The Welsh Broadcaster: a study of communicator ideology and orientation amongst producers in BBC Wales

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March, 1982

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material is included for which a degree has previously been conferred upon me.

Signed (David Bevan)
ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study was to explore the role of the communicator in a 'national' region of the BBC. Structured interviews were conducted with 62 producers employed by BBC Wales.

Providing a framework for the investigation was a critical analysis of the resurgence and mobilisation of Welsh ethnicity, its influence in the 'construction' of a 'Welsh Question' and its relationship to the development of Welsh broadcasting. The analysis revealed the intersection of ethnic and linguistic concerns with the professional and social objectives of an expanding middle class from within whose ranks the broadcasters of this study were drawn. This was confirmed in their personal biographies and in the data relating to their social, educational and cultural background and affiliations.

Although few had firmly chosen broadcasting as a career before entry, most of the producers saw it as an extension of existing professional interests. The most important factor which attracted them to Welsh broadcasting, however, was the opportunity to serve 'Welsh' interests.

A profile of the producer population in terms of age distribution, output area, media and linguistic alignment was related to an analysis of the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction experienced in the producer role. Among a range of ideological responses to control, a predominant 'commitment to Welshness' emerged as the most significant form of adaptation to role conflict. This affected their view of professional practice, of the BBC and their own career aspirations. A general reluctance to leave Wales and widespread support of nationalist politics were two major findings.

In the absence of systematic institutional research, a number of unsubstantiated assumptions about the Welsh audience informed programme content and practice. The conflict between cultural commitment and institutional goals was most acute in relation to the Welsh language. The study identified three main groups within the producer population. These subscribed in turn to a 'conservative', 'pragmatic' and an 'interventionist' or 'cultural action' model of the role of broadcasting.

The ultimate survival of Welsh culture appeared to rest, however, not on greater media provision but on wider structural factors.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In acknowledging the support I have received during the course of this research, I must begin by expressing my gratitude to my former colleagues at BBC Wales who so kindly agreed to be subjected to such lengthy interrogation. They gave of their time readily, often when "the needs of the service" were calling them to attend to more urgent matters. Without their co-operation, of course, this study could never have been undertaken.

I am grateful to BBC Wales for having me back in my new role on 'the other side'. I would like to thank especially former BBC Wales Controller, Owen Edwards for securing the access and facilities I required and also BBC Wales Secretary, Michael Brooke for information and guidance on a number of important matters of BBC policy and organisation.

To my Director of Studies, Professor Denis McQuail, I owe a particular debt. His sympathetic and critical support during our meetings in Southampton - both in the initial period of the research when he was at the University there and subsequently when he kindly found time to see me during visits to England from Amsterdam - sustained my enthusiasm, often when it was in danger of being undermined by other demands. For his pertinent and helpful comments on successive drafts, I am indeed very grateful.

I would like to express my thanks also to three of my colleagues in particular at the Polytechnic of Wales. John Fiske, now of the School of English Studies at the Western Australia Institute of Technology in Perth, acted as my internal supervisor, and I am grateful to him for his helpful comments and general encouragement. Aeron Evans gave me considerable assistance with the statistical element in the study, and Tim O'Sullivan kindly provided a critical and good humoured sounding board in the later stages of writing.

I must thank Sue Power for typing the early drafts of various chapters. The whole of the final version of the typescript, however, was prepared by Pauline Mackenzie. For her meticulous work I am highly indebted.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 1.</strong> THEORIES AND PERSPECTIVES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Contexts and Issues</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>The Sociology of Media Practice</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Mass Media and Cultural Minorities</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>The 'Welsh Question' and the Media</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 2.</strong> THE MOBILISATION OF ETHNICITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Introductory: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Stratification</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>The Case of Wales: The Quest for a Theoretical Framework</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Applying the Framework</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Incorporation and Survival</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Post-War Developments, 1945-75</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1</td>
<td>Plaid Cymru</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2</td>
<td>The Sources of Nationalist Support</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.3</td>
<td>The Development ofWelshOrganisations and Pressure Groups</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 3.</strong> THE DEVELOPMENT OF WELSH BROADCASTING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>The Foundations of Welsh Broadcasting and the Struggle for Separation, 1923-39</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>The Aftermath of War and the Restoration of Regional Broadcasting, 1945-50</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>From Radio to Television: Beveridge and Pilkington, 1950-63</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>From Pilkington to Annan: The Emergence of the Fourth Channel Debate, 1963-77</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Post-Annan Developments, 1977-80</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Concluding Note: The Broadcasters and the Fourth Channel Debate</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CHAPTER 4. THE ORGANISATION AND OUTPUT OF BBC WALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Institutional Structures</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Postscript</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Programme Output and its Organisation</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1</td>
<td>Network Television</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2</td>
<td>Opt-Out Television</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3</td>
<td>Network Radio</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4</td>
<td>BBC Wales Radio 4</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 5. THE PRODUCERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>The Method of the Inquiry</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1</td>
<td>Origins and Procedures</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2</td>
<td>The Sample Population: Problems of Definition and Selection</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Age Distribution</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>The Organisational Setting</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Media Alignment</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Designation and Role</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>Departments and Output Areas</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.4</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.5</td>
<td>Other Variables: The Overall Work Profile</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>A Note on Code Numbers</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 6. THE BACKGROUND AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PRODUCERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Introductory</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Nationality, 'Home' Area and Language</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Social Origins</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Pre-BBC Careers</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Pre-Career Contact with Broadcasting</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>The Appeal of Broadcasting as a Career</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHAPTER 7. CREATIVITY AND CONTROL: SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Creativity and Satisfaction</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Control and Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1</td>
<td>General Institutional Constraints</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2</td>
<td>Constraints Specific to the Welsh Broadcasting Situation</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.3</td>
<td>Cultural Constraints</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>The Impact of Control on Content and Treatment</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>Responses to Control</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>The Commitment to Welshness</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>Degrees of Satisfaction</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER 8. COMMITMENT AND CAREER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Commitments, Obligations, Priorities</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Mobility and Aspirations</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>Conclusion: Practice and Political Alignment</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER 9. THE PRODUCERS AND THEIR AUDIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Profession and Practice: Myths and Realities</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Institutional Research</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Producers' Views of Audience Research</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Other Forms of Audience Feedback</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>The Final Arbiter</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER 10. RESPONSES TO CURRENT AND PROPOSED DEVELOPMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Issues and Responses</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>The Fourth Channel</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Radio Development</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>Proposals for Collaboration: Questions of Control</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>The Question of Competition</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>A New Authority for Wales?</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CHAPTER 11. IN CONCLUSION: PERSPECTIVES, ISSUES AND PROSPECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>'Ideology' and 'Orientation'</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>The Producer Typology</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>The Welsh Case: General and Specific Features</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>Mass Communication and Welsh Culture</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>New Technology and The Future</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>An Agenda for Future Research</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Interview Schedule</td>
<td>A I/1 - A I/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Index of Producers</td>
<td>A II/1 - A II/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Memorandum from Head of Programmes, BBC Wales, 9 March, 1978</td>
<td>A III/1 - A III/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The Audience in Wales: Extract from BBC Wales Memorandum to House of Commons Select Committee on Welsh Affairs, 17 December, 1930</td>
<td>A IV/1 - A IV/3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

B/1 - B/12
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Hours of Programme Output, 1975-76</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>BBC Wales Radio 4 Programme Output, 1975-76</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Age Range of the Producers</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Media Alignment of the Producers</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Distribution of Producers according to Programme Output Departments</td>
<td>127-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Distribution of Producers in terms of Media Alignment and Language</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Alignment by Output Area, Media and Language</td>
<td>132-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>'Home' Counties of the Producers</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Distribution of Producers' Home Area by Traditional Counties</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Percentage of Welsh Speakers (1971 Census)</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Language First Taught</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>'First' Language Today of Welsh-speaking Producers</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Distribution of Producers' Fathers' Occupations by Social Class (R.G.70)</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>Full-Time Higher Education of the Producers</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Producers who had pursued Part-time Education</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>Producers' Academic Qualification:</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>Graduate Producers' Degree Subject Areas</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>Number of Graduates in each Programme Department</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>Initial Career Intentions of the Producers</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>The Pre-BBC Careers of the Producers</td>
<td>149-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>Producers with Family Relations Employed in Broadcasting</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>Pre-Career Sources of Contact with Broadcasting</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.16</td>
<td>Reasons for Choice of Broadcasting as a Career</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>Reasons for Joining the BBC</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Producers' Assessments of Personal Satisfaction</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Satisfaction by Age Group</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Satisfaction in relation to Seniority</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Satisfaction in relation to Work Base</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>Satisfaction in relation to Media Alignment</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>Satisfaction in relation to Output Department</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>Satisfaction in relation to Network Commitment</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>Satisfaction of Welsh/Non-Welsh Speakers</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>Satisfaction in relation to predominant Language of Output</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Producers' Ratings of Commitments</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Producers' Priorities of Commitment</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Ranking of Producers' Ratings and Priorities of Commitment</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>Producers' Ratings of Obligations</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>Producers' Priorities of Obligation</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>Ranking of Producers' Ratings and Priorities of Obligation</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>Willingness of Producers to move from BBC Wales</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>Political Sympathies of the Producers</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Producers Declared Awareness of Audience</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Producers' Assessments of relative influence exerted by various factors in estimating success</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Support for Welsh Fourth Channel</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Support for Development of Separate Radio Services</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Support for Joint BBC/HTV Operation of Fourth Channel</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>Support for a Welsh Broadcasting Authority</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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CHAPTER 1

THEORIES AND PERSPECTIVES

1.1 CONTEXTS AND ISSUES

This is an investigation into the role of the communicator within the distinctive organisational framework of a 'national' region of the B.B.C. It sets out specifically to study the work and attitudes of 62 people employed as producers in B.B.C. Wales. The study attempts to identify the producers in terms of their social, educational and cultural background and affiliations, and of the way in which they see their role in relation to the broadcasting organisation and to the audience and wider culture of which they are a part.

The investigation draws much of its initial theoretical orientation from the considerable body of recent sociological inquiry into the practices of media organisations and their personnel. At the same time, since it is concerned with the process of mass communication for primarily minority purposes, it seeks to provide an historical framework for the understanding of this process while attempting to relate this in turn to some of the wider issues posed by the problem of minority-majority cultural relations. While the primary focus of the inquiry then is on the organisational setting and is concerned with analysing the attitudes and ideologies of the broadcasters in relation to this setting, the explication of these responses inevitably raises more general questions concerning the problematic relationship between the structures and practices of the media and minority cultures. To this end, the first four chapters are intended to sketch the relevant historical and cultural background to the specific period in which the investigation is set, providing, therefore a contextual framework for the empirical inquiry which follows.

There seem to be at least three important reasons for providing this framework. In the first place, one of the problems facing the investigator of contemporary social phenomena is that the situation s/he is attempting to analyse and record is subject to the inevitable process of change so that by the time s/he has committed this account to some kind of permanent form it may well have been overtaken by events. In this respect, several of the issues which prompted this
investigation into Welsh broadcasting subsequently appear to have been rescinded—
at least for the immediate future. In this sense, therefore, much of what this study
is concerned with can be read as an account of the policies and practices of an
institution during a comparatively short period of roughly six months, from December
1976 to May 1977. These practices are inexplicable, however, without an
understanding of this context. In the second place, because the enquiry coincided
with a period of considerable ferment and debate, not only within the institution
but in society generally concerning the nature and purposes of broadcasting, in Wales
as in the rest of the United Kingdom, - a debate in which the broadcasters themselves
were involved and to which they were forced to respond - some account of its main
features is an essential prerequisite for the understanding of 'professional' responses.
Finally, a knowledge of the institutional and cultural background will serve to
underscore one of the distinguishing features of Welsh broadcasting which is its
primary obligation to serve a minority culture - a culture which in many respects
is divided against itself.

Most studies in the sociology of mass communication have concerned
themselves with what might be termed mainstream production for majority purposes
within a single dominant culture. In view of the persistent concern shown by mass
communication researchers over the alleged social and cultural effects of the media
and of the widely held assumption by active supporters of minority cultures that such
effects are inevitably harmful to their interests, it is perhaps surprising that so little
systematic attention has been given to developing a theoretical understanding of
the interaction of mass communication with cultural minorities. Whilst an awareness
of this process, however, is certainly relevant to the present enquiry, it is clearly
beyond its scope to develop a theory of mass communication and cultural minorities
in global terms. Its focus is on the specific organisational context of British
broadcasting and its implications for the broadcasters of a particular 'national' region
whose work and decision-making reflect some of the problems and dilemmas posed by
these wider issues.

1.2 THE SOCIOLOGY OF MEDIA PRACTICE

In the past 20 years or so considerable attention has been paid to the study of
the central role of the communicator in mass communication. Until fairly recently,
British publications in the field, though significant, were few. The slowness with which this area of media research has developed was the result of many factors. There was the continued pre-occupation with "effects" studies which has been enjoying a new lease of life in fact in the past decade. (Blumler, 1977; Katz 1977b:25-8)

Popular concern over such questions as violence, propaganda and advertising, coupled with academic support - in sociology, for theories of mass society and, in psychology, for instinct theory and stimulus-response theory - lent credence to an overarching notion of communication as a persuasion process. This has affected not only the way research problems have been defined but also the rationale on which funds and facilities for research have been made available. (Halloran, 1977).

Within media organisations themselves, research has been primarily a book-keeping, head-counting exercise and there has been considerable reluctance, if not open hostility, to requests from academics for organisational procedures and practices to be made open to observation and scrutiny. This has been especially the case in broadcasting, and, as Katz has observed (1977a:66) 'the history of the broadcaster-researcher relationship in Britain is strewn with conflict.' In the same report to the BBC, Katz goes on to characterise the problem in these terms:

'Broadcasters do not much appreciate the inclinations of social research to make ostensibly simple things complex, and the researchers do not much appreciate the inclination of broadcasters to make complex things simple. More important, however, broadcasters do not like the idea that researchers want to study them.'

Much of the so-called "complexity" generated by sociologists has arisen from their attempts to relate the practices of the broadcasters to the wider political, economic and cultural contexts in which these practices take place. During the 1950's and 1960's this task was seen primarily as a contribution to functional analysis and social systems analysis. This was the period of the great American model builders of mass communication - Gerbner (1956), Westley and Maclean (1957), Riley and Riley (1959), Wilbur Schramm (1961) and De Fleur (1966). Significant as these formulations were in stressing the importance of locating media production within the social structure, they made little or no attempt to demonstrate how this wider setting actually impinged on the policies and practices of the broadcasters nor how these in turn were related to what Parkin (1972) has seen to be a set of socially available 'meaning systems'.
The task of filling this vacuum during the past two decades has proceeded on a number of disciplinary fronts and from a variety of theoretical perspectives. In broad terms, it is possible to discern two major, though by no means distinct, preoccupations in what is now a substantial volume of literature. On the one hand, there has been a variety of attempts to describe and explain the way media production actually operates within the organisation and to uncover who takes the decisions, for what reasons, and with what consequences for the media product. At the same time, there has been a far wider range of studies concerned with relating the practices and products of media personnel to the broad external constraints - political, economic and cultural - within which media organisations are located, constraints which are seen as generating forces of social consciousness which in turn determine the forms of cultural production. It must be stressed, however, that this is a somewhat crude and arbitrary division and that, in most recent work especially, the interlocks between these two predominant foci of analysis are more apparent than their separate preoccupations.

Within the former category are many non-theoretical, practitioner accounts of media production, mainly journalistic, though frequently anecdotal in character. Fictional production has proved a particularly fruitful source of such accounts (e.g. Sanford, 1973; Barr et al., 1975; Shubik, 1975; Shaughnessy, 1978; Elliot, 1970; Taylor, 1970.) It was, however, D.M. White's seminal formulation of the 'gatekeeper' concept (1950) which may be said to have opened up one of the most productive seams of institutional research. While White was concerned to demonstrate the role played by individual subjectivities in media processes (in this case by an editor in the selection of newspaper copy) his successors, both from within the gatekeeper tradition and outside it (e.g. Breed, 1955, Gieber, 1953, 1964, Warner, 1971, Elliot, 1972, Schlesinger, 1977) were able to extend his framework to take account of other interventionist factors such as the availability or non-availability of certain cultural sources; the constraints imposed by the calendar and the time cycle; the role of superiors and peer groups; the controls exerted by the technology of production etc. Though initially 'functionalist' in orientation, and concerned with analysing the 'mechanics' of professional control, a number of these 'gatekeeper' studies (e.g. Breed, 1955) also began to highlight the relationship...
between these processes and the overall goals and needs of the organisations themselves. The relationship, for some writers, (e.g. Downing, 1980) has afforded evidence of an elite conspiracy or at least of a significant coincidence of social purpose between practitioners, owners and controllers. Where then does this leave the individual communicator? One response, deriving partly from the sociology of art, which has also received popular support from media professionals themselves, is that the communicator is caught in a conflict between his own ideals and instincts as an autonomous creator and the demands of his organisation for commercial and political survival. Many of these controls exerted on the communicator's creativity, as Golding says (1974:63) are 'effected not by malign suppression so much as work routine, anticipatory self discipline and occupational tradition.' In journalism, Tunstall (1971) found two broad kinds of organisational goals - revenue and non-revenue goals. In publishing, Lane (1970:369) discerned a conflict between what he termed economic and cultural goals and between service to the public and service to the author. In broadcasting, especially mainstream television, while economic goals may well predominate, the organisation has to take account also of the personal professional goals of its programme staff (who may see themselves as part of a wider occupational community), while at the same time maintaining an acceptable relationship with the political, legal and cultural institutions on whose support their continued existence also depends. For both the organisation and the individual communicator, one crucial dimension of control is that exerted by clients and audiences, and a number of researchers (including McQuail, 1969, Canto, 1971, Schlesinger, 1977, Tracey, 1978,) have attempted to explore the way peer groups and reference groups, work routines, and professional values provide the communicator with different strategies of accommodation to this 'absent framework'.

In a review of recent work, Elliot (1977:147-64) is at pains to underline the multi-faceted character of the dilemma posed by the wide variety of constraints which act on the communicator. Thus he argues (148)

'the simple art - commerce dichotomy conflates a number of different ideals - autonomy, creativity, working in the most prosperous, culturally prestigious sector of the industry, or even reaching the largest audience. The dilemma may involve a distinction between high and low culture, between
professional or craft standards and commercial judgement, between self regulation and close bureaucratic control of the work situation; between self motivation and financial inducement; between self monitoring and serving an audience; between using one's talents for a purpose and having them used for none except the survival or commercial success of the organisation for which the work is done. 1.

A significant body of recent work has begun to map out the varieties of response or adaptation which broadcasters and other communicators exhibit in facing these different forms of the dilemma. Apart from attempting to evade organisational control by turning freelance or by entering into cooperative partnerships (Tunstall, 1971), most full time practitioners develop other forms of ideological response. These can range from alienation (which is rare) through various forms of distancing, segmented commitment, specialisation, or identification with broader artistic, ethical or political goals, to complete acceptance of organisational purposes. What most of these responses to role conflict have in common, however, is a claim to professionalism which communicators make in response to organisational attempts to bureaucratise and rationalise their creative needs and goals. (Elliot, 1977:147-151).

It is difficult to separate out the responses to organisational control, however, from the wider issue of their relationship to the external forces acting on the media. As noted earlier, this has been the central preoccupation of a variety of writers who have been concerned with examining media routines as signifying practices and media products as cultural forms. Their major concern has been to explain what Tracey (1978:242) has termed the 'interlock' between media routines and practices and the external political and commercial context. In Tracey's view this produces a 'cycle of dependency' though he is careful to stress that this does not necessarily provide evidence of conspiracy. In general, however, many of the writers in this area support the broad view that media organisations are part of the institutions of the ruling class or elite and see media processes as the mechanisms through which the ideology of the ruling class is encoded, reproduced and thereby legitimated. Hence, it is argued, the values underpinning media practice are coterminous with the dominant value structures and belief systems operating in society as a whole. In elaboration of this thesis, research has focused broadly on two main areas of interlock - with the
political and legal constraints exerted by the state, and with the commercial environment.

In the former area, the work of Hood, (1972), Smith (1976, 1978), Hall (1972, 1973, 1977), Garnham, (1973/1930) and Tracey (1977) provide extensive discussion of the way political pressure becomes internalized in the taken-for-granted routines and practices of broadcasting and in the limited consensual framework in which the broadcasters' precepts of "objectivity", "neutrality" and "impartiality" really function.

The significance of the commercial context has received systematic attention only fairly recently, principally from sociologists interested in the wider issues of the problematic relationship between the ownership and control of the mass media. In a number of papers, Murdock and Golding (e.g. 1974, 1977), have set out to trace the network of linkages and interconnections in British commercial television between television programme companies and other industrial and financial corporations. Their attempt to plot what they describe as 'the political economy of the mass media' has served to highlight the limitations of the two main traditions of inquiry into the mass media - on the one hand the predominantly ahistorical and piecemeal tradition emanating from the United States of pluralist empiricism, and, on the other hand, the predominantly European culturalist tradition of theoretical study which, arguably, has recently come to dominate the field in Britain.

Both traditions of inquiry have generated concern over the 'industrialisation and commoditisation of culture' and its consequence for media output. They have done so, however, in different ways. Thus, while the former subscribes to the dominant market image of capitalism and has tended to focus on the resultant constriction of consumer choice stemming from this process and on its effects on individual behaviour and opinion, researchers adopting alternative class or elite models have been preoccupied with the study of media artefacts as agencies of social control and legitimation. In 'cultural studies', media artefacts are regarded as texts and their analysis involves "reading" off the layers of social meaning they

(1) See Media, Culture and Society, vol. 1, No. 2, April, 1979. The complete issue is devoted to a call for a wholesale shift of emphasis towards a political-economic approach to the academic study of the media and media policy.
contain and then extrapolating outwards to the social relations which govern their production and reception. Though this approach poses crucial problems in methodology (2) which are not our immediate concern, the attempt to contextualise media output alongside traditional cultural forms of art and literature (both high and popular), in fact alongside the totality of symbolic forms through which a culture is transmitted, provides an integrative breadth which was lacking in the more piecemeal approaches of earlier media research. Nevertheless, this break with the dominant paradigm does not obviate the necessity for social analysis. On the contrary, it has made more urgent the need to ground the study of texts and cultural forms in a detailed exploration of their conditions of production and consumption.

Further, it is one of the contentions of this particular study that such a task cannot be undertaken without regard to the inter-societal, cross-cultural interaction of political cultures and media systems. The importance of such a perspective is evidenced in the considerable amount of recent work dealing with the phenomenon of international communication flow. Nordenstreng and Varis (1974) have surveyed the process in relation to television output, Guback (1969, 1974) in film and Boyd-Barrett (1977a) in international news. The concept of 'flow' is linked explicitly in a number of these studies with the study of the dynamics of international power relations and the wider phenomenon of cultural imperialism. From this perspective, media systems, technologies and products are seen to flow from the centres of power to the peripheries, producing world wide patterns of dominance and dependence. (Boyd-Barrett 1977b, Golding, 1977; Golding and Elliot, 1980). A number of studies lend support to the view that the flow of global communications is unidirectional and that it is dominated by a small number of highly industrialised western societies, especially the U.S.A. (Turnstall, 1977; Schiller, 1969, 1976; Mattelart, 1979).

While, as Boyd-Barrett points out, (1977b:119) 'an imbalance of power resources' makes certain countries dependent on imported technology and practice, this dependence is perpetuated by the prevailing institutional structures.

The virtual standardisation of media practices and their reception, however, which is reflected in such features as programme schedules, categories and formulae on a universal scale, is, according to Sahin (1979:162), 'at least in part due to ideological blindspots', particularly in the "developing" countries. 'It is these blindspots' he argues, 'which condemn them to a set of established procedures, models and policies, limits them to questions whose answers have already been given, and to alternatives which turn out to be no alternatives at all'. Hence the transferred technology carries with it its own set of definitions, assumptions, professional criteria: in short, it involves an ideological package though, as received uncritically, these practices are seen as natural, inevitable and universal.

The social history of broadcasting in Britain, as Williams reminds us (1974:23) was the direct consequence of 'particular social decisions in particular circumstances, which were then so widely it, imperfectly ratified that it is now difficult to see them as decisions rather than inevitable results'. Yet once the technology and its practices have been absorbed, they are taken as natural. Summarising what he terms the adoption of the ideology of television, Sahin says (1979:163):

'It embodies a view of its basic structure (central transmitters and home receivers); a view of its audience as objects (a market or a viewing public); a view of its main function (entertainment); a prescription of appropriate formats (quiz programs, variety shows, series and serials, talk shows etc); a code of its professional standards (neutrality, autonomy, etc.); a view regarding the criteria of performance, presentation, structure, language, and so on .... Once a country is entrapped in the proposition: "This is what television is, therefore this is what our television ought to be", the rest easily follows.'

While the perspectives afforded by these concepts of media imperialism, global flow and ideological transfer have been developed principally to illuminate the structural relationships of world media systems and particularly their consequences for Third World societies, it could be argued that they afford applicable insights for the understanding of core-peripheral relationships in the industrialised states of the West and particularly Britain where both politically and culturally, it has been claimed (Hechter, 1975), the dichotomy of centre and region constitutes a parallel set of relationships. This theme is critically explored in some detail with particular
reference to Wales in Chapter Two. To pursue such an analysis is to raise one of the other issues posed by this study, which is the whole question of media provision for minority cultures in multicultural societies, and it is to this issue that we must now turn before looking at the case of Wales itself.

1.3 THE MASS MEDIA AND CULTURAL MINORITIES

Increasing attention has been given in recent years to the notion of "democratizing" the electronic media, a concept which, as a recent comparative study undertaken by UNESCO (Berrigan, 1977) underlined, embraces a number of interrelated themes. These include demands not only for greater audience choice but also for greater public access to, and participation in, both media management and programme production. Behind such demands lies one of the central paradoxes of mass communication which is that the mass media (especially broadcasting), while offering, in principle, unrivalled possibilities for communication with massive audiences provide, in so doing, only limited and inadequate opportunities for minority groups to participate.

As the foregoing survey has already indicated, the conditions of media production and diffusion in Western capitalist societies stem directly from the political and economic structures in which they are situated. This means that, in respect of majority-minority relations, these conditions in general operate to secure media dominance for the wealthier societies and for cultural majorities rather than minorities. In economic terms the high costs of launching and maintaining media enterprises inevitably work to the advantage of the former. In so far as majorities also usually have political control and exert this control, through government, over the media, especially broadcasting, in practically all countries outside North America, so the electronic media have come to be largely majority controlled. Although the press in many countries is not directly controlled by the State, the general absence of political control is counterbalanced by the economic constraints exerted by advertisers and by the need for owners and proprietors to achieve mass circulations and affluent readerships.
Not only is ownership or political control of the media generally in majority hands, but media personnel tend to be drawn also from these dominant groups in society. In those sectors less directly exposed to the pressures of commercialism and populism, such as the "quality" press, and the BBC, a more elitist, upper-middle class recruitment pattern is much in evidence (Lane, 1970; Tunstall, 1971, Stanworth and Giddens, 1974), while 'the majority of cultural producers are drawn more widely from the whole spectrum of the middle class' (Elliot 1977:144). Yet, as Hall points out (1977:345), the media are not 'commandeered by any single class or class party directly since this would destroy the basis of their legitimacy'. Their autonomy is 'enshrined in the operational principles of "objectivity" "neutrality" "impartiality" and "balance",’ and it is precisely through these practices that the media shape and organise the consensual support for the dominant ideology on which majority power rests.

While providing access to the media for minority groups is clearly an unavoidable part of implementing these practices, such access is limited to providing only occasional outlets for minority material on majority controlled media. This is not to imply the existence of any conspiratorial suppression: rather is it the result of the implicit and largely unexamined assumptions made by media practitioners about the tastes and preferences of the median audience. Most media content as a consequence is imbedded in such values and expectations, and material which is not culturally congruent with such expectations, as a result, tends to be relegated for peripheral treatment - being seen as "odd", "quaint" or "curious". News media especially tend to confirm these stereotypes in the way they define news. More subtly fictional output tends to transmit idealised representations of dominant social values and correspondingly negative portrayals of minority values. (Fiske and Hartley, 1978:21-36; Wright, 1975:126-9). Where, as in most western societies, the majority culture is also broadly consonant with the dominant values of international media content, so the threat to minority cultures is that much greater. According to Mattelart (1979:3) there is growing evidence that the long established view of the audience as a monolithic mass is now being increasingly abandoned, especially in advertising and education, in favour of a more fragmented strategy in which account is taken of 'the specific needs and interests of each age group, each social category.'
This is the consequence, as Mattelart sees it, of the growing concentration and centralisation of capital in multinational corporations which are giving rise to new patterns of cultural consumption and production. Even so, the primary object is the internationalisation of cultural merchandise, a process in which minority cultural material is either under-represented or represented in predominantly negative terms.

Important as this international dimension is for understanding the context of media production, it is in the specific political relationships between majorities and minorities in the Western state system that we shall find the dynamics of conflict. As has been suggested already, and as the next Chapter will seek to substantiate, the demise of imperialism not only relegated the established nation states of Western Europe to the status of a North Atlantic fringe but subjected them in turn to growing demands from ethnic minorities within their own frontiers.

The potential for conflict in any majority-minority relationship, as Schermerhorn has suggested (1970:81), springs from the degree to which both groups are prepared to concur in the adoption of either centripetal or centrifugal policies - the former approach favouring assimilation of the minority culture, or, more extensively, socio-political integration; the latter favouring the maintenance of separate cultural practices or, where they exist, separate political institutions. Whether conflict ensues depends on a variety of factors. These include the relative size and degree of political organisation of the minority, its degree of geographical separation, the extent to which it feels itself inferior in status and opportunities, and the extent to which it has developed its own coherent political ideology. (St. Leger, 1979:72). As Coser (1956) has shown, the development of a legitimating ideology is a crucial factor in the emergence of the minority as a cohesive group. This involves placing particular emphasis on common social, geographical, economic and cultural characteristics, including such elements as language or religion, art, literature or particular customs and life styles. In this way minorities become mobilised to confront the prevailing order. As part of the process various agencies clearly can play key roles: political parties and organisations, especially those committed to various nationalist programmes; Trade Unions; and a whole range of social, economic, religious, educational and cultural organisations.
Among the latter, of course, are the mass media which may well play a significant part in the mobilisation process. Apart from Holland, however, where media access for minorities is institutionalised in its political system, many cultural minorities, as has been indicated already, are either excluded from broadcasting or are allowed access on terms dictated by the majority which has overall control. Any extension of those terms has to be secured through minority pressure. In view of this, it is chiefly through the print media - newspapers, magazines and books that minorities most readily engage in the work of cultural mobilisation. The general effect of such activity, of course, will be to confirm and to reinforce the minority in the values to which it already subscribes - although the extent to which such media will be attended to and the effect they will have will depend on factors other than cultural or ethnic identity. As research indicates, media usage is more closely related to social class and to education, the better educated generally tending to prefer print to electronic media and to favour "serious" material both in broadcasting and the "quality" press to more "popular", human interest material (crime, sport and light entertainment) provided by the tabloid press and the mass television and radio channels. Since minorities are often poorer and less well educated than the majorities, they will tend to prefer material of this kind and to make more use of electronic output rather than print, hence majority rather than minority media. This explains the protests frequently voiced by leaders of minority cultures against the cultural invasion of English and American material which is often seen as carrying with it a more permissive set of cultural values.

1.4 THE 'WELSH QUESTION' AND THE MEDIA

Many of the factors highlighted by the preceding analysis are borne out in the emergence in this century of what has been termed 'The Welsh Question'. (Butt Philip, 1975). In many respects it could be argued that this has existed for longer; that the Welsh have been committed to, and sought to defend their culture and own sense of identity for the past thousand years. Its organised expression as a separatist political movement, however, is far more recent and coincided with a general upsurge of nationalist, sub-national and regional movements elsewhere.
In Wales, as in a number of other countries, the growth of a nationalist perspective has displayed a marked preoccupation with issues of language, culture and ethnicity. The development of these ethnic movements will be discussed in some detail in the next chapter. Before doing so, however, it is important to understand the core assumptions embedded within the notion of a 'Welsh' Question itself for these assumptions have been continually reproduced not only in popular nationalist literature but also, until very recently, in most accounts of Welsh history and of the sociology of Wales.

In sociology, the work of the first indigenous "school" of anthropogeographers headed by Alwyn D. Rees at Aberystwyth before and immediately after the Second World War has exercised a continuing influence over the way the sociology of Wales has been defined. More than this, their studies of Welsh rural society reflect the prevailing orthodoxies of Welsh political and social thought, providing 'something approaching a dominant account of Welsh Society' (Day, 1979:449). Central to this account was an attachment to certain core values which had found collective characteristic expression in what was popularly labelled "the Welsh way of life." Around the chapel, the language and the oldest literary tradition in Europe, so the account runs, a coherent, stable and complete society - free from internal tensions and contradictions - had taken root, enabling those within it to share in a communal existence. It was then essentially a romantic view of a largely static, ahistorical past. 'Wales has no civic heritage', wrote Rees (1950:170). 'The essentially rural culture of Wales, like that of the Balkans, had crystallized before the introduction of towns by aliens, and after the conquest, the distinction between country and town became largely a distinction between English and Welsh'. Given this emphasis, change was seen as the result of external forces - imposed and harmful - alien, urban creations of the English and destructive of Welsh life. Thus, as Day forcefully puts it, these early Welsh sociologists 'took on the mantle of .... apologist for a particular kind of cultural nationalism: took up, endorsed and so lent academic responsibility to views which, by virtue of background, education, and place in society, they shared with other spokesmen - ministers, schoolmasters, poets. (1979:451).

Quite apart from providing only a limited definition of Welsh society - the "real" Wales - which had the effect of excluding nearly three-quarters of the
population in the industrial areas, this account completely overlooks, indeed
dismisses, the way cultural formations may relate to social class and how new
patterns of class relations can be assimilated into Welsh society as new modes of
production are introduced. We shall need to consider these criticisms more closely
in the next chapter.

For the moment, given the kind of closure effected by this predominant view
of Welsh life and culture, it should be apparent that the particular set of social,
moral and cultural concerns that have come to be represented within the notion of
the 'Welsh Question' can be understood as the product of a reaction against the
forces of external control and centralisation. In specifically cultural terms these
are commonly labelled as forces of "Anglicisation", a term which is only loosely
descriptive, however, of a variety of factors threatening the survival of the
language.

Since the political and religious assimilation of Wales into the English state
system in the sixteenth century (which had the effect of anglicising the Welsh gentry),
the most important anglicising force has been seen as that of industrialisation which
has promoted extensive economic and cultural assimilation. The advent of the
railway in the nineteenth century and of the motorway in the twentieth, while
facilitating the large scale transfer of capital and labour, have promoted extensive
urbanisation in the industrial areas and, at the same time, accelerated the
continuing depopulation of the rural areas. The resultant legacy has been persistent
economic and social distress with Wales acting principally as supplier of raw materials,
basic products and labour to the wider system.

Alongside these economic and social changes has been the extension of
English itself as the language of state education and administration, eroding in turn the
notion of a distinctive Welsh identity. In commerce and the professions, as in
government and politics, the aspiring Welsh middle class looked increasingly to
London as the stage for their aspirations. Even for those who chose not to leave
Wales, it remained the administrative and cultural capital of England and Wales.

In the past half century, the development of new institutionalised forms of
mass communication has been viewed by many as constituting a far more pervasive
assault on the Welsh language and culture. The rise of a mass circulation popular
press, the advent of the cinema and especially the development of national radio and television broadcasting interlocked with transnational and multinational enterprises have been consistently regarded in such quarters as presenting a threat of enormous magnitude to the survival of the language and its specific cultural forms and institutions, in short to "the Welsh way of life."

In 1972, The Welsh Language Society, demanding what it termed 'a worthy broadcasting service for Wales', viewed the present situation as little short of cultural genocide:

'It is fair to say that the present broadcasting policy for Wales (which is decided in London) is a form of cultural imperialism against our country - radio and television are being used to force another civilization (Anglicisation) on our nation, and to condition our people to think as Englishmen. The broadcasting media are therefore being used as weapons to dispossess the people of Wales of their national heritage, and ... ill the values of the Welsh society.' (Broadcasting in Wales, p.3.)

As with other minority cultures, the problem of maintaining the Welsh language has been compounded by the fact that there has been little economic, political or administrative necessity for doing so. At the same time the majority mass media have, in general, provided normative reinforcement for a largely uniform international set of cultural values. Ranged against these forces of cultural assimilation and centralisation, however, have been a whole complex of countervailing forces which collectively have endeavoured to mobilise support for the minority culture.

In specific organisational terms, part of this process can be traced in the activities of a wide range of institutions, agencies and pressure groups - religious, educational, political and cultural. Thus, for example, in spite of the significant decline in church membership and religious observance in Wales as elsewhere since the Second World War, nonconformity became increasingly supportive both of nationalist politics and Welsh medium education. Although support for the latter objective came to be recognised and provided by a growing number of Welsh local authorities, the main impetus came from militantly active middle class parents who exerted pressure on the authorities to establish Welsh medium schools. On a wider front, the Welsh Language Society campaigned persistently for linguistic parity on a whole range of issues, including broadcasting, while the emergence and growth
of Plaid Cymru provided the case for political separation.

In tracing these developments, however, we shall need to try to understand how opinion was mobilised and by whom. We shall need to look, for example, for evidence of a relationship between language interests and occupational structure and status. The Welsh Schools' movement, as indicated above, undoubtedly attracted professional middle class parents as much because of fear of comprehensivisation as by concern for the language. The campaigns for bilingual road fund licences and road signs indicate a similar mobilisation of opinion and of a specific correlation between support for the language and particular occupational/status levels. This kind of evidence can tell us much about the nature of Welsh elites and their relationship to specific forms of power and social stratification. It can also provide clues as how certain issues of public debate are kept on the agenda and others kept off it; how these issues are defined; and where cultural and ideological hegemony is exercised and by whom.

In no other social institution have these contending forces been more sharply reflected than in the mass media systems operating in Wales. Yet these have done far more than simply mirror the conflict: they have themselves been implicated in it through their active representation of contending ideologies. Thus, on the one hand the broadcast media have acted as purveyors of a predominantly Anglo-American culture mediated through a highly centralised metropolitan-based system of financial control and administration. At the same time, the allocation of resources within these organisations for minority purposes has promoted the growth of alternative ideologies and served to legitimate opposition to centralist structures and values.

Torn between its declared purpose of serving the needs of a "nation" defined in primarily geographical terms and the highly specific linguistic demands of a minority within it - claiming to be the "real" nation - Welsh broadcasting has had to operate, nevertheless, within an overall British frame of reference, and, in BBC terms, this has meant that it has had to function within the context of the BBC as a whole, with finance and policy centrally planned and centrally controlled. In effect then, Welsh broadcasting has had to recognise its ultimate location within a context of political and economic dependency. It is precisely this juxtaposition of minority interests within a system designed to serve the wider needs of a plurality
of audiences which has made broadcasting more than any of the other Welsh media the site of conflict and ideological struggle.

The Welsh Press during this period, while it certainly reflects in a more sustained and systematic way the formation of an alternative ideology, has functioned more to exhort the faithful few whereas broadcasting, and television in particular, because of its ubiquity and penetration, has made explicit the divisions concealed within the 'Welsh Question'. Three-quarters of the Welsh speaking population in Wales in any case do not read a Welsh language newspaper or periodical regularly (3), and none of these has a circulation of more than 10,000. There is also only one small circulation daily paper in English with a national Welsh coverage, The Western Mail, the Welsh market being dominated by the London dailies which have a combined readership of around 2 million in Wales. An even smaller and far more specialised market exists for the sale of Welsh books which are heavily dependent on the support of the Welsh Arts Council.

What this pattern of provision means in effect is that before the development of a regional television service for Wales in the 1960's, the bulk of the Welsh population was unlikely to be exposed to a regular service of news and information about Wales and Welsh life. Patronage of the Welsh print media and to a considerable extent of Welsh radio, was almost entirely confined to a small middle class elite who had the linguistic skills that this demanded. Thus, as Butt Philip points out (1975:67), before the development of Welsh television there was no medium of mass communication that was able to promote a coherent national ideology in Wales from a non-intellectual perspective.

The 1960's and 1970's provided that opportunity for Welsh broadcasting, though clearly on certain terms and conditions. One of the objects of this study is to map out what these were and how the broadcasters themselves responded to them.

CHAPTER 2
THE MOBILISATION OF ETHNICITY

2.1 INTRODUCTORY: NATIONALISM, ETHNICITY, STRATIFICATION

The development of Welsh broadcasting and the demands, in the last decade, for more autonomous services, can only be understood within the wider context of economic, social and cultural changes which have affected nearly all the older established states of the West during this century.

One of the most significant effects of these changes has been a resurgence of ethnicity and nationalist feeling. Attempts to locate this resurgence within a coherent theoretical framework have, until fairly recently, been slow to development. One reason for this has been the persistence of 'mass society' analyses of nationalist movements earlier in the century. Writers in this tradition frequently argued that the emergence of totalitarian ideologies of both right-wing and left-wing varieties was the product of the atomisation and dislocation wrought by industrialised mass society.

The widespread acceptance of mass society analyses of totalitarian movements owed much to the traumatic experiences of the inter-war years, the fall of the Weimar Republic, the aftermath of the Russian revolution, the Spanish Civil War, the Second World War itself, and the 'Cold War' that followed it. Pertinent as these events were to the kind of analyses offered by many of the writers in the mass society tradition, they bear little relationship to the more recent ideological movements associated with the resurgence of nationalism in the west. As Smith (1979:51) points out in a recent survey, such movements have been essentially movements of minorities or outgroups, often social democratic in flavour and attracting the support of elite groups, and should be seen as responses to a quite different set of forces from those which informed the emergence of authoritarian ideologies earlier in the century. In global terms, Smith (1979:152-3) distinguishes between four main types of contemporary nationalism. The first is the anti-colonial 'war of liberation' still found in
Southern Africa and also, in an economic form, in Africa and Latin America.
The second and more common form of nationalism, to be seen in the Third World, is the 'integration' nationalism of newly established states trying to fuse diverse cultural groups into a single nation. In the West, two further forms are distinguishable, those of state 'renewal' as exemplified, for example, in Gaullism, and finally, in contrast to both 'integration' and 'renewal' nationalism, are the ethnic 'separatisms' of cultural minorities. (1)

The existence of these ethnic movements in the past thirty years has become a world wide phenomenon. Apart from the Bretons, France has faced demands from Alsatians and Corsicans. In Spain, the Basques have been paralleled by Andalusian, Catalan and Galician movements. Belgium has had linguistic problems with the Flemings and Walloons; Holland has faced demands from Frisia, Groeningen and Gelderland; Italy from the Sicilians; and Canada has faced the challenge of separation in Quebeck. In Britain, apart from Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, there have been incipient stirrings in Shetland and the Orkneys, the Isle of Man, and Cornwall.

In a general sense, all these movements share the common ideals of all nationalist movements in modern history in that they demand the right to exist autonomously following their own laws and customs, to do so in a recognised ancestral home and to be seen as being identifiable, distinctive and unique. In terms of immediate goals, however, contemporary separatisms may be seen as applying these overall 'ideals to the pursuit of specific objectives on three broad planes. Economically, many of them seek parity with the more prosperous central regions of the state. (2) Politically, they want power to be devolved from the overbureaucratized centre. Finally, they seek to defend their culture from erosion by larger neighbouring alien cultures.

(1) Further discussion of this and other typologies of modern nationalisms are explored in Smith (1976:1-30) and Snyder (1968).

(2) Not all separatist movements find themselves in this position. In Spain, for instance, the reverse is the case with the Basques and the Catalans who maintain that their own more advanced economies serve, to their cost, to prop up the ailing economies of Castile and Leon. See Payne, S. (1971).
While it is possible to characterise the main features of recent ethnic movements, this does not of itself explain, however, why there should have been this recent general resurgence. Patricia Mayo (1974), in a study of the Welsh, Basque and Breton movements, has argued that their concurrence stems from the political anomie produced by overcentralisation itself in the modern state, but this does not explain why this process should result in autonomous sentiments amongst specifically ethnic groups. The charge of overcentralisation is also much more difficult to sustain in respect of countries such as Switzerland or Belgium or Canada. It is also hard to see how this process alone could have produced so intense a proliferation of such movements on a world wide scale. In order to pursue this question, we need to look briefly at some recent developments in the study of ethnicity.

Earlier studies of ethnicity had tended to treat ethnic identity as a given and to see it purely cultural terms. Recent studies, however, have sought a more dynamic structural perspective in which cultural characteristics are seen in terms of an overall social process. One of the key studies in this advance towards an interactional framework was that of Fredrick Barth and his associates (1969) who viewed ethnic groups in terms of their social boundaries. Subsequent work, mainly by American scholars, has extended this analysis to take account of interaction across these boundaries and also of the way ethnicity may be institutionalised. (e.g. Glazer and Moynihan, 1975, Beil, 1975, Hechter 1975, \textit{K}hleif, 1972, 1974, 1978, Cohen, 1974, Yancey et. al., 1975, Zolberg, 1976).

Several of these writers, in particular Glazer and Moynihan (1975), have seen in the recent resurgence of ethnicity a new phenomenon ranking in significance with social class. According to this view, ethnicity, for certain social groups can provide the focus for their mobilization against ethnically based inequalities. In other words, under certain circumstances, it is argued, inequality and stratification may more readily be seen to be the result of ethnic factors rather than the product of social class. In this context, Weber's distinction between class and ethnicity (1958) is helpful. Weber saw the ethnic group as a form of status group involved in action to achieve collective ends, whereas action
based on class was individualistic. Viewed in these terms, ethnicity it is
argued may therefore be seen to be providing a distinctive form of stratification
which, unlike class, is independent of the means of production.

A number of these contending theoretical approaches have recently come
to inform the work of a growing number of researchers concerned with the
sociological study of Wales. The formation of a Sociology of Wales Study Group
within the British Sociological Association in 1975 and the publication of an
important collection of research papers dealing with various aspects of Social
and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales (1978) bear witness to the new
enterprise which has called into question much of the conventional wisdom
embodied in earlier work.

2.2 THE CASE OF WALES: THE QUEST FOR A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Most accounts of the resurgence of ethnicity in Wales have taken their
direction from the anti-urban posture of the Aberystwyth school of rural community
studies. Hence the resurgence has, in general, been seen as 'a desire to recapture
a lost identity and a sense of belonging' (Mayo 1974:81) in the face of urban and
centralist rootlessness and uniformity. Nostalgic accounts of an idealised past
have recalled the "class:less" days of early Welsh society, eulogising freely
about 'the passion for social justice which gave Wales her radical bent.' (3)

In most of these accounts, a highly specific view of Wales has been
presented in which large and important areas of Welsh life are either ignored or
minimised. Thus the identification of the "real" Wales with the traditional Welsh
speaking rural heartland has the effect of obscuring some of the other problems and
orientations of Welsh society. Hence, as Day points out (1979:453) 'the everyday
concerns of people in Mid-Wales - depopulation, decay of social provision,
tourism, second homes, the struggle to preserve a language - do not find
straightforward correspondence in the valleys and cities of South Wales, or on
Deeside, where issues of decision making in nationalised industries, the role of
multinationals and large scale movements of capital, urbanization and

(3) Gwynfor Evans in Buchanan, K, 'The Revolt against satellization in
Scotland and Wales'
The "indigenous" view of Wales as a homogeneous static community patently fails to articulate the relationship of Wales to the wider society. The absence of a dynamic theory "results in a view of society as a central dominant core perilously surrounded by a diverse periphery both attracted by the prospects of assimilation and repelled by the uneasy and humiliating prospects of accommodation." (Williams 1977:31).

The application of some of the approaches outlined earlier in this chapter, however, open up the possibility of a much broader analysis. The main break with the community study tradition has come through an attempt to locate the Welsh situation within the sociology of development using some of the models and concepts employed in the analysis of Third World societies. Much of the impetus for this approach has come from the work of A. G. Frank. Frank proposed a radical alternative to the diffusionist model of progressive assimilation and acculturation through modernisation, stressing what he called 'the development of underdevelopment' (1971). Looking at the structure of world capitalism as a whole, he concluded that there was a specific historical relationship between the development of what he termed 'metropolitan' societies and the underdevelopment of their 'satellites'. Moreover, this relationship, he argued, could be extended to the internal structure of the satellites themselves. Hence the same principle of development/underdevelopment operated in the relations between city and countryside. In fact, the relationship, Frank maintained, could be seen from the most developed part of the most developed country to the most underdeveloped part of the most underdeveloped country. In short, underdevelopment is a direct correlative of development.

The relevance of this approach for a re-working of Welsh economic history is obvious; it makes it possible to see Welsh development as a response to the external forces of British and world demand. This focus on the problems of Wales as the consequence not of isolation but of the particular forms of its dependency upon and integration with England and with the wider 'Atlantic economy' brings us to what has emerged as the central analytical concept in recent studies of ethnic resurgence, that of 'internal colonialism.' In the past
decade both American and British social scientists have applied the concept systematically to the analysis of their respective societies. (Blauner, 1969, 1972; Moore, 1970; Khleif, 1972; Rex, 1973). It was, however, the application of the concept to the hinterlands of Mexico and Brazil by two Latin-American scholars (Gonzales - Casanova, 1965 and Stavenhagen, 1965) that led the American sociologist Michael Hechter in 1975 to use it as a framework for analysing the historical relationships between the national core of the British state and its periphery, the Celtic fringe, between 1536 and 1966.

Hechter's argument broadly is that an internal colony is created through the conquest and annexation of members of one culture by those of another. It involves, on the one hand, economic and political control, and, on the other hand, the destruction of the culture of the conquered people. Economically, the populations of internal colonies are used to produce commodities for sale in metropolitan market centres. This exploitation produces, as a result, a sharply differentiated class structure in which the owners of the means of primary production together with merchants and financiers are separated from the mass of poor peasants, craftsmen and rural workers. The dominant class of a colony is soon integrated into a national or state elite while the rest of the population finds itself discriminated against generally not only economically and politically but also culturally. Subject to the political and administrative control of the dominant class, their access to the state's institutions is thus limited and their ethnic or cultural status is accordingly defined as inferior. For Hechter this produces a 'cultural division of labour' and is the crucial factor which explains why regional inequalities persist. The implication for Wales is clear: the average Welshman (as indeed are other Celts) is excluded from access to high status positions and prevented from being socially mobile within the context of the Welsh language because power is vested in those who control capital and resources and whose medium is the English language. At the same time the existence of this cultural division of labour provides the basis for a resurgence of ethnic and nationalist aspirations. Hence, according to Hechter,
there has been no real national integration of England and Wales.

Industrialisation, while contributing to the decline of linguistic differences, has not resulted in assimilation or economic equality. His broad conclusion is that when peripheral groups are denied access to positions of economic and social power, then cultural stratification itself supports and activates the differences between core and periphery. Ethnicity becomes a focal point for action.

One of the weaknesses of Hechter’s account, which has been seized upon by his critics, is the evacuation of class relations from the area of discourse. This has led some polemicists to translate this into a factual claim that Wales is a classless society (Williams, P., 1978). With Hechter, class and status group are counterposed as alternative bases of stratification, each carrying different identities. Thus class, following Weber, is seen as a 'structural' principle, a matter of self interest in response to the market, while status is 'non-structural,' providing the focus for an individual to pursue his interests within a group when he feels socially constrained from pursuing his class interest in that particular situation. (Hechter, 1975: 217-8). In some contexts of interest they are seen as competing, in others as complementary types of mobilisation. It is, however, status group membership which is seen by Hechter as the more salient focus for action, carrying a greater sense of solidarity than class. As Day says:

'Consciousness of class appears to consist of making decisions about voting which are appropriate to one's structural position. Status by comparison, is non-structural, a residual category which includes every specific attribute around which some degree of closure may be possible to override market interests and divert action from pure class lines.' (1979:464)

The problem with this kind of position is that it fails to come to grip with the crucial issue of the interrelationship between class alignment and status group formation. Moreover, it does not consider the possibility that the latter process may express the promotion of class interests. Hechter's failure to explore this interaction has prompted some Marxist critics to suggest that this is linked with a deeper flaw in his thesis. Thus, for example, Day argues (1979:465):
'By seeing class as a matter of orientation to the market Hechter minimises the role of classes as collectivities and allows the question of the relationship between classes to disappear from view, and with it the fact that England and Wales are internally differentiated societies. Thereafter only two actors are allowed on the stage at any one time: core and periphery; England and Wales. Hechter ............ by uncoupling internal and external class relations ........ is led to construct a model in which nations or regions oppress one another.'

The simplistic cultural division between English oppression and Welsh deprivation clearly overstates the case and distorts the evidence. Though it is true that the controlling political and economic interests lie outside Wales and that industrialisation has involved an influx of English executives, managers and technicians, this does not in itself mean that we have to accept the view of Wales as a colony or of the stigmatisation of Welshness as inferior. One could argue that similar cultural divisions of labour operate in other parts of Britain in respect of such factors as accent, dialect and lifestyle. Advancement to elite positions is associated far more with factors such as geographical mobility than with any deliberate policy of cultural subordination.

There is, however, a real danger that, in concentrating on these weaknesses in the colonisation analogy, the more valuable aspects of Hechter's analysis, which have clearly demonstrated the need to locate the Welsh problem in a context of structural dependency, will be lost. If one posits class as the pre-eminent frame of reference for all forms of stratification then Hechter's notion of a cultural division of labour leaves unanswered its relationship to social class. This must not, however, lead to the dismissal of ethnic and national mobilisation as irrelevant: they are central to any understanding of the Welsh question. Wales is certainly different from the regions of England precisely because of this particular dimension of national consciousness. Further, since different groups have different norms, for some groups ethnicity may well provide, in certain contexts, a more salient focus for action. The ultimate aim, however, should nevertheless be to try to encompass these in an analysis of class relations.
2.3 APPLYING THE FRAMEWORK

Equipped with these theoretical insights, we are now in a position to piece together some kind of overall map of the wider context within which the growth of the ethnic and nationalist movement in Wales can be understood and, to grasp in particular, why the Welsh language has played such a significant role in its formation.

The shaping of Welsh identity then has to be seen as part of 'a response to the break up of older and historically fused social and cultural, political and economic dominance structures, and represents an effort by these (ethnic/nationalist) groups to use a cultural mode for economic and political advancement'. (Williams 1978:8-9)

The foundations of these structures were laid in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when, as Khleif says (1978:105), 'a process of relentless racial and socio-economic hegemony turned 'the whole globe into a single social system serving an industrial culture radiating out of Western Europe and North America.' Colonialism provided the outlets, economic and cultural, for Western industrialism in the Third World and in the peripheral regions of the First World. Accompanying the process was a revolution in transport and communication systems, with the result that by the middle of the present century the most remote rural areas had been exposed to and had been drawn into this social system, absorbing with it a new secular, rationalist, scientific culture. Leading the way in this process were the emergent professional elites in the outlying regions who became increasingly anti-traditional, humanist and radical in outlook. These developments paved the way for a heightened ethnic consciousness among these groups in the years following the end of the Second World War. It was in this post-war period that the most crucial structural changes in Western industrial society took place.

Perhaps the most significant single aspect of the transformation was the demise of imperialism. All the old established nation states of the West - England, Spain, France, Belgium and Holland lost their imperial influence both politically and psychologically. On a broader front, the emergence of
the new super powers of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. left Europe and Canada nursing a sense of decay. (Barraclough, 1967). The result of this shift in the political centre of gravity was to relegate the countries of Western Europe to the status of a North Atlantic fringe, a larger version of the Celtic fringe (of Wales, Scotland and Ulster) and of its relationship to England. The effect of this loss of empire was a shrinkage of outlets for native talent, the contracted nation states being unable to meet the increasing demand for jobs from the growing professional classes in the periphery now fiercely competing with those in the heartland. In response to disappearing markets, there was an extension of industrialism into the periphery, and this process was matched externally again by the formation of multi-national corporations producing new forms of stratification.

Parallel with these broad shifts of political and economic power were the changes in occupational structure in Western society itself after 1945, often referred to, by some writers, as 'the post-industrial society' (e.g. Bell, 1973) and, by others, as 'the post-capitalist society' (e.g. Dahrendorf, 1959). Briefly, this new society saw a shift from manufacturing industries to industries based essentially on new scientific technology and information. Assuming a critical role in the changeover were the new professional and technical elites. It is this new 'knowledge class' which Bell (1973) sees as the key element in the social structure of post-industrial society, a society concerned with the production and distribution of knowledge not material goods. As Banks has shown (1972:20) between 1955 and 1965, the student population of Europe and America doubled in many countries, trebled, in fact, in some. The rise of this new university trained class together with the new technical intelligensia and vast numbers of white collar workers signalled a major change in the labour system of Western society, and transformed group relations.

In the 'national' regions of Britain, as in other peripheral areas of older states, it produced an aggressive resurgence of ethnicity spearheaded by the new middle class elites. Disadvantaged in the pursuit of their careers by a state which, because of its social composition, favoured the cultural majority, these
groups found it increasingly difficult to identify with the existing nation state. In this crisis of identity, they rejected assimilation and tried to discover their own roots in order to advance their own prestige and position. Inflation and industrial conflict served to heighten demands for radical autonomy. Viewed from this perspective, ethnicity, therefore, can be seen as part of 'a strategy of new generations of subordinated groups to alter the traditional balance of power ... the definition of reality imposed by dominant groups.' (Khleif, 1978:103)

In broad terms then, what has happened since 1945 is that hitherto isolated and generally acquiescent groups in various parts of the world have set out, through the leadership of this assertive new middle class, to defy the political and cultural hegemony of the Western state system. Not all these groups, of course, have been preoccupied with issues of identity and ethnicity. We have here, in fact, a framework for the analysis of movements as diverse as Civil Rights, the Women's movement and student risings as well as more specifically ethnic phenomena such as that chronicled by Schrag (1970) in The Decline of the WASP or the awakening of French Canada or the resurgence of the Celtic fringe.

The emergence of a new ethnic awareness in Wales in the post-war period exhibits all the socio-cultural features we have just described. Spearheading the resurgence is a vociferous middle class using the Welsh language as a symbol of its separateness in its quest for mobility and advancement.

The rise of this class, as Khleif points out, (1974, 1978) marked the entry of new occupational groups into its ranks - teachers, nonconformist ministers, academics, lawyers, civil servants, public relations men and journalists. From among their ranks also, as I hope to show, emerged the new generation of Welsh broadcasters who form the subject of this study. In origin these new men of knowledge and information were predominantly working class, the sons and daughters of miners, agricultural workers, steel workers, quarrymen, small shopkeepers, minor civil servants, brought up in the rural and industrial towns.
and villages of the north and south-west, and especially in the rural areas. Though now city dwellers, they yet retained, in varying degrees, three of the predominant hallmarks of their origins: a traditional loyalty to the chapel, a radical or at least an anti-Conservative outlook on politics, and a sense of pride in their ability to speak and use the Welsh language. Historically the three are, of course, intimately connected, and a generation ago, a Welsh speaker would have almost inevitably been nonconformist and working class. It is, however, their Welshness that now sets them apart. As Khleif says (1978:108)

'They are very proud of their Welshness, of their ability to speak Welsh, of their ability to "live a full Welsh life". They consider their knowledge of Welsh a badge of achievement for it differentiates them from other middle class men as well as working-class men who are English monoglots.'

This badge of Welshness, however, has a two-fold dimension. In socio-psychological terms, it indicates a concern with status or rank and a resentment of the handicaps which an inferior language carries. In this respect, the recent growth of bilingual schools under middle class patronage, the campaign for bilingual road signs and official forms, for court hearings in Welsh, and for a Welsh language television service are all seen as concerted attempts to reverse what are regarded as four centuries of English "suppression" of the Welsh language. Closely intermeshed with this is the socio-structural dimension in which the ability to command deference is related to economic and political factors. In Hechter's analysis (1975), the focus here is on the disparities in socio-economic status and mobility reserved for 'core' members and those for 'peripheral' group members; elite positions being awarded to the latter only on condition that they abandon their subscription to the native culture.

This begs the question, however, as has already been indicated, as to whether such alleged "suppression" is purely a matter of culture and ethnicity or whether it is not, in reality, a matter of social class. Certainly cultural
barriers and ethnic distinctions can limit access but this does not tell us about the elements of motivation and perception which lie behind these distinctions. It would be wrong to suggest that the assertion of ethnicity has been practised universally by all sections of the new Welsh middle class. Clearly not, for many are vigorously opposed to it, seeing it as restricting their prospects of advancement and social mobility. (Woolfe, 1974; Patterson et al., 1975 a/b). The Welsh language movement has produced a vociferous backlash from Welsh and non-Welsh speakers alike. Some have no wish to admit to their ethnicity in their public and professional life, preferring to restrict it to the privacy of their home. (Kalcik and Hawes, 1976). Hechter does not raise questions of perception and motivation in his analysis and treats Wales largely as a homogeneous and unproblematic cultural entity in which its inequality is seen as essentially cultural rather than the result of any overall class framework which has produced this inequality and dependence.

To sum up then, the new ethnicity is an attempt by certain deprived groups to counter the prevailing hegemony exerted by the traditionally anglicised elite and to secure a position of dominance for themselves. It is not so much a simple conflict, however, between Welsh and English as a conflict between Welsh-Welsh and Anglo-Welsh and this points to the intersection of language with identity and with social class. Ethnicity has become a rallying point in the quest for roots and in the pursuit of social mobility and economic advancement, and, in the hands of certain sectors of this ambitious new middle class, it provides an appropriate ideology for cultural resurgence and for mobilizing more extensive support among the general population. The next two sections of this chapter will examine in some detail the different ways in which this resurgence has expressed itself and been mobilised, especially in the post-war period.

2.4 INCORPORATION AND SURVIVAL

It was primarily to ensure the maintenance of the Tudor state, following the breach with Rome, that Henry VIII secured the incorporation of Wales by the
Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542. In terms of this objective, the Union proved a remarkable success: the authority of the English state remained unchallenged and 'the question of Wales as a separate nation did not arise for three hundred years.' (Hechter, 1975:70).

The Union imposed the language, law and religion of England upon the Welsh. The survival of the Welsh language, proscribed by the terms of the Union, was nothing short of a miracle and resulted from several forlorn accidents, the most important of these being the translation of the Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh in the reign of the first Elizabeth. (Williams, 1950:62-78). The translation of the Bible was a triumph for the new Renaissance humanism. (Gruffydd, 1960:49). At a stroke, it gave the Welsh language the status of a learned tongue, providing the whole country with a standard literary language of a high order. This not only ensured its own survival but also that of the Welsh identity.

The comparative inability of the seventeenth century Puritans to gain adherents in sufficient numbers can be attributed largely to their failure to make full use of the language, a lesson which was not lost on the great educational and religious reformers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Welsh Bible reading was an integral part of the teaching undertaken by the famous circulating schools of Gruffydd Jones, Llanddowror, between 1737 and 1761 and by the leaders of the Methodist Revival. It was Methodism which finally turned Wales into a nation of Nonconformists. Equally significant, it countered the tide of anglicisation which the nineteenth century industrialisation of Wales brought in its wake. Two further religious revivals, in 1859 and 1904, consolidated the transformation, leaving Nonconformists outnumbering Anglicans by five to two. (1)

While the early Methodists were conservative or at least apolitical on secular issues, their successors became increasingly caught up in political radicalism when, in the rural areas in particular, they chafed against the

payment of tithes to a Church to which they no longer belonged. The election of 1868 saw the wholesale defection of the small tenant farmers to the Liberal party. The social evils of industrialisation produced a parallel upsurge of political radicalism in the urban areas. From 1868 until the First World War, this radicalism began to assume more and more of a nationalist dimension as, throughout Wales, the cleavages of land, religion and social class came to be viewed as the product of English subjugation. Surveys of the political agitation of the period (e.g. Morgan, 1963; 1981; Butt Philip, 1975) point to three factors accounting for this dimension. First, the significantly higher proportion of Nonconformists in Wales compared with that in England gave Nonconformist grievances a distinctly nationalist colouration. Issues such as the payment of tithes and disestablishment, temperance, the demand for secondary education and a Welsh university were all of special interest to Welsh Nonconformists, and Liberal politicians at Westminster had to accept increasingly that they should be treated as Welsh issues. The other factors were the strength of the Welsh language, and the growth of the Welsh Press in support of the language and radical causes. (Morgan, 1963:9). These mobilised the opposition of Welsh speakers to the cultural threats presented by industrialisation and by the 1870 Education Act which entailed the proscription of the Welsh language in the classroom.

As Butt Philip points out, however, (1975:7) 'in many ways the Welsh national movement was a bid for equality for Wales rather than the work of separatist forces.' Designed to ameliorate Nonconformist grievances, the movement lost its momentum once those objectives had been secured. (2) The increased social mobility opened up by electoral and educational reform enabled the new Nonconformist elite to establish their ascendancy in the new county and parish councils with the result that 'this transfer of power on a local basis

(2) The most notable success of the national movement between 1880 and 1920 included the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, 1881, the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, the granting of a charter to the University of Wales, 1893, the establishment, between 1905 and 1915, of a Welsh Department of the Board of Education, the National Library of Wales, National Museum of Wales, a Welsh Insurance Commission, a National Council of Wales for Agriculture, and in 1920, Disestablishment, with the passing of The Welsh Church Act.
eventually blunted the appeal of the wider objective of Welsh Home Rule. (Morgan, 1963:107). The demise of Cymru Fydd (George, 1945), the only political organisation of this period with specifically nationalist goals, signalled the waning of the nineteenth century national movement as concern for issues of national identity was overtaken by a growing preoccupation with the social problems attendant on the depressed coal and tinplate industries to which Liberal nonconformity was largely indifferent if not actively hostile.

