opponents.

THE INDEPENDENT TELEVISION AUTHORITY AS COMPETITOR

There is one important difference between the Television Act of 1954 and the Communications Act of 1934, on which the American system is based. The American law, derived largely from the Radio Act of 1927, was enacted before there was anything like a full appreciation of radio's social function; long before television's problems were foreseen; and

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without knowledge of the many important factors destined to contribute to the development of radio and television broadcasting. In the intervening years, legislative and FCC policies grew up under the influence of constant and strong pressures from the broadcasters to maintain *laissez-faire* attitudes.

In sharp contrast to this, the British set up their new system at a single stroke, and after an extensive review of the problems confronting all countries with commercial systems. The Television Act of 1954, therefore, received far more attention in Britain than did the Communications Act of 1934 in the United States, and it contains a number of provisions intended to avoid some of the problems which have plagued American broadcasting.

Responsibility for the whole system is assigned to a public corporation with extensive powers of control; program material and advertising are separated as far as possible; the life of the ITA is limited to ten years; and re-enactment is dependent upon new legislation, to be passed only after a government appointed commission makes a detailed report on all aspects of its operations. British commercial television, therefore, works under very different conditions than does American broadcasting, conditions which are relatively more favorable to the controller than to the controlled.

The development of the ITA since 1955 has involved a continuous interplay among the often conflicting interests of the several groups comprising Independent Television.* First among these is the ITA itself, which must make decisions involving the selection, policies, welfare, and often the profits of the various participating groups. Inevitably it is subject to many pressures.

The Authority consists of ten able and public-spirited citizens, whose qualifications match those of the BBC's Board of Governors. They may be expected to support high program standards, although they are chosen with the expectation that they will be more favorably disposed to the problems of commercial broadcasting than might be the members of the BBC's governing body. Except for the chairman, most members devote little time to the Authority's affairs, so that their decisions are inevitably influenced by the recommendations of the full-time permanent staff. The law requires the Authority to appoint and follow the

* There are obvious parallels between the British situation as sketched below and conditions existing in the United States, although no comparisons are drawn.

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advice of committees on religious and children's programs as well as on advertising standards, so that they too have a role in ITA affairs.

One of the basic problems of the Authority is to decide how much — and how — it will regulate the output of the program companies, and to what extent it will serve as their spokesman. The ITA and its several advisory committees, with just a few policy level officials, must interpret and lay down rules for all the companies, with their powerful and influential boards of directors and administrative heads.

If there is one group likely to carry too much weight with the Authority, it is the program companies. In fact, people with various points of view have suggested that the companies sometimes have more influence over the Authority than the Authority has over them. It is the program companies which are making the big profits, and they can hardly be unaware of the relationship between their income level and such things as program popularity and advertising volume. This is the most important pressure group in the British commercial television complex.

But there is no reason to expect only the worst from them; in fact, the companies have good reason to take a public service view of programming much if not all of the time. In any case, it would be wrong to lump them together indiscriminately. At one extreme may be found Granada's Sidney Bernstein, with a continued interest in liberal reform, while Lord Derby, president of TWW, is reported to have said that profits were the one and only measurement of success.² It must also be recognized that there are conflicting pressures within and among the companies. The question of which group is up or down at the moment may be determined by such factors as the state of public opinion or the temper of Parliament.

The advertisers and their agents are denied any opportunity to deal directly with programs; and from all reports they are quite satisfied with this role. Among them too there are conflicting points of view. One agency head was heard to declare that television was not a branch of the entertainment business as he had sometimes been told, but was only a vehicle for advertising. On the other hand, agency men have sometimes favored curtailing the amount of advertising, because too many commercials decreased the effectiveness of their clients' sales messages. Nevertheless, in assessing ITV's pressure groups, it must be realized that advertisers and agencies are apt to emphasize the short-term audience size rather than the long-range public service aspects of television.

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Finally there is the public, which reacts to television principally by decisions as to when and what to view, together with Parliament, whose questions and debates can influence broadcasting policy both directly and indirectly. It is Parliament, of course, which must enact the legislation continuing the ITA beyond 1964. So long as the Conservatives remain in power, the government will favor the ITA in theory if not in practice. Yet, it was Parliament's Committee on Public Accounts which recommended in 1959 that the Authority set its charges through competitive bidding, in order to reduce program company profits and possibly to provide revenue for the Treasury.

Public acceptance of commercial television has compelled the Labour party to agree to the ITA's continuance, but the party has pledged its influence to tighten up the rules and reduce the profits. Labour's importance is always enhanced by the possibility that it might win the next or a succeeding election; and there must be an election in 1964 if not before then. Parliament and the parties, therefore, may be a force for stricter regulation and reduced profits.

In view of all these factors, the nature, direction, and intensity of regulation varies from time to time, as the result of changes in the Authority's views, or as the consequence of some quite unexpected interplay of economic conditions, political trends, and more-or-less accidental developments. The Authority tends to let popular demand determine its program objectives more than does the BBC. The Director General, in fact, has referred to Independent Television as "a system of people's television." * Inevitably, therefore, that portion of the public which traditionally criticizes the mass media usually finds more to object to in the ITV than in the BBC schedule, although most comprehensive appraisals of British television find things to complain about in both services.

However this may be, the Authority has and does use its powers of regulation over the program companies. A distinction must be drawn

* "If you decide to have a system of people's television, then people's television you must expect it to be, and it will reflect their likes and dislikes, what they can comprehend and what is beyond them. Every person of common sense knows that people of superior mental constitution are bound to find much of television intellectually beneath them. If such innately fortunate people cannot realize this gently and considerately and with good manners, if in their hearts they despise popular pleasures and interest, then, of course, they will be angrily dissatisfied with television. But it is not really television with which they are dissatisfied. It is with people." (Quotation from a speech, London *Times*, May 18, 1960, p. 7.)

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between possible mistakes in the ITA's views on programing, and occasions when ITV programs may not measure up to the requirements of the Act because the Authority is unwilling or unable to control the program companies. The Authority is prepared to admit that some of its ideas on programing may be wrong, but it insists, despite some of its critics, that it and not the companies is in charge.*

In certain instances external developments have affected the nature and course of regulation. Thus, widespread reaction to a simulated attack on London by a space vehicle in the play, *As the Sun Goes Down*, led to a tightening up of certain aspects of dramatic scripts. A complaint about toothpaste advertising from the British Dental Association led to stricter rules for medical advertising. More fundamental was the limitation of advertising time in 1960, with profits up — and 1964 getting closer.†

Despite some falls from grace, ITV has on the whole maintained a level of program performance which has pleasantly surprised most of its critics, and pleased almost all its supporters. Its responsible handling of such important areas as news, politics, controversy, public events, school broadcasts, and religion has been highly commendable. There are few important content differences between BBC and ITN news; and although ITV has not caught up with the documentary broadcasts of the BBC, it is on the way. The tradition-shattering telecasts of the Rochdale by-election originated with Granada. Although its haste to beat the BBC with school television led Associated-Rediffusion to air some hastily arranged programs, it is rapidly building a school-program service which will be second to none.

It is reasonable to assume that some of ITV's emphasis on religion is an effort to win over the religious leaders who opposed commercial

* The Director General recently declared: "If the Authority is not demanding sweeping changes . . . it is not . . . because it is too timorous to require them. It is because it sees no cause to require them; because, to be even blunter, it does not want them, because all it asks . . . is that there should be a steady improvement in what we had. The Authority, that is to say, is broadly well satisfied that Independent Television is running on the lines it has laid down in accordance with the Act. So, if there is anything radically at fault with Independent Television, then there is something at fault with the Authority. It is not feeble: it is just wrong. When the Authority defends Independent Television, it is not defending the companies, who are well able to look after themselves. It is defending itself." (*ITA Press Conference*, November 7, 1960, p. 2. For a somewhat similar statement of Authority policy in regard to relations with the program companies, see *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 24-26.)

† See pp. 45n, 46-47, 134-135 above.

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television in 1954, and perhaps to assure their support in 1964. But however this may be, several program companies have shown ability and ingenuity in this area. ITV entertainment programs have certainly pleased the public and ITV drama has maintained high standards, although serious music has been almost entirely missing from ITV schedules.

On the other hand, the over-all balance of the output has often been poor. Despite some first-class serious offerings, there is less serious material in mid-evening periods and more light entertainment, especially murder and mayhem from America, on the newer than on the older service. The decision in the fall of 1959 to shorten the main evening news period and to move it up from 10:00 to 9:25, borne of the hope to extend the hours of television viewing, had the incidental effect of further postponing most regular serious programming until 10:30 or 10:45 P.M., although it permitted more hour-long programs, of possible serious content, both before and after the news. The ITA points out that the "balance" programs it broadcasts before 7:00 and after 10:30 have more viewers than do the BBC's mid-evening features, because of ITV's generally larger audience, and because the earlier and later times avoid competition with BBC entertainment features. This point has considerable validity, although it does not constitute a complete release from all responsibility to present serious programs during peak hours.

The most fundamental question about ITV advertising is whether or not the advertisers influence program policy. Inevitably, the fact that the system is commercially supported places a premium on large audiences, and hence on programs of wide appeal. Any extended talk with a program company executive sooner or later gets around to the subject of ratings.

But ITV is quite free of advertiser interference with the content of specific programs. Advertisers do not — and by law may not — provide programs. An advertiser comes into contact with ITV only when he or his agent books time spots or arranges to take part in an advertising magazine, usually many months ahead. An advertiser may know that his commercial will come during a break in the Sunday evening broadcast from the stage of the London Palladium, or perhaps in the middle of "Armchair Theatre"; but he probably will not know what acts will be on the Palladium show that night, or what the plot and the cast will be on that week's play. Accordingly, there has been no concern by ad-

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vertisers over the points of view expressed in scripts, the political leanings of the talent, or whether the actors smoke cigars on a program in the course of which there are commercials for cigarettes.*

There remains the problem of the amount and nature of the advertisements themselves. The six minutes per hour average allowance is commendable, and it is good that the mid-evening eight-minute maximum has been reduced to seven minutes. But the question of advertisement placement remains to be solved. In view of the strong financial status of the program companies, the ITA now should be firmer in defining the differences between "natural" as opposed to "manufactured" breaks, while it must never cease to be diligent in applying the very commendable standards for advertising in its own *Principles for Television Advertising*. However, the regulation of ITV advertising is well covered by law and regulation, and any lapses in performance can easily be corrected by the Authority using its present powers.

In looking back on 1954, it appears that Parliament did well in structuring the ITA as it did, and that the Authority has on the whole operated commendably. The separation of responsibility for program material and advertisements was unquestionably sound, and that approach is recommended to any country which is either setting up or reforming a commercial broadcasting service. The many proposals for changes in that direction in the United States, following the widely publicized inquiries of 1959 and 1960, suggest that there are similar needs on the other side of the Atlantic.

