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Listen and Learn: Examining the Role of Schools Radio Broadcasting in Scotland's Classrooms

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Abstract

This thesis presents a historical-cultural geography of BBC schools radio broadcasting in Scotland. Through an interpretive engagement with mixed archival sources materials, it considers the ways in which the BBC researched, produced, and transmitted radio broadcasts to classrooms across the nation, positioning the medium centrally in children's primary and secondary education. When tuning in to radio programmes, children were exposed to different voices and sounds from across the nation, and as such, were encouraged to understand Scotland's past and present, and its place in the world, through differing subjects on the curriculum. By focusing on four different and interrelated themes for analysis, this thesis examines the regulation, production, transmission, and reception of BBC schools radio programmes across Scotland. First, it examines the new media landscape into which schools radio emerged, and the ways in which broadcasts were shaped and regulated by specialist councils and committees. Second, it explores how diverse lesson content was crafted for radio, and how producers incorporated various methods of audio production to engage listening children by bringing the outside world into the classroom. Third, it traces programme content from geography, and geography-adjacent, radio series to analyse the ways that lessons taught children about their country, thus constructing a unique geographical imagining of Scotland. Fourth, it investigates how classroom teachers and their pupils were intended to receive these lessons, absorb the material, and apply it to activities within and beyond the classroom. As an integrated piece, this thesis highlights the significance of listening and learning from radio as it distinctively engaged children with sound, simultaneously shaping new social imaginaries where radio directed pupils' understanding of nationhood, citizenship, and geography.

Lay Summary

This thesis is a history of BBC schools radio broadcasting in Scotland. By using material from archives, it demonstrates how wireless broadcasts were important to classroom education. When listening to the radio, children would hear a variety of voices and sounds from across Scotland. Through various school subjects, children learned about the country's history, heritage, and geography. This thesis focuses on four main components of schools radio broadcasting in order to provide a full account of its operations. First is a focus on how schools radio related to other radio programmes on air at the time of its creation, and how the BBC formed councils and committees to oversee schools radio operations. Second is an analysis of how a team of producers would creatively use sound production and storytelling techniques to make the lessons more engaging for children. Third is an examination of lessons from geography and geography-related subjects and how the content of these lessons taught children about Scotland. Fourth is an investigation into how it was intended for children and teachers to listen to the broadcasts in the classroom, learn from what they were hearing, and follow up these lessons with additional activities and fieldtrips. This is an important project because learning through sound was a distinct mode of education, and these lessons provided a unique understanding of Scotland created specifically for young radio listeners.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been solely composed by myself. It has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous publication for a degree. Except where indicated throughout the thesis by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Signed: Adele Liu Kramber
September 2025

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my dearest friend and sister, Lily Kim McCaslin.