As the organised Labour movement gained in strength, so nonconformist control declined and the pursuit of Home Rule and national questions commanded dwindling support. The onset of the First World War inaugurated a period in which nationalist politics were in retreat as continuous unemployment and industrial unrest confirmed their irrelevance, and, in South Wales, ushered in an era of Labour domination.

The failure to secure home Rule under Lloyd George and the Liberals, and the growing distrust of Labour promises on the issue, led in 1925 to the formation of a Welsh Nationalist Party - Plaid Cymru. From its inception, the national movement of the twentieth century differed dramatically from the nineteenth century movement in that Plaid Cymru emphasised the creation of a strong sense of Welsh identity based on the language and history of Wales. (3)

Moreover, in contrast to the earlier national movement, which had been content to remain within the context of traditional British party politics, Plaid Cymru was a separate and separatist political party and has remained independent of other British parties. Even so, for the first twenty years or so of its existence, it had little grassroots support, its political activity being totally dependent on the personal commitment of a few individuals drawn, for the most part, like the earlier movement, from a Welsh-speaking Nonconformist elite most of whom were involved in the Welsh literary and academic scene or the Nonconformist ministry.

Typical of these were the writer and dramatist Saunders Lewis and the young Montgomeryshire academic lorwerth Peate. Lewis, a convert to Roman Catholicism, (3) See Lloyd, D.M. (1949), Plaid Cymru and its message, Cardiff; also : Daniel, J.E. (1937) Welsh Nationalism, what it stands for, London. Daniel, the second president of Plaid Cymru, says, (p40) 'It is in the poetry of Taliesin and Dafydd Narmor, in the ruling conceptions of the ancient laws of Wales, far more than in the Special Areas Acts or Five Year programmes that the salvation of Wales is to be found.'
Catholicism and the party's leading ideologue, saw the party as symbolizing the organic unity of Wales and of European Christendom as it had existed in the Middle Ages. Peate, who was later to become Curator of the Welsh Folk Museum, was a characteristic product of the nonconformist radicalism of the period. As we shall see later, both exerted a significant influence on the promotion of Welsh language broadcasting in the early days of radio. The party's main concerns in this inter-war period were very much 'intellectual, cultural and moral' (Morgan, 1981:207), acting primarily as a pressure group on behalf of the language. Politically it was in many respects conservative in outlook so that, while it supported small scale forms of cooperative production in place of centralised planning and state control, it was generally unsympathetic to trade unionism.

Already, however, Welsh society was having to face more urgent problems than the fate of Welsh culture. The massive unemployment and industrial stagnation of the 1920's and 1930's were to bind the working class trade unions far more closely to England. It was through nationwide policies of aid to the 'depressed areas', through centralised planning, and through nationwide solidarity with the labour movement that the hopes of a better future seemed to lie, whatever the cultural cost. Nonconformity and the language seemed less relevant to the post-war generation. Whereas roughly half the population could speak Welsh in 1911, only three-eighths could do so in 1931 (Morgan, 1981:244). Yet paradoxically the literature through which the language most truly expressed itself was never more healthy. In the writing of poetry, essays, short stories and literary criticism, Welsh culture in the 1920's and 1930's was vigorous and creative. (Morgan, 1981:246-58). Nevertheless it was the work of this small class of educated middle class literati and Nonconformist ministers who hovered around the University. As a political force, nationalism, in the inter-war years, was in need of a more challenging and coherent faith. This it was to acquire in the years ahead.
2.5 POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS 1945 - 75.

The growth of national consciousness in Wales since the Second World War witnessed a significant acceleration in the separatist thrust of the nationalist movement which involved its transformation from a rather diffuse cultural movement into a genuine political party. Alongside the political evolution of Plaid Cymru, however, must also be set a number of cultural movements and pressure groups, some overtly political in character, which, cumulatively, have worked to counter the tide of anglicisation and challenge the prevailing hegemony of the British state.

2.5.1. Plaid Cymru

Two significant growth periods stand out in the post-war development of Plaid Cymru - the early/mid 1940’s and the mid/late 1960’s. According to a recent study by Charlotte Aull (1978), these growth periods corresponded to equally significant periods of activity and involvement by central government in the field of welfare services and economic planning. Aull argues that this unwittingly created conditions conducive to the rise of ethnically based political movements. In an article in the last issue of the Welsh magazine Planet on 'Nationalism after the Referendum' (1980:65), Aull sees this process as having been two-fold in character:

"First, as such a state develops and expands, it breaks down local institutions in favour of more individualistic ties with state institutions. But this very process generates resources in the sense of increased possibilities for larger scale regional organisation, and hence clears the way for a nationalist movement. Of particular importance in this regard has been the assumption by the welfare state of responsibility for many services formerly provided by community organisations, primarily the chapels and the union lodges. In addition, the opening of relatively self-sufficient villages to external influence by improved transportation and the mass media has allowed a broader Welsh identity to take precedence over the host of highly localized identities that formerly characterised the area."
The second way in which an expanding state bureaucracy produces conditions conducive to the rise of an ethnic nationalist movement is by creating a need and providing rewards for intermediate level organisations. As the size of the bureaucracy increases, so does pressure for internal administrative differentiation. An ethnically distinct region can argue that any administrative diversions should respect its territorial integrity. Once a few such ethnically based organisations are established within the bureaucracy, they stimulate the formation of others both inside and outside the bureaucracy.

Viewed in this light, the two periods of significantly improved electoral performance by Plaid Cymru would seem to have occurred in precisely those years when these processes were most apparent. The early 1940’s saw the involvement of central government in local affairs on a massive scale, with the setting up of new welfare services, the nationalisation of basic industries, and an extensive industrial development programme. In this situation, Plaid Cymru was quick to exploit the possibilities for developing an economic organisation in Welsh terms, arguing that Wales should be treated economically as a distinctive unit. Its emphasis on economic issues and the role of government planning rather than on the Welsh language and self-government paid off in 1945 when it felt confident enough to put eight candidates in the field for the first time.

It was, however, only in the rural areas that there was any real growth for the party for the next decade and a half. In contrast to the industrial areas, where economic development proceeded on British lines, the rural heartland continued to be dependent on government subsidies. A separate department at the Ministry of Agriculture dealt specifically with Wales and a Welsh-based farmers’ organisation, The Farmers Union of Wales was set up in 1955. It is significant again, then, that in these areas, extensive involvement by central government was accompanied by some electoral growth. In the October 1959 Election, the party fielded twenty candidates and collected 77,571 votes, the largest number it had ever received at a general election. It fought every seat in Dyfed and Gwynedd and polled over a fifth of the votes in Caernarvon and Merioneth.
The early 1960's, however, saw Plaid Cymru's fortunes at a low ebb. Wracked by internal disagreements, the forces of nationalism became subjected to increasing fragmentation as many party members, frustrated by electoral failure, began to support the more direct methods practised by the Welsh Language Society in support of equal status for the Welsh language. (4) The Tryweryn affair added to the party's dilemma as the militants took direct action in the face of the party's ineffective constitutional opposition to the building of the reservoir. The two general elections of 1964 and 1966 confirmed the collapse. The percentage of votes cast for Plaid Cymru in 1966 was 4.3 compared with 5.2 percent in 1959. Within four months of the 1966 Election, however, the internal morale and public credibility of the party were transformed by the victory of Gwynfor Evans at the Caernarthen by-election on July 14th, 1966.

The significance of this event as the beginning of the second period of substantial growth for Plaid Cymru was confirmed in the forthcoming by-elections, at Rhondda West in March, 1967 and Caerphilly in July, 1968 when, in these apparently impregnable strongholds, Labour only just managed to hold off the Plaid Cymru challenge. (5) The traditional commitment of South Wales to Labour policies had been severely shaken by the continuing pit closures, high unemployment and general economic insecurity. Again, as in the 1940's, it was Plaid Cymru's response to the economic situation and the clear need for central government involvement in regional economic planning which enabled it to take the initiative with a credible alternative set of policies. The infusion of new blood from the anglicised industrial areas led to the setting up of a new research group in November, 1966 which, four years later produced an economic plan for Wales (1970). This was clearly an attempt by Plaid Cymru to bring the advantages of economic planning initiated by central government (and outlined in the government's own plan in July, 1967) under Welsh control.


(5) In Rhondda West, at the General Election, 1966, the Plaid Cymru vote was 2,172, the Labour vote 19,060. In 1967, Plaid Cymru support had soared to 10,067 and the Labour vote had fallen to 12,353. In Caerphilly the results were equally dramatic:

1966 - Plaid Cymru 3,949; Labour 26,330
1968 - Plaid Cymru 14,274; Labour 16,148

38.
The promise of a major electoral break-through, however, was unfulfilled. Though the party increased its vote substantially from 61,000 to 175,000 at the 1970 General Election, it lost its one and only Parliamentary seat at Carmarthen. Nor was its early success at local elections in the year following the Carmarthen election maintained. For this three main factors were responsible: the equivocal position taken by the party towards the Investiture of the Prince of Wales in July, 1969; the wave of explosions at Welsh dams and public buildings between 1966 and 1969, which raised doubts about the party’s involvement in violent activity; and the activities of the Welsh Language Society which brought into question, especially for many young people, the whole attitude of the party on the language issue. (Butt Phillip, 1975:115-122). These events are discussed later in this chapter.

Even so, Nationalism emerged from the 1970 election as a far better organised political movement with a much broader base of support. The influx of many non-Welsh speakers of a socialist outlook in the industrialised areas affected the image of the party and its programme, reflecting not only a new awareness of economic policy but also a shift ideologically to the left. Indeed the shift was a logical consequence of the party’s advocacy of a unified economic plan for Wales prepared and directed by a Welsh development agency. Aull argues (1980:68) that the appearance of a left wing ideology within Plaid Cymru occurred ‘in response to the very conditions that have stimulated the party’s recent advances, namely the potential for greater Welsh control over economic decisions provided by the introduction of regional economic planning by the central government,’ The areas in which Plaid Cymru showed greatest growth after 1966 were precisely those where economic problems were most serious and called for specific government measures – the old industrial areas of the south-east which, as we have seen produced the shock results of 1966 and 1967 (there was a dramatic four-fold increase in the Plaid Cymru vote too in April, 1972 at Merthyr) and in the former quarrying areas of the north-west which elected the first Plaid Cymru MP’s for Caernarvon and Merioneth in February, 1974. Here, as in Carmarthen in October, 1974, the new sources of nationalist support proved sufficient when added to existing rural support to secure victory.
The acceptance of the Plaid Cymru case for treating Wales in economic terms as a separate unit was also facilitated by the formal recognition and endorsement of such a policy by the Welsh Office from the late 1960's onwards. The formation of the Wales T.U.C. later in January, 1973 confirmed the eventual acceptance by the unions of the viability of pursuing socialist objectives within a Welsh framework. By the early 1970's also, a number of other predominantly cultural organisations had been formed which, though not directly concerned with economic policy, helped to reinforce the concern for Welsh autonomy. The return of three Plaid Cymru Members of Parliament in October, 1974 (together with eleven Nationalist members in Scotland) held out the promise of bringing these policies of economic and social planning under the control of a directly elected Welsh assembly. That promise, however, received its severest setback in the Referendum vote on 1st March, 1979.

2.5.2 The Sources of Nationalist Support

In order to understand the formative role of political nationalism in the resurgence of ethnicity, we need briefly to relate the preceding sketch of party history to an analysis of the social and cultural sources of the party's support. The evidence from a number of opinion surveys conducted in 1967-8 (6) and from more recent field work by Khleif (1974, 1975), Thomas and Williams (1978) and Emmett (1978) all point to a party heavily dominated by the middle class with a preponderance of ministers of religion, teachers and members of the new 'knowledge class'. In the early 1960's Plaid Cymru was very much a Welsh-speaking party. A large majority of its members were Welsh speakers, and its main strength was in the Welsh-speaking areas. This continued to be the case in the late 1960's though there was a large influx of non-Welsh-speakers in the south after the Carmarthen by-election, with whole branches of non-Welsh-speakers active in Monmouthshire. This influx, as we have seen, is illustrative of the widening political base of the party in the decade and its ideological shift to the left in response to economic problems. It is

(6) These are reviewed by Butt Philip (1975:124-177). They include a total of nine different attitude surveys by N.O.P., Gallup, the BBC, Western Mail, ORC, NOP and HMSO together with the results of a survey conducted by the author himself at Plaid Cymru's annual conference in the autumn of 1968, and official membership records and annual reports of the party in the late 1960's.
arguable, however, that this was an expression of a wider protest against
government centralisation rather than a conversion to the linguistic and
cultural nationalism felt by traditional supporters of Plaid Cymru elsewhere,
which was strongly linked to the Welsh language and Nonconformity. In his
profile of the nationalist voter of the late 1960's, Butt Philip concludes
(1975:150): 'The general picture that emerges is that the most likely supporter
of the Blaid in 1968 was a Welsh-speaking, non-Anglican Welshman, aged
between 21 and 35 years living in North or West Wales.' On the question of
religious affiliations, he observes: 'Plaid Cymru voters appear not to be
Anglicans but to be chapel-goers or of no religion.'

One other factor in this profile is also worth noting. This is the
comparative youth of Plaid Cymru supporters compared with the supporters of
other parties, a factor which has caused some embarrassment on occasions to
party officials in that it has given the nationalist movement at times something of
the character of a children's crusade and has also led to accusations of teachers
abusing their position to gain recruits for the party. Evidence suggests, however,
that this loyalty amongst young voters declines with age. In some respects, of
course, the boom in party membership along with the whole new wave of ethnic
awareness can be seen, as Emmett points out, (1978:98) as a response to the world
wide adolescent movement of the mid-1960's which Welsh teenagers of that
generation encountered. As Emmett says, (1978:99), 'they could have opted for
unglicisation, but many were determined to show that you could have modern
popular music, pin-ups, Hell's Angels and hippies IN WELSH.'

The predominant role played by the professional class in the development
of the party can be seen in the kind of candidates fielded by Plaid Cymru. In
the 1970 General Election, as in previous elections, they were drawn
overwhelmingly from this class, particularly from those with a university education,
usually at the University of Wales. Only one of the candidates could be
described as a manual worker (Butt Philip, 1975:156). No fewer than twenty seven
of the candidates were also Welsh speakers.
Finally, there is the religious colouration of the nationalist movement and its emotional affiliations with Nonconformity. The parallel between the recruiting operations of Plaid Cymru - the tribannau, pop concerts, rallies, summer schools and conferences, communal hymn singing, coupled with an almost messianic respect for its president, Gwynfor Evans, and its generally earnest moral tone - and the development of a revivalist religious movement in the nonconformist tradition, is particularly striking. Indeed, the longstanding nonconformist elements in the party have carried into its very heart much of the terminology and attitudes of revivalist Nonconformity. (7)

The resurgence of ethnic nationalism, then, was clearly a more complex and wide ranging phenomenon than the development of a political party. In sociological terms it represented a social response to the conditions of post industrial society and involved the development of a whole range of Welsh institutions and organisations which have been influenced by, and in turn have exerted their own influence on the fortunes of Plaid Cymru itself. It is to these other organisations that we must now turn.

2.5.3 The Development of Welsh Organisations and Pressure Groups

The growth of ethnic nationalism since the Second World War has found expression in the development of a whole complex of organisations and pressure groups, not all of which have pursued their objectives through constitutional methods. These objectives can broadly be divided as being either mainly cultural or political in character though it is frequently impossible to separate the two.

The earliest of these organisations, dating from 1922, is Urdd Gobaith Cymru (The Welsh League of Youth), an intensely nationalistic youth movement whose development paralleled that of other European youth movements of the inter-war period. (8) Through its youth clubs - aelwydydd and adrannau, its youth camps at Glanllyn and Llangrannog, and its various magazines, the Urdd has played a major role in the socialisation of tens of thousands of Welsh children and young people.


(8) The Urdd (The Welsh League of Youth): What it is; what it does; How to help; How to join. Aberystwyth, 1947.
Though it has had its strongest impact on Welsh-speaking rural Wales, it has also done a tremendous amount to encourage the use of the language by large numbers of young people in the anglicised industrial areas. Seeking from the outset to be rigorously non-political, the Urdd, however, found it increasingly difficult to maintain this position in the 1960's when large numbers of its members became caught up in the development of Plaid Cymru and in the activities of The Welsh Language Society.

The acceptance by the Urdd Council in October 1968 of an invitation to send representatives to the Investiture of Prince Charles was successfully overturned by the rank and file teachers and students in the movement in December, (9) illustrating the extent to which political nationalism had penetrated the movement at the grass roots level. The involvement of many Urdd members in the activities of The Welsh Language Society compounded the movement's dilemma still further, forcing it to respond by taking an overtly nationalist position on a number of issues such as bilingual motor tax discs (10) and Welsh representation in the Eurovision Song Contest. (11).

Its success as a non-political cultural movement, however, is undeniable, though this has undoubtedly been greatest in the rural Welsh-speaking areas and also with the more academically inclined of Welsh children. Its generally middle class orientation is underlined by its rigorous patronage of another highly significant movement set up to provide schools in the anglicised areas using Welsh as the primary language of instruction.

The Welsh Schools' Movement received its initial impetus from Urdd Gobaith Cymru when it decided to establish the first Ysgol Gymraeg in Aberystwyth in 1939. Subsequently the Urdd set up the Welsh Schools Parents' Association in 1952 to promote the establishment of further schools. As the Gittins Report observed (1968:221), they were: 'consciously modelled on the rural school in the Welsh-speaking areas and motivated by the traditional Welsh emphasis on literature, penillion singing, music and institutions such as the Eisteddfod.'


(10) The Urdd obtained the first bilingual discs for its own cars several weeks before they were made available to the general public. See Y Cymro, 25th March, 1970.

(11) Mary Hopkin was chosen as a result of Urdd representations to sing the British entry in 1969. See Western Mail, 25th September, 1969.
growth periods for Welsh medium primary schools were the late 1940's and the late 1950's, and again, in the secondary sector, the second half of the 1960's, closely paralleling the growth of Plaid Cymru and the general upsurge of nationalism. Born out of a sense of urgency in the face of the rapid decline in the number of Welsh speakers, the demand for Welsh Schools was pursued most actively by the Welsh speaking professional middle class in the anglicised areas. As Butt Philip notes (1975:223), 'the leaders of the parents' societies in Glamorgan associated with founding these schools have invariably come from the highest social grades, and the children of the middle class (especially from social class II in the Registrar General's classification) have always been heavily over-represented in these schools.' Indeed, it could be argued that for many such parents the real appeal of Welsh medium schools has been their limited size (compared with most comprehensives), their low staff-pupil ratios, and their respect in general for traditional academically oriented forms of teaching - important factors clearly in the social and economic advancement of their children. The interlocks with nationalist politics are equally clear, a high proportion of parents, teachers and pupils (at the secondary level) having active sympathies with Plaid Cymru. Many teachers in the schools have, in fact, stood as party candidates in local and parliamentary elections. Working for the Welsh Schools' Movement is seen for many as part of the whole process of political and cultural re-awakening in which they are engaged. Another element, though of declining force, is Nonconformity. Hence the support given to the movement in many areas by Nonconformist ministers anxious to secure the survival of Welsh as the language of worship and thus to preserve their congregations. Not uncommonly many nursery schools have been launched in chapel vestries.

The pursuit of these cultural and educational ideals by the Welsh-speaking professional classes has provoked bitter clashes with anglicised working class parents in many localities and has posed tiresome problems for local authorities who, in the final analysis, have to accommodate these competing pressures within limited budgets. Thus, as Welsh medium education has been extended, the cleavages in Welsh society have deepened.
The need to extend Welsh medium teaching into higher education has led to demands not only for more undergraduate courses to be taught through the medium of Welsh but also for a separate Welsh medium college in the University and for separate halls of residence at existing colleges for Welsh-speaking students. This has been closely coupled with a vigorous opposition to the expansion of the University and to the influx of English students which, it is argued, would destroy its essential national character. In the 1960's this was linked with a determined and successful campaign fought to preserve the University's federal structure from insistent demands within the colleges (especially Cardiff) to defederalize. (12) For largely Welsh-speaking federalist academics, the University was an inviolate symbol of nationhood which expansion would rend asunder. The same concern with safeguarding the distinctive cultural and educational needs of Wales has been the mainspring of Undeb Cenedlaethol Aithrawon Cymru (The National Association of Teachers of Wales) which, since 1940, has tried (but with only limited success) to attract Welsh teachers into their organisation. It is fiercely protective of the Welsh language interest in education and has a strongly nationalist leadership.

However, perhaps the most potent, and in some respects the most successful of the new pressure groups to emerge in support of the language in the 1960's was The Welsh Language Society. It was founded in August, 1962 at Plaid Cymru's annual summer school as a response to a radio lecture by Saunders Lewis a few months earlier in which he called for a movement to insist on the use of Welsh in all official forms and formal business by public bodies in the Welsh-speaking areas of Wales. (13) Among the specific campaigns fought by the Society in the 1960's were those designed to secure bilingual signs on post offices and roads, the registration of births in Welsh, bilingual road fund licences, and, on prosecution, the right to a Welsh summons and to a Welsh hearing. The passing of the Welsh Language Act in 1967 (14) following the Report of the Hughes-Parry Committee in 1965 (15), conceded the important legal principle of equal validity of Welsh with


English in the courts and in the provision of statutory forms. The implementation of the principle, however, depended on the good will of individual government ministers and local authorities, and it was to secure the enforcement of the principle that, in 1969, the Society launched its lengthy campaign to obliterate, with green paint, selected road signs, especially in Welsh-speaking areas, which carried no Welsh equivalents. (16) Though supporting the aims of the campaign, Plaid Cymru found itself politically embarrassed by it since it provoked widespread public opposition. The party blamed its poor performance at the May local elections on the Society's activities. By the autumn, the Welsh Office had in essence, conceded on the issue of place name signs, though it still vetoed bilingual directional signs on safety grounds. (17)

Apart from road signs and official forms the Society campaigned in the late 1960's for greater use of Welsh in displays on the Eisteddfod field, for more broadcasting time in the Welsh language (organising sit-ins at the BBC's Cardiff and Bangor studios), and against the Investiture of Prince Charles. Apart from sit-ins, there were hunger strikes, refusals to pay fines, and, in February 1970, an invasion by twenty two Aberystwyth students of the Royal Courts of Justice in London. The movement, in fact, provided an umbrella for all manner of nationalist protests mounted by the rising generation of young Welsh-speaking intellectuals who had grown impatient of parliamentary methods. In this sense, the development of the Society can be seen as part of the wider growth of student protest movements of the 1960's in Europe and North America. In terms of activist techniques and tactics, it had much in common with other student protest movements of the period. While its leaders were students, frequently of the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth, the Society had strong support from lecturers of the University and from many Nonconformist ministers. In this it shared a number of the characteristics of other middle class radical movements such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, being concerned with what


(17) The question of safety, which is linked with the issue of whether Welsh or English should be given precedence on road signs, has continued to be hotly debated during the past decade. The current position as defined by the present Welsh Secretary of State, Nicholas Edwards, (April, 1980), is that county councils can decide which language to put first, and the Welsh Office will follow suit on its own roads. (Western Mail, 16th April, 1980, p.1.)
Parkin (1968:34) has called 'expressive politics' rather than 'instrumental politics' - that is with being seen to be expressing political views in a demonstrably public way, not with 'the attainment of power to bring about desired ends.' Both were essentially moral protest movements born out of a frustration with constitutional methods. More specifically, however, the Welsh Language Society questioned the impact of electoral success on the behaviour of Plaid Cymru. By making the language a political issue, it showed its disgust with the operation of Welsh politics within the British connexion and thus acted as a rallying point for all who were disaffected from establishment politics and culture. Moreover, it attracted more than just those who were anxious to defend the Welsh language. It served to focus the discontents of others who, in other ways, felt alienated from the values of contemporary capitalist society. The Society thus organised this deviant vocal minority behind a counter culture sustained by an emergent subculture of Welsh youth.

In providing the lead, student leadership soon mobilised the Welsh intelligentsia politically on the language issue. The success of this mobilisation was demonstrated visibly in the summer of 1969 when, after an eight week campaign, waged through the columns of the Welsh language monthly Barn, to secure a bilingual road fund licence disc, the politicians bowed to the storm. In the course of the campaign, no fewer than 642 individuals pledged themselves not to display an English language disc until one was issued bilingually. Of these, 263 (41%) were teachers, 90 (14%) university or college lecturers and 91 ministers of religion. Other signatories included 9 officials of the Urdd, 2 archdruids, and 17 senior members of staff of BBC Wales, including several producers, among them the head of Light Entertainment. (Butt Philip, 1975:247).

Youthful example provided much of the impetus behind a number of other separatist cultural organisations including the Welsh women's movement Merched Y Wawr (Daughters of the Dawn) which broke away from the Women's Institute to make Welsh its official language. It swept through the Welsh-speaking areas setting up over 100 branches between 1967 and 1970. (18)

While the specific objectives pursued by all these cultural pressure
groups and organisations were not primarily political, it is clear that many
of their members were also active in, or highly sympathetic to, the cause of
political separatism.

Down to the mid-1960's, the most comprehensive of these organisations
in its support of a wide range of both cultural and political interests was that of
**Undeb Cymru Fydd** (The New Wales Union) which, apart from pressing a
distinctive national dimension in issues such as education and broadcasting (19),
mobilised the growing support for Welsh devolution. Under its tireless
organising secretary, T.I. Ellis, the Union channelled this support into a specific
campaign for a Welsh Parliament. Essentially a pressure movement of the Welsh-
speaking intelligentsia, its demise after 1965 signalled the arrival of the more
broadly based forces of ethnic resurgence we have outlined already.

While the majority of these groups and organisations worked to achieve
their objectives within the established procedures of constitutional negotiation and
representation, the techniques of protest which developed in the 1960's, as we have
seen, particularly in support of the Welsh language, became infused with a more
activist spirit, born of an acute impatience with these procedures. Language,
however, was not the only trigger of militancy. Already in the 1950's, various
disaffected spirits in Plaid Cymru had left to organise a Welsh Republican movement (20)
In 1963, the most publicised of the fringe nationalist groups of the decade appeared -
the Free Wales Army. This militarist group, which modelled its objectives and
tactics on the IRA, claimed responsibility for most of the bomb explosions at Welsh
public buildings and reservoir sites between 1963 and 1969. That responsibility,
however, was also claimed, from time to time, by other extremist groups, among them
*Mudiad Amddiffyn Cymru* (the Movement for the Defence of Wales), two of whose
members were actually convicted of conspiring to cause an explosion at Holyhead in
June 1969, a few weeks before the Investiture. The Investiture was also the
occasion for the formation of an Anti-Investiture Campaign Committee, many of

(19) It persuaded the Lord Mayor of Cardiff to call a National Conference in
1959 to consider the needs of Welsh language television. (See p. 71)

(20) The movement was active between 1950 and 1957, burning Union Jacks in
public, publishing a regular broadsheet, and contesting a parliamentary
election at Ogmore in 1950.
whose members were, in fact, connected with the F.W.A. In the days following the Investiture, the A.I.C.C. merged with another extremist group, the National Patriotic Front to link up with yet another republican movement, Mudiaid Y Werin (The People's Movement).

Shadowy in form and substance as these groups were, the damage to property and human life with which they were implicated proved temporarily ruinous to the cause of nationalist politics and politicians and triggered off a vigorous government security campaign.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The survival and persistence in the 1970's of many of the organisations oriented to predominantly cultural objectives contrasts sharply with the more limited and variable achievements of those having specifically political and economic aims. This is perhaps not surprising, however, in view of the uncertainties and divisions which existed even amongst nationalist politicians and supporters themselves as to the precise way in which those aims should be realised. Support for a separate nation-state has always been small: indeed the motives which inspired the creation of Plaid Cymru itself in the 1920's, as we have seen, were linguistic and cultural not political and economic. They arose from an overriding concern to secure the place of the Welsh language in Welsh life. A sense of nationhood irrespective of language has been slow to develop precisely because the question of language has always bedevilled such growth. Thus attempts to promote the policies of bilingualism have always aroused fears in the anglicised south, while an emphasis on economic and political separatism at the expense of the language has frequently alienated the hard core of Welsh speakers who have traditionally led the nationalist cause.

Nevertheless, the electoral successes achieved by Plaid Cymru after 1966 represented a significant bridging of these two elements as the policies of cultural conservation became increasingly overshadowed by the need to formulate a coherent response to the activities of central government in the fields of welfare services and economic planning. Indeed this very response served to legitimate and encourage
a nationalist perspective in organisational policies over a wide area of social and cultural activity. In so doing, it provided an acceptable alternative ideology to socialism, though one not necessarily incompatible with it.

Thus, while the electoral successes of the 1970's demonstrated the growing support for separatist philosophies in the political and economic sphere, a potent array of other organisations and pressure groups testified to the relevance of their application in other fields - religious, educational and cultural.

In all these sectors of ethnic mobilisation, what we have seen unmistakably at work is a process in which the concerns of language and culture and identity have intersected increasingly with the professional and social objectives of an expanding middle class. In the course of this development, the cultured literary elite of academics and ministers who had led the first resurgence before the war had been reinforced and extended by an influx of new occupational groups - university men, civil servants, local government workers, teachers, journalists, broadcasters, lawyers, technologists and technicians - a generation removed from their working class origins but retaining the cultural hallmarks of their Welsh upbringing.

The developmental history of Wales has received remarkably little attention from historians and social scientists and there is nothing approaching a detailed and systematic examination of the relationships between changing occupational structures and the political cultures to which they gave rise. Yet, as this chapter has tried to indicate, there is considerable evidence of a direct correlation between cultural commitment and particular occupational and status groupings so that opinion becomes organised and mobilised in specific ways. This study has been able only to indicate some of the broad features of this process from a reworking of some of the historical literature. There is a need for further research to extend this analysis systematically by relating the political narrative to the changing structures and forms of British economic development as a whole and their implication for social relations in Wales. In the post war period specifically, the re-structuring of the Welsh economy following a switch from a derelict heavy industrial base towards the provision of mass consumer goods (Carney et al, 1976); the regrouping of capitals into monopolistic formations transcending geographical frontiers and the emergence of
multi and transnational corporations; and the increasing intervention of the State in regional planning have all had complex repercussions. These include significant internal shifts of population in response to changing occupational structure patterns, the destruction of earlier working class communities of the 1920's and 1930's and their attendant political culture (Rawkins, 1978), the 'embourgeoisement' of other areas, and the formation of new professional and middle class fractions.

Williams (1980) has drawn attention to the way some of these factors have served to mobilise political and ideological conflict in rural Wales. Apart from the distinction between indigenous and non-indigenous middle class groups, Williams points to the existence of different groups of newcomers. Though seeing them in general as 'spiralists' seeking to combine occupational with geographical mobility, he finds three groups within this broad category.

'Some are "non-integrating spiralists" (Payne, 1973) whose period of residence in rural Wales is likely to be relatively short. The nature of their employment does not demand integration, nor does it result in any advantage to them or their families. Their attitude towards the local social and institutional structure often consists of a mixture of withdrawal and antagonism. In contrast, 'integrating spiralists', either by the nature of their jobs or of their own volition, seek to accommodate and become part of local social networks and institutions. Finally, there are "blocked spiralists", whose mobility has been arrested. Many of them see their rightful place to be higher up the occupational ladder and, in consequence outside rural Wales.' (1980:180)

The existence of these distinctions clearly points to different forms of cultural polarisation on the 'Welsh question'. In their interaction with questions of economic development, cultural issues have served to mobilise opinion and produce structures of political and class conflict. Following through his analysis, Williams illustrates the conflict in these terms (1980:181):

'The indigenous middle class is able to carry a large part of the local proletariat because of the antagonism among the in-migrant groups towards the Welsh language which serves as a point of identity for the local population .............
The new English middle class, on the other hand, is able to
mobilise those of the local petty bourgeoisie who stand to gain from industrial development and who may be used as "front men" in confrontation.

The adoption of political nationalism and the alignment of class fractions on ethnic lines in these marginalised areas therefore can be seen as a response to these issues. It is only through further detailed work of this kind that we shall uncover the real dynamics of ethnic mobilisation.

We have seen in this chapter how the Welsh question came increasingly to acquire a corporate existence in terms of institutions and policies. This has not, however, been an "automatic" process nor a "natural" one though many nationalists would claim that it should be seen as such. The 'Welsh way of life' conceals the mobilisation and counter-mobilisation of contending ideologies and alignments which can only be properly understood in relation to a much wider framework of analysis than that afforded by any geographical or political definition of what constitutes Wales.

A crucial role in the processes of mobilisation and counter-mobilisation has been played by the organisations involved in the development of Welsh broadcasting and it is to their institutional history that we must now move.
CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WELSH BROADCASTING

A history of broadcasting in Wales has still to be written (1) and is beyond the scope of the present study. Some account of the main landmarks, however, especially in the institutional growth of the BBC in Wales in response to political and cultural forces, is clearly crucial to any understanding of current communicator practices and ideologies for, as Ian Connell has eloquently put it (1979:69)

'broadcasting is not simply the sum of its signifying/ideological practices; it is a conjuncture of practices, economic and political as well as signifying/ideological.'

For the purposes of this study, it will be helpful to structure the account around five broad periods of development. As will become evident, these periods are, in general, flanked by the successive government inquiries which have punctuated the history of British broadcasting.

2. The aftermath of war and the restoration of regional broadcasting, 1945-50.

3.1 THE FOUNDATIONS OF WELSH BROADCASTING AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SEPARATION, 1923-39

For at least the first twelve years of its development, radio broadcasting in Wales, as in the rest of the United Kingdom, was inseparably tied to the monopolistic and centralist ideals of its founders. The objective was the establishment of a national public service. As Scannell and Cardiff point out (1976/77:18),

(1) An internal account of the development of the BBC in Wales by the former Information Officer of BBC Wales appeared in December 1981, after this research had been completed - Lucas, R. (1981) Voice of a Nation? A concise history of the BBC in Wales, Gomer, Llandysul

53.
'it was never the intention of the BBC to develop a system of localized broadcasting ... its efforts were directed towards creating a national programme transmitted from London and received throughout the country.'

It was technical limitations - the lack of long-range transmitters and the absence of relay stations which led to the setting up between 1922 and 1924 of stations in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Glasgow and Cardiff. The choice of these local sites was made deliberately with the aim of 'bringing the programmes within reach of the maximum number of people at a minimum cost to all concerned'. (BBC Year Book 1930:154). In the formative years of the 1920's and early 1930's, both technical planning and programme policy and output were directed at this single overriding aim of establishing the BBC as a national institution operating a national broadcasting system. Such an aim clearly presumed a national community whose needs were to come before any sectional interests whether cultural or geographical. While the programmes themselves might point to the existence of different social needs and listening publics, 'collectively, they reveal how the broadcasters conceived of the audience as a whole' as 'both a unity and a diversity ... the material transmitted ... amounting to a socio-cultural universe.' (Scannell and Cardiff, 1976/77:19).

The Cardiff station opened on 13th February, 1923 in Castle Street in the city centre and was known as 5 WA. It broadcast to Wales and to the West of England, initiating a link which has permanently bedevilled the aspirations of Welsh broadcasters. Two weeks later, the first Welsh language broadcast was transmitted from the station. Before this, the only regular broadcasts in the Welsh language originated from Radio Eireann.

The link with the west country was confirmed in 1927 when Cardiff was designated the centre for one of five regions (London, Midlands, North, Scotland and West) to supersede the local stations. Again the aim was to secure maximum coverage rather than to reflect any specifically regional socio-cultural characteristics. The new regions carried the bulk of the London output, and whatever output there was on the Regional Programme was small and, in only a limited sense, "regional" in character. The alternative network was a strategy designed purely to forestall accusations that the monopoly was restricting listener choice. In any event the new
regional stations were essentially subordinate to the central National Programme. 'The system was not set up as a balance of forces between London and the rest of the country, between metropolitan and provincial, regional or local interests and needs, but as a centralised metropolitan network to serve the needs of the whole country; and some element of choice was clearly necessary, but that alternative was very much of a muchness.' (Scannell and Cardiff, 1976/77:19).

The growth and development of radio broadcasting in this formative period represented the dissemination of cultural ideals which an increasingly powerful professional section of the middle class were shaping in support of their claim to social authority. (Perkin, 1974:252). Imbued with a high sense of moral purpose and community service in the liberal and high cultural tradition elaborated by Mill and Arnold, it was this new intelligentsia of writers, journalists, civil servants, educationists and professional men who not only gained access to the microphone as broadcasters or acted as advisors on various advisory committees, but also entered the BBC's service as producers and administrators.

Typical of this new socio-cultural elite was E.R. Appleton, the West Regional Director of 5 WA, whose career and accomplishments one newspaper columnist highlighted in this notice:

'Mr. E.R. Appleton, who has acquired a reputation throughout the country for his Sunday "Silent Fellowship", has done considerable work towards the provision of wireless sets for the sick. He has spared no personal effort in raising funds for this object. Mr. Appleton has had an interesting career. He has been editor of "The Beacon" and Mathematics Master at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth. He is a good musician, and also has a literary bent.' (Express 2/4/28)

A look at the programme schedules of the period soon reveals a station output reflective of these personal interests, with broadcasts of classical music, religious worship, and meditation very much in evidence, together with talks on literary and educational subjects: a cultural fare, in fact, which reproduced on a more limited scale that of the National London Programme. It was not, however, an output received without criticism as a reading of the correspondence columns of the local press for the period shows. Typical of many such critics was this Cardiff correspondent to the Evening Express:
'May I suggest that the BBC perhaps overlooks the fact that a large majority of their listeners consist of people who desire, above all, entertainment; and it is not entertaining or pleasant to listen to an orchestral item which consists, to them, of one theme repeated ad infinitum, under various guises, for fifteen minutes on end, without lilt or rhythm ....

Throughout the Cardiff programmes there appears to be a bias towards ultra classical music, and I venture to say that this somewhat abnormal preference is becoming more prominent week by week. Possibly one would call it raising the tone of the station, but it is not entertainment. (29/9/26).

It was not only the conservative attitude of the Corporation towards music and to demands for popular entertainment which aroused criticism. There was also that "sensitive" area of the spoken word, the "talk", which, as Cardiff has shown (1980), was the vehicle through which the BBC hoped to diffuse knowledge and "control" debate on contentious issues.

'When are the BBC talks to be abolished?' asked a South Wales Echo reader in a letter published on September 27th, 1928. He continues:

'Listeners are simply "fed-up" with lectures night after night, and one cannot wonder that people are scrapping their receiving sets and substituting the gramophone.

To my mind, with their octets, quintets, sextets and all the other "ets", coupled with the "talking machines", the programmes are nothing short of a washout.'

More insistent than these protests against the BBC's high cultural policies, which were voiced in any case by listeners in other parts of the United Kingdom, were the demands in Wales and the west country for more autonomous radio services. As early as January 1927, the Bristol branch of the Wireless League began campaigning for a studio centre in Bristol to serve the particular needs of west country listeners and to end the long journeys made by contributors having to travel to Cardiff. At the same time the Welsh-speaking intelligentsia began to argue the case for a station to be established exclusively for Welsh language programmes. One of its early advocates was Iorwerth Peate who, in an interview for the South Wales News maintained:
'There is a great need for such an institution at the present time, and it would do much to foster and encourage the Welsh national spirit. In one particular respect its utility would be tremendous - I refer to the appreciation of Welsh drama which at present is altogether neglected by the wireless. Given a Welsh broadcasting station, there would be unrivalled opportunities for popularising Welsh dramatic works, which in the past have suffered a lack of publicity. Welsh music too would come into its own. The programmes at present broadcast to Welsh listeners do little or nothing to enlighten Welsh-speaking people on the subject of their own national achievements.' (23/8/27).

In the same month (August 1927), a report by the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education on the Welsh Language described the BBC's policy of ignoring Welsh as a serious menace to the life of the language. The Report argued that, as a result of such a policy, 'the English language had been brought into the homes of thousands of Welshmen who hitherto neither heard nor spoke English.' (2)

As demands were voiced for the reversal of this policy, so too were they condemned with equal intensity by non-Welsh-speaking listeners, many being moved to outbursts of scathing ferocity as this correspondent in the South Wales Echo:

'Every bee has its bonnet and the latest to escape in this Wales of ours is represented by the suggestion that a Welsh broadcasting station should be inflicted upon the people, as if we have not enough already to put up with. Except in the minds of some fanatical Welshmen, the demand for a broadcasting station is about equal to the desire for a Welsh Navy!

From time to time, Mr. Appleton in his pandering to the Welsh people has sent on the Welsh plays from Cardiff, and anything more terrible and devoid of intelligence it would be impossible to listen to. Why should we tolerate such awful things when there are excellent English plays the people are yearning to have broadcast? ........

........... I hope readers who wish to be spared this terrible proposal will inundate their members of Parliament with strong protests.' (2/9/27).

Equally sceptical about the wisdom of the proposal were the officials of
the Cardiff station who said that they could find no evidence of any unanimous
demand for an entirely Welsh programme in Wales itself and that its creation would
serve only a section of the Welsh people and entail an unnecessarily large expense.

Nevertheless, over the next seven years, persistent nationalist pressure was
built up from large numbers of organisations and individuals, a number of whom
gained access to the microphone and thus secured some increase of Welsh language
output from the Cardiff station. Even so, as the 1927 Handbook stressed, one of
the obstacles to further expansion was the BBC's inability to secure complete
technical coverage of Wales. In November 1929, the Council of the University of
Wales petitioned the BBC unsuccessfully for a high power station to serve the
Principality and for more extensive use of the Welsh language in broadcasting. In
its official response to such demands, the BBC explained its inability as being the
result of the scarcity of wavelengths and the mountainous character of central Wales.

Meanwhile, the concession of a small talks studio for Bristol which eventually
opened in 1933 in Queen's Road, Clifton, followed by a larger studio centre at
Whiteladies Road, led to intensified demands for a Welsh language service. In
the same year in fact as part of the BBC's general reorganisation of regional broadcasting
a new high-power West regional transmitting station was opened at Washford Cross
near Watchet. The smaller existing transmitters at Cardiff and Swansea were
dismantled shortly afterwards. (Briggs, 1965:313). A radio lecture by the Plaid
Cymru leader, Saunders Lewis had been banned by the BBC on the grounds that it was
'calculated to inflame Welsh national sympathies.' (Daily Herald, 11/12/31). In
order to meet the demand of North Wales listeners for programmes which they
could not receive from Cardiff, the BBC had in fact agreed in October 1931 to use
the Daventry long wave station to provide a short daily programme for that area.
The following summer, the Welsh Nationalist Party, at their conference, had
considered the possibility of organising a campaign to refuse payment of wireless
licences until a more adequate service was forthcoming, while at their summer school
there was talk of broadcasting from a pirate radio ship in the Bristol Channel. The
introduction of schools' broadcasts in February 1933 and a daily five minute news
bulletin in Welsh in January 1934 still provided only a meagre four hours a week.

(3) The Broadcasting Service in Wales, BBC, January, 1931.

58.
while the intention to provide additional wavelengths for Scotland and Northern Ireland only added fuel to the Welsh campaign. A further attempt to secure a Welsh transmitting station by the Broadcasting Committee of the Council of the University in February 1934, though meeting with rejection again at the hands of BBC officials in London, did result, however, in two significant concessions: the promise of a studio in Bangor for facilitating the relaying of programmes from North Wales and the erection of one or more low-power relay transmitters to cover the neglected areas of north and central Wales. Meanwhile, the National Union of Welsh Societies demanded a Welsh-speaking Programme Director for Wales, while, at a Plaid Cymru meeting in Bangor in March 1934, the party leader, Saunders Lewis argued for an autonomous Welsh Broadcasting Corporation. (Chronicle, 2/3/34).

In all this relentless pressure for national recognition, one cannot mistake the crucial role taken by the Welsh-speaking elite, most of them involved in the Welsh literary and academic scene or the Nonconformist ministry. The influence of university academics is particularly striking as the spearhead of the new ethnic consciousness. Hence, as was argued earlier, the language was becoming a rallying point against the prevailing hegemony exerted by the traditionally anglicised governing class. Significantly, the native intelligentsia subscribed to the same basic values of the literate, book-based, high cultural tradition honoured by their English and Anglo-Welsh peers. Their opposition of course stemmed from the fact that this tradition was not being encouraged to express itself and develop in their own language.

Their ideals, especially in relation to broadcasting, were not shared, however, by other social classes as this leader in the Welsh language weekly Y Cymro reveals. Following the decision to site a station in Bangor, the writer foresaw a threat to what he called 'good Welsh entertainment in Welsh homes' in the growing control of broadcasting by the University:

'While we believe that the advisability of selecting Bangor is open to question, we are more concerned with the fact that the cold hands of the University are beginning to grasp the policy of the BBC in Wales. The University of Wales, which is a purely instructional institution, cannot represent the real needs of the Welsh people in the enjoyment of the wireless in their homes.' (Y Cymro, 2nd March, 1934). (4)

(4) This translation also appeared in the North Wales Chronicle on March 2nd, 1934.
The drive for a separate service was not confined to one side of the Bristol Channel, however, as the radio critic of the Daily Mail observed:

"The West country folk are getting fed up to the teeth at the preponderance of programmes in the Welsh language emanating from the West Regional Station ... it is ridiculous for this station to be called the West Regional at all. It should be called the "Welsh" Regional and left at that. Last week, so it has been emphasized to me, there were no fewer than 19 items, all of Welsh appeal. Does the BBC forget that this station serves listeners in Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, Somerset, Gloucestershire and Cornwall?" (30/7/34).

The allegation of a "preponderance of programmes in the Welsh language" was taken up with relish by the North Wales Chronicle in the issue following this notice, commenting:

"Surely it is the very meagre allowance of Welsh programmes which is the cause of all the talk at present. One thing does stand out clearly, however, and that is that programmes which suit the Principality do not suit the Delectable Duchy. Nor can we expect them to be in the slightest bit interested in dissertations on abstruse or concrete subjects in Welsh - a language they do not understand. We in Wales are similarly not interested in the dialectical doings of Jan Stewer of Widdicombe. Such is the problem in a nutshell. There have to be "West" Regional and "Welsh" Regional stations, and the sooner the two are divorced from this unnatural etymological alliance the better." (3/8/34).

The issues involved in the campaign to secure separation and autonomy have been dealt with at some length because they have proved enduring in the whole course of Welsh broadcasting history. There is a familiar ring to the arguments and counter arguments in the correspondence columns of the 1930's, and they have continued to rage in each succeeding period of Welsh development. The recent debate over the purpose for which the 4th television channel should be allocated in Wales has seen many of these issues restated with an even greater degree of intensity and sense of desperation.

In a 12 year anniversary review in the Western Mail, the Rev. Gwilym Davies reflected on the formative strategies which had guided BBC policy in Wales during the period:
The Cardiff studio was officially opened by Sir William Noble, a director of the old British Broadcasting Company and Sir John Reith. Nothing on that occasion was said in Welsh, although Sir William Noble did refer to 5 WA as "the Welsh Broadcasting Station."

Officially nobody has ever used the title since the opening night. And "5 WA" in its turn yielded to the "Western Region", the open and visible symbol of the BBC attempt, as a BBC Year Book picturesquely put it, "to re-unite the Kingdom of Arthur after centuries of separation by the Bristol Channel."

Today Wales, as a nation, is unique in Europe in that she has no wireless transmitter upon her soil. On a broadcast map of Europe, Wales is a blank. (13/2/35)

On this issue of a separate transmitter the BBC finally conceded in April 1935 following a powerful joint deputation from the Welsh Parliamentary Party and the University Advisory Committee on Broadcasting. An additional transmitter near Plymouth was to be provided for the West of England so that the exciting West regional transmitter at Washford Cross could be used exclusively to carry the service from Wales. A small number of Welsh-speaking staff had already recently been recruited, and nine further posts, for which Welsh was an essential qualification, were made later the same year. In September the old Western Region formally disappeared to be replaced by two separate regions called the Welsh Region and the West of England Region. It was not until 1937, however, that this became a reality when Wales secured a wavelength of its own. As Briggs says (1965:321),

"this was made possible by synchronising the Scottish national wavelength with the wavelength of London and the North Region, thus releasing an extra wavelength so that the two old West Regional transmitters could function as transmitters of two regions - one for Wales and one for the West Region."

3.2 THE AFTERMATH OF WAR AND THE RESTORATION OF REGIONAL BROADCASTING, 1945-50

While the regions found their activities radically curtailed during the Second World War, with no regional wavelengths, they, nevertheless, made significant contributions to the Home Programme and, later on, the Forces and Overseas Programmes. (Briggs, 1970:541-3; 1979:84)
The demand for a more populist programme policy which the war brought about and which led to the opening of the Forces Programme in 1940, was reflected in the programme output of the Welsh Region. Apart from maintaining its now established patronage of Welsh music, both orchestral and choral, and broadcasting talks by well known personalities on historical and literary subjects, the war period saw the development of significant new forms of popular light entertainment programming in both English and Welsh such as "Welsh Rarebit" and "Sut Hwyl?"; light verse competitions and discussion programmes in which the voices of the working class - colliers, quarrymen and tenant farmers - were heard on the air for the first time. (BBC Year Book 1943:37-39). The regional report for 1944 also speaks of the significant development of 'community outside broadcasts in which a whole locality unites in a programme of hymn singing or miscellaneous items for forces overseas.' (BBC Year Book 1944:66).

Significantly too, from 1942 onwards, all the Regional Directors were asked to attend monthly meetings in London to discuss programme plans with the central controllers. There were frequent complaints from the regions of excessive "centralisation", and, as Briggs shows (1979:50-55; 84-95), their apprehensions were not helped by the long, conflicting discussions about the whole future structure of radio, including regional broadcasting, which went on in the last two years of the war. There was talk in some quarters that regional broadcasting might be eliminated after the war. (5) The view from the regions, however, was unequivocal as the responses of the Regional Directors to a paper by Director-General Robert Foot, issued in 1943, clearly showed. (Briggs, 1979:85-93) John Coatman, the North Regional Director, in particular, argued powerfully for the devolution of broadcasting as the only way of revitalising the unity of the British nation as a whole. (6) BBC thinking centrally, however, was worried that greater autonomy in regional broadcasting would involve greater political interference in programme policies and standards through the involvement of local M.P.'s in regional affairs. Nevertheless, regional broadcasting was duly restored in July 1945, and this coincided with the introduction of the new

(5) The Senior Controller, Basil Nicholls argued vigorously for three essentially "British" programmes.

(6) He had no sympathy with nationalist and separatist policies in Wales and Scotland whose primary function, he believed, was to serve the inclusive British nation of which they were a part.
Home, Light and Third Programme services. The return from the war of regional administrators and producers ushered in a period of steady expansion of regional output. Shortage of wavelengths for Home Service listeners, however, restricted the number of regions to six - three English regions, together with Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the latter sharing a wavelength with the North.

The policy of regional broadcasting, as conceived by the BBC, was designed to serve two functions: to provide an output that would meet the distinctive needs and interests of listeners within the respective regional areas, and to reflect these distinctive features to the other regions and areas which collectively formed the national audience. In order to secure its own regional service, each region was given the freedom to "opt out" of the basic Home Service Programme at certain periods in the day. Although these were never fixed or agreed, it soon came to be understood that some periods of the day were more suitable for the practice than others, and that while it was acceptable to opt out of certain kinds of material, it was expected that some areas of output would be taken without exception by all regions. (7)

Demands for greater autonomy grew, however, as regional expertise matured. This in turn reactivated many of the hopes and divisions which had beset the earliest period of broadcasting. This was especially so in Wales. Thus, on the one hand, those who wished to see a more comprehensive broadcasting service, especially in the Welsh language, complained bitterly of the inadequate coverage in some areas. In music, for example, many bemoaned the lack of a Welsh orchestra. In some quarters, there were frequent demands for a separate corporation to serve Welsh broadcasting needs. Undeb Cymru Fydd demanded a separate charter for Wales. (Western Mail 29/11/45; Cambrian News 20/3/46). A number of the Welsh County Councils also supported this demand, notably Flintshire, Caernarvon, Anglesey, Merioneth and Brecon. On the other hand, there were equally strong complaints of an excess of regional material, especially from non-Welsh speakers who wanted fewer not more Welsh language programmes. Thus emerged what BBC regional planners have

(7) It was not in fact until the development of Radio Wales and Radio Cymru from 1978 onwards that there was any attempt to replace network U.K. news bulletins and current affairs programmes such as The World at One and The World Tonight with alternative material.
subsequently termed the "deprivation factor" as listeners began to complain bitterly of the practice of opting out of national programmes which they wished to hear. A Merthyr listener (and a member of the local council) protested that he wanted to hear ITMA with Tommy Handley on Sunday evening not Welsh language programmes. (Merthyr Express, 30/3/46). But it was not only in Wales that some listeners felt deprived of better programmes. Protests were especially numerous in the North, in Scotland and the West country, described by one writer as having 'the worst of England Home Service.' (Time and Tide, 26/1/46).

It was certainly the language issue which provoked the sharpest division in Wales. According to a Western Mail report on the new Welsh service (5/6/46), roughly half those who wrote in to the BBC demanded more programmes in Welsh, and about a half wanted more programmes in English.

There were few broadcasters at this time who believed that Wales could be, or even needed to be, self sufficient in terms of programme output. The Welsh Controller, Alun Oldfield-Davies told a group of Welsh M.P.'s in June 1946 that there was 'not enough talent ...... in Wales to sustain a full continuous programme,' (Liverpool Daily Post, 5/6/46) a view that was seen by many Welsh speakers in West and North Wales as a cover for what they saw as the BBC's over-dependence on actors and performers who lived within easy travel distance of the Cardiff studio. The real issue at stake, however, lay much deeper. Oldfield-Davies was very much a product of the Welsh Liberal Nonconformist tradition whose cultural ideal was a bilingual Wales in which the best of the nation's literature, music and artistic life, nourished and sustained by broadcasting and other sources of patronage, would continue to flourish within the wider institutional and cultural framework of the British state. It was precisely this framework which nationalist writers such as Saunders Lewis and Iorwerth Peate were moved to denounce as oppressive and destructive of Welsh life. For them the incorporation of Wales into the United Kingdom was the very source of the destruction for which the only salvation was independence - political, economic and cultural. For the time being, however, such voices, though powerful, were contained within the prevailing hegemony.

Controversy apart, the immediate post-war period was a highly formative and fruitful era in Welsh radio broadcasting in both languages. In music, there was the
formation of the BBC Welsh Orchestra and Welsh Singers, providing active encouragement for the performance of new Welsh music. (Annual Report and Accounts, 1946-47; Radio Times, 1/11/46). In drama, there was the establishment of a repertory company in Cardiff in 1946 providing a nucleus of professional performers who were later to provide the basis for the development of television drama in Wales. But for the moment it was a golden age for Welsh radio in which producers such as P.H. Burton and Dafydd Gruffydd made the Welsh region an important centre for features and drama production both for regional and network programmes. Among the new writers who first began to write for the medium was Dylan Thomas whose story Return Journey led to the commissioning of the poet's celebrated verse play Under Milk Wood. (BBC Year Book 1948:89). In the production of Welsh language drama, apart from a number of important original plays, there were translations of Antigone and King Lear, all of which pointed, in Oldfield-Davies' view, to a "cultural renaissance". Briggs (1979:124) has seen this period in BBC history, from 1942 to 1948, as one of 'extreme centralisation.' One of its products was the establishment in each of the regions of regional advisory councils.

3.3 FROM RADIO TO TELEVISION: BEVERIDGE AND PILKINGTON, 1950-63

The 1940's drew to a close with growing uncertainty not only about the future of regional broadcasting but also about the whole future position of the BBC. With the expiry of the Charter on the horizon, and, more immediately, demands from various interests for an end to the monopoly to boost a new television service funded by advertising, there were plenty of issues unresolved as regional managements met in the spring of 1950 to receive the members of the Beveridge Committee of Inquiry.

The presentation of regional evidence concerned the BBC centrally: it did not wish to have the regions putting forward recommendations which conflicted with the BBC's general thinking. It therefore insisted that the Regional Advisory Councils should give evidence "through the BBC." At the same time it prepared a special note on the three national regions explaining that they were serving national not regional audiences and that regional controllers had great freedom to develop regional programmes on an independent basis. (8) Beveridge himself was particularly interested in regionalism, more so than in television. Sharing a deep sense of public service, he also

had a distaste for monopoly and was concerned about the effect of dictatorship in matters of taste and opinion from London.

The regional submissions, while paying tribute to the BBC's 'high purpose' generally and warning of the consequences that could follow if commercial interests secured a hold in broadcasting, nevertheless put the case for a much wider degree of regional freedom than existed under the present system. The most forthright statement was made in the evidence from the North region where the influence of John Coatsman was particularly strong. The response from Wales was no less forthright. In its statement, The Welsh Advisory Council argued that 'within the pattern of British broadcasting', Wales should be seen as 'a national broadcasting unit and not a mere region of the BBC.' It proposed that there should be a television transmitter on Welsh soil and a separate television studio in Wales. More staff, studios and transmitters generally were also called for in order to secure 'more broadcasting in both languages.' (9)

Important as this case was in presenting the evidence for a Welsh identity, it did not satisfy nationalist opinion which wanted Wales to have its own independent broadcasting corporation under a new charter. (10)

On this crucial issue, the Beveridge Report, published in January 1951, recommended the creation not of a separate Broadcasting Corporation but a separate National Commission for Wales along with similar commissions for Scotland and Northern Ireland. (11) Each commission was to have its own wavelength, block grant and Home Service to run though the precise powers to be given to the commissions were to be left to the BBC. In this way, the Report argued, 'centralising unity in London' would be replaced by 'federal harmony.' (12) As far as the English regions were concerned, there was to be no such constitutional change though it was urged that regional autonomy in programme terms should be made more 'substantial'. (13)

(10) Cmnd. 8117, p 437
(11) Cmnd. 8116, pp 160-1, para. 535
(12) Cmnd. 8116, pp 160-1, para. 535
(13) Cmnd. 8116, pp 161, para. 536
While welcomed generally in Wales as in Scotland, these proposals were seen as inadequate by the nationalists. The response of the Labour Government was slow and protracted. The Governors of the BBC had severe doubts about the new structure, while the Controller of the Home Service, Lindsay Wellington saw the new national commissions as a threat to the unity of the existing Home Service and to programme standards.

The debate about Beveridge raged for the next two years and was accompanied by an intense struggle between the traditional supporters of the BBC and those who demanded competition and an end to the monopoly. The return of a new Conservative Government in the autumn of 1951 marked the beginning of the end of the monopoly. Already, earlier in the year, however, the Labour Government had given its support to a proposal to establish National Broadcasting Councils for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, with the Chairman of each Council sitting on the main Board of Governors as National Governors. The Councils were to meet at frequent intervals to deal with issues of programme policy, including finance and capital development in their areas. When it was renewed in 1952, the BBC’s Charter required the Corporation to establish these National Broadcasting Councils. The first Chairman and National Governor for Wales was Lord Macdonald of Gwaunysgor.

In the years between 1952 and the next major inquiry into British broadcasting by the Pilkington Committee in 1960, television replaced radio as the dominant medium of broadcasting. The change was, however, something far more than simply a great technical and engineering achievement. It was the product of a period of tremendous economic growth which in turn engendered important social changes, among them the aspiration to acquire a far wider range of consumer durables and a much fuller use of personal leisure. It was a new mood very much in tune with the Conservative party’s policy of "setting the people free", and freedom in this context meant choice, competition. In sociological terms, as Williams has indicated (1974:27), much of the change was a result of people being increasingly ‘home centred’ as the Conservatives engaged in a massive programme of private house building, and, as Briggs reminds us (1979:429), ‘every new home came to want its aerial and its new television set.’ This alliance of consumerism and competition prepared the ground for the second great change of the 1950’s - the advent of commercial television.
The beginnings of television broadcasting in Wales date from the summer of 1952 when the BBC began transmissions from a studio housed in a former Presbyterian church in Broadway, Cardiff. The transmitter at Wenvoe, on the western outskirts of the city, covered (once again) South Wales and the West of England, an arrangement, as with radio broadcasting in the 1920's and 1930's, that was to anger many viewers on both sides of the channel. As far as London was concerned, the Cardiff studio was principally a regional outpost for network production which indeed it became increasingly from 1955 onwards. 64 programmes from the studio were networked in its first year, and between 1955 and 1959 no fewer than 24 drama productions were screened nationally. Much of this success in television drama was due to two outstanding producers D. J. Thomas and Dafydd Gruffydd (now transferred from radio) who flourished under the talented Head of Programmes of the time, Tywyl Davies. It was a period in which many famous Welsh actors and performers first made their appearances on the small screen, stars such as Sian Phillips, Glyn Houston, Stanley Baker and Sir Geraint Evans. (14)

Local output in the Welsh language, however, was very small. Facilities for news, talks and current affairs production were primitive. With no local telecine, film inserts had to be run remotely from Alexandra Palace, and to reach the complete Welsh language audience, programmes had to be transmitted from three English transmitters at off peak times when these were not carrying English language network programmes. Hence there programmes were usually screened in the lunch hour or very late at night, frequently, in fact, after 11 p.m. and sometimes after midnight. Even so, some parts of Wales could not receive them. It was to this situation that the Broadcasting Council for Wales addressed itself in its evidence to the Pilkington Committee at the end of the decade.

The situation in radio during the same period gave considerably less cause for concern. Reviewing recent developments in its evidence to the Committee, the University of Wales paid tribute to the Welsh Home Service, citing it as an illustration of what the television service lacked. (15) The Honourable Society of

(14) See: Terry Campbell, 'Give our regards to Broadway', Western Mail, 11th December, 1979.
Cymraddorion and Undeb Cymru Fydd (The New Wales Union) were similarly complimentary, though they called for more Welsh language programmes and at peak listening hours. Plaid Cymru, however, was strongly critical, observing that there were insufficient Welsh items in the service and that its general attitude was English. (16)

Meanwhile, in 1956, the Independent Television Authority made it known that they would grant a licence for South Wales and the West of England. The lessons learned from the BBC’s experience in radio and now in television had clearly gone unheeded. According to Davies (1974:50), it was estimated that between 10 and 14 groups were formed to bid for the franchise, with two major groups faintly mirroring the Conservative-Liberal rivalries of Cardiff newspapers in the last century.

Prominent in the ultimately successful TWW group was W. Emsley Carr, chairman of the News of the World and the son of Sir Emsley Carr. The other group included the Hon. Edward Davies, whose forebears had fought to develop Barry Dock and break Bute’s monopoly in Cardiff.

The successful TWW consortium, which was given the franchise in October 1956, and started transmissions in January 1958, was a classical alliance of business enterprise with a prestigious array of local notabilities. Headed by Emsley Carr and Mark Chapman Walker, the manager of the News of the World, who had also been active in the lobby for setting up commercial television, the group also included as chairman, Lord Derby, who had connections with the Jack Hylton organisation.

Others who had links with the entertainment industry or media enterprises included Sidney Gilliatt, the writer and film producer; Herbert Agar, an American historian, who was director of the publishers Rupert Hart Davis and also a member of the executive council of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre; Viscount Cilcennin, the former M.P. for Hereford; and Alfred Francis, the administrator general of the Old Vic Theatre and later of the Welsh National Opera. Representing Welsh interests on the company were Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards, the founder of Urdd Gobaith Cymru; Alderman Huw T. Edwards, the chairman of the Council for Wales and Monmouthshire; Lt. Col. Harry Lewellyn, the showjumper and industrialist; Sir Grismond Phillips, the Lord Lieutenant of Carmarthenshire, and D.V.P. Lewis, at that time a member of Brecon County Council but who later as Lord Brecon was to

(16) Cmnd. 1753, p.140.

69.
become Minister of State for Wales. As far as the first two were concerned, they had joined the group in the hope that it would serve the needs of Welsh culture. Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards said he believed the group was genuinely interested in minority cultures, and indeed all the groups bidding for the franchise had given assurances that they would honour their obligations to minority programming.

From the outset, however, it was clear that the demands of advertisers were to weigh heavily against these obligations. The other problem facing the new contractors was that which had faced the BBC, of maintaining some balance between the interests of their audience in South Wales with those of the audience in the West of England.

When, therefore, the Pilkington Committee came to consider the future of the broadcasting services in 1960-61, it found, as did its predecessor, considerable dissatisfaction in Wales and in Scotland with those services, but whereas ten years earlier television had been the junior partner it had now become the major partner.

'The basis of the Welsh criticism', declared the Report,

'is that because of a shortage of frequencies, neither the BBC nor independent television can provide a programme exclusively for Wales: the same transmitters must serve parts of England as well as parts of Wales. Both programmes have, therefore, to suit the tastes of both their Welsh and English audiences. The Welsh view, held very strongly, is that, while this is so, the special needs of Welsh audiences cannot be satisfied. According to some',

the Report went on,

'such was the influence of television that unless in the very near future enough Welsh-speaking programmes were put on in peak viewing hours, the cause of the Welsh language and of Welsh culture would suffer irreparable harm.' (17)

Responding to what it claimed to have found to be 'the widely representative and emphatic view that the television services do not meet Welsh needs', the Committee recommended that by drawing on available frequencies in Band III, (18) the BBC should be enabled to separate its service to Wales from that to the English regions. It further recommended that the National Broadcasting Council for Wales assume responsibility for the new Welsh television service in the same way as for the Welsh Home Service in radio.