The real test of performance, of course, is whether the Authority uses its power to achieve a good program service, while always main-

* The Managing Director of ABC Television, the company which presents "Armchair Theatre," writes, ". . . I do not know of a single instance where an advertiser has made a protest about the play to which his commercial announcement is adjacent. . . . From my own experience, dealing with plays by the hundred and advertisers by the thousand, I can say that I have never had a single complaint from an advertiser that his company or his product suffered in any way by being in juxtaposition with a play, even though the theme or treatment might be utterly opposed to that firm's own philosophy or policy." (Howard Thomas, "The Audience is the Thing," ABC Television, *The Armchair Theatre*, p. 12.)

In the United States hyper-sensitive advertisers have often interfered with program content when they thought their interests were at stake. Thus, when Associated Gas and Electric sponsored a CBS production dealing with the Nuremberg trials, the agency cut out the phrase "gas chamber" from the soundtrack saying, "Even though it was a different kind of gas, it would have been stupid for us to let that message stay in the program." There also was the Ford program from which was deleted a shot of the New York skyline because it gave prominence to the Chrysler Building.

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taining freedom of speech. Does it represent the interests and welfare of the public? Does it lead, coordinate and regulate the work of the program companies for the ultimate social good? Or is it merely the public relations headquarters for a group of fantastically profitable enterprises? The pressures operating in the system have already been reviewed. On balance it appears that the Authority has done its work well.

Competition then has been good for British television. But this is true only because the Television Act provided a system of "controlled commercial television," under conditions reasonably favorable to the controlling agency. Without these potential controls, to be used or held in abeyance as conditions require, the outlook would not be good. As it is, however, the British, with their genius for compromise, have devised a method which enables a regulatory body to insist on high standards of programming and advertising, without interfering with the freedom of expression so essential to the life of a democratic country.

The Future of British Broadcasting

On July 13, 1960, the Postmaster General announced in the House of Commons the appointment of a committee of inquiry headed by Sir Harry Pilkington to review the performances of the BBC and the ITA, and to make recommendations for the future of British broadcasting. At the same time the government stated that the Charter and Licence of the BBC would be extended from June 30, 1962, to July 29, 1964, so as to expire at the same time as the Television Act, which set up the ITA. The committee's assignment was defined as follows:

"To consider the future of the broadcasting services in the United Kingdom, the dissemination by wire of broadcasting and other programmes, and the possibility of television for public showing; to advise on the services which should in future be provided in the United Kingdom by the B.B.C. and the I.T.A.; to recommend whether additional services should be provided by any other organisation; and to propose what financial and other conditions should apply to the conduct of all these services." *

* *House of Commons Debates*, 145:1402-1406 (July 13, 1960); *London Times*, July 14, 1960, p. 3.

Sir Harry Pilkington is the chairman of a glass manufacturing company, a director of other large firms, as well as of the Bank of England, and former president of the Federation of British Industries, Britain's counterpart of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States. Because he had previously served

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When the remainder of the committee members were announced a short time later the Post Office stated: "The aim has been to pick a well balanced team of people who would bring a wide range of experience to bear objectively on the Committee's task. The Members have been chosen for their personal qualities and ability, and have been drawn from many sections of public life: Business; the Arts; Education; the Law; Trades Unions; and Entertainment."

The announcement also pointed out that several of the committee members were quite young, that the committee included members acquainted with the affairs of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, that one member spoke Welsh, and that the committee would begin work immediately.*

The charge to the committee, taken together with the accompanying statement of the Postmaster General, made it clear that the continuance of the BBC and ITA is assured. The committee is to review the past performances of both organizations, and it is to recommend what services (including additional television services, if any) are to be provided by each in the future. It also is to consider the possibility of radio or television broadcasting by other organizations, as well as of subscription television. The committee is to examine the question of a change in television technical standards, with special reference to the recent report of the Television Advisory Committee. Only the BBC's External Services, in fact, are excluded from its purview.

When the committee reports, probably in 1962 or 1963, Parliament with distinction as chairman of the Royal Commission on Doctors' and Dentists' Remuneration, he was thought by many to be well qualified to head this committee of inquiry, although a Labour back-bencher at once asked if it were right for the chairman to "be a person who, because of his life long connection with large-scale industry, must inevitably have a strong bias in favour of advertising?" This suggestion the Postmaster General at once rejected. The press had previously pointed out that one of the problems in choosing the committee would be to find people with ability and possibly some knowledge of broadcasting, who were not publicly associated with one or another point of view on the subject.

* In addition to Sir Harry Pilkington, the committee was constituted as follows: Sir Jock Campbell (age, 48), businessman; H. Collison (age, 52), general secretary of the National Union of Agricultural Workers; Elwyn Davies (age, 51), secretary, University of Wales; Joyce Grenfell (age, 50), actress and journalist; Peter Hall (age, 29), director, Shakespeare Memorial Theatre; Richard Hoggart (age, 41), lecturer in English at Leicester University; E. P. Hudson (age, 57), businessman with educational associations; J. Megaw (age, 50), lawyer; J. S. Shields (age, 57), headmaster, Peter Symonds' (Grammar) School; Dr. R. L. Smith-Rose (age, 66), Electronics Research Authority; Elizabeth Whitley (age, 45), wife of a prominent Edinburgh clergyman; W. A. (Billy) Wright (age, 36), famous British football player.

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will use its findings and recommendations as a basis for determining national broadcasting policy, after which will follow legislation for broadcasting and the licensing of whatever organizations may then be authorized to provide radio and television services. Parliament, of course, will be under no obligation to follow the committee's advice; it will be recalled that the Conservative government of 1952 did not follow the advice given to a Labour government by the Beveridge Committee the previous year in favor of the continuance of the BBC monopoly.

The Pilkington Committee will have access to much more information than any private scholar could hope to amass, and it will have many more man hours and ideas at its disposal. Nevertheless, since my investigations dealt with many of the same problems which led to the appointment of the committee, I am outlining my conclusions below, bold as it may seem to record them.

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

The BBC should be retained substantially as it is to operate one or more of the television and all of the radio services in the United Kingdom, in view of its performance record both before and after 1955.* Throughout the years the BBC has been a symbol for responsible broadcasting all over the world. It is a reflection of some of the most admirable and enduring features of the British national character, an example of which was its ability to adapt itself to the new environment created by the ITA.

The BBC should continue to be administered by its own Board of Governors and to be supported by license fees. These are the bases for its distinctive contributions to British life: the independence that comes of public corporation status; and the freedom to do long-range program planning without reference to daily fluctuations in audience size. Under these conditions the BBC can continue to provide balanced program services valuable in themselves, at the same time that it sets standards for any other television or radio broadcasting done in the United Kingdom.

It is essential that the BBC not be weakened by being limited to serious programming only, or by having its income reduced. Unless BBC

* The committee's terms of reference, of course, assume the continued existence of the BBC, but they contain no guarantee as to what services it should provide, or under what conditions.

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television continues to offer a full range of programs, it cannot remain a national service. Were it to become a culture-only channel, its status would soon decline to that of radio's Third Programme.*

There is no validity whatever in the argument that because BBC television attracts an average of only one third of the audience at any one time, it should receive a reduced portion of the license revenue. In the course of a week its total audience is made up of much more than one third of the public, even though not all view at any one time; and by serving those people directly it serves many more indirectly. No one argues that a school, university, or other public agency should be supported only by those people who come into daily contact with it. BBC television should continue to offer a complete and balanced program service, and it should receive all of the net license receipts.

Many proposals have been made for the introduction of commercial radio broadcasting into the United Kingdom, and over 100 companies are ready to apply for licenses if the government authorizes commercial radio.³ Conservative back-benchers have asked questions about it in the Commons, and there was a debate on the subject in the House of Lords in November 1959. Norman Collins set up Independent Broadcasting Services, Ltd., in 1957 to do commercial radio broadcasting in Britain, and in November 1959 Geoffrey Hunt, a Conservative Member of Parliament, incorporated Radio Yorkshire (Development) Ltd., to provide programs for the Yorkshire area. People now in commercial television, along with cinema and newspaper companies, are the groups mainly interested.

The arguments over commercial radio are basically restatements of those heard in 1954 during the television debate. BBC monopoly per se is a factor; the advantages resulting from the introduction of television competition are cited; and there are references to the desirability of local and all-music radio services. It is claimed that there is no point to breaking the BBC's television monopoly while leaving it intact in radio. Not much is said about the commercial aspects themselves, but it is obvious, in view of commercial television's great financial returns, that possibilities of profit rather than of service motivate most proposals.

* Suggestions that BBC television be limited to serious programs are made by some unrealistic but well-intentioned people who fail to realize that such a course would seriously weaken the Corporation, as well as by others who actually want to weaken or kill it.

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But there are two important differences between television in 1954 and radio now. There was only one television service in Britain then, whereas there now are three BBC radio services plus Radio Luxembourg. A secondary and supplementary service such as radio is today would not lend itself to energetic commercial exploitation in a relatively small country like Britain, with a limited number of radio frequencies.

The bitter competition in the United States over the diminishing audience left for radio has produced the best argument yet that Gresham's Law may apply to broadcasting. Never before had there been such debasing of standards, with day-long disc jockey programs, capsule news reports, and unrestrained promotional stunts. It is true that alongside of this have grown up many serious and good music stations; and the BBC would surely be left in the field to provide their British counterpart. But most of Britain's new commercial stations would probably be no better than America's local outlets. The need to compete for audiences with Radio Luxembourg and the Light Programme would lead them to feature the top ten, twenty, or forty hit records of the week, rather than local cultural attractions or local material at all, whereas the noncommercial BBC's plans for regional and local broadcasting are much more apt to be realized.

Any additional AM stations would enormously complicate Britain's frequency problem. The BBC has had to use the utmost ingenuity through the years to provide good signals on the standard broadcast band for the entire United Kingdom, and the situation in Europe deteriorates year by year. FM might be the answer, but here too the situation would be difficult, since only about half the band has been turned over to broadcasting by the British government.

The solution of Britain's radio problem, therefore, lies in the further development of the BBC, rather than in commercial broadcasting. The Corporation has a long record of good radio service; it has adapted well to the challenges of television; and its leaders are aware of the problems ahead.

One of these is the need for more local services. At present two of Britain's three radio networks are national in scope. Only the Home Service is split up for regional broadcasting, although it too carries principally national programs. Here is a field the BBC has never fully exploited, despite the extensive regionalism and local pride found in many parts of the country. There is room for much more regional and

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local programing, involving municipal, educational, and other groups. The BBC is aware of this need, in fact its new Director General declared in 1960, "The B.B.C. ought to go more local"; and it may be expected to move in that direction in the future.⁴ One way to do this would be to build low-power FM stations which would carry local originations rather than merely duplicating the programs already available on AM. Such plans, of course, would depend on an adequate supply of FM channels.

Consideration should also be given to day-long musical services, both popular and serious, such as abound in America. It must be recognized in this connection, however, that the ubiquitous phonograph record, which provides the basis for American local radio, is not so readily available in Britain. The copyright laws give the musicians' union control through the record manufacturers of "needle time," as it is called around the BBC, so that the amount of recorded music is dramatically limited, and high fees are exacted for the playing of records.