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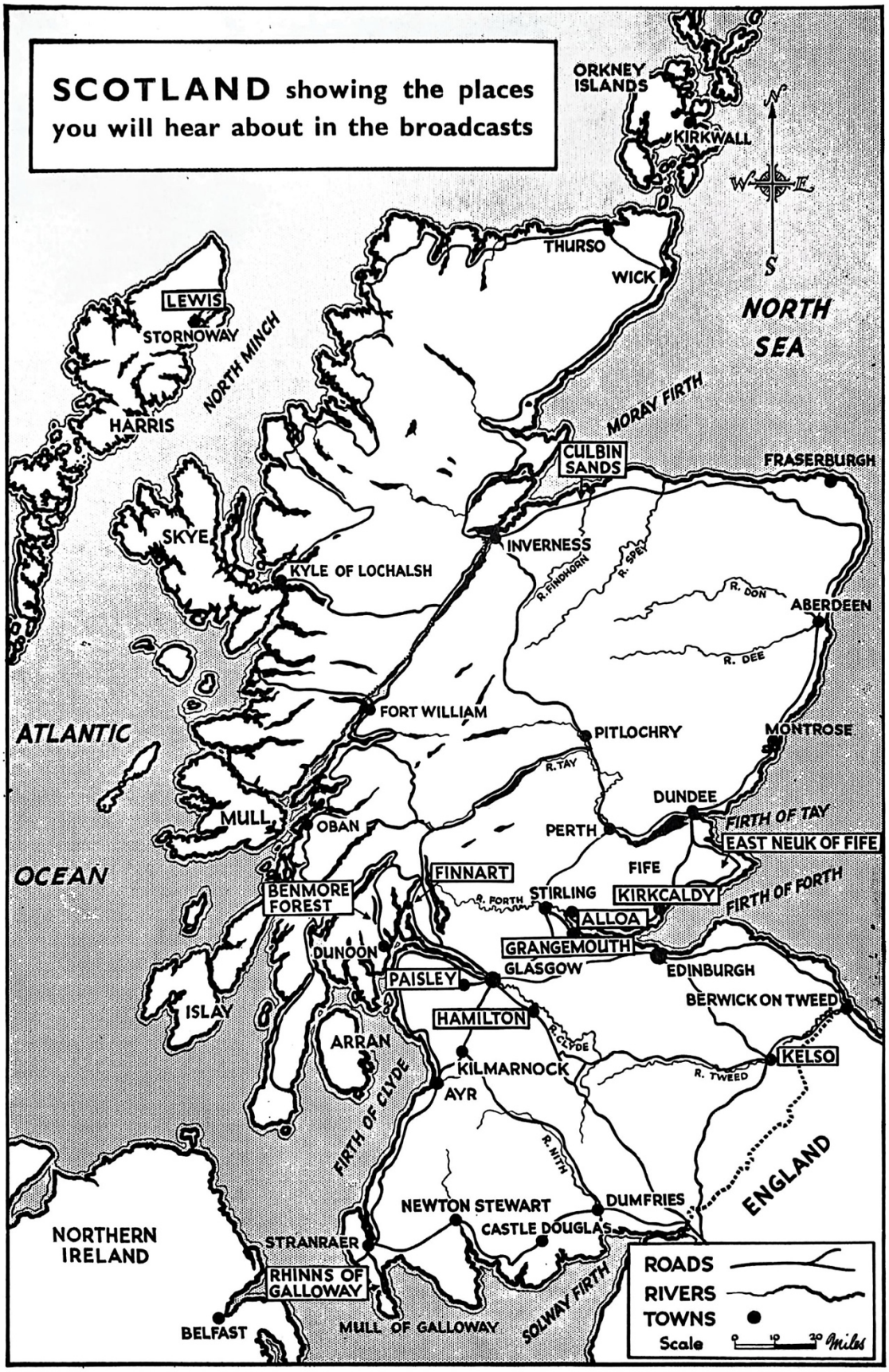

Figure 1- Map of Scotland for a schools radio broadcast. Source: NLS (1954).

Chapter 1: Introduction

At the Heart of the BBC

The story of children and the BBC does not begin with schools radio broadcasting. Not quite. Rather, it can be traced back to the second day of the Company's presence on British airwaves.[1] The BBC's first official programme was broadcast from London on the 14th of November 1922. From the onset, the BBC recognised children as a part of their audience, dedicating pockets of airtime to young listeners. Only a day after the first broadcast, on the 15th of November 1922, station 5IT in Birmingham and 2ZY in Manchester transmitted programmes created specifically for children. It was station 2ZY, however, that took the lead with the production of *Kiddies Corner,* the first programme of its kind, offering a "mixture of music, songs, stories and games, with content for younger and older listeners in two individual slots" (Healy 2023, p.588). Soon after, another dedicated children's programme entered the airwaves. Comparable to *Kiddie's Corner*, *Children's Hour* was a regularly transmitted programme outside of school hours, typically listened to alongside family members in the domestic environment.