(17) Cmd. 1735, p.35
(18) The division by international agreement of the frequency spectrum into Bands allocated to particular services forms part of International Regulations. Band III (VHF 174-216 Mc/s) was occupied in part only at this time by the ITV Programme. See: Cmd. 1753, pp.4-7, 234.
It is significant that the decision to grant this responsibility to the Council was taken in spite of strong representations made to the Pilkington Committee that a Welsh Broadcasting Corporation be set up to control Welsh broadcasting in sound and television. This was urged by Undeb Cymru Fydd (the New Wales Union), the National Conference on Television for Wales Continuation Committee (19), Plaid Cymru, Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru (the National Union of Teachers of Wales), and the National Committee of Common wealth.

The University of Wales, the Honourable Society of Cymmerdorion, the Association of Welsh Local Authorities, and Urdd Gobaith Cymru (the Welsh League of Youth) also wanted a service for Wales but did not specify whether this should be provided by the BBC or by some other body. Other organisations were satisfied to leave responsibility for the new service to the National Broadcasting Council. (20)

While supporting a separate BBC service for Wales, the Committee felt unable to recommend the separation of the Independent Television Service in Wales from that to England. In reaching this conclusion, the Committee said it was influenced by two factors: the lack of demand for such a separation (Welsh demand being almost entirely for a service provided either by the BBC or by a Welsh Broadcasting Corporation); and the severe practical difficulties which such a separation would entail. These would involve a change of channel for one of the West of England services and a re-drawing of the areas served by certain programme contractors. (21)

The Report observed that while, in principle, the structure of independent television was far more decentralised than that of the BBC, in practice, because of the policy of networking material for a single service, and because parts of Wales lay within the areas of companies also serving parts of England, it had failed to develop adequate regional or local services. (22)

(19) One of the ways in which Undeb Cymru Fydd had kept up sustained pressure for Welsh causes was through initiating national conferences on major issues. In 1959, it asked the Lord Mayor of Cardiff to call a national conference to discuss the future of Welsh television, as a result of which a continuation committee was set up to keep up the pressure on the authorities. Among the members of the committee were Dr. B. Haydn Williams, Sir Cennya'd Traherne, and T.I. Ellis who were later to lead the abortive TV company Wales, West and North. (See below pp. 73-4 )

(20) Cmnd. 1753, p. 141.


(22) Cmnd. 1753, pp. 66-7, paras. 203-5.
It will have become apparent from the foregoing survey of Welsh broadcasting down to the early 1960’s that its development was closely linked with the growth of the new ethnic awareness and with nationalist politics, and that these forces exerted considerable pressure on the established institutions of broadcasting. It seems clear also that the broadcasters themselves responded to these influences and in some respects reflected them in their programmes, with the result that the increasing degree of autonomy granted to the broadcasters made their activities subject to growing scrutiny by the politicians. In two areas in particular the shadow of the state posed severe problems for the broadcasters: the allocation of time for party political broadcasts, and the treatment of news and current affairs.

The former issue was a source of contention between Plaid Cymru and other political parties almost continuously from 1946, and a proposal by the Broadcasting Council for Wales in 1955 to grant local broadcasts to each of the political parties was vetoed by the Postmaster-General, Charles Hill with the support of the Conservative and Labour party organisations in Wales. (BBC Handboook 1961:110)

The reporting of news and current affairs released even severer tensions when, in the House of Commons in January 1956, David Llewellyn, the Conservative Member of Parliament for Cardiff North accused the Welsh Region of the BBC of 'a distinct bias in favour of Welsh nationalism and Plaid Cymru, in favour of the Parliament for Wales campaign, and in favour of the individuals who support those movements.' (23)

Llewellyn, along with six other Welsh M.P.'s (2 Conservative and 4 Labour), demanded an official inquiry.

This was not the first instance of direct political accusations being made against Welsh broadcasting. In 1950, the Welsh Regional Council of Labour had made similar allegations of nationalist bias which the BBC’s Director General, Sir William Haley ordered to be the subject of an internal inquiry. The Council refused to accept the Corporation’s account of certain incidents and these were taken up again in 1956 in the Ince Inquiry which the Conservative Government agreed to set up in response to Llewellyn’s accusations. (24) The Committee’s report was presented in November 1956 and in general it exonerated the conduct of the broadcasters. (25) While rejecting allegations of deliberate bias, it did make some

(23) 548 HC Deb. Fifth Series, c618, 30 January 1956.
(24) The Committee of Inquiry was chaired by Sir Godfrey Ince and its other members were John Beavan and H.V. Lloyd Jones, Q.C.
criticism of the presentation of news, though much of the lack of balance alleged, the report claimed, was due to peculiar organisational factors such as the dependence on local correspondents and the difficulty of finding competent Welsh speakers to take part in programmes. (26)

Though the report vindicated the professional competence of the broadcast journalists, there is no doubt that it induced in the 1960's an ultra sensitive caution in the handling of political subjects bordering at times on open neglect in the reporting of Plaid Cymru activities and policies. This caution, it can be argued, receded only towards the end of the 1960's with the general resurgence of nationalist politics at the ballot box and in the cultural arena (particularly as broadcasting itself became the site of ideological struggle), and also with the arrival of a new wave of recruits to Welsh broadcasting more openly supportive of this resurgence. Many of these new broadcasters are to be found among the production personnel whose work and attitudes are examined in this study.

The ramifications of the resurgence were by no means confined to the BBC. They figured also in the attempt to establish a Welsh commercial television company in 1961. Although the Pilkington Committee had ruled against a separate ITV service for Wales, dissatisfaction with the inadequate provision made for Welsh language programmes by TWW and with the inconvenient hours at which they were transmitted had been growing for some time, and sustained pressure for a review of existing services had been maintained, as we have seen, by the Wales Television Continuation Committee. Although wary of such a venture, the ITA was unable to resist the demand for a new independent company to provide an all-Welsh service in the face of the considerable dissatisfaction that existed with the meagre provision made at the time by the two companies engaged in any degree of Welsh language production — TWW in the South, which was based in Bristol, and Granada TV in the North, which was based in Manchester. Moreover, other medium sized companies were proving to be financially successful. In the summer of 1961, after interviewing four groups, the ITA agreed to award a contract to a consortium calling itself the Wales Television Association whose chairman was Dr. B. Haydn Williams, the Director of Education for Flintshire and a leading figure of the Television Continuation Committee. The Board of the new company, which became known as Wales, West and North (WWN) and

(more pertinently) in Welsh as Teledu Cymru (Wales Television), consisted of some of the most prestigious figures in Welsh cultural and political life, but none of them had had any experience in the media or the entertainment industry. Apart from its chairman, the list included, among others, Colonel Cennydd Traherne, Lord Lieutenant of Glamorgan; Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru; Alderman Llewelyn Heycock, Chairman of Glamorgan County Education Committee; Lady Olwen Carey Evans, daughter of David Lloyd George; Sir David Hughes Parry; Dr. Thomas Parry, Principal of University College, Aberystwyth; T.I. Ellis of Undeb Cymru Fydd; Sir Thomas Parry-Williams, Professor of Welsh at Aberystwyth; and Emrys Roberts, a former Liberal M.P., for Merioneth.

Though pledged at the outset to the transmission of Welsh language programmes in prime time, within a matter of months, the company’s initial schedules revealed that such programmes would, in fact, be placed between 6 pm and 7 pm and between 10 pm and 11 pm. It was not that they had willfully reneged on their promises: rather were they the hapless victims of the harsh realities of commercial broadcasting. Transmissions began in September 1962. By July 1963, the company had lost nearly £300,000. Welsh language programmes were suspended to avoid further losses, and the company had to be rescued by TWW.

The causes of the collapse are not hard to uncover: three factors in particular were clearly responsible. First, sheer extravagance: the company constructed what were described as the most modern studios in Europe, with an array of new equipment costing over £100,000. Second, an unattractive and unviable market for advertisers: it served a poor, sparsely populated, mountainous region already overlapped to a large extent by other commercial companies. Third, lack of hard managerial experience: the Board was over large, few of its members having sufficient time to give proper attention to company affairs. Hence there was no coherent realistic strategy.

The case of WWN provides a classic illustration of the commercial context within which independent television operates. As with the subsequent crisis of London Weekend TV in 1962 (Murdock, 1977a:26-7; Smith, 1974:129-132), the attempt to serve minority interests foundered on the relentless logic of the profit motive and the competition for audiences in the quest for organisational survival.
The whole episode starkly demonstrates Elliott's observation (1977:165) that variations in contemporary media culture are 'comparatively rare, unstable and grounded in the margins of the cultural process in democratic capitalist society.'

3.4 FROM PILKINGTON TO ANNAN: THE EMERGENCE OF THE FOURTH CHANNEL DEBATE, 1963-77

The years spanning these two major inquiries into British broadcasting saw tremendous changes in the broadcasting services, both internally in terms of structure, organisation and recruitment, and also externally in terms of their programme output and their relationships with their different audiences. The inherent problems posed by the duopoly, which Pilkington had identified, but for which no solutions had been implemented, became increasingly apparent in the 1960's as the two rival systems engaged in relentless competition for the median audience. One of the few recommendations to be salvaged from the report, the establishment of BBC2, was soon followed, towards the end of the decade, by equally powerful demands for a second ITV channel.

As television viewing became the major leisure activity of the community, so a new role had to be found for radio which had been increasingly abandoned by the public. The advent of the 'pirate' radio stations in the North Sea in 1963 signalled the end of the BBC's traditional hierarchy of taste between Home, Light and Third. Radio 1 arrived and local broadcasting - until 1973 run by the BBC, then by additional stations under the new-styled Independent Broadcasting Authority.

In Television, there was the advent of colour, a massive transmitter building programme engineering a change from 405 to 625-line reception, and, in 1967, the re-allocation of contracts for commercial broadcasting which for many employed in the industry proved a traumatic experience. Both inside and outside the broadcasting organisations, these changes became increasingly subject to comment, discussion and much protest. Changing industrial relations stemming from the growth of unionism within the media (Burns, 1977:56-77) were paralleled outside by a period of intense public debate in the 1970's about the whole place and purposes of broadcasting in society (Smith, 1974:180-209).

These changes had their impact too on the broadcasting organisations in Wales in as much as both BBC Wales and HTV were integral parts of wider institutional and
economic structures. In this context, they signified metonymically to their respective audiences the existence of these wider structures at a time of intense competition. (27) For the most part, however, they were preoccupied more immediately with their own autonomous goals of expansion and development. This was particularly the case for the BBC which, following Pilkington, was concerned with developing a distinct BBC 1 service for Wales, thus ending in television, as in radio broadcasting earlier, the enforced partnership between Wales and the West region. The separation of what was now called BBC Wales involved the construction of a new mast at Wenvoe to serve a new transmitter there. The plan was that the new transmitter would be linked with a number of existing and new transmitters in other parts of Wales. The scheme was far from complete, however, when the new BBC Wales television service was brought into operation in February 1964. Filling the substantial gaps in the coverage took a considerable time. By the spring of 1966, BBC Wales covered nearly 75% of the population in Wales, but because the transmitter map did not match the distribution of Welsh speakers, it extended to only 40% of this section of the population. By the opening of the last BBC Wales VHF transmitter in the spring of 1971, this figure had grown to 75%. Thereafter, BBC Wales coverage was extended on UHF.

The launch of the new television service coincided broadly with the building of a new Broadcasting Centre for the BBC in Wales at Llandaff. This was not started, however, until February 1963 and it was well into the 1970's before the majority of staff were to be accommodated at the centre. It was also not until the mid-1970's again that the new UHF transmitter programme was finally able to provide virtually complete coverage of the service in colour on 625 lines. While achieving this coverage, however, the UHF programme had the dramatic effect of reducing severely the number of viewers who could receive the alternative service of BBC 1. Hence, when the members of the Annan Committee of Inquiry visited Wales in 1975, they found that only 28% of the population could receive both BBC 1 and BBC Wales, and that in order to do so they had to equip themselves with two aerials. 'In the event' the Report observed, 'many people who do not speak Welsh, particularly in South Wales, have turned their aerials so that they receive the English versions of BBC 1 and HTV from the West of England. This ensures that they do not receive programmes produced

in Wales about Wales in English.' (28) In parts of south-east and north-east Wales, two-thirds of the UHF aerials were found to be directed to transmitters outside Wales.

The television service for Wales inaugurated by Pilkington included about seven hours a week of Welsh language programmes and some five hours in English. With occasional slight variations, these hours have remained virtually constant since 1964. It has been difficult if not impossible to increase this output significantly, for two reasons. In the first place, any increase in Welsh air time involves displacing the massively popular output of BBC 1, and there has always been considerable resentment from large numbers of the audience at this deprivation. The second factor, which is specific to the Welsh situation, is that more than half the output of BBC Wales is incomprehensible to four-fifths of its audience. Hence the phenomenon, reported by Annan, of viewers in the south-east and north-east beaming their aerials to English transmitters not only to avoid Welsh language programmes but also to retrieve the network programmes not shown by BBC Wales, and, to the chagrin of the Welsh broadcasters, deserting their service altogether. In short, television broadcasting in Wales has foundered on the horns of a dilemma as the Welsh language has become an issue of major controversy. It was this situation which the Broadcasting Council were at pains to bring home in their evidence to the Annan Committee:

'The BBC's National Broadcasting Council for Wales told us that they had been unable to increase output on BBC Wales as much as they would have liked, partly because of the strongly expressed resistance to Welsh language programmes. On the other hand, there was pressure, particularly from the Welsh Language Society, to increase the amount of broadcasting in Welsh and their protests led on occasion to their taking direct action against the Broadcasting Authorities, by occupying their premises or by refusals to take out television licences. (29)

This campaign on behalf of the Welsh language in broadcasting, which gathered momentum in the 1970's, focussed chiefly on the demand for a separate

(29) Cmnd. 6753, p. 413.
television channel for Wales carrying a high proportion of Welsh language programmes. The Welsh Language Society, in particular, stressed the necessity for the channel to be planned in Wales by a separate Welsh Broadcasting Authority. (30)

Many of the early exchanges between the Broadcasting Council for Wales and the Welsh Language Society turned around the issue of the costs of such a channel. In recognising the demand for a new service, the Council engaged in preliminary discussions with HTV (the new contractors for South Wales and the West of England after the re-allocation of franchises in 1967) (31) to see if some form of joint operation of the channel, if it were established, could be evolved. (32)

It was with a sense of some relief that the broadcasters welcomed the establishment in 1973 of the Committee on Broadcasting Coverage headed by Sir Stewart Crawford. In its report, the Committee recommended that the fourth UHF television channel in Wales should be allocated to a separate service in which Welsh language programmes would be given priority, and that this service should be introduced as soon as possible without waiting for a decision on the use of the fourth channel in the rest of the United Kingdom. (33)

The Government accepted this recommendation in principle and in January 1975 set up a Working Party under the chairmanship of J.W.M. Siberry 'to work out arrangements required to provide a fourth television service in Wales, including

(30) Teledu Cymru i Bobl Cymru, Welsh Language Society, July 1977
(31) See below pp. 82-4.
(32) 'The Society's short-term proposals included a radio service of 35 hours a week in Welsh and 17 hours in English, with a television service of 25 hours a week in Welsh and up to 7½ hours in English. These would involve a capital expenditure of £6,860,000 and an annual operating expenditure of £3,575,000.

The Society's long-term proposals envisaged a radio service of 112 hours a week in both Welsh and English and a television service consisting of 50 hours in Welsh and 40 in English. The estimated costs of these proposals would be a capital expenditure of £38,220,000 and an annual operating expenditure of £18,750,000.' (Annual Report, Broadcasting Council for Wales, 1971-72, p.4).

The Siberry Report proposed that programming should be shared by the BBC and HTV on alternate days, with HTV being responsible for Monday, Wednesday and Friday and the BBC for Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, with Sunday being shared. The report was very much an institutional compromise hammered out by top managements on both sides. They proposed joint responsibility for the additional transmitters the new channel would require, with the BBC equipping the 6 main transmitters, and the IBA the 36 existing and 40 additional relay stations. An estimated period of 13 months from the date of approval was considered sufficient to complete the transmission network, but it was felt that broadcasting should not begin until both sides were able to provide a full 25 hour service of Welsh language programmes, at which point, programmes in Welsh should cease on the existing channels. The earliest practical starting date for the channel, the working party felt, would be just under 3 years from the date of approval to start work. The capital cost of transmitter equipment was estimated at £2.65 million with annual operating transmitting costs of £280,000. Additional programming costs of the new service were estimated at £6.2 million for capital and £4.7 for annual operational expenditure. (All at early 1975 prices). Both the IBA and HTV declared that all these additional costs would require to be met by a subsidy. The BBC, while proposing to meet the operational costs of transmission and programme output from their own resources (if they could be covered by additional revenue from licence fees) felt they would be unable to meet the capital expenditure involved without a subsidy.

In February 1976, however, the Home Secretary announced that the Government, having considered the proposals within the context of the Public Expenditure Review, was unable to justify an immediate funding of the project because of current economic circumstances. At the same time the Government reaffirmed its acceptance in principle of the Crawford Committee's recommendations and promised to review the situation at the end of the financial year 1976-77.


(35) The Working Party included (apart from civil servants) the Controller of BBC Wales, the Controller of HTV, the Deputy Director General of the IBA, together with executive engineering and administrative staff of both broadcasting systems.

(36) Cmnd. 6290, pp. 42-49.
By March 1977, the Annan Committee on the Future of Broadcasting had reported its findings. It too recommended that 'the proposals of the Siberry Working Party should be implemented as soon as the Government can find the necessary finance.' (37)

Annan's major recommendation was, of course, the establishment of a new Open Broadcasting Authority to operate the fourth network, and the report envisaged the possibility of this new authority ultimately taking responsibility for the new channel in Wales in consultation with its own Welsh Advisory Committee and, in the light of opinions expressed in public hearings and discussions, in the anticipated forthcoming Welsh Assembly. (38) While subscribing to the concept of giving priority to Welsh language programmes on the fourth channel, however, Annan came out in favour of retaining some Welsh language output on the existing channels, a policy firmly abandoned by previous investigating committees.

The dilemmas which baulked the expansion of television broadcasting in Wales in the 1960's and 1970's also affected the course of radio development, though here they were less acute and more easily overcome. Hence the retreat from the policy of a mixed linguistic output (which, as in the new BBC Wales television service, had also characterised the Welsh Home Service of the 1950's and 1960's and later of the Radio 4 Wales service or the 1970's) towards the adoption of the predominantly separate linguistic radio services of Radio Cymru and Radio Wales, launched in 1978-79, was achieved with little of the dislocation that had accompanied proposals to achieve some degree of separation in television. The comparative technical simplicity and flexibility of radio compared with television is an obvious reason why there was greater scope for the development of regional solutions. Moreover the problem of deprivation for the listener who prefers network programming to local material or who insists on its availability is also far less acute since, as the BBC Wales Controller reminded his metropolitan colleagues at a lunch-time lecture in London in December 1976, 'the displacement of Radio 4 programmes in Wales by opting out is partly compensated for by the fact that up to 70 per cent of the radio audience in Wales can, if they wish, tune to an England base: Radio 4 transmitter.' (39)

(37) Cmd. 6753, p. 413.
(38) Cmd. 6753, p. 414.
(39) Edwards, E. 'Nation or a Region', in BBC Lunch-Time Lectures, 11th series, BBC, 1977, p. 36.
Even so, the necessity of providing additional transmitters for the deprived 30 per cent outside the range of English transmitters was considered a major priority by the internal radio development committee set up by BBC Wales in the mid-1970's (of which I was a member) since it was seen at that time as the only way in which the medium wave and VHF wavelengths available for Welsh broadcasting could be freed of the obligation of carrying as much as possible of the Radio 4 network service. The way forward towards two autonomous radio services in separate languages had been seen to hinge around the feasibility of splitting the Wales VHF and medium wave network in order to provide a simultaneous choice of programmes. First employed in 1972-73 to broadcast simultaneous morning news magazine programmes ('Good Morning Wales' and 'Bore Da') and separate commentaries on international rugby matches (40), the practice was gradually extended over the next few years to cover other periods of the day and other areas of output. However, the more thorough-going changes of 1978/79 had to wait various technical and official developments for their realisation. Among the former were the wavelength changes of 1978, which, by transferring Radio 4 to Long Wave, largely ended the problem of deprivation; the transfer of schools' broadcasting to VHF, thus freeing the medium wave frequency for Radio Wales expansion; and the installation and refurbishing of studio areas at Broadcasting House for greater self-operational work in line with the adoption of less formal styles of presentation and sequence broadcasting. Official endorsement for these developments was consistently given by the successive committees which had also been considering the future of television from Crawford to Annan. In radio broadcasting, therefore, the policy of separate linguistic services had by the end of the decade become not only a possibility but a virtual reality, and it was clear that further development in this direction would be restricted only by the constraints of the general economic situation.

To complete this survey of developments since the Pilkington Report, some account must be given of the role of commercial broadcasting in relation to some of the events and issues that have been touched upon. Pilkington had been severely critical in its strictures of commercial television in general, and in Wales, as we have seen, there had been great dissatisfaction with the failure of broadcasting generally to

cater for Welsh needs. The collapse of WWN followed by its takeover in 1962 by TWW was not the end of the trauma as criticism mounted about the quality and standards of the company’s output. Welsh MP’s complained of an excess of trivia behind which lay more threatening charges that the company was failing to provide them with a regular programme platform. Not that TWW was financially unsuccessful. In its first year it had made pre-tax profits of over £800,000. A year later they had swelled to £1m, and reached a peak of more than £1.5m. (Davies, 1974:53) It had also produced a number of award winning programmes and had provided substantial patronage for several cultural organisations, but this failed to dispel the unrest. It was seen as a London-based company concerned primarily not with Welsh interests but with serving its largely English shareholders. From 1966 onwards, major criticisms of TWW’s performance were being voiced in the ITA’s Advisory Committee for Wales, (41) Yet the loss of its franchise in 1967 was unexpected, especially at TWW itself. In this it had failed to read the signs of ethnic resurgence and reflect the changes in Welsh life in its programmes. It was in its very preoccupation with roots and with releasing native talent that the new consortium was to capture the prevailing mood and impress the ITA. Fronted by Lord Harlech but engineered with precision and aplomb by essentially a triumvirate, consisting of two broadcasters – Wynford Vaughan Thomas and John Morgan – and a well known Welsh barrister, Alun Talfan Davies O.C. (brother, incidentally, of the Head of Programmes at BBC Wales at the time), the new consortium appeared to the ITA to have a formidable programme potential, with such star names as Richard Burton, Stanley Baker, Geraint Evans and Harry Secombe in their ranks. Moreover, it commanded the support of leading industrialists such as Sir Alfred Nicholas and Frederick Cartwright, chairman of the Steel Company of Wales.

There is no doubt also that, for some time, the ITA’s Welsh Committee had been responding actively to the growth of national consciousness and had begun to demand for greater recognition of this process from its programme company. As early as 1963, the ITA’s regional officer, Lyn Evans had written to the committee on the potential threat of television to the survival of Welsh as a spoken language,

(41) Memorandum to the ITA Committee for Wales, CW 13(66)
26 Sept. 1966.
declaring that more Welsh language programmes were urgently needed to counteract the threat. (42) Indeed there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the Welsh Committee was a considerable force in bringing influence to bear on the Authority in support of Welsh needs and that at times it has stood out against the view taken by the Authority. These differences become apparent, for instance in the evidence submitted to the Crawford Committee in 1973 when both the Authority and the Welsh Committee put forward their separate views. Though co-operating with BBC Wales in the Siberry Working Party on the planning of a shared fourth channel in Wales, the Authority's real preference was unquestionably for a fourth channel run solely by ITV. Its observations on the issue were given in this statement in 1972:

'With the changeover from vhf to uhf, there is a special need in Wales for a choice of ITV programmes on uhf; there is a need for more Welsh language programmes and a need also for an alternative to be available for the majority of the Welsh population which is not Welsh-speaking. There is no means of Independent Television meeting these needs except by the provision of an extra outlet, and this is a matter which the Authority alone cannot deal with. The only outlets that might be available are the existing third channel, used by BBC2, and the unused fourth channel. The latter could, if the Government so decided, be made available for ITV in Wales alone. The most satisfactory solution, however, would be for a second ITV service to be authorised which, unlike the present BBC2 service, would allow regional variations, and which would, within Wales, include programmes in Welsh and English specifically for Welsh viewers.' (43)

There is no doubt that, after the debacle of WWN, the Authority was chiefly concerned to ensure that Welsh language programming would be supported by a sufficiently viable revenue base to offset the substantial losses in this direction which this output would entail. Re-affirming its commitment to the Wales/West contract area, the rationale behind their position is stated clearly in their publication Independent Broadcasting in Wales:

(42) Television in Wales, ITA Committee for Wales, CW Paper 11 (63) cited by Butt Philip (1975:255)
(43) Television Programmes for Wales, IBA, 1972, quoted in Independent Broadcasting in Wales, IBA, 1978
'The Authority recognised that there might be advantages in having an all-Wales contract area with a single ITV company. But it concluded that the provision of the large amount of local programming, including Welsh language programmes, which would be needed in the national area would be more than could be produced by a company deriving its advertising revenue from Wales alone. While it is possible for the Authority to reduce the rental it charges to a programme company, as it has done in the case of Wales, its statutory powers do not allow it to provide a "negative" rental.

At the same time the Authority took account of the fact that nearly two-thirds of the Welsh population lives in the south of Wales, is predominantly English-speaking, and that there are affinities between people living in the high population concentrations on both sides of the Bristol Channel. The Authority concluded that the interests of Wales would be best served by combining South Wales and parts of the West of England (Avon, much of Somerset and Gloucestershire, and parts of Wiltshire) into a single contract area which would have a sufficient income to fulfil all its obligations.'

It was to the same conclusion that the Annan Committee came in their report:

'Even though some of us would have liked to see a completely Welsh ITV company, we all recognise that for financial reasons the dream must fade. We have no doubt that the ITV franchise in Wales must be linked to a franchise in England for the present. It benefits broadcasting in Wales.' (44)

Within this framework, however, HTV appears, formally at least, to have recognised its obligations to Welsh needs for, although it is one company, its two production centres at Cardiff and Bristol are virtually autonomous, each having its own board of directors and its own programme controller. The company has the highest output of regional productions of any of the ITV regional companies: in 1975-76, it produced nearly 800 hours of regional programmes or over 15 hours a week. Some 155 hours were provided for transmission in English in Wales and 280 hours in Welsh. (45) In their evidence to Annan, the management of HTV (Wales) argued that, by remaining under the same company, they were able to retain a strong Welsh identity, while gaining the financial advantages of being joined to HTV (West) and remaining part of the ITV United Kingdom network. (46)
In the same way as the BBC had to engage in the 1960's in an extensive VHF transmitter building programme in support of its television service, so the IBA followed a similar programme until 1966 when, jointly with the BBC, it was required to provide national coverage on UHF at the higher definition standard of 625 lines. The result of this development was the creation of two distinct HTV services for Wales, one transmitted from all the Welsh stations which includes over 6 hours a week of programmes in the Welsh language; the other, transmitted on VHF only in South Wales, which is a more general service and including English language material of interest to Wales and the West but excluding Welsh language programmes. This now means in fact that non-Welsh speakers who wish to view in colour on UHF have to accept the Welsh language output as part of that service or have additional aerials to receive programmes from outside Wales. In this way they can avoid the Welsh language programmes but, at the same time, they miss the English language programmes about Wales. A small number of viewers in South Wales still retain VHF sets and thus can have a choice of programmes though in black and white only. In any case, these sets are declining in number and it is the Government's intention ultimately to end all VHF transmissions.

Hence both broadcasting organisations have found themselves in precisely the same dilemma: under pressure to expand their Welsh language output yet unable to proceed significantly in that direction since to do so would arouse the wrath of the majority and perhaps, crucially for the commercial organisation, lose them the patronage of the advertisers.

3.5 POST-ANNAN DEVELOPMENTS, 1977-80

Apart from endorsing the single channel solution for Welsh language television, the Annan Report recommended that its establishment in Wales should precede that in the rest of the United Kingdom. The Labour Government's White Paper of July 1978 set the autumn of 1982 as the target date for its launch, (47) though with a slightly lower output of 20 hours a week instead of the 25 hours envisaged by Siberry. (48)

In terms of the wider structures of British broadcasting, however, the issue of the fourth channel in Wales was peripheral to the much larger debate which

(47) Cmd. 7294, p. 25, para. 67
(48) Cmd. 7294, p. 26, para. 70
immediately followed the report about the whole concept of an Open Broadcasting Authority. In the tactical lobbying and manoeuvring by the existing power holders which accompanied the debate, the OBA proposal ‘dissolved under the pressure of the real contradictions which the Annan presentation was designed to avoid, but which in the real world will not go away.’ (Garnham, 1978:48) While setting up a new notionally independent authority to promote greater diversity and pluralism, Annan failed to come to grips with the crucial issue of funding that authority.

Though recommending that each broadcasting authority should have its own source or sources of revenue and should not have to compete for these with other authorities, it was precisely this situation which the report failed to resolve in its proposals for both the OBA and the new Local Broadcasting Authority. Not only did this present the prospect of the two new authorities competing with each other for advertising revenue and with the existing ITV companies but also with the BBC for public funds. As Garnham (1978:47-48) points out, what Annan did was

'paradoxically, to discredit structural change by partially endorsing it'

and by so doing making it

'more likely that ITV 2, which they specifically and rightly did not want, will come to pass.'

Despite the apparent unanimity then on the desirability of launching the fourth channel in Wales, it soon became apparent that the whole idea of an Open Broadcasting Authority was losing ground. As delay followed upon delay, the Conservatives made it clear that, if returned to power, they would hand over the fourth channel to commercial interests, their argument being that it could then be put on the air more quickly and without the need for the Government finance which had not been forthcoming. The Tory spokesman on Welsh broadcasting, Wyn Roberts, M.P., who was to become the new Welsh Office Under Secretary with responsibility for broadcasting, declared that his party would honour the fourth channel solution to the problem of broadcasting in Wales, but would put it under IBA control.

By the end of March 1979, the prospects for a 1982 start were receding fast, with apparently no legislation in the offing to set up the OBA within which the Welsh channel would operate and to provide BBC Wales with the finance required for the
necessary capital building and equipment. The one piece of legislation that had received the royal assent by the end of the month was an act enabling the IBA to proceed with the necessary transmitter development required for the new channel.

In May 1979 the Conservatives were returned to power, promising to establish the fourth channel in Wales for Welsh language programmes but under the control of the IBA and simultaneously with the rest of the country - in January 1983. On June 16th, 1979, Nicholas Edwards, by then Secretary of State for Wales, re-affirmed the Conservative manifesto's commitment to the proposal. However, within this short period the broadcasting authorities themselves in the commercial sector had moved away from the consensus. Both the IBA and HTV now argued that circumstances had changed and that, for the good of the language, and, in view of the fact that the rest of the country was going to get ITV 2 at the same time as Wales, Welsh language programmes should be split between two channels. HTV in fact wrote privately to the Welsh Committee of the IBA saying it had changed its mind and asked the Committee itself to reconsider its own support for the Welsh channel. The official reason given by HTV was the simultaneous launch which, they argued, would lead to large scale protests from non-Welsh-speaking viewers when they woke up to find themselves without the fourth channel programmes being offered in the rest of the United Kingdom. To lessen the deprivation, HTV argued, Welsh language programmes should continue to be split between HTV and BBC after the new channel was set up.

Meanwhile, doubts had begun to be expressed by BBC Wales about the government's commitment to the original project. In a lecture at Aberystwyth in June, BBC Wales Controller Owen Edwards queried whether the government had either the political will or the money to ensure the success of the new Welsh language channel at a time of such severe cutbacks in public expenditure. Apart from costs, Mr. Edwards wondered if "reasonable" hours could be secured for transmission on ITV without producing "howls of protest" at the dropping of popular programmes. He also wondered how far ITV 2 would welcome 10 hours from the BBC in Welsh and indeed how happy the BBC itself would be at placing its programmes on ITV. There was also the question of who, in fact, would control the channel and perhaps more important still of whether there would be sufficient creative talent, especially in terms of writers, to
produce highly popular and successful television drama and entertainment programmes in the language. (49) As for the BBC's own commitment to the original principle, this remained, as a statement by the Broadcasting Council for Wales on July 4th reaffirmed.

Then, on September 14th, 1979, came the first official statement of the Government's own change of mind. In a major television policy speech at Cambridge, the Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, declared that despite previous intentions, Welsh language programmes would be split between one of ITV's channels and one of the BBC's channels, and that by skilful scheduling this would make it possible to provide a substantial increase in Welsh language output in the fastest, most efficient and most economical way while ensuring that, at any time, non-Welsh speakers could find alternative viewing.

The BBC greeted the news with disappointment, the acting chairman of the Broadcasting Council for Wales, Paul Flynn resigning a week later in protest at the government's decision and also at what he called "centralising" BBC policies which were impeding the development in particular of community programming in Wales. The Welsh Labour Party, the Welsh Liberal Party, Plaid Cymru and the Welsh Language Society condemned the decision as an act of betrayal. Only HTV and the IBA declared their support for the new policy. (50) The Welsh Secretary of State, Nicholas Edwards and his Under Secretary, Wyn Roberts - widely seen as the instigator of the change - despite his earlier apparent agreement with the consensus view, justified the decision in virtually the same terms as those expressed by HTV. There is no doubt that Mr. Edwards had also become very concerned about some of the financial implications of the original project and also about the relationship between the BBC and HTV. Mr. Roberts, for his part, now insisted that to protest against the decision could endanger the expansion of Welsh programming. But the protests came. They raged on into the summer of 1980, with an extensive Plaid Cymru campaign for the non payment of TV licences, sustained public protests and demonstrations, and attacks on transmitting stations and broadcasting equipment.

In June 1980, the Plaid Cymru president, Gwynfor Evans had announced that on October 6th he would begin a fast to death unless the Government reversed its decision. The National Eisteddfod at Gowerton in August was the scene of more

(49) Western Mail 30/6/79.
(50) Western Mail 15/9/79.
demonstrations and attacks by Welsh Language Society members on the IBA and HTV tents on the field and an angry protest against the Secretary of State - acts which, in turn, were denounced and then loudly applauded by leading figures in the Eisteddfod hierarchy.

Slowly, however, the Government sounded a gradual retreat: it announced that it would set up a watchdog committee to review the working of the split, Mr. Whitelaw promising to reverse the decision again if experience showed the two channel solution to be unacceptable. The Welsh Select Committee also decided to study the whole question once again. Many were by now convinced that the Government would like to change its mind again, yet the cause of the retreat and indeed the obstacle to it, which was the personal defiance of Gwynfor Evans, posed a real dilemma for the Government. There is no doubt that, had it not been for Evans' personal integrity and widespread support, linked with the possibility of still graver direct action, the Government would not have made this kind of retreat. At the same time it appeared that it would be politically very difficult for the Government to recant if this was seen as in any sense a surrender to an act of blackmail. But surrender it did. On September 17th, following a deputation a week earlier by the Archbishop of Wales, Dr. G.O. Williams, Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos and Sir Goronwy Daniel, the Government bowed to the storm and agreed to the re-adoption of the single channel solution proposed in their election manifesto. While insisting that they continued to believe that their two-channel policy represented the right solution, Welsh Secretary, Nicholas Edwards explained the climbdown as the result of the Government's failure to carry "moderate middle ground opinion" with them on this policy.

3.6 CONCLUDING NOTE: THE BROADCASTERS AND THE FOURTH CHANNEL DEBATE

To understand the significance of the campaign for a Welsh language television service, one has to see it in relation to the whole complex of political, economic and social changes which have transformed Welsh society in the post-war period. As has been argued earlier, these changes produced a heightened ethnic consciousness which expressed itself in growing demands for Welsh autonomy in many fields. Assuming a critical role in the shaping of this new consciousness, as has also been shown, was the
growth of new professional and technical elites who have been as much concerned with the production and distribution of knowledge as with their own economic and social advancement. This new professional class emerging in the 1950's and 1960's in Wales was undoubtedly aggressive in the assertion of its ethnicity and identified itself strongly with the aspirations of the nationalist movement.

In this resurgence also, the Welsh language became a potent symbol not only in the formation of identity but as a strategic focus by the new generations of subordinated groups in their assault on the prevailing hegemony of political and social power. Hence the recent growth of bilingual schools through middle class agitation and patronage; the campaigns for bilingual road signs and official forms, for court hearings in the Welsh language; the campaign against second homes; and the campaign for a Welsh language television service are all manifestations of this process.

The growth of national consciousness, however, has not been dependent solely on the development of a linguistic awareness. On the contrary, the Welsh language, as we have seen, presented Plaid Cymru with its acutest electoral dilemma, and the success of nationalist politics in the last two decades is explicable only if it is related to the appeal exerted by separatist economic and political strategies in the solution of real economic and social problems. There is no doubt that the growth of cultural nationalism and the various campaigns it has generated have been viewed with sympathy by a substantial number of non-Welsh speakers; it has also been fiercely rejected by others who have feared that the adoption of such policies would promote a linguistic apartheid in which monoglots would be second class citizens. Most of those who reject these policies out of hand have, however, been prepared to tolerate the excesses taken by campaigners for the formal use of the language in administration as long as they have not affected them directly, but their tolerance has not extended to education or broadcasting, and in the case of television especially there has been strong resistance. Hence the fourth channel solution seemingly, at least, until 1978, represented the consensus view and was advanced with the support of virtually all parties precisely because, as the Crawford Report put it, it was 'an investment in social harmony'. As such, however, it concealed the convulsions through which Welsh society was passing rather than expressed any genuine sense of unity.
In no institution were the changes described in this study reflected more vividly than in BBC in Wales where, as subsequent sections of this study will attempt to show, the personnel responsible for programme output had to respond to these changes themselves. As members of the new knowledge class, they became caught up in the new ethnic resurgence, many by active choice, others for professional advancement or other reasons, while those who felt an allegiance to a different cultural or institutional tradition had to come to terms with it and develop an alternative occupational ideology. It is perhaps not surprising then that in the months leading up to and immediately following Annan (the period during which this research was conducted), the broadcasters did not reflect the solidity or certainty which apparently the nation at large was showing about the way Welsh broadcasting should develop in the future.
CHAPTER 4
THE ORGANISATION AND OUTPUT OF BBC WALES

4.1 INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

As the foregoing account of the development of Welsh broadcasting by the BBC has made clear, responsibility for the policy and content of BBC Wales programmes is vested in the Broadcasting Council for Wales whose 11 members, it is argued, 'are broadly representative of the main areas of Welsh life.' (BBC Handbook 1977: 205)

In practice, these members are selected by a panel of the BBC's General Advisory Council which, in turn, largely chooses its own members also.

In its memorandum to the Annan Committee in May 1975, the Broadcasting Council indicated that it had discussed other possibilities for its selection:

'nomination by a Welsh committee or the Privy Council, or by the Secretary of State for Wales; direct nomination by the Board of Governors; or a representative composition',

but had concluded:

'None seems likely to produce that combination of independence (necessary to represent the public interest in Wales) and commitment (necessary to control the content and policy of the BBC's services in Wales within the context of the BBC as a whole) that the present arrangement in practice achieves.' (1)

It is not difficult to discern within the terms of this declaration the basic assumptions on which the whole system of British broadcasting is predicated. The notions of independence and public service which are invoked here in defence of existing forms of control and accountability in Welsh broadcasting subscribe to, reinforce, and essentially reproduce at local level the centralist model to which the BBC as a whole subscribes. Linked to the notion of the BBC's political independence is the theory that it acts as trustee for the public interest. In this way, it is argued, through its governors, the BBC is made accountable to the public.

The limited nature of such forms of accountability has been illuminated by a succession of writers (e.g. Hood, 1972; Tracey, 1977; Hall, 1972, 1977; Gornham, 1978; Heller, 1978) who have pointed to what is perhaps the central flaw in the theory which is...


92.
the obvious inability of such a body of part-timers (who are specifically required not to have any specialised knowledge of broadcasting) to supervise the activities of professional broadcasters on whose advice they are so clearly dependent. It would appear that essentially the same mechanisms of accountability obtain in the control of Welsh broadcasting and that they too fail to ensure that it is subject to real forms of democratic control and public participation. Here again the formal mechanisms of control merely perpetuate an existing system of self selection.

What happens in practice is roughly as follows. The Broadcasting Council meets once a month in Cardiff or some other venue. The Controller attends with two or three of his management colleagues. There are three main management heads, those of programmes, engineering and programme services, and administration. Day to day decisions affecting programmes, however, are taken by the professional staff: The role of Council is to review operations generally and approve overall policy. There are clearly occasions when individual members voice personal complaints about programmes and these are often acted upon. An active Chairman with strong views can also exert considerable influence not only on output but on general policy (2), but the overall initiative is with the broadcasters who then seek endorsement from the Council. As the Controller himself described the relationship in his lunch time lecture:

'At its best it is a healthy relationship of checks and counterbalances, of confirmation and encouragement which flourishes if it is built on the two cornerstones of mutual trust and a common aim.'

(Edwards, 1977 : 34)

Yet with what degree of autonomy do broadcasters and council really operate? Pertinent to an understanding of the framework in which regional broadcasting is cast is a discussion of the relationships between the region and the metropolitan centre. As the Broadcasting Council's memorandum to Annan makes clear, their control of content and policy is exercised 'within the context of the BBC as a whole.'

In spite of three committees of inquiry - Beveridge, Pilkington and Crawford - recommending, as we have seen, significant measures of devolution for Welsh broadcasting commensurate with successive phases of programme expansion, it is clear from the Council's evidence to Annan that further concessions were seen to be urgently

(2) The Chairman in office at the time of this study, Dr. Glyn Tegai Hughes, showed exceptional grasp and understanding of broadcasting affairs, presenting his views in papers to Council and to Government on the issue of the fourth channel.
necessary. Two issues in particular were singled out by the Council: their lack of official information, especially in financial matters, about significant decisions taken at the centre, and their lack of direct control over the financial affairs of BBC Wales.

On the first issue, the memorandum to Annon (pp 15-16) described the situation as follows:

"Council is visited at fairly regular intervals by the Chairman of the Board of Governors, the Director-General, the Managing Director and other senior staff. It not infrequently makes direct representations to central departments of the BBC in London: it has, for instance, called for and received running reports from the Transmitter Planning Department whose Head has regularly visited the Council to hear its views and explain progress. We have, we believe, had a fair degree of influence through these representations.

Significant developments from the centre are reported to us from the Board of Governors by the Chairman of the Council and from the Management side by Controller, Wales. We are not altogether sure that this is enough and we are hoping, by mutual agreement, to secure a rather more formal flow of information, particularly in financial matters."

On the issue of financial control, which was clearly related to the question of consultation, the Council was more outspoken if rather tentative as to how far autonomy should be pursued: (pp 16-17)

"The Charter makes it clear that the Broadcasting Council has no direct control over the financial affairs of BBC Wales, even though it has responsibility for the policy and content of programmes. We hold the reins but not the purse strings.

We have already spoken of our wish that we should receive a regular financial statement giving details of the revenue and capital provision being made for BBC Wales in the BBC's central budgets. We wish also to be consulted at a stage when our views could carry weight on any aspects of capital or revenue budgeting that directly affect the output for which we are responsible.

We have come, somewhat uncertainly, and perhaps not definitively, to the conclusion that we should not at present seek complete financial autonomy. The complex planning of the BBC's services and their associated facilities is carried out centrally with an extremely high degree of efficiency, and we suspect that we should do BBC Wales a disservice if we attempted to detach ourselves. Nevertheless, we must be able to exert more influence on financial development if we
are to be a fully effective policy-making body. This can be done in two main ways:—

(a) Given that we have enough financial information, we must be able, through our professional staff, to exert influence at a high enough level of planning within the BBC centrally .... .... Of course we can and do intervene at Board of Governors level through our Chairman; but this may mean a major upheaval at a relatively late stage in the Budget proposals and is not a course one can follow too often.

(b) The Council would be able to develop its policies with much more flexibility if it had a limited annual budget additional to BBC Wales’ normal sources of revenue. At present all finance is allocated centrally, for television through Managing Director, Television’s Budget, and for radio through Managing Director, Radio’s Budget, and the two are not interchangeable, If Council therefore decided, let us say, that development of new radio services in Wales should have top priority for the next few years, it has no powers to transfer any development revenue from television to radio. It cannot even decide to use for radio, offices which are at present provided for television staff. This is patently absurd in a situation where the services are still, to a certain extent, integrated and where, for instance, the Head of Programmes is responsible for both Television and Radio. A limited budget, and we are thinking of a relatively small sum, would at least enable the Council to shift emphases, by supporting special projects, acquiring the less costly items of equipment, supplementing areas under particular pressure, or undertaking special research.'

The issues highlighted by this memorandum vividly illustrate not only the extent to which the BBC is centrally financed and, for the most part, centrally planned, but how these two forces of finance and planning also have the effect of pulling the regional constituents of the framework continually towards the centre. The historical evolution of British broadcasting, as we have seen, has contributed to this process, thereby producing a structure dominated by the London-based central editorial control of the Director-General. Regional funds, as noted above, come out of the central Television and Radio Budgets, and in drawing up these budgets, the respective Managing Directors are advised by a Television Development Committee and a Radio Planning Group as to how regional needs can be met and regional proposals implemented.

The problem of achieving proper representation of regional interests at the most senior management levels has been a continuing problem since the earliest days of the BBC. As the BBC has seen it from the centre, the problem has been how to secure co-ordination from the centre without dictation to the regions and frustration of their
hopes. It is a problem that has never been satisfactorily resolved. An attempt to create a Director of Regional Relations in the 1930's proved little more than an acknowledgement that the problem existed. Though the regions, in theory, have the right of access and appeal to the Director-General, in practice, it is a right that can be exercised only infrequently and in any case has never provided a sufficiently regular means of securing their interest. The crux of the problem is that while the regions have a special claim to attention, operational authority is exercised within the Television and Radio Directorates. In an attempt to meet this difficulty, in 1975 an endeavour was made to represent regional interests at Board of Management level with the establishment of a Regional Management Board. The function of this Board, which meets quarterly under the chairmanship of the Director-General, is to pull together the threads of regional development so that Regional Controllers and those responsible centrally for development within the Television and Radio Directorates can cull meet regularly with the Director-General so as to enable him to exercise an effective scrutiny of regional development plans and intentions.

Essentially then the BBC is a United Kingdom organisation which seeks to apply common standards and procedures to its constituent parts, procedures which embrace a centralised system of financial control and of the allocation of resources generally. Other common procedural elements, of course, relate to conditions of service for staff, labour relations, uniform technical standards and a uniform editorial policy. Financially, therefore, the procedures applicable to regional finance are precisely the same as those which apply to London-based departments. The overwhelming proportion of the expenditure approved each year is for the continuance of existing activities; only about 5% of the total is available for new developments. The regions put forward their own schemes in cooperation with the TV Development Committee and the Radio Planning Group; the proposals are then considered by the Managing Directors, the Board of Management and finally the Board of Governors. Developments which are approved are those which are considered most necessary and suitable to the needs and requirements of the BBC as a whole from whatever source they have originated. Since no national region could support the complete radio and television services out of the income they obtain from the region,
it is considered, therefore, a reasonable basis for analysis of expenditure for each region to meet the costs of its own programme services and to contribute to network programme and other costs.

The extent to which on-the-line producers were aware of these overarching institutional structures and procedures impinging on their actual work experience is one of the questions taken up later in this study. From the evidence presented here at least, it would seem that both Programme management and National Broadcasting Council felt the need for much greater devolution of central power, especially over financial matters. It is significant, however, that they shrank from the prospect of total autonomy in this area. Indeed, the Council was at pains to disassociate itself from the arguments advanced in some quarters in support of establishing a Welsh Broadcasting Authority or Corporation. (Memorandum to Annan, pp 11-14) The arguments developed in support of retaining the status quo are particularly interesting. First, they argue that the substantial benefits of being part of the larger whole would be lost. These they list as 'continuous access to broadcasting expertise, specialist experience, training opportunities, interchange of staff and the constant stimulus of living up to the technical and programming standards of one of the great broadcasting organisations of the world.' Second, separation, they suggest, might mean the loss of network programmes which the great mass of Welsh people still wish to receive unless they were able to 'eavesdrop' on output from England, and they ask how kindly English licence payers would feel towards providing such services for Wales. In any case, financing the new Authority, they point out, would require additional funding either by way of government subsidy or a differential licence fee or both. This points to their third objection which is that government funding would raise the spectre of political influence, and they fear that a separate Welsh Authority would be politically vulnerable in a way that they do not see in the present relationship between the BBC and the Westminster Parliament. Finally, they argue that any attempt by a separate authority to overcome such financial problems as would be posed by the lack of central resources and provisions by operating on a shoestring would be disastrous for programme standards and staffing conditions.

The validity or otherwise of these arguments need not concern us directly. Nevertheless they provide a clear illustration of the institutional position taken up by
BBC Wales in response to the external pressures facing it in the mid-1970's. As a piece of collective institutional thinking, it reproduces the classic case of the broadcasters for the political independence of the BBC maintaining again that the traditional financial arrangements somehow guarantee that independence.

Paradoxically, while the existing relationship between broadcasting centrally and the British state is seen as providing what is described as 'a highly sensitive system of checks and balances', there is great uncertainty as to whether a Welsh authority would find itself similarly well placed in relation to a Welsh Assembly. It is certainly hard to discover why the latter relationship should be deemed to be more open to political influence.

What the evidence reviewed in this chapter so far clearly illustrates is the broadcasters' traditional fear of structural change, and it is a fear shared here by the holders of power in Welsh broadcasting. For while they argue the need for greater consultation between centre and region, and greater freedom for the region to dispose of resources as it sees fit, there is no wish to reverse the real direction in which power actually flows. There is no demand for new structures to be built up from the margins to the centre with totally autonomous local authorities elected by and responsible to the grass roots of broadcasting. It is a re-affirmation of the essentially pluralist model of broadcasting which the BBC represents not a call for the reversal of its structural tradition. This would mean, of course, a radical ideological shift away from a system in which the Welsh view of the world finds expression as a provincial supplement to another cultural tradition to one in which it would reside at the heart and centre of a distinct and separate tradition.

4.2 POSTSCRIPT

The requests made for greater financial autonomy and for a limited annual budget additional to normal sources of revenue for minor capital investment were supported by the Annan Committee and further endorsed in the Labour Government's White Paper of July 1978.

In view of their increased responsibilities, Annan also recommended that in future members of the Broadcasting Council should be appointed by the Board of Governors not by a panel of the BBC's General Advisory Council. The White Paper further recommended
that the Broadcasting Council should be reconstituted 'so as to comprise between 8 and 11 lay members who will be appointed by the Home Secretary after consultation with the Secretary of State for Wales and with the Chairman of the Board of Governors.' (3) This proposal, together with allied proposals to create three Service Management Boards, was strongly opposed by the BBC which saw its independence threatened.

Both Annan and the White Paper, however, were overtaken by the events of 1979-80. The requests made by BBC Wales for more formal mechanisms through which it might share in the decision making process centrally remained unanswered. So too its request for a limited annual budget. Nor was there any real change in financial control, though it now seems that the region has a greater degree of flexibility to move resources around from one purse to another. (4).

By now, however, retrenchment has, in any case, become the order of the day as the general economic recession has deepened and government cuts in public spending have forced the BBC into a massive £130m. economy drive. Such a situation has inevitably not been conducive to the most amicable of relationships between the centre and the regions which, in the eyes of many in London, have come to be seen as having had more than their share of recent development in any case at the expense of and indeed to the impoverishment of the national networks. The collapse of political devolution with the Referendum in any event has added positive bite to the centre's irritability, with the result that relationships have become, as BBC Wales Secretary told me 'strained, difficult and delicate.' Retrenchment, however, has not been the only mood of recent change in the BBC: panic has also set in with the approach of ITV2 re-awakening the fears of the mid-1950's with the arrival of ITV1. The spectre of falling audiences and of another exodus of staff to the commercial companies is once again galvanising the BBC for the inevitable competitive onslaught ahead. Small wonder that in this situation regional voices will not readily be heard and responded to.

(4) Private interview: Secretary, BBC Wales, 5/9/80.
4.3 PROGRAMME OUTPUT AND ITS ORGANISATION

In 1976 BBC Wales could be described as providing a bilingual service of radio and television programmes. Since 1967, it had been developing as its principal base a purpose-built broadcasting centre at Llandaff on the outskirts of Cardiff. From the outset, the whole of its radio output (with the exception initially of News) had been handled at the centre, along with associated engineering and administrative services. By 1976, a television studio for news/current affairs and small-scale talks programmes was also in operation at the centre. Planning was also in progress on a large drama studio. (This was eventually completed in December 1979). In the meantime, large-scale productions continued to be made at Broadway, a converted chapel (housing two studios) at the eastern end of the city. The large drama studio had been made colour capable through linking it with a mobile outside broadcast unit on a drive-in basis. Its limited facilities, however, meant that a considerable number of drama and light entertainment productions had to be undertaken at other BBC studios outside the region, chiefly at the new Pebble Mill centre in Birmingham. Also in rented accommodation at the eastern end of Cardiff were the Design and Film Units, together with most of the television production staff pending the completion of new office accommodation at Llandaff.

In Bangor, in separate buildings, there were three radio studios, a small television interview studio, monochrome film cutting room, newsroom and production offices.

Apart from the two centres in south and north Wales, there were four small unattended radio studios providing direct access for programme contributors – at Wrexham, Aberystwyth, Carmarthen and Swansea. (5)

As noted earlier, Controller, Wales, as the senior member of BBC Wales staff, had directly below him three main departmental heads, those of Programmes, Programme Services and Engineering, and Administration. The work of Administration included the personnel function, accounting, house and office services, catering, information and publicity and secretariat. Under Programme Services and Engineering were grouped all the technical services required for programme support, their planning and allocation in sound and television, not only in terms of day-to-day operation and maintenance, but also communications planning and transmitter development. Responsibility for programme

(5) Further studios have since been opened at Newtown, Llandrindod Wells and Mold.
output lay with the Head of Programmes and his Assistant, supported directly by the Chief Assistant Planning and Programme Finance, through whose office programme proposals and schedules (issued quarterly) were costed and co-ordinated in conjunction with the supporting services available. Specific production requirements of the television output were delegated to a Television Production Services Manager to whom the departments of design, make-up, and wardrobe were answerable. Film staff worked directly to a Film Unit Manager.

Programme production was organised loosely in departments centred around established programme categories or output areas, with either a departmental head, editor, organiser or senior producer in charge of each one and responsible in most cases for the department's output in both radio and television. These included News and Current Affairs, Sport, Education, Religion, Features and Documentary Programmes, Drama, Music, Light Entertainment, Children's Programmes, and Agriculture. The use of departmental titles and staff designations is discussed in Chapter 5. Appendix II also provides a profile of the producer posts analysed in this study.

While programme content and standards were the immediate responsibility of individual producers, the system provided for referral upwards to immediate superiors, section or output heads or line managers, and beyond this ultimately to the Head of Programmes and Controller. In certain specialised fields also, four advisory bodies provided guidance to staff and comment on output; the School Broadcasting Council for Wales, the Welsh Religious Advisory Committee, the Welsh Appeals Advisory Committee and the Welsh Agricultural Advisory Committee.

Some indication of the volume of programme output can be seen in the following breakdown of broadcast hours for the year immediately preceding the start of this inquiry.
Table 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours of Programme Output</th>
<th>1975-76 *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TELEVISION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network Programmes</td>
<td>BBC Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC 1 BBC 2 Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88+ 24 112</td>
<td>344++ 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Welsh Total</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ includes 60 hours of Welsh language programmes first shown on BBC Wales
++ includes 33 hours on BBC 2 Wales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>RADIO</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Network Programmes</td>
<td>BBC Wales (Radio 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio 2 Radio 3 Radio 4 Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 173 38 221</td>
<td>972 1370 2342</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sources:
1. BBC Handbook, 1977
2. Annan Report, 1977
3. Information obtained in interview with Chief Asst. Planning and Programme Finance

4.3.1 Network Television

In their submission to Annan, BBC Wales management commented on the way they felt network productions put local producers 'on their mettle' sharpening up local productions too. (Cnrd. 6753 : 414) The extent of this contribution (112 hours) was, however, limited. It was smaller than Scotland's contribution (141) though far larger than that of Northern Ireland. (24) Compared with an English Network Production Centre such as Birmingham, with 457 hours, the Welsh contribution seems modest indeed, but one has to remember that achieving a high network output is the primary function of such a centre whereas the first obligation of BBC Wales is to its own network.

An analysis of the range of network programmes provided by BBC Wales in this period reveals three broad institutional criteria applied by the networks to the selection of regional offers. First, there are contributions which arise out of the calendar - the
changing seasons of the natural year and its attendant programme cycle. Coverage of Welsh rugby internationals and club matches for BBC1's Grandstand and BBC2's Rugby Special or of Sunday League Cricket matches are obvious examples. So too are programmes which report annual events held in Wales such as the National and Llangollen Eisteddfodau. Second, there is the strategy of the programme series, around which a network's identity is shaped and into which the bulk of its output is "stranded". There are two overlapping precepts here: that of established time honoured programme categories or genres and the organisational device of placing identifiable series or sets at regular weekly or other intervals in order to build and maintain audience loyalty. Within this centralised planning framework, regions are invited to provide contributions. Examples in this period by BBC Wales are editions of Songs of Praise, Anno Domini, Look Stranger and a contribution to an edition of BBC2's archaeological series Chronicle on The Celts. With most of these long established series, the form, and, in many cases, subject matter are substantially pre-determined, and though there is obviously greater scope for producer initiative in the features and documentary area, even here the overriding purpose, style and form of the product exert a considerable measure of control over that initiative. The decline of the one-off play in television drama is a process chronicled not only by recent academic research (6) but noted with some concern by media producers themselves. (7) This is a phenomenon, however, which is by no means confined to fictional television: indeed it extends to most forms of factual television so that opportunities for making single programme: are distinctly poor, especially on the "no mass audience channels. Consequently a regional producer has to tailor his creative thinking to fit the format and style of the series within which it can best be accommodated. There is rather more scope for manoeuvre on BBC2 and more calculated risks are taken. It was in fact for


(7) The South Bank Show - 'What happened to the single play?' LWT April, 1979.
this channel that the majority of BBC Wales' network programmes were made in this period. These included two highly imaginative pieces of location drama - Bus to Bosworth, in which a bus load of school-children, with Kenneth Griffith as their teacher, retraced Henry VII's march through Wales to Bosworth Field; and How Green was my Father, a whimsical and satirical rediscovery of a Welsh valley and its people by an expatriate American, a tour de force of acting by the late Welsh comedy actor Ryan Davies. In a national region, however, only a limited number of producers have the chance to produce material for the networks, and in Wales, where more than half the output is in the Welsh language in any case, opportunities for the region to initiate and commit itself over a thirteen week quarter are clearly far less. In Scotland the problem of language does not exist on anything like the same scale. Besides its local output is a good deal less: hence more network series can be undertaken. Poems and Pints was the only long running series produced for a network audience (BBC2) by BBC Wales during this period; the other two offerings - Max Bryce Entertains (5 programmes on BBC1) and Diversions (6 programmes with the BBC Welsh Symphony Orchestra for BBC2) had short runs.

This brings us to the third criterion applied by the London planners to the offerings of a national region: this is the degree of congruence they exhibit with previous cultural products. In nearly all the programmes accepted, there would appear to be an implicit assumption that they conform to and thus reinforce a traditional British view of that regional culture. Hence what is seen as constituting "Welshness" is freely celebrated in the ritual of annual cultural festivals. St. David's Day, for instance, is always observed by the networks in "Welsh" editions or in programmes having a "Welsh" colour. It is in fact this observance of the calendar which really explains why the two most original pieces of Welsh television listed above were able to break through the barriers of form and secure a placing on March 1st and on the Saint's Eve, February 29th.

Thus, as Elliott has observed (1977: 159-60, 164), media culture tends to feed off itself and ensure the continuity of the conventional wisdom, producing for the audience, as a consequence, restricted choice and a neutered cultural content. We shall discover what the response of certain producers was to this process of cultural stereotyping later in this study. (8)

(8) See p.197
4.3.2 Opt-Out Television

The BBC Wales television service is a programme planner's nightmare. Within the hours available, he has to try to accommodate the opt-out programmes of the service in Welsh and English while trying to ensure that as few as possible of the most popular and established programmes of the main BBC 1 service are displaced. It is the screening of Welsh language programmes, as we have seen, which provokes the most angry protests from the exasperated non-Welsh speaking majority, though the displacement of network programmes by opt-out material in English also frequently causes discontent amongst many viewers who prefer to watch the network fare. Thus, for example, an earlier practice of opting out of one of the games in Match of the Day in order to show highlights of a Welsh match was far from universally popular and came to be abandoned. Regional planners and programme heads in any case are under constant pressure from network controllers not to opt out of major series. There have been bitter clashes, for instance, over BBC Scotland's insistence on mounting their own replacements to Panorama and the late night current affairs programme Tonight. There are, of course, certain agreed opt-out "slots" for English regional programmes, but the operation of a national regional service requires far more opportunities than these provide. It is extremely difficult to opt out of long running network programmes and series at all: apart from aggravating the sense of deprivation, it requires that there are sufficient resources to sustain an equally acceptable alternative over the same length of time. Opt-outs, therefore, have generally to be placed where possible opposite shorter series and a decision has to be taken either not to show that series at all or to re-schedule the individual programmes within it for showing at other times. This poses particular difficulties in the case of programmes of a topical nature, especially where references are made to specific events. The showing of such programmes at a later date can be confusing to the viewer, to say the least, without editing or updating by a continuity announcer at the time of transmission.

While re-scheduling is chiefly, though not solely, necessary to assuage monoglot English speakers, many Welsh speakers, as we have seen, are utterly dissatisfied with what they regard in any case as the meagre and inadequate provision of Welsh language programmes. In an attempt to ensure that such provision is not further undermined or dissipated, there is an agreement that as far as possible BBC Wales and HTV Wales will
not screen their Welsh language programmes at the same time. While this objective makes admirable sense, its observance increases still further the constraints within which BBC Wales programme planners have to construct the television service. Indeed, it is only with an understanding of these different constraining factors that one can begin to evaluate the kind of output the service provides.

In the year 1975-76, the average weekly output in both Welsh and English was virtually the same. (6 hours, 30 minutes in English; 6 hrs. 38 minutes in Welsh.) By far the biggest output category in the service as a whole, with approximately 3 hours a week in English and 2 hours in Welsh, was News and Current Affairs. The absence of a weekly current affairs’ programme in Welsh explains the lower output total and also underlines a crucial difficulty faced by Welsh language producers in this area as the evidence of a later chapter confirms. (9) The second biggest ingredient, (accounting for nearly a quarter of the output) was sport, averaging at least 1½ hours a week of English language material and even more in the summer quarter with extensive coverage of Glamorgan cricket. It was, however, the Welsh passion for rugby which provided the undoubted audience winner. In the Welsh language, after News and Current Affairs, the biggest single category was that of Children’s programmes which provided between 1½ and 2 hours a week and was seen as a crucial area by those committed to the struggle for the survival of the language.

Apart from these areas, there was clearly an attempt in the rest of the Welsh language output to provide, within the existing constraints, as comprehensive a service as possible, with material in most other established categories including religion, drama, features and documentaries, variety, situation comedy and music of all kinds. In the English language, however, apart from the fact that more time was given to current affairs, there was a much thinner representation in these categories, the output as a whole being characterised by occasional programmes or short series rather than by an attempt to achieve sustained series, with hardly any drama, music, religion or situation comedy being produced solely for the BBC Wales audience. It seems clear that in most of these output areas, much of the effort, resources and indeed aspirations of producers working in English were directed to achieving network acceptance. This suggests not only a lower degree of priority to the “home” audience but also a rather more ill-defined institutional commitment which contrasts sharply with the more clear cut rationale underlying the

(9) See pp. 189-92

106.
service to Welsh speakers. Part of the explanation for this, apart from the obvious lack of resources and opt-outs available, was undoubtedly the conviction (widely held, as we shall see, by the institution and its personnel) that the existence of the language itself was a sufficient justification for such efforts, whereas attempts to provide the same degree of diversification in English would be open to charges of duplication and compare unfavourably with network material which could draw on greater resources and talent. In the Welsh language such charges could be offset as part of the price to be paid for developing an indigenous culture in new directions. In part, much of this development was plainly imitative: a weekly Welsh language soap opera Pobol Y Cwm, which ran for a second 30 episode series during the year, was clearly a piece of ritualism which owed something to the success of series such as Coronation Street though, in fact, a successful tradition of popular family serials had been created in Welsh radio in the 1950's and 1960's. Various Welsh quiz programmes again were thinly disguised derivatives of successful English (and American) formulae. Other genres, however, were certainly innovative, seeking to pioneer distinctively Welsh forms owing little to English models. This was particularly true of situation comedy (10) and light entertainment which provided an extensive platform for Welsh rock and folk music, including, in this period, a folk opera based on a medieval Welsh legend. The same innovative spirit animated several Welsh language series for children, particularly in the immensely popular slapstick comedy series Telfant. In these areas programme policy was decidedly populist in character, aimed at reaching the majority of Welsh speakers. There was only one single play in Welsh during the year, and this not a new one, by the most prestigious Welsh playwright Saunders Lewis. Apart from obvious reasons of cost, the absence of other output of this kind was undoubtedly due to the dearth of writers in Welsh, a factor affecting not only high cultural forms but more popular genres as well.