The status of the Third Programme and Network Three also should be re-examined. Can Britain afford to devote 10 per cent of its radio frequencies and its radio budget to serve an average audience at any one time of only 50,000 out of a total adult population of 38,500,000 people? Britain has many major educational problems. Its school leaving age is still 15, and only 5 per cent of its young people go to college, whereas the percentage in the United States is about 35 per cent. Educational as well as broadcasting policies are involved, therefore, in any decision to continue using so much of the country's radio resources to provide such a small portion of the public with material of a type which often might be better and more efficiently presented through books or recordings. Some combination of these two programs and the Home Service, or perhaps a good music and culture FM network, may be the answer.

THE INDEPENDENT TELEVISION AUTHORITY

Even without the assurance included in the assignment to the Pilkington Committee, there could be no doubt of the continuance of the Independent Television Authority. Any objective comparison of British television in 1955 and today must lead to the conclusion that, all things considered, things are better because of the ITA. Public acceptance of the new service has been so overwhelming that even the Labour party

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had to change its position from one of outright opposition to qualified acceptance. The present basic structure of Independent Television, with its division of functions between Authority, program companies, and advertisers, and its nonsponsorship provisions, should by all means be maintained. The ITA should be continued, therefore, although with consistent regard for high standards in both programing and advertising.

What is more, any second commercial network should be given to the ITA rather than being assigned to another agency. This would reduce overhead and operating costs, provide coordination and uniformity of standards, and utilize the experience of the original organization. The creation of two entirely separate commercial systems might lead to competition all along the line, from board chairmen on down, when the need is for competitive — but balanced — program services operating under uniform rules. If the ITA really functions as a public body to operate transmitters, select program companies, and regulate programs and advertising, rather than as a front for the interests of the program companies, then a second network should be assigned to it. If it does not operate that way, it should be reconstructed so that it will, whether there are one or two commercial networks.

The future of the ITA cannot be considered without reference to the profit levels of the program companies. At the outset the companies took great risks, and for a while it appeared they might lose everything. In the future they may be required to provide capital for a change of line standards and channels; and in any case they have no guarantee of life beyond 1964. On the other hand, they are using the public airways to operate one of the most successful businesses of the age; they enjoy a commercial monopoly; and they are assured of profits at the present rate or higher until 1964.

Whatever may be said formally and publicly, the ITA itself is embarrassed by this high profit rate, and everyone expects something to be done about it after 1964 if not before. The only question is, what to do? The Authority takes the position that it was set up to develop television services while remaining solvent itself, and not to make money for the national treasury; that it could not have foreseen how much the companies were going to earn; and that in any case its contracts with the companies do not permit the further raising of rents until new contracts take effect in 1964.

The Committee of Public Accounts urged that future program con-

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tracts be awarded to the highest bidders.* This suggestion the ITA very properly opposed, arguing that program service should be the determining factor in selecting contractors. If ability to pay becomes too big a consideration, successful bidders may have to do irresponsible programming in order to realize profits; experience in the United States, in fact, has shown that the hardest pressed commercial broadcasters are frequently the ones with the poorest programs.

It is often argued that a second commercial service would be a good thing because it would reduce profits. It might be a good thing, and it probably would reduce profits; but another television service should not be introduced merely to make broadcasting less profitable. Decisions as to additional television services must be based on considerations of program service, with the economic aftereffects only secondary.

But that does not alter the fact that program company profits are too high. It is unconscionable that these private companies, enjoying a commercial monopoly of the airways, should have been able to average 130 per cent profit during their fourth year in business, after paying all their debts and completely amortizing their equipment! Whether or not commercial competition is introduced, therefore, the contracts made after 1964 should provide some means to hold profits at a reasonable level. Possible procedures include taxation, direct levies, higher rents, or a profit-sharing arrangement under which guaranteed payments would be supplemented by a percentage of net profits on a sliding scale.

TECHNICAL STANDARDS IN TELEVISION

The future of British television cannot be discussed without reference to technical standards. Many knowledgeable people believe that Britain should replace the 405-line standard it adopted in 1937 with a 625-line standard, moving at the same time into the UHF band; and the government's Television Advisory Committee recommended such changes in 1960.

The Committee stated that a 625-line standard with an eight-megacycle channel would "give a definite improvement in picture quality over that provided on 405-line standards now, and the gap will widen as the technique develops." What is more, the 625-line standard would

* The committee urged "that in future contracts the rentals, representing the contractors' capacity to pay, should be arrived at by competition, provided that the Authority judge the highest bidder to be of standing and technically and financially competent to provide the service." (*Committee of Public Accounts Report*, p. 1.)

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help "in selling United Kingdom programme material to the rest of Europe" through Eurovision exchanges, and "would ease the problem of channel sharing with neighbouring countries." *

Present services take up most of the space in Band I and about half of Band III, the two VHF (Very High Frequency) bands now assigned to television in Britain. Band I contains so many BBC stations that there is room left for only some low power satellites. BBC programs are now available to over 98 per cent of the population, and could be extended to over 99 per cent, although it would not be possible to provide a service for Wales separate from that for the West of England within the limitations of Band I.⁵

Four of the eight channels in Band III are used by the ITA to provide service to some 94 per cent of the population. Use of the four remaining channels could extend the present ITA services to at least 98 per cent of the population, and at the same time would provide a third network covering 95 per cent or more of the public. Alternatively these channels could be used just to strengthen the present BBC and ITA services and to bring them to the half million or so persons permanently beyond the reach of either. †

If 625-line broadcasting on eight-megacycle channels were introduced into Bands I and III, it would be possible to provide two networks with at least 95 and possibly 98 per cent coverage. This means, therefore, that expansion into Bands IV and V is essential if more than three services are to be broadcast using the present 405-line standard, or more than two using the proposed 625-line system.

If broadcasting on an eight-megacycle channel were introduced into

* General Post Office, *Report of the Television Advisory Committee 1960*, Section 38 (hereafter cited as *TAC Report*). The proposed change of technical standards would involve not only an increase in the number of lines in the picture, but also an expansion of the video band width from 3 to 6 megacycles and of the channel width from 5 to 8 megacycles, along with a change in the sound modulation system from AM to FM. Additional details on television technical standards together with quotations from the committee's report, are given in the Appendix.

† *TAC Report*, Section 11. A decision to set up a third service in Band III would not leave many people without television. By locating stations carefully it might be possible to overlap the coverages of the three services so that most people could receive two services and many people three, while hardly anyone would be without television at all.

It is interesting to notice that two such different organizations as the BBC and Associated-Rediffusion have recommended that the remaining channels in Band III be used to strengthen the present two services rather than being assigned to a third network. (*London Times*, March 18, 1960, p. 9; April 30, 1960, p. 4.)

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Bands IV and V using either 625- or 405-line standards, it would be possible to add two programs, each with over 98 per cent coverage, or three with about 95 per cent coverage. If Band V were extended from its present top limit of 800 megacycles to 860 megacycles, three programs with about 98 per cent coverage each could be introduced. If the whole of Band V became available, four programs with some 98 per cent coverage would be possible.*

However, a move to Bands IV and V would raise both technical and financial problems. In the United States UHF broadcasting has encountered technical difficulties, although engineering advances can be expected to eliminate them. In Britain experiments were conducted which showed that the service areas of transmitters operating in these bands would be smaller and less dependable than in Bands I and III, especially in mountainous and hilly country. Therefore, perhaps four or five times as many transmitters would be needed to broadcast in Bands IV and V as in Bands I and III. In spite of these problems, however, the committee recommended the use of Bands IV and V.

Both BBC and ITA would have to buy new studio equipment and transmitters in the event of a change to 625-lines, and new transmitters for expansion to UHF using the old standard. The committee estimated the capital costs of one UHF network as approximately £15,000,000 (\$42,000,000), and of three as £25,000,000 (\$70,000,000). By way of comparison, the present ITA network of a dozen transmitters cost about £6,000,000 (\$16,800,000). Annual operating costs, of course, would be in addition to these capital outlay funds.†

Since all home receivers would have to be modified or replaced if new standards or UHF broadcasting were introduced, family budgets too would be affected. Existing sets could not be adapted for 625-line broadcasting in Bands IV and V, and adapters would be needed to receive 405-line programs in the UHF band, so that large private outlays would be involved. Should it do so, Britain would be the first country in the world with a high percentage of television homes to change

* *TAC Report*, Section 23. If a 405-line five-megacycle channel were used in Bands IV and V, the number of channels would be increased proportionately.

† *TAC Report*, Sections 32, 34. Electronics manufacturers disagree on the desirability of a change. The Radio Industry Council urged the Pilkington Committee to retain the 405-line standard. Although C. O. Stanley, Chairman of Pye, implied that overstocks of 405-line receivers were behind this position, an industry spokesman branded such assertions as "scandalous." (*London Times*, January 17, 1961, p. 4.)

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its technical standards or introduce a nationwide UHF service. But if Britain is ever to adopt a higher standard or develop transmissions of any kind on UHF, it should do so simultaneously with the introduction of new program services.

At this juncture, therefore, Britain has four technical choices. The first one is a continuation of the present 405-line system, without expansion to UHF. The four remaining channels in Band III could be brought into use so that Bands I and III, taken together, would provide three services, two with at least 98 and one with at least 95 per cent coverage. Alternatively, the remaining channels in Band III could be used only to strengthen existing services. However, this choice would limit the country indefinitely to three services, while leaving something like a half-million people with no television at all. Furthermore, Britain would be tied for years to its present line standards. This obviously is the least desirable procedure.

The second choice is a continuation of the 405-line system, but with expansion to UHF. Since that would permit an improvement in the coverage of existing services as well as the introduction of two or more new services, it would be vastly preferable to the first choice, but it would have the disadvantage of tying Britain permanently to its present definition standards. It too, therefore, is undesirable.*

The third choice is the introduction of 625-line broadcasting in Bands I and III with delayed exploitation of Bands IV and V. But if an eight-megacycle channel were used, only two nationwide networks could be accommodated in VHF. What is more, it would be impossible to change over gradually from the old to the new system without disrupting service. The alternative of simultaneously changing in all parts of the country, requiring every set owner to be prepared on a given date with a 625-line receiver, is entirely unrealistic.† This choice, therefore, is not recommended.

The fourth choice is the introduction of a 625-line standard on UHF, with the eventual replacement of all 405-line transmissions by 625-line broadcasting in Bands I and III. This would involve more problems

* In the words of the Television Advisory Committee, "What is clear is that the bringing into use of Bands IV and V would offer the last opportunity the United Kingdom will have of changing its line standards. If 405-line standards were introduced into Bands IV and V clearly we would be committed to those standards indefinitely." *Ibid.*, Section 32.

† *TAC Report*, Section 28. The Television Advisory Committee recommended against this procedure.

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than extending the 405-line standard to UHF, but in the long run it would be to Britain's advantage.* In 1936 the United Kingdom could point with pride to the fact that it was inaugurating the world's first permanent television service, using what was for that day the very high standard of 405 lines. By 1945 it was known that postwar television services in America and on the Continent would be using higher definition systems, but it was decided, nevertheless, to resume broadcasting on 405 lines, in order to avoid the delay of several years which would have been necessary had Britain decided to add to its other postwar reconstruction problems the introduction of a new television standard. This may or may not have been a wise decision, but it was taken nevertheless, with the consequence that Britain now has the world's lowest television standard.