More broadly, the BBC was inadvertently creating a new social role within society: the 'listener', a radio audience member who embodied the Company's idealised values of listening (Wall 2018). In accordance with the BBC's values, listening was an active, concentrated exercise, and through this practice, listeners were able to adopt a distinct morality and an enlightened, culturally informed taste (Scannell 1990). In many respects, the listening child was not so different from the listening adult, being someone who possessed a distinct malleability of behaviours and interests. These roles, however, were not entirely comparable, for the BBC constructed a specific characterisation of the child as an "innocent but wayward listener" (Bignell 2017, p.3) whose tastes could be cultivated within the home, alongside parents, by tuning in to radio programmes. Sir John Reith, first General Manager of the BBC, emphasised the virtues of a domestic listening environment, aiming to pull children away from the "squalor of streets and backyards" (Reith 1924, p.185). By these means, the BBC was conceived of as a maker of a model citizenry, enticing children back towards the domestic realm through radio, and persuading them to spend leisure time at home as well as out-of-doors. In time, with growing familiarity, children were expected to become 'good listeners', typified by qualities of discipline, obedience, engagement, and responsiveness (Lacey 2016). The child ultimately became an ideal, for the BBC focused on specific goals in their programming such as the enhancement of cultural welfare amongst youth (Lacey 2016), a pedagogical induction to active listening (Bignell 2017), and a broader reception of listeners and listening spaces across Britain.

[1] The BBC was founded as the British Broadcasting Company on the 18th of October 1922. On the 1st of January 1927, the BBC became the British Broadcasting Corporation as established under a Royal Charter. Any reference of 'Company' refers to the BBC pre-charter, and any reference of 'Corporation' refers to the BBC post-charter.

With the creation of radio broadcasts for schools, which form the focus of this thesis, the BBC was in a position to enter the education system, informed by guiding pedagogic principles of what to teach and how to teach. Furthermore, the BBC would be able to expand its reach into an untouched institutional space: the school. Spatiality marks an important distinction between radio for schools and programmes such as *Kiddie's Corner* and *Children's Hour.* The latter were crafted for the domestic space—a realm shaped by family values and around acts of leisure, rather than by an authoritative presence, the schoolteacher, and marked scheduling around the organisation of the school day. Distinctively, schools radio was directed "not to 'children' but to 'schools'" (Barclay 2025, p.190), and as such, it was "grounded in the conventions of classroom education" (Dolan 2003, p.334), mediated through different means, and created for vastly different purposes. Despite these variances, both forms of child-focused broadcasting positioned young people at the heart of the BBC's operations, creating a distinctive listenership catered for from the very start of the Company's history.

While *Children's Hour* declined in listenership, ceasing transmission in 1964, BBC schools radio only continued to grow in popularity. In the same year, Scotland alone had 2,979 schools with listening sets, with 90.9% of schools regularly tuning in to educational broadcasts.[2] It seems contradictory that despite the parallel, influential relationship between children and the BBC, there are still missing pieces in the institution's history, particularly with regard to its young listenership. There are many possibilities which can account for this lapse in documentation. For one, the history of the BBC as an institution is extraordinarily extensive. The preface of Hendy's (2022) social history of the Corporation leads with a weighted question: "Is a history of the BBC even possible?" (p.xi). Right from the outset, programming covered a vast network, with 19 stations transmitting to different localities across Britain.[3] Even with the regional and national consolidation of broadcasts, programming grew exponentially, therefore expanding the reach of the BBC into ordinary daily life and British culture. As Hendy (2022, p.xi) continues, "[s]till, the BBC demands our attention. We can't hope to understand modern Britain—its politics, its culture, its sense of itself—without understanding the role of the BBC in the life of the nation." Schools radio was an integral component of the BBC, and thereby a fundamental piece in understanding a wider social and cultural history of Great Britain.

Although not listened to by all, schools programmes were still a defining feature of classroom activities, providing a scheduled (and normally welcome) interruption in the

[2] Scottish Education Department (1964) *Report on the Flyleaf on School Broadcasting; Form E2, Part 1*. Internal Scottish Education Department report. Unpublished.

[3] 'Great Britain' will primarily be used throughout this thesis accepting for the fact that 'United Kingdom' does apply during latter stages of the period under study.

child's school day.[4] Furthermore, schools programming has endured, never completely disappearing from the schedules, and rather adapting into a more modern format through online provision. Still, the current chronicling of BBC histories does contain a glaring omission. For children to have been so central in the BBC's history, its founding, its values, and its mission, particularly through schools radio, why is it that these programmes have yet to be further explored?

To clarify, the history of BBC schools radio is by no means forgotten. It is, however, largely untold. Memories of being a child and listening to these programmes do persist, but they simply have slipped through the structure of formal documentation. Archived recordings of BBC schools radio programmes, accessed via online platforms such as YouTube and Facebook, offer evidence of nostalgic feelings as users post to recount personal memories of early listening.