Looking at the service as a whole, one cannot fail to be struck by its limited nature with the majority of Welsh language programmes being screened in the early evening. In the vagaries of scheduling from quarter to quarter, it is difficult to pin point a consistent cut off point, but, in general, it could be said that the early evening sequence of opt-out material, beginning with the regional news programme Wales Today at around 6 p.m., on most week day evenings ran to between 7.10 p.m. and 7.45 p.m. It was not, of course, a continuous sequence of local programmes and included not only

(10) For example Fo'r Fe (Him and Him), a comedy series in which the two central characters are a South Wales son and his North Walian father-in-law.
Nationwide but occasionally another network programme, though the aim, as far as possible, appears to have been to establish a block of Welsh language programmes following Nationwide, the first of these being the daily Welsh language news magazine Heddiw at around 6.45 p.m. Even so, as the BBC’s Memorandum to Annan on Regional Broadcasting (1975 : 18) pointed out,

'It has not proved practicable to find it a regular timing in the schedules due to the problems of trying to provide a regional television service in two languages in the context of an overall network service centrally planned for one language only.'

The result has been that, at times when network priorities obtain, as for example on major sporting occasions such as live international or world cup football matches, Heddiw inevitably became a movable feast to be accommodated elsewhere in the evening schedule. Welsh language programmes outside this early evening sequence tended normally to be placed after 10 p.m. So too were English language programmes. There were exceptions occasionally to this pattern when opt-outs occurred in the prime time area between 8.00 p.m. and 10.00 p.m. but in general these were "one-off" programmes or short series and predominantly English rather than Welsh language programmes and had a wide popular appeal (e.g. Miss Wales, Welsh Sports Personality of the Year). This was especially evident in the period following the 9 o'clock news. Welsh language documentaries, however, had secured a fairly consistent weekly placing in three of the quarters in this period, being transmitted on either Tuesday or Thursday evenings in the half hour before the news.

On only two occasions in the broadcasting calendar was this overall pattern of output significantly extended - on March 1st, St. David’s Day and during the first week of August when the National Eisteddfod was held and extensive live and recorded coverage screened. For the most part, however, the service was limited and fragmentary though the fiction projected daily to the viewers by BBC Wales announcers proclaimed that it was complete and autonomous.

4.3.3 Network Radio

With the exception of Radio 3, contributions from Wales to the radio networks were small. (See Table 4.1) Apart from Sport, popular gospel hymns provided the main contribution to Radio 2. For Radio 4, there were occasional plays, serials, features
and periodic "Welsh" editions of Woman's Hour. The main supplier of network material, however, was the Music department which provided the bulk of the 173 hours for Radio 3, with orchestral concerts by the BBC Welsh Symphony Orchestra accounting for most of this output. Apart from concerts and other broadcast forms of serious music, there were also occasional plays and talks produced for the network and, during this particular year, one complete "Welsh" evening of poetry, drama and music. With Scotland and Northern Ireland contributing roughly similar proportions to the networks (11), one cannot fail to notice the contrast between the wider British and international dimensions of the high cultural service provided by Radio 3 and the largely self-contained metropolitan character of the other networks, particularly Radio 4. (12)

4.3.4 BBC Wales Radio 4

As the previous chapter has indicated, the early 1970's saw the beginning of a gradual retreat from the traditional policy of a mixed linguistic radio service for Wales in favour of the development of two autonomous channels. The technique, first used in 1972-73, of splitting the Wales VHF and Medium Wave network, had, by 1975-76, been extended considerably. Apart from separate early morning magazine programmes, the "split" now continued (with occasional variations) until 9:45 a.m. in the English service and until 9:05 a.m. in Welsh. By the time the interviews for this study had been completed (2 months after Annan) the split had been extended still further. In January 1977, the station identification BBC Wales, Radio 4 had been replaced by new service labels Radio Wales and Radio Cymru, though they were far from being totally separate and complete services. The decision to adopt the new service labels, however, was taken primarily to pre-empt their adoption by any would be commercial competitor in the Welsh capital. The first commercial radio station in Wales, Swansea Sound had

(11) In 1975-76, Scotland contributed 92 hours to Radio 2, 231 hours to Radio 3 and 52 hours to Radio 4. Northern Ireland's contributions were 40 (R2), 114 (R3) and 34 (R4).

(12) During the period of this inquiry, Radio 4 had re-designated itself Radio 4 England. The subsequent development of national broadcasting services in the three national regions led to the adoption of its present title - Radio 4 UK, and this has been followed by a significant increase in the amount of material produced for the network by the national regions.
already opened in September 1974, and a station for Cardiff had been on the forward schedule of the IBA since the same year and it was anticipated that it would be among the first in the next phase of development. The change of station identification signalled not only a substantial increase in transmission hours on the two wavebands but also the adoption, for certain periods of the day, of sequence broadcasting as opposed to traditional programme units. Thus, on medium wave, the Good Morning Wales sequence ran from 6:45 a.m. to 9:05 a.m. On VHF, Radio Cymru provided two editions of its breakfast time miscellany Hala Bobol, from 7:00 a.m. to 7:45 a.m. and from 8:00 a.m. to 8:45 a.m., flanked and sandwiched by 15-minute news programmes. The term used most commonly by the programme planners to describe the new sequences was "band" or "strand". On medium wave, there was also a daily programme at 9:05 a.m. on weekdays running until 10:00 a.m., unless Parliament was sitting when it made way at 9:45 a.m. for Yesterday in Parliament. This was referred to as "the 9-5 band". There was also a "lunch-time band" in Welsh, from 12:00 p.m. to 1:00 p.m. on VHF consisting of 3 short programmes and ending with a lunch-time news bulletin.

These developments paved the way for the more extensive changes of November 1978 when the linguistic split between Medium Wave and VHF was extended to cover the whole period before 2:00 p.m. and the early evening from 5:00 p.m. (4:40 p.m. on MW) until 6:00 p.m. The shape of this pattern, however, had already become clear at the time when the interviews for this study were carried out, and it had also acquired official approval from the Crawford, Siberry and Annan Committees. The direction in which things were moving can be gauged from the following breakdown of radio output for 1975-76.
### Table 4.2

**BBC Wales Radio 4 Programme Output 1975 - 76**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme Category</th>
<th>Hours of Output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News and Current Affairs</td>
<td>890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including other programmes by News and Current Affairs staff)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama/Features</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunch Time Band (Welsh)</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-5 Band (English)</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Programmes</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.30 Band (Welsh)</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeats</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.E. Repeats</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools Programmes</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2342</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compiled from information supplied by Chief Asst. Planning and Programme Finance.

In weekly terms, this represented an output of around 18 hours a week in English and 26 hours in Welsh. By far the largest single element, as one might expect, was News and Current Affairs' programmes, amounting to 38% of the total output. In the English language, it accounted for as much as 70% of the output. Equally significant, however, are the considerable number of hours of sequence broadcasting in both Welsh and English, indicating the arrival of more populist forms of programming similar to those already developed in local radio, including phone-ins, record requests, chat shows and...
various other forms of access programming. These formed the main elements in the different programmes in the 9-5 strand. Alongside this trend, there was also a conscious attempt to miscellaneize in a more overtly populist way the content of the long established early morning magazines by adopting a more personalised and informal mode of presentation in a fast moving turnover of short items. Brief reports and interviews became interspersed with headlines, weather forecasts and road traffic reports, with a substantial quota of the latest discs in the Welsh sequence, and were a portent of the more thorough going practices that were to follow in 1978 and 1979. While Good Morning Wales continued to carry often lengthy interviews and, occasionally, extended discussions of major Welsh news items, it was clear that their days were numbered. Moreover, it was also clear that commitment to the new populist forms would entail a divorce from the traditional sustaining network in which they were located. As the Broadcasting Council for Wales observed of its new forms, in its memorandum to Annan (1975: 18).

'Some of these sit uneasily in the context of Radio 4, and there is reason to believe that higher audiences would be achieved in a less speech-orientated service.'

The changes of November 1978, not surprisingly, saw the end of this traditional affiliation to Radio 4 as, for the first time, the popular music of Radio 2 became the sustaining fare for Welsh listeners in the mid afternoon and for much of the evening. In 1976-77, however, these developments, though clearly foreseen, were still some way off.
CHAPTER 5

THE PRODUCERS

5.1 THE METHOD OF THE INQUIRY

5.1.1 Origins and Procedures

I had become increasingly preoccupied with many of the issues raised in this study over a number of years as a media practitioner. I joined the BBC in Wales as a Presentation Announcer in 1958. Four years later I negotiated the crossing to programme production and it was as a producer, first in radio and then in television, that I was to spend the greater part of the next twelve years, working partly on features and documentary programmes but chiefly as a producer, and for a short period as a programme editor, in the Current Affairs' department before eventually returning to Presentation as its departmental head. My own socialisation within the professional community had therefore been extensive and yet, over the years I had come to question a number of its practices or at least to want to seek some kind of wider critical understanding of them than that obtaining within the conventional wisdom of the institution itself. The period immediately preceding the beginning of this research was to take me across the great practitioner/academic divide and it was from the "other side" that I was to return to the institution as a researcher in the summer of 1976.

As a former producer I obviously had a certain advantage when it came to making the initial approaches. Even so, I had to seek formal approval through the appropriate channels, and a full month was to elapse before my official request to BBC Wales Controller was approved with reservations after careful consideration by BBC management in London. The BBC's caution and concern were evident, however, from the tone of the Controller's letter. It is perhaps worth quoting at some length because it confirms what various other researchers have previously experienced (Halloran and Gurevitch, 1971) and I, though an ex-member of staff, was also now to find:
"I must first apologise for the delay in replying to your letter of the 15th March requesting cooperation in your research project in which you propose to examine what you call "occupational ideology and orientation in BBC Wales."

In the past, some similar studies into various aspects of the BBC's internal structures and activities have led to considerable difficulties as a result of which the BBC have become somewhat reluctant to grant the permission you seek. However, since I have given my assurance that your approach to your subject matter will be an objective one with no intention to create embarrassment or difficulties, the BBC is willing to give you the support and cooperation you seek. You will, I know, let me know in due course which members of staff you wish to approach."

Apart from being permitted to conduct interviews with personnel and have access to production areas if required, I was also allowed, on making a further request, to use the BBC Reference Library and Programme Registry and have access to other source material held by the Information and Publicity Department. I was able to draw considerably on these resources in writing the historical survey of Welsh broadcasting. Additional materials, particularly official reports, memoranda and other documents were also made available to me by the BBC Wales Secretary whom I consulted on various points on a number of occasions.

The idea of a theoretical study of communicator practices in Welsh broadcasting had actually begun to crystallize in my mind following a number of informal conversations with former colleagues in the early months of 1976. Out of these emerged much of the material for the initial pilot interviews which I carried out in the summer of that year. These interviews, seven in all, were conducted with a number of contract and freelance broadcasters and staff news assistants. At that stage, the intention was to interview a much larger cross section of broadcasting personnel, including possibly technical and ancillary staff as well as producers and performers. It soon became clear, however, that the completion of such an extensive survey would call for a considerably narrower focus if it was to be relevant to such diverse occupational groups and work situations and yet, if this were done, much of the analysis of ideology in relation to the central producer group in this mixed population would have to be severely curtailed. It was decided, therefore, that, rather than attempt a more general survey of the
different categories in the broadcasting population (and it was by no means clear that one would have valid criteria for a selected sample), a more intensive and more narrowly focussed study should be carried out of the producers alone. In this way the scope and form of the material for the next round of interviews could be directed more purposefully to this more limited but coherent group of communicators. The question that arose next was how that group itself was to be defined since, on first appearance, there was a degree of heterogeneity here too which bedevilled any ready made typology. The criteria of definition adopted to resolve this question are described in detail in the next section of this chapter.

The decision to adopt the extended structured interview as the main research method for this empirical part of the study was deliberate. Having first hand experience of the production process and a detailed knowledge of the programme output in which the producers were individually involved, I felt that what was required was to provide an opportunity for them to reflect at some length on their experience and work roles. I was anxious in particular to confront them with issues which, in the normal round of duties, they would have found little occasion to analyse systematically but which, I suspected, they would readily welcome the opportunity of discussing in a confidential interview.

The producers were contacted individually, usually by telephone and after securing their agreement, a time and place for the interview were arranged. Most of the interviews in Cardiff took place at Broadcasting House, sometimes in the producer’s own office but more generally in a quiet room or reception area that happened to be available and where we would not be disturbed. In Bangor, a reception room was set aside for me to use for the whole period of the interviews. In several instances where it proved difficult to find time available at work during the day, I was invited to the producer’s home in the evening. On a few occasions, I asked producers to my own home. In only one instance did I encounter anything less than full cooperation. This particular producer, objecting to social science research generally, was dismissive in his attitude to a number of the questions put to him with the result that our exchange was much briefer. The other producers, without exception, were very ready to cooperate and gave generously of their time,
often when work pressures were heavy and showed considerable interest in the
subjects raised by the interview and were eager to talk about them. Moreover
it seemed to be an enjoyable experience for many of them: it was frequently put
to me after the interview was concluded that they had found it stimulating
because they had been asked to think out their position "on the spot" as it were
on a number of matters which they had either taken for granted or had not
seriously considered at all. As an ex-broadcaster, I had the obvious advantage,
of course, of knowing most of them extremely well. Knowing also their work
patterns fairly intimately, I was able to make the initial contacts quickly and
minimise the formal preliminaries in a way a complete outsider would not have
been able to do.

The schedule I constructed was an attempt to combine some of the more
descriptive elements of a factual survey with the more exploratory features of an
in-depth interview. To this end a mixture of closed and open questions were
juxtaposed strategically within the overall structure in order to secure variety of
pace and to maintain the interest of the respondent over what was likely to take
several hours to complete.

In the four months following the initial pilot interviews, a number of
changes were made in the form and content of the original interview schedule to
take account of the difficulties and anomalies highlighted by some of the earlier
responses and also, as indicated already, of the far more homogeneous sample that
was now to be studied. First, the categories for the closed questions were reduced
and simplified. Second, the actual number of closed questions was reduced and
some were re-cast in open form to allow the interviewees to respond more freely.
Third, a number of questions were reformulated in order to elicit more specific
responses, and finally a number of questions that had proved of marginal relevance
were omitted altogether. The text of the revised interview schedule is reproduced
in full as Appendix I.

The final producer population of 62 that was subsequently defined for the
study was then interviewed between December 1976 and May 1977. The Cardiff
producers were interviewed first, beginning on December 7th. The last of the
interviews in Cardiff took place on May 5th. The Bangor producers were then all interviewed in Bangor within the following week, between May 8th and May 12th. Each respondent was given a code number, the numbers following in sequence according to order of interview, from 01 to 62. (1) The median time for the 62 interviews was 2 hours 14 minutes. A number of the interviews were conducted either wholly or partly in Welsh, especially with producers whose output was exclusively in the language and to whom I had habitually spoken Welsh in the past as colleagues in the organisation.

There are obviously various problems of perception and attitude involved in the use of the interview as a tool for social research. In this particular investigation, I was especially aware of the possibility that my own personal knowledge of the respondents might influence the way certain questions were framed and, in fact, put; that various nuances of inflection and intonation, for instance, might reflect unconsciously certain a priori value judgments and prejudices based on long acquaintance and, in some cases, close friendship. There was the "problem" also, which is perhaps difficult for the non-Welsh speaker to appreciate, of the greater degree of "warmth" and intimacy which might be carried by exchanges in the Welsh language (which, as in French, has its intimate form of the personal pronoun). I knew, however, that in many such cases, to have conducted the interview in English in the interests of uniformity would have inhibited the kind of open appraisal I was seeking. The phenomenon of 'code switching' (Blom ana Gumperz, 1972:407-34) is in any case much wider than that signified by an actual change of language: it can be related to the topic of the encounter and to the status or other personal characteristics of the addressee. The fact that an interview was conducted in Welsh rather than in English would not necessarily make the encounter more intimate. This would depend on the existence of additional factors such as the degree of personal friendship or otherwise that existed prior to the encounter. It was, nevertheless, with these "problems" very much in mind that I decided to follow the kind of fairly formal and detailed interview schedule I adopted, putting every question in precisely the same form on each occasion.

(1) A note on the use of code numbers appears at the end of this chapter.
I had also tried to construct the schedule so that the interview would "flow" from one point to the next as in "normal" conversation so that little or no additional comment was needed from me between the questions.

However, as an ex-producer much of the form if not the substance of my questioning drew inevitably on the discourses of professional broadcasting. My task as a researcher was to ensure that this did not colonise the theoretical analysis for, as Schlesinger has put it (1978:11): 'to arrive at a sociological analysis, one must go beyond immersion ..... one must become disengaged and reconstruct the data'. Insider knowledge, nevertheless, gave me certain obvious advantages: a point of organisational practice, for instance, could be made by an interviewee without the need for any annotation or explanation; various matters of policy, which might seem arcane to an outsider, could be telescoped into a professional turn of phrase. Much could be short-circuited in this way. Using the codes of the professional community certainly engendered good response and feedback. Nevertheless, I tried constantly to be alive to the need to decontextualise my own professional socialisation both in framing the questions and in assessing the data they generated.

Although equipped with a portable tape recorder, I soon found when conducting the interviews that I was able to take down verbatim accounts of all the answers to the open questions on the schedule so that recording was unnecessary. In most instances, the questions called for fairly specific and concise responses and where the ground that could be covered was more diffuse, the very fact of the interviewees having to think aloud, as it were, in this impromptu situation resulted in fairly deliberate answers which I found little difficulty in writing down. In broadcast practice a neglect of non-verbal communication would be considered poor interviewing technique: in this context, however, it did not prove at all inhibiting to the interviewees, though several had shown concern at the prospect of their being recorded on tape. I was, of course, able to complete many of the factual sections on the schedule from my own personal knowledge before meeting the interviewee.
It was this knowledge and the comparatively small size of the sample which also influenced me to process the data in what might appear a somewhat laborious and time consuming way and not to use a computer programme and punch cards. The quantitative data from the closed questions in fact were easily processed. The data generated by the open questions, and these were in many respects the most significant, were not in any event, readily computable. What they provided were a series of clues and signals out of which a more integrative analysis could emerge. As soon as all the interviews had been completed, therefore, the data were actually transferred from the schedules to larger sheets of paper. From these it was possible to detect visually different patterns of response and by further re-arrangement into 'clusters' and drawing on my insider knowledge of the individuals making the responses, it was possible to relate these patterns or trends to specific groupings of individuals in the sample. It was through becoming involved in this kind of physical handling of the data that I felt I could get the real "feel" of the analysis as it was emerging. Before proceeding to look at the data however, it is necessary to explain more fully the issues involved in the actual selection of staff for interview.

5.1.2 The Sample Population: Problems of Definition and Selection

In both professional and popular usage, the terms 'broadcaster' and 'producer' have a wide and diffuse currency. As Smith has pointed out in a research paper for the Annan Committee (1977 : 133) 'no two countries, indeed no two broadcasting organisations within the same country - use precisely the same terms to describe precisely the same functions. Problems of nomenclature crop up also within different departments of the BBC'. In popular usage broadcasting implies performance at the microphone or before the camera, though this need not necessarily be a full-time activity, providing the sole or major source of income. Thus certain academics, for example, might commonly describe themselves professionally as 'lecturers and broadcasters' when, perhaps, the source of their acclaim as broadcasters may derive from their expert knowledge in their distinctive academic field. The same is true of writers and journalists whose activities straddle more than one of the mass media. Clearly,
frequency of performance is an element in popular recognition whether or not it involves sustained contractual employment for the broadcaster. However, it is no part of the purpose of this study to pursue these semantic distinctions. Our focus is, obviously, upon those personnel in broadcasting who, in the normal course of their duties, generally, though not exclusively, as we shall see, find themselves behind, rather than in front of, the camera or microphone, and who are usually concerned with the shaping and preparation of material for others to present. For our purpose then, the ascription 'broadcaster' as used in this inquiry is one of convenience to describe the activity of a specific and significant group of professional staff employed in the process of broadcasting in Wales and who are concerned primarily, though again not exclusively, with the making rather than the presentation of programmes.

The term 'producer' is more problematic and requires some annotation if the selection of the broadcasting personnel made for this study is to be understood. In British television today, the broad distinction between the roles of producer and director is well established, that of producer being defined as a person having responsibility for a programme's overall content and subject matter and that of director as being more specifically concerned with a programme's visual realisation as a technical and artistic product. The distinction is particularly well established in such fields of programme output as drama, where the complex demands of the production process are more easily accommodated by such a division of responsibility and function. In factual programmes, the distinction is often not as clear cut: sometimes the comparative simplicity and directness of subject matter makes it sound economic as well as programme sense to combine the two functions in a single individual. With the documentary film, on the other hand, precisely because of the qualities of stamina that are often called for, in what is usually an extremely complex and intricate process, it makes equal sense that the person whose overall "vision" the programme is, be enabled to achieve its physical realisation by controlling and supervising it at all stages of its actual making.

At regional level, the classical distinctions frequently become more blurred and fluid so that considerably greater interchangeability of roles is possible and,
because of the generally more limited number of personnel, the organisation may countenance or even come to depend upon production staff at the "assistant" level "acting up" to assume responsibilities which normally carry with them "full" producer status. A number of television production assistants working for BBC Wales appeared to operate occasionally in this way, and one at least fairly regularly, though nominally under the supervision of a senior producer. All staff at this "assistant" level were, however, excluded from this inquiry since it was judged that they did not take total responsibility. Their names did not appear in the official staff list as producers, and, this was taken in the final analysis as the hallmark in deciding whether or not to include someone in the 'producer' population to be studied.

The same problem of definition, though to an even greater extent, exists in radio. The basic directness and "uncomplicated" nature of a high proportion of radio output (outside the fields of orchestral music and drama), where considerably fewer technical and human resources have to be organised, means that radio production has become accessible to a much larger number of people. The formal institutional status of many of those involved in radio broadcasting is often ill defined, and their links with the broadcasting organisation may be loose and indeterminate. In BBC Wales these included again not only categories of staff below the official producer grade, who were given opportunities by way of formal production attachments or through more ad hoc assignments, but also a semi-penultimate core of contract and freelance broadcasters whose contribution to programme output extended, from time to time, from routine microphone performance to the selection and presentation of material for complete programmes. Significant as the role of these professional broadcasters may be, as Kumar (1975) has shown, in holding 'the middle ground' between the media organisation and its public, their contribution as occasional programme makers is peripheral to their primary role as performers and reporters and they were therefore excluded from this inquiry. In short, it was decided to include in the study only members of staff formally listed by BBC Wales as full staff producers - whether in television or radio.
As with production assistants in television, a similar decision was taken to exclude news assistants in radio, who, although they compiled material for the short evening news programme Dateline, from time to time, did not do so with any degree of regularity as to establish for themselves a consistent work pattern; they were employed by the organisation primarily as newsroom sub-editors engaged in the routine tasks of preparing the daily news bulletins for inclusion, generally, in longer sequences of current affairs' broadcasting. Moreover, at the time of the inquiry, Dateline was being 'produced' increasingly by freelance news journalists contracted for single programmes. Exceptions were made, however, in the case of two news assistants based in Bangor (code numbers 52 and 57), who, for local institutional reasons, worked an alternating cycle consisting of one week's television news sub-editing duties, providing copy and film scripts for the Bangor contribution to the nightly news review Wales Today, followed by a second week in which they performed the role of producer of the Welsh language lunch time radio news programme Cyn Un. This pattern of role consistency was felt to justify their inclusion in the producer population.

Four other exceptions must be noted at this point. First, No. 46, though not formally listed as a staff producer but as a 'commentator', was heavily involved in the production of radio programmes, which he also invariably presented, so that his inclusion in the study was felt to be justified. The other exceptions to be included were three contract radio producer-presenters whose regularity of employment in this role made then effectively additional sources of 'staff' production strength for the organisation. Two of these producer-presenters (Nos. 58 and 59) were based in Bangor, and the third (No. 47) at Cardiff, had a contractual arrangement to undertake only six months of full time production work in any one year. With these exceptions, the decision to limit the study to full-time working staff producers also meant the exclusion of the few senior management staff in Cardiff responsible for programme direction and administration, who, in one or two instances, very occasionally, undertook to produce programmes themselves. The infrequency with which they did so, however, and their central preoccupation with administration clearly disqualified
them in several senses from being regarded as 'full' rank and file producers. Similarly, one "purely administrative" departmental head of an output area was excluded.

One further constraint had to be applied for obvious practical reasons. Throughout the period in which the interviews were conducted, new appointments, albeit few, were being made and minor redeployment of staff occurred. It would have been fruitless to have redrawn these minor staffing realignments with each appointment or redisposition that took place though they were comparatively few, as it happens. Equally it would have been unrealistic to have expected a new incumbent of, say, a few weeks' experience to have been in a position to assess adequately the demands and implications of a post to which s/he had just been appointed. It was decided to take the 1st December 1976 (the month in which the formal round of interviews began) as the cut-off date: those appointed after this date were therefore not included. There were, in fact, only two cases (Nos. 30 and 45) where the holders had been formally in post only a short period at the time of interview, but in both instances, they had "acted" in the same capacity for some time, number 45 in fact, for a period of two years.

Of the final total of 62 included in the inquiry, 48 were Cardiff based producers (including one on contract staff) and 14 were based in Bangor (two of whom were also contract staff). Five were female, four in Cardiff and one in Bangor.

5.2 AGE DISTRIBUTION

The median age group of the producers was 30-39 but as Table 5.1 shows, well over half (56%) were 40 or over, 27.4% in fact being in their 50's. Only 3 (4.8%) were under 30, indicating the comparatively limited prospects of acquiring producer status in this age group in an organisational situation which appeared to be top heavy in the middle age range.
### Table 5.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A substantial proportion of all the producers over 30 and below 50 acquired office during the period of the creation and expansion of BBC Wales in the 1960s which ran parallel to the opening up of BBC 2 for which, as Golding suggests, (1974:59) a significant group of graduate entrants were appointed. Those over 50 had nearly all joined before this period. Eight of this group of 17 worked in television, four of them being Features and Documentaries producers. The other four were in two other output departments - two each in Light Entertainment and Education. Beyond this there did not appear to be any sharply structured career pattern in terms of age, and there was a similar age spread across all programme departments and output areas.

However, it is, of course, the subtler forms of correspondence between age and outlook which are likely to be of greatest significance since different waves of entrants reflect not only the different phases of institutional growth that have already been sketched but different historical stages of political and cultural development generally, each having its appropriate set of beliefs and ideological practices. It is for evidence of this kind of correspondence that we shall need to look later on in this analysis.

### 5.3 THE ORGANISATIONAL SETTING

In order to understand more clearly the selection of the producers for this study, one has to underline the interaction of a number of important and complex factors in the producers' work situation. These include the medium or media in which the producers operated, the official designation and status they were given by the organisation, the department or programme output area(s) in which they worked, and the language orientation of that output.
5.3.1 Media Alignment

The deployment of the 62 producers in radio and television was as follows.

Table 5.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RADIO</th>
<th>TELEVISION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangor</td>
<td>Bangor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 (2)</td>
<td>29 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures in brackets indicate the number who operated in both media, but their placing above indicates the medium in which most of their work, or the greater proportion of it, was normally done.

5.3.2 Designation and Role

Several organisational titles require comment at this point.

i) Programme Editor. This was applied to a producer who had overall editorial control, usually over a regular programme, daily or weekly, to which, though not in all cases, several supporting producers and/or other staff were assigned. Following the practice of newspaper journalism, the term is widely used of course in news and current affairs broadcasting.

ii) Senior Producer. This indicated not only seniority in terms of length of experience but also carried with it usually responsibility for overseeing the output of a production department or group of producers. This was the term used for the holders of such posts in General Radio Programmes, for Television Light Entertainment, Television Drama, and for Television Features and Documentaries.

iii) Organiser. This term was preferred in describing the most senior of the producers in Sport, Religious Programmes and Children’s Programmes - possibly because their jurisdiction and involvement could extend in practice, in some cases, across radio as well as television.

(iv) Head of Department. This designation was given to the more purely administrative roles of those in charge of Music and Education. The holders of these posts had an active oversight of the work of producers in their output area in both radio and television. In the case of Education, the Head's
role appeared to be almost exclusively administrative and, as indicated above, the holder was not included in the survey (2). The Head of Music, on the other hand, appeared to play a more active personal role as producer from time to time and nominally, at least, exercised supervisory control over the work of a television production assistant in his department. He was therefore included in the 'working' producer population to be studied, as was the Head of Production at Bangor who, from the terms of his appointment, was expected, from time to time, to produce programmes of his own choice as well as oversee the output of the Bangor station generally (3).

Designation, therefore, was not always a clear indication of the holder's function and responsibility in the organisation. In Music Department, for example, in addition to a Head of Department, there was a Senior Producer whose designation was more a reflection of a specialist responsibility he had in connection with the administration of the BBC Welsh Symphony Orchestra rather than of any control he exercised over other producers as was the case with other senior producers. Similarly, the post of Senior Radio Producer in the Education Department appeared to be a recognition of this particular post holder's length of service in the field, since he appeared to have only occasional additional administrative responsibilities.

(2) For the same reason, the Editor, News and Current Affairs was not included.

(3) In this respect his contribution as a working producer was far more in evidence than with his much more administratively oriented counterparts in Cardiff. During the period of this inquiry, his own production activity was in fact minimal, but, as he explained, this was primarily the result of the existing limited technical resources at Bangor being more than fully stretched by a deliberate policy of expansion in which he had thought it desirable to play a supervisory, rather than a participatory, role. There was therefore every reason to believe that, as increased resources were made available, he would again adopt a similar degree of personal responsibility for individual programmes as his predecessor had done.
5.3.3 Departments and Output Areas

Table 5.3 shows the distribution of the BBC Wales production staff interviewed across the various departments of programme output.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dept./Output Area</th>
<th>CARDIFF</th>
<th>BANGOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>RADIO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News and Current Affairs</td>
<td>04(PE)</td>
<td>01(PE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19(PE)</td>
<td>15(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31(P)</td>
<td>46(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16(P)</td>
<td>30(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features/Documentaries and General Programmes</td>
<td>12(SP)</td>
<td>48(SP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41(P)</td>
<td>20(PE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38(P)</td>
<td>36(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26(P)</td>
<td>47(P)+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>03(P)</td>
<td>46(P)c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td></td>
<td>07(SP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32(SP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>05(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>08(SP)r2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>25(SP)r1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>13(SP)r1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>06(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Entertainment</td>
<td>40(SP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Programmes</td>
<td>09(SP)r1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21(P)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10(P)r1</td>
<td>37(SP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>02(P)</td>
<td>42(P)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14(P)</td>
<td>43(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39(P)r1</td>
<td>24(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35(P)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although, for organisational purposes, broadcasting operates within the fairly fixed parameters of established output departments and with assumptions of a separation of the two media, in practice, in a regional context, because of local resource and linguistic constraints, the pressure to maximise manpower leads to a fluidity of arrangement that defies not only administrative tidiness but also any attempt to establish an ordered typology of linguistic and media operation. To the outsider, this is almost incomprehensible. Inside the organisation, the inconsistencies may not be fully understood, but they are rarely questioned, often because the anomalies work to the advantage of individuals, whether they are engaged in the struggle for one-upmanship or, for the tired and disenchanted, in the evasion of further burdens in pursuit of the quiet life. Much of the mystique which confounds the uninitiated is enshrouded in the complex system of grades by which the Corporation makes its value judgement of a post - and an assessment once made is extremely hard to unmake, though an aggrieved encumbent may be assuaged if all else fails by the award of a 'personal' grade which will "lift" his salary above the maximum specified by the official grade of his post. Titles and designations frequently persist long after the institutional history or the particular circumstances of programme development or the personal rivalries and manoeuvres that gave rise to them have disappeared. (4) The anomalies on paper persist but

(4) In Bangor, for instance, though there was now no producer officially listed for Drama, a certain amount of radio drama was actually produced there by one of the General Programme Producers. Similarly, a number of Light Entertainment programmes in Welsh were produced in Bangor from time to time by another General Programme Producer.
then new ones are added to them with each new re-shuffle of personnel as 
new programmes and ideas are launched.

Thus Table 5.3 can at best be only an approximation in describing what
after all was a highly mobile situation. It is particularly difficult, also, to 
reflect accurately the degree of cross media involvement, and the symbols r1 and 
r2 are hard to translate into precise quantitative terms. They are intended 
as a guide to the extent of 'other' media production undertaken at the time of 
this inquiry, and should in no way be taken as indicating what can never be, 
in any case, a reflection of a permanent policy situation. Certainly No. 08 
had oversight of, and, at times, an active involvement in radio programmes, 
and so did No. 53, whose commitment to radio in terms of actual output (though 
not, of course, in terms of time spent on programme production) was higher than 
to his television output, whereas No. 13, though having oversight, would only be 
actively involved in producing radio programmes as an occasional relief for his 
radio colleague. No. 25 and No. 09, during the period of interviewing, had 
not actually done any radio programmes at all. In theory almost any television 
producer, were he asked to do so or given the opportunity, might at any time 
find himself involved in a radio production alongside his normal television work. 
In practice this would happen to only a few, but then it could and did happen. 
(A detailed summary of the programme output areas, media and linguistic 
involvement of each producer is given in Appendix II).

Having underlined the difficulties inherent in the tentative nature of this 
classification, we can nevertheless draw from the data as a whole the following 
broad conclusions:

(1) Of the 48 Cardiff-based producers, four were Programme Editors - three in 
News and Current Affairs, and one in General Programmes. 10 were Senior Producers 
or Output Leaders, all except two having responsibility for the output of a department 
or group of producers. The remaining 34 were rank and file producers (including 
one on contract staff and one who was officially listed as Commentator).

(2) Of the Bangor-based producers, there was only one Senior Producer (in fact 
called Head of Production) and only one Programme Editor (again in News and 
Current Affairs).
Of the remaining 12, eight were rank and file producers, two were 'contract' producer-presenters, and two were half-time producers in that they functioned for the other 50% of their time as regional news sub-editors.

(3) Of the 62 producers, just over a half (32) were involved in the production of television programmes, 23 exclusively so. Five also devoted virtually their whole time to television, two others at least half their time, and the other two had regular, if occasional, periods in television production.

(4) Production staff worked separately in either radio or television in News and Current Affairs, Features and General Programmes, and, to all intents and purposes, in Education - except where radio might be used to extend or reinforce an adult education project carried on television.

This was also the case in all other output areas in general, with staff working separately in radio or television, the only exceptions being the Senior Producers, Organisers or Heads of certain departments themselves (all in fact except Light Entertainment) so that they exercised surveillance over their output area in both media.

5.3.4 Language

If the attempt to codify the producers in terms of media involvement has to be hedged around with caveats of a shifting scenario, their classification according to language is equally bedevilled by the very existence of bilingualism itself, which meant that anyone who was bilingual, as with anyone who was bi-media, could be expected to make the crossing from one field of linguistic output to the other. The reality, as we shall discover later, was rather more complex. Briefly, some could and did make the crossing easily, naturally and happily; others did so, but less happily, as the situation demanded; others again actually found it difficult if not impossible, and some, if pressed, would probably refuse, though were unlikely to be faced with the prospect in any case. The remainder were monoglot English speakers, and for them the question did not arise.

Using the data derived from the responses to Questions 7 and 50 in the Interview Schedule, Table 5.4 attempts a categorisation of staff in terms of both media involvement and language.
Table 5.4
Distribution of Producers in Terms of Media Alignment and Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CARDIFF</th>
<th>BANGOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R(E)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>TV(E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R(W)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R(E/W)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R(E/w)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R(W/e)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV/R(W)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV/R(E/w)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV/R(W/e)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **R(E)** Working solely in Radio and in the English language only.
- **R(W)** Working solely in Radio and in the Welsh language only.
- **R(E/W)** Working solely in Radio and to about the same extent in both languages.
- **R(E/w)** Working solely in Radio and in English more than in Welsh.
- **R(W/e)** Working solely in Radio and in Welsh more than in English.
- **TV(E)** Working solely in Television and in the English language only.
- **TV(W)** Working solely in Television and in the Welsh language only.
- **TV(E/W)** Working solely in Television and to about the same extent in both languages.
- **TV(E/w)** Working solely in Television and in English more than in Welsh.
- **TV(W/e)** Working solely in Television and in Welsh more than in English.
- **TV/R(W)** Working in both Television and Radio and entirely in the Welsh language.
- **TV/R(E/w)** Working in both Television and Radio and in English more than in Welsh.
- **TV/R(W/e)** Working in both Television and Radio and in Welsh more than in English.

From this it can be seen that 13 of the 14 Bangor staff were engaged in radio production, and for 9 of them this was entirely in the Welsh language. The other four were also primarily engaged in producing Welsh language programmes (5).

(5) All the Bangor producers were, in fact, Welsh speaking.
Nine of the Cardiff-based producers (18.6%) produced programmes only in the English language. All but one of these posts were held, in fact, by non-Welsh speakers. This compares with 13 other Cardiff producers (27%) who produced programmes entirely in the Welsh language. If to this figure one adds that of the nine, Bangor producers noted above, then 22 (35%) of all BBC Wales producers were solely Welsh-language programme-makers. A further four in Bangor and 12 in Cardiff were principally producers of Welsh language programmes, which brings the overall percentage of Welsh language oriented producers to 61%.

5.3.5 Other Variables: The Overall Work Profile.

If we now consider this categorisation in the light of our earlier distribution in Table 5.3, we can relate media and language to programme output area (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5
Alignment by Output Area, Media and Language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Output</th>
<th>CARDIFF</th>
<th></th>
<th>BANGOR</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>RADIO</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>RADIO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News and Current Affairs</td>
<td>04(PE)E</td>
<td>01(PE)E</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62(PE)W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19(PE)W</td>
<td>15(P)E</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>54(P)W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31(P)E</td>
<td>44(P)Ew</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49(P)W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16(P)W</td>
<td>30E</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>52(P)nW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57(P)nW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features/Documentaries and</td>
<td>12(SP/Ew)</td>
<td>48(SP)Ew</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50(SP)We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Programmes</td>
<td>41(P)E</td>
<td>20(PE)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>61(P)W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38(P)E</td>
<td>36(P)We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56(P)W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26(P)We</td>
<td>47(P)We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60(P)We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>03(P)Ew</td>
<td>46(P)Ew</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>58(P)W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18(P)We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59(P)We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27(P)We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>07(SP)tEw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59(P)We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32(SP)Ew</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>05(P)Ew</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>08(SP)r2We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51(P)W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55(P)r2Ew</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>25(SP)r1We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11(P)We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45(P)We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Area of Output

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Output</th>
<th>CARDIFF TV</th>
<th>CARDIFF RADIO</th>
<th>BANGOR TV</th>
<th>BANGOR RADIO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>13(SP)1Ew</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>06(P)E</td>
<td>17(P)1We</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Entertainment</td>
<td>40(SP)EW</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28(P)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22(P)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23(P)EW</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29(P)EW</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Programmes</td>
<td>09(SP)1W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34(P)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21(P)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10(P)1We</td>
<td>37(SP)E</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>02(P)Ew</td>
<td>42(P)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14(P)We</td>
<td>45(P)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39(P)1We</td>
<td>24(P)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35(P)W</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SP   Senior Producer  
PE   Programme Editor  
P    Producer  
+    Contract Staff Producer  
c   Commentator/Producer  
n   News Assistant/Producer (Bangor)  
r1  May undertake radio production from time to time  
r2  Substantial involvement in radio production  
t   Undertakes television production in addition, from time to time  
E   Working in the English language only  
W   Working in the Welsh language only  
E/W Working to about the same extent in both languages  
E/w Working in English more than in Welsh  
W/e Working in Welsh more than in English

The extent to which knowledge of the Welsh language was a necessary qualification for output leadership can be gauged from the fact that all the senior producers (outside Education) worked themselves in the two languages and had staff working to them in their area also producing material in one or other or both languages. In only four of the 10 areas were there producers of programmes solely in the English language, two each in Television and Radio News and Current Affairs; two in Features/Documentaries and General Programmes (both Television); one in Television Sport and
1 in Education (Radio). Apart from the overwhelmingly 'Welsh' output of the
Bangor producers, already noted, the proportion of staff producing Welsh language
material or predominantly Welsh material in Cardiff was also high. In Children's
Programmes the output was entirely in the Welsh language; in Education, Light
Entertainment, Drama and Religion it was predominantly so. In Features/
Documentaries and General Programmes, the Cardiff producers divided fairly evenly
in terms of language, mainly because a number of those working in television were
engaged in some programme production from time to time for the main BBC networks.
Music producers had an even greater network output—in their case for Radio 3, where,
of course, the language of presentation was English. Sport too had most of its
'regular' output in English, reflecting graphically its place as a major audience
puller. Only in News and Current Affairs, however, were there more Cardiff-based
producers working solely in English than in Welsh though their output, as we have
seen, was more than counterbalanced by the exclusively 'Welsh' output from Bangor.

Involvement in the production of programmes for the radio or television
networks constituted a further variable in the work situation of both 'English' and
bilingual producers. For some it was a sine qua non of the post they held as with
music producers, the major part of whose time was taken up with the production of
concerts by the BBC Welsh Symphony Orchestra for the BBC's serious music radio
network. There was a similar obligation for those who worked for any of the BBC's
regional or local newsrooms where there was an implicit expectation to reflect not
only the region or locality to itself but also to the wider audience of the United
Kingdom as a whole. In less defined areas such as drama and documentary (unless
the region was an acknowledged Network Production Centre) it was a much more
subtle mixture of offering and commissioning, in which some producers, as we shall
see later, were intent on making their mark, while others were either content, or
felt a greater compulsion, to direct their energies more exclusively to the cultural
or other needs of the audience in Wales.

Some indication of the involvement or otherwise of the producers in Network
programme making is given in the detailed Index of Producers in Appendix II. This
provides a summary of the interests, programme areas and the media and linguistic
commitments of all the producers in the survey.
5.4  **A NOTE ON CODE NUMBERS**

As indicated already, each respondent in this study was given an individual code number at the time of interview. Apart from preserving some measure of anonymity for the respondents, I felt that some kind of reference system was a necessary tool in the research procedure. The use of code numbers enabled me to develop the kind of detailed organisational work profile outlined in this chapter.

As will be seen in the chapters which follow, individual code numbers are used in nearly every instance to identify the source of each piece of interview material cited in the text. By referring to the Index of Producers in Appendix II and to the various organisational groupings mapped out in Table 5.5, the reader is thus equipped with a simple cross referencing system which enables him/her to build up in the course of the analysis a set of individual profiles of many of the respondents. In this way too it is hoped the reader will experience something of the piecing together of the evidence out of which some of the broader conclusions of the study emerged.

In virtually every instance, the respondent whose comments are quoted is broadly identified and located in terms of the organisational context or alignment which is appropriate to the discussion at that point, and so it is possible to follow the broad contours of the analysis without cross referencing. The senior producers and their code numbers in any case should quickly become familiar. It is the 'rank and file' producers that the reader may wish to locate more specifically from time to time in order to relate a statement made by a respondent in one particular context to others made by him/her elsewhere or to another source of information in the text, and more generally to acquire a more intimate and detailed picture of that individual, his/her work group and wider affiliations.
CHAPTER 6
THE BACKGROUND AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PRODUCERS

6.1 INTRODUCTORY

Research on the recruitment and background of cultural producers (1) has shown that while there are no organised career routes into media production, groups recruited at particular periods may well share similar backgrounds. In British journalism, Tunstall (1971) has pointed to a distinction between elite and provincial career paths into the national press. In the context of Welsh broadcasting, however, it has to be asked if there are likely to be particular requirements producing different patterns of recruitment and different criteria of satisfaction. For a producer working at Wood Lane, Llandaff may appear a provincial backwater, whereas his Cardiff counterpart may well feel he is much more a part of "real" broadcasting because of his closeness to the audience he serves: London is too large, too remote and too metropolitan. How far then are different socio-cultural factors evident in the personnel who gain entry to BBC Wales? Is nationality or language or ideological commitment in evidence? Are there any particular occupations that prepare for Welsh broadcasting or from which BBC Wales draws more than from others for its staff; and from what kind of socio-economic background do the broadcasters come? Can one detect, in fact, any consistent pattern of occupational movement or progression in the careers of those producers who came into Welsh broadcasting from a different profession? Does having a university education help, and if so is it Oxbridge or Aberystwyth that has the edge? And after entry, does the pursuit of education count at all? These are some of the questions with which this particular section of the inquiry is concerned.

6.2 NATIONALITY, "HOME" AREA AND LANGUAGE

Of the 62 producers, only two were not of Welsh parentage. One of these was born and brought up in Birmingham, the other in London. Of the 60 "Welsh" producers, four others were actually born outside Wales - two in London, one in Ulster.

and the fourth on Merseyside. The former two, however, grew up very much in what one could describe as London Welsh society, the third was barely nine months old when his parents moved from Northern Ireland to live in Anglesey, and the fourth, similarly, was a small child of four on leaving Birkenhead to spend her upbringing in Dolgellau (and even in Birkenhead one Welsh-speaking parent had provided her with the Welsh language).

Since place of birth is not in itself, therefore, synonymous with place of upbringing, care was taken to ascertain whether or not the place of birth was actually the area in which the respondents' early childhood had also been spent, and in only one other instance (No. 27) was this not the case. Taking childhood area, therefore, rather than place of birth as the variable, Table 6.1 shows the distribution in terms of the present Welsh administrative counties.

Table 6.1
'Home' Counties of the Producers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gwynedd</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clwyd</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powys</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyfed</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Glamorgan</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Glamorgan</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Glamorgan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Wales</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of 'North' Walians (27) is striking, and if to their number one adds the 'West' Walian contingent from Dyfed (10) they clearly outnumber together the remainder from the much more heavily populated areas of the south and east, forming 59% of our producer population.

While 70% of the people of Wales, in fact, live in only three of the traditional Welsh counties, viz Glamorgan, Monmouthshire and Flintshire, the producers coming from these counties number 19, 1 and 0 respectively (Table 6.2).
Table 6.2

Distribution of Producers' Home Area by Traditional Counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglesey</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvonshire</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denbighshire</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flintshire</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merioneth</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardiganshire</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmarthenshire</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembrokeshire</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomeryshire</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radnorshire</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breconshire</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamorgan</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monmouthshire</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Wales</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significantly, the majority of the producers were clearly drawn from those areas which are essentially part of what Welsh geographers have long identified as the Welsh language heartland of Wales. Bowen, for instance, (1957) has argued for the existence of a Pays de Galles with a physical and cultural unity.

Using the data of the 1971 census, the accompanying Table 6.3 shows the current distribution of Welsh speakers for the traditional 13 Welsh counties.

Table 6.3

Percentage of Welsh Speakers (1971 Census)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglesey</td>
<td>65.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvonshire</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denbighshire</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flintshire</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merioneth</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardiganshire</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmarthenshire</td>
<td>66.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembrokeshire</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomeryshire</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radnorshire</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breconshire</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamorgan</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monmouthshire</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Though the decline of Welsh has continued unabated since the first language census of 1891, as Bowen and Carter have shown, (1974, 1975) it has been least marked in the heartland counties of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, Merioneth, Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, all with percentages of between 61.9 and 73.5, and these were, in fact, the 'home' counties of 31, exactly 50% of the producers studied. As Mackey has pointed out (1962:557), the language of the neighbourhood is a critical determinant in the adoption of a child's language. There is thus every reason to believe that these producers grew up in an environment where Welsh was the first natural language.

Outside these heartland areas, the Welsh language is confined to specific areas, and in some cases even to small pockets surrounded by great expanses where Welsh is scarcely heard. Of the remaining 27 producers born in Wales, no fewer than 12 (19% of our total) were actually brought up in precisely those areas where there were and still are, in many instances, small but significant communities of Welsh speakers, notably, in the South, in what was formerly north Pembrokeshire and also in some small towns and villages that are now part of the modern administrative county of West Glamorgan, such as Pontardulais or Gwaencaegurwen, and, in the North East, in the Welsh speaking villages of Denbighshire. Thus 43 of the 62 producers (69%) were exposed in their home neighbourhoods in varying degrees to the Welsh language as an environmental factor in their everyday lives.

Neighbourhood, of course, is not the only source of language acquisition. We have to look also to parental influence, and of the 19 not accounted for, 11 had acquired the language from one or both parents or through other agencies, which brings the total of those who could speak the language or had a good working knowledge of it to 54 (87%), thus leaving 8 only non-Welsh speaking producers (13%). The extent to which the Welsh language was a dominant childhood influence can be gauged from the responses to Question 21 which asked which language the respondents had first acquired in the home (Table 6.4).
Table 6.4
Language First Taught

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain/Both simultaneously</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5
"First" Language Today of Welsh-Speaking Producers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain/Equal facility</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 17 who said they had first learned English, nine subsequently acquired Welsh to some degree, and in answer to Question 22 (Table 6.5) three of these now in fact put Welsh as their "first" language today. Of the 54 producers who were Welsh speaking, all except one or possibly two could now be described as fluent speakers of the language. 27 of these claimed Welsh as their "first" language now, 10 put English and 17 were uncertain, maintaining that they had equal facility in both languages and would use each in different situations. It was common to hear such comments as: "My wife does not speak Welsh, so we speak English together at home, whereas, at work, I rarely use English at all." (No. 09). Perhaps the most significant fact to emerge was that 27 (exactly 50%) of the Welsh speakers (or 27.5% of the total number of producers) claimed that Welsh was the language in which they instinctively thought and worked and conducted their lives. In Bangor (all Welsh speakers) nine of the 14 producers placed themselves in the same category, four were uncertain and only one claimed English as his first language. The centrality of the Welsh language in their life and work clearly had implications for their role as producers in a particular institutional setting, and is an issue which will need to be explored further in later sections of this study.

6.3 SOCIAL ORIGINS

In many respects the social structures of Wales and England have marked similarities: both have been subject to the same broad forces of social and economic change that have affected the whole of Western Europe in the past
half century, and yet there are significant differences. In Wales these are principally the result of a different industrial infrastructure and different forms of agriculture. They are also the product of distinctive factors of geography, language and cultural organisation. The polarisation into urban and rural, industrial and farming communities; the decline, especially since the second world war, of the major industries associated with them - coal, steel and farming, and their diversification into other forms of manufacturing and service industries; the resilient survival of Nonconformity; and the persistent respect for education and the popularity of teaching as an insurance against the return of bad times - these are all factors it is possible to discern in a reading of the occupations of the fathers of the producers in this survey. These same factors, as we shall see, may well have been at work in shaping the pre-broadcasting careers of a number of the producers themselves, especially those who came in during the 1950's and 1960's.

12% of the producers were themselves sons/daughters of Nonconformist ministers; 8% of teachers or lecturers, and 6% of farmers. Overall, the first four of the Registrar General's social classes were fairly evenly represented (Table 6.6), but with a slight bulge in Class II (29%) and a more substantial bulge in Class III (38%).

Table 6.6
Distribution of Producers' Fathers' Occupations by Social Class (R.G.70)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non manual</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manual</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Partly skilled</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one includes the 'working' farmers in Class II, then a third of the fathers were in 'overall' manual occupations, exactly the same proportion as with Tunstall's specialist correspondents (1971:96). At the same time, 19% were in Class I, all but four of these being Nonconformist ministers. Only one producer was himself the son of a former producer, and he again a Nonconformist minister. This compares with 12% of Tunstall's specialists who were the sons of journalists (1971:96) and reflects the comparative infancy of Welsh broadcasting as a profession in comparison with newspaper journalism.
When asked if their mothers had pursued some other occupation during their childhood apart from that of housewife, less than a fifth of the producers could recall their mothers being engaged in any other occupation, and a number of the occupations that were actually mentioned were those which could have been readily combined with the role of housewife e.g. shopkeeper, landlady, dressmaker, etc.

In their social origins and cultural background then, the producers who form the subject of this inquiry exhibit the hallmarks of the wider phenomena of ethnic mobilisation and class alignment outlined earlier in this study. Apart from their zeal for the language and their respect for many of the cultural values of the parental home, their earlier membership of one or other of the various Welsh cultural organisations (Q.28) especially of Urdd Gobaith Cymru - the Welsh League of Youth - was evident in many instances. Some of the ex-teachers had belonged to Uned Cenedlaetholreon Cymru - the National Association of the Teachers of Wales, and several producers were still members of The Welsh Language Society.

In many instances, as we have seen, they were the sons and daughters of the 'core' elite of traditional Welsh society - academics, teachers, ministers, poets and writers. More generally, however, their origins were working class, brought up in those rural and industrial villages and towns which retained, and still retain, a sense of pride in the Welsh language and its culture. In pursuit of mobility and advancement, they had now gained a secure foothold for themselves in the urban centres of the communications media along with increasing numbers of other occupational groups in the new knowledge and service industries and in areas such as local government, public relations, tourism, higher education and the welfare and social services.

6.4 EDUCATION

The traditional concern shown by the Welsh for providing an education for their children, heightened by harsh memories of the 1920's and 1930's, may well explain the fact that 83% of the producers were enabled to pursue some form of full time higher education. (Table 6.7)
Table 6.7

Full-Time Higher Education of the Producers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Producers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Univ. of Wales only</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Univ.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. of Wales and other Univ.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. of Wales and Welsh Coll. of Ed.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. of Wales and Coll. of Ed. outside Wales</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. of Wales and Welsh Theol. Coll.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. of Wales and Coll./Sch. of Music outside Wales</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh Coll. of Ed. only</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. of Ed. outside Wales only</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sch./Coll. of Music outside Wales only</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh Theol. Coll. only</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll. of Art outside Wales only</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med. Sch. outside Wales and Welsh Coll. of Ed.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh Coll. of Ed. and Coll./Sch. of Drama outside Wales</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40 producers had been, for some period at least, at a university. 35 had been to one or other of the constituent colleges of the University of Wales - all enrolling as undergraduates except two who entered from Colleges of Education for one year supplementary specialist teaching certificates or diploma courses. Five had been undergraduates at universities outside Wales, two at Oxford, two at Manchester and one at Hull. Of the 35 who had studied in the University of Wales, four had also gone on to a second university to read for another degree or diploma or to take other professional courses - two to Oxford, one to Edinburgh and one to London.

Of the 40 who had pursued a period of university education, however, by no means all of them graduated or completed the course on which they had enrolled. Four failed to do so, though two of these later succeeded in completing courses successfully in teacher education. One other producer in addition to the 40 did the same after an earlier unsuccessful period as a medical student at a teaching hospital.

Of the 10 who did not proceed to full-time higher education, exactly half went straight from school into newspaper journalism and from there eventually into news and current affairs broadcasting. Four others came into the BBC at a fairly early
age, one via the theatre and BBC repertory, and the other three as technicians or engineers and worked their way slowly and successfully upwards through the system, eventually making a successful career in production. The one other producer in this group was recruited to Light Entertainment at production assistant level after a considerable apprenticeship in the amateur theatre. The pre-BBC careers of the journalists in this group with no full-time education followed much the same kind of pattern as that found by Boyd-Barrett (1970:181-201), particularly in terms of professional training and education, three of them actually following part-time N.C.T.J. professional courses. Two others in this group had also followed part-time courses, one taking an ONC in Electrical Engineering and the other a course in film technique.

Apart from these five producers (from the group of 10 who had not received any form of higher education), only six other producers had pursued any kind of higher or further education on a part-time basis (Table 6.8), and all had done so at various stages in their particular careers before joining the BBC. Not one producer was currently pursuing any kind of formal part-time education (apart from the occasional adult education or leisure activity course) indicating the comparative unimportance attached by the broadcasting organisation to the acquisition of additional educational qualifications in order to obtain preferment or promotion.

Table 6.8
Producers who had pursued Part-Time Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>education</th>
<th>count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ONC/HNC</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCTJ and allied courses</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate study</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various professional courses in music</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.9 summarises the formal academic qualifications of the producers.
Table 6.9
Producers' Academic Qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honours Degree</td>
<td>24*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Degree</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honours Degree + Post-graduate Degree</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Degree + Teachers' Diploma/Certificate</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers' Certificate (ex Coll. of Ed.)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous professional qualifications only</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g. Youth Work, Theology, Art etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This includes 5 who had taken Double Honours degrees or two first degrees.

Apart from the comparatively high proportion of ordinary degrees (more than a third of the total), the most significant feature is the high proportion of graduates and non-graduates who followed courses of study leading to a Teaching Diploma or Certificate. How far this corresponded directly to initial career intentions is a question which will become clearer when we come to look at the way the producers defined their early ambitions. The fact remains that 27 of the producers actually followed a course of professional training to qualify as teachers.

Table 6.10 analyses the subject areas studied by the Honours and Ordinary graduates.

Table 6.10
Graduate Producers Degree Subject Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Area</th>
<th>Honours</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divinity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>English/History 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Economics/History 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography/Geog./Anthropology</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Welsh/Religious Studies 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Welsh/Religious Studies/Music 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agriculture 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agricultural Botany/Botany 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Electrical Engineering 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Biology/Chemistry 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maths/Physics 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong> 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

145.
Amongst the Honours graduates, the sciences and technological subjects are markedly under represented as are the social sciences. For and away the most popular subject is Welsh, no fewer than 10 reading it to Honours level and two others choosing it also as a subject at general degree level. Amongst the ordinary graduates, there is a much more even spread of academic disciplines with 'applied' subjects more in evidence.

In terms of programme output areas or departments (Table 6.11), and discounting Agriculture, where there was only one producer, it is perhaps not surprising that Education had the most highly qualified staff, eight of the nine producers being graduates, all except one Honours graduates, giving an overall graduate percentage of 88%. Education was followed closely by Music with 80%. Then came Features/Documentaries/General Programmes with 55% and News and Current Affairs with 53%. Two departments had entirely non-graduates.

Table 6.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Graduates in Each Programme Department</th>
<th>Honours</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Non-Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News/Current Affairs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features/Documentaries/General Programmes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Entertainment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Programmes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5 PRE-BBC CAREERS

The preceding analysis of the producers' academic background has shown that a considerable number initially set out to qualify for careers other than those in broadcasting. 43%, as we have seen, actually pursued courses of professional training for a career in teaching. Table 6.12 summarizes the range of initially intended careers or occupations.
Table 6.12

Initial Career Intentions of the Producers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education (Teaching, Research, Administration, Youth Work)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Journalism</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcasting (including technical, engineering)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Creative and Performing Arts (Writing, Acting, Music, Painting etc.)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nonconformist Ministry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Service</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Business</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 of the producers indicated their intention of pursuing a career of some kind in education. This is only three fewer than the 27 in Table 6.9 who actually took a course of professional training so that a number of those whose initial preference was for another career area eventually qualified as teachers too. A number of those also who said that they had decided to teach (and who are included here in the first category), said that they had come to this decision after a realistic reappraisal of prospects in another field. Several said, for instance, that they had "drifted" into teaching rather than consciously chosen it, though they were not that vague or hostile to teaching as to warrant inclusion in the 'Uncertain' category. Of course, 'Education' is a comprehensive label and covers here a diversity of occupations. There would be those for whom the classroom situation would have been a primary source of appeal, while a career in research or administration would have been uppermost for others. For other groups such as musicians, teaching offered basically the means of practising their chosen skill or craft. A cautionary scepticism, however, is probably required in the reading of all these declarations of intent since a pragmatic and opportunist approach would appear to have guided all but the most committed, and declarations of intent reached with hindsight or from memory may well not be completely truthful or accurate. Looking back from
a situation in which it may be said that one had 'arrived', it is natural to impose logic and consistency on decisions which in reality might have been grounded in more piecemeal and ad hoc considerations. For a high proportion of the personnel in this study it would be more realistic perhaps to think of them as having pursued at least two and, in some cases, more than two distinct careers (2), though for producers in certain output areas such as Education and News and Current Affairs, the sense or at least the semblance of continuity may be much more real.

Of the nine who declared that they had wanted a career of some kind in the creative and performing arts, only one (No. 25) later trained as a teacher but did so, he said, "reluctantly". He did not 'practise' however, after qualifying. This reluctance to teach was strong amongst the 'Uncertain' group, only one taking a teaching qualification, and he again did not practise.

In several other instances, however, where firm career intentions had been followed in terms of education and training, these were abandoned in favour of other occupations, especially broadcasting, when opportunities presented themselves. Table 6.13 charts the pattern of this occupational movement amongst the producers in their pre-BBC careers. The variety of occupational descriptions actually given by the respondents when asked to indicate the career they initially intended to follow underlines the quite different sectors of those occupations in which they conceived these careers. This is especially marked in Education where respondents frequently specified a particular area such as research or primary school teaching, or a particular subject such as music or drama or physical education with which they clearly linked their career to the exclusion of other sectors. Similarly with broadcasting, respondents in several instances were at pains to identify specific career fields such as music or news or engineering within the general occupation. Those who indicated the attraction of careers in the creative or performing arts were perhaps understandably less clear: they are, in any case, less defined professional areas. A number of those who were uncertain as to which

(2) A number of those who had left school at 15 or 16 had moved through various occupations before becoming broadcasters, e.g. No. 08 was apprenticed in engineering before finding his vocation for the Congregational ministry from which he moved to religious broadcasting. Service in HM Forces disjointed the career patterns of others, No. 10, for instance, after returning to civilian life, abandoning his former occupation as a bank clerk and training as a teacher.
career they initially wished to follow indicated the early appeal for them of creative writing or performing but said they had then settled happily for the comparatively greater security of broadcasting. (3)

Table 6.13
The Pre-BBC Careers of the Producers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code No.</th>
<th>Intended Occupation (as described by respondent)</th>
<th>Pre-BBC employment (where more than one post was held)</th>
<th>Actual occupation immediately before joining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Teaching/Lecturing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Univ., Res., Asst., (Geog.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Biol./Rur., Sci.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Music Teaching/Admin.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Res., Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Music Teaching</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Music</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>Bank Clerk/HM Forces/(Student)/Sec., Sch. Teacher</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Welsh/Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Drama Teaching/Lecturing</td>
<td>Nat., Service</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Educ., admin. or personnel work</td>
<td>Nat., Service</td>
<td>Industrial Training and Ed. Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Welsh/Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PE Teaching</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, PE</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, PE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Univ., Admin.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Post-grad. Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Welsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Infant/Junior Teaching</td>
<td>Infant Teacher</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Drama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Primary Teaching</td>
<td>Primary Teacher, Head Teacher</td>
<td>Welsh Primary Sch. Head Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>Primary Sch. Teacher, Music</td>
<td>Welsh Primary Sch. Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Chem./Biol./Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Welsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Secondary Teaching</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Univ., Asst., Lec., History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Teaching/Research</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Welsh</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Welsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Music Teaching/Admin.</td>
<td>Teacher/Lecturer, Music</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Univ., Teaching/Research</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, Welsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Coll., of Ed., Lecturer, Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Primary Teaching</td>
<td>Welsh Primary Sch. Teacher/Head Teacher</td>
<td>Welsh Primary Sch. H. Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, History, Principal Officer, Min. of Supply, Farmer, Freelance Broadcaster, Lecturer</td>
<td>Farmer/Freelance Broadcaster, Lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Youth/Community Work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Community Youth Organiser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) The majority of the journalism recruits studied by Boyd-Barrett (1970) similarly said they wanted to write books.

149.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code No.</th>
<th>Intended Occupation (as described by respondent)</th>
<th>Pre-BBC employment (where more than one post was held)</th>
<th>Actual occupation immediately before joining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Newspaper Journalism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Newspaper Journalism</td>
<td>Newspaper sub-editor, Editor, Features Editor</td>
<td>Newspaper Features Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Newspaper Journalism</td>
<td>Newspaper Reporter, Asst. Editor, Ind. Corresp.</td>
<td>Newspaper Asst., News Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Newspaper Journalism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Univ. Res. Scholar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Newspaper Journalism</td>
<td>Newspaper Features Writer, Reporter, News Sub-Editor</td>
<td>Newspaper News Sub-Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Newspaper Journalism</td>
<td>Reporter/Sub-Editor - various newspapers</td>
<td>Newspaper Reporter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Newspaper Journalism</td>
<td>Newspaper Reporter/Asst. Editor/TV Researcher</td>
<td>TV Researcher (Current Affairs Progs., ITV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Broadcasting</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Broadcasting Engineering/Technical Operations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(National Service) RAF Radar Mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Broadcasting (Features Production)</td>
<td>Newspaper Sub-Editor, Features Writer</td>
<td>Newspaper Leader/Features Writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Broadcasting Journalism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Newspaper Graduate Trainee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Broadcasting/Entertainment/TV design</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Broadcasting (Serious Music Producer)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Broadcasting</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sec. Sch. Teacher, Hist./Welsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Creative/Performing Arts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>The Theatre and the Visual Arts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Violinist</td>
<td>Violinist</td>
<td>Orchestral Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Writer/Painter</td>
<td>Newspaper Sub-Editor, Features Writer</td>
<td>Newspaper Sub-Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Sculptor, Designer</td>
<td>Scenic Artist, Theatre Designer</td>
<td>Theatre Director/Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rep. Actor, Stage Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>Library Asst., Political Organiser, Journalist</td>
<td>Newspaper Journalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Professional Singer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Library Asst.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Acting/Show Business or Journalism</td>
<td>Newspaper Reporter, Sub-Editor, Asst. Editor</td>
<td>Newspaper Features Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Intended Occupation (as described by respondent)</td>
<td>Pre-BBC employment (where more than one post was held)</td>
<td>Actual occupation immediately before joining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nonconformist Ministry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>The Congregational Ministry</td>
<td>Congregational Minister</td>
<td>Congregational Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>The Presbyterian Ministry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>War Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>The Congregational Ministry</td>
<td>Congregational Minister</td>
<td>Congregational Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Solicitor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sub-Editor TV Current Affairs' Programmes (ITV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Newspaper Reporter, Sub-Editor</td>
<td>Newspaper Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, English</td>
<td>Sec., Sch. Teacher, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>County Organiser, Young Farmers' Clubs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Agricultural Administration</td>
<td>Ministry Agric. Advisory Officer</td>
<td>Business Development Manager (Agriculture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Customs &amp; Excise Officer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>School pupil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Electrical and Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>Engineering Apprentice/ (Student) Congregational Minister</td>
<td>Congregational Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Master Dairyman</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Master Dairyman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many in the largest group (Education), however, talked of the early appeal of broadcasting for them in the same terms, but in their case they had settled for or drifted into the more familiar and predictable course leading to college and back again to the classroom. There are, of course, obvious linkages between journalism, broadcasting and the arts: they are bands of a generic "showbiz" spectrum within
which cluster a number of distinct activities which also function as highly effective bridge-building occupations. It was not unusual, therefore, to find them linked for some of those respondents whose orientation was of this general kind. Motivation to a career in broadcasting, then, cannot always be discerned from the early educational and career patterns of many of the respondents, but must be looked for in other environmental influences, and it is to some of these that we must now turn.