There is no question but that the United Kingdom does get very good pictures from its 405-line system; but since the old standard is already revealing its limitations, and will appear increasingly deficient in future years, a change should be made when possible. Better picture quality, more television services, and the advantages that result from sharing a common standard with most of western Europe all justify such a change, as the Television Advisory Committee recommended.

If this procedure were adopted, the first thing to do would be to construct two or more chains of UHF stations using the new standard. Thereafter, for about ten years, the present BBC and ITA services would be continued on VHF using the 405-line standard, while the remaining four channels in Band III could be used to improve coverage of the present services.

During this transition period both the BBC and the ITA might want to duplicate their 405-line VHF programs on 625 lines on UHF, just as Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française did with its 441- and 819-line services in Paris between 1950 and 1958. In addition, subject to government approval, one or both could introduce new UHF-only services. In the United States UHF has taken hold only in those areas where highly attractive program services are available on UHF only. But with at least one service available just on UHF; with all of the services of VHF duplicated on UHF; with all VHF 405-line broadcasting scheduled to

* "Bands IV and V must . . . be brought into use if television policy favours: (i) a change on merits from 405-line to 625-line standards even if no additional programme is to be provided . . . (ii) more than three programmes whatever the line standards used. . . ." (*TAC Report*, Section 47 (d).)

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end in about 10 years; and with no VHF-only sets offered for sale once UHF programs became available, there would be strong incentives for the purchase of new sets. Initially, of course, audiences for the UHF-only programs would be small, but in time all television homes would be equipped to receive them.

By introducing new technical standards, UHF broadcasting, and additional program services at the same time, Britain could at one stroke improve the technical quality of its transmissions, extend the coverage of existing networks, increase the number of services, and induce the public to buy new receivers, while leaving the way open for continued expansion and improvement in the years ahead. The United Kingdom now has a better opportunity to change to a new standard than it has had at any time since it resumed broadcasting on the old standard in 1946, and than it may ever have again.*

ADDITIONAL TELEVISION SERVICES

The really big question about the future of British broadcasting, of course, is the introduction of additional television services. To the BBC a second network would mean prestige, opportunity for service, and added assurance of survival in the years ahead. To the ITA and the program companies, it also would represent prestige, plus perhaps more profits in the long run. To the public it would mean more program choices.

For some years the BBC has been saying that once it completed coverage of most of the country with its first service, it wanted to have a second one.⁶ The coming of the ITA increased rather than lessened the Corporation's interest in expansion. "In a purely competitive situation," the BBC argues, "the programmes that are not repetitive entertainment tend to get poked away into the less convenient viewing times, and experimental work is hampered. Two services planned together provide the only means of removing these disabilities."⁷

* ". . . extension of television into Bands IV and V would offer the last opportunity for making a change in line standards; and if television policy requires the use of Bands IV and V we recommend the use of 625-line standards with an 8 Mc/s channel in these Bands and ultimately their introduction into Bands I and III. . . ." (*TAC Report*, Section 47 (e).)

Since color telecasting can be done adequately on 405 lines, though somewhat better on 625, it is presumed that color broadcasting will develop eventually in either case. The Committee concluded "that present technical and economic limitations make it undesirable to introduce a colour television system in the near future." (*Ibid.*, Section 45.)

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The BBC wants to operate two complementary and balanced services, rather than a Light Programme-Third Programme combination, as it does in radio. The Corporation claims it would offer the public a real choice of programs at all times, whereas two commercial networks might largely duplicate each other's light entertainment offerings. Outlining the program policy the Corporation would follow if it had a second network, the Director of BBC Television said that there would be a big increase "in great plays, great films, the ballet, the opera, and the other arts. I foresee fuller use of our world-wide news services. I foresee more science, more of all those kinds of programmes which stimulate interests and widen horizons."⁸ It also appears likely that a second network would strengthen the competitive position of the Corporation, since it then would be able to offer one popular appeal program at all times.

But a second television network would require more money at the same time that all program costs probably will continue to rise; and these costs would have to be borne directly or indirectly by the taxpayer. The BBC has claimed for some time that it could finance a second television service in Band III if it received all of the license money plus the £1 excise tax paid by all television users, and that with a £5 license it could add a new television service in Bands IV and V with color too, although some opponents of additional BBC services have predicted a £10 (\$28.00) license in the latter case.⁹

Between 1927 and 1955 the Corporation received only 85 per cent of the net amount collected. For the three years beginning April 1, 1957, it received 87½ per cent of the net amount; effective April 1, 1960, it got 95 per cent of the license proceeds; and after April 1, 1961, it is to receive 100 per cent. This amounted to an increase of £750,000 (\$2,100,000) for 1960-1961 over the previous years, and of another £2,500,000 (\$7,000,000) in 1961-1962. Proceeds from the £1 excise tax total over £10,000,000 (\$28,000,000) each year. In any case, some additional public funds would be involved, since money paid as license fees which now goes for nonbroadcasting purposes would have to be replaced with other public funds if more were given to the BBC.

There also have been proposals for a second commercial network. The ITA assured the program companies in 1955 that if channels became available for additional commercial services before the expiration of their contracts in 1964, the companies operating only a part of

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each week in the London, Midlands and Northern areas — Associated-Rediffusion, Associated TeleVision, ABC Television, and Granada Television — would be given first chances at week-long services, in view of the risks they took in going on the air in 1955.¹⁰ After 1964, of course, there would be no legal obligation to assign week-long contracts to any of the companies now on the air, nor for that matter to continue them in business at all. For their part, the companies are not agreed on what they want to do. Associated TeleVision is anxious to broadcast seven days a week and welcomes full-time competition, as does ABC.¹¹ But Associated-Rediffusion has been less enthusiastic, suggesting that when additional channels in Band III are available, the gaps in the coverage of the present BBC and ITA services should first be filled.*

Various arguments are offered in favor of a second commercial network. The pronounced audience preference for ITV is cited as evidence of public desire for such a service. A wider range of programs would be available if there were two commercial networks. Another channel would end the commercial television monopoly, and probably reduce the profits of the program companies. Whereas there might be some question as to funds for a second BBC service, there would be no problem here. A need for more advertising outlets is also cited as a reason for another commercial channel.

Proposals also have been made for educational television stations. The Director General of the ITA has talked of two additional services, one a commercial network like the present ITA, and the other a non-commercial educational service on the order of America's educational television stations, supported incidentally, by the same £1 excise tax which the BBC wants for its second network.¹² The Managing Director of Associated-Rediffusion has proposed an educational network programmed and supported jointly by the BBC and the program companies.¹³ But the chairman of the ITA has taken a different position, favoring balanced rather than specialized educational services, "which the masses will never view,"¹⁴ and the BBC's former Director General has likewise gone on record against a separate educational service.¹⁵

In view of these various proposals several kinds of decisions must be made. Should there be additional television services at all? If so, should

* London *Times*, July 28, 1958, p. 6; July 31, 1958, p. 9; *Television Mail*, November 14, 1959; *Daily Mail*, December 5, 1959. Associated TeleVision, with its many entertainment and theatrical connections, is probably better situated for all-out competition than is Associated-Rediffusion.

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they be noncommercial, commercial, educational, or some combination of them? Should they be run by the BBC, the ITA, both, or by entirely new agencies? How should they be supported? Self-interest clearly underlies all the proposals, and heavy pressures will be brought, first on the Pilkington Committee and later on Parliament. It is hoped that the decisions will be based on long-range public service considerations, although the fact that Parliament must debate the whole problem in the shadow of an election may make objectivity difficult to maintain.

It is clear that additional television services are desirable. The majority of the public likes television, particularly of the ITA type, even though many intellectuals and members of the Establishment detest it. In fact, the opposition of British intellectuals to television is considerably more intense than is the case among their counterparts in the United States. But the entertainment, informational, and educational possibilities of the medium are enormous; and the alleged disadvantages have never been proved to outweigh the advantages. There also is the obvious fact that in a democratic country, public demand should be met in the absence of important reasons for denying it; and with television such reasons do not exist. All things considered, therefore, the case is clear for introducing one or more additional television services into the United Kingdom.

What then should be the nature of the new network — or networks? First it should be observed that integrated and balanced services on the order of those proposed by the BBC, are vastly preferable, at least at the outset, to the specialized educational services suggested by some ITV spokesmen. It should be noted that the educational network movement has its strategic as well as program aspects, since one proposal is that it be supported by the same funds sought by the BBC for its second service. Conceivably too, the BBC itself might eventually become the educational network, a development advocated by some commercial spokesmen but bitterly opposed by the BBC. Or, again, a successful educational network might demonstrate that the BBC was not needed as a source of quality programs, while one or more commercial services met all public needs for television entertainment, which would then open the way for a movement to eliminate the BBC entirely.

Britain, far more than the United States, needs general education for all, rather than segregated services for a few. The British have traditionally overemphasized intensive educational opportunities for the

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gifted and the favored, while slighting people with less promise; and television should help redress the balance rather than stratifying already existing inequalities. Furthermore, Britain should not introduce a television service which in effect is labeled not-for-the-average-man, and which might in any way tempt ITV — or the BBC either — to over-emphasize light entertainment, while sloughing off public service obligations onto educational stations.

The American educational stations which have been cited in some quarters as an example to Britain share the fate of the BBC's Network Three and Third Programme, in that they have extremely small audiences made up principally of sophisticated and well-educated people. In the United States the failure of commercial stations to provide certain types of specialized services was an important factor in bringing educational radio and television stations into being. But in Britain the BBC surely can be expected to provide many such programs during its regular transmissions, and ITV should continue to do so too, especially if it has a second network. At a later date, if there are enough channels, Britain might add some educational stations, but not until more general services have been provided.*

It also has been proposed that the United Kingdom should introduce a network, or at least a few stations in large cities supported directly by viewers, the programs to be distributed either over the air or by cable. In Britain as in America this method of support is known by such names as subscription television, pay-as-you-view, coin-in-the-slot, pay television, and toll television. Britain now has companies which relay the programs of the BBC and the ITA to subscribers by wire, although to date these companies, like the radio relay firms in existence since the 1920's, have been expressly prohibited from originating programs of their own. There recently has been considerable discussion of subscription television in the press and in Parliament, and reports have been circulated of some of the experiments being conducted in Canada and the United States. But there is inadequate evidence to justify a decision to base any considerable portion of Britain's television services on subscription support. The United Kingdom might want to conduct its own experiments with supplementary services in metropolitan centers like

* It might then set up local nonnetwork commercial and educational stations in large population centers. New York and Los Angeles, both of which are smaller than London, have seven channels operating, while many American cities have four or five.

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London; but it would be inadvisable to go further than that at present.

By 1964 or shortly thereafter Britain will have at least one more national television service. There can be no question about that. The only question is, why limit the country to three services when there will be spectrum space for four, if the proposed change to 625-lines and expansion to UHF takes place? The United States has three national networks plus a host of independent stations; many American cities have four stations, Chicago among others has five, and New York and Los Angeles — neither as large as London — have seven each.