In a YouTube upload of the programme, *Music and Movement,* one post recalls the physicality of embodied learning and moving about the classroom: "… 'Now children, find a space.' A piano would play, and we would each spin round arms outstretched either side such that we were automatically distanced from our neighbours…"[5]

In the Facebook group, "Born in the 40s, grew up in the 50s, started a family in the 60s", one member's reminiscences highlight the uniqueness of live-to-air listening in the school environment: "I was 5 years old and taking part in one of these lessons when the programme was interrupted, and we were told to sit down. The presenter announced that the king had died. I remember the teacher crying. 6th February 1952."[6]

Conclusively, a comment under a video of the programme, *Singing Together*, simply states, "This was a big part of childhood."[7]

While researching this project, a number of people— who, back in the day, were listening children —have shared their memories. Much of the time, when I bring up the subject of my research, I bear witness to people unearthing half-forgotten memories of radio as a presence in the classroom. These reminiscences often focus on the material form of technology used, whether it be live sound from a loudspeaker, pre-recorded content from

[4] There were, however, reports of "housewives [*sic*]" who would listen along to the broadcasts while their children were in school, therefore expanding the audience of schools radio both by age and by place. Ellis, G.S.M. (1933) 'Putting the Schoolchild in Touch with the World', *The Listener*, 27 Sep., p. 457.
[5] Boughrood (2014) Comment on: Morris, B. 'B.B.C. MUSIC & MOVEMENT (1950s.) (made with Spreaker)', *YouTube*. [Online]. Comment posted on 2021. Available from: https://tinyurl.com/3mf7ac3y (Accessed: 21 May 2025).
[6] Patricia Probin (2024). Comment on: Born in the 40s, grew up in the 50s, started a family in the 60s, *Facebook*. [Online]. Comment posted on 30 April 2024. Available from https://tinyurl.com/3dh63yym (Accessed: 21 May 2025).
[7] Markelliott4250 (2020). Comment on: Fraser, G. 'Singing Together Summer 1990 Programmes 1 & 2', *YouTube*. [Online]. Comment posted on 2021. Available from: https://tinyurl.com/6mds9apv (Accessed: 21 May 2025).

the cassette tape, or recollections of the layout of the space in which they listened and learned. One former listener recounted, "Oh yes…*Singing Together*. All sitting in the teachers living room, 3 of us in the armchair. Single teacher school with only 8 or 9 of us."

These snippets of nostalgia serve as a demonstration of the everlasting influence of schools radio broadcasting on the lives of former listening children—an influence which has not been thoroughly understood, analysed, or documented through scholarly means. Furthermore, they provide evidence of the fact that schools radio, although structured as an educational mechanism, was, in fact, enjoyable and entertaining. In this thesis, the route taken into the world of schools radio is via archival source material rather than oral history. In the early stages of this project, I intended to pursue oral history interviews with formal pupils, teachers, and producers involved in Scottish schools radio broadcasting. As the research progressed, however, it became clear that the archival material was far more extensive than I initially anticipated. The depth of surviving pamphlets, broadcasts, scripts, meeting minutes, teachers' notes, and institutional reports provided a substantial evidential base from which I could establish a firm historical account of schools radio broadcasting documenting the institutional narrative of developing wireless education, the mediation of this practice in the pedagogical realm, and the compilation and analysis of listener research through structured reports. I recognise that through varying oral histories, I would be able to piece together a narrative which captures a range of intentions and experiences—from memories of classroom listening to accounts of production meetings and studio recording sessions. While these possibilities may have yielded valuable reflection, this methodological shift is not a trade-off, but rather an opportunity. This thesis is only the first step in many towards fully retelling the tale of BBC schools radio broadcasting. Furthermore, it is important to note that by foregrounding archival evidence, my research maintains clear limits around what can and cannot be claimed about the experiences of schools radio broadcasting, ensuring that my interpretations of listening and meaning-making are grounded in archival trace rather than memory and testimony.