6.6 PRE-CAREER CONTACT WITH BROADCASTING

One of the ways in which a knowledge of media careers may be disseminated, apart from by the media themselves, is through the influence of parents or relations who may be employed by the broadcasting organisations. Questions 19 and 20 sought to discover the extent of such linkages. The findings are given in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14
Producers with Family Relations Employed in Broadcasting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immediate Family</th>
<th>Other Relations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>05 Father (Organiser)</td>
<td>03 Cousin (TV Producer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Wife (Secretary)*</td>
<td>39 Uncle (Departmental Head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Wife (Announcer)</td>
<td>43 Cousin (Freelance Performer)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Brother (TV Floor Manager/ Freelance Performer)*</td>
<td>46 Father-in-Law (Controller)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Brother (TV Production Assistant)*</td>
<td>62 Brother-in-Law (Staff Reporter)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Wife (Announcer)</td>
<td>39 Wife (Secretary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 Wife (Radio Producer)*</td>
<td>48 Husband (TV Producer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 Two Sons (Announcers)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* in current employment

Without further knowledge, it would be wrong, of course, to infer that any of these producers had been predisposed to adopt, or remain within, a broadcasting career simply as a result of parental or family influence. The findings are perhaps more interesting in fact in documenting the more intimate relationships that are often subsequently forged through the actual experience of working in the broadcasting
milieu (there are five instances here of producers who met their marriage partners at the BBC) and of the way such relationships may reinforce a long term stability of commitment to broadcasting as a career. In the two instances of brothers. being employed (Nos. 19 and 23), it was the case that both entered broadcasting virtually at the same time. Direct influence by 'other' relations is impossible to establish since the careers of those involved were governed by different circumstances and have taken totally different forms.

More positive cognitive sources of influence, however, may be seen in the various other forms of contact with broadcasting which the respondents experienced in their early careers. The data resulting from Questions 16 and 17 show the extent to which the producers had had any contact with, or had acquired any knowledge of, any broadcasting organisation (other than as listeners or viewers) before joining the BBC. No fewer than 55 of the producers (88%) had acquired some form of contact with a broadcasting organisation before gaining employment in BBC Wales. Table 6.15 summarizes the different forms this took.

### Table 6.15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Career Sources of Contact with Broadcasting</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friend/Acquaintance</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits to Studios</td>
<td>8 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in programmes for the BBC</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in programmes for another broadcasting organisation</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution of research or other material as freelance</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalistic writing on broadcasting</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time employment with another broadcasting organisation</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional part-time employment with BBC Wales</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A strikingly high 64% had, at some time or other, taken part in a BBC Wales programme. Many talked of small parts they had played as students in radio plays, especially in Bangor; others had been writers or entertainers and performers in their own right and had been contributing to programmes for several years before gaining staff employment as producers. A number of these had also contributed scripts, plays, verse, programme

(4) This is the number who for various reasons had had an opportunity of simply visiting a broadcasting organisation and seeing something of it, but they had not taken part in any broadcast. Obviously, nearly all those who had taken part had done so from a broadcasting studio though there were one or two who had not seen a studio but had "taken part" by being interviewed on film or tape at an outside location.
ideas or other material in a freelance capacity. A few had worked as freelance reporters and interviewers, but the majority recalled one or two occasions on which they had been interviewed or had taken part in a small way in, say, a studio discussion or in musical items, quiz shows or children's programmes. Only one or two mentioned having taken part in BBC programmes outside Wales e.g. in local radio. Those who had taken part in non-BBC programmes (25%) had nearly all done so with the local ITV company HTV, formerly TWW, though it was uncommon to find that any of these had not also done something for BBC Wales. Two producers had previously been in full-time employment with the company. 22% had previously written material of some kind or other or undertaken programme research for BBC Wales programmes. Two former journalists had gained some insight through writing investigative features for their respective newspapers which had obviously taken them to studios and brought them into contact with various broadcasting personnel. Three of the producers had also visited broadcasting organisations in other countries, especially in the USA, before joining BBC Wales. 29% had made contact through a friend or acquaintance employed by BBC Wales - either as a full staff member or as a frequent contributor.

6.7 THE APPEAL OF BROADCASTING AS A CAREER

When Tom Burns conducted the first of his studies of BBC personnel in the early months of 1963, he was struck by the 'array of commitments' displayed by the members of the Corporation he interviewed. While such commitments may be the product of the institutionalisation experience, they may also be grounded in dispositions brought initially by the new recruit on entry to the organisation. These dispositions clearly affect his motivation and his expectations; and these in turn, will have been derived from the kind of knowledge s/he has acquired of broadcasting either through the stereotypes of media culture or through various forms of cultural contact with the broadcasting organisations themselves and their personnel.

Questions 37-39 of the Interview Schedule sought to establish the relative strength of a number of such factors in the case of the producers chosen for this study. Question 37 was concerned with some of the wider sources of appeal relating to broadcasting in general as a career, while Question 38 focussed more specifically on factors relating to their choice of the BBC rather than any other broadcasting
organisation. Question 39 was then designed to enable the respondents to describe their motivation in their own terms outside the constraints of the preceding closed questions. The responses to Questions 37 and 38 are summarised in Tables 6.16 and 6.17.

Table 6.16
Reasons for Choice of Broadcasting as a Career

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Quite Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Sense of glamour</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Friend’s influence</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Previous job dissatisfaction</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Talent to offer</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Appeal of BBC</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.17
Reasons for Joining the BBC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Quite Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long-standing ambition</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC a good employer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher salary</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher status</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time satisfaction inadequate</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public: good</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serve Wales</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Least significant of the reasons for the choice of broadcasting as a career was clearly that of influence from a friend or acquaintance, with 89% recording this factor as having been not at all important. While many certainly wished to advance from their present employment, (as the responses to Question 39 below will show) there was little evidence of actual dissatisfaction, 65% declaring this not at all important. What impelled the majority was the feeling that they had talent in this direction. 79% cited this as either a very important or quite important factor in their choice of broadcasting as a career, a not unexpected finding in view of the autistic outlook frequently ascribed to broadcast practitioners. (Garnham, 1978:32)
Next, as a factor of influence, was the general appeal of working in the BBC. 69% said the idea had been very important or quite important, and this factor was closely linked with, and reinforced by, the sense of glamour connected with broadcasting (65%).

Less than a quarter, however, saw their entry specifically to the BBC as in any way the fulfilment of a long held ambition; 76% in fact declared that this idea had not been at all important in their choice of a career with the BBC. Even less important was the desire to achieve an enhanced social status. 82% said this had not been at all important. What has been very important or quite important for nearly two-thirds of the producers had been a desire to serve Wales through working for BBC Wales. 32% said that this had been a very important factor and 32% said that it had been quite important for them. There also appeared to be a well established belief that the BBC was a good employer. It was a factor of importance for 60% of the sample, and it was a view that was by no means confined to those who had worked in other media organisations.

Previous experience of part-time work in broadcasting had also been a significant factor for more than half the producers and had influenced them to seek a permanent staff position. 34% maintained that this had been a very important factor; 10% said it had been quite important.

The responses to the supporting open question 39, though cast as highly personal statements of individual experience, broadly confirmed the findings of Questions 37 and 38. They confirmed in particular (a) the intrinsic appeal, even fascination, which broadcasting had exerted for many of the respondents before joining the BBC; (b) the influence that part-time or freelance employment had exercised in activating in these respondents the desire to seek a full-time career in broadcasting; and (c) the strong emotional ties of the producers with Wales and things Welsh. 16 of the producers referred to their having wanted to stay in Wales, or to return to Wales or to work in the Welsh language. Statements clustered readily around these three themes.

These open responses highlighted also two further ways in which entry to broadcasting or the BBC was viewed in retrospect by many of the producers, and these provided a context or framework within which they could reflect upon and
rationalise earlier decisions. These were (a) the application and extension of acquired knowledge and professional expertise in a given field (e.g. journalism, education, music, drama, sport, popular entertainment, religion) to the wider demands of a mass audience. Closely linked with this kind of motivation for many was (e) the drive for personal advancement, promotion and career development.

55% of the producers saw their entry into broadcasting primarily in terms of the first of these latter two sources of motivation. Typical of these responses was this statement from a sports producer:

'I saw broadcasting as an extension of my own specific interest in sport and physical education. I felt the world of teaching was necessarily limiting and that the wider world of broadcasting would offer more in every way.' (No. 17)

A Senior Producer in Light Entertainment, who had come into broadcasting from the theatre, saw it as 'an extension of the same creative career.' A Radio News producer traced a similar progression:

'I liked journalism, but my experience was limited to a small weekly in a remote place. I wanted to move because the work I was doing was too easy and limited. Broadcasting provided an extension of my career as a journalist, and I could work behind the scenes... I don't like performing.' (No. 57)

This was echoed by another newsman in television:

'...... it was a logical progression for me to move from newspapers to broadcasting, which I had been influenced to believe was a better prospect than the print media.' (No. 31)

Education producers especially took up this theme of extended professional competence and were at pains to stress that this in no way involved a departure from their initial vocational aims.

'I saw it as an opportunity in which I could use my special subjects - Welsh and Music - in a more extended way in a new medium while still confining myself to the strict purposes of education, because, of course, my audience is the school audience, not the mass audience.'

(TV Producer, Education Department) (No. 10)
The urge to extend an existing role emerged consistently from the statements of the 'specialist' producers. A typical example was the Agricultural Programmes' producer:

'I wanted to become fully involved in the wider dissemination of agricultural knowledge through the mass media.' (No. 55)

Producers of religious programmes, as one might have expected, saw their primary vocational orientation in very strict terms: 'I didn't join the BBC as such', maintained the Religious Broadcasting Organiser.

'I came into religious broadcasting because I wanted to express my own experience of religion and to answer the collective expectation of people as a whole through broadcasting. I saw myself continuing in the same role but in a wider context. Crudely, I wanted to use the BBC and its resources for a religious purpose.' (No. 08)

His colleague in Bangor put it even more directly:

'I felt I was preaching to the same people every week and I wanted to get the Gospel across to a wider audience.' (No. 51)

It is important to note, however, that though this particular producer was undoubtedly deeply committed to this overriding sense of purpose, a career in Welsh broadcasting met other needs no less real for him. One of these was the desire to return to Wales from London where he had been a minister. He had found also that his previous experience of broadcasting as a part-time performer had proved stressful, and that this had convinced him that a career in production would be, as he put it, 'less nerve-wracking than to be in the limelight myself.'

It is, however, difficult to separate the drive to apply acquired skills from the second of the two sources or levels of motivation, viz the quest for promotion and personal advancement, and it is probable that, for many, hindsight may well have rationalised what were essentially decisions made at the second level in terms of the first. Progression for most was undoubtedly material and economic as well as idealistic. Thus the Senior Light Entertainment Producer, who came to broadcasting from the theatre, said he moved because 'theatres were closing at the time.' Similarly a TV News producer coming from newspapers saw broadcasting as 'a better prospect', adding, 'it didn't matter whether it was with the BBC or ITV.' Those who had come
to the BBC from independent television had certainly done so in order to gain promotion. Typical of this minority was this producer in TV Current Affairs:

'I was young and reasonably ambitious and didn't see myself getting a producer's job where I was ........ I saw this post as a Production Assistant in the BBC as an opening.' (No. 16)

There was little evidence to suggest that any had consciously selected the BBC and rejected commercial broadcasting apart from those who had concluded that the local ITV company did not offer comparable scope for their particular field of broadcasting as BBC Wales. Producers in Education and Religion in particular showed this kind of awareness. Those who had come directly into broadcasting without any previous employment remarked on their sheer good fortune, stressing that they had in no way consciously chosen the BBC in preference to any other organisation. As the Children's Programmes Organiser explained:

'I wanted to come into broadcasting. The BBC offered me a job but if ITV had offered me a job first, I'd have gone to them.' (No. 9)

This was the view again of a young News Assistant:

'It was an accident. I saw an advert for a News Researcher post and I applied for it. If another job had come up in HTV, I would have applied there too. It was the nature of the job that attracted me ........ it offered a chance to work in a field in which I had keen interest - politics - a chance too to meet people one wouldn't otherwise meet in another job.'

More significantly perhaps, he then goes on:

'I had also caught something of the flavour of journalism through being on the editorial board of my college newspaper. But it was the chance to deal with politics and political events that was the appeal. I also felt that I might be able in a small way to change the politically conservative establishment attitude of the BBC and contribute a counterbalancing slant to established news.' (No. 52)

This kind of radical note by one of the new entrants of the '70's was rarely struck by the rest of the producer population though the same outlook of opportunism was in evidence with the direct entrants of the early '60's. One of these was the present Senior Drama Producer:
'I didn't set out deliberately to join the BBC. I chanced to see an advert for Trainee PA's and I got a job. There was no great thought process involved. It was a lucky coincidence - my leaving college and BBC Wales starting. It was a case of being in the right place at the right time.' (No. 25)

14 of the producers, in response to Question 39, said that when they joined the BBC, they had done so largely because, as they put it, they 'wanted a change'. It was a response then to a psychological need, of wanting to 'broaden horizons', to seek 'pastures new', some adding that the change at the same time was a 'challenge' for them. This was especially the case with those who had been in their previous field of work for a number of years. Typical of these was this radio producer on the morning current affairs programme:

'I'd been 20 years in newspaper journalism and I wanted a change, and I felt I could use my talents in a different way.' (No. 15)

The same feelings were expressed by this education producer:

'Having taught for 12 years in the same school, I was looking for pastures new - not necessarily educational, though it happened to be educational, and I was in that field. It was wanting a change ...... I was uncertain at first about this job when I thought of applying since it was concerned with programmes for junior school children and my experience was in secondary school, but the more I inquired about it, the more I found that I would enjoy it.' (No. 35)

An ex-University teacher displayed the same uncertainty:

'I had spent all my time learning or teaching, and I wanted to do something different, and this was an opportunity. I wanted to see if I could do something different. I was shortlisted at the same time for another University job outside Wales, but I pulled out on hearing that I'd got this job, partly because I wanted to stay in Wales but also because I wanted a more varied job. I wanted a change and I was prepared to go out again if I didn't like it because I had no clear idea at that time what a producer's function really was.' (No. 37)

Another producer appointed from a music post in a College of Education again showed this urge to break new ground:

'I felt it was an opportunity to stretch myself; it seemed a challenge at the time and, as a young man, I also liked change. I couldn't envisage myself in the Training College for the next 20 to 30 years.' (No. 53)
6.8 CONCLUSION

The picture that emerges from this evidence does not amount to any clear cut set of exclusive categories. In the final analysis, individuals responded as individuals according to their own individual needs and dispositions and their specific personal circumstances. In nearly all cases they had acted pragmatically from a variety of motives. In no more than nine instances (see Table 6.17) could it be said that sights had been set fairly single-mindedly from an early age on a BBC career, though the general attractiveness of broadcasting and its social milieu and the idea, in particular, of being part of the BBC had clearly appealed to a far larger proportion at some time or other. Nearly four out of every five also appeared to have held a high or fairly high opinion of their own capacity to succeed in this career area. At least a third had obtained a foretaste in their part time experience, and most of these believed that further fulfilment could only come through making a full time commitment to broadcasting.

Roughly two-thirds, as we have seen, (Table 6.13) joined the BBC from other professions, in particular from education, newspaper journalism, the Church, or the creative and performing arts. A significant minority of these (14) seem to have been looking primarily for a change of occupation, though most also found elements of continuity while making the change, and regarded, or have since come to regard, their entry into broadcasting as a logical extension of their professional communicative skills - either, as in the case of education and other specialist producers, within a specific area of broadcasting with a clearly defined audience, or, as with former newspaper journalists, clergymen and theatre directors etc., to the mass audience of general broadcasting.

While entry to the BBC was seen generally as an advance at the same time in their career and prospects, the question of salary was by no means an overriding consideration for the new entrants. More than half the sample (33) said that this factor had not been at all important, though for nine of these the question did not arise since they were either students or in temporary employment before entry. Eight producers said that they had actually taken a drop in salary. Only one in five appears to have been at all influenced by considerations of status though this is one issue on which complete frankness should probably not be expected. What seems to have been most relevant,
however, was the fact that the new career could be pursued in Wales, and in the service of a culture. The fact that just over a third of those interviewed rated this as unimportant was almost certainly due to the strong emotive overtones in the term 'service' in the question to which one or two, in fact, raised objection. Even so, for 63% of the sample, it was a very important or quite important source of motivation, and, as we shall see later, few of the remaining 35% would have wished to pursue their careers outside Wales. Hence, though a career in broadcasting in Wales clearly signifies different things to different individuals depending on their particular reference group orientation, there is a common socio-cultural ground base.
CHAPTER 7

CREATIVITY AND CONTROL: SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

When questioned about the satisfaction he derived from his job as a TV producer, a current affairs Programme Editor responded by referring to Lord Reith's famous aphorism that there were only two jobs worth having in the BBC - those of Director General and Producer. At the heart of this observation is the belief that a producer's role derives from a position of power and control. His location within an institution and a culture, however, means that this role may become circumscribed or fragmented by subsidiary and conflicting goals arising from the variety of constituents and reference groups within his environment to which he may need to respond. Indeed the very notion of job satisfaction conceals more critical issues relating to a person's role and orientation within both the organisation and the wider culture to which he belongs. It raises, as Kahn et al (1964) have shown, issues of role conflict and ambiguity in both their personal and organisational dimensions. For the professional communicator engaged in cultural production, the adaptations to this conflict, as Elliott has pointed out, (1977: 148) 'are more complex than the polar opposites of alienation or acceptance.' In broadcasting, and in the BBC, in particular, as Burns reminds us (1977: 289), the propensity for segmentation is more marked than in most other organisations and there is, as a result, a variety of interests, values, sentiments and expectations. The responses to Questions 40-42 reveal some of the forms this process took for the producers in this study, and they will be looked at in some detail in the next two chapters. This particular chapter introduces the discussion of communicator roles and orientations by looking broadly at the respondents' assessment of their overall satisfaction in their respective work situations. The replies to Question 40 (dealing with satisfactions) will be examined first, then the replies to Questions 41 and 42 (dissatisfactions). Finally an attempt will be made to see whether these and other findings can be related in any way to the overall categories of satisfaction/dissatisfaction in which individuals placed themselves in response to Question 39.

Before moving to the discussion of this material, however, it should be stressed that the adoption of this particular framework does not imply an uncritical acceptance of
the value systems underpinning these subjective responses nor indeed of the creativity-control dichotomy in which many of the responses can be located. Expressions of dissatisfaction arising from excessive control or protestations of frustrated artistic creativity need to be situated in the context of wider institutional and ideological forces if one is to arrive at an adequate critical evaluation. In other words, one needs to look to other sources of motivation and influence, both negative and positive, in which these responses may be grounded.

As indicated earlier, there are clearly a number of methodological issues raised by the use of any material acquired through formal interviews. The role of language itself in any such conversational interaction, as Tolson has shown (1979) raises, among other things, the 'problem' of methodological 'collusion' between researcher and subject. In the case of the interviews conducted for this particular study, the decision to structure this specific section of the interviews around the notions of creativity and satisfaction arose simply because a particular discourse was available which I knew to be appropriate to the professional community and yet could also afford important clues to those wider forces shaping their responses. Engaging in the appropriate discourse can give one a head start: the researcher's task from then on, however, is to detach himself from it.

7.2 CREATIVITY AND SATISFACTION

At the heart of most forms of cultural production is the romantic notion of the artist as 'creator', a god-like figure who mysteriously shapes his handiwork in an inspirational individualist way. It was a view that emerged strongly from the responses to Question 40 which asked: 'What things in particular give you satisfaction in broadcasting?' The responses showed clearly that for a considerable number broadcasting provided a two-fold sense of fulfilment: the satisfaction of an autonomous creativity and social and professional recognition from peers and other audience reference groups. The two sources are, of course, inter-related, since the latter forms a frame of reference for the evaluation of the former. The variety of statements obtained clustered into the following 10 broad, but clearly overlapping forms which the producers identified as the main sources of satisfaction for them. The figures in brackets indicate the number who specifically referred to that particular source in responding to this question.
Sources of Satisfaction

1. Subject Matter: (32)
   handling own professional subject matter, e.g. news, sport, music educational material etc.

2. Independence: (38)
   having the freedom to create, to innovate, initiate and design programmes, series etc., and to act 'autonomously'

3. Influence: (20)
   a sense of having responsibility, power, authority, influence, leadership, of making or being a part of history, of being a cultural agent.

4. Excitement: (13)
   especially in news and daily programmes, of experiencing a sense of drama, adrenalin flow.

5. Variety: (11)
   in terms of constantly changing subject matter, non-routine nature of work patterns, travel etc.

6. The Craft of Production: (35)
   the processes and procedures of realising a programme idea; in particular, the professional technical skills of production - studio direction, film direction, editing etc.

7. Social Intercourse: (24)
   including interaction not only with technical and ancillary staff involved in the production process, but also with individuals and groups outside the BBC.

8. Audience Gratification: (24)
   obtained through letters, phone calls and other forms of contact; a sense of offering a service and satisfying a need.

9. Social Acclaims: (18)
   being known and recognised.

10. Sponsorship: (14)
    helping to promote and develop broadcasting talent in others.

The notion of the autonomous creator, as this summary indicates, was central to the way 61% of the producers approached their assessment of career satisfaction. It was put with some eloquence by a TV Features producer:
'The greatest satisfaction I find as a producer is the relative freedom
to conceive and devise an idea and to see it develop and come to
 fruition, and also the degree of control I have over all this. It's a
great responsibility to have, but then, I thrive on this. It seems
arrogant but I feel I have integrity, and this I like to exercise. No
other job, as far as I know, has this kind of reward. You are in at
the beginning and there too at the end.' (No. 03)

Here the conscious sense of freedom is linked with an awareness of power and
responsibility in which an almost autistic self certainty comes through. Another TV
Features producer saw his satisfaction in similar terms:

'It's independence really; that's the crux of it. It's the freedom to
practise one's craft without interference. It's a chance to interpret
the world to others, to let oneself be heard, to get one's values across
...... and there's considerable pleasure too in using one's talents to
the full. To make a piece of one's own is immensely satisfying. The
audience, of course, is important too, even if it is only 200,000
compared with 6 million on BBC 1. (No. 12)

This romantic view of production as creative authorship was, predictably, most
in evidence amongst Features and Documentary producers both in television and radio,
and was a source of satisfaction directly identified with that particular programme form.
Several producers whose regular output lay in the field of current affairs, maintained
that they found real satisfaction only when they were given opportunities to 'escape'
from the daily treadmill and to make documentaries of their own.

'Studio productions are a lottery',
declared the producer of a weekly current affairs programme.

'You are completely in the hands of studio participants, and you have
to take what comes. A documentary film offers me, as a journalist,
the flexibility to practise my skills in such a way that I can present a
fully balanced view before the public.' (No. 04)

This concern with establishing control over the material and with orchestrating
the resources available was especially marked amongst those who had achieved some
success as poets or novelists: they certainly regarded their work as broadcasters as only
a part of their career as authors.

'For me, broadcasting is an extension of my work as a writer',
declared a part-time radio producer,

'..... it's in the scripting and development of creative ideas that
I get most satisfaction, though, unfortunately, there isn't enough

166.
time to do much of this in the particular job I'm asked to do here as a producer. Directing other people, which is what I find myself doing most of the time, doesn't appeal to me. I'm a one-man band, not a midwife getting other people to do things. I'd be no good in TV production. I want to do programmes all myself. I like using the different facets of radio - words and music and blend them together ..... but that means having time and generally there isn't now much opportunity for this.' (No. 47)

The same impulse to control and unify was identified again by a Television film producer, though, for him, grappling with the complexities of the medium was an essential part of the process of achieving control:

'I'm a maker and TV is a matter of making. It's the whole process of craftsmanship which you must use before you can communicate and transmit your ideas. One is producer, director, unit manager, financier, bootboy, and, in my case, writer. The process involves all these things.' (No. 38)

There were, at the same time, less exalted expressions of the producer's role, but most of these also instinctively chose to apply the term 'creative' to their efforts.

'I think that all production is a creative act'

insisted a Bangor Senior producer,

'and that's true of every kind of programme or it should be, otherwise there's something wrong with the producer. Creating means taking different elements and putting them together to make something new. It's not, of course, creation as a poet or a painter sees it, except on rare occasions. Most of the time, it's more of a bread and butter job and the element of the midwife comes into it far more.' (No. 50)

In general, the more 'creatively' a producer saw his role in terms of content and presentation, the more marked was his orientation to his craft and to the professional skills and techniques associated with such areas as the production gallery or the cutting room. 56% indicated that exercising the skills demanded by the production process was in itself a major source of satisfaction, though it was amongst television rather than radio staff and amongst Features/Documentary, Drama and certain Light Entertainment producers that one encountered the most lofty and mystical expressions of this commitment to craft.

'You need a very large team in television to tell your story',

a Features man reminded me,

'and many of those in the team may be just doing it as a nine to five job, whereas I, as a producer, am pursuing a kind of holy grail.' (No. 41)
For the remainder, however, craft assumed a mere functional place in their outlook; it was often just a means to achieving the overall end. As a Children’s programmes producer saw it, being a producer involved:

‘putting a big machine in gear ..... The actual process of production, however, is boring and something I could well do without. It’s the final product, the sound and vision image only that really excites and satisfies. If brain taps could be put on to me and it could all be done without my going through the process, I’d be very relieved. It’s only the initial concept and the success of ultimately achieving it that is exciting. A knowledge of production techniques is, of course, essential and can be satisfying though actually carrying them out is a little tedious and can be tiresome.’ (No. 34)

The head of the same department was equally at pains to demystify:

‘I like indulging in different production techniques, but I think of them as elegant variations on well tried formulae. I don’t see any mystique about them nor do I have any grand philosophy. I consider myself just a competent hack, journeyman, TV producer, and, for doing what I do, I get paid a good salary. But no one owns me ......... I have a life outside this. Mind you, I think it is important that there are people in the organisation who take a loftier, more philosophical view of their job, but I don’t.’ (No. 09)

This insistence on routine competence rather than inspirational creativity, of course, forms the mainspring of that particular version of professionalism which Burns (1969, 1977) found most widely held by BBC personnel. In this context, as Elliott points out, ‘professionalism ..... is an adapting to the dilemmas of role conflict by which skill and competence in routine tasks become elevated to the occupational ideal!’ (1977 : 149) It was a response that was especially common amongst staff in high output departments such as Children’s Programmes, General Programmes, News and Current Affairs. The ‘hack’ metaphor was again used by the Senior Radio Producer in describing her approach to her own considerable output.

‘I don’t pretend to be creative in the way that a lot of other people might see their job. I don’t count myself a creative artist or writer. I see myself as a catalyst enabling others - writers and contributors - to express themselves. I do this through using whatever technique of radio production I’ve developed.

...... In a sense, I’m a hack, but a good one, I hope, turning out programmes to a standard. This way there are few moments of depression if a programme doesn’t succeed; equally there are few moments of
elation ....... and because of the pressure and the speed at which I have to work, there are few moments in which you can savour that elation, because you’re into the next programme. But I get satisfaction from maintaining that standard. The momentum itself is part of the excitement. Making documentaries I find tedious. The process is too long drawn out, and in radio today, I think there is too much wasted material in the documentary-making process which we can ill afford to lose.' (No. 48)

In nearly every output department outside General Programmes and Features and Documentaries, there was a strong commitment amongst the producers to the particular specialist subject matter of the department in which they worked, and this was a major source of satisfaction. As the previous chapter indicated, 34 of the producers had been attracted to a broadcasting career initially because of a desire to extend their professional knowledge and expertise to a wider context. All but five had, by the time of this inquiry, secured posts in one or other of these particular output departments. 32 producers referred to the satisfaction they obtained from their constant involvement with the specific subject matter of their programme output, and these included 16 of the 34 (above) who had indicated their interest in a particular subject or field of expertise as something they had initially wished to extend through broadcasting.

Without exception, producers in Sport, Music, News, Education, Drama, Religion, Agriculture and Light Entertainment were strongly committed to the specific content they produced, and it was clear that most of them would not wish to transfer to other output departments unless it were to General Programmes or Features and Documentaries. Such a wish, however, was only apparent amongst certain News and Current Affairs' staff who had tired of the daily or weekly treadmill. Of the 41 producers working in these seven output departments, only three had been appointed initially to another department, and in only one instance (No. 11) was that producer working on radically different subject matter from that which he encountered in his present post. Commitment to subject matter, therefore, appeared to be long term and mobility of staff between departments very limited.

In these seven departments and to a great extent also in Children’s Programmes, the producers, in trying to analyse the degree of satisfaction they derived from their job, identified directly with the specific tasks mapped out for them within their individual departments or subject areas, and though, as we have seen, they might refer to their
overall role as 'creative', this was related directly to the particular programme content with which they were concerned. Thus, for example, Music producers spoke of the sense of satisfaction they felt in 'being part of a developing musical situation in Wales', of 'guiding the expansion of a national symphony orchestra', of 'translating the art of music into television terms.' A TV Drama producer again spoke of broadcast drama as 'the national theatre of Wales.' The Sports Organiser described the tremendous sense of satisfaction he derived also from interpreting the sporting scene to the Welsh audience:

'I am delighted to be offering such a useful service to people. I have an end product which people react to positively. I see this as I go around the country and I'm content at 43 to do this for the rest of my working life. All I want to do is bigger and better sports programmes.' (No. 13)

In this instance, as with many others, the satisfaction the producer derived from his material was strongly reinforced by the gratification of his audience. The relationship between the producer and his audience is examined in detail in Chapter 9. At this point, it should be noted that the inter-relationship between audience gratification and subject matter was especially marked for many of the producers in these departments. 24 of them claimed to know that their work was being positively received and that this was one of the factors which made their job a satisfying one. This was perhaps most clearly expressed by the Education producers, (several of whom said that they were still essentially teachers), and by other specialists such as the Agricultural Programmes producer and the producer of religious programmes. The Religious Broadcasting Organiser described his role satisfaction purely in these terms:

'It's the individual contacts I make, the relationship established through the microphone and the screen with individual listeners and viewers that are important for me; it's the pastoral element if you like. This is very important since the mass media tend to isolate people, and I find myself increasingly in a climate of growing need for, and awareness of, the spiritual dimension. In the past, people would have had contact with the clergy at the parish level. Now, for many, I am their clergyman, their parish priest or pastor and I am able to write to them and make contact.' (No. 08)

'With letters coming in daily', declared an Education producer,

'I can see an audience building up for a new series. It makes one feel that one is giving a real service which is well used and appreciated.' (No. 43)
News and Current Affairs' producers reflected some of these considerations in rather different terms. As Park (1967) has shown, News, by its nature, has a transient, ephemeral quality and is unsystematic in character and yet its manufacture, as a stream of research studies on both sides of the Atlantic have documented, (e.g. Breed, 1955; Gieber, 1956, 1964; Halloran et al, 1970; Cohen and Young 1973; Epstein, 1973; Sigelman, 1973; Chibnall, 1977; Univ. of Glasgow Media Group, 1976, 1980; Schlesinger, 1978; Elliott and Golding, 1980, etc.) is grounded in a complex body of professional folklore, values, and assumptions in which there is a premium on the unusual, the urgent, the dramatic and the exciting. It was in these terms too that the newsmen in this study spoke of their satisfaction and it was to this framework of values that they related their subject matter, their craft as journalists and their relationship with their audience. Thus the producer of the nightly television news programme Wales Today asserted:

'There's a sense of being at the hub of things, not just in Wales but everywhere. You're part of a great news-gathering machine which is very exciting. There's no time for agonising decisions over the production in my job. It must all be done within one day. But then I find it more satisfying to work to a daily plan and see it achieved or not achieved by the end of the day. There's a cyclical rhythm which is very wearing but very satisfying when it goes right.' (No. 31)

This was echoed by the producer of the daily Welsh language TV programme Heddiw:

'It's the day to day excitement of working on a daily programme: in fact you are deciding what is news in Wales on the day. It's like a drug; it gets into your blood.' (16)

It was the same again for a producer on the daily radio magazine Good Morning Wales:

'There's a tremendous kick one can get out of a show like ours when it goes well. You can get high on it. There's a tremendous sense of achievement in bringing events to people. The speed with which one can put people on the air excites me. You are often working on things as they are happening. There's a sense too of communicating with a lot of people whereas on the newspapers I've worked it was only with a few thousand.' (No. 30)

There is little here of that mystical sense of autonomous creativity felt by the documentary film maker using his tools with painstaking precision to shape his eventual masterpiece. Craft has to give way to cruder production routines. Even so, there was amongst the producers in this group an unmistakable belief in their capacity to secure
through such practices a greater sense of impact than their colleagues in other areas because of the very immediacy of the events they were called upon to articulate and assess. Hence equally lofty claims of their work role emerged. Thus the Editor of Heddiw, for example, saw himself as 'unconsciously playing a part in the process of change and development happening around one', and of thus being 'part of history.'

Enshrined in this view of the newsman's work is, of course, the assumption that news values are somehow universally self evident that news just happens and selects itself. One is thus caught up in a process outside oneself which is, in itself, immediately exciting and, on reflection, satisfying. This is the orthodox professional view of the journalist acting as a mirror of society, and it contrasts sharply with the more active and interventionist models of influence which were articulated in particular by producers of music and entertainment programmes. As one TV producer in Light Entertainment explained:

'It is not so much in the entertainment I provide for my viewers that I get my main satisfaction (though this is important); it's in the power of sponsorship I have in respect of young musicians, performers, composers even, and this gives me more satisfaction than actually pleasing my audience: it's in finding and encouraging new talent through broadcasting.' (No. 29)

Another producer in the same department saw this as more important again than her craft:

'It's seeing the actual performances of young people, their musicality being realised. The technical process is important only in so far as it gives a performer good sound and good vision. It's in moments when I feel I've done right by them that I feel really satisfied. These moments are rare, but, as an optimist, I think they will occur again tomorrow.' (No. 22)

14 of the producers said that they were very concerned with promoting new talent or material for broadcasting.

Clearly then, an array of motivations and expectations informed the daily activities of the producers in this study. They should not be regarded, of course, as constituting a mutually exclusive set of categories but as providing a dynamic range of interactive orientations from which each producer formed his/her own private and personal synthesis.
7.3 CONTROL AND DISSATISFACTION

The persistent conflict between control and creativity experienced by cultural producers arises from their location within bureaucratic organisations. Briefly, tension and frustration arise from the need to impose routine and control (in some cases, survival) upon the commitment of creative communicators to their craft and skills. The dimensions of this conflict, as has been stressed earlier, and as this chapter will attempt to illustrate, are complex and involve more than the polarisation of art and commerce. For the communicator involved in media production in Wales, they involve, as will become clear, certain distinctive cultural dimensions. That the conflict itself was a real one acutely felt was evident from the way in which the producers reflected on their experience. The constraints imposed on creativity were put with characteristic force by a Barigor producer who declared that 'frustration arose from the gap between an idea and its realisation'. 'This', he went on,

'is inevitable, however, in broadcasting. One can never be totally satisfied because one does not have total control. One is dependent on the time available, on performers, on technical staff, and resources and so on, so that it is only rarely that one will realise the aim one has set oneself. This seems to me to be inherent in the whole process of broadcasting.' (No. 50)

Even for producers who did not see themselves primarily as artistic creators, but who were oriented to the ideals of professional competence in routine situations, however, frustration and dissatisfaction arose primarily because of organisational controls which hindered the fulfilment of these professional ideals.

The constraints identified by the producers (in response to Question 41) can be summarised broadly as falling into three categories. First, there were the general institutional constraints within which all BBC broadcasting operates. Second was the specific set of constraints peculiar to the Welsh broadcasting situation, and third, were a number of cultural constraints imposed by the Welsh language and a limited range of native cultural resources.

7.3.1 General Institutional Constraints

The primary constraints of finance and technical resources were seen by the producers in this study, with three or four exceptions, as attributable directly to an alleged position of inferiority in which BBC Wales was placed as a poor relation of the
metropolitan networks. Amongst producers whose output was solely or largely confined to BBC Wales, there was an assumption, based on little firm evidence, that, in general, the programme allowance for Wales was small and inadequate, though a number felt that this situation had improved to some extent recently. On the other hand, complaints of such limitations were rare amongst producers primarily concerned with providing programmes for the networks.

The chief source of frustration identified by all producers in this broad context of institutional control was the managerial system and the bureaucratic processes of line management and referral which were mentioned by nearly 50% of the sample. It was described by one producer as:

'the increasing intrusion of non-production areas into the sphere of programme making ....... of excessive bureaucratic requirements which debased the producer's role in the structure.' (No. 10)

Complaints of endless paper work, futile committees, of too many cogs in the administrative machine and of cumbersome inflexible procedures were commonplace.

'There are certain people in the organisation who always say "No"', declared the Children's Programmes Organiser,

'and one has to push more paper around to get around these people, and time could be better spent. The BBC is over bureaucratised.' (No. 09)

Another producer in this department saw this as symptomatic of deeper problems:

'The proliferation of paper in the organisation stems from a belief in paper as an entity rather than as a service. Administration is viewed as important in itself instead of as a tool for what is, after all, another manufacturing process. The administrative set up is feudal, especially on the engineering side where there are still barons who control people's careers. This slow moving bureaucracy has quite failed to keep in touch with the craft workers in the organisation - hence the current OB cameramen's dispute and many others.' (No. 34)

This failure to maintain contact with staff at ground level was one of the clearest impressions gained by Burns (1977) in 1973 when reviewing the consequences of the BBC's reorganisation of its administrative structure. The evidence from this research supports those impressions.

'The administrative machine has grown to absurd proportions', maintained a radio producer,

'and its growth serves often to protect the slackers and dodgers and stifle those who show initiative.' (No. 30)
There was little doubt as to where the bureaucracy was at its most perverse and inhibiting. It was identified specifically by the Senior Drama Producer:

"Higher management is alright; it's middle management that causes the frustration because they cannot see the whole programme-making canvas. They only see their own sector and attach too much importance to it. These non-creative line managers manage at too low a level, adhering to the time-honoured dictum that "broadcasting would be fine if it weren't for programmes". I'm frustrated by all the paperwork which cuts across more essential priorities like talking to authors and seeing new actors at work. The trouble is that we are made to feel that we have to follow London procedures and routines which do not apply here. We could be less bureaucratic because we're smaller. A unit of 1,000 like us can and should be different, but middle management tends to work things as if we were 18,000 strong." (No. 25)

Bureaucratic procedures obviously affect the flow of resources, both financial and technical, and, though raising different issues, they were seen by the majority of producers as interrelated facets of the same structural problem stemming from the existence of centralist models of administrative and financial control. The referral system was for many the source of long procedural delays in the acceptance of programme ideas before they could be implemented.

"I find the whole process so tedious", said a Features producer,

"that by the time I come to do it, I've lost the original zest I had for the programme". (No. 18)

One producer, who had moved across from a daily current affairs programme, put this as the root cause of his disenchantment with his present job:

"Everything here is long term: one has to go through this long process of selling an idea and then negotiating the resources for it, and the whole thing can take an age. It can take up to two years to get a programme on the screen. During that time my ideas about the subject may well have changed, but by then it's too late because I've committed myself. The result is that my output has declined and my self confidence has gone, whereas when I was working constantly, I had far more confidence. Now every programme in effect is a "one off" and I expend a lot of energy to little effect in the long run." (No. 27)

What this producer missed was the appeal to news priorities which he had once been able to invoke on a daily programme and which had enabled him to short circuit these procedural delays. A TV News producer confirmed that "news priority helps us to get
the facilities we need with little or no delay'. It was a priority, however, that had its price, as he explained:

'Af t er ten years in TV News, one becomes aware that this pace of working is a killer; it's a young man's medium. The pressure of the daily cycle, though rewarding, is extremely demanding. There's constant pressure and, with a live programme, things can become unhinged at times.' (No. 31)

Time also ranked highly in the limitations felt by many producers outside News and Current Affairs. A radio producer spoke of the increasing institutional pressure for quantity:

'There's no time nowadays to sit down and think and develop one's ideas properly. It's quantity they are after. It's all encapsulated in instant material and one has to accept this unfortunately. You just can't afford the luxury of the one super programme when fifty are called for.' (No. 47)

One of the consequences of the drive for maximum output is job delimitation which acts as a further constraint on creativity. It was more than a coincidence that the frustration expressed in the preceding statement came from a writer and novelist who, earlier in this chapter, was quoted as saying that she saw her work in broadcasting as an extension of the same creative career. Those staking everything on finding creative fulfilment in broadcasting, therefore, chafed at competing organisational needs which cut across their own pursuits. A TV Features producer saw this as a constant irritant:

'There's an awful frustration in having to do things one may not want to do - bread and butter programmes, events in the calen- d ar, eisteddfodau and festivals which come and go and which have to be attended to but are not part of the idyll. A producer should be consumed with ideas and these are not ideas; they are chores, and one just has to do them. But how does one tackle Llangollen after ten years and still make it fresh?' (No. 03)

The frustrations of job delimitation were felt equally by certain News and Current Affairs' staff too, particularly by former newspaper men who now found themselves part of a larger team. This view was voiced by all the production staff of the daily radio programme Good Morning Wales. This was how one of them put it:

'As a producer now, I'm frustrated at not being able to get involved in specific stories as I once did as a researcher and reporter. Now I'm just handling other people's material very largely. I'm stuck in a
channel cutting up other people's tapes and am little more than a glorified sub editor. I doubt sometimes if I'm getting as much satisfaction here as I did in newspapers.' (No. 30)

It was this removal from the cut and thrust of reporting to the editing channel that prompted his colleague to reflect that he found his job a very lonely one:

'I miss the generally happy atmosphere of newspaper offices. Here, working strange hours in the evenings and at weekends, I'm aware of the long empty corridors. I miss the friendliness and companionship. Certainly I haven't made any close friends in radio as I did in newspapers. Perhaps it's all the rivalry that exists in broadcasting, I don't know.' (No. 15)

Rivalry, of course, is a further concomitant of segmentation. One current affairs' producer, commenting on the lack of co-ordination and co-operation between departments in this area, spoke of the persistent tendency by newsmen to exceed the strict terms of their brief by 'doing mini documentaries on all manner of subjects, thus pre-empting the field for the current affairs' programmes.' The division of journalistic labour between news and current affairs is a well established orthodoxy in broadcasting based upon a questionable, but nevertheless, highly regulated distinction between fact and comment. The institutionalisation of the distinction, as Schlesinger discovered, (1976) was an endemic source of internal competition. In the narrower context of Welsh broadcasting, where the range and supply of news are obviously more limited, the division seems therefore to have been harder to sustain, though officially, at least, it was formally recognised and at times was a source of frustration. Thus a number of those actually engaged on daily news programmes said they felt they were continually constrained by definition to a superficial and inadequate treatment of topics. Hence a Bangor newsman maintained that he had:

'no opportunity for in depth investigative journalism; it's all superficial, and there's no chance to do more.' (No. 52)

Success as an instant journalist is obviously highly valued by a smaller organisation concerned with achieving maximum output on fewer resources but once achieved tends to be taken for granted. As the same Bangor newsman observed, for the producer on the daily treadmill, two consequences seemed to follow: first, a staleness, stemming from a feeling of having "done" the repertoire of stock stories, and second, career confinement, a feeling that 'News is one department you can't get out of.'
Where there are pressures to maximise output, the constraints of 'time' are correspondingly experienced more acutely, and these pressures were voiced far more loudly in Bangor, 'which', claimed one producer, 'does twice the work of Cardiff with half the staff.' (No. 54)

While the majority of producers seemed to see resource controls as a general constraint on the effectiveness of their professional performance and were not moved to question the actual nature of programme content, a minority saw the increasing insistence on maximum output as deriving from policies of which they strongly disapproved.

'It's the increasing commercialism of BBC thinking centrally and the seeking of mass audiences as ends in themselves', said the Head of Music,

'which I find very difficult to come to terms with'; (No. 07)

which was echoed by his Bangc-Music colleague who's opinion was that

'any notoriety I've gained has been through broadcasting Sankey and Moody hymns than serious music.' (No. 53)

The tyranny of the ratings was seen by a number of the source of mediocrity and the stifling of real talent and initiative.

'It's a lack of commitment to a worthwhile end',

claimed the Religious Broadcasting Organiser,

'so that the BBC is now far more concerned with reflecting public taste instead of creating it. It's this imbalance which frustrates me most of all, because it dictates where money and resources are channelled - to Light Entertainment, Comedy, ("froth" as I call it), and those departments which are here to inform, enlighten and educate find themselves very much at the end of the queue. The BBC, and certainly ITV, have failed to get this balance right between reflection and creation.' (No. 08)

It is significant, though not surprising, that these lofty Reithian expressions of paternalism came from those involved in disseminating what could be described largely as 'high' cultural products.

Two other sources of general constraint identified by a small minority were union pressure (specifically in the form of closed shop practices by the NUJ) and the ideological constraints imposed by institutional requirements for objectivity and impartiality, which one ex-newspaper journalist argued prevented him from initiating
the kind of crusades he had mounted as a pressman, and which another newsman found totally disabled him from carrying out any outside political activity.

Approximately one in ten of the producers made the point that production, though a career in its own right, as Lord Reith had maintained, could be a blind alley in terms of career advancement, and that within the BBC there was insufficient remunerative recognition of successful achievement to compensate for this. A producer in TV News, for example, after reflecting on the rewards and stresses of the daily cycle, said he was bound to ask: 'Where do I go from here? There don't seem to be any other jobs that lead on from being a producer.' (No. 31)

An Education producer working in radio had considered leaving the Corporation because of this:

'I can't see how I can improve my prospects and standing in the department in terms of promotion and an up-grading. Though I came in at a significant increase in salary, I would now be tempted to return to teaching for the same salary.' (No. 35)

In this instance, the two grade gap between himself and his television colleagues in the department exacerbated the sense of unrest, especially since the producer concerned was probably too old to make the crossing to join them.

In Education and again, as we have seen, in News, the sense of departmental confinement was very strong so that there was felt to be little prospect of a horizontal change of direction to compensate for the lack of vertical advancement. These frustrations were clearly exacerbated by the competitive orientation of the BBC as a career system. As Burns found (1977: 115), the Corporation's grading system and ubiquitous notice boards thrust it on the attention of the most professionally committed of people. In a comparatively small broadcasting centre such as Cardiff where the degree of staff turn over was considerably smaller than in London, and where the contestants for each appointment would, for the most part, be personally known to a much larger number of people, speculation and interest in the outcome of appointments boards often reached a pitch of high fever. According to one ex staff man recently turned contract producer/presenter, these contests had regrettable consequences:

'It's the rat race which dominates; the next job is what counts. Everyone worries who is going to get it, so that everyone is trying to keep his nose clean, trying to please the establishment. This matters more than anything else.... To be a producer now, one just has to be tidy, look nice and please. The whole thing is stultifying and just fosters mediocrity.' (No. 58)
Failure in the rat race certainly had traumatic results for some and could lead to intense feelings of bitterness and captivity as one interview in Bangor revealed:

'I've overstayed my time. Ten years in broadcasting, I think, is ample; one has little more to give after that beyond one's expertise. It's been a frustration for me having to stay. Had promotion come my way it would have been different, but the promotion ladder in broadcasting in any case is a very short one, and musicians and artistic people like myself have fewer opportunities perhaps than others. Had I gone ten years ago, it would have been far better, but I was prevailed upon to stay for things which never came my way, and I feel very bitter when I see people with far less talent who have jumped to the top, people who are intellectually inferior. I feel a sense of being cornered, of being trapped, of not being able to get out. This is how things have gone. Mind you, I don't think it's indigenous to broadcasting, but there is such a thing as a Corporation animal and I'm not one.' (No. 53)

This interplay of career and commitment is taken up again in the next chapter.

7.3.2 Constraints specific to the Welsh broadcasting situation.

The constraints upon creativity in terms of finance and technical resources, as indicated earlier, were seen by nearly all the producers as being the consequence of the fact that ultimate control resided not in Wales but in London. Since both sets of resources stem, in essence from budgetary control, this meant quite simply that London was seen as holding the purse strings. From this followed inadequate programme budgets and inadequate or inferior technical equipment and resources. There were constant references to 'the lavish facilities' in terms of studios and technical equipment available in London and also in Birmingham compared with those obtaining in Wales. For some years, in fact, staff in Drama and Light Entertainment had been obliged to take many of their productions to the Pebble Mill studios in Birmingham. In nearly all departments the feeling was widespread that, as one producer put it,

'one is expected to achieve comparable standards to the networks on a fraction of the budget and resources. Working here, we have to stand comparison with network products because our programmes are going out side by side with them. One is therefore forced to resort to economies to make the budget stretch and to practise ingenuity to disguise the shortcomings.' (No. 23)

The shoe string fashion in which many productions had to operate was explained by many as the result of an 'overcommitment to the facilities available', 'of there being too many programmes for the facilities available.' A vivid example was provided by the
Sports Organiser when he singled out the lack of videotape machines and personnel to meet production needs.

'This is a crucial technical area where facilities are quite inadequate and morale amongst the staff, because of the pressure upon them, is very low. The only way to get the editing one needs is to work it "on the old boy basis" ..... but one day someone is going to squeal.' (No. 13)

The inadequacy of facilities, though, understandably, felt most acutely by television staff, was also voiced by producers working in radio. The Senior Radio Producer spoke of 'the technical inadequacies of the building in which we work', adding:

'It's a constant irritation that so little foresight was shown when the studios were built that the new trends in radio broadcasting were not seen; they are just not equipped for the kind of work we do. Indeed, there's a lack of forward thinking generally in developing technical equipment and procedures for the future.' (No. 48)

The villain of the system in the scramble for facilities, as indicated above, was the manager, especially the middle manager operating in accordance with a centralist model out of keeping with the real needs of practitioners at ground level in the local situation. One of the younger producers in Children's Programmes saw the divide in terms which actually provoked conflict:

'The administration here is not geared to help producers. It's always a hindrance when one needs more facilities. I'm a fairly new producer and I have plenty of stamina to fight this, but some of the older hands I feel have given up the ghost and are always settling for lower standards.' (No. 21)

This particular producer, as were many others, was especially concerned about the inadequate funding of non-technical resources for such purposes as programme research and clerical support. At the same time, it says much of the segmented and competitive character of media organisations that the inherent conflict between practitioner and administrator was expressed by many as the result less of the inadequate funding of production needs generally as of the inequitable distribution of funds. Predictably this allegation came across strongly from most output heads and programme editors anxious to prioritise claims for their respective concerns by pointing to injustices of distribution. The existence of other forms of discrimination - linguistic and geographical - also emerged. Thus a TV Features producer, working solely in programmes for BBC Wales and in the Welsh language, maintained that greater importance was
attached by management to network programmes:

'There is a tendency to regard BBC Wales programmes as second class when it comes to resources and gaining acolades.' (No.26)

This London/Cardiff axis of priorities was matched at a secondary level by a Cardiff/Bangor axis. It was noted earlier that one of the Bangor-based producers claimed that the station was producing a higher output on smaller resources than Cardiff. This was, in fact, the most consistent finding from all the Bangor interviews. There was evidence of genuine constraint in terms of technical and human resources, so much so that one producer maintained that the situation generated bad feeling and tension at times between production staff as they competed for the limited resources available. 'We are fighting like rats in a cage', he declared. There was also the feeling of being 'out on a limb', of being an isolated outpost 200 miles away from the nerve centre of decision making, and, as a consequence, of being given second or even third grade treatment. The reality of the situation, in terms of technical facilities, according to one producer was that 'anything London don't have use for Cardiff have, and anything Cardiff don't want, Bangor gets.' (No. 59)

These constraints and resultant expressions of isolation and neglect, however, did not appear to undermine the sustaining sense of overall purpose and of belonging organically to the mainstream of Welsh broadcasting. In fact the sense of autonomy did much to foster a spirit of competitive achievement and local pride.

For one group in the study, however, this sense of organic relationship appeared less certain. These were the Education producers whose relationship with the 'mainstream broadcasters appeared more ambivalent and insecure. Their position as far as resources were concerned was summed up by one of the TV producers as being 'at the end of the queue in two worlds.' As he explained:

'Working in BBC Wales in the first place, one has the perpetual feeling that one is last in the queue for everything. Being BBC Wales and also an Education producer, one is at the end of another queue as well.' (No. 02)

The resulting sense of insecurity was described by one of the radio producers in the department:

'To be in educational broadcasting is like being in a no man's land, especially in BBC Wales. It's regarded as an appendage so we're last in line for studios and other facilities. Also, since we do so few live programmes (while BBC Wales' general output is increasingly live) facilities at peak times are eaten up already.' (No. 43)
It was not only studio and editing facilities that were at a premium. Producers in this department pointed to the difficulty of securing the services of actors and broadcasters during day time because they were constantly employed in mainstream broadcasting. It was only in this department that one encountered frequent complaints by producers that the job often interfered with their social life and outside interests. There was a marked tendency in fact amongst the radio producers, though not amongst the TV producers, in Education, to think of their job very much as a "nine to five" commitment in contrast to many of those in mainstream production where being a producer was very much a whole way of life. One producer said he had 'never really left the classroom' and would not have any wish to work outside the department... Yet he wondered sometimes about his effectiveness. Thus behind the frustration arising from their place in the organisation and in the degree of priority accorded to them as media practitioners lay for many of the educational producers a deeper uncertainty about the role of educational broadcasting at large. As the Senior Radio Producer in Education saw it:

'We have to function in the context of an educational system which is excessively conservative in its approach to the curriculum and this is inhibiting for educational broadcasting. Successive governments have been more concerned for the past 15 years with organisation rather than with curriculum and subject matter. Had there been more radical thought in this direction, educational broadcasting could have played a more significant part.' (No. 37)

Apart from these budgetary and bureaucratic controls embedded within the structures of BBC regional broadcasting, which, as we have seen, were regarded by many as both constraining and inappropriate to the Welsh situation, a further source of institutional constraint derived from the fact that Welsh broadcasting operated as an opt-out service of the BBC's network services. This meant broadly that the programme schedules for BBC Wales had to be constructed largely in relation to the overall strategy of the networks. Opt-out placings, taking cognisance of this wider strategy, thus tended to be located in specific periods or 'slots'. In television particularly, because of the ratings contest with ITV, regional transmissions, as shown earlier in this study, tended to be placed in non-prime time, chiefly before 8 p.m. and after 10.30 p.m. It would be possible to cite many exceptions to this pattern occurring from time to time when BBC Wales considered it had comparably competitive or prestigious material
to screen, but these were exceptions to the general strategy. In any event, many of the network programmes thus replaced would be frequently re-shown on the BBC Wales service at another time. Over such manoeuvres the rank and file producer had no direct control but the implications for him could be disruptive. In concrete terms it meant that if he was engaged in making a programme for future transmission which could not be placed in the customary slots for particular categories of material, he would, perhaps, not know until well after he had completed the production where and when the planners would actually place it. By this time perhaps the initial length of the 'opt-out' slot available might have altered: indeed a total change in the overall opt-out pattern might have taken place following a radical change of planning strategy by the network controllers. In radio, the process did not appear to have such disruptive implications: in any case, devolution of prime time broadcasting was much further advanced, but in television, the vagaries of living with the process were stressful for a minority of producers. As a Light Entertainment producer explained:

'We have no direct control over BBC Wales as a network; we always have to fit in with the structure and pattern of the BBC 1 network. The uncertain placing of programmes is really frustrating when one is actually making them.' (No. 23)

'There's a cavalier attitude in the placing of programmes which I dislike', argued another producer of Children's programmes.

'This stems, of course, from network requirements, but network requirements are not our requirements. Thus programmes are sometimes placed in inappropriate slots without any cognisance of local cultural needs.' (No. 34)

Indeed, as we shall see later (Chapter 10), there was appreciable support for the view that alternative structures of broadcasting were desirable and necessary to secure the fulfilment of these needs. At this point, it should be noted that this frustration caused a number to feel genuinely dissatisfied. This was especially marked amongst those producers who were anxious to see a major expansion of broadcasting in the Welsh language. These pointed to the very inadequacy of the existing output, particularly in television, as a major factor in the overall lack of impact they claimed BBC Wales was having on its potential audience. Thus the Children's Programmes Organiser, for instance, argued:
'We need more slots, more air time, I could double my output and still feel dissatisfied because, in terms of quantity, I'd still just not be putting up the competitive service which we should be operating.' (No. 09)

'Compared with countries like Switzerland or Denmark or Ireland', claimed a sports producer,

'we just don't begin.' (No. 17)

The overarching nature of this institutional context had significant effects on audience perception of BBC Wales, according to one TV Education producer:

'The overall output is so dismally small that it is not meaningful as a service. Outside, I feel that people see us as part of a London-based structure whereas HTV by comparison is seen as a smaller unitary structure, and though, in fact, they may be providing a far less adequate service, people feel a greater affinity with it.' (No. 14)

In contrast to this view, there was, however, equally forthright insistence from non-Welsh speakers that the output already contained an excessive proportion of programmes in the Welsh language so that the service provided was hopelessly biased against the needs of the monoglot audience. This alternative view was by no means confined to non-Welsh speaking producers: indeed a number of those whose work was primarily in the Welsh language regretted that this was the case and argued that there should be far greater opportunities for them to work also in English. The entrenched predominance of the Welsh language in the existing programme output thus appeared to exert three forms of constraint on the various sections of the producer population. First, it acted as a promotional barrier for non-Welsh speakers. (Four of the eight non-Welsh speakers saw their opportunities for advancement restricted because of their minority position). Second, it resulted in gross underprovision and neglect of the cultural needs of the Anglo-Welsh audience. Third, it inhibited the creative aspirations of both those producers who could only work in English and those who, though Welsh speaking, would have preferred to do more programmes in English. Two of the non-Welsh speakers were highly critical of the political and cultural policies on which the 'Welsh' hegemony rested. It was clearly a major source of frustration for the Editor of Good Morning Wales who said he felt:

'a profound gloom and near despair that broadcasting in Wales totally failed to do its duty to both sides of the community. It seems that bilingual executives, by and large, when they attain
ultimate power, operate primarily as Welsh speakers and quite fail to understand the frustrations of the Anglo-Welsh who, down the years, have seen little concrete development of English language broadcasting for the people of Wales.' (No. 01)

The neglect of Anglo-Welsh material was something a TV Drama producer also saw in his own department:

'I don't think we are doing enough Anglo-Welsh plays and this worries me because I don't think we are playing fair with Anglo-Welsh writers and actors who are forced, as a result, to seek network employment. It comes back again, of course, to a lack of programme money in the end, but I think all the same that we are doing too many Welsh language programmes when their standard and quality on the screen are often suspect.' (No. 11)

Part of the explanation for that suspect quality, many producers suggested, apart from budgetary limitations, lay in the nature of the native artistic and linguistic resources available. These cultural constraints on Welsh broadcasting are discussed below. First, however, two further sources of concern and dissatisfaction arising from the Welsh broadcasting context must be looked at. These were the lack of knowledge of and contact with the audience, and the shortcomings of BBC Wales management.

The absence of concrete figures about the size and nature of the Welsh listening and viewing audience was a recurring factor encountered in this inquiry, and this is examined more fully in Chapter 9. It is relevant to underline the point at this stage, however, since it was clear that it entered into the way many producers assessed their overall satisfaction and their effectiveness as communicators. The 24 producers referred to earlier in this chapter, who claimed to know that their work was being positively received, were obviously not that concerned at the lack of audience research in Wales. Others, however, clearly were concerned. Thus those who had a 'network' component to their output contrasted the consistent feedback they received for such programmes with the fact that the BBC's Audience Research provision did not extend to covering their output on BBC Wales. Many spoke of the way they were 'operating in a vacuum' with 'no response from the audience.' The now familiar consequences of such uncertainty for communicators have been chartered in general terms by McQuail (1969), and these responses were discernable in the attitudes expressed even in this section of the interviews in the way the producers said repeatedly that, in the absence of any kind of
formal research machinery, they were thrown back on professional peer group and paternalistic assumptions of 'what is best for the audience.' One radio producer in current affairs programmes in Bangor was highly critical of the way such peer group judgments operated:

'We tend to do programmes for ourselves and not for the public ....... we sit in canteens and pubs and talk without finding out how people are receiving what we give them. There's a tendency here (in Bangor) also to try to please the Head of Production not the public. They want The Sun and Coronation Street but we don't give them these. We're obsessed with White and Green Papers and Referenda, and the great majority don't really want to know about them. We have a duty to find out what people actually want, but we are too remote from ordinary people.' (No. 49)

This sense of isolation, particularly from the Welsh-speaking audience, was as much a factor of geography as of organisation as a number of Welsh language producers based in Cardiff pointed out, and there was a widespread feeling that their Bangor counterparts were in a far better position to obtain reaction at street level to programme output. 'The only reaction one gets in Cardiff', as one producer saw it, 'is an artificial one - from the middle class Welsh of the city.' (No.61) In the absence of any systematic data, decisions to launch or terminate programme series were often taken by policy makers, according to some producers, on arbitrary and capricious grounds in response to hunches or hearsay. One producer claimed that bad decisions had often been made because the policy makers relied too much on reaction solicited by freelance performers instead of seeking 'the opinion of professional producers.' (No.44)

The vacuum created by the absence of Audience Research was thus paralleled, as many saw it, by the internal lacunae in the relationship between senior management and production staff which increased the sense of isolation experienced by the programme maker. This appeared to exist both at the departmental level for producers within their output groups and in their relationships with programme management centrally. At this second level especially, what producers complained of was not so much the process of decision taking, or (as in some instances) the lack of it, as the lack of a critical response to their efforts. This was felt most acutely by certain producers in news and current affairs who felt that since they were engaged in less glamorous or spectacular projects their work had a certain "take it for granted" quality. As one producer of a daily TV
current affairs programme saw it:

'The attitude seems to be - "Ah well, they'll still churn it out."' In fact in the last 12 months I have not had a single word from the Head of Programmes about the content of any of my programmes, and it is no good for your morale. To a certain extent one has learned to live with the lack of resources, but lack of response is far more exasperating and undermining.' (No. 16)

On the other hand, there were those producers, as we have seen, who were clearly out of sympathy with many of the overall programme objectives of the policy makers and of what, in the absence of research, they perceived to be the needs of the broadcast audience. Complaints of an excessive commercialism, of peddling 'froth', which we found earlier from producers in Music and Religion, were seen as stemming from a lack of intellectual leadership or of limited horizons by policy makers. A senior producer in the Music department maintained that

'management here has always underestimated the intelligence of the people of Wales. We are feeding them with an output which is largely rubbish and catering for an audience which is either dead or dying.' (No. 32)

Clearly there is here an assumption that a particular model of the audience operates and that it is grounded in certain assumed needs and expectations. Around it producer opinion was divided and orientations diverged as Chapter 9 will show. Behind the model lay the wider cultural constraints indicated above and it is to these that we must now turn.

7.3.3 Cultural constraints

As Chapter 3 has shown, the language and culture of Wales have a central and statutory place in Welsh broadcasting as discharged by the BBC in Wales. There is an obligation on the Welsh broadcaster to 'reflect the distinctive culture of Wales' (Pilkington Report 1960: 36), and though a succession of reports have seen that obligation as extending also to providing for the non-Welsh speaking majority of the population, the practical effect of their recommendations until very recently has been to accord a significantly higher priority to programme development in the Welsh language and this is reflected in the programme output of the BBC Wales service as a whole in both radio and television (as described in Chapter 4).
The language is central, however, in a wider complex of obligations which form the territorial, ethnic and ideological framework within which broadcasting in Wales is conducted. Hence Welsh broadcasting is charged with addressing itself to those concerns and activities which best reflect the distinctive characteristics and aspirations of the nation, and, in doing so, must, perforce, utilise and promote, by and large, the native talents and resources of the people who live within its boundaries. What this signifies in practical terms for the programme maker is another set of controls and constraints within which he must operate and through which his cultural universe is defined and bounded.

If one takes first the producer working mainly in the Welsh language, then the language itself was clearly the primary control on his work. It involved literally the exclusion of all "non-Welsh" language material (which, in practice, meant all English language material) from Welsh language programmes. Exceptions to this general rule could indeed be found from time to time, especially in music programmes where, for example, the lack of Welsh translations of classical arias or choruses meant that the Italian original or an English version would have to be used. Little or no exception would be taken, in fact, to the inclusion of the Italian in this instance whereas objections might well be taken to the English version. In factual programmes, dubbed translation into Welsh of material in other languages was the preferred technique even if that other language happened to be English, though, if kept judiciously brief, the occasional piece of English might be acceptable provided it was not seen to be establishing a regular practice. The ambivalence and uncertainty of programme direction on this issue was an irritant felt acutely by the editor of the daily TV magazine Heddiw who maintained that this lack of policy stemmed from 'a prejudice which was inhibiting the full potential of Welsh language broadcasting.' (No. 19) The practical ramifications of proscription were well identified by the Head of Production at Bangor who's view was that:

'producing programmes in the Welsh language poses additional stresses. There simply aren't sufficient performers of quality to realise some kinds of projects in the way one would like. It's true of drama, current affairs, indeed across the whole spectrum of broadcasting.' (No. 50)

This view was overwhelmingly substantiated by the responses to Question 51.
with 61% of the total producer population maintaining that the production of programmes in the Welsh language was both more difficult and demanding than programmes in English.