It would be difficult if not impossible to choose between the BBC and the ITA on the grounds of program performance, should only one network be added. Both organizations are meeting their obligations well, and a good case could be made for another service operated by either. Each has its areas of special competence, so that the same reasoning that underlies the continued existence of their two original services can be cited to justify the introduction of second services by each.

The only real questions are financial. There unquestionably would be enough advertising revenue to support two commercial services. There should be enough talent and audience interest to maintain four services. But would there be enough license fee — or other — money for a second BBC network, especially in view of the added costs that would accompany any change in technical standards? A detailed examination of the resources available to the BBC must be made before the answer can be given. But if such an inquiry confirmed the Corporation's claim that it could support a second service, then both the BBC and the ITA should be licensed to build and operate additional television services, in order to provide more program choices to the public, as well as to provide additional impetus for people to buy the new receivers essential in such large numbers if the introduction of new technical standards is to succeed.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

British broadcasting is now in transition between its earlier monopoly period and the final status it should attain in the later 1960's. The form it will then assume may be quite unlike what anyone can now forecast. Nevertheless, the inquiries I have undertaken lead me to these conclusions and recommendations.

1. British television has been improved by competition. The presence

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of two separate broadcasting organizations has helped, or at least hastened, to bring about certain improvements in the environment in which broadcasting is done. Competition has been an incentive to the BBC at the same time that Independent Television has greatly enriched the country's program fare. Competition may not always be preferable to monopoly: a small country with limited resources might better maintain a single broadcasting service. But the British experience indicates that a large country with extensive resources is better off with a competitive system.

2. Competition has been good for British broadcasting only because the Television Act of 1954 set up a system of "controlled commercial television" with conditions favorable to the regulating agency. The separation of program material from advertisements has eliminated many of the problems inherent in the sponsorship system, and it is commended to all countries seeking a workable compromise formula for the regulation of commercial broadcasting.

3. The BBC itself has been and remains a superb broadcasting organization. It should be maintained and strengthened on its present basis, that is, as a public corporation with license fee support.

4. The Independent Television Authority has on the whole performed well, and Independent Television's program companies have produced many fine serious as well as light programs. In fact, the differences between BBC and ITV programs have been more of emphasis than of quality.

5. Now is the time for the Authority to set the standards of regulation and performance which will endure for a long time to come. The program companies are embarrassingly wealthy and they are guaranteed high profits until 1964; the current inquiry predisposes everyone to have a good record; and a new law must be passed by 1964. Needless to say, regulation must never interfere with freedom of expression. But the safeguards of the Act, taken together with Britain's long tradition of free speech, should ensure the preservation of this basic right, while the Authority goes on to develop what could become a world standard for commercial broadcasting.

6. Despite the improvement in British television as a result of competition, radio should continue as a BBC monopoly. If Gresham's Law has ever applied in broadcasting, it does so now with American radio, where cutthroat tactics have marked the competition for that part of the audi-

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ence left to radio by television. Britain should continue her radio services under the auspices of the BBC, which can be depended upon to better serve the United Kingdom's national and local needs in radio's now limited field than could a number of competing commercial companies.

7. The United Kingdom should adopt the recommendation of the Television Advisory Committee and replace its present 405-line with a 625-line system, at the same time expanding into UHF Bands IV and V. This would make it possible to improve picture quality, extend coverage of the two existing networks, add two or more new services, and standardize with the greater part of western Europe. If such a change is to succeed, however, it must be accompanied by the introduction of one or more program services available on UHF only.

8. If funds are available both the BBC and the ITA should be encouraged to introduce additional television services. The BBC surely can be depended upon to operate a second network in the public interest. The ITA, rather than a second commercial authority, should be assigned responsibility for any additional commercial services, since competition is needed among program companies rather than between rival broadcasting authorities.

Since 1955 the United Kingdom has provided the world with an excellent opportunity to observe the effects of competition on broadcasting, as well as with a new pattern for commercial television. The methods used and the results obtained deserve study everywhere. Now the United Kingdom is faced with vital decisions about the future. On the outcome of those decisions will depend the success with which British broadcasting completes its transition from one of the best monopoly systems to what could become one of the finest competitive systems in the world.

**APPENDIX, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY
AND INDEX**

Television Technical Data

IF A TELEVISION PICTURE is to be satisfactorily broadcast and reproduced, transmitting and receiving apparatus must be matched in at least a dozen respects. One of the most important of these variables is the number of lines comprising the picture, which is among the factors affecting the sharpness of image. In transmission, a television picture is divided into a number of horizontal lines, each of which is scanned from left to right by the camera's pickup tube, much as the eye traverses printed lines in reading a page; but whereas each line of print is read as a series of words, the camera (in black and white television) "reads" successive light or dark spots. Other things being equal, the sharpness or resolution increases as more lines are scanned (provided that corresponding increases are made in video bandwidth). For this reason, within limits, a premium is placed upon the number of lines per picture.

In noninterlaced "sequential" scanning each line is scanned in turn, just as a page is read, whereas with "interlaced" scanning, all the odd-numbered lines (1, 3, 5, 7, etc.) are scanned first, after which the camera scans the even-numbered ones (2, 4, 6, etc.) to the bottom of the picture. Since the latter procedure reduces picture flicker, interlaced scanning is now universally used. Another important factor is the number of complete pictures transmitted per second, flicker diminishing as the frequency is increased.

The British began broadcasting experimentally with a 405-line system at the end of 1936, and adopted it officially in February 1937. At that time 405 lines constituted a very high-definition system. But in May 1941 the United States adopted its present 525-line system, and all of the major Continental countries exceeded 405 lines before the war, and eventually adopted 625-line systems, except for France which chose 819 lines.* After World War II the United Kingdom decided to retain

* In no case is the picture divided for transmission purposes into the full number of lines mentioned. In the American 525-line system, only about 490 lines are devoted to the picture itself, the remainder being used to transmit synchronizing impulses. Of the British 405 lines, 377 are used in actual picture transmission.

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the 405-line system because the adoption of higher standards would have involved a long delay in restarting the service, and because in practice, despite theoretical drawbacks, the 405-line standard can be made to work very well.*

Table I shows the characteristics of the five most widely used television systems. These are incompatible with each other, so that sets designed to receive one system will not work on another, unless specially adapted.

Table I. The Five Principal Television Systems

	405	525	625 ° CCIR	625 † USSR	819
Number of lines per picture..	405	525	625	625	819
Video bandwidth (mcs.)....	3	4	5	6	10.4
Channel width (mcs.).....	5	6	7	8	14
Sound carrier relative to vision carrier (mcs.).....	-3.5	+4.5	+5.5	+6.5	-11.5
Sound carrier relative to edge of channel (mcs.)...	0.25	-0.25	-0.25	-0.25	+0.10
Interlace	2/1	2/1	2/1	2/1	2/1
Line frequency (cs.).....	10,125	15,750	15,625	15,625	20,475
Field frequency (cs.).....	50	60	50	50	50
Picture frequency (cs.).....	25	30	25	25	25
Sense of vision modulation..	Pos.	Neg.	Neg.	Neg.	Pos.
Level of black as percentage of peak carrier.....	30	75	75	75	25
Sound modulation	AM	FM	FM	FM	AM

Source: Information published by the International Telecommunications Union (Documents of the Seventh Plenary Assembly of the International Radio Consultative Committee, Geneva, 1951-Vol. 1, page 102, Recommendation No. 82 — Television Standards (Recommendation No. 29)).

* These are the characteristics of the 625-line standard established by the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR). In the future it is likely that when European countries now operating on the CCIR standard introduce UHF broadcasting, they will use an 8-megacycle channel. Even France, while intending to continue its 819-line black and white system, is contemplating the use of a 625-line standard with an 8-megacycle channel for color television. (General Post Office, *Report of the Television Advisory Committee 1960*, Section 20.)

† This is the 625-line standard used by the Eastern European bloc.

The 405-line standard is used by the United Kingdom and Ireland. The 525-line system was adopted by the United States in 1941, and subsequently by a number of other countries in North and Central America, the Middle East and the Far East, most of which have geographic, economic, or political ties with the United States: Bermuda,

* Further information about the British decision to first adopt and then retain the 405-line system is given in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 240-243, 248-250.

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Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Iran, Korea, Japan, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, and Uruguay. The CCIR 625-line standard is used by most western European countries; Austria, Belgium (with some changes; also does some telecasting on 819 lines), Denmark, Finland, East and West Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Saar, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. The same system also is used by Australia, Cyprus, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, New Zealand, and Nigeria.

The eastern European 625-line standard is used by the USSR along with Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania. The same standard, but with a six-megacycle channel, is used in Argentina and Venezuela. The 819-line standard is used in France, Algeria, Monaco, and Morocco. Belgium and Luxembourg also use 819-line systems, but with only a seven-megacycle channel, and some other alterations too in the case of Belgium, which broadcasts to its French-speaking population with the 819-line system, and to its Flemish-speaking audience with the 625-line standard.*

Despite these differences in standards, however, telecasting everywhere is done on the same broadcast bands. Table II compares television and FM radio allocations in the United Kingdom and the United States.

In the United Kingdom, the five channels of Band I are used exclusively for television, and all BBC transmitters operate there. Band II (as in the United States) is reserved for FM sound broadcasting. Band III (United States channels 7 through 13), which is large enough for eight of the British five-megacycle channels, now contains a number of government and commercial radio services, plus four television channels. In April 1955 the Postmaster General announced that these channels would be divided into two groups of four, with channels 8, 9, 10 and 11 going to the ITA, and others being held in abeyance. The decision has yet to be made on assigning the remaining four channels to television. Bands IV and V (United States UHF channels 14 through 83) are not yet used in the United Kingdom.

The Television Advisory Committee recommended in May 1960 that the United Kingdom change to a 625-line system using an eight-megacycle channel, and that it extend telecasting into Bands IV and V (UHF). Some salient points from the committee's report are quoted below.

"16. The present 405-line standards are in accordance with the recommendations made by the Television Advisory Committee in 1936 and were adopted by the B.B.C. from February 1937. That the choice was a wise one at the time is clear from the excellent picture quality achieved when the full potentialities of the system began to be real-

* General Post Office, *Report of the Television Advisory Committee 1960*, p. 15.

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Table II. Television and FM Radio Allocations in the United Kingdom and the United States

Band Designation	Band Width in European Region (megacycles)	Use in United Kingdom	Use in United States
<i>Very High Frequencies</i>			
I	41-68	Television (Channels 1 to 5). BBC Television stations are assigned to this band.	Channels 2-4 (54-72 mcs.); * Channels 5-6 (76-88 mcs.)
II	87.5-100	FM radio broadcasting (87.5-95 mcs.)	FM radio broadcasting (88-108 mcs.)
III	174-216	Television (Channels 6 to 13). Other services now operating here may be moved, thus allowing eight television channels. Four have been allocated to the ITA (Channels 8, 9, 10 and 11); allocation of the other four remains to be made.	Channels 7-13 (174-216 mcs.)
<i>Ultra High Frequencies</i>			
IV	470-582	Television. For future use.	Channels 14-83 (470-890 mcs.)
V	606-800		

Sources: General Post Office, *First Report of the Television Advisory Committee 1952*; General Post Office, *Report of the Television Advisory Committee 1960; Handbook 1960*, pp. 153-154; *BBC Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 8.