Through a collaborative effort by myself, my academic supervisors, and my cultural heritage sector supervisors representing institutional input from the National Library of Scotland (NLS) and BBC Scotland, there have been many opportunities to unearth other fond appreciations for an educational medium which has now faded from the airwaves. Notably, the timeline for my research inquiries aligned with three institutional centenaries with a bearing on my project. The first centenary occurred in 2022 during the first year of my doctoral studies: the 100-year anniversary of the BBC's founding. This centenary enabled and supported my efforts to understand the Corporation as a lasting influence in British life, as well as providing opportunities to participate directly in a collaborative placement designed to explore Scotland's specific role in the Corporation's history. The following year, in 2023, my two heritage partners, BBC Scotland and the National Library of Scotland, both celebrated the centenary of Scottish broadcasting, deepening the discussion and celebration of Scotland's own media histories, providing

me with the opportunity to speak publicly about the vision and purpose of schools radio. Closing out the cluster of centenaries with specific significance to my research was the 100th anniversary of BBC educational programming in 2024. Marking the anniversary, social and cultural consideration was given to schools broadcasting, and its public function, as well as more celebratory treatments by the BBC. Alongside my own enjoyment at these landmark events, however, was an awareness of the fact that this meant there were a century's worth of stories yet to be uncovered.

While a century's worth of schools radio broadcasting history could span the entirety of Great Britain, the focus of this thesis is on Scotland's experience. Though this could be read as a decision to spotlight only part of the possible field of study, my own intention is to enlarge and expand the story of Scotland, amplifying its importance in the greater history of schools radio broadcasting. Perhaps one of the more glaring omissions in the BBC's own sense of itself to date is that schools radio actually began in Scotland; a fact commonly overlooked in various sources that either skim over or entirely omit any acknowledgement of the first broadcast to schools which took place in Glasgow on the 24th of February 1924.[8,9,10] This landmark broadcast is typically eclipsed by what has generally been treated as the first 'official' broadcasts to schools across Britain by London station 2LO on the 4th of April 1924.

The cultural significance of this topic does not rest solely on the back of these centenaries. Scottish schools radio programming needs to be understood as a unique enterprise, tailored to children living and educated in the country, operating under a different umbrella organisation, and according to pedagogical values differing from those of its English counterpart. Schools radio broadcasts from Scotland invited children to think locally and regionally, and to build knowledge of Scotland's place in the world and their own place within it. Such a version of self and nation might reasonably be interpreted as a powerful manifestation of 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995), channelled through the classroom. In their design and content, programmes came to showcase and celebrate local knowledge, accents and dialects, to explore regional landscapes and national histories, positioning the child as both an emerging citizen and an active listener.

Thesis Frames

This research project is best positioned in the crossover area that exists between the subdisciplines of cultural and historical geography—the boundaries of the two being "more fluid than ever" (Mills 2013a, p.702). This fluidity of disciplinary research is in

[8] *How the BBC helped educate the nation in 100 years of schools broadcasting* (2024) *BBC Bitesize*. Available at: https://tinyurl.com/52fma2bj (Accessed: 21 May 2025).
[9] 'BBC School Radio' (2025) Wikipedia. Available at: https://tinyurl.com/2u5yzbvw (Accessed: 21 May 2025).
[10] Webb, A. (no date) *Educating the nation, BBC News*. Available at: https://tinyurl.com/u6dkdh7r (Accessed: 21 May 2025).

large part attributed to the 'cultural turn' in geography, an intellectual episode emerging in the late 1980s as a contestation of materialism and normative geographical values, or rather, as argued by Barnett (1998, p.380), "a heightened reflexivity toward the role of language, meaning and representations in the constitution of 'reality' and knowledge of reality". As cultural considerations met with historical inquiry, scholars were wary of the sway and influence of cultural theory on historical geography and its opposition towards empirical critique (Duncan 1999; Thrift 2000). Despite initial caution, the combination of these two disciplines has enabled critical sensibilities and culturally informed, historically contextualised perspectives, largely influenced by Cosgrove and Jackson's (1987) framing of a 'new cultural geography' which has reformed and expanded the 21st century disciplinary landscape (Tolia-Kelly 2016).

One expansion in particular is the development of 'sonic geographies', a sub-discipline which, simply put, engages with understandings of sound and place in an effort to depart from and challenge predominant geographical traditions