The practical effect of the control imposed by the language was to restrict severely the contact chain in the production process, especially in terms of contributors and performers. The frustrations appeared to be particularly acute in current affairs and drama production. In television drama especially, producers spoke of 'the grave shortage of writers and actors in Welsh'. (No. 11) 'The result is you’re swimming around in the same little pool all the time'. (No. 45) In some respects, the very paucity of the existing output was felt to be as much a cause as a consequence of this since as the same producer put it, 'there just isn’t sufficient work to enable people to earn a decent living in acting or writing ...... a truly national theatre in Wales is still a long way off.' A minority of Welsh actors were nevertheless heavily in demand as was clear from the difficulties encountered by several radio producers in the Education department whose experience was typified by this producer who, heavily dependent on 'the limited number of actors and performers available in the Welsh language', said she found herself 'last in the queue for them' while producers working in the English language were far less dependent. (No. 43)

It was the producers of Welsh language news and current affairs' programmes, however, who appeared to find their situation in this respect most trying, especially the Bangor group of radio producers responsible for the morning, lunch time and early evening sequences. Apart from the difficulty of actually securing authoritative contributors who could express themselves in the language, what also dispirited them all without exception was the lack of trained Welsh speaking journalists. Their frustrations were summed up by this ex-newspaper man:

'It's very difficult to produce effective programmes in the Welsh language because of the sheer scarcity of authoritative experts. Without the daily English language press, I don't think we would be able to produce our own news and current affairs programmes in Welsh: they would just dry up. We depend on them totally. There's also a feeling that because it's in Welsh it's good enough. I would like to see our reporters properly trained either by the BBC or by an educational agency like ITN have for their reporters. The reporters we have working for us in Welsh are of very poor standard and no provision is made for training them. It makes me want to leave it all and work in English. It's just not a professional world.' (No. 49)
Away from the pressure fronts of daily news and current affairs broadcasting, however, the Welsh language producer enjoyed in one significant respect greater scope and opportunity than his non-Welsh speaking colleague who was expected to confine his programme subject matter largely to events, activities and issues that arose within the territorial area of the Principality. For the Welsh language programme maker, in contrast, in spite of the severe constraints imposed upon him by the language, and particularly for the producer engaged in factual television in the documentary field, whether for the general audience or for the school child, 'the world is his oyster' as one Education producer put it. (No. 02) The language itself was sufficient justification for the most far flung of travelogues or assignments. The Welsh language producer enjoyed greater scope not only in terms of geography, however, but of subject matter generally: indeed as a Welsh speaker he would be concerned to demonstrate that the language was a sufficiently flexible code of communication to deal with the most universal and contemporary of issues and concerns. The non-Welsh speaker, in contrast, had a much stricter brief: implicitly there was an assumption that his role was to reflect Wales since the British and international scene was already adequately catered for by the main networks of the BBC. Hence, while not facing the linguistic constraints of his Welsh speaking colleague, the monoglot producer was more strictly circumscribed in the range of subject matter open to him as programme material.

Producers in the Music and Light Entertainment departments in particular were very conscious of the limited native resource from which they could draw in comparison with their colleagues in London. However, actors, performers and entertainers were not the only human resources in the reckoning. Current affairs producers complained of the paucity of 'competent journalists with the proper training', while sports producers pointed to the imbalance of talent on the Welsh sporting scene. This was how the Sports Organiser summed up this particular problem:

'Apart from rugby in Wales, you have to look hard for really top line performers in sport. I just don't have the "catchment area" of my colleagues in Grandstand.' (No. 13)

It was very much in these production areas, where producers had what might be described as a 'servicing' rather than a 'creative' role and output was high, that this dependence on native resource was experienced most severely. Thus the Head of Music,
for example, spoke of 'the basic shortage of ethnic talent in Wales.' (No.07) It was this which prompted one of the producers in his department to characterise his position as being that of 'a given man in a given situation. The limits and horizons of the job are in some senses therefore too sharply defined. One is too categorised and there are few opportunities to be genuinely creative.' (No. 05)

7.4 THE IMPACT OF CONTROL ON CONTENT AND TREATMENT

The controls described in this chapter may be said to derive from two interlocking sets of factors. There were those relating to the overall allocation of resources as a consequence of the broad structures of institutional policy and organisation, and there were those relating to the variety of constituents or reference groups in the broadcasters' environment. In general, we have seen that these multifarious constraints were characterised by the producers as impinging in various forms on their freedom of manoeuvre as professionals whether defined in terms of autonomous creativity or of routine competence. We have also seen from many of the responses how this process affected the production and presentation of programmes. In the replies to Question 69 and 70, further indications were produced in more specific terms of how these constraints affected content and treatment. Question 69 asked the respondents if they were at all aware in the course of their work of certain pressures upon them to conform - either in terms of choice of subject matter or treatment. Broadly, three main sources of pressure were identified. First, there was the time-honoured insistence on the need to observe balance and caution in the treatment of political controversy, especially in the treatment of the Welsh Language issue, and in particular in reporting the activities of the Welsh Language Society. Second, there was a marked awareness of the need for care and sensitivity in matters affecting the tastes and opinions of the broadcaster's audience. The treatment of sexual questions in particular was seen by a number of those working in the Welsh language as a problematic area. Interlinked with this was a third and much wider issue posed by the collective assumptions of broadcasters about the needs and capacities of the different audiences they addressed. While many of the producers displayed a marked scepticism of a number of these assumptions, they seemed to indicate, at the same time, that they had little choice other than to subscribe to them since it was in conformity with these models of the audience that institutional policy operated and resources were allocated.
The requirements for impartiality and for caution in matters of controversy entered predictably into the work situation of all the producers concerned with the production of news and current affairs' programmes.

'There is always pressure',
said the Editor of Good Morning Wales,
'to conform to the tried and trusted patterns of BBC objectivity; to give balanced access to all points of view and not to editorialise.' (No. 01)

The implications for programme making were described vividly by a producer on the Welsh language TV programme Heddliw:

'There are things you can't do. You can't editorialise: it's a sine qua non of the job. You also can't criticise the BBC, and while there's little pressure on you to drop an item, there is, at times, pressure upon you to put out items which reflect well on the BBC, and I would certainly have to refer up on anything to do with broadcasting. The most insidious thing is that you tend to become a self censor; you imbibe the tenets of BBC Wales' thinking from the air around you. It infiltrates into your thinking and you become establishment in your outlook without you being aware of it simply because received opinions are accepted and you do not put them to the test. There's also an excessive concern for political balance and this leads to pressure to include representatives of some political parties who may not have much to contribute on a political subject. But the counting of MP's is taken very seriously at the end of the year.' (No. 16)

'We are too sensitive on political subjects and to this question of balance',
claimed a Bangor current affairs' producer,
'and we go too far to keep the balance, and this often distorts the news. Take Devolution, for instance: it was quite stupid to resort to form filling here. There's far too much form filling here and head counting.' (No. 49)

The exertion of pressure on the broadcaster in relation to political subjects, according to a Good Morning Wales producer, could proceed either directly from politicians themselves or through the Welsh Broadcasting Council, and instanced two examples from his recent experience.

'The Chairman of the Welsh Broadcasting Council disapproved of my inclusion of an item about the Sex Pistols in the programme. He thought it was in bad taste; I thought it was a good news story and disagreed . . . . . On another occasion, the Welsh Office exerted pressure upon us to carry an official statement justifying the Secretary of State's use of a helicopter for his official journeys. We refused to broadcast such a statement.' (No. 30)
Overt confrontation of this kind was a not unfamiliar experience encountered by news and current affairs' producers though it was by no means confined to this area. A TV producer in the Education department spoke, for example, of managerial concern and disquiet over a documentary he had made on the history of Welsh education. A radio producer in the same department again recalled a programme he had produced on the Rebecca Riots in early 19th century rural Wales, where he felt he was in sensitive territory:

"The scenes of violent action in the programme could well have been taken by some as a project that might incite children to support direct action of the kind that the Welsh Language Society take. Nothing happened at all, but I was personally sensitive at the time to the obligation to observe the neutrality expected of the broadcasting organisation." (No. 24)

Two producers in TV Light Entertainment described the opposition they had encountered in the late 1960's to the inclusion of certain songs of political protest in a Welsh language programme similar to 'Top of the Pops'. This was how the producer of that programme recalled her experience:

"In the heyday of the protest song, particularly during the period of the Investiture, I found a lot of resistance from Labour Party members and officials. The subject was even brought up in Parliament, and there was pressure from London (BBC) and from the hierarchy here for me to "cool it"." (No. 22)

Positions of open conflict or confrontation were, however, only rarely reached. An understanding of the ground rules of media practice ensured, as one of the producers mentioned earlier, that some kind of self-censorship operated.

The most sensitive political subject area encountered by all producers was undoubtedly the Welsh language question and in particular the activities of the Welsh Language Society. It was, above all others, the subject on which there was specific direction, as the producer of the nightly TV news review Wales Today explained:

"We have to handle items about the Welsh Language Society in a particular way. The name of the Society must be given bilingually, and there are instructions about the coverage of their activities. We can report them only if they have done something which they haven't done previously. I don't resent this; I accept it as a fact of life, though, given a free hand, I would treat the event in terms of news value only." (No. 31)
By the same token, this same producer objected to the fact that prescriptions for under-exposure could often operate in reverse:

'There's pressure on us to cover some events like the Eisteddfod to a far greater extent that we would if left to our own devices. Again, we often have to give obituaries of obscure Welsh cultural figures who are of little interest to the general audience.'

The mediation of such political and cultural pressures was seen by a Bangor producer as more extensive in Wales than elsewhere:

'It's such a small country that people are afraid and over-sensitive. There are perhaps too many public bodies represented on Welsh broadcasting, and these act as pressure groups exerting a powerful influence, indeed a kind of holy fear at times. Important public figures on the Welsh Arts Council, for instance, are very influential - so much so that some might indeed be rather afraid to venture to do items in these areas. There's certainly a fear of dealing with certain controversial subjects - the language and politics especially. Sometimes, there's a good story there, but we are advised not to proceed because it's political, and then we lose a good story.' (No. 57)

Apart from the language and politics, however, editorial pressure extended across a wide range of subject areas.

'Controversy generally - political, social and cultural - is out', claimed a TV producer in Education whose work also included programmes for the general audience.

'Education is also a holy cow which one doesn't criticise. Religion is another. Sex too is generally taboo, especially certain aspects of it, though perhaps less so than it was.' (No. 02)

This kind of catalogue of taboos was repeated and extended, according to individual experience, in the responses to Question 70, as, for example, here by the producer of a weekly English TV current affairs' programme:

'Certain topics are not welcomed by the hierarchy - Ulster, obviously; certain aspects of sex and of religion outside mainstream Christianity; and anything again which cuts across the accepted parameters of science, especially the supernatural such as faith healing or reincarnation. A critical approach to these is acceptable, but not a committed or dispassionate approach. Political satire is also right out.' (No. 04)

This was the experience of a producer who was not a Welsh speaker. Producers of Welsh language material testified even more forcefully to the operation of cultural mores and sensitivities. The Welsh-speaking audience was considered to
be far more sensitive to a much wider range of subject matter. One producer, for example, spoke of the hostility shown by certain Welsh speakers to racing tipsters and to rock music. Another referred to their dislike of seeing alcohol being consumed in drama and entertainment programmes, but the nonconformist conscience appeared to be most readily outraged by swearing and sexual subjects, particularly homosexuality.

Questions of this kind relating to audience tastes and attitudes were closely intermeshed with different models of audience needs and capacities on a whole range of subject preferences and programme content. While never articulated explicitly, many producers felt, nevertheless, that such models had hardened, through time-honoured observance, into institutional orthodoxies which constrained their capacity to innovate and experiment. Loudest in their protestations on this score were the producers in the Music Department.

'I'm always being asked to keep the content popular so that it will appeal to the big audience',
declared one of the producers,

'to go for known artists and choirs, even though their reputation is not now as good as it was, and, in general, to put the mass audience before the development of music making. There is always this kind of pressure on me for BBC Wales programmes. The same tendency exists with Radio 4, even for Radio 3, though less so here, of course. Nevertheless, even here, one is encouraged not to be too ambitious, to work within the safe limits of the repertoire and not to overdo new music or contemporary Welsh music or expressive large-scale music.' (No. 05)

'We are always under pressure',
said the Head of the Department,

'to put on performers who are popular. So we do, but not very much, (this is professional deceit) because, while programmes of favourite music may bring a very high response, they give only limited scope for content. Yet there is pressure on us to do this. The few well worn hymns are chosen in hymn singing programmes over and over again. Music to Remember again will only accept music that is extremely well established, and, unfortunately, one has to conform.' (No. 07)

Other producers in the department confirmed that this pressure to popularise, to select always the known and familiar and to avoid "new" music was most insistently demanded by BBC Wales management which also, according to one producer, 'constantly urged the adoption of an informal chit-chat style of presentation in place of formal
concert notes.' (No. 33) What these producers were insisting upon was their right to work within the terms of their own peer group, which, in this case, excluded managerial superiors since they were not, as they were, professional musicians. More, by refusing to accept institutional assessments, they were claiming that they should be entrusted as 'professionals' with decisions as to what was best for their audience. It provoked this particularly ironic outburst from one member of the department:

'They say that people want the usual pot boilers, but who says so? There's this mythical father figure of the Head of Programmes who is supposed to be all-knowing, all-seeing. I've never understood how he can know when little notice is taken of what the professional musician says is right. They still think we're a nation of tenant farmers living in the 19th century not a modern industrialised society. That's why Caniadaeth (the Sunday programme of Welsh hymn singing) has gone on for 30 years.' (No. 53)

The prevalence of stereotypical images in institutional policies was a consistent target also with many of those with experience of network productions. It was a pressure which one producer said he had found intolerable:

'I feel there is an expectation that whatever programme it is, it must fit the preconceived image of Wales and Welshness held by the Network, and I've decided not to do such programmes. London want programmes about Wales which are either "send-ups" or are so trite as to verge on caricature, (e.g. Poems and Pints).'

(No. 26)

It is significant that this particular producer did not apparently find himself constrained in any way as a producer of Features programmes exclusively for BBC Wales to which he had decided to confine himself. In this case, however, as with others, commitment to language was sufficiently overriding to secure the comparability of professional and institutional goals. Moreover, as an experienced producer in a department which afforded opportunities for considerable creative autonomy, it could also be assumed that he had by now negotiated for himself a measure of manoeuvrability which enabled him to avoid those subject areas with which he was out of sympathy or on which institutional prescriptions might be forthcoming.

Awareness of London stereotyping was something that impinged on the consciousness of all those with a network commitment whatever measure of autonomy they enjoyed. As another Features producer admitted,

'Although I do what I want to do, I sense I'm cast in a particular role in the network market, and I have to play their game by providing ideas that will find acceptance.' (No. 03)
It was through the perception of such broad ideological contours rather than by having to respond to direct prescription that pressures for conformity largely operated.

'Ve have to conform to the overall image of the channel', said the Religious Broadcasting Organiser.

'My particular output also has a specific location in the schedules, and this affects the kind of audience I get and what they will expect. I also have to conform, of course, to the resources that are made available to me.' (No. 08)

Scheduling, along with the convention of the 9 o'clock watershed as the departure point of the juvenile audience was a further pressure identified as affecting the nature of content though, as we have seen earlier, scheduling could be subject to late and sudden changes making for uncertainty in production objectives. In general, however, scheduling facilitated resource allocation, and this, in turn, as many observed, promoted formula production and maximisation of output. Thus as one TV producer in Light Entertainment told me: 'Programme formats are often given to me by the Head of Programmes or Senior Producer.' (No. 23) Similarly in the coverage of sport on television, as the Sports Organiser admitted: 'Treatment is expected to follow an accepted formula ...... but then if one is giving the audience what it wants, why change it anyway?' (No. 13)

A more detailed examination of the broadcasters' assumptions about the audience is taken up in a subsequent chapter. It should be noted at this point, however, that these assumptions held a pivotal position in the professional ideology of the broadcasters, providing for each producer a touchstone with which to respond to the pressure of other reference groups and constituents in his environment. These included, of course, not only the political and cultural pressures described above and institutional demands for popular programming but demands from particular segments of the audience or from various public custodians or spokesmen of audience interest in the form of advisory councils, committees and various other bodies both official and unofficial. A Bangor news producer described how 'all kinds of ".nicks are tried to get us to "do" certain stories - stories which will in fact promote only private interests. One must be very watchful of these.' (No. 57)
Sectional and minority pressures in Sport were described by the Sports Organiser:

'I find there are pressures upon me from outside to cover certain activities, but I have to balance them in relation to my overall commitment to the main audience, and I have to ask if the majority of the viewers will be pleased or benefit from their inclusion.' (No. 13)

Similarly, various Education producers spoke of the resistance shown by teachers to new forms of presentation and of demands voiced from time to time through the Schools' Broadcasting Council from various educationists and educational bodies in response to current educational theory or fashion.

'The question we have to ask then', said one member of the department,

't is not whether these demands will make for better television but for better educational television.' (No. 10)

As we shall see later, producers in this department had more valid grounds for claiming to know what their particular audience really wanted whereas for their colleagues in general broadcasting the absence of a genuinely meaningful relationship with their audience made their claims far more doubtful, though this provided at the same time a strategy for removing competing claimants to a safe distance.

7.5 RESPONSES TO CONTROL

Of the three broad categories of constraint that emerged in response to Question 41, it was the first two that were identified most readily by the respondents. Hence, while the cultural controls of language and a limited range of artistic resources and subject matter were clearly seen by many as irksome and restrictive, only a minority, and chiefly among non-Welsh speakers, were moved to describe them as a source of imbalance unjustly and unnecessarily perpetuated. For the most part, this category was taken as a given. Institutional and bureaucratic controls, however, with their attendant constraints on financial and technical resources, were different in that many were regarded, as we have seen, as unnecessary and wherever possible to be challenged or overcome.

The responses to Question 42 and to the series of supplementary probes 42 a-h revealed some of the different forms of adaptation to these constraints. Collectively
they represent a variety of attempts to remove, loosen or evade control, and, in psychological terms, they could be located along a continuum ranging from forms of overt aggression at one pole to apathy at the other. These responses were by no means exclusive: indeed the adoption of more than one response was an essential feature of the overall strategy of adaptation. Broadly, however, five main kinds of response were discernible. First, and mentioned by 30 of the producers, was overt criticism and active resistance to control. This, however, was usually an initial response and gave way to a more common posture of compromise achieved often, however, through recourse to unofficial channels and personal contact rather than through the official procedures of bureaucratic negotiation. A number spoke in this connection of 'beating the system', of 'using the old boy network' to get things done, and of practising 'professional deceit'. Compromise was invariably seen as conceding to lower standards - accepting more studio talk instead of film for example, skimping on research or film reconnaissance - though a few were ready to admit that 'more money is not always a guarantee of greater success' and that 'often the end result is as good because greater care and thought have gone into it.' It was conceded generally that, as one producer put it, 'the individual cannot change the monolith', and that there was a limit to the concessions which could be secured through individual action. A TV Features producer summed up the difficulty:

'I speak my mind in Programme Boards or wherever I get a chance - at annual interviews for instance - but I'm not in constant rebellion because it's a waste of time unless it can be a corporate protest. But then producers are individualists!' (No. 26)

Consequently, a widespread third form of occupational response was that of segmented commitment to a particular media product or output area, a response characterised by a concentration on the immediate job in hand in place of a preoccupation with the overall defects in the organisation. In Features production a producer saw it as being 'obsessed with an idea providing a gigantic ego trip which carries me through'. (No. 03) In News and Current Affairs' production, as we have seen, the daily or weekly cycle generated its own momentum.

Department or unit, work group and peers provided a fourth set of foci of specialisation and commitment, and for some this could involve the transcending of local organisational priorities as, for instance, in Television News. This wider
orientation was described by the producer of the nightly news review Wales Today:

'My loyalty is to BBC News department generally, that is all over the country as it's linked to other newsrooms in London or Leeds and elsewhere rather than loyalty to the producer of the drama programme next door but one. My loyalty, therefore, is first and foremost to the nationwide structure of news - not to BBC Wales. We would sacrifice an item for Wales Today in order to give it to Nationwide because a showing on the network is a major plus for the department.' (No. 31)

A fifth and final response to constraint was a commitment to wider cultural goals - which, for many, were clearly linked with specifically political considerations. It was this predominant 'commitment to Welshness' that emerged as the most significant form of adaptation to the dilemmas of role conflict, and this is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

While there were no clear instances of total alienation, Music producers in particular showed marked distaste for some of the products they were engaged upon, but since these were counterbalanced by other products with which they were far more in sympathy, alienation was never complete. With the exception of only two, none of the producers was prepared to admit to having any permanent feelings of cynicism about the actual job s/he was doing. In responding to Question 42 (a), 27 of the producers, while conceding feelings of cynicism, were at pains to insist that these arose not from the work itself but because of the 'organisational system' controlling it. Indeed, the primacy of programme commitment over organisational loyalty was clearly underlined by the responses to Question 42 (c). This asked the respondents to indicate whether it was to the organisation as a whole or to the programmes they worked for or belonged to that they felt the greater concern and loyalty. 53 of the producers declared unequivocally that their first loyalty was to programmes. 4 only said they placed the organisation first while 5 were either unable to decide or said they saw no conflict between the two in that, as one producer put it, 'one can only be loyal to the organisation by being loyal to what one is responsible for.'

7.6 THE COMMITMENT TO WELSHNESS

Although the cultural context of Welsh broadcasting has been characterised as forming a set of constraints on the work of the producers, it was not a context with
which the majority were out of sympathy. On the contrary it was for many the source with which they identified most strongly and through which they viewed the exercise of their professional skills. This orientation to a distinctive cultural identity - which is explored more fully in the next chapter - was a critical factor which entered into the calculations of the producers when asked to assess the overall satisfaction they derived from their professional role. This emerged unmistakeably from the replies to Questions 42 (d) - (h) which raised the issue of service to Wales and, where applicable, to the Welsh language. In responding to these questions, two or three producers were insistent that the notion of service was too exalted and virtuous a concept to characterise their position correctly since, in their view, it implied a self consciousness and intentionality which they were unwilling to attribute to their own behaviour. Nevertheless, the way they subsequently articulated their relationship to the cultural context showed a degree of commitment equally as marked as the majority who declared their position in more overt terms. In trying to identify the precise focus of their commitment, however, there was, inevitably, some divergence of emphasis. As one producer, in fact, explained:

'What I call Wales may not be what another would call Wales.' (No. 01)

In this particular case he was pin-pointing the difference between his own allegiance (as a monoglot) to the non-Welsh speaking audience, which, in his view, BBC Wales had grossly neglected, and that of his Welsh speaking colleagues who identified with a different audience.

Apart from such expressions of identification based on language and in which a number of the Welsh speakers saw their work as improving linguistic standards and of preserving the language or at least arresting its decline, most of the producers chose to see themselves as providing a service in more segmented terms. They spoke, for example, of informing people (whether in Wales or the United Kingdom as a whole, in the case of network programme makers), about life and events in Wales; of providing a comprehensive Welsh news or sports service; of developing certain forms of Welsh language programming - situation comedy, for example; of contributing to the development of a "Welsh" education or of Welsh agriculture, or to the musical life of the nation. In each case, the location of the individual producer in the departmental output structure clearly had a determining effect on the way the communicator saw his
role both in relation to the overall aims of organisational policy and to any wider concept of service to a linguistic or cultural community. As an earlier chapter has indicated, their initial entry into broadcasting was seen by the majority of the producers as a logical extension of established orientations to a particular subject area, professional skill or cultural service. For the most part, however, these professional aims fitted readily into a broader cultural commitment to Wales and the Welsh identity and was thus a crucial factor in shaping the ideology of the Welsh broadcaster, and, in terms of the overall equation between satisfaction and dissatisfaction, it appeared to be for the majority of the communicators the most important single factor they invoked in their strategy of adaptation to organisational pressures and irritations.

Thus, in responding to Question 42 (e), exactly half the producers, in fact, indicated that serving Wales was more important than any other consideration for them, and that this factor ultimately made up partially, if not wholly, for the frustrations they experienced. It was cast in elevated terms in a number of the interviews.

'Service to Wales transcends service to Sport or the Corporation', declared a Sports producer. (No. 17) An Education producer maintained

'It is more important than the pursuit of a personal career or advancement elsewhere', (No. 14)

and the Senior Drama Producer was moved to declare that

'the cause of Wales is a dynamic cause for me. Without it there would be less of a driving force in my life. When I worked in London, I found that a programme there was just a programme; here it's an expression of my Welshness, my identity.' (No. 25)

This additional dimension of service was seen by the Head of Production in Bangor as

'more important than broadcasting in the British pattern or succeeding in a BBC career in UK terms.' (No. 50)

At the same time, however, this did not mean conceding to lower standards of programme quality. Service and standards were inseparable for this producer, and this was the view taken by the other producers who rated the commitment to Welshness as paramount, 'since', as one explained

'unless one makes good programmes, no one will watch them or listen to them.' (No. 27)

It was this very commitment to craft and quality, however, that made the remaining producers unable or unwilling to concede to the notion of service or cultural commitment as the primary source of motivation.
The 31 producers mentioned above were all Welsh speakers, and all except seven were engaged primarily in the production of Welsh language programmes. The centrality of the Welsh language in their concept of Welshness emerged in their response to the question of service (indeed for many, the two were indistinguishable), and it became even more apparent in the replies to Question 42 (g) which asked those concerned with Welsh language production how important it was for them to be working in the Welsh language. Three main groups emerged from this section of the inquiry. The first group, amounting to roughly a quarter of the sample population, subscribed to a largely pragmatic view of the language. Nearly all of them worked in both languages though the English language output of the majority was generally somewhat greater than that in Welsh. These producers stressed the importance of providing a service for the two communities; their own work in the Welsh language, therefore, they considered important, though it was not all consuming. This pragmatic view of the place of the language in Welsh broadcasting was given by the Senior Radio Producer:

'I'm bilingual and it's natural for me to use both languages. It's also necessary for me if I am to know my patch thoroughly to work from time to time in the Welsh language. It's not important, however, in the sense of helping to save the language. These considerations don't enter into it. It's a commitment to broadcasting in Wales, and since I'm bilingual, this involves broadcasting in Welsh too.' (No. 48)

There was a second very much smaller group of producers who formed around 10% of the total, most, though not all, of whom were non-Welsh speakers and while, in principle, they professed the same support for bilingual broadcasting as the former group, had become largely disaffected from organisational policies because of what they saw as the increasing politicisation of the language issue. As one producer in this group put it:

'Broadcasting is a medium of communication but it has become an instrument to promote language or national consciousness.' (No. 54)

Two other Bangor producers in this group, however, went further and were moved to assert that organisational support for such ends had now become so marked as to result in the abrogation of cultural standards in the interests of political expediency. This is how one of them saw the process at work:
'I accept that my first loyalty is to produce programmes for people in Wales, but not necessarily of indigenous Welsh material. It mustn't be all "penillion", but we are always taking our linguistic temperature and the whole thing has gone too far. We are always trying to accentuate the "apartness" of Welsh people (largely through the language) and using broadcasting to promote the Welsh language and culture, whereas it should be used to reflect it. It's a stultifying and injurious influence because it leads to the proscription of material which is not considered "Welsh". But then, it's a major scandal that all the top jobs here demand Welsh. It's just leading to mediocrity.' (No. 53)

The other producer argued fiercely that the process had an overtly political dimension of control:

'No one political party or perspective has a monopoly of truth or love for Wales, yet by now, undoubtedly the Nationalists have taken over the BBC in Wales. Even people who call themselves Labour are really Nationalists. The only people who write in the language today are those who feel strongly and they are Nationalists. To get on, one must conform to these political norms.' (No. 58)

Though clearly disenchanted with existing policies of Welsh broadcasting, there was no evidence to doubt the sincerity of the commitment shown by these particular producers to the Welsh language. The other members of this group, as non-Welsh speakers, were less committed and far more concerned with the lack of English language programme development.

The third, and by far the largest group, amounting to just under two thirds of the total, was composed of producers who were engaged solely or predominantly in the production of Welsh language programmes. By background and instinct these were more actively and openly committed to the preservation of the language, though they were, at the same time, broadly in sympathy with the institutional policies through which Welsh broadcasting contributed to this objective. What came across constantly in the interviews with the members of this main group was that, for most of them, Welsh was the natural vehicle for the expression of their creative talent. 'I don't think I would be as fulfilled working in English', claimed one TV Current Affairs' producer. (No. 16)

'I can express myself in both languages, but my most complete experience is best expressed in Welsh', said a Senior producer in TV Drama. (No. 25) 'It's second nature', insisted a producer of religious programmes. 'I just feel I couldn't work adequately in any other language.' (No. 51)
Over and above this desire for self fulfilment, however, there was very clearly a wider dimension of ideological commitment to the language as an indispensable constituent of nationhood, and a belief in the efficacy of broadcasting in sustaining this commitment. 'The language is all important for me. I wouldn't be here if I weren't working in the Welsh language', explained a TV producer in Light Entertainment.

'I have only done one series in English and I thought long and hard about it before doing it.' (No. 22)

'The language is so important' insisted a Sports producer,

'that I would never contemplate working anywhere else in the BBC.' (No. 17)

For some, their involvement in this commitment was a recent conversion; for others, it was long standing, as with this producer in Bangor:

'It goes back to a decision I made in college when I took my degree in Welsh. I was committing myself at that point to work in Wales and in the Welsh language; and Welsh broadcasting, I felt, needed what I could perhaps offer. Some of my friends chose to leave and look for promotion in London. I had made my commitment, and it will keep me in Wales as long as I stay in broadcasting. It's a crisis for the language, and one knows that one is part of a last ditch stand to save it from extinction.' (No. 60)

This was a theme articulated over and over again by Welsh language producers in both Bangor and Cardiff as these quotations show:

'I couldn't work without a sense of mission ... that we are giving a service to the Welsh language and Welsh life. I don't want to do programmes in English and never have done.'

(General Programme Producer, Bangor) (No. 61)

'I did my teaching training through the medium of the Welsh language. My teaching has been in Welsh. My programmes, my filing and correspondence now are all in Welsh. I am committed to using it in every way.' (Education Producer) (No. 24)

'I believe in the quality of life we have in Wales. I feel we have a duty to preserve the language (though I'm not a Nationalist), and I feel that radio can do much to bring people closer together.'

(Current Affairs' Producer) (No. 49)

'We are trying to create a national broadcasting service, and, following Crawford and Siberry, we have a chance of using this service to strengthen the growth of national consciousness. I'm not hopeful or sure that broadcasting will succeed in doing this, but it's an opportunity and we should take it to see if we can do it.'

(Head of Production, Bangor) (No. 50)
In concrete terms, this passionate commitment to language and identity revealed itself in repeated assertions of working to extend the scope and subject matter of Welsh language programmes. A producer in Children's Programmes, for example, spoke of being driven by a 'crusading spirit to show that there is nothing which cannot be conducted through the medium of Welsh.' (No. 34) This was echoed by a Senior Producer in Light Entertainment:

'I want to give Welsh language programmes a quality and standard that will be comparable with that which can be achieved anywhere in any language so that people looking at them can't say that they are poorer because they are in Welsh (which used to be the case, in fact, in the early days). ' (No. 40)

In Education, Music, Sport, Current Affairs and Documentary programmes, there was the same commitment to extend the range of material to cover, as one producer saw it, 'the whole spectrum in terms of subject matter and film locations so that the language is used in a world context.' (No. 14)

7.7 DEGREES OF SATISFACTION

In the course of this chapter we have seen that the satisfaction a producer derived was dependent upon a whole complex of interacting factors relating to his internal location within the broadcasting organisation and that this itself, in turn, was also circumscribed by a variety of external political, economic and cultural forces.

To conclude this particular part of the study, let us turn to the overall assessments of the producers themselves. In Question 39, each producer was asked to indicate the degree of satisfaction s/he felt at that particular moment about broadcasting as a career. The findings are given in Table 7.1

Table 7.1
Producers' Assessments of Personal Satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Satisfaction</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly satisfied on the whole</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly dissatisfied on the whole</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very dissatisfied</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How do these overall categories relate to such factors as age, seniority, work place, department, medium, and language of output? Because of some of the small sample sizes, it has not been possible in all cases to statistically examine the results. However, where the sample sizes are reasonably large, standard chi-squared tests for contingency tables have been applied and the results in relation to two particular factors (Tables 7.5 and 7.9) have been almost statistically significant at the 5% significance level. In all cases, the last two categories of satisfaction have been conflated.

**Age**

Table 7.2

Satisfaction by Age Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly/Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While age did not appear to influence satisfaction directly, significantly more of the producers in the 50-59 age group, as might be expected, claimed to be very satisfied, and the over 40's generally appeared to be more satisfied than the under 40's.

**Seniority**

Table 7.3

Satisfaction in relation to Seniority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seniority</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly/Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senior Producers (incl. Organizers)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank &amp; File Producers (incl. Prog. Editors)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the sample of Senior Producers is rather small to provide significant results, it is perhaps worth noting that 7 (70%) of the senior producers claimed that they were very satisfied compared with 12 (or 23%) of the rank and file producers, 10 of whom were dissatisfied.

**Work Base**

Table 7.4

Satisfaction in relation to Work Base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly/Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Work base appeared to be of little or no significance, though the Bangor sample is, of course, a low one.

**Media Alignment**

Table 7.5

Satisfaction in relation to Media Alignment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly/Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from Table 7.5, 40% of the TV producers were very satisfied with broadcasting as a career compared with 21.8% of the radio producers. Fewer TV producers were also dissatisfied - 6.6% compared with 25% of radio producers. Using the chi-squared test technique here indicated an almost significant relationship at the 5% level, with the TV producers clearly appearing to find more satisfaction in their career than their radio colleagues. It is difficult to advance any
clear explanation for this finding, though it would appear from what we know of
the bridging nature of much media activity that many radio producers entertain
ambitions of moving into television, and thus may well feel that, until they have
done so, they have not attained their career goal, whereas TV producers have, as it were,
"already arrived". This is not to say, however, that radio producers cannot find
comparable satisfaction. Indeed, the majority of the radio producers interviewed showed
no wish to leave radio for television, but the weighting accorded to work in television at
producer level both in terms of grading and salary, especially in a small broadcasting
community like BBC Wales, would tend to impel younger staff at least in this direction.

Output Department

Table 7.6
Satisfaction in relation to Output Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly/Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LE</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Output area seemed to offer no clear pointers. The small numbers in many departments make it difficult to assess the results statistically. It would appear, however, that more producers of Features/Documentaries and General programmes were very satisfied than their News/Current Affairs' colleagues who formed the other large output area, though 77% of these were fairly satisfied compared with 53% of Features and General Programmes producers.

Of the smaller departments, Music, as indicated earlier, appeared to be particularly dissatisfied with its lot, in marked contrast to Sport with all three of its members claiming that they were very satisfied.

**Network Commitment**

Table 7.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly/Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Producers with Network commitment</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producers with no Network commitment</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An involvement in network programme making appeared to have little or no relationship with job satisfaction.

**Welsh/Non-Welsh Speakers**

Table 7.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly/Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welsh speakers</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Welsh speakers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There appeared to be little difference between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers. Though the number of dissatisfied non-Welsh speakers is higher than the expected figure (1), the sample is too low to be statistically significant.

Language of Output

Table 7.9

Satisfaction in relation to predominant Language of Output

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of Output</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly/Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primarily English Output</td>
<td>9 (6)</td>
<td>7 (11.4)</td>
<td>5 (3.6)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primarily Welsh Output</td>
<td>8 (11)</td>
<td>25 (20.6)</td>
<td>5 (6.4)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>59*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The three producers not included had an approximately equal output in both languages.

(Figures in brackets give the expected frequency distribution in each category)

Table 7.9 shows the distribution of the producers in terms of the language they used predominantly in their programme output. What emerges from the analysis is an apparent difference between the two groups, with English output producers scoring above average ratings at the extremes and below average in the central category; Welsh output producers, in contrast, register the reverse of this. This result is significant at 10%; almost significant at the 5% level. In other words, the producers whose work was predominantly in the English language tended to have more positive feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, whereas the majority of Welsh language producers seemed to be only fairly satisfied (65% placing themselves in the central category), and fewer than expected opting for the two outer categories.
While it is difficult to explain conclusively what these findings signify, they suggest at least that the English output producers, working as they do in an organisation whose output is predominantly in the Welsh language, tend either to find a secure and satisfying niche for themselves or become alienated and dissatisfied, whereas, for Welsh output producers, these issues of conformity or accommodation to organisational and cultural norms may not, for the most part, arise, at least not to the same extent. Having an outlet for network production may be a factor: six of the nine very satisfied producers of predominantly English material had a network component in their output. On the other hand, three of the five dissatisfied producers in Table 7.9 also contributed network material.

Though fewer in number, it does seem that satisfaction was greatest amongst senior producers and that personal advancement offered compensation in the final analysis for all manner of grievances and anxieties. Moreover, the more senior a producer's ranking, the more complete is his socialisation in institutional terms and in his absorption of the organisation's ethos and policies, and in this respect, BBC Wales is no different from the BBC centrally. However, any quest to uncover causal explanations of work satisfaction can do no more than highlight a complex range of interacting variables which may or may not be relevant in each individual case. As the conflict between creativity and control in media production is complex and multifaceted, so too is the pursuit by the individual communicator of personal satisfaction in his work role. What this particular chapter has tried to suggest is that over and above the organisational categories of department, resources, language and grading, which circumscribe the producer's work role as practitioner, is the wider context of his location within a particular British institution charged primarily with serving a different set of cultures and communities. The tensions induced by this very context demand, inevitably, a range of responses and orientations from the communicator himself.

7.8 CONCLUSION

As indicated at the outset of this chapter, the general organisational framework adopted for this particular section of the study may be open to the charge of reproducing an unexamined professional polarity between creativity and control. If so, it was certainly not the intention. Indeed it should have become abundantly clear from the foregoing discussion that such a framework, although convenient, begs as many questions as it raises.
Wherever broadcasters gather, the notion of "creativity" is invoked to describe the ways in which broadcasting 'breaks free from its status as product or commodity and rises to the condition of art' (Buscombe, 1980: 19) and yet media production cannot take place in isolation from wider forces. Hence, as Murdock has argued (1980: 30) to understand how notions of creativity and authorship really work, one has to explore their operation as ideologies and practices in different sectors of production and unravel 'their reciprocal relationship to organisational forms and to the pressures which shape them.' In short, by looking, as this chapter has tried to do, at how and why notions of creativity and satisfaction are used, we can learn a great deal about the nature of the production institution itself and about its own relationship to wider forces. It is not, however, a case of abandoning the notions of creativity and control or of satisfaction and dissatisfaction but of understanding their location, limitation, function and operation in a specific historical context.
8.1 INTRODUCTION

The two preceding chapters have already indicated that a variety of interests, expectations and values can provide the source of attraction, motivation and satisfaction for the Welsh broadcaster. These can include, as we have seen, a long term commitment to a particular kind of professional subject matter, notions of autonomous creativity and craftsmanship or authorship, or the appeal exerted by political, ethnic or cultural goals. Additionally, there are the specifically institutional pulls exerted by department, unit or work group which, in turn, may be related to the broader policy and audience goals pursued by the organisation as a whole. The previous chapter has analysed the way in which many of these factors were viewed by the producers in relation to their own 'professional' practice and criteria of 'creative' satisfaction. The interview material in this chapter seeks to relate the preceding analysis to some of the other dimensions of commitment and orientation emerging in the course of that analysis. Specifically these include the issues of professionalism, career mobility, commitment to Welsh interests - variously defined, the 'problem' of the audience and the broadcaster's relationship to the organisation for whom he works.

To take up the last issue first: the perception and definition of organisational goals for the Welsh broadcaster is compounded by the existence of two centres of policy making - Cardiff and London. For the Bangor producer, there may well appear to be yet a third axis of authority. Hence, what the BBC signifies for the producer in Wales may well be different from the view obtaining for his colleague at the centre. Does this, therefore, mean a different harnessing of professionalism and a different view of broadcasting as a career? In short, how far does the practice of Welsh broadcasting carry with it a distinctive set of obligations and orientations? This kind of position was clearly being suggested in many of the responses quoted in the previous chapter. The material discussed in this chapter provides further evidence of producer opinions specifically on these questions.
Some measure of the relative strength of these various commitments can be seen in the producers' responses to Questions 43 - 45, which are summarised in Tables 8.1 and 8.2. Question 43 asked them to indicate how strongly they felt a sense of commitment to a number of factors. They were then asked (Question 44) which two commitments were strongest for them and (Question 45) which they felt they were least committed to.

Table 8.1
Producers' Ratings of Commitments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commitment</th>
<th>(1) Very strongly</th>
<th>(2) Moderately</th>
<th>(3) Hardly at all</th>
<th>(4) D.K/can't answer/DNA</th>
<th>Total of (2) + (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) BBC generally</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) BBC Wales</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Profession as broadcaster</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Wales/Welsh interests</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Welsh language</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Medium</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Career advancement</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Prog./Prog. Unit</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Audience</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8.2
Producers' Priorities of Commitment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commitment</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. recording as 1st priority</td>
<td>No. recording as 2nd priority</td>
<td>Total of (2) + (3)</td>
<td>No. recording as lowest priority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) BBC generally</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) BBC Wales</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Profession as broadcaster</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Wales/Welsh interests</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Welsh language</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Medium</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Career advancement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Prog./Prog. Unit</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Audience</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One producer declined to answer these questions.

These results are further summarised for ranking order in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3
Ranking of Producers' Ratings and Priorities of Commitment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking Choice</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Producers' Ratings *</td>
<td>All equal</td>
<td>c / d / i</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producers' Priorities</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o / g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Totals of Cols. 2 & 3 in Table 8.1

217.
As can be seen, there is strong correlation between these two sets of rankings, with professionalism, Welsh interests and the Audience commanding the strongest degree of commitment, and Career advancement together with commitment to the BBC generally gaining the lowest scores.

This apparently low commitment recorded for personal career and self advancement must be treated with some scepticism as it was very probably an issue on which the majority of the respondents wished to appear in the most favourable light. Those who were most ready to admit to their being motivated by strong personal career ambitions were, as might be expected, generally in the younger age group, the majority of these having a background in newspapers or, since joining the BBC, in current affairs' journalism.

The low degree of commitment to the BBC generally (with 27 according it the lowest overall priority of all) underlines vividly the separatist character that BBC Wales signified for these producers who clearly found little with which they could readily identify in the monolithic structures of the BBC centrally. Of these 27, perhaps not surprisingly, all but four were producers whose output was predominantly, if not wholly, in the Welsh language. In contrast, the output of the six producers who accorded this commitment to the BBC their highest or second priority was very different. Three of the six were non-Welsh speakers, in fact, and the output of the other three was either predominantly in English or fairly evenly divided between the two languages. More significant than language, however, was age and length of service. They were all over 40: half of them were in their 50's and these could look back on lengthy and successful careers over a period when post-Reithian institutional values still exerted considerable influence in regional broadcasting. Those with a shorter record of service, however, also shared these lofty ideals of paternalism and integrity, particularly in regard to standards of news reporting, for example. What we have here clearly is the traditional professional view of broadcasting as part of the Fourth Estate. It was put with unmistakeable directness by this TV Features producer:

'I'm proud to work for the BBC: I believe in it as part of the democratic process.' (No. 38)

For this producer and others like him, the central ethos of the BBC in no way undermined the specific obligation to serve the particular cultural needs of Wales. This is in marked contrast to the outlook of the larger group of 27 who saw a very
different kind of relationship existing between the two. For some of these, it posed, in fact, an acute personal dilemma, as this comment revealed:

'Anyone who works for the BBC in Wales must be schizophrenic in the sense that if you are pledged to the promotion of the Welsh language, you will find yourself in an organisation whose structure is more suitable to England than Wales. It's an imposed structure, and while it has all kinds of practical advantages in terms of access to the resources of the BBC as a whole, it has also some grave psychological disadvantages. We want to try to create a national broadcasting service; at the same time, we are aware that we are a colonial outpost in a structure whose ideals and aims do not necessarily serve our best interests.'

(Head of Production, Bangor) (No. 50)

Cast in its most basic terms, this observation implies that it is difficult or even impossible to act as a real Welshman and remain a good BBC man at the same time since there is an inherent contradiction in cultural and political terms between the ideals they represent. For the producer whose first language is Welsh, and who works predominantly in that language, it poses an issue with which s/he must come to terms.

Here there appeared to be a significant difference between Cardiff and Bangor-based producers, with 40 out of the 48 producers in Cardiff expressing a strong or moderate degree of commitment to the BBC compared with only six of the 14 producers in Bangor. Hence language and work base distanced the communicator from the central ideology of the BBC and intensified this occupational dilemma. For some, as we shall see later (Chapter 13), it called for the adoption of new structures of control in Welsh broadcasting. Role conflict seemed contained, for the majority however, by adherence to the central tenets of professionalism which enabled the broadcaster to apply his skills to the cultural needs of a specific audience, while discounting the structural and ideological constructs on which these tenets were initially predicated.

Hence, as we have seen, what emerged as the predominant sources of motivation for the producers were the time-honoured professional definitions of their craft as broadcasters, their commitment to their audience, together with their concern for Wales and Welsh interests - an objective with which both Welsh and non-Welsh speakers could broadly identify. Commitment to the Welsh language specifically was weak amongst the
non-Welsh speakers, with seven of the eight declaring themselves as having hardly any degree of commitment to it.

In terms of professional craft, Television producers were more committed to their medium than their colleagues in Radio were to theirs, with two-thirds rating it as very strong compared with 50% of the radio producers, a finding which supports the evidence in the previous chapter of greater satisfaction amongst TV producers and also reflects the bridging or temporary nature with which radio production was viewed by certain producers working in that medium.

The predominance of professional perceptions and priorities was confirmed by the responses given to Questions 59-61 which invited the producers to assess the degree of importance they attached to a number of possible obligations or responsibilities which their work might entail. The results are given in Table 8.4.

### Table 8.4
Producers' Ratings of Obligations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>(1) Very important</th>
<th>(2) Quite important</th>
<th>(3) Not important</th>
<th>(4) DK/can't answer</th>
<th>Totals of (2) + (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Maintaining needs of service</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Pleasing superiors</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Gaining esteem of colleagues</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Self-fulfilment</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Entertaining the Audience</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Raising cultural levels of Audience</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Promoting image of BBC Wales</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Fostering Welsh culture</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

220.
The priorities emerging in Col. 6 of Table 8.4 correlate closely with the declared priorities listed by the producers in response to Question 60. The obligations given first, and second priority, and also the one accorded lowest priority are shown in Table 8.5. The close correlation between these and the findings of Table 8.4 can be seen in Table 8.6.

**Table 8.5**
Producers' Priorities of Obligation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obligation</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. recording as</td>
<td>No. recording as</td>
<td>Total *</td>
<td>No. recording as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st priority</td>
<td>2nd priority</td>
<td></td>
<td>lowest priority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Maintaining needs of service</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Pleasing superiors</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Gaining esteem of colleagues</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Self-fulfilment</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Entertaining the Audience</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Raising cultural levels of Audience</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Promoting image of BBC Wales</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Fostering Welsh culture</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Two producers found themselves unable to answer this question.

**Table 8.6**
Ranking of Producers' Ratings * and Priorities of Obligation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking Choice</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Producers' Ratings *</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>g/a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producers' Priorities</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Totals of Cols. 2 & 3 in Table 8.4
Here, it was the specifically professional definition of service to the audience which emerged as making the highest claim on the producers' energies, and it was providing 'entertainment' not 'raising cultural standards' which was seen as the primary service to be offered. This was very closely followed, however, by the need to secure self-fulfilment and personal gratification for the programme maker himself, which corresponds closely with the equally high rating accorded to the commitment to craft or profession in Tables 8.1 and 8.2. Similarly, the obligation to foster Welsh culture, ranking 3rd, matches the commitment to Wales and Welsh interests recorded above. The slightly higher priority accorded overall to the general support of Welsh culture than to the essentially Reithian notion of promoting 'high' culture arguably reflects the more egalitarian and less elitist social origins of the Welsh broadcaster and also the widely held professional assumption that Welsh culture is far less class-based than that of England. Accordingly, the dichotomy between high and low is reduced in the face of an idealised view of a unified culture which depends for its well being as much on the simpler more home spun forms of popular entertainment as on its more elitist expressions. While exactly half the producers declared a very strong commitment to raising the cultural and educational levels of the audience, as one might expect, these were predominantly members of departments whose programme output had the elevation of public taste or its enlightenment as its characteristic aim. These included all members of the Education, Music, Religious Broadcasting and Drama departments together with various members of Features department and of News and Current Affairs where imaginative or investigative work was seen as having an essentially educative or enrichening function. By the same token, it was in departments such as Sport and Light Entertainment that such motivation was most absent.

While few apparently attached a great deal of weight to the necessity of gaining the approval of superiors or the esteem of colleagues, there is no doubt that the peer group was a significant point of reference for many in assessing their success, as we shall see in the next chapter, though, there was often a general reluctance to acknowledge openly professional judgments of this kind.

Question 61 was designed to provide an opportunity for the respondents to comment on the broad categories listed in Question 59 and to indicate any other source(s)
of motivation which commanded their support more strongly than those with which they had been specifically confronted. 34 of the producers answered 'No' to this question and confirmed that their particular position had been, on the whole, adequately reflected in the priority categories they had chosen. The remainder who chose either to comment or to re-define their position in their own terms, did so either because they wished to emphasise a much narrower and more segmented view of their responsibilities related directly to their own 'professional' subject matter or because they wished to highlight views of the audience which they felt had been inadequately conveyed by the given categories.

We have seen already that, apart from considerations of language, the producers in general tended to see themselves as providing specific kinds of service to the audience, whether it was characterised as a 'mass' audience or a specialist one. Thus, in responding to this question, newsmen and current affairs' producers, for example, spoke of their primary obligation to 'inform' the audience as distinct from, though not excluding the possibility of, providing entertainment or cultural improvement at the same time. Several spoke of 'informing in an entertaining way'. Here indeed was an essentially functionalist view of the audience as having certain needs which, in order to be fulfilled, had to be stimulated and 'held' so as to ensure, as one newsman put it 'that most of them will watch us and not the opposition.'

'It's the client who counts',

maintained a current affairs' producer in Bangor;

'self-satisfaction is not important. The audience must be given what it wants which, in my case, is a good coverage of events.' (No.49)

This tendency to see their obligations in specialist and even commercial terms of service was stressed by many of the producers of factual programmes such as news, agriculture, sport and education (the last three identifying themselves also very much with a specialist audience).

Though not addressing a distinctive viewing or listening audience, producers of fictional material - TV drama for instance - tended to see their professional responsibilities as extending beyond their particular medium to the development of theatre and other cultural forms generally in Wales. The same was true of music producers and, to a lesser extent, of producers in Light Entertainment.

Over and above this sense of colleagueship in collective enterprises was the linkage with still broader cultural objectives concerned with the shaping and
maintenance of a distinctive national identity. This was described with particular force by the Senior Drama producer:

'Everything in Wales in the past 400 years has militated against the Welsh identity. What I feel I must do in my work is to make people conscious of what they are, their roots - historical and cultural, their distinctive quality in a world that's now so homogenised.' (No. 25)

This aim, which was articulated again and again by many of the Welsh language producers, was seen as involving obligations that extended far beyond the conservation of Welsh culture or the raising of standards, as one Features producer elaborated:

'I doubt if preserving a culture is a primary responsibility of broadcasting. What is far more important is shaping and presenting an identifiable Welsh view of things, especially in news and current affairs. We should really opt out of the 9 o'clock News and present world news through Welsh eyes.' (No. 27)

Here, then, as in other sections of this inquiry, we find professionalism being harnessed to the broader cultural commitment to Wales and the Welsh identity.

8.3 MOBILITY AND ASPIRATIONS

One of the more obvious differences between the London centres of the BBC and the regions, apart from differences of sheer size and scale, is the considerably smaller turnover of personnel in the regions, particularly in the three national regions. In Wales, where knowledge of local needs is called for, and because of the high percentage of production and other posts for which fluency in the Welsh language is a prerequisite, recruitment and selection are obviously far narrower. The Welsh language broadcaster indeed is doubly privileged in that, while he has exclusive access to BBC Wales (and other media organisations for which the language is a requirement), he can, in principle, at the same time, capitalise on his broadcasting experience to seek posts in the media outside Wales. Yet how many wish to do so? Is there, in fact, a pattern of aspiring mobility here similar to that uncovered by Tunstall (1971) in journalism, from local newspaper to Fleet Street? Or do other patterns operate because of different cultural parameters?

Table 8.7 shows how the producers responded when asked (Question 48) if they would like to move from BBC Wales to work in (a) the BBC in London, (b) another BBC
region, (c) a BBC Local Radio station, (d) a commercial radio station and (e) commercial television.

Table 8.7
Willingness of Producers to move from BBC Wales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>POSSIBLY/DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) BBC in London</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Another BBC region</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) BBC Local Radio</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Commercial Radio</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Commercial TV</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three producers only said they would like to move to London and one of these specified that he would go only to secure a more highly graded post. While six said that they might consider a move to London, it is probable that for at least two of these, family commitments and dislike of London would ultimately deter them from actually making such a move. 85% would not entertain the possibility on any terms.

Their reasons broadly were threefold. First, and mentioned consistently by nearly all those interviewed, was their dislike of London itself and of the domestic and social consequences which working there would entail - the crowded and relatively more expensive conditions of city life, the additional travelling and disruption to the existing life style of the family, the education of children and so on. Second were various reasons that could be labelled 'professional'; that is, they arose out of the way the producers perceived their professional role and out of the particular set of assumptions they held about the most desirable milieu in which that role could be exercised. Briefly, those assumptions were that the organisational setting should be small not large and bureaucratic, and that contact with the audience should be readily available on a close and intimate scale. On both these counts, the over-large, highly bureaucratic and remote establishments at Wood Lane and Langham Place were found wanting by comparison with Llandaff and Bangor which, with all their defects, were judged to provide a far more amenable setting for the realisation of these professional aims. References to TV Centre as 'a bureaucratic factory' in which it was 'harder to get one's ideas accepted' were common observations as was the belief that working at the centre
removed the broadcaster from the 'real' audience at grass roots. As one producer saw it: 'You are much closer to the audience here; in London the audience is just a statistic.' (No. 48)

Age was no doubt a factor which discouraged especially those over 40. A number of these collective assumptions were put to me by a TV Sports producer:

'I think one has to move to London early in one's career so that one can adjust to the harder, colder, big budget approach. At this time in my career, I have an intimate relationship with my audience here which is more important than the mass audience which is really faceless. Here I feel the programme is almost owned by the viewers. My professional life now is deeply rooted in Wales; also my personal life. The answer might have been different 10 years ago.' (No. 06)

This was the view of a producer who, in addition to having a substantial output for BBC Wales, was called upon to make regular contributions to the networks as a director of major sporting events in Wales. Indeed all the producers who had a network component to their output were quick to point out that, for them, a change of work base would bring only questionable advantages since they enjoyed all the privileges of network producers as it was and could do so while remaining in Wales where they preferred to be.

This brings us to the third and most potent source of the reluctance to move, namely the cultural and ideological commitment to Wales and Welshness. This factor, as we have seen already, was a theme that was articulated consistently in response to other questions in this inquiry where it emerged as the strongest compensatory force to the frustrations of internal bureaucracy, providing a professional as well as cultural justification for producer resistance to organisational controls. Affording for some the spur to self fulfilment, it was, for the Welsh language programme makers in particular, as we have seen, the motive force binding their work as broadcasters with the wider cultural and political concerns of Welsh nationhood. These themes emerged again in response to this issue of mobility as a succession of producers stressed that, since their roots were in Wales, it was only in relation to this context that they felt they had any meaningful sense of commitment. The majority of producers whose output was wholly or very largely in the Welsh language clearly did not wish to move precisely because they wanted to continue to work in the language.
The prospect of a move to one of the two other national regions had if anything even less appeal with just one affirmative response. While a move to London was seen as having the edge in terms of prestige and resources, BBC Scotland and BBC Northern Ireland, though being able to offer comparable resources, were regarded as serving audiences which were largely unknown to the Welsh broadcaster. It was this sense of identification with Wales and the commitment to its culture and concerns that was again the main source of influence, with the result that few believed that, by instinct, background and training, they would have much to offer to another region.

A move to the BBC's local radio service appealed to rather more, though 42 were in no way interested. Of the nine recording a positive 'Yes', only one was a TV producer. Three other TV producers said they might consider such a move at some stage, possibly late on in their career, and then only in a managerial capacity. The TV producers in general had no wish to leave television production for any form of radio work either because they had little or no experience of it or alternatively because, in their view, it would provide less scope for their talents. This was particularly so with producers in departments such as Music, Drama, and Features - all those, in fact who subscribed to the notion of production as creative authorship. For these, Local radio held no charms, a view typified by this comment from a contract producer:

'Local radio just doesn't interest me; it's an extension of what I feel is wrong with the BBC at present - the preoccupation with instant broadcasting.' (No. 47)

Those radio producers who expressed a positive interest in going were attracted by the idea of serving a small and close-knit community, though they stipulated in nearly every case that this would have to be in Wales.

There was, therefore, not surprisingly, even less enthusiasm for commercial radio in which, it was argued, these unacceptable features would be even more pronounced. Of the 51 who said they would definitely not work in commercial radio, 24 (just under a half) indicated that they had serious 'moral' objections to the use of advertising as a source of broadcasting finance. Overall, however, the same charges of parochialism, triviality and lower standards which were levelled against BBC local radio were applied (with even greater vigour) when they were asked to account for
their unwillingness to join commercial radio, together with their professional commitment to either another medium or another form or style of output, or, as in some cases, to the BBC itself.

The same considerations obtained in relation to commercial television, though to a lesser extent. While 37 (nearly 60%) said they would not move to commercial television, 10 said they would do so if the right kind of job came along, while a further 15 (nearly twice as many as for commercial radio) were prepared possibly to consider such a move though at this point were undecided. While the same producers again recorded their objection to advertising as one of the decisive factors, along with their profession of loyalty to the BBC, what appeared to weigh equally as a disincentive here was the greater insecurity of employment in commercial television. Those with previous employment in ITV in Wales were particularly conscious of their present security of tenure, while it can certainly be assumed that the collapse of the one abortive experiment in Welsh commercial television (WWN) and the loss by another company (TWW) of its franchise in the re-allocation of the late 1960's was sufficiently well known to the majority to provide tangible proof of the risks involved. The slightly higher number recording their willingness to move to commercial television and also indicating some interest in the possibility (compared with the numbers for commercial radio) was simply a recognition of the superior financial rewards enjoyed by producers in commercial television compared with those in commercial radio. As such, therefore, they reflected the career ambitions of those recording this interest not admiration for an alternative system. Indeed the doubts expressed by most of those interested make one conclude that, in the last resort, few would actually make the move unless it brought a considerably enhanced salary and greater seniority or freedom of action.

What emerges from these responses then is a general reluctance on the part of the producers to leave BBC Wales for any other spheres of broadcasting, either within the BBC generally or in commercial broadcasting. There is reason to believe from comments made during the interviews (though the question was not put directly) that several of the Bangor-based producers would be unwilling to move to the Cardiff base, and that considerably more of those based in Cardiff would resist a move to the north. It would appear, therefore, that the majority of those who embark on a broadcasting
career with BBC Wales expect their aspirations to be met by the opportunities provided at their particular work base. There is nothing comparable to the kind of career route pursued by many provincial newspaper journalists from local paper to Fleet Street, nor is there the tradition of freelancing in various kinds of media activity that exists in London where, for example, there is considerable movement of producers, directors and writers between Television, the theatre and film production or between print, radio and television, as well as between BBC and ITV. Only one of the BBC Wales producers could be said to be operating remotely in anything like this kind of way, dividing her time equally between fiction writing and radio production. The lack of opportunities in Wales generally for engaging in a variety of areas of cultural production has clearly promoted a prevailing sense of caution whereby security of tenure becomes of critical importance.

During the period in which the interviews for this study were conducted, the major expansion of the existing radio services of BBC Wales had not taken place, and the opportunities for freelance or contract work on a sustained basis were few. In any case, such opportunities were thought of almost exclusively as being made available for performers, interviewers or presenters who did not wish to produce programmes themselves. About a dozen people did such work on a regular basis in 1976-77, and two of these had been at one time staff producers or production assistants. The three contract producers included in this study (with the possible exception of the writer/producer mentioned above) could hardly be said to regard their employment with the BBC as one of a number of enterprises on which they were engaged since it constituted virtually their basic if not their sole source of income, and they depended on the renewal of their contracts by the BBC at fixed intervals to maintain their livelihood. So too with many of the 'freelance' or contract performers. Most did little other work outside broadcasting so that to all intents and purposes they were in much the same position as 'staff' appointees. With a few exceptions, the same pattern has in fact been continued in the period since this study in the employment of further presenters and producers for the new radio services.

The lack of alternative opportunities in cultural production in Wales clearly means that a job in Welsh broadcasting is regarded for the most part in much the same way as any other professional activity in that it is expected to provide the primary source
of income and of long term personal satisfaction. There is, however, one important difference which is that a decision to pursue a career in Welsh broadcasting must, of necessity, involve an acceptance of, if not a positive commitment to, the cultural and ideological context within which it operates and of the constraints implicit within that context. The evidence of this study suggests that the majority of the producers in BBC Wales not only accept this context but see it as the raison d'être for their professionalism. As a result they are, in general, not disposed to see the context in terms of its constraints and to seek other foci of motivation in alternative careers since it accords with their general predisposition towards the wider cultural and political frameworks on which this context is predicated.

The evidence provided by the responses to Question 46 would seem to offer further support for this conclusion. This question asked the producers if they saw broadcasting as an occupation that would lead them sometime into another career. They were asked to indicate what that career might be and what their main reason would be for making such a move. Only three producers felt sure that they would at some time move on from broadcasting, and two of these had no idea in what field their new career was likely to be. The only thing they were sure about was that there would come a time when they would have had enough of broadcasting. More than half however (34) said that they did not see themselves leaving broadcasting. The remainder (25) said this was a possibility, though few in fact had any clear idea of what alternatives might attract them apart from the ex-journalists, teachers and ministers of religion among them who said that they might consider returning to their former professions where they felt they might enjoy greater personal satisfaction and where they would be free of the kind of bureaucratic controls imposed upon them at present. Three producers cherished thoughts of becoming full time writers and three others dreamed fondly of getting away from it all to a small-holding in the countryside. Clearly, very few had any serious intention of exchanging their present careers. Two only thought they might possibly turn freelance and work for the theatre as well as television; three more talked of going freelance but after retirement.

Those who felt they would move, or would, at least, consider the possibility of moving, described in response to Question 46 (c), what their main reason would be for
moving, and here two closely linked themes were elaborated. First, it was thought that a change would achieve greater personal satisfaction and creative freedom from bureaucratic and political controls and thus provide a release from the constant struggle against the bureaucracy entailed in realising production objectives. Second, for those who felt that the struggle had already gone on too long, or alternatively that the treadmill had taken its toll, a move out of broadcasting, it was suggested, would be an honest acknowledgement of a state of satiation in which, as one of this group put it 'one had nothing more left to give to broadcasting.'  (No. 53)

Insightful as these responses are in highlighting the pressures and frustrations experienced by the broadcaster, they do not provide any substantive evidence of disaffection or of any widespread genuine desire to seek alternative careers. In general they are consonant with the findings outlined in the previous chapter on the sources of dissatisfaction experienced by the producers, and as such should be seen as part of the established appeal to canons of professionalism and autonomy which the response to restraint and control promotes. In no more than three cases was there any clear evidence that producers were ideologically 'out of tune' with the pervading belief structures guiding the organisation and suffered, as a consequence, a degree of personal dislocation. In two of these instances (both in Current Affairs) this was said to have arisen because of an alleged excessive thwarting of nationalist political sympathies, and, in the other case, because of alleged excessive organisational support and promotion of such aspirations. In this latter case, because of age, it was unlikely that an alternative occupation could be pursued. In the other two cases, the attractions of a career in politics and political journalism had their obvious appeal though, at this stage, these alternatives were by no means actively considered by the producers concerned.

The lack of real interest in alternative careers is shown again in the responses to Question 47 which sought to discover if any had, at any time in the past, thought of leaving the BBC for another field of work and if so why and with what result. Just over half (32) said that they had done so, though only eight of these had got as far as actually applying for other posts. Half of these posts, however, had been in commercial television in Wales, and had been applied for by producers who felt at the time that promotion for them in the BBC was slow in coming. It is possible to see in some of these
attains pleas to management for recognition. That such a strategy brought results can be gauged from the eventual promotion of these applicants in a number of cases. Apart from those who were intent on staying in broadcasting, the remainder sought to capitalise on their initial subject specialism and broadcasting experience and endeavoured to re-enter their original career areas at a more senior level. In the event, they were generally unsuccessful or, as happened in one or two cases, they declined such opportunities. Subsequently, however, all except one of these had secured promotion within the BBC or had been enabled to come to terms with their situation. With two exceptions, no one applied for or considered alternative posts outside Wales.

8.4 CONCLUSION: PRACTICE AND POLITICAL ALIGNMENT

What this chapter seems to underline once again are the two dimensions of which Welsh broadcasting, as practised by the BBC, is compounded. These entail on the one hand the acknowledgement of essentially centralist and uniform structural forms, practices and routines of production which membership of the Corporation universally carries, and, on the other hand, the commitment, in actual programme terms, to reflect if not actually serve the needs and aspirations of a specific community and culture. An uneasy and precarious balance exists between the two, precarious since, in essence, they represent the opposing forces of centralism and separatism in broadcasting.