* In the United States the FCC allocated 18 channels for television broadcasting in the 50 to 294 megacycle band in 1941. In 1945 the television spectrum was contracted to 13 channels in the band between 44 and 216 megacycles, at which time FM radio was moved to its present 88 to 108 band. In 1948 Channel I (44 to 50 megacycles) was deleted and assigned to industrial, public safety, and transportation uses.

ised. There is no further room for appreciable improvement. Good as the 405-line picture may be for the size of screens now in general use, we do not think that the 405-line system will be adequate for the next 25 years. (Closed circuit television using 625-line standards is already being used in the United Kingdom.)

"17. Consideration has been given to the potentialities of the 625-line standards adopted in 1951 by the remainder of Europe (apart from France, which adopted 819-line standards and Belgium, which has both 625-line and 819-line standards) and subsequently by many other countries. . . . Our Technical Sub-Committee reported that, in the Band V field trials, a comparison was made of 405-line and 625-line pictures in Band V. The results showed that the overall assess-

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ment of the Band V 625-line pictures was not significantly different from that of the Band V 405-line pictures although in areas of comparatively high field strength the 625-line pictures generally received a slightly higher assessment. There was, however, a significant difference in the visibility of the scanning lines — the 625-line pictures being, on average, noticeably better than the 405-line pictures. This difference was not, however, reflected in the overall assessment of picture quality. The Sub-Committee felt that this was due partly to the nature of the trials and partly to the restriction of the video bandwidth of the 625-line system to 5 Mc/s. They considered, however, with one dissentient, that with further development of this system using a 6 Mc/s video bandwidth and receivers with improved noise factors 625-line pictures, particularly the larger pictures, would show a definite superiority. . . .

“18. We have considered the desirability of an even higher line standard. The higher the standard the wider the channel required to exploit the full potentialities of the standard and the smaller the number of possible programmes. We feel that the 625-line standard with a total channel width of 8 Mc/s represents the best compromise and is the only one likely to be acceptable to the rest of Europe as a common standard in Bands IV and V. . . .

“37. The introduction of television in Bands IV and V, assuming it to be Government policy to develop television beyond the capacity of Bands I and III, will provide the last opportunity of improving the standards of definition.

“38. At such a stage it would be in the long-term interest of television development in the United Kingdom to change over from 405-line to 625-line standards because:

- (a) the existing 405-line standards will not be adequate for all purposes for the next 25 years;
- (b) 625-line standards making full use of an 8 Mc/s channel will give a definite improvement in picture quality over that provided on 405-line standards now, and the gap will widen as the technique develops;
- (c) the maintenance of 405-line operation here would show the United Kingdom to a disadvantage in Eurovision as standard converters degrade picture quality, particularly for conversion to a higher standard, and this would have its effect in selling United Kingdom programme material to the rest of Europe. The international exchange of programmes is likely to grow both in extent and importance.
- (d) 625-line operation with the use of an 8 Mc/s channel would ease the problem of channel sharing with neighbouring countries. . . .

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“47. . . .

- (c) if television is to be confined to the existing VHF Bands I and III, then a changeover to higher standards within those bands is impracticable even for the existing two programmes. Television would therefore have to adhere to the present 405-line standards With these standards the two Bands could accommodate a third programme of near-national coverage; alternatively, the remaining channels in Band III could be used to strengthen existing services. . . .
- (d) Bands IV and V must, therefore, be brought into use if television policy favours:
 - (i) a change on merits from 405-line to 625-line standards even if no additional programme is to be provided. . . .
 - (ii) more than three programmes whatever the line standards used. . . .
- (e) extension of television into Bands IV and V would offer the last opportunity for making a change in line standards; and if television policy requires the use of Bands IV and V we recommend the use of 625-line standards with an 8 Mc/s channel in these Bands and ultimately their introduction into Bands I and III
- (f) a fully compatible colour system is required
- (g) colour should, however, only be introduced using the line standards to be ultimately adopted for monochrome transmission and therefore any decision with regard to the introduction of colour must follow a decision on line standards

“48. Finally, we would emphasise again that any proposed changeover to new line standards would require to be made in accordance with a long-term phased programme which should take account of the interests of the viewers, the Broadcasting Organisations, and the Radio Industry. The 405-line services would need to be continued for many years so that there would be no question of 405-line receivers becoming prematurely absolescent.”

Chapter II. The British Broadcasting Corporation

¹ *Broadcasting: Memorandum on Television Policy* (Cmd. 9005), p. 3; *Television Act, 1954*, 1 (1).

² The best summary of this period in British broadcasting is given in the first chapter of R. H. Coase, *British Broadcasting: A Study in Monopoly*, hereafter cited as Coase, *British Broadcasting*. The legal basis for the British Broadcasting Company was its license: *Wireless Broadcasting Licence: Copies of (1) Licence by the Postmaster General to the British Broadcasting Company, Ltd. . . . ; (2) Agreement with respect to the broadcasting of news and general information* (Cmd. 1822). There is an outline of the company's structure on pp. 8-9 of *The Broadcasting Committee: Report* (Cmd. 1951), hereafter cited as *Sykes Report*. Much of the material in this chapter is treated at greater length in Burton Paulu, *British Broadcasting: Radio and Television in the United Kingdom*, Chapter 2, hereafter cited as Paulu, *British Broadcasting*.

³ The events leading to the committee's appointment are summarized in the *Sykes Report*, pp. 14-20. These changes were written into another agreement, which took effect October 1, 1923: *Wireless Broadcasting Licence: Copy of Supplementary Agreement . . . to Cmd. 1822 of 1923* (Cmd. 1976).

⁴ *Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1925* (Cmd. 2599), p. 2, hereafter cited as *Crawford Report*; *Wireless Broadcasting: drafts of (1) Royal Charter . . . for the Incorporation of the British Broadcasting Corporation and (2) Licence and agreement . . . between His Majesty's Postmaster General and . . . the British Broadcasting Corporation* (Cmd. 2756).

⁵ These early television years are described in John Swift, *Adventure in Vision* (which covers both technical and program developments), pp. 19-66; Richard W. Hubbell, *4000 Years of Television*, pp. 54-84; Maurice Gorham, *Broadcasting and Television since 1900*, pp. 115-121; J. L. Baird, "Television in 1932," *BBC Yearbook 1933*, pp. 441-447. Hereafter the annual volumes in this series, known variously as *BBC Yearbooks*, *Annals*, and *Handbooks*, are referred to by the title current in the year cited; e.g., *Yearbook 1933*. Further details on the early years of BBC television will be found in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, Chapter 9.

⁶ *Report of the Television Committee* (Cmd. 4793).

⁷ *Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1935* (Cmd. 5091), hereafter cited as *Ullswater Report*.

⁸ The results of the committee's work are published in two large volumes: *Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1949* (Cmd. 8116), and *Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1949: Appendix H: Memoranda Submitted to the Committee* (Cmd. 8117), hereafter cited as *Beveridge I* and *II*, respectively.

⁹ *Broadcasting: Memorandum on the Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1949* (Cmd. 8550), pp. 2-3.

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¹⁰ *Broadcasting: Copy of a new Charter of Incorporation granted to The British Broadcasting Corporation* (Cmd. 8605), hereafter cited as *1952 Charter*, and *Broadcasting: Copy of the Licence and Agreement Dated the 12th Day of June 1952, between Her Majesty's Postmaster General and the British Broadcasting Corporation* (Cmd. 8579), hereafter cited as *1952 Licence*; *House of Commons Debates*, 145:1402-1406 (July 13, 1960).

¹¹ The monopoly debate is summarized at greater length in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 16-22. The arguments used up to its publication date in 1950 are well summarized in Coase, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 179-196. Those used during the first part of the debate on commercial television are covered in Coase's "The Development of the British Television Service," *Land Economics*, 30:207-222 (August 1954). Those presented to the Beveridge Committee are reviewed in "The Issue of Monopoly," *Beveridge I*, pp. 39-46, 163-184.

The debates on the Independent Television Authority, which began in 1952 as discussions of the Conservative government's *1952 White Paper* and ended with the passage of the Television Act in 1955, added no basically new arguments. Typical debates on the main issues include: *House of Lords Debates*, 176:1289-1363 (May 22, 1952); 176:1365-1448 (May 26, 1952); 184:511-566 (November 25, 1953); 184:667-750 (November 26, 1953); *House of Commons Debates*, 502:213-342 (June 11, 1952); 522:40-161 (December 14, 1953); 522:215-344 (December 15, 1953).

¹² J. C. W. Reith, *Into the Wind*, p. 99; see also his *Broadcast over Britain*, pp. 67-72. "Memorandum from the Right Honourable the Lord Reith," *Beveridge II*, pp. 363-366. Strategically the phrase "brute force of monopoly" proved unfortunate, and it was quoted with effect by the opponents of monopoly in the 1952 and 1953 parliamentary debates on commercial television (E. D. Simon, *The B.B.C. from Within*, p. 50).

¹³ *Beveridge II*, pp. 197-198.

¹⁴ *Sykes Report*, Section 43. For a more complete review of the financial basis of the BBC, see Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 22-26.

¹⁵ *Beveridge I*, p. 50.

¹⁶ *Sykes Report*, Sections 40, 43.

¹⁷ *Beveridge I*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁸ A table showing license revenue allocations from 1927 through 1955 is given in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 414-415.

¹⁹ Ian Jacob, "Television in the Public Service." *Public Administration*, 36:318 (Winter 1958); *Annual Report and Accounts of the British Broadcasting Corporation 1959-60*, p. 30 (this series is hereafter cited as *BBC Annual Reports*).

²⁰ *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 108; letter from United States Information Agency.

²¹ *Sykes Report*, Section 6. The constitution of the BBC is described in *Handbook 1960*, pp. 155-166; see also Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 31-42.

²² *Crawford Report*, Sections 4 (d), 5, 16.

²³ *1952 Licence*, Section 15 (2, 3, 4).

²⁴ *1952 Charter*, Sections 6, 18, 22. Approximately the same controls over the ITA are written into the Television Act of 1954.

²⁵ *House of Commons Debates*, 199:1579-1583 (November 15, 1926).

²⁶ J. C. W. Reith, *Into the Wind*, p. 133.

²⁷ *Handbook 1960*, pp. 161-163.

²⁸ *London Times*, December 2, 1957, p. 4; *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, June 6, 1957, p. 6; *House of Commons Debates*, 571:1075 (June 4, 1957); Henry Fairlie, "The B.B.C." *The Establishment*, ed., Hugh Thomas, pp. 191-208.

²⁹ Each *Handbook* and *Annual Report* lists the current memberships of all councils and committees. For example, *Handbook 1960*, pp. 172-179; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 153-161.

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³⁰ See *Handbook 1960*, pp. 185–191, for charts showing the staff organization in detail, plus a list of the Corporation's senior staff; *BBC Annual Report 1959–60*, p. 31.

³¹ *Handbook 1960*, pp. 41, 114–117, 153–154.

³² BBC, *BBC Television: A British Engineering Achievement*; BBC, *The BBC Television Centre*.

³³ All BBC *Handbooks* and *Annual Reports* list the transmitters currently in use. See, for example, *BBC Annual Report 1959–60*, pp. 88–89, 159–163; *Handbook 1960*, pp. 216–221.

³⁴ *1952 Charter*, p. 2, Section 3 (a); *1952 Licence*, Section 15 (3–4).

³⁵ *Beveridge II*, pp. 24, 198.

³⁶ *Ariel* (Autumn 1954), p. 4; Cf. Ian Jacob, *The BBC: A National and an International Force*, pp. 3–4.

³⁷ *BBC Annual Report 1958–59*, p. 8.

³⁸ *BBC Annual Report 1954–55*, pp. 7–9; *BBC Annual Report 1955–56*, pp. 8–9.

³⁹ Ian Jacob, "Television in the Public Service." *Public Administration* 36:313 (Winter 1958).

⁴⁰ Ian Jacob, *The Observer*, August 24, 1958, p. 8.

⁴¹ Arthur Forde, "The Future of Broadcasting in Britain," *The BBC Looks Ahead*, p. 6.

⁴² Ian Jacob, "Television in the Public Service." *Public Administration*, 36:315, 316–317 (Winter 1958).

⁴³ Hugh Carleton Greene, "Two Threats to Broadcasting: Political and Commercial Control," supplement to *Ariel*, May 1959; "The Future of Broadcasting," *The Listener* (November 17, 1960), 64:875–877.

⁴⁴ Gerald Beadle, "Television in Britain." *The BBC and Its Home Services*, pp. 10–12.

⁴⁵ Hugh Carleton Greene, *BBC Television and Commercial Competition*, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Ian Jacob, "Television in the Public Service." *Public Administration*, 36:313 (Winter 1958).

⁴⁷ Hugh Carleton Greene, "Two Threats to Broadcasting: Political and Commercial Control," supplement to *Ariel*, May 1959.

⁴⁸ Hugh Carleton Greene, *BBC Television and Commercial Competition*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Hugh Carleton Greene, *BBC Television and Commercial Competition*, p. 4.

Chapter III. The Independent Television Authority

¹ The facts presented in the first two sections of this chapter are based on off-the-record conversations with various leaders in the commercial television movement, and on information received from Professor Hugh Wilson of Princeton University, who made a special study of the political background of the ITA in Britain in 1958 and 1959, as well as on the documents cited in the footnotes. Further details are given in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 43–51.

² Coase, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 102–103. The development of foreign broadcasting directed to listeners in the United Kingdom is reviewed in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 26–31.

³ *Report of the Television Committee, 1943*; Frederick James Marquis, first Earl of Woolton, *Memoirs*, Chapter 22.

⁴ *Broadcasting Policy, 1946* (Cmd. 6852), p. 5.

⁵ *London Times*, June 26, 1946, p. 4; *House of Commons Debates*, 425:1063, 1175–1184 (July 16, 1946).

⁶ *Beveridge I*, pp. 46, 79, 194, 210; *Beveridge II*, pp. 316–343, 362, 367–385, 542–552.

⁷ *Broadcasting: Memorandum on the Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1949* (Cmd. 8291); *House of Commons Debates*, 490:1424–26, 1445–1499 (July 19,

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1951); *House of Lords Debates*, 172:1236–1237, 1213–1232 (July 25, 1951); Simon, *The B.B.C. From Within*, p. 41.

⁸ *Broadcasting: Draft of Royal Charter for the continuance of the British Broadcasting Corporation for which the Postmaster General proposes to apply* (Cmd. 8416), 1951; *1952 Licence*.

⁹ British Institute of Public Opinion data were consulted in their files. For more complete reports, see Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 375–380.

¹⁰ On Churchill, see Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 39, 40, 45, 167–168.

¹¹ *Broadcasting: Memorandum on the Report of Broadcasting Committee, 1949* (Cmd. 8550), pp. 2–3; *Broadcasting: Memorandum on Television Policy* (Cmd. 9005).

¹² *House of Commons Debates*, 502:1936 (June 23, 1952); *London Times*, June 15, 1953, p. 2.

¹³ *Television Act, 1954*, 2 & 3 Eliz. 2. Ch. 55.

¹⁴ Sir Robert Fraser, “Independent Television in Britain.” *Public Administration* 36:1116 (Summer 1958).

¹⁵ *Television Act, 1954*, Sections 2 (1, 5), 15 (5).

¹⁶ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 9 (1, 2, 3).

¹⁷ *Television Act, 1954*, Sections 1 (1), 3 (1a).

¹⁸ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 6 (1), Third Schedule (1).

¹⁹ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (2).

²⁰ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (1c, f, g), Second Schedule (6).

²¹ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (1i, ii).

²² *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (1d).

²³ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (1e).

²⁴ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (3).

²⁵ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 7 (1).

²⁶ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 8.

²⁷ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 4 (6). For a review of ITV advertising by the Deputy Director General of the ITA, see Bernard Sendall, “Advertising on Independent Television in Britain.” *European Broadcasting Union Review, Part B, General and Legal*, December 1958, pp. 1–3.

²⁸ *ITA Annual Report 1956–57*, p. 11; *London Times*, January 25, 1956, p. 8.

²⁹ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 8 (2).

³⁰ *ITA Principles for Television Advertising*, p. 3, hereafter cited as *Principles*. The *Principles* follows closely *The Television Code of The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters of the United States*. For a comparative analysis, see Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 63–68.

³¹ *Television Act, 1954*, Second Schedule (3); *ITA Annual Report 1955–56*, p. 20; *ITA Annual Report 1958–59*, p. 13.

³² *Television Act, 1954*, Section 4 (5).

³³ *Principles*, p. 6.

³⁴ *Television Act, 1954*, Second Schedule (6).

³⁵ *Television Act, 1954*, Second Schedule (2, 3B).

³⁶ *ITA Annual Report 1958–59*, p. 11.

³⁷ *Television Act, 1954*, Second Schedule (3).

³⁸ *ITA Annual Report 1958–59*, p. 13; *House of Commons Debates*, 597:1108–1111 (December 17, 1958); *House of Commons Debates*, 598:180–183 (January 21, 1959); *House of Commons Debates*, 602:373–378 (March 18, 1959); *ITA Annual Report 1959–60*, pp. 11–12.

³⁹ *House of Commons Debates*, 542:554, 555 (June 14, 1955); *House of Commons Debates*, 542:1286 (June 22, 1955); *ITA Annual Report 1957–58*, pp. 14–15.

⁴⁰ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 12 (1).

⁴¹ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 13 (1, 2).

⁴² *ITA Annual Report 1958–59*, pp. 27–28, 30.

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⁴³ *Special Report and First, Second and Third Reports from the Committee of Public Accounts*, pp. 348–349, hereafter cited as *Committee of Public Accounts Report*; the ITA's policy statement is also given in *ITA Annual Report 1958–59*, pp. 25–26.

⁴⁴ *Committee of Public Accounts Report*, p. 1; *Treasury Minute on Third Report from Committee of Public Accounts*.

⁴⁵ *Committee of Public Accounts Report*, p. 93.

⁴⁶ *ITA Annual Report 1958–59*, pp. 2–3, 27–28, 35.

⁴⁷ *Committee of Public Accounts Report*, p. 103.

⁴⁸ The *Annual Reports* contain data on committees and headquarters staff; see for example, *ITA Annual Report 1957–58*, pp. 13–14; *ITA Annual Report 1958–59*, pp. 25–26, 43, and 47.

Chapter IV. Independent Television's Program Companies

¹ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 2 (2).

² *Television Act, 1954*, Section 6 (2, 3).

³ *ITA Annual Report 1954–55*, pp. 4–5; *ITA Annual Report 1956–57*, p. 7; *ITA Annual Report 1957–58*, p. 9.

⁴ *ITA Annual Report 1954–55*, p. 6.

⁵ For the ITA's point of view see, *ITA Annual Report 1954–55*, p. 16; Robert Fraser, "Independent Television in Britain," *Public Administration* 36:117–118 (Summer 1958); *ITA Annual Report 1959–60*, pp. 24–25. For the opinion of ITV's two chief parliamentary critics, Christopher Mayhew and Donald Chapman, see *London Times*, January 30, 1959, p. 7.

⁶ For frank appraisals of some program company administrators, see "Television's Tycoons," *The Observer*, September 20, 1959, p. 7; "Television Going West," *The Observer*, October 18, 1959, p. 3.

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¹⁰ All rates are quoted from Associated-Rediffusion *Rate Card No. 9*, and from the *Commercial Television Yearbook and Directory 1960*, both of which provide much information about advertising rates.

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⁶ *London Times*, March 23, 1955, p. 4; *Handbook 1956*, p. 28; *ITA Annual Report 1956–57*, p. 13.

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⁹ *Handbook 1960*, pp. 228-229; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 124, 126.
¹⁰ *Television Mail Supplement*, June 3, 1960, p. 6.
¹¹ *TV Times*, November 20, 1959, p. 28-29.
¹² Robert Fraser, "Independent Television in Britain," *Public Administration*, 36:123-124 (Summer 1958).
¹³ *The BBC Looks Ahead*, p. 15.
¹⁴ Associated TeleVision, *Comment No. 1*.
¹⁵ Associated TeleVision, *Comment No. 2*.
¹⁶ *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 8.
¹⁷ *ITA Annual Report 1955-56*, pp. 13-14.
¹⁸ *ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 2.
¹⁹ Associated-Rediffusion, *Fusion 2*, p. 9.
²⁰ *Variety*, August 15, 1956, p. 29.
²¹ For early developments, see Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 155-160, 291-295.
²² R. H. Coase, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 107-108.
²³ *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, pp. 47-48; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 9-10; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 10-11, 60-61, 127-128.
²⁴ Hugh Carleton Greene, *BBC Television and Commercial Competition*, p. 4; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 9-10, 23.
²⁵ *London Times*, October 17, 1957, p. 11; October 23, 1957, p. 4.
²⁶ *London Times*, October 24, 1958, p. 7.
²⁷ *London Times*, November 4, 1959, pp. 6, 12; March 12, 1959, p. 7; March 21, 1959, p. 4.
²⁸ *London Times*, November 13, 1959, p. 13.
²⁹ *London Times*, March 2, 1960, p. 10.
³⁰ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 3 (1c, 2).
³¹ *London Times*, September 21, 1955, p. 4; January 13, 1956, p. 6; January 14, 1956, p. 6; January 16, 1956, p. 6; January 18, 1956, p. 8; March 23, 1956, p. 6; *Economist*, January 21, 1956, p. 192; April 7, 1956, p. 35; *International Press Institute Report*, August 1955, pp. 3-4; December 1955, pp. 3-4; *ITA Annual Report 1955-56*, pp. 11, 13-14.
³² Examples of this confusion on the part of foreign governments are given by J. C. W. Reith, *Into the Wind*, pp. 171-172, 183-184, 273.
³³ *House of Commons Debates*, 537:1277 (February 23, 1955).
³⁴ *Ibid.*, 546:2315-2446 (November 30, 1955).
³⁵ July 29, 1958, p. 9.
³⁶ *Report from the Select Committee on Broadcasting (Anticipation of Debates)*, p. iii.
³⁷ *House of Commons Debates*, 562:1095-1097 (December 18, 1956); *House of Commons Debates*, 574:91-92 (Written Answers) (July 25, 1957); *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 14.
³⁸ William Clark, "What is the Right to Reply?" *TV Times*, April 24, 1959, p. 12.
³⁹ *The Observer*, December 28, 1958, p. 3.
⁴⁰ *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, pp. 44-45.
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¹ "BBC Memorandum: Political Broadcasting: *Aide-Mémoire*," *Beveridge II*, p. 110.