In the absence of radical structural change, though, as we shall see later, not the absence of desire for considerable administrative change, the acceptance of time-honoured conventions and routines of programme making ensures the maintenance of the overall accounting and policy structures within which the Welsh broadcaster has to operate. At the same time the exercise of this professionalism in terms of a specific audience from a specific work base distances the Welsh broadcaster from the centralist ideologies which those structures carry and impels his own quest for identity and socio-economic advancement in company with similar professional groups engaged in the cause of ethnic renewal and political change.

That such objectives were regarded with active sympathy by many of the producers in this study has already become clear. What seems also clear is that
BBC Wales itself, in spite of, though perhaps also because of, its formal institutional links with a central bureaucracy, played some role in promoting an awareness of these objectives amongst its programme personnel. This is not to say that this is in any way a conscious process. On the contrary, in much the same way as the ground rules and taken-for-granted practices of production which comprise the core of the broadcaster's professional code are acquired instinctively over time, so too the producer who works for BBC Wales absorbs in the course of his career an affinity with ideals different from those of his London counterparts, and for some this may lead to the demand for alternative structures and institutional forms so that these ideals can be adequately realised.

The responses to Questions 23-27 of this inquiry provided clear evidence of the political sympathies of the producers and of the inter-relationship between these attitudes and their work experience. Table 8.8 shows the number who (in response to Questions 24 and 25) said they supported or tended to support the various political parties. Only two producers refused to reveal their voting sympathies. Of the 60 who did respond, eight said they voted Conservative, eight that they voted Labour, two that they voted Liberal and 34 that they voted for Plaid Cymru. The remaining eight who initially described themselves as floating voters admitted, on being questioned further, that they had alternated in recent elections between the parties as follows: four between Labour and Plaid Cymru, three between Liberal, Labour and Plaid Cymru and one between Liberal and Conservative.

Table 8.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaid Cymru</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floaters:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab/PC</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib/Lab/PC</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lib/Con</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the first group of 4 'floaters', three said they had voted for Plaid Cymru in the previous election. One in the second group had also done so. If these are added to the number declaring themselves to be consistent Plaid Cymru supporters, then at least 61% of the producers overall had nationalist political sympathies. In Bangor, 11 of the 14 producers said they voted for Plaid Cymru. In Cardiff (if one includes the four recent voters above who were also Cardiff based), 57% of those who answered these questions had the same allegiance.

In response to Question 25, just under a third (19) of the producers said that they had also been at one time or other members of a political party. All but four of these had been members of Plaid Cymru and all but two of this total of 15 still supported the party at the polls. Of the remaining four, three had been members of the Labour party and of these, one had subsequently become a Plaid Cymru supporter. The other had been a member of the Conservative party and was still a Conservative voter.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the political attitudes of the producers had actually been strengthened or altered by their experience of working in BBC Wales (See Questions 26-27). Most of those who conceded to having been influenced found it hard to disassociate events and experiences in broadcasting from the broader changes which had taken place in Welsh political life generally during the period of their broadcasting career. It would appear, however, that many had been influenced by events and activities that had occurred specifically within the context of their work since they referred to them in responding to these questions. Of the 60 who replied, 52 said that they had not changed their political allegiance since working for BBC Wales. Five of these said that their political allegiance (four Plaid Cymru and one Conservative) had actually been intensified as a result of their experience as broadcasters. At the same time, a further six (four Plaid Cymru and two Labour) said that they had become either more cynical of politicians or more tolerant of other political opinions since working in broadcasting, though this had in no way altered their electoral habits. One (Labour supporter) said that his experience in BBC Wales had served to make him fiercely anti-nationalist. Of the eight who could point to an actual change in political allegiance during their period in broadcasting, four had switched from Labour to Plaid Cymru; one had changed from...
being a Conservative voter to either voting Labour or Plaid Cymru; another had switched his support from Labour to Plaid Cymru and the Liberals; and yet another said that he was no longer a floating voter but now supported Plaid Cymru; and the remaining one in this group spoke of the opposite experience, in his case abandoning his earlier support for Labour and becoming uncommitted to any party.

The substantial measure of support for nationalist politics revealed by these findings is unmistakeable, and it would appear that nearly all the producers who displayed this support had in no sense had their persuasions undermined or eroded as a result of their work in Welsh broadcasting. On the contrary this experience had served to confirm and reinforce their support. It would be wrong, of course to attribute to this experience an overriding role in this process. As we have seen, the causes of the ethnic awakening of the past 30 years must be sought in the wider social, economic and political transformation of the British State since the end of the Second World War. One aspect of this transformation in electoral terms has been the recent loss of faith in Labour politicians as the custodians of the Welsh radical spirit and the consequent defection of many traditional Labour voters to the politics of decentralisation and separatism. Several of the 'new' Plaid Cymru voters in the ranks of the producers, as we have seen, had become defectors too. These and others had become caught up in the political and cultural ferment which broadcasting itself inevitably reflected. At the same time, it was precisely through exercising their role as producers in the British Broadcasting Corporation that they had been confronted directly with the realities of centralist politics. In the controls exerted from London over revenue and programme budgets, over programme scheduling and resource allocation priorities, the producer in BBC Wales is made fully aware of how and where his needs are meant to 'fit' in the system. Together these controls constitute a hierarchy of values in which minority audiences and minority cultures exist at the edge and not the centre.

For the producer serving primarily BBC Wales and for the Welsh language producer in particular, committed to an alternative set of values, the BBC thus affords a further manifestation of the over-centralised state against which the cause of political and cultural nationalism stands ranged. Many are reluctant, however, as we shall see later, to sever the links with the centre. The advantages bestowed by membership of an organisation with international connections and resources few wish to
forego, yet the political economic and cultural interests which these serve are seen increasingly as inimical to the interests of Wales and Welsh broadcasting. There is still an overall subscription to the core practices and assumptions of professionalism and the craft of creative programme making: the thrust of that professionalism, however, is now harnessed to the service of a specific culture and community. The producers displaying this predominant form of role orientation, as we have seen, constituted the major group in this study. The other groups in the producer population while in no sense less committed on the whole to the Welsh audience, and to the Welsh language included many who represented an older generation which was still strongly committed to traditional Reithian values. Several had a strong 'network' component in their output, and in general were far less overtly nationalist in political outlook, in some cases, in fact, openly hostile to it. In the euphoric days of the mid 1970's, however, with the decay of centralist ideals all around, they were a declining force in BBC Wales.
CHAPTER 9
THE PRODUCERS AND THEIR AUDIENCE

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the institutional producers of mass media messages and the receivers for whom these messages are intended has received considerable attention from media sociologists. Early work especially was strongly influenced by the requirements and assumptions of research conducted by the media organisations themselves which were, and still are, principally concerned with measuring the size of the audience as a "market" of consumption for media "products". (McQuail, 1975:187f). The inadequacy of such quantitative approaches for a real understanding of the relationship led subsequently to a number of important studies of the way broadcasters and other communicators internalise their definition of audience needs through the elaboration of specific institutional practices and production routines. Recent British work in this area includes studies by Blumler, (1969), Elloit, (1972), Burns, (1977), Tracey, (1977), Schlesinger, (1978) and The University of Glasgow Media Group (1976, 1980).

Underpinning most of these studies has been an attempt to find an answer to one of the central paradoxes of mass communication which is that neither party in the process knows who the other is. One view that emerges from various early American experimental studies (Bauer, 1958; Pool and Shulman, 1959) is that communicators work on certain internalised constructions of their audience. In a seminal paper McQuail, (1969) following G.H. Mead, suggests that such a strategy is in fact an integral part of the communicators "need" to "know" the audience and to communicate with it. The development of an imaginary "interlocutor" for media communicators is confounded, however, because of the heterogeneous nature of the mass audience and the limited amount of feedback made available in meaningful qualitative terms. In the face of this 'uncertainty about the audience', McQuail suggests four basic communicator strategies of organisational adjustment - paternalism, specialisation, professionalisation, and ritualism.
Tracey and Schlesinger in particular have sharply questioned the notion that the communicator in fact has a need to establish a communicative relationship. Their studies have tended to underline, following Burns, (1969, 1977) the 'private world' of the broadcasters, and they have argued that the 'problem' of the audience is in no way an urgent one for the communicator. Writing of political television production, Tracey concludes: 'there is no organisational emphasis on knowing the audience, only on having one.' (1977:129). Apart from the significance of the audience in broad statistical terms, it would appear from these studies that broadcasters are far more preoccupied with the elaboration of production routines and with what Schlesinger terms 'an intense obsession with the packaging of the broadcast and comparative evaluation of others' goods,' (1978:107). The watchword is 'professional' competence as measured by colleagues and organisational superiors. 'The "total" audience', however, as Schlesinger observes, 'remains an abstraction, made real on occasion by letters or telephone calls, encounters of a random kind in public places, or perhaps more structured ones such as conversations with liftmen, fire-men and taxi-drivers.' (1978:107).

Ensconced, therefore, within what Burns (1969:72) has described as 'the safe enclosure of this artistic world' the broadcaster, according to Garnham (1978:32) 'has allowed professional standards, validated by the judgement of his peers, to become an end in themselves and a very real barrier between himself and the public'. Yet, as Hall has argued forcefully (1973:3), the professional communicators are in no way isolated from the society which is the source of their messages. They mediate but do not originate them, drawing 'topics, treatments, agendas, events, personnel, images of the audience, "definitions of the situation" from the wider socio-cultural and political system, and so they cannot constitute a "closed system".' This means that any attempt to understand the relationship between the broadcasters and their audience must take account not only of the specific institutional framework in which this occurs but also of the implications of a mutual cultural membership.
As the preceding chapter has already indicated, commitment to the audience ranked equally for the producers interviewed in this study with their commitment to their own profession and to Wales and Welsh interests. As Table 9.1 confirms, only two producers claimed that they were never conscious of the potential audience when making or contributing to a programme.

Table 9.1
Producers' declared awareness of audience.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very conscious</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly conscious</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all conscious</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/Can't answer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The extent to which the producers specifically internalized their audience in terms of an imaginary interlocutor, however, would appear to be far more widespread than was the case with the communicators interviewed by Schlesinger and Tracey. 45% of the producers in this study said that in contributing to, or constructing a programme, they often made reference to particular people or groups whom they though might be members of the programme's potential audience.

In general, the more specialised the programme, the more sharply focussed was the producer's mental "construction" of the specific audience member. Thus producers of Schools' programmes and also of general entertainment programmes for children said that they invariably kept in mind specific children they knew or had met (on school visits) who corresponded in age and ability to the particular audience category their programmes were designed to reach. One producer of children's programmes referred to 'a group of children I know well who live across the road. These are my brother's children and their friends. They make me think twice every time I put a running order together.' (No. 34)
Specialist Music producers said they could readily identify the "typical" audience member for programmes of new music, while Light Entertainment producers said they tended to regard their own contributors as a typical sample of their wider audience.

The more mass-oriented the object of a programme was thought to be, however, the less marked was the tendency to make reference to such 'internalised others.' One Education producer drew a clear distinction between his "schools" output and his more general output for the wider BBC Wales audience. For the former category, the typical audience member was definable; in the case of the latter, he said that he depended solely on the reaction of colleagues. Even so there was evidence of a general tendency for producers of mass-oriented programmes (e.g. news, current affairs and general magazine programmes) to see the audience at specific moments of reception as broken down into specific categories of listeners or viewers and to direct individual items to these particular segments. Apart from those linked to occupational or leisure interests - gardeners, farmers, motorists, different kinds of sportsmen etc. - other audience groupings were defined by factors such as sex (women's programmes) and age (children/old people). Moreover such fragmentation obviously reinforced the tendency of many producers to formulate content by reference to specific individuals known to the producers.

Whether this is indicative of real communicative intent on their part is questionable nor does it necessarily afford evidence that such producers were acting more autonomously than their colleagues. What it demonstrates, in fact, is their acquiescence in the familiar institutional categories of programme output and in the time honoured assumptions about audience tastes and stratification. It was clear in fact that even those who strongly denied the need to take account of audience interests nevertheless actually operated very much in accordance with these assumptions. Typical of many who took this view was this TV Sports producer who declared:
'Basically I do programmes for myself. You are your own audience and you must please yourself first and hope that in the process you have pleased the majority.' (No. 13)

A colleague in the same department pointed to the more urgent internal pressures exerted on the producer by the judgment of his peers and superiors:

'Before the programme, I think of professional critics in the organisation - my superiors chiefly - who have on previous occasions made points of technical criticism to me ..... shots, camera angles and so on. On the air, I do what I want to do and don't think of them' (No. 06).

While the views of colleagues and managerial personnel were certainly of more immediate import to the majority of the producers, particularly in matters of craft, technique and overall style than the needs of the audience "out there", there was, at the same time, a constant preoccupation with the necessity to attract interest and please the audience. Any praise or criticism that a programme received appeared to be judged most immediately in terms of these criteria. Indeed, what emerged frequently in the responses of the producers of mass oriented material was their alleged adoption of certain specific reference groups as the surrogate audience. Apart from immediate family (mothers and, especially wives) and friends, these included groups who were seen as in some way possessing the "honest", "unaffected" qualities of the "real" Welsh audience. Examples of those who qualified for this distinction included groups of quarrymen in Aberllefenni, farmers in Dinas Mawddwy and a "cross section" of locals in the back bar of a Criccieth hotel.

Locked into such mental constructs of "the typical audience" were clearly a set of widely held assumptions about the central characteristics of the Welsh audience. These emerged vividly in the way the producers described what they saw to be the differences between the "United Kingdom" audience and the "Welsh" audience and, within the latter, the distinguishing features of its Welsh speaking and non-Welsh
speaking members. The core assumption in nearly all these accounts was that the Welsh audience (and especially the Welsh speaking audience) was in some way distinctive in quality, taste and attitude. One of its primary characteristics, it was argued, compared with the nationwide U.K. audience was that it was essentially far less "class conscious" and consequently far more egalitarian and "true to nature." Radical in politics and still predominantly Nonconformist (if only nominally so) in religion, the Welsh speaking audience was seen to be far less sophisticated in its taste and particularly sensitive and reserved, if not inhibited, about certain kinds of programme material. At the same time it was held to be far more culturally aware than the English audience, passionately interested in poetry and music. Having an intense love for the language, Welsh speakers could thus be counted on to watch Welsh language programmes of whatever kind out of loyalty. Accordingly, if somewhat paradoxically, they were seen as far less critical than Welsh speakers and more ready to accept whatever was being provided for them. While this was regarded as a deliberate act of political commitment on the part of many of the Welsh speaking professional middle class of the urban areas especially Cardiff, (they were referred to as "colonials" by one of the Bangor producers), it was seen as essentially instinctive and "natural" on the part of the "real" Welsh in the rural heartland. Apart from being regarded as consisting largely of country dwellers, the Welsh speaking audience was also seen as predominantly middle aged or old and hence more conservative in its cultural taste and outlook. The producer of a Sunday evening radio series described his audience as being mostly over 60 - listeners who tuned in after coming home from chapel.

What was clearly being reproduced in all these accounts was the traditional delineation of "Welsh Wales" with its cultural configurations of chapel, language and literature - the domain assumptions in fact of political and social thought upon which, as has been shown already (1) earlier studies in the sociology of Wales were largely based. While a number of the producers conceded readily that most of these assumptions were grounded more firmly in myth than reality, they could point repeatedly to their continuing influence in the practices of Welsh broadcasting. One freelance producer observed with almost seditious candour:

(1) See above p.14
'Most of those who work for BBC Wales regard the Welsh speaking audience as being the same as themselves - middle class, nationalist, chapel going, avid readers of poetry (though only at the level of doggerel), completely devoted to the Eisteddfod and the national game'. (No. 53)

Such outright invective, however, was rare. More significantly, it could be argued that this response, as did that of the majority of Welsh speaking producers, expressed a claim to know in some way or other who the "real" audience were and what they wanted. That they should make such claims is perhaps not altogether surprising given the comparatively small scale of Welsh broadcasting, compared with national broadcasting, and the more intimate networks linking broadcasters and audiences together. This feeling was especially marked in the case of the Bangor producers where, as a number of them pointed out, they had simply to walk out on the streets to elicit an immediate response. It was indeed argued generally by the Bangor producers that, for Welsh language broadcasting, their colleagues in Cardiff were disadvantaged because of their physical separation from the rural heartland where Welsh culture flourished in its "natural" state. In the solidly Welsh speaking areas of the North West it could safely be assumed, so it was believed, that Welsh language programmes were viewed or heard regularly.

There was, however, no substantive evidence to confirm this assumption since the actual size of the audience was in fact too small to enable the BBC's Audience Research Department to produce reliable estimates of the number of Welsh speakers viewing or listening to Welsh language programmes.

9.3 INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH

Briefly, the situation regarding Audience Research during the period of this investigation was as follows. Of the 2,000 interviews conducted as part of the BBC's regular Daily Survey of Listening and Viewing, no more than 170 were done in Wales, a sample far too small to provide accurate information about the daily audiences for BBC Wales programmes in either Welsh or English. By aggregating these figures for monthly or quarterly periods, however, some rough estimates of average audience sizes for the most popular programmes were produced though, as a BBC Wales memorandum to the House of Commons Select Committee on Welsh Affairs,
1980, pointed out in a review of this situation some years later, these results were used by BBC Wales 'more to identify trends of audiences and their relative sizes than to judge the absolute size of audiences for particular series of services.' (para. 7:2) (2) While some use was made of such figures internally and presented at intervals to the Welsh Broadcasting Council, the results were never published.

Even so, the distortions produced by aggregation in relation to the Welsh speaking audience were intolerable. The crux of the problem here was that the social, geographical and age distribution of Welsh speakers inevitably failed to be reflected in the small daily sample of interviewees drawn from the Welsh population as a whole. Most of the interviewing took place in the urban areas and there was no guarantee that either the interviewees or interviewers were Welsh speakers.

The inadequacies of the system were clearly a source of anxiety to both management and production staff - the latter frustrated by the lack of feedback, and the former concerned because of repeated demands from the political opponents of Welsh language broadcasting to justify the finance expended on it. A memorandum from the Head of Programmes to all BBC Wales Staff in March 1978 (reproduced as Appendix III) underlines the organisation's growing sensitivity on the research issue. As a reading of the document will show, the memorandum was intended to provide some crumbs of comfort as well as an interim apologia. As the clamour mounted for a significant increase in Welsh language programmes in the late 1970's, and as the Government was obliged to return to its initial commitment to an all-Welsh Fourth Channel Service for Wales, so BBC Wales and HTV were required to secure additional information about the size of the audience for Welsh language programmes. The Memorandum of December, 1980 (Appendix IV) summarises the results of surveys conducted by both organisations in 1978 and 1979 and presented by way of evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on Welsh Affairs under the Chairmanship of Leo Abse, M.P.

A further survey commissioned jointly by the BBC and the IBA in November, 1980, and conducted by Inter-City Research Ltd., sought by means of in-depth interviews, to analyse the viewing and listening behaviour of a sample of 891 Welsh

(2) The text of the particular section of the Memorandum relating to The Audience in Wales is reproduced as Appendix IV.
speakers in those areas of Wales where both BBC Wales TV and the new Radio Cymru service could be received. The findings, released in January, 1981, astonished even the most optimistic of the broadcasters. They showed that:

(a) 55% of Welsh speakers watched Welsh language television (on BBC Wales or HTV Wales) every day.
(b) 83% of Welsh speakers watched on at least one or two days a week.
(c) 41% of Welsh speakers listened to BBC Radio Cymru most days.
(d) 62% listened to it more than once a week.

9.4 PRODUCERS' VIEWS OF AUDIENCE RESEARCH

In view of the severely limited information available about the audiences for BBC Wales programmes and the restricted distribution and use made of this information within the organisation during the period in which this investigation was carried out, it is not surprising that few of the producers said they actually saw any of it.

'I never see these figures', said a TV Current Affairs producer with a regular weekly programme, 'though I'm told they are good.' (No.04).

Apart from two or three departmental heads, none of the producers had any specific information about the size of the various audiences for BBC Wales programmes nor the nature of their response whereas, without exception, those who produced programmes for one or other of the BBC's television networks said that they saw Audience Research reports on their programmes regularly. For network radio, the picture is more uneven. Music producers appeared to see few if any reports on their work for Radio 3. The handful of other producers who occasionally contributed to the other radio networks, however, usually received reports on these programmes.

The only group of producers who could be said to receive any kind of detailed feedback on their output were those in the Education Department who were responsible for producing programmes for the Schools' Broadcasting Service. In this area, however, information was made available not through the BBC's Audience Research Department but chiefly via three other channels: regular teachers' reports (some producers had developed a system of Report Cards); the reports of BBC Education Officers; and through the producers themselves making visits to the schools and...
observing teacher/pupil reaction and participation. It was also clear that these
producers were directly influenced by these sources of evidence and as a result
sometimes made various changes in the content or style of presentation of
subsequent broadcasts or future series. As well as monitoring actual broadcasts,
producers and education officers made use of school visits to pilot new series.
"I wouldn't launch any new series without this kind of supporting evidence",
declared the Senior Radio Education Producer, "though this is never enough and
every new series afterwards must be kept under surveillance." (No. 37).

With the exception of the Education producers who could point to something
approaching an organised system of feedback, the majority were sceptical of
audience research generally. This is understandable given the extremely
inadequate information available to most of those producers who worked exclusively
for BBC Wales.

The figures I receive are so infrequent as to be meaningless", stated the
editor of a daily radio programme. (No.01). 'The returns to date are not
sufficient to be used as a basis for future decisions', echoed the Senior Radio
Producer. (No. 48).

Alongside such comments as these, which were indicative of some genuine
desire for guidance from research trends, however, one has to set a far more
widespread attitude of cynical dismissiveness, even contempt for audience response
however articulated, and a general reluctance to be influenced by it in future
programming. This attitude prevailed as widely amongst producers who had a
strong network commitment (and who were provided with regular audience research)
as it did amongst those who worked solely for the BBC Wales services. Here are
some typical comments:

'I have a deep rooted suspicion of sample survey methods" (Senior Drama
Producer). (No.25)

'I don't think Audience Research can help a lot. One has to be arrogant
enough to know that a programme is good and that, if it is, people will watch it.'
(Children's Programmes Organiser). (No.09)

'I don't have much faith in Audience Research because their findings reflect
the opinion of the mass and these are completely irrelevant when it comes to
assessing artistic merit. I see no reason to compromise my standards at all on a national level though I suppose I am prepared to make concessions on a regional or local level.' (Music Producer). (No.05)

'I'm pleased if the figures are good, though I'm not over concerned if they are not. Audience Research is not a science and we mustn't regard it idolatrously.' (Commentator/Producer). (No.46)

'The trouble with Audience Research is that it comes too late to have any effect and, in any case, the comments that are usually made simply confirm opinions expressed to one weeks earlier by friends and colleagues.' (Senior Producer, Television Features and Documentaries). (No.12)

9.5 OTHER FORMS OF AUDIENCE FEEDBACK

In most of the above statements, there is a strong sense of professional distancing from a largely incoherent, passive, uninformed, lay audience and an assertion that the final arbiter must be the professional judgment of the producer. It was from the same position that the producers responded when questioned about other forms of audience contact and reaction which they experienced from day to day. (Q.71).

Thus, many of the letters they received from listeners and viewers were seen as largely uninformed or prejudiced criticism. It is impossible, however, to quantify precisely the number of letters received in terms of individuals or programme departments nor to place them in separate categories since as we have seen, the programme commitments of producers could vary in terms of quantity, subject matter and network orientation within even a comparatively short period. From their individual accounts, however, it is possible to observe certain overall patterns.

First, letters received following the transmission of network programmes were, as one might expect, significantly greater than for programmes broadcast in Wales alone. Second, most letters appeared to be written with broadly four objectives: to complain or protest; to express appreciation or pleasure; to seek further information about a particular aspect of a programme; or to seek publicity for a particular cause or activity which the writer wished to promote. Third, the number of wholly unsolicited letters for any programme was small. Fourth, the number of letters received in connection with Welsh language programmes was especially small.
The explanation given for this, without exception, was that the Welsh were not generally a nation of letter writers and that many of those who might in fact feel moved to write were discouraged from doing so because the majority of Welsh speakers in any case were unskilled in the written language and therefore lacked the confidence to put pen to paper. Few of those who actually did so (and this applies generally) wrote to the producers. Most letters were addressed to programme presenters, compères or, as in drama, to members of the cast. Finally, where audience reaction was actually solicited by a programme, for example through competitions; requests for information, personal anecdotes or reminiscences, comments and opinions etc., response was generally large and in certain cases overwhelming, running to hundreds of letters every week. TV Sport and Children's programmes in particular appeared to produce enormous response, and, in the case of Children's programmes, it is worth noting that the output was entirely in the Welsh language.

Encouragement of listener/viewer participation is, of course, a basic strategy of programme development in factual series production and it was used to some extent by nearly all the producers involved in such programmes, either intermittently, or, as in schools' and further education programmes, in a systematic and pedagogic way as part of a total teaching-learning process. One particular adult education series of 10 programmes for Welsh Learners generated 10,000 letters of this kind, requesting information, course material, help with classes etc.

Unsolicited phone calls to producers were a rare occurrence. Very occasionally, colleagues or acquaintances (and exceptionally total strangers) might telephone to express their approval or pleasure. The small number of calls is, of course, partly explained by the fact that most programmes are recorded. Live programmes, especially news, current affairs and sport, were far more likely to receive calls, usually immediately after, but occasionally, during transmission. Such calls were invariably protests against alleged inaccuracies, bias or bad taste. Occasional plays (always recorded) might generate a flood of calls to the main reception desk of Broadcasting House. Apart from complaints of this nature about programme content, general policy decisions resulting in the screening of a local programme in place of a popular network programme occasionally produced
vociferous protests. Such calls would be directed, however, not to the individual producer but to a representative of programme management. In the case of live programmes, many of the calls would reach the production gallery. As the TV Sports Organiser admitted, a decision to opt out of a network match on Sportnight or Match of the Day in favour of screening a match involving a Welsh Club could produce fifty to sixty angry calls in protest.

Reaction from within a producer's own family circle appeared to be a factor of some significance for at least half the producers. Spouses were mentioned repeatedly as a critical sounding board for programme ideas and their realisation. This appeared to operate in two forms. For those engaged in certain specialist areas of production (e.g. current affairs' producers married to journalists or education producers married to teachers or ex-teachers) the spouse was regarded as a source of professional criticism. In most other instances, spouses (wives, in particular) were seen as upholding honest lay opinion. Parents, grandparents and other older relatives again were also seen as registers of grass roots reaction, especially to Welsh language output.

Outside this circle, contact with the wider audience varied according to the extent to which the work of the producers was studio based and bound. Work at outside broadcasts (and this was probably undertaken by a good deal more of the staff than would be the case in London) was mentioned repeatedly as a significant source of programme feedback. Producers responsible for religious services or "Any Question"-style discussion programmes stated that they often made use of such occasions to obtain audience opinion on BBC Wales programmes generally. Visits to clubs, societies and conferences, often as visiting speakers, provided a few with similar opportunities for instant sampling of this kind. For the most part, however, producer contact with the wider audience was far more random and haphazard, realised through chance meetings with the public in the course of programme research and preparation or at overnight stops when filming and, more generally, through social encounters in pubs, clubs, chapels and social gatherings such as the National Eisteddfod or other major festivals.

It was only the Education producers who appeared to be part of a systematic network which provided a coherent source of feedback, embracing pupils and teachers,
education officers, the programme department itself, and the Schools Broadcasting Council. On a smaller scale similar peer group networks were apparent with those producers involved in religious broadcasting and agricultural programmes. News and current affairs' producers, in contrast, appeared to have little or no interaction with their colleagues in the print media, but then equally those involved in television output worked virtually in isolation from those in radio.

The general isolation of producers within their own programme unit, department or group was again one of the most striking factors to emerge from this part of the study. It clearly determined the way internal responses to output were structured. When questioned about the extent to which colleagues responded to their work, the producers invariably distinguished between the 'professional' informed criticism emanating from within the work group or department and the less informed reaction of other colleagues outside the group. In the event the latter did not appear to amount to very much. If comment and discussion took place, it was invariably within the unit or department. In certain programme areas - News, Current Affairs and Education - there were formal meetings at which output was reviewed. In other areas - Sport, Music, Drama and Light Entertainment - things were less formalised but a considerable interchange of critical comment took place, and in the case of the smaller departments, as the Senior Drama Producer indicated, it may well have assumed the character of 'a continuous dialogue.' In many respects, such informal exchanges were seen by producers as more useful and open than formal departmental meetings where comment would be more inhibited. The other formal vehicle for collective appraisal was the fortnightly Programme Review Board chaired by the Head of Programmes though this again was felt to suffer from the same deficiencies as departmental meetings. As for direct response from Programme Management, this appeared to be only occasional and, as we have seen earlier (3) was a cause of frustration for several producers, particularly those engaged on current affairs' programmes.

Outside the immediate work group, reaction if any was certainly low key and, on the whole, uncritical. The volume of comment exchanged about a particular programme in the BBC Club or canteen over lunch depended considerably on the amount of general interest that programme would have for a mixed staff.

(3) See above, pp. 187-88
audience. Thus, Children's programmes or Schools' broadcasts would not normally have been seen or heard by most staff and would be unlikely to prove a topic of conversation (unless something unforeseen had happened), though the comments of staff children might be relayed if appropriate. Many of the producers would not be seriously influenced by this kind of exchange in any case beyond feeling that it was generally supportive or otherwise. As one producer in the Music Department suggested with more than a trace of elitism: 'This kind of reaction might indicate approval for a programme for the wrong reasons - because the content was popular and superficially appealing.' (No. 05). Such feedback then, though it could in certain cases provide a much needed personal boost, could also be "used" by the producer to support his claim to professional autonomy. On the question of internal feedback generally, perhaps the most revealing aspect to emerge was the tacit admission by several producers that there was a widespread reluctance to criticise the work of colleagues amounting to a virtual code of professional politeness. This was how one Television Features producer saw it:

'I doubt if the views of colleagues are always really honest. Few will speak their mind. Perhaps we tend to take criticism too much to heart. We're too sensitive. I would personally only express my criticisms to the few people I know really well. Others I wouldn't dream of saying anything to. (No. 27).

In this way then, the broadcasters soon learn to read the signals and to respect the unspoken conventions of peer group interaction. As a producer in Light Entertainment put it:

'There'll be a lot of comment if your programme was good but hardly any if it wasn't successful. I will certainly avoid a colleague if I haven't liked his programme. (No. 23).

9.6 THE FINAL ARBITER

Many of the points which have emerged in the foregoing discussion of interview material are confirmed in Table 9.2. This summarizes the responses received to Question 74 which asked the producers to indicate to what extent they were influenced by these different sources of opinion and feedback in assessing the success of a particular production.
Table 9.2

Producers' Assessments of relative influence exerted by various factors in estimating success.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Degree of Influence</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very Much Indeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Personal Judgment</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments of Superiors</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reactions of Professional Colleagues</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audience Research (Overall)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Network)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(BBC Wales)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Schools)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critics in the Press</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations, friends, etc.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The low rating given to television and radio criticism in the Welsh press is striking, though perhaps not surprising, with 58% seeing it as having hardly any significance for them. Reviews of BBC Wales output in English certainly do not appear on a daily basis but three Welsh language weeklies have regular columns devoted to TV and radio criticism. One suspects that Welsh producers in fact share the same professional disregard for press criticism as their colleagues in London, whether in broadcasting, the theatre or music.

The Audience Research scores clearly confirm the different perceptions the producers have of its usefulness, with again 58% discounting its importance completely for BBC Wales output, though more than two-thirds of these in fact felt unable to answer because they genuinely did not know what evidence was available. It is interesting, however, that of the few producers who had received Audience Research reports on their network output, there were as many who said they were hardly influenced by them as there were who maintained that they were greatly influenced. The one group who placed greatest emphasis on research feedback were the Education producers although, as we have seen, this was an area which lay very much outside mainstream broadcasting.
The disinclination displayed by the majority to be influenced by research findings was, however, clearly part of an overall reluctance to accept the evidence of external sources of opinion generally. Thus, although 77% said that they were influenced to some extent by the comments of superiors, nearly 13% claimed that they largely discounted such reaction. The views of professional colleagues certainly carried more weight, though here again some 70% did not rank them of prime importance. The more widespread distribution of producer reaction to the views of relations and friends indicates a considerably greater degree of uncertainty but also suggests a pragmatic strategy of adoption or rejection according to the degree of approval or disapproval received.

The strong sense of professional distancing suggested again by these findings is strongly underlined by the overwhelming reliance on personal judgment as the ultimate criterion of success. It was the decisive factor for 81% of the producers.

Programme making then is subject only to the self validation of its practitioners, what factors actually inform their judgment? Two further quotations from the interview material provide the clue.

"We must be the final arbiters of success or failure. It's a broadcasting instinct." (No. 44).

"One way of finding out how one is doing is to listen to other programmes on other networks and to try to gauge trends in this way. One can also talk to colleagues, but the only sure way is by "having a nose" for what the audience wants." (No. 48).

Such is the autistic world of paternalistic belief that surrounds the practice of BBC broadcasting. If these comments sound like a case of special pleading, it is worth noting that in the advertisements for producer appointments to the new Radio Cymru service, one of the essential qualifications for intending applicants was listed as: "a sure instinct for the tastes of Welsh listeners." (Western Mail, 19 June, 1979).

As far as Welsh broadcasting is concerned then (and Welsh language broadcasting in particular), what this chapter shows again is the harnessing of the core practices and assumptions of BBC professionalism to a specific set of cultural values and definitions of audience needs. It illustrates vividly the mobilisation of institutional practice for ideological ends. While the traditional or normative model of
communication as one of process and power flow adequately expresses the professional and technical practices involved in the relationship between broadcasters and their audiences, this then needs to be complemented by the insights afforded by what Morley has called the alternative 'interpretative' paradigm (1980:6-10) in terms of the signification and meaning of the exchange. What is being communicated, therefore, - via the mediation of professional practices is a particular view of Wales and its "cultural characteristics."

If this is the ultimate meaning of the producer-audience relationship in ideological terms, it is not necessarily the way in which it would be seen, however, in the institutional lives of the producers from day to day. For, as we have seen, although the major group in this study saw themselves as fulfilling this kind of role, others, both Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers, reflected in varying degrees the divisions contained within the general problematic of Welsh culture and identity. These differences apart, however, what this chapter reveals unmistakably, is that what shaped the producers' perceptions of the audience in their professional work from day to day was their programme subject matter and their location within a unit, group or programme department. It was from within the discourses of sport or education or drama or music or news and current affairs that the producers addressed and articulated their relationship with them. Indeed one of the strongest impressions emerging from the interviews in this study as in previous surveys by Burns, Elliott and Tracey, is the intensely private and segmented nature of broadcasting. This particular aspect of broadcasting together with its highly competitive nature, forces the communicator back on his inner resources to adopt a highly personal and intensely defensive set of value judgments of success and failure.

Additionally, in Welsh broadcasting, the absence of systematic institutional research and the fear that the audience may in fact be smaller than is justifiable increases the pressures upon the broadcaster to fill the vacuum. Yet, paradoxically, the audience seems more real, less of an abstraction. Inter-personal feedback is more immediate and professional skills are enlisted for most broadcasters in a common purpose. In the last analysis, however, the producer is still the final arbiter.
CHAPTER 10

RESPONSES TO CURRENT AND PROPOSED DEVELOPMENTS

10.1 ISSUES AND RESPONSES

The developments in Welsh broadcasting in the past four years, though anticipated, had not actually occurred at the time the interviews for this study took place. This chapter examines some of the ways in which the producers viewed the impending changes and explores their attitudes to existing and alternative broadcasting structures. Several of the issues involved have subsequently been resolved in one way or another and have been embodied in official policy. The interest of these responses in retrospect is that they show us what the state of producer opinion was at a time when these issues were still very much the subject of active and at times acrimonious debate in Welsh broadcasting circles and in Welsh society generally.

Three questions in particular stood out at the centre of the debate:

1. Was the development of separate services in Welsh and English the "right" policy in (a) television and (b) radio?
2. On the basis of what was known and had been recommended, was the proposal that the Fourth television channel in Wales be run jointly by BBC Wales and HTV acceptable and/or
3. Should a separate broadcasting authority for Wales be established?

10.2 THE FOURTH CHANNEL

We have seen already that the principle of allocating the fourth television channel in Wales for the broadcasting of Welsh language programmes had been officially endorsed by the Crawford Committee as early as 1973. It had long been seen by the Broadcasting Council for Wales as the only solution to the discords which existing policies had produced. (1)

Although it was known that certain producers were active supporters of the proposal and had expressed their support for the campaign waged to this end by the Welsh

(1) See above p. 78
Language Society and indeed, as we have seen for other campaigns on behalf of the language such as that in support of bilingual road fund licences, (2) there was no formal mechanism through which BBC Wales management actually sought to ascertain the views of staff on such questions. The only vehicle for any kind of mutual exchange was the Controller's staff meeting held at intervals of between one to three months. However, though staff were in principle free to comment and to ask questions, they were generally "informed" what policy decisions had been taken by management and how these would affect them. In retrospect then, the evidence provided in Table 10.1 is particularly revealing. It shows that 50% of the producers were opposed to this proposal, and that a further 13% were undecided.

Table 10.1
Support for Welsh Fourth Channel

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<thead>
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<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
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The majority of those who said they favoured a Welsh Fourth channel did so in fact with reservations and had misgivings about it. Support from the non-Welsh speakers was high with six of the eight producers favouring the channel as a means of increasing the output of English language programmes on BBC Wales and, of course, of enhancing their own career prospects. In contrast, Welsh speaking producers were very divided on the issue. Those supporting a Welsh channel saw it as being far from the perfect solution. It was viewed as 'the lesser of two evils and the only solution possible in the circumstances' (No. 09) More significantly, it was seen by others as symbolically important in the fight for the language as had been the campaigns to secure bilingual road signs and Welsh medium schools.

'It's impossible to provide justice for the language any other way and give it any sort of dignity. It's the same principle as Welsh schools. Welsh streams in English medium schools just do not work. There's not the same status. It's the same with a TV channel.' (No. 24)

While finding a compelling and perhaps inevitable logic in the Fourth channel solution, however, few were optimistic about its prospects.

(2) See above p. 47
'Something has to be done to rejuvenate the language but I have no reason to believe that all that many will view the new channel. It should have happened twenty years ago; then it would have had a chance.' (No. 12)

This kind of pessimism coloured many of the expressions of qualified support for the channel, a number seeing it still as a second best solution as in the case of this producer:

'I still feel a mixed language channel is the right thing but reluctantly I have come to see that a separate channel for Welsh programmes is the only way forward now since the two elements have become so hostile and so intolerant. However, I have grave reservations about it. I doubt if there is the talent and material to support it. I'm afraid the Fourth channel will mark, regrettfully, a decline into an insularity in which the Welsh language will become simply a small subculture on its own.' (No. 05)

Apart from fears about the strength of native resources for the new service, this was the major objection put by those who opposed it. The phrase used repeatedly to castigate the proposal was "cultural ghetto". (3) Thus it was argued:

'The language will be banished to a channel few will watch.' (No. 21)

'It will be bad for the language, bad for Wales as a whole, bad for national unity.' (No. 20)

'It will be fatal for the language. It was a disastrous mistake for the BBC to agree to it. The BBC caved in to those monoglot politicians who simply wanted to get the language off the screen.' (No. 16)

Most of these fears for the future of the language on a separate network were grounded in the widely held professional belief in the operation of an inheritance factor in the mobilisation of audiences and in the existence of a considerable eavesdropping audience for Welsh language programmes on the present mixed channel which would be lost, it was argued, once this output was evacuated to the new service.

10.3 RADIO DEVELOPMENT

As has been indicated earlier (4), the development of autonomous services on radio was already underway on a limited scale at the time the interviews for this study

(3) The term has enjoyed a wide currency in the debate largely through the views of a leading Welsh educationist, Professor Jac L. Williams, who consistently argued the case against the hiving off of the Welsh speaking audience into a "cultural ghetto".

(4) See above p.81
took place so that the producers had a much clearer idea of what was involved than they did of the proposed developments in television which were still the subject of considerable speculation and debate.

Table 10.2
Support for Development of Separate Radio Services

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On the basis of their experience so far, there appeared to be rather more support for the policy of developing separate radio services with 58% declaring themselves to be in favour compared with 37% for the Fourth channel proposal. Nevertheless, 27% were opposed to this development and 15% were undecided.

While the majority of those supporting the development said they did so for much the same kind of reasons as they did the TV development (i.e., to promote the Welsh language and to enable separate audiences to co-exist amicably and to enjoy a significant increase of programme output in the respective languages), there were others also who, though opposed to the principle of separation in TV, were disposed to supporting the two new radio services on the ground that they required far smaller financial and technical resources than the television development. It was felt to be a logical extension of the well established principle of generic broadcasting in radio, whereas, in television, the limited number of frequencies meant that a separate Welsh channel would have to face the much more formidable competition of two mass audience channels.

Apart from its comparative cheapness and technical simplicity, it was felt by some that relatively high standards could be achieved more easily on radio although a number were disappointed with what they had heard so far.

'I'm fearful of the kind of programmes we shall have when these two services are fully developed. I don't see an Under Milk Wood coming out of Radio Wales or Radio Cymru' was the verdict of one producer.

'They seem to be modelling themselves purely on local radio.' (No. 12)
Others, less concerned with this aspect, saw radio, as a news and information medium, coming into its own as a result of these developments leaving entertainment and more "demanding" material to television. Another reason which also disposed some in favour of the new radio services was the declared policy of combining the two services for a common programme in the evenings, thus retaining some semblance of the historic unity of Welsh radio committed to unifying the two cultures in mutual celebration of 'the Welsh way of life'. Many of the Welsh-speaking producers, however, (though, perhaps predictably, none of the non-Welsh speakers) regretted the fact that the new Radio Cymru service was being developed on VHF not on Medium Wave. Apart from reception difficulties on VHF in various parts of Wales and concern about the loss of the bulk of the motoring audience, the decision was seen as another instance of the linguistic minority having to make more sacrifices. This producer was not alone in arguing:

'I think that the Welsh service should be on Medium Wave because of the pleasure Welsh language broadcasting gives to older people who can't afford VHF nor make the mental jump in listening habits this calls for.' (No. 09)

It was the spectre of the "cultural ghetto", however, which moved most of those opposing the new radio development to denounce it. The case was put with some force:

'We are a bilingual nation. The two languages should exist alongside each other and not be separated: this is to separate people. Their co-existence demands tolerance and any society that refuses to recognise this is in danger of creating racial dissension. Were it not for my hearing Welsh in the middle of English on the radio, I would not have learned it. Broadcasting will become even more parochial than it is . . . . . It's the BBC reacting to political pressure rather than having faith in its own policy of reflecting a bilingual nation. (No. 08)

10.4 PROPOSALS FOR COLLABORATION: QUESTIONS OF CONTROL

The development of Welsh radio was conceived and organised within the specific institutional framework of the BBC. There was no question of any new authority being created as, for example, the Annan Committee had proposed for local radio in England. The Welsh development involved simply further devolution of programme autonomy to Wales as a national region of the BBC. The proposal to expand Welsh language television on the Fourth channel, however, envisaged a
uniquely different structure of control through attempting to bring together the BBC with a commercial company thus reducing the position of the BBC to that of supplier, albeit a major one, of programmes for the new service. Apart from the BBC's obvious objection to the placing of advertising matter alongside its own material, there would be the crucial issue of cooperation itself between the two organisations. These questions in turn raise the much wider issue of a possible new authority altogether for Welsh broadcasting distinct from the existing organisations.

In view of the likelihood of the new channel being run jointly by the BBC and HTV, were the producers in favour of such a venture or not?

Table 10.3
Support for Joint BBC/HTV Operation of Fourth Channel

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As Table 10.3 shows, there were fewer objections to the idea of cooperation than there were to the principle of a separate Welsh language channel generally. Slightly more (44%) were in agreement than were not in agreement (40%) though again, as on the other issues, about a sixth of the producers were uncertain where they stood. However, many of those indicating their support for cooperation were, of course, not necessarily in favour of the Fourth channel concept. They were, nevertheless, convinced that its advent was inevitable and that in such circumstances the two authorities would have to cooperate on pragmatic grounds. The key points here were well put by this particular producer.

'A small country can't afford to waste resources. The two organisations must get together and I think this should be the case whether the Fourth channel happens or not. It's the only sensible arrangement. With such limited resources, there should not be two bodies running in competition with each other. It's unnecessarily wasteful duplication.' (No. 02)
While conceding that all this made sound economic sense, a number of those who indicated their broad support for the joint venture, were uneasy about any kind of relationship with a commercial company. Those who categorically disapproved of such an alliance were provoked to express their distaste in passionate professions of loyalty to the BBC. For example:

'My commitment is to public service broadcasting. I'm opposed to commercial broadcasting and to any form of collaboration because it will simply put more emphasis on pleasing public taste.' (No. 08)

'These commercial pressures will be inimical to the development of music programmes, and serious cultural material generally.' (No. 32)

'I can't see how it can operate: we are poles apart. The world of commerce is one world; the other is pure and untainted.' (No. 13)

10.5 THE QUESTION OF COMPETITION

We have seen already (5) that such idealised Reithian views of the BBC were common amongst a minority especially of the long serving producers and for them the whole possibility of cooperation was seen as a distasteful erosion of the sacred canons of public service. The majority, however, attached far less importance to this and, seeing the interests of the Welsh language as their priority, saw collaboration as the only realistic way forward. Indeed it was argued that 'there is no need for a competitive service in the Welsh language' (No. 14). This is an interesting point in that it is, of course, one of the central assumptions behind the whole idea of a Welsh language channel and in this it clearly flies in the face of the principle of competition which has informed government policy statements in the past in launching ITV and now, more recently, in supporting the proposals for a fourth network in England. The English fourth channel is intended to operate on the basis of competition among contending suppliers. Such an arrangement, it is argued, will be of benefit to viewers because it will produce a diversity of programming and stimulate a competition of excellence. The Welsh Fourth channel is unlikely to be in this fortunate position and so, unlike the English service, the companies supplying the majority of programmes will have a guaranteed right of access to the airwaves. They will not have to compete on the basis of merit in the same way: their function, arguably, will be simply to provide programmes to fill up time, which is one of the practices the introduction of a fourth channel nationally was intended to combat.

(5) See above p.178
The surrender of the competitive principle certainly worried some producers of news and current affairs' programmes. It was competition between the two organisations, it was suggested, which currently gave an edge to news reporting and improved standards. If the new service was to be an integrated one, how was such integration to be achieved? There were areas of programming in which there was obvious duplication or overlap at present: in news and current affairs (6), children's programmes and, to some extent, sport. Would this entail the curtailment or even closure of some departments? These questions coloured the responses of some of the producers in these programme areas to the new service.

10.6 A NEW AUTHORITY FOR WALES?

Uncertainties and misgivings of this kind prompted several producers to insist that effective collaboration required the creation of a new broadcasting authority in Wales to arbitrate on these issues and to commission material from a variety of sources. The decision to establish such an authority for the new TV channel was not to be taken until some four years later. (7) Though the question was raised by a minority in these interviews, it was articulated in only the vaguest of terms. The majority clearly were only dimly aware of the implications and several of those who were aware that some kind of coordinating body would need to be established took the view that it would be preferable if that body could still in fact be the BBC. The extent of the reluctance to consider an alternative authority can be seen from Table 10.4 which shows that 58% of the producers did not believe that a separate broadcasting authority for Wales should be established.

Table 10.4
Support for a Welsh Broadcasting Authority

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One has to be careful, however, in interpreting these results and read them in conjunction with the individual responses of the producers when asked (if they were in favour) what kind of authority they would wish to see established and (if they were not in favour) what their reasons were for not supporting a separate authority. Thus,

(6) The solution eventually adopted was an agreement allowing BBC Wales to provide the news service for the channel with HTV specialising in current affairs programmes.

for instance, though 18 of the producers appeared to be in favour of a separate Welsh authority, it became clear from their answers that four of these saw the functions of such a body solely in relation to the new Welsh language service on the Fourth channel. They did not envisage the replacement of the existing BBC and commercial programme authorities nor of their control over their other services. The other 14 (i.e. 23%), all Welsh speakers, appeared to have far more radical ideas of structural change including in most cases the creation of a wholly autonomous Welsh Broadcasting Corporation. Eight of the 14 said that they would reject any form of commercial broadcasting and specified that they would want the new corporation to be responsible for a system of public service broadcasting and would wish it to be modelled on the BBC. Implicit in most such "root and branch" proposals was the assumption of a politically independent Welsh state or at least of an advanced condition of political devolution for Wales within a longer federal structure. In some instances this was made explicit as for example, with this producer:

'A Welsh Broadcasting Corporation should logically follow Home Rule and political independence. Without this, I don't see that it's really possible ....... but yes, political autonomy should lead to broadcasting autonomy.' (No. 17)

Similarly:

'I want an independent public service corporation for Wales with a charter, Board of Governors and so on, similar to the BBC but geared to Wales specifically in an independent Wales or one in which evolution is fully extended.' (No. 39)

'If we were self governing, we could have our own broadcasting structure and control our own resources. We could then serve the nation fully.' (No. 22)

A number saw such a Welsh Broadcasting Corporation being answerable to the proposed new Welsh Assembly. Few were able to articulate their position as directly, however. They had obviously not had cause to do so before. Hence it was more common to find statements such as this:

'I would want a new broadcasting authority for Wales entirely separate from the BBC and ITV and responsible for all the broadcasting services in Wales. I don't know how it should be paid for — through licence fees or advertising ....... it could be a mixed system but I'm not very clear as to what kind of structure it would have... ' (No. 24)
Familiarity with known organisational structures obviously made the BBC the preferred model for any new corporation for Wales. For the same reason, the 36 producers who were opposed to any form of separation wished to see Welsh broadcasting remain firmly within the existing framework of the BBC as a whole.

This position was effectively summarised by one of the older producers.

"I would not wish to see any diminution of our autonomy: in fact, I would like to see it strengthened, but I would want us to remain part of the BBC as a whole which is the best organisation for public service broadcasting in the world. Besides, one fears the kind of monopoly that might result from separation." (No. 18)

These fears were echoed widely:

"The new authority could become a glorified county council." (No. 26)

"It would mean a lowering of standards ...... because it would, in effect, be the same people running it as are in control of BBC Wales at the moment." (No. 24)

"There would be a danger of our becoming insular, almost incestuous. My links with the networks convince me that being part of a larger organisation is far better." (No. 06)

"There could be all kinds of political pressure from a new Welsh Assembly if we were on our own." (No. 15)

"The existing machinery is adequate; the more managerial systems there are created, the poorer broadcasting becomes." (No. 07)

"We are already becoming too regionalised in our thinking. A separate authority would accentuate this." (No. 05)

The advantages accruing from being part of a wider corporation were clearly seen as considerable.

"I can't see another system giving us so much. The central organisation has built up an irreplaceable expertise as a reference point for the production of programmes across the board in terms of resources, facilities, equipment, techniques, archive and library sources, training and, above all, standards, so that one is always under scrutiny." (No. 07)

These were the key arguments emerging repeatedly from the interviews. When asked whether those advantages in fact outweighed the disadvantages of the British connection, 47 (or 76%) answered in the affirmative.

The remaining 15 producers (one more than had indicated a preference for a new broadcasting authority) were far less certain. Six said that they were not
convinced either way, but nine were firmly of the opinion that, on balance, in spite of those considerable advantages, the BBC was not the appropriate framework within which the broadcasting interests of Wales were best served.

On what grounds did this group argue against the existing structure? Certainly they did not deny the material advantages of being an integral part of the BBC, though one producer, in fact, questioned the view of his colleagues that expertise was by now a preserve of the centre:

'The advantages are not as marked as they were, say, five years ago. Expertise has now been devolved to the regions: the centre has just become a shell.' (No. 03)

The case advanced was two-fold. First, in spite of increasing measures of autonomy over the years, Wales, it was argued, was still at the end of the line, an outpost of the metropolitan centre, last in the queue for equipment and facilities. Subject to the whims of network controllers and planners, enmeshed in the slow moving bureaucracy of the monolith, programme makers were tied to centralist rules, regulations, procedures, conditions of service and contractual agreements that were often inappropriate and irrelevant to the actual needs and conditions of Welsh broadcasting. Many of these grievances, it should be pointed out, were also identified by many of those who did not support radical change. Second, and of decisive importance for those favouring complete autonomy, was the conviction that the system itself produced divided loyalties and that, for organisational executives and departmental heads, this meant that their first loyalty was to London rather than to BBC Wales. From this flowed far reaching ideological consequences for the practice of Welsh broadcasting and 'the Welsh way of life.' The case was put with eloquence by this producer in Bangor:

'We are inside an organisation that demands our loyalty to a political system. It is a system which promotes the idea of "Britishness" and the overlordship of the English character in Britain and the importance of London.

Any broadcasting system has to be ultimately conservative and reinforce the established order. The BBC rests upon and proclaims certain assumptions which every day undermine our consciousness as Welsh people.' (No. 50)

What we see being confirmed in the evidence of this chapter is not only the existence, identified earlier, of the three broad groups within the producer population
oriented to different goals and commitments, but also the existence of an inner core of some eight or nine within the largest group, who, in varying degrees, supported various measures of radical structural change. It is hard to say precisely from their responses, however, what specific broadcasting structures they envisaged as being appropriate to the kind of broader political objectives they supported. Yet they had clearly come to believe that the interests of broadcasting in Wales would be better served by some organisation other than that of the BBC.

The significant point, however, is not that such views were expressed but that they were held by so comparatively few. The overwhelming majority of producers quite clearly felt that neither their professional ambitions nor their cultural commitments were ultimately incompatible with their membership of the BBC however weak their institutional loyalty to it was.

In an earlier chapter (8), we have seen that both the Broadcasting Council for Wales and BBC Wales programme management, while anxious to secure much greater devolution of power from the centre especially in financial matters, were strongly opposed to the idea of an autonomous Welsh authority. It was a position obviously shared, as this chapter shows, by the majority of those actually engaged in programme production. In other words, the existing structures were seen as providing, on the whole, a perfectly acceptable framework within which the purposes of Welsh broadcasting could be realised. In the final analysis then, the producers shrank from the prospect of total autonomy, realising that there was more to lose than to gain by so doing.

It is not difficult to understand why they should adopt this view given the degree of power and influence they enjoyed as members of a coherent, closely knit class fraction which, over the years, had successfully colonised the major agencies of social control. Their colonisation of the BBC in Wales is, in essence, one of the major themes of this study. The success with which this has been achieved, however, in broadcasting as in other spheres of Welsh cultural nationalism, has depended on ensuring their position within the wider forms of power in the British State. Indeed, the persistence of the idea of a Welsh nation has always depended on the activities of a minority among Welsh people

'who have survived by anchoring themselves within successive forms of Britishness.' (Williams 1981 : 14)

(8) See above pp.94, 97-98.
CHAPTER 11

IN CONCLUSION: PERSPECTIVES, ISSUES AND PROSPECTS

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The central purpose of this study has been to examine the work and attitudes of a specific group of producers employed by the British Broadcasting Corporation. In common with other groups of professional communicators, they have a position of power and influence by virtue of the opportunities they enjoy to initiate or relay the kind of symbolic content they feel is appropriate for their respective audiences. At the same time, as this study has tried to show, their socio-cultural origins and affiliations mark them out unmistakably as active members of a middle ranking elite in Welsh society. Indeed, the most important thing about them is, arguably, not that they work in the BBC but that they work in Wales. This dual membership - organisational and cultural - poses problems of identity and allegiance with which they have to come to terms. They do so, as we have seen, through a variety of ideological responses; they become oriented to specific kinds of professional and cultural roles.

In this final chapter I want to try to consider how some of the main findings of this study (1) relate to the general problematic of mass communication itself as a social process. More specifically, I want to suggest that these findings afford particular insights not only into the occupational dilemmas experienced by media communicators engaged in promoting a minority culture within the overall framework of British broadcasting, but into the problems and prospects of that enterprise. In order to develop the argument fairly systematically, it will be useful to begin by centring the discussion around the two concepts that appear within the title of this study.

11.2 'IDEOLOGY' AND 'ORIENTATION'

Ideology is one of the most central and, at the same time, most difficult and intractable concepts in the literature of the human sciences. Its problematic character arises not only from its semantic mobility but from the multiplicity of potential

(1) These are already largely summarised in the concluding sections of each chapter.
theoretical inflections and levels of interpretation with which it may be applied to handle a wide range of different phenomena. In a recent re-examination of Marxist theories of ideology, Sumner (1979:5) lists no fewer than ten different definitions currently on offer. Reviewing this range of usages, he concludes (5-6):

'Some writers think ideologies must be systematic, others think that even a simple form of consciousness could be ideological. Secondly, some think ideologies must be mistaken and others think falsity is not a necessary feature. Thirdly, some people relate ideologies only to the economic structure and others relate ideology to all forms of social practice.'

It has clearly not been any part of the purpose of this particular study to engage in the wide ranging theoretical debates which these various discourses open up. The sense in which the term communicator ideologies has been used within the pages of this inquiry refers in a much more specific way to the set of ideas, beliefs and values adopted by different members of a particular occupational group in Welsh broadcasting to explain the nature and meaning of their work. At the same time, in analysing these ideas— their development in a particular set of historical circumstances, and their realisation in certain specific programme forms and practices— it should have become evident that such ideas arise from a given set of material interests. The historical emergence and consolidation of those interests has been one of the major themes of the first part of this study. In this way I would argue that communicator ideologies are explicable only in terms of a particular social formation. They are thus both mental and concrete, creating and created by social practice and production. Implicit in this study, therefore, is an insistence that an understanding of the beliefs of institutional members cannot be separated from an analysis of wider material interests and social relations.

This brings us to the second concept. The Oxford English Dictionary includes among its definitions of the verb 'orientate' the notion of 'determining how one stands,' or 'bringing into clearly understood relations.' In the present
in investigation, the term orientation clearly carries a broadly similar meaning in that it purports to explore the ways in which communicators adopt a particular view, stance or position in relation to a variety of constituents in their environment. These include, as we have seen, the "pressures" exerted by the State, by the forces of the market, the audience, by the Welsh language and its culture, and, from within the institution, by the judgments of peers and superiors and the existence of conventions and codes of practice. In responding to these pressures, the producer is obliged to determine "where he stands". In doing so he becomes "oriented" to a set of "clearly understood relations" through which he makes sense of his work and the world he inhabits.

In his discussion of language, Volosinov (1973) has written of the way in which all signs have an 'inner dialectic quality' which he terms their 'multi-accentuality'. One of the implications of this notion is that meaning is dependent on the process of co-occur-verb-al interaction between addressee and addressee. Hence utterances, whether in the form of conversation or media texts such as television programmes, may be seen as oriented to their immediate social circumstances and, through them, to the wider social structure. Extending this notion of multi-accentuality to the specific interactional context of this study, it is possible to see how communicator ideologies involve, in different ways, the taking up of positions of support or alienation in relation to these constituents. The relationship, in other words, is accented or oriented differently for different members of the institution.

11.3 THE PRODUCER TYPOLOGY

Looking back over the development of research into the work and attitudes of professional communicators, one cannot fail to be struck by the broad similarity of basic orientations displayed by practitioners in spite of the considerable variety or organisational settings. It was Tom Burns who first sketched their formation within the BBC during the initial period of his research in the Corporation from 1963-64. In a subsequent paper (1969:53-73), Burns mapped out what he discerned to be three predominant forms of communicator adaptation and orientation amongst the staff he had interviewed. There were first the 'Platonists' who subscribed to the view that the BBC, as an inalienable
part of the nation, had a 'responsibility' to uphold British cultural values and institutions. Second were the 'pragmatists' who, while acknowledging the BBC's historic cultural and educative role, saw the need to respond to public demand itself, particularly in the field of popular entertainment; and the third group, adopting a 'professional' view of the broadcaster's role, saw the canons laid down internally by colleagues and peer groups as providing the primary guidelines for policy and practice. As Burns noted in this paper, the former historic national role of the BBC, developed during its formative period under Lord Reith, had largely collapsed in the 1950's and was being replaced by an entirely different relationship with the audience. It was the completeness of this shift to 'professionalism' which struck Burns most forcibly on his return to the Corporation ten years later, and which Kumar (1975) saw exemplified in the emergence of a new layer of professional broadcasters (additional to the traditional announcers and newscasters) charged with 'holding the middle ground' of public opinion.

The typology elaborated by Burns has been echoed generally in the findings of other researchers in a range of different media organisations. In a study of BBC Current Affairs' producers in 1966, Blumler (1969) found a division between those who adopted a 'sacerdotal' and a 'pragmatic' approach to election coverage, each by implication subscribing to a different model of producer-audience relations. Tunstall, in a study of specialist correspondents in the British Press (1971) pointed to the way in which different kinds of organisational goals (in the press: revenue, advertising or non-revenue) can result in the journalist adopting different roles and foci of orientation. His account of journalists as employees, newsgatherers and competitor-colleagues again broadly highlights the same basic range of constituents and responses open to communicators. Finally, Muriel Cantor's profile of Hollywood TV producers (1971) oriented respectively to the network bureaucracy (old-time producers), to occupational craft (film makers), and to the audience (writer-producers) provides a parallel though different illustration of the same overall set of choices implicit in each of which lie different views of what mass communication should be concerned with.

The evidence emerging from the present study would seem to point again to the operation of these primary foci of communicator orientation - to institution
(or employer), to profession (or craft) and to the audience, however defined. There is, however, an additional socio-cultural dimension in Welsh broadcasting which, as we have seen, affects the way in which the producer perceives his relationship to institution, profession and audience. As we saw (2) all but two of the producers in this study were of Welsh parentage; their social origins, aspirations and cultural background typical of the new post war occupational groups adopting an ethnic focus. Not all adopted this ethnic focus, however, since, as their comments show, a number of the producers were highly critical of the way broadcasting was being directed to serve, what they felt to be, minority interests. In pointing to the existence of a Welsh dimension then, we must be careful not to see it as some kind of unitary phenomenon operating in opposition to British imperialism. As argued earlier, the language issue in fact mobilizes far more potent internal divisions. As Khleif has put it (1972:114):

"the basic drama is played out not so much between English and Welsh as between the two categories of Welshmen who confront the issue of language and identity face to face daily: the pro-Welsh Welsh and the Anglo-Welsh."

This again, of course, conceals a complex range of other positions taken up by groups and individuals within these two broad categories. Amongst the producers in this study, there was evidence of a marked internal polarisation of both Welsh and non-Welsh speakers in support of 'elite' and 'mass' conceptions of what was considered most appropriate for the Welsh audience. This visible articulation of bourgeois values, which Elliott has described as the result of a characteristic tension within the British ruling class between paternalism and commercialism (1977:165) is certainly echoed in the Welsh case in the tensions between the cultural values of a traditional core elite in Welsh society and the more insistent economic and populist criteria demanded by the financial and political interests on which "successful" cultural production has increasingly come to depend. The development of commercial broadcasting in Wales especially, as we have seen, and also recent developments in BBC Wales afford vivid evidence of these tensions. Rather than refer to a 'Welsh dimension, then, it is far more appropriate to speak of several dimensions or formulations of Welshness. It is in their intersection within

(2) See above p. 136
the wider concerns of British culture and British broadcasting that the Welsh producer has to define a "meaningful" role for himself.

For one of the groups which emerged from this study, it seems clear that they found this difficult to achieve. We can perhaps label this, the smallest group, the 'conservatives' in that, in general, they subscribed to a traditional view of regional broadcasting operating within the framework of a national system. Within this group, however, were two fairly distinct sub groups, the first consisting of non-Welsh speakers who were sharply critical of recent developments because, as they saw it, these had served to advance the interests of a bilingual minority at the expense of the "silent" majority, including, of course, themselves. Those in the second sub group, who were predominantly Welsh speakers, were more profoundly disaffected on two counts: first, because of the increasing politicisation of the language issue in broadcasting which, in their view, constituted an improper use for mass communication; second, because these developments had been marred by the adoption of populist criteria which, they argued, had undermined respect for traditional standards of cultural excellence. The development of a Radio Wales service in the period following this investigation would have undoubtedly helped to reconcile several of those within the former sub group, though they would have found little sign that the expansion of Welsh language television on the Fourth Channel would be paralleled by a comparable development for non-Welsh speakers. (3) The other members of the group would clearly have been reinforced in their disaffection.

The second producer group emerging from this study took a far more pragmatic view of the role of broadcasting. By instinct and training, the 'pragmatists' were also intensely committed to the BBC as an institution and to its philosophy of public service broadcasting, a commitment which they saw as in no sense incompatible with their cultural nationalism and their wish to see the fullest possible development of highly autonomous broadcasting services for Wales. The careers of a number of these

(3) The Second Report of the Committee on Welsh Affairs (23 July, 1981) regretted 'that with the transfer of Welsh language programmes to the Fourth Channel, the opportunity has not been fully taken to increase the amount of English language material transmitted specifically to Wales' (para. 168).
producers reflected the shift within the BBC itself from paternalist to populist perspectives on the audience. Certainly few had the kind of misgivings about current programme content expressed by the 'conservatives': audience satisfaction provided the surest guidelines for the 'pragmatists'.