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² Reith, *Into the Wind*, p. 181. The problems encountered in political broadcasting during earlier years are reviewed in Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 163-168, 298-300.

³ *London Times*, July 11, 1959, p. 4; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 52; *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 22-23.

⁴ *London Times*, September 1, 1959, p. 12.

⁵ *London Times*, August 22, 1959, p. 4; August 27, 1959, p. 5.

⁶ Reith, *Into the Wind*, pp. 96-97, 131.

⁷ *The Manchester Guardian*, January 20, 1958, p. 6; *The Daily Telegraph*, January 14, 1958.

⁸ Granada Television, *Granada goes to Rochdale*; *London Times*, January 28, 1958, p. 8; January 30, 1958, p. 8; January 31, 1958, p. 5; February 1, 1958, p. 3; February 4, 1958, pp. 5, 8; February 6, 1958, p. 8; February 7, 1958, p. 5; *New York Times*, February 2, 1958, p. L 123; February 6, 1958, p. 6c; *ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, pp. 20-21.

⁹ Section 3 (lg, ii).

¹⁰ *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 14.

¹¹ *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 11.

¹² *London Times*, March 19, 1959, p. 8; September 9, 1959, p. 7; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 11-12, 61-62; *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 22-24.

¹³ *London Times*, September 24, 1959, p. 14. The most comprehensive discussion of broadcasting in the election is in Butler and Rose, *The British General Election of 1959*, pp. 75-97.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, September 28, 1959, p. 6.

¹⁵ *London Times*, September 15, 1959, p. 5.

¹⁶ *London Times*, September 10, 1959, p. 9.

¹⁷ *London Times*, April 3, 1959, p. 6; September 11, 1959, p. 18; September 22, 1959, p. 10; September 25, 1959, p. 16; *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 24.

¹⁸ *London Times*, September 18, 1959, p. 14.

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²⁴ *Daily Express*, September 17, 1959; *Minneapolis Star*, October 7, 1959, p. 18a.

²⁵ BBC, *The General Election: The Campaign and the Results on Television and Sound Radio*; Robert Silvey, "Election Broadcasting and the Public," *The Listener*, November 26, 1959, pp. 934, 937; *London Times*, November 27, 1959, p. 10; October 8, 1959, p. 6; October 15, 1959, p. 3; October 16, 1959, p. 5; November 27, 1959, p. 10.

Chapter VII. Television Programs in the United Kingdom: Information, Education, and Entertainment

¹ *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, pp. 45, 115-116; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 46-48, 122-123; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 14-15, 58-60, 127-128; *ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 17; *ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 17; *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 14-15.

² Howard Thomas, "The Brains Trust Comes to Television," *The Radio Times*, September 2, 1955, p. 3; Michael Wall, "The Story of the 'Brains Trust,'" *The Listener*, May 5, 1960, pp. 791-793.

³ K. V. Bailey, *The Listening Schools: Educational Broadcasting by Sound and Television*.

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⁴ BBC and Associated-Rediffusion both publish teacher's guides and other material which provide extensive details about their programs. See also *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 16-17, 154; *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 19-20.

⁵ Associated-Rediffusion, *I.T.V. Goes to School: An Experiment Term*, p. 5.

⁶ John Scupham, "Aims of School Television," *The Listener*, April 28, 1960, p. 752.

⁷ School Broadcasting Council, *BBC School Television Broadcasting*, p. 43.

⁸ *Television Act, 1954*, Section 8 (2c); see above, pp. 42, 45.

⁹ *ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 12; *ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 20-21; *London Times*, November 27, 1957, p. 10; December 7, 1957, p. 7; December 11, 1957, p. 11; December 19, 1957, p. 11.

¹⁰ *ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 21; *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 17-19; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 12-13.

¹¹ *Children and Television Programmes*, pp. 2, 18, 19; Independent Television Authority Press Notice, *Children and Television Programmes*, July 20, 1960.

¹² *BBC Programme Policy Governing Violence: A Code of Practice for the BBC Television Service*, pp. 1-2. (Summary available in *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 173-175.)

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¹⁴ For details see, Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 194-202, 302n.

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¹⁶ *London Times*, April 17, 1959, p. 6.

¹⁷ *ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 17; *ITA Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 17; *ITA Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 14; *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, pp. 46, 117; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 49, 124-125; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, pp. 12-14, 130.

¹⁸ *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 46; *ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 17.

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²² *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 48; *Variety*, May 13, 1959, p. 34.

²³ *London Times*, January 21, 1959, p. 4.

²⁴ Associated Television, *Emergency - Ward Ten*; *London Times*, April 7, 1959, p. 14.

²⁵ *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 49.

²⁶ *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, pp. 11-12.

²⁷ *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 112; ATV, *Comment No. 1*, p. 4.

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²⁹ *London Times*, August 1, 1960, p. 6; August 5, 1960, p. 8.

³⁰ *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 50.

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² Sir William Haley, *The Responsibilities of Broadcasting*, pp. 10-11.

³ *Beveridge II*, pp. 24-25; Kenneth Adam, "The Light Programme: Some Problems and Opportunities," *BBC Quarterly*, 8:82-88 (Summer 1953).

⁴ Sir William Haley, "Breaking New Grounds in Radio," Supplement to *The Listener*, September 26, 1946, p. i.

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⁹ BBC, *The Public and the Programmes*, pp. 5-6; BBC, *Report to the European Broadcasting Union*, May 1959 (unpublished paper).

¹⁰ *BBC Annual Report 1956-57*, p. 84; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 89.

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¹² April 9, 1957, pp. 10, 11.

¹³ *London Times*, February 19, 1958, p. 9; April 26, 1957, p. 11; June 20, 1957, p. 11.

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¹⁶ R. E. L. Wellington, "The BBC's Plans for Sound Broadcasting," *The BBC and Its Home Services*, pp. 5-8; *BBC Annual Report 1957-58*, pp. 5-9, 40-43; *BBC Annual Report 1958-59*, pp. 7-8, 42-46.

¹⁷ *Handbook 1960*, p. 38.

¹⁸ February 11, 1958, p. 3.

¹⁹ *BBC Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 101; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 123.

²⁰ *Sykes Report*, p. 31; *Beveridge II*, p. 566.

²¹ Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television*, pp. 139-140, 146, 147, 160-162; Raymond B. Nixon, "Changes in Reader Attitudes Toward Daily Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 31:432-433 (Fall 1954). Cunningham and Walsh, *The First Decade of Television in Videotown 1948-1957*, pp. 12-13.

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²¹ *The Newspaper Press Directory 1956; Newspaper Press Directory and Advertisers' Guide 1960.*

²² *Daily Telegraph*, January 4, 1960.

²⁴ Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television*, pp. 163–167. There is a good general account of the current problems of the British cinema in, Political and Economic Planning, *The British Film Industry 1958*, pp. 135–139, from which have been taken most of the statistical data here quoted. Also, see *London Times*, January 2, 1958, p. 3; September 17, 1959, p. 16.

²⁵ *House of Commons Debates*, 599:18 (Written Answers) (February 2, 1959).

Chapter IX. The Audience for British Radio and Television

¹ For additional information about the background and nature of BBC audience research, see Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, Chapter 13. All *BBC Annual Reports* and *Yearbooks* contain current information about both methodology and results.

² *London Times*, September 30, 1959, p. 11; November 27, 1959, p. 10.

³ Granada Television, *Granada Viewership Survey*.

⁴ Associated-Rediffusion, *Independent Television. London Viewership Survey No. 2, Summer 1959*, introduction.

⁵ All *BBC Annual Reports* and *Handbooks* report the distribution of licenses for the previous fiscal year. The data cited here, which are for the year ending March 31, 1960, are quoted from *BBC Annual Report 1959–60*, pp. 121–122.

⁶ *Handbook 1960*, pp. 223–224. At that time, approximately 200,000 homes received television service by wired relay, and the number is increasing at the rate of 100 per cent a year. As with wired radio, economic factors are an important consideration. A 17-inch table model television set rents for about £24 (\$67.20) a year, including maintenance, with decreasing rentals for subsequent years, compared to an average purchase price of £65 (\$182.00) for a similar off-the-air receiver.

⁷ Data on radio listening are taken from BBC, *The Public and the Programmes*, pp. 13–14, 15–16, 19–22, 28–29, 44–50; *BBC Annual Report 1956–57*, pp. 51–52; *BBC Annual Report 1957–58*, pp. 52–54; *BBC Annual Report 1958–59*, pp. 57–59.

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⁹ See Paulu, *British Broadcasting*, pp. 362–366. The radio data in this section are from BBC, *The Public and the Programmes*, pp. 28–29, 51–53.

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¹¹ Associated-Rediffusion, *First Audience Study*, Volume I, pp. 16–17, 63–65, 90–91.

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¹ Norman Collins, *Television Mail*, November 6, 1959.

² *The Guardian*, January 21, 1960, p. 18.

³ *London Times*, October 22, 1959, p. 6; November 26, 1959, p. 12; December 8, 1959, p. 3; April 4, 1960, p. 11; April 5, 1960, pp. 13, 14; April 6, 1960, p. 6; June 5, 1960, p. 6; July 6, 1960, p. 5; *Financial Times*, August 11, 1960; *Variety*, December 2, 1959, p. 50; *House of Lords Debates*, 219:988–1026 (November 26, 1959).

⁴ *London Times*, March 18, 1960, p. 9.

⁵ General Post Office, *Report of the Television Advisory Committee*, Section 8.

⁶ *BBC Annual Report 1953–54*, p. 5; *BBC Annual Report 1954–55*, p. 7; *BBC Annual Report 1957–58*, pp. 12–13; *BBC Annual Report 1958–59*, p. 8.

⁷ Ian Jacob, in *The Observer*, August 24, 1958, p. 8; Cf. Arthur Forde, "The Future of Broadcasting in Britain," *The BBC Looks Ahead*, p. 5; and *BBC Annual*

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Report 1959-60, pp. 28-29. Additional BBC statements on competition and the Third Channel are given on pp. 23-25 above.

⁸ *London Times*, April 30, 1960, p. 4; *BBC Annual Report 1959-60*, p. 30.

⁹ *The Sunday Times*, April 3, 1960, p. 10.

¹⁰ *ITA Annual Report 1957-58*, p. 8-9.

¹¹ Associated TeleVision, *Report and Accounts, 1959*, p. 5.

¹² *The Observer*, August 24, 1958, p. 8.

¹³ *Television Mail*, November 14, 1959; *Daily Mail*, December 5, 1959; *Financial Times*, December 13, 1960.

¹⁴ *Television Mail*, December 18, 1959.

¹⁵ *The Observer*, August 24, 1958, p. 8.

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