While both the 'conservatives' and the 'pragmatists' held to an essentially pluralist model of broadcasting, the third and by far the largest group of producers in this study had, in varying degrees, a far more interventionist conception of the role that Welsh broadcasting should play. In contrast to the 'pragmatists' who, there is reason to believe, were still at heart believers in bilingualism and in the traditional policy of mixed linguistic channels, the 'interventionists', as we have seen, were preoccupied with the need to secure the survival of the Welsh language above all else and with using the resources of broadcasting to this end. They were essentially 'cultural advocates' then, subscribing to a kind of 'cultural action' model of broadcasting. For them the language was the cornerstone of national identity. Through broadcasting the Welsh language could be used, in their view, to disseminate the idea of Wales in an organic political sense as well as in purely cultural terms. In other words, their commitment to Welsh language broadcasting was in varying degrees essentially a conscious political act taken, if not in all cases, in support of the idea of a separate Welsh state, at least in the interest of preserving and perpetuating the idea of a distinctive 'Welsh way of life'. They had little sense of loyalty as such to the BBC, regarding it, along with other institutions in the British state system, as carriers of alien values. In general, however, they were reluctant to surrender the resource advantages which membership of the BBC bestowed though, as we have seen, there existed a group of radicals within their ranks who were supporters of structural change.

For the 'interventionists' or 'cultural advocates' especially then, but also for many of those communicators within the other two groups we have identified, though for different reasons, the role of BBC producer in Wales contains certain inherent paradoxes which are difficult to reconcile. In Westley and MacLean's model of mass communication (1957), a distinction is drawn between advocates who are external to the organisation and professionals who have intermediary or gatekeeping roles. In the case of Welsh broadcasting, clearly, the professionals
are in many respects also advocates, and their cultural and political aspirations are at odds with the institutional requirements for professional neutrality and impartiality. More than this, they conflict with whole ethos of the centralised bureaucratic system and accounting procedures through which broadcasting is conducted. The history of Welsh broadcasting is an attempt to give expression to these cultural and political aspirations and to secure an institutional place and form for them. If this is the case, one is justified in asking if, in fact, this is a viable or appropriate function for mass communication and indeed, whether any attempt of this kind to redefine the role of the media can ultimately be considered a realistic one.

11.4 THE WELSH CASE: GENERAL AND SPECIFIC FEATURES

At the outset of this study, it was suggested that an investigation of this kind might well illuminate some of the wider issues associated with the problem of minority-majority relations, in particular the relationship between media structures and minority cultures. Some of the general questions associated with the survival of minority cultures in multi-cultural societies and of the role of mass communication were indicated briefly in the opening chapter where it was argued that the conditions of media production, diffusion and consumption in Western societies operated in general to secure a position of dominance for cultural majorities. The analysis developed in subsequent sections of this study has, in general, served to confirm some of the broad features outlined at that point, particularly in regard to the way Welsh broadcasters have to work in prescribed limits within a framework of external political, financial and organisational control and within a set of dominant cultural values and professional practices — practices which by now extend well beyond the territorial and transmitter limits of British broadcasting. At the same time, this analysis has pointed to the historical specificity of the Welsh case and has tried to show that it contains certain distinctive features which are not encountered in precisely the same terms elsewhere.

As an example we could take the proposals now underway for developing Welsh language broadcasting on the Fourth television channel. There is no real
comparison anywhere in the world with the idea that is being proposed for Wales. If one looks at any other country which has a roughly comparable population to that of Wales, one finds that all those countries, with one major exception, obtain the majority of their programmes from other countries which speak the same language - German, Spanish, French and English. The exception is Israel which has a population rather larger than that of Wales and which makes programmes in Hebrew to a lesser extent than that proposed in Welsh for Wales - about two and a half to three hours a day including dubbed imports. This again is in a country where there is an enormous commitment by most people to their identity and to learning Hebrew which is the first official language. In most countries with language difficulties, programmes are available from other sources. Thus, in Belgium, for example, the Flemish speakers have programmes from Holland, and, of course, much of the Dutch television service is British, German or American material. So the Welsh language television channel is a very ambitious project: it is attempting to do something on a scale unknown in world broadcasting.

In the same way as one cannot, in fact, point to an exact parallel which reproduces all the features of the Welsh broadcasting situation, so too, in attempting to provide a theoretical account of its wider political and cultural context, it is difficult to point to a coherent body of theory or even to a range of theories which collectively "fits" the Welsh case. There are clearly, however, certain issues raised in the literature which are helpful for an understanding of the general problematic though their contexts are different. Thus, in one respect, for example, the attempt to reactivate a minority culture can be seen as sharing something of that broader sense of protest against mass society which has informed a variety of groups in this century who have seen the need to withdraw from industrialised society. The impetus for many of these can be traced to the dislocation and atomisation wrought by industrialised mass society. The 'Welsh Question', as was shown earlier, was shaped partly in response to the "threat" of industrialisation.

Among the primary targets of social criticism for many of the exponents of mass society theory have been the mass media whose growth has been viewed as furthering these processes of massification, alienation and homogenisation. It was
upon such concepts that the social theorists of the Frankfurt School fashioned their critique of the 'culture industry' during their sojourn in America. (4)

The predominant orientation of early research in mass communication to this view of the social order as mass society gave rise to a series of pessimistic analyses of the role of the media as manipulative agencies of social control (e.g. Mills, 1951, 1956; Peterson, 1965). These perspectives, strongly inflected, as Bramson (1960) points out, by German romanticism, had a considerable influence on the kind of urban sociological studies which developed in the United States earlier this century. The increasing pace of modern industrialised society was seen as accentuating the problems of human dislocation and rootlessness. In response, urban sociology subsequently addressed itself to the problem of establishing healthy community relationships in an alien environment. In this respect the studies of Janowitz (1952) and Wirth (1948) provide encouraging testimony to the integrative potential of the media in such an environment. Of course, the issue here was one of multi-cultural integration whereas the problem of the Welsh speaking minority has been how to survive and secure recognition within a multicultural society. Hence, as has already been shown, one has to locate the 'Welsh Question' within the resurgence of ethnic minorities in protest against the failure of overcentralised states to recognise their identity and their rights. At the same time, however, as has also been made clear, a proper understanding of the growth of these ethnic separatisms seeking economic and cultural parity with the more prosperous central regions of the state requires an analysis of their interaction with patterns of inequality and stratification, an analysis which is largely absent from most of the accounts available. The re-working of the historical narrative in the second chapter of this study is an attempt to indicate how such an analysis of the Welsh movement might be developed.

There is also, of course, an inter-societal, cross-cultural dimension involved in the interaction of media systems and political cultures (5), and any attempt to define the Welsh case has to take account of the considerable body of


(5) See above pp.8-10

276.
recent work on the wider phenomenon of international communication flow and cultural imperialism. The analysis developed earlier points to both the relevance and limitations of this approach for an understanding of the dynamics of power relations in the Welsh situation. The argument that the structural relationships between dominant and dependent societies on an international scale are reproduced in a parallel set of core-peripheral relations in the industrialised states of the West is a powerful one and there is considerable evidence which points to the inter-dependence of Wales with England and the wider 'Atlantic economy' and to a corresponding cultural division of labour between core and peripheral groups. The weakness of this approach, as was argued earlier, is that it rests on a model of nations or regions oppressing one another (in this case England and Wales) which are also taken as unproblematic undifferentiated collectivities. While it is important to locate the Welsh problem within the context of structural dependency, the argument advanced in this study is that an analysis of the dynamics of dependency calls for a complementary exploration of the linkages between cultural commitment and particular occupational and status groupings and of the way in which the concerns of language, culture and identity have intersected with the professional and economic objectives of a particular social class. To discuss the rise of Welsh nationalism and the resurgence of Welsh ethnicity without recognising the alignment of class fractions is to miss the real dynamics of mobilisation (and counter-mobilisation) and the way in which the 'Welsh Question' has come to be defined in the way it has and to acquire a corporate existence in certain specific institutions and policies.

By the same token, it is not enough to say that the problem of Welsh broadcasting is simply one of providing "access" and greater audience choice. Many of the official communication surveys, commissioned by such international bodies as UNESCO for example (Berrigan, 1977) have tended to see the needs of cultural minorities very much in these terms as if providing greater access in itself can somehow 'democratize' the media. This approach in fact masks the existence of wider structural issues and the way they are realised in particular sectional interests. In the Welsh case, as we have seen, the access problem is compounded
by the existence of a minority within a minority so that definitions of what constitutes national identity are polarised in different directions. Consequently consensual solutions are difficult to achieve.

In the final analysis, then, as for others, the Welsh case has to be defined in terms of its own distinctive historical circumstances. This is certainly not to argue however that it has no wider relevance. Though beyond the scope of the present study, it would be illuminating to extend the analysis with a detailed comparative examination of other cases. In attempting such an examination, however, there would be considerable problems of comparability as each case of majority-minority relations exhibits a different profile in terms of the history of the overall polity and in the extent to which different solutions are available or acceptable to dominant and subordinate groups. In the differing complexions and compositions of multi-cultural states, we immediately encounter a bewildering canvas of variables and shifting indices of definition - variations in levels of political and economic development, complexities of social stratification, and multiple bases and forms of cultural distinctiveness amounting to a massive agenda of items and a diversity of empirical frameworks and theoretical paradigms.

One could, of course, attempt to focus a comparative analysis on the one particular dimension of cultural distinctiveness which seems most central to the Welsh case - that of language. Here however, we would need to distinguish immediately between those languages which, though characteristic of a minority in one country, are a majority language elsewhere, and those languages, on the other hand which are nowhere the dominant language in the state. In Western Europe, the first category is illustrated by, for example French in Switzerland, where it is the official language, and Dutch in a small area of northern France where it has no such recognition. In the second category are about a dozen minority languages in Western Europe: the four remaining Celtic languages, Welsh Breton, Irish and Scottish Gaelic; Basque, Catalan, Occitan or Provencal, Romansch, Frisian, Faroese, Sardinian and, possibly, Manx (now virtually extinct). In order to compare the position of Welsh in any systematic way with that of the other languages, one would have to take account of a large number of factors such
as the total number of speakers, the extent of language usage within
different areas, and sectors of the population, the effects of emigration
and immigration, the degree of official recognition enjoyed by each language,
their use in education, and the extent to which each has succeeded in
achieving accepted literary standards (6). All these factors would of course
be relevant to any discussion of the role of broadcasting in these different
cultural settings.

In a recent review of 'The Political Dynamics of Cultural Minorities',
Gladdish (1979:161-76) has pointed to the existence of two predominant
perspectives in the analysis of minority-majority relations. The first of these he
describes as a 'constitutional perspective' in which the main concern is with the
need to protect minority rights within a set of formalised rules agreed by all
members of the polity. The second, labelled a 'cultural protectionist
perspective', stresses not so much the individual rights of minority members as the
need to safeguard their cultural values and identity. The limitation of these
perspectives for Gladdish is that they fail to take full account of the real
determinants of the political arrangements actually entered into which go beyond
either individual rights or cultural protection. Hence his call for a perspective
based on understanding what he terms the 'political dynamics' of minority-majority
relations (p.162) which, he argues, are much more volatile than either of the
other perspectives tend to allow for.

Gladdish cites three cases for examination: two of contemporary interest
and one historical - Quebec separatism, Scottish nationalism and the political
mobilisation of Catholics in the Netherlands in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
His conclusion broadly is that, in spite of their different historical profiles, in each
particular case (and these are illustrative of other cases) at a particular point in time,
the status quo was challenged on behalf of the so-called minority by certain activist

(6) In practice it would be difficult to conduct such a survey with any great
objectivity both because precise information is lacking on many of these
questions and because one has to interpret the evidence and make value
judgments.
See Price, G. (1973), 'Minority Languages in Western Europe' in
Stephens, M. (ed.), The Welsh Language Today, Gower, Llandysul,
pp. 1-17.
groups who selected, articulated, advocated and finally operationalised their objectives in a specific set of goals and strategies. His point is that while these strategies can and do change over time, as circumstances change, they depend for their realisation and success on the role played by political and other elites at a time of volatility in group relationships. This is what makes it difficult clearly to postulate a universally applicable theory of the future of minorities or to prescribe universally applicable measures for the preservation of their cultures. If this analysis is correct, and the present study would seem to provide a good deal of evidence in support of such an approach, then it could be argued that, in claiming a specificity for the Welsh case, one is, at the same time pointing precisely, if paradoxically, to a central feature of its generality. In looking at Welsh broadcasting, therefore, as a case study in mass communication, what presents itself, as this inquiry has tried to show, is a certain configuration of features, which though grounded in a particular set of circumstances, exhibits clear elements of wider significance.

11.5 MASS COMMUNICATION AND WELSH CULTURE

In order to begin to answer the question posed earlier in the chapter, as to whether the attempt to use mass communication for minority purposes is a viable or realistic undertaking, it is necessary first of all, in the light of the preceding discussion, to define the nature of the minority and the way its interests have been articulated and represented by certain groups and individuals.

The developments in Welsh broadcasting traced in this study show how a specific set of cultural and class interests have been able to mobilise support for a particular definition of Welsh identity. Judged purely in terms of organisational achievement, the establishment first of a Welsh Region, subsequently of a BBC Wales, and more recently of Radio Cymru and Radio Wales and of Sianel 4 Cymru demonstrate
the considerable degree of official recognition achieved by that mobilisation
process. Through sustained pressure, increasing provision at statutory and
policy levels has been secured for the allocation of specific broadcasting
resources to serve Welsh interests. To a considerable extent also, many of the
producers interviewed in this study have undoubtedly been able to promote a
distinctive "Welsh" view of the world and to pursue their particular cultural goals
in the production of broadcast material. It would also seem probable, though no
specific research evidence is available, that BBC Wales has succeeded, arguably
more than any other agency, in fostering an interest in Welsh affairs and in making
possible the inculcation of a particular form of Welsh consciousness amongst large
sections of the population as a whole.

In all these respects, the attempt to direct the organisational resources and
forms of a system of mass communication to serve a particular purpose would appear
to have achieved a considerable measure of formal recognition. It has to be said,
of course, that such recognition is not necessarily an index of success: indeed, it
can serve other purposes and act as a break, in fact, on forces which might
otherwise provide a threat to the social order. At the same time, there is room to
doubt both the effectiveness and perhaps the appropriateness of this attempt. In
the long term any attempt to use broadcasting principally for the preservation of a
minority culture is, arguably, irreconcilable with the central purposes of mass
communication as they operate in contemporary capitalist society. Given the
existing operation of market forces, especially in mainstream television broadcasting,
the broadcaster is predisposed to shape his products for the median audience.
Unlike the press, broadcasting too is a scarce resource and has had to develop
historically, as a result, by way of a system of central distribution and supply
within an attendant framework of political, legal and cultural constraints in
observance of a central core of values and practices. It is, therefore, hard to see
how any minority broadcasting service can survive without accommodating itself to
these factors. And yet in doing so, it must in a very real sense endanger its own
raison d'etre.
The dominant view of Wales which is enshrined in the nationalist tradition, as we have seen, is an essentially ahistorical, largely rural cultural construct whose survival is seen to depend on the preservation of certain core values centred around the chapel, the language and the Welsh literary tradition. (7) Such a view, with its attachment to literate high-cultural values is clearly at odds with the characteristic terms and conditions of cultural production for mass consumption and, as noted earlier, was a source of real concern for a number of the broadcasters. In attempting to respond to some of these commercial imperatives, it is clear that BBC Wales has alienated significant sectors of its traditional audience without having the necessary financial strength and autonomy or native human resources, particularly in the field of entertainment programming in either Welsh or English, to win an alternative audience in sufficient numbers to achieve popular approval. With the exception of sports programming, more particularly the coverage given to Welsh rugby, it is doubtful if the output has been able to command a sufficiently wide and unified support to embrace both Welsh and non-Welsh speakers as a cohesive national audience. What has been provided on the whole is a large number of mainly minority programmes for minority audiences. To a great extent this is no fault of BBC Wales. It lies in the nature of the 'Welsh Question' itself which serves to perpetuate the fragmentation of programme resources for different purposes.

The developments in Welsh broadcasting since this investigation was begun, however, indicate fairly clearly that the trend towards populist forms of programming is likely to become more pronounced in the immediate future both in radio and television, with an insistence in the Fourth Channel development on the necessity of responding to commercial imperatives. The retreat from the Annan proposals in favour of a more thorough going commercial service has already been reflected in the plans for Sianel 4 Cymru. As the Report of the Select Committee on Welsh Affairs revealed in July 1981, there has been fierce resistance by the ITV companies in England towards paying for the new Welsh service. HTV has estimated the annual cost of the Welsh service at around £30m, twice the S4C estimate. The response from the new authority itself is evident from the public pronouncements of its new...
Owen Edwards, former BBC Wales Controller, now Director of S4C, criticising current Welsh language television as being too "up market", declared that a high proportion of the new channel's output will be 'popular and middle of the road.' (8) The Channel's Programme Editor, Euryn Ogwen Williams, a former HTV producer turned freelance, has pledged 'the axing of minority-interest material and a diet of audience catching shows on the new channel.' (9)

These are clearly the imperatives within which Welsh television will have to operate in the future and in which the BBC, as the major programme supplier, will also be implicated. Whether such programme strategies will succeed in increasing significantly the Welsh language audience is doubtful. When questioned by the Abse Committee, Sir Brian Young, Director General of the IBA said that in his view the effect of the new Fourth Channel in Wales would be to increase the number of viewers directing their aerials to English transmitters: in other words that the current problem will be reproduced in the new situation. The only real solution to the problem of Welsh language television, according to Sir Brian, is the provision of a fifth channel for Wales. Yet it is difficult to see how a fifth or even a fifteenth channel will be completely acceptable to those who would resent their being "deprived" of a single English language programme. Given such resentment, it is not surprising that a view which has emerged in some quarters sees no satisfactory long term solution other than through the eventual provision of a satellite service of Welsh language broadcasting. (10)

The development of such new technology will clearly have profound consequences for the content and control of mass communication, the relationships between media organisations and political institutions and on the nature of the broadcasting profession itself. We shall need to consider briefly some aspects of these before concluding this study. In the meantime, it seems clear that neither provision by direct satellite nor any other solution can of itself provide any guarantee of the survival of the Welsh language and its culture. This suggests that, in answer to the question raised earlier as to whether the use of mass

(8) Western Mail, 11/4/81
(9) Western Mail, 14/5/81
(10) This view was put by the Brussels based Wales in Europe Group in September, 1980. The group consists mainly of Welsh people working for the EEC Commission. In view of the possibility of the French and German governments launching direct broadcast satellites in 1983, the group urged the adoption of similar provision for a comprehensive Welsh language service.
communication for the purposes of preserving and reactivating a minority culture is a realistic or appropriate one, we have to conclude that the success or failure of such an objective depends on factors which lie outside the media themselves. In the absence of a sense of cohesive cultural identity recognised by the majority, it is bound to be difficult to restore the language as a living medium once a process of decline has set in. A recent survey of 'The present position and viability of minority languages' (Price, 1979:41) concludes:

'There seems little doubt that, though such factors as standardisation and official recognition can help, by conferring a degree of prestige, the decisive factor in determining the fate of a minority language is the degree of language loyalty shown by the community of speakers. If they continue to use it, it is likely to survive. Otherwise, it will die.'

Given also the existing structure of power relations in Western society, it follows that the mass media inevitably have to take their place within the hegemony of dominant ideologies which they draw upon and in turn reproduce. It is from within such configurations that the modes of address and forms of management of broadcasting find their source. The case for greater access of minorities of whatever kind is thus fundamentally flawed because they are seen as taking their place within the existing formation and within the modes and constructs of the professional community. While it is understandable to find such calls for broadcasting to be used to save a minority culture, these in reality require a change in the wider forms of political and economic control through which existing broadcasting structures and practices are framed. In short, it is unrealistic to expect broadcasting to accomplish such a cultural mission when the roots of that culture, and of its decline, in fact, lie elsewhere. To lay the responsibility for a culture's decline at the door of broadcasting or any medium of communication is to make it a scapegoat for more deep seated factors and to mask the existence of wider structural issues and sectional interests. What the concession of access to minorities provides in effect then is a safety valve whereby opposition can be headed off and contained. It makes available some form of inadequate compromise but one in which it is possible for the minority to feel that they are actually getting
somewhere. Hence the provision of a channel for Welsh language television has succeeded in siphoning off the discontent of political and cultural activists into the kind of "ghetto" which, on the one hand, ensures the defusing of radical impulses and, on the other hand, enables the apathetic or hostile linguistic majority to feel that they have made the concessions required.

There is, however, a further question which presents itself in the wake of the preceding discussion: it is the question of Welshness itself whether defined in linguistic or broader ethnic terms. In his introduction to a recent volume of essays in the history of Wales from 1780 - 1980, David Smith (1980:8) has characterised its central features as follows:

'Most areas of Welsh sensibility from the middle of the 19th century have been dominated by a particular constellation of social and cultural forces. This led to the formation of a class whose inner coherence derived from the denial of its class function. The stressed values were those of community, of religion, of material progress, of respectability, and binding these together, of language and nationality.

When the latter two began, respectively, to break or failed to appear fully, then the more amorphous, but nonetheless powerful concept of Welshness was substituted.'

It would be foolish to deny the reality of ethnic and cultural differences or of the territorial frontiers which have traditionally marked out a set of distinctive political and administrative arrangements. At the same time, it is important to realise that the central concerns which have given rise to the idea of Wales and of a Welsh dimension have acquired a corporate existence through being constructed in a particular way. As we have seen, the notion of Wales and Welshness which has emerged in the process of ethnic and cultural resurgence has been harnessed to serve a particular set of class interests in their pursuit of economic security and advancement in a range of traditional and emergent occupational sectors. To identify the question of Wales solely in ethnic and cultural terms is to explain the social in terms of the spatial. As Day has observed (1980:237)

285.
'Wherever a social phenomenon is identified with a spatial territory, a danger of a reductionist explanation exists: the inner city, ghetto or deprived community comes to be seen as the source of its own problems; attention is diverted from its location within a wider structure, and the real nature of the processes at work remain unexplored.'

In the recent political and administrative development of Wales, the focus on cultural identity and uniqueness has served to obscure the more real issues of the economy, depopulation, deprivation and inequality. It has failed to recognise, as a result, the way these issues are related to economic and social formations as much within Wales itself as outside and across its boundaries. As Marx said, 'Capitalism by its nature drives beyond every spatial barrier.' (1973:524) By identifying 'nationhood' as the crux of the issue, a political solution has been advanced to remedy what is, in essence, a far wider economic problem. To the extent that its own intervention already recognises the existence of a Welsh dimension, the British State also conforms to and confirms this definition through the establishment for example of special Welsh Development Plans and of such bodies as the Welsh Office, the Welsh Development Agency, a Welsh TUC and many other administrative bodies.

So too, in broadcasting, the creation of a Broadcasting Council for Wales, of a BBC Wales, and a Welsh Fourth Channel Authority are all State responses to questions of communication which are seen as having a 'Welsh' dimension. Beyond these 'political' solutions, however, the existing balance of power relations and class interests remains unchanged. Entrenched more firmly as a result within more autonomous organisational structures - yet still firmly tied to the purse strings and to the core assumptions, practices and modes of address of the metropolitan centre - the professional community of Welsh broadcasters is thus enabled to ensure that culture! production is directed to the service of 'Wales'. In other words, their professionalism, though not providing complete autonomy, provides the means through which they can ensure that broadcasting is maintained within an operational and resource framework supportive of their own interests as a dominant elite; and their subscription to 'Welshness' provides the legitimating ideology through which popular support is generated and mobilised.
The organisational solutions now being implemented in response to the problem of Welsh language television would seem to bear out graphically the way this process is again likely to operate. Recruiting its key personnel, with an almost clinical concern for balance, from the BBC and HTV, who are to provide the bulk of the programmes for the new channel (and more significantly retain their own editorial control over them), the new authority (itself essentially an amalgam of BBC, or ex BBC, and IBA officials) has an obligation to commission a certain quota of material from 'independent' producers. These, in fact, are likely to be few in number and, for the most part, ex-BBC or HTV staff committed to the same core precepts of Welsh broadcasting. It will not be surprising if the service, in fact, turns out to be providing "more of the same".

As with the 'pragmatists' and "cultural advocates" of our study within BBC Wales, including the more "radical" inner core within the latter group, the readiness in varying degrees of all these different groups of broadcasters to work within the parameters of this political definition of Welshness reflects ultimately not their support or lack of support for radical change but their ability to play the rules of the institutional game in the promotion of their own professional and class interests.

11.6 NEW TECHNOLOGY AND THE FUTURE

The authors of a book on television broadcasters at the turn of the last decade (Bakewell and Garnham, 1970) chose to describe their subject as The New Priesthood. The parallel between clergy and broadcasters is an interesting one, born in general terms and in relation to Wales. Both have acted as manipulators of social symbols and reflected social values to perform a general reproductive function in society. In Welsh society, it could well be argued that the broadcaster and his studio have taken over many of the functions previously performed by the nonconformist preacher in his pulpit, especially in regard to the preservation of the Welsh language and its cultural values. In speculating about the possible impact of new communication technologies on the professional broadcaster, one might take the analogy further by suggesting that, in the same way as the Church lost its central place in performing this function as the development of commerce and industry presented an alternative set of materialistic values, so, the opening up of the media to greater public
participation and control through new technology will undermine the claims of the professional broadcasters to having a special expertise in the production of broadcast content, and call for new sources of legitimation.

Developments over the next decade are likely to see a variety of tools and technical devices which are bound to affect the mass characteristics of broadcasting. The opening up of access to the means of production and to the means of distribution, which cable, satellites, video cassettes and discs will make possible, is also likely to affect the hold that the media professionals currently have over the means of mass communication. In a discussion of the likely effects of technological change on broadcast content, Gurevitch and Elliott (1977:512) have drawn a useful distinction between what they term "time-bound" and "time-free" contents, the former consisting of largely news and topical material requiring fairly immediate transmission, and the latter (including such content as drama, music, entertainment and so on) being less tied to the constraints of time. Their view is that the former content, involving as it does the need for a large, complex and costly man-made system, will probably continue to require production and distribution by the existing media organisations so that in this area the effect of technological innovation on media structures and professional personnel will be slight. On the other hand, they suggest it is possible that an increasing amount of "time-free" content might come to be produced and distributed outside the existing organisations by a growing number of non-professionals. As far as Welsh language television is concerned, however, it is hard to see how this trend can attain any significant proportions given the limited reserves of talent available and the bespoke nature of most of these "time-free" production activities. At the same time, however, the fact that within the Welsh Fourth Channel the professionals from both the commercial and non-commercial organisations will be joining forces to produce for a single transmission source with a separate identity may possibly facilitate, to some extent, the break down of the particular forms of professionalism practised within the two organisations. In this way the Welsh venture may well be anticipating a trend that could be accelerated in the future as the proliferation of channels and outlets makes possible the support of a far wider range of programming with a consequent demystification of professionalism.
Some of the early responses by the professionals to this "threat" (Morgan, 1971) indicate that they are likely to defend their special competence by invoking the virtues of quality and high standards. Against this, however, is the more real possibility that the new technology will increase the importance of commercial priorities in the relationship between producers and audiences. With licence revenue reaching saturation level and unable to support further developments, these will become increasingly dependent on advertising. The more audiences are able to support specific kinds of programme content acceptable to the advertisers the more a rather different kind of expertise will be required to replace the traditional abilities of the broadcasters. In any event the professional ideology of the broadcasters will be under threat and they will need to secure different bases for legitimizing their claims to exclusive control. In Welsh broadcasting, as we have seen, the invocation of Welshness and Welsh interests has served to provide a ground base against which the exercise of professional skills can be measured and justified, and this has been heightened by the creation of a Welsh television service. In the face of growing demands for them to respond to much sharper commercial criteria, however, the broadcasters' invocation of Welshness will then not be enough and the whole ideological edifice of Welsh broadcasting will once again be under scrutiny.

11.7 AN AGENDA FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has been an exploration of some of the dilemmas embedded in the practice of Welsh broadcasting. The task of uncovering those dilemmas has been directed along three broad fronts. First, it has attempted a re-working of some aspects of the recent social and political history of Wales as the salient location for initiating a history of Welsh broadcasting. Second, it has attempted, through drawing on a mixture of official and unofficial sources, and on the comments and opinions of the practitioners, to provide a sociological account of BBC Wales during a brief but highly significant period of transition. The processing and chronicling of the empirical data coincided with a period of even more rapid development, so a third feature of the study has been an attempt to relate this material to on-going developments. The breadth and intractable nature of this task has meant inevitably,
that, in many respects, it has been in the nature of a preliminary excursion into largely uncharted and shifting territory. Its primary focus on the crucial role of the communicator is understandable given my own personal biography. At the same time, however, the study was grounded in the firm belief that one of the best ways of uncovering the dilemmas of Welsh broadcasting is through studying the work and attitudes of those "at the coalface", as it were, caught up in the web of intersecting forces.

In closing this study, however, I am particularly conscious that it has not been possible to examine, other than at a fairly descriptive level, either the content of Welsh broadcasting or the reception and usage of that content by individual audience members. An analysis of the way in which programme content actually 'constructs' Wales and particular formulations of Welshness would-seem to be an obvious project for future research. The aim of such an inquiry should be to try to uncover not only what 'message' is being constructed but also whose message it is that is being disseminated most consistently and why.

We have seen how little is known about the audience for regional programmes. The producers of BBC Wales subscribe to a very definite set of assumptions about the tastes and preferences of the Welsh speaking and non-Welsh speaking audiences. Yet there are no empirical studies which confirm or refute these professional opinions. We know little about the needs and gratifications met for Welsh audiences by Welsh media content and how these needs may be situationally located and structured nor in what ways they may be different from those of audiences in other parts of the United Kingdom.

The comparatively small scale dimension of Welsh broadcasting and its intimate and in-bred features will have become evident from this study. The close knit nature of the professional community and of its involvement in Welsh social and cultural life generally - through, for example, the Welsh Schools movement or Urdd Gobaith Cymru, and, to a considerable extent still, in the life of the Welsh chapels in Cardiff - points to the operation of a variety of highly significant networks of communication and personal influence through which opinion flows and is mobilised in particular ways. Research which attempted to chart the workings of such networks, their implications for, and usage by, the professional broadcasters,
could tell us a good deal about the recruitment patterns, social mores and class configurations of Welsh broadcasting.

The developmental history of Wales, as was indicated earlier, has received little attention from Welsh historians and social scientists. While this study has been able to indicate some of the ways in which a political culture is correlated with cultural commitment and with various occupational structures and status groupings, a systematic examination of these relationships has hardly begun.

The history of Welsh broadcasting is virgin territory: the account contained within this study has, of necessity, been in the nature of an initial reconnaissance, indicating how the adoption of a sociological perspective may be usefully employed by other historians to open up this territory to more rigorous analysis.

Wider structural questions, only broadly hinted at here - the existence of a Welsh "establishment" and its relationship with broadcasting and the State; the ownership and control debate and its relevance for the strategies and policies of the commercial organisations involved in Welsh broadcasting - these again await systematic scrutiny.

It is hoped that this particular study may have provided a modest contribution in signposting some of these wider problematics of Welsh broadcasting as well as affording detailed insights into one specific aspect of them.
APPENDIX I

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
### Appendix I: The Interview Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Ref</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Date of interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sex of informant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Job title</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Occupational Category</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Prog Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sen Prod/Output Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Prog Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Prod Asst/News Asst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Contract Broadcaster/Producer</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Other</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Output Area</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. News/Current Affairs</td>
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<td>2. Features/Docs/Gen Progs</td>
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<td>3. Music</td>
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<td>4. Religion</td>
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<td>5. Light Ent</td>
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<td>6. Sport</td>
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<td>7. Drama</td>
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<td>8. Education</td>
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<td>9. Children</td>
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<td>7. Ling/Media Category</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. TV(E)</td>
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<td>2. TV(W)</td>
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<td>3. TV(E/W)</td>
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<td>4. R(E)</td>
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<td>5. R(W)</td>
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<td>6. R(E/W)</td>
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<td>7. TV/R(E)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. TV/R(W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. TV/R(E/W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Would you mind telling me to which one of these age groups you belong?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you: 1. Under 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 21-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 30-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 40-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 50-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 60+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Where was your place of birth?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. How old were you when you left school?
   1. 14  
   2. 15  
   3. 16  
   4. 17  
   5. 18  
   6. 19

11. What full-time education did you receive after leaving school?

   What part-time education have you received since leaving school?

12. Can you please give me, briefly, details of any formal academic qualifications that you have?

13. What occupation or career did you train for initially or intend to follow?

14. Can you tell me briefly what full-time employment you had between the time you ended your full-time education and entered the BBC?

15. What was your actual occupation before joining the BBC?

16. Did you have any contact with, or acquire any knowledge of, any broadcasting organisation, other than as a listener or viewer, before joining the BBC?
   1. Yes  
   2. No
17. (If Yes) did this come through one or more of the following ways?
1. through knowing a relation/friend
2. through visits to studios etc.
3. through taking part occasionally in various programmes for the BBC
4. through taking part occasionally in various programmes for other broadcasting organisations
5. through full-time work with another broadcasting organisation
6. Other

18. What was the occupation of
1. Your father
2. Your mother?

19. Have any other members of your immediate family or any of your relations been involved in broadcasting at any time?
   a) immediate family
      1. YES
      2. NO
   b) relations
      1. YES
      2. NO

20. (If Yes) in what capacity?
   a) immediate family
   b) relations

21. What language was first taught to you at home?
   1. English
   2. Welsh
   3. Other

22. What would you say is your first language now?
   1. English
   2. Welsh
   3. Other
   4. Uncertain

23. Would you mind telling me whether you support, or tend to support, a particular political party?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know/Declined to answer.
24. (If Yes) would you mind telling me which one that is?
   1. Con
   2. Lab
   3. Lib
   4. PC
   5. Com
   6. Other
   7. Floater
   8. No answer

25. (If Yes) Have you ever been a member of that political party?
   1. Yes
   2. No

26. Since working for BBC Wales have you changed your political allegiance?
   1. Yes
   2. No

27. (If Yes) Could you tell me in what way and why?

28. Before coming to the BBC did you, at any time, belong to any of the following cultural movements or organisations?
   a) Urdd Gobaith Cymru - The Welsh League of Youth
      1. YES
      2. NO
   b) Undeb Cymru Fydd - The New Wales Union
      1. YES
      2. NO
   c) Undeb Cenedlaethol Athr waon Cymru - the National Union of Teachers of Wales
      1. YES
      2. NO
   d) Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg - The Welsh Language Society
      1. YES
      2. NO
   e) Merched y Wawr - Daughters of the Dawn
      1. YES
      2. NO
   f) Any other

29. Now, I wonder if I could ask you a few questions about your listening and viewing habits. How often in the week, on average, would you say you listen to the radio? Would you say you listened to something:
   1. Every day
   2. Most days
   3. On 3 or 4 days
   4. On 1 or 2 days
   5. On less than 1 day a week?
30. How often do you listen to the various Radio services?

a) Radio 1
   1. A lot
   2. Occasionally
   3. Never

b) Radio 2
   1. A lot
   2. Occasionally
   3. Never

c) Radio 3
   1. A lot
   2. Occasionally
   3. Never

d) Radio 4
   1. A lot
   2. Occasionally
   3. Never

e) BBC Local Radio
   1. A lot
   2. Occasionally
   3. Never

f) Commercial Radio
   1. A lot
   2. Occasionally
   3. Never

31. Which of these Radio services do you find yourself listening to most often? (If respondent listens about the same amount to two or more services - tick all those boxes.)

1. Radio 1
2. Radio 2
3. Radio 3
4. Radio 4
5. BBC Local Radio
6. Commercial Radio

32. Would you say that, in general, you watch BBC television programmes more often than ITV, ITV more often than BBC or both about equally?

1. BBC
2. Both
3. ITV

33. And roughly how long, on average, do you watch when your television set is on in the evenings?

1. Under an hour
2. 1+
3. 2+
4. 3+
5. 4+
6. 5+
34. In choosing which programmes to watch, would you say you are:

1. Highly selective
2. Fairly selective
3. Not at all selective?

35. People watch television or listen to the radio for many different reasons. I'd like you to tell me now how far you find that the following motives apply to you personally (Show List).

I want you to think first of your own viewing, and then of your radio listening.

(a) To seek diversion, entertainment, relaxation
   T(1) Very much so  R(1) Very much so
   T(2) To some extent  R(2) To some extent
   T(3) Not at all  R(3) Not at all

(b) To seek information
   T(1) Very much so  R(1) Very much so
   T(2) To some extent  R(2) To some extent
   T(3) Not at all  R(3) Not at all

(c) To seek imaginative stimulation, e.g. music, drama, religion
   T(1) Very much so  R(1) Very much so
   T(2) To some extent  R(2) To some extent
   T(3) Not at all  R(3) Not at all

(d) To see/hear the work of colleagues or competitors in the field
   T(1) Very much so  R(1) Very much so
   T(2) To some extent  R(2) To some extent
   T(3) Not at all  R(3) Not at all

(e) To show loyalty but without a great deal of enthusiasm
   T(1) Very much so  R(1) Very much so
   T(2) To some extent  R(2) To some extent
   T(3) Not at all  R(3) Not at all

36. There are obviously many reasons why people are attracted to broadcasting as a career. Looking back on your own experience could you tell me how important each of the reasons listed on the sheet was in your case for going into broadcasting? (Show list)

(a) There was a sense of glamour about broadcasting as a career
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important

(b) I was influenced by a friend/acquaintance and wanted to follow a similar course
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important
c) I was dissatisfied with my previous job
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important

d) I felt I had real talent to offer to broadcasting
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important

e) The idea of being in the BBC especially appealed to me
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important

37. Turning now specifically to the BBC as an organisation offering a career in broadcasting, I wonder whether you would tell me how important each of the following reasons was for your joining the BBC. (Show list)

a) It had always been my ambition to join the BBC
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important

b) I believed the BBC was a good employer
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important

c) It offered a higher salary
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important

d) It conferred a higher social status
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important
e) It would fulfil needs and aspirations that were inadequately met in a part-time capacity
   
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important
   4. Did not apply

f) I believed the BBC was a force for public good and wanted to be part of it
   
   1. Very important
   2. Quite important
   3. Not at all important

38. It may be that none of these reasons listed applied directly in your particular case. If so could you please say briefly what, for you, was the most important reason you had for joining the BBC.

39. How would you rate the degree of satisfaction you now feel about broadcasting as a career? Would you say:
   
   1. I am very satisfied
   2. I am fairly satisfied on the whole
   3. I am fairly dissatisfied on the whole
   4. I am very dissatisfied

40. What things in particular do you find give you satisfaction in Broadcasting?
41. While broadcasting can be very satisfying as a career, like other jobs, I suppose it may have its own frustrations and dissatisfactions. From your own experience, can you tell me what are the main things that make you dissatisfied and frustrated?
42. How do you cope with these frustrations in your daily life?

Then:
Possible probes as appropriate, e.g.

a) Do you ever find yourself becoming cynical about the job?
b) Do defects or shortcomings in the organisation worry you or do you feel they are not your concern?

c) For which would you say you have greater concern and loyalty - the organisation as a whole or to the programme or programmes that you are working for or belong to?

d) How far do you feel you are serving Wales in your job?
e) Is this more important or less important than other considerations for you?

f) Does this fact make up for your other frustrations or not?

g) How important for you is the fact that you are working in the Welsh language?
h) Does this make up for any dissatisfactions you feel you may have about the organisation or not?

i) Why are you not on the permanent staff? Is this your choice? Why?
c) Your own profession as a broadcaster or producer
   1. Very strongly
   2. Moderately so
   3. Hardly at all

d) Wales and Welsh interests
   1. Very strongly
   2. Moderately so
   3. Hardly at all

e) The Welsh language
   1. Very strongly
   2. Moderately so
   3. Hardly at all

f) The specific medium you are actually working in (Radio or TV) or work in mostly
   1. Very strongly
   2. Moderately so
   3. Hardly at all

g) Your own personal career and self advancement
   1. Very strongly
   2. Moderately so
   3. Hardly at all

h) The particular programme or programme unit you are working for and the staff in the group
   1. Very strongly
   2. Moderately so
   3. Hardly at all

i) The audience to whom you are broadcasting
   1. Very strongly
   2. Moderately so
   3. Hardly at all

44. Which two of all these commitments are the strongest for you?
   1.
   2.

45. Which one, would you say, are you least committed to?

46. a) Do you see broadcasting as an occupation that will lead you personally into another career sometime?
    1. Yes
    2. No
    3. Possibly
    4. Don't know

b) (If yes) What career?

c) What would be your main reason for making such a move?
47. a) Have you, at any time in the past, thought of leaving the BBC for another field of work?  
   1. YES  
   2. NO  
   b) What were your main reasons for doing so?  
   c) What happened?

48. Would you like to move to:  
   a) The BBC in London  
      1. Yes  
      2. No  
      3. Possibly  
      4. Don't know  
   b) Another BBC region  
      1. Yes  
      2. No  
      3. Possibly  
      4. Don't know  
   c) A BBC local radio station  
      1. Yes  
      2. No  
      3. Possibly  
      4. Don't know  
   d) A commercial radio station  
      1. Yes  
      2. No  
      3. Possibly  
      4. Don't know  
   e) Commercial television  
      1. Yes  
      2. No  
      3. Possibly  
      4. Don't know  

For each one, can you briefly say why you would choose to move or not to move.

a)  

b)  

c)  

d)  

e)
49. a) Do you work primarily on: 
1. BBC Wales programmes
or 2. Network programmes
or on 3. A mixture of both

b) Is this your choice or not? 
1. YES
2. NO

c) If not, what would you prefer to be doing?

50. a) Is most of your work done: 
1. in English
2. in Welsh
or is it 3. fairly evenly divided between the two languages?

b) Is this your own choice? 
1. YES
2. NO

c) Given an entirely free choice how would you personally prefer to be dividing your time in terms of language?
1. More in English
2. More in Welsh
3. No change
4. Can only work in English

51. For those working mainly in the Welsh language

How do you feel about those of your colleagues who work entirely in the English language? Compared with your own work, do you think of their work as being:

a) 1. Superior
2. About the same
3. Inferior
4. Can't answer

b) 1. More demanding
2. About the same
3. Less demanding
4. Can't answer

c) 1. More important
2. About the same
3. Less important
4. Can't answer
52. **For those working mainly in the English language**

How do you feel about those of your colleagues who work entirely or very largely in the Welsh language? Compared with your own work, do you think of their work as being:

a) 1. Superior
2. About the same
3. Inferior
4. Can't answer

b) 1. More demanding
2. About the same
3. Less demanding
4. Can't answer

c) 1. More important
2. About the same
3. Less important
4. Can't answer

d) 1. More necessary
2. About the same
3. Less necessary
4. Can't answer

e) 1. More difficult
2. About the same
3. Less difficult
4. Can't answer

*Any comments:*
53. Do you think that the 4th Television Channel should be set aside in Wales for the broadcasting of Welsh language programmes?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know

54. What is your main reason for saying:
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Don't know

55. If and when a Welsh Language Television channel comes to be implemented, it seems likely that it will be run jointly by BBC Wales and HTV. Are you in favour of this plan?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know

Why/Why not?

56. a) Do you think there should be a separate broadcasting authority for Wales?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know

b) (If Yes) What kind?
57. a) Are you in agreement with the present policy of developing two separate radio services for Wales - one in English, the other in Welsh?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know

   b) (If Yes) Why?

   c) (If No) Why not?

58. a) Do you think there are any advantages in the fact that BBC Wales is part of the British Broadcasting Corporation?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know

   b) (If Yes) What in particular

   c) What about disadvantages?

   d) On balance do the advantages, would you say, outweigh the disadvantages?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know
59. I'd like you now to consider some of the various responsibilities or obligations a broadcaster in Wales may feel he is motivated by and try to tell me how much they matter for you. How would you then personally rate the following obligations of the broadcaster in Wales? (Show list) Would you say, in each case, whether you consider them: Very important, quite important, or not very important?

| a) To meet the needs of the service and work wherever one is needed | 1. Very important | 2. Quite important | 3. Not very important |
| b) To please your superiors in order to gain promotion | 1. Very important | 2. Quite important | 3. Not very important |
| c) To prove to colleagues that your work is good | 1. Very important | 2. Quite important | 3. Not very important |
| d) To fulfill yourself first | 1. Very important | 2. Quite important | 3. Not very important |
| e) To entertain the audience | 1. Very important | 2. Quite important | 3. Not very important |
| f) To raise the cultural and educational levels of the audience | 1. Very important | 2. Quite important | 3. Not very important |
| g) To promote the good image of BBC Wales | 1. Very important | 2. Quite important | 3. Not very important |
| h) To preserve and foster Welsh culture | 1. Very important | 2. Quite important | 3. Not very important |

60. If you had to put them in order of importance, how would you place them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a)</th>
<th>b)</th>
<th>c)</th>
<th>d)</th>
<th>e)</th>
<th>f)</th>
<th>g)</th>
<th>h)</th>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
61. Can you think of any other obligation which motivates you more strongly than those listed?

62. When you are actually making or contributing to a programme, how conscious are you of your potential audience? Are you

1. Very conscious
2. Fairly conscious
3. Not at all conscious
4. Can't answer/Don't know

63. How much do you try to differentiate in your own mind between various kinds of audiences when making or contributing to a programme? Would you, for example, take into account the difference between, say, a network audience and a Wales audience, or between the Welsh speaking audience in Wales and the non-Welsh speaking audience in Wales?

1. Very much indeed
2. To some extent
3. To hardly any extent
4. Can't answer/Don't know

64. Faced with trying to define them, how would you actually describe the characteristics of these different audiences?

1. The network audience
2. The total Wales audience

3. The Welsh speaking audience in Wales

4. The non-Welsh speaking audience in Wales

Additional comments (if any)
65. Contact with an audience can be made in a number of ways. I wonder if you would tell me how much you experience these particular forms of audience contact and response?

1. Letters (How many, how often, kinds, reaction to, etc.)

2. Telephone calls

3. Response from Family/Friends

4. Audience Research
5. Colleagues

6. Other

66. a) Do you see Audience Research reports on your own programmes?
   1. Regularly
   2. Sometimes
   3. Rarely
   4. Never

b) (If Yes) Are you at all influenced by them and if so in what way?

67. a) In contributing to or constructing a programme, do you ever make reference in your mind to a particular person or group of people you think might be in the potential audience
   1. Yes
   2. No

b) If Yes, can you give me an example of this?
68. In trying to assess your success after producing or contributing to a programme, how much would you say, are you influenced by the following. (Show list) Would you say you are influenced: Very much indeed; To some extent; or To hardly any extent?

a) Your own personal judgment
   1. Very much indeed
   2. To some extent
   3. To hardly any extent
   4. Can't answer

b) The comments of your superiors
   1. Very much indeed
   2. To some extent
   3. To hardly any extent
   4. Can't answer

c) The reactions of professional colleagues
   1. Very much indeed
   2. To some extent
   3. To hardly any extent
   4. Can't answer

d) Audience research
   1. Very much indeed
   2. To some extent
   3. To hardly any extent
   4. Can't answer

e) The comments of critics in the Press
   1. Very much indeed
   2. To some extent
   3. To hardly any extent
   4. Can’t answer

f) Reaction from relations, neighbours, friends and acquaintances
   1. Very much indeed
   2. To some extent
   3. To hardly any extent
   4. Can’t answer
69. Are you at all aware in the course of your work of certain pressures upon you to conform – either in terms of choice of subject matter or treatment?

70. Are certain subject areas taboo?
APPENDIX II

INDEX OF PRODUCERS
### APPENDIX II

#### INDEX OF PRODUCERS

(A) CARDIFF PRODUCERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code No.</th>
<th>Title of post</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Prog. Dept/Output Area</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Brief Description of Work Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Editor, 'Good Morning Wales'</td>
<td>PE</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edited morning news and current affairs magazine programme; also responsible for occasional general interest programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Television Producer, Education</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Primarily programmes for schools - geographical and environmental; also occasional documentaries and features for general audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Television Producer, Features and Documentaries</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arts and general features/film documentaries for BBC 1/2 and BBC Wales.</td>
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<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Editor, 'Kane on Friday'</td>
<td>PE</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edited weekly TV current affairs programme; occasional documentaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Music Producer</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Serious music - orchestral, chamber, organ, choral etc. - mainly for Radio 3, but also for Radio Wales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog., Dept./Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>R</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Television Producer, Sport</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Director/Producer of Welsh sporting events, especially Rugby including overseas tours; also studio sports magazines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Head of Music</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Mus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Responsible for music output of region; undertook some limited share of production work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Religious Broadcasting Organiser</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Rel</td>
<td>TVr2</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Primarily active as a TV producer of 'religious' programmes, but also contributed to production of wide range of radio output, including services, magazine programmes etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Children's Programmes Organiser</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>TVr</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Organiser and active working producer of various series for children of all ages; no Network or English output at present nor radio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Television Producer, Education</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>TVr</td>
<td>W/r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Concerned for several years (in radio too before coming to TV) with second language teaching for children and adults - this was main field of expertise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Television Producer, Drama</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Dr</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Drama, mainly in Welsh, but some English also, including Network.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog./Dept/Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Senior Producer, Television Features and Documentaries</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Output leader of TV features and documentaries; experienced producer of wide range of output for Wales and Network.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sports Organiser</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>TVr</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Organiser and working producer of weekly sports magazine and director of outside sporting events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Television Producer, Education</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Primarily schools - history and archaeology mainly, but also some adult and general interest programmes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Producer, 'Good Morning Wales'</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Worked a basic shift rota for the daily radio programme; occasional radio documentaries; writer and poet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Producer, 'Heddiw'</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Producer and film director for evening magazine programme in Welsh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Assistant Producer, Sport</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>Rt</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Producer of 3 Saturday radio sports magazines; also various TV series on sport, including outside broadcasts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Television Producer, Features and Documentaries</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mainly countryside/gardening programmes in Welsh; occasional documentaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog./Dept/Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Editor 'Heddiw'</td>
<td>PE</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Editor and producer evening magazine programme in Welsh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>General Programme Producer, Radio</td>
<td>PE</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Editor/producer of morning radio magazine in Welsh 'Helo Bobol'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Television Producer, Children's Programme</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Various regular Welsh language series for children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Television Producer, Light Entertainment</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PE</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Various Welsh language series, especially on Welsh pop/rock music scene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Television Producer, Light Entertainment</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>LE</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E/W</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Many showbiz, comedy and entertainment programmes; some network.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Radio Producer, Education</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Music and Movement' specialist for juniors and infants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Senior Producer, Drama</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Dr</td>
<td>TVr</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Series producer Welsh soap opera 'Pobol y Cwm'; many other series and 'one off' plays including Network e.g. How Green Was My Valley. Nominal oversight of radio drama output too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog./Dept/ Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Television Producer, Features and Documentaries</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>Main programme interests in Welsh literary/artistic and allied subjects, also topography and travel features.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Television Producer, Features and Documentaries</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>R/DG</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>Ex 'Heddiw' producer now working in general interest features; TV editor National Eisteddfod programmes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Television Producer, Light Entertainment</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>LE</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td>The Welsh pop scene, also situation comedy script writer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Television Producer, Light Entertainment</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>LE</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>Light music series, usually built around 'star' performers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Producer 'Good Morning Wales'</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Newest member of 'Good Morning Wales' production team.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Television Producer, News</td>
<td>PE</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Producer of nightly news review 'Wales Today'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog./Dept/ Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Senior Music Producer</td>
<td>SP*</td>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chief producer of orchestral programmes with BBC Welsh Symphony Orchestra; acted virtually as orchestral manager, organising tours etc; also various occasional music series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Music Producer</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Apart from orchestral programmes, special interest in choral music; conductor of BBC Welsh Chorus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Television Producer, Children's</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>Producer of weekly children's magazine 'Billidowcar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Radio Producer, Education</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>Various drama/features series for schools, including religious broadcasts and second language teaching.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>General Programme Producer, Radio</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td></td>
<td>Member of 'Helo Bobol' production team; various other occasional general interest programmes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Senior Radio Producer, Education</td>
<td>SP*</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sole producer of programmes for schools in English. Concentrated mainly on history and current affairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog. Dept/Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
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<td>L</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Television Producer, Features and Documentaries</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Almost exclusively a film maker; some award-winning films; few studio programmes. Poet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Television Producer, Education</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Currently science programmes for schools; ex radio producer of features/second language series. Writer and Playwright.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Senior Producer, Light Entertainment</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>LE</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E/W</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wide range of output including network series such as Max Boyce and 'Poems &amp; Pints'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Television Producer, Features and Documentaries</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Primarily a film maker (former film editor) with a predominant interest in the arts; also produced LE series in the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Radio Producer, Education</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Newest member of Education Department; working on a literature series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Radio Producer, Education</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nursery school series; also miscellaneous factual series for juniors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Producer 'Good Morning Wales'</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E/W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Member of 'Good Morning Wales' production team; also occasional series, mainly folk music. Currently on attachment to TV LE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog./Dept/Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
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<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Television Producer Drama</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Dr</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Series and one-off plays, mainly Welsh but also some English. Ex actor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Commentator</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chiefly popular music and 'Down Your Way' type series/record request programmes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>General Programme Producer, Radio +</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interested mainly in radio features (formerly Staff Features Producer) but also consumer affairs, women's subjects and the arts. Novelist and TV playwright.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Senior Producer, Radio</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mainly active in audience programmes and outside broadcasts, but high output also in general talks/discussion field, including Network; co-ordinated work of other radio producers in this area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog. Dept/Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
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<td>L</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Producer, Current Affairs, Radio</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N/C</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Member of production team of daily Welsh language news and current affairs sequences on VHF radio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Head of Production (Bangor)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In charge of all Bangor output; did occasional production work; particular interest in the arts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Religious Broadcasting Assistant, Bangor</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Rel</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Producer of fortnightly Sunday magazine in Welsh, and shared with RBO the output of the department in radio generally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Regional News Assistant</td>
<td>Pn</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Worked alternate weeks as TV news sub-editor and producer of lunch time news/current affairs sequence 'Cyn Un'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Music Producer</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Covered' music events in North Wales for broadcasting, including BBC WSO tours; also active in field of popular music - choral singing and hymns; many series for Radio 2 in the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Producer, Current Affairs, Radio</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Member of production team of daily Welsh language news and current affairs sequences on VHF radio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog. Dept/ Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
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<td>L</td>
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<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Agricultural Producer (Radio &amp; TV)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ag</td>
<td>TVr2</td>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Producer of specialist agricultural programmes, and general 'countryside' and allied programmes e.g. gardening. Duties included providing regular contributions to Network series on radio and television.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>General Programme Producer</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>General interest programmes. Currently producer of weekly series on Welsh pop music and Sunday evening talks miscellany for 'older' listeners.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Regional News Assistant</td>
<td>Pn</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>Worked alternate weeks as TV news sub-editor and producer of lunch time news anc current affairs sequence 'Cyn Un'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>General Programme Producer, Radio +</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>Employed as producer/presenter of some evening current affairs programmes and of a monthly feature/documentary series. Poet and novelist.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>General Programme Producer, Radio +</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Employed as producer/presenter of various lunch-time radio discussion series on literature and natural history; also as producer of Welsh editions of 'Morning Story'. Poet, former TV reporter.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code No.</td>
<td>Title of Post</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Prog./Dept/Output Area</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Brief Description of Work Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Talks/General Programme Producer</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>W/e</td>
<td></td>
<td>Main field of output - literature and the arts in the Welsh language; also some drama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>General Programme Producer</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>Programme output reflected his predominant interest in the Welsh rural community - its music and 'folk' culture generally.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Editor, Radio Current Affairs Programmes, Bangor</td>
<td>PE</td>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>Editor of Bangor's Welsh language output in current affairs; also acted as producer of one of the daily VHF sequences 'Cyn 6'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>Television</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Radio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Senior Producer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP*</td>
<td>Senior Producer, but without responsibility for output area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE</td>
<td>Programme Editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Producer</td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>Contract Staff</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/CA</td>
<td>News and Current Affairs</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/DG</td>
<td>Features and Documentaries/General Programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>Music</td>
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<td>Ag</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr</td>
<td>Drama</td>
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<td>Sp</td>
<td>Sport</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LE</td>
<td>Light Entertainment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>Children's Programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>Education (Schools and Further Education)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>Might undertake some radio production</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>r2</td>
<td>Substantial involvement in radio production also from time to time</td>
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<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>Undertook television production from time to time</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Language of Output</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Working in the English language only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Working in the Welsh language only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E/W</td>
<td>Working to about the same extent in both languages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E/w</td>
<td>Working in English more than in Welsh</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W/e</td>
<td>Working in Welsh more than in English</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Output included Network programmes</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>News Assistant/Producer (Bangor)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX III

MEMORANDUM FROM
HEAD OF PROGRAMMES, BBC WALES, 2 MARCH 1978
Many of you have asked why audience research statistics for Wales are not published. The reason is that it is difficult to analyse spasmodic results in a coherent manner, but certain trends are becoming clearer as a result of a variety of statistics, based on a variety of samples designed to discover different things.

1. A sample survey specifically designed to confirm a suspected high audience for the Wales v Ireland Triple Crown rugby match shown exclusively on BBC Wales indicated that 45% of the whole of Wales watched the game live. As a standard comparison, the most popular BBC show during Christmas, Morecambe and Wise, attracted an audience of 50%.

2. The highest ratings in Wales after Rugby internationals are likely to be for Max Boyce, who was registering some 10% of the U.K. in his recent series, and over 15% of the Welsh audience during his last series for BBC Wales. ("Hawkmoor" also attracted 10% of the U.K. audience).

3. The highest weekly and daily audience for BBC Wales programmes are for "Sports Line-Up" and "Wales Today". "Sports Line-Up" seems to attract audiences of the order of 12%. A similar size audience watches "Wales Today", although one sample designed to compare audiences for regional news programmes throughout the U.K. has sometimes registered 16% for this programme, and has registered it as the highest audience puller of all such magazines - but the sample is suspect as being too small in size, leading to too great a degree of error. It would be wiser to acknowledge the order of 12% as being more realistic.

4. Another regular survey which compares radio audiences in the commercial radio areas shows that during the course of a whole
week, Radio Wales and Radio Cymru combined (and this before the opening of the Carmel VHF transmitter for that area) attract the same size audiences as both Radio 2 and Swansea Sound - between 11% and 12% of a catchment area of some 800,000 people. The same survey shows Radio 1 well ahead of all these services at 20%. Swansea Sound figures show they are in front, but this for a different sample in a smaller catchment area.

5. English-language audiences on BBC Wales have been boosted by radio development. Figures show that Radio Wales is doing better than Swansea Sound when we are on the air, until 9.45 a.m. and that after that period Swansea Sound takes over until lunch-time - the period that Radio Wales hope to develop in November this year.

6. The 9.5 programmes, particularly Alun Williams and Wyn Calvin, draw higher audiences than their Radio 4 counterparts. There has also been an upward trend in the callers of the Open Line programme.

7. "Good Morning, Wales!" maintains consistently high figures. Indeed, only in Ulster do more people listen in the early morning - obviously owing to an obsession there for more news bulletins. Very few people in Wales listen to "Today".

8. H.T.V. published last week a set of figures based on a small sample in Welsh-speaking rural areas and showed a deep penetration of both Welsh language TV and radio programmes, viz.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Television</th>
<th>Radio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pobol y Cwm</td>
<td>Helo Bobol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y Dydd (HTV)</td>
<td>News Programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reddiw</td>
<td>(Cyn 7,8,9,1,5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sion a Siân (HTV)</td>
<td>Caniadaeth y Cysegr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bywyd (HTV)</td>
<td>Wythnos I’w Chofo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twndish (BBC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BBC figures confirm these trends and also note consistently high figures for "Dewch am Dro" and "OediFa'r Bore". There is evidence of a growing VHF audience, particularly for early morning programmes, which should also be boosted by the opening of two major transmitters.

This note is designed to explain basic trends and to report a higher degree of viewing and listening than some people feared in the past. Audience research statistics are not, however, the be all and end all of broadcasting. Quality broadcasting often has different criteria. But it is good to know that people do listen and watch — and as the ladies in FEX will tell you — phone up in their 1,000's when things go wrong.

GERAINST STANLEY JONES

/ ec
APPENDIX IV

THE AUDIENCE IN WALES : Extract from BBC Wales Memorandum to
House of Commons Select Committee on Welsh Affairs, 17 December, 1980
THE AUDIENCE IN WALES

7.1 As part of its regular Daily Survey of Listening and Viewing, the BBC's Audience Research Department has been conducting about 170* interviews each day in Wales. Although the number of interviews is insufficient upon which to base reliable estimates of daily audiences to individual programmes, the sample is sufficiently robust to provide monthly and quarterly estimates of the average numbers of listeners and viewers to programmes on Radio Wales, BBC Wales and HTV (Wales).

7.2 When considering the figures obtained in this way for programmes in Welsh, on radio or television, it has to be borne in mind that the geographic, age and social distribution of the Welsh-speaking minority is different from that of the population as a whole. The BBC in Wales makes use of the audience research results it receives more to identify trends of audiences and their relative sizes than to judge the absolute size of audiences for particular series of services.

7.3 Bearing these reservations in mind, the following is an attempt to give a representative selection of relevant figures for programmes and services in Wales (all figures relate to the first quarter of 1980):

TELEVISION

Regular programmes in English (as a percentage of the total population of Wales aged 5+ (2,582,300)):

- Wales Today 17%
- Week-In Week Out 5%
- Spons- Line-Up 7%

Regular programmes in Welsh (as a percentage of the Welsh-speakers in Wales, assuming 20% Welsh-speakers):

- Heddiw 6%
- Pobol y Cwm 14%
- Glas y Dorian 12%
- Programmes (Bilidcawr for Children) {Pobol Bach/Un Noson Dywyll 3%

* For economy reasons, this has recently been reduced to 100.
The percentage share of total listening between the available services in Wales is shown below, together with the UK shares for comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>IN WALES</th>
<th>UK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio Wales</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>National Region Radio 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Cymru</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Radio 1 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio 1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Radio 2 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio 2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Radio 3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Radio 4 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio 4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Radio Luxembourg -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Luxembourg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ILR 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILR</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>BBC Local Radio 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4 In addition to collecting regular data on the numbers of listeners and viewers, the BBC's Audience Research Department also conducts special surveys from time to time of a more qualitative, in-depth nature. The most recent example of such a study took place towards the end of 1979 when a large-scale survey* was mounted with adults aged 16 and above, to study the public's perception of the BBC and its services. Within Wales, respondents were asked about Radio Wales and Radio Cymru together: when the study is repeated, the services will be considered separately. It may, however, be of interest to give the results of a question on the frequency of listening (every day, most days, etc.) to Radio Wales and Radio Cymru:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Every day</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most days</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less often</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, 45% of radio listeners in Wales make some use of either or both of BBC Wales' services.

* Assessment Monitor of Broadcasting Output, BBC Audience Research, published Pub. 104. A IV/2
7.5 Wherever possible, the BBC also draws on other sources of information. For example, a market research survey commissioned by HTV News Division in 1978 sought the views of 500 fluent Welsh-speakers in selected Welsh-speaking areas. The survey showed that:

1. 67% of the Welsh-speaking sample had listened to a Welsh language radio programme either on BBC or ILR during the preceding fortnight.

2. 37% had heard a Radio Cymru News programme during the preceding fortnight.

3. 27% had heard Radio Cymru's "Helo Bobol" during the previous fortnight.

4. 33% of Welsh speakers did not listen to any Welsh radio programme.

5. 96% of the sample had not been to a theatre during the previous month.

6. 86% had not seen any form of live Welsh language entertainment professional or amateur, during the previous month.

7. 97% laid no claim to be a regular reader of the weekly Welsh newspaper 'Y Faner'.

Radio and TV were therefore the only mass media operating through the medium of the Welsh language. The survey also showed that only 10% did not watch any TV programme, and that the viewing audience for individual TV programmes tend to be at least twice the audience for the same type of radio programme. The following Welsh language programmes were listed as the most popular:

- **Y Dydd (HTV):** Seen by 66% during the previous fortnight
- **Heddiw (BBC):** 59%
- **Pobol y Cwm (BBC):** 55%
- **Sion a Sian (HTV):** 46%

These results are not necessarily incompatible with the BBC figures given above, as a "daily average" may only be a fifth the size of the "regular or occasional" average.

7.6 Statistical results are not, of course, the only information which the BBC receives about its programme services. Letters and telephone calls are received from viewers and listeners regularly and production staff also have many personal contacts, especially in a small nation such as Wales. Although it would undoubtedly be interesting to have detailed statistics on individual programmes on
both radio and television, the question must be asked of whether the high cost of providing this would be justified, given that the purpose of the BBC's programme services in Welsh is not simply to maximize audiences, but to meet the cultural and linguistic needs of a society in which these issues assume such great importance.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8. Television

8.1 The BBC warmly welcomes the fact that a joint BBC/ITV service of programmes in Welsh will now be developed on the fourth television network in Wales. This will relieve many of the frustrations of present television arrangements in Wales and will allow the development of a service in the Welsh language while minimising the effect of the loss of networked programmes in English.

8.2 It is recognised that there will still be some deprivation of networked programmes in English in Wales, the programmes on the UTV-2 network which will be displaced by the joint service in Welsh. The BBC urges that ways of providing an additional network in Wales should be actively pursued, while recognising that this will not be possible for many years.

8.3 The success of the joint service will to a large extent depend upon the programme-making resources which are made available to it. The BBC is now drawing up its programme production plans for the service (which depend on a number of issues still to be resolved, such as the pattern of transmissions between the two organisations); but it has to be pointed out that the BBC's ability to fund any new development depends directly on the finance available to it.

9. Radio

The BBC believes that the decision to develop separate services for Wales in Welsh and in English has been justified by the success of Radio Cymru and Radio Wales in developing their audiences. Radio Cymru, in particular, has proved that there is sufficient broadcasting talent available in Welsh to justify a separate service to which the audience will respond with enthusiasm. It was fortunate that the technical possibility existed for the two services to be developed separately, causing only a very marginal amount of deprivation for either linguistic group in Wales.

sc/pj
29.9.80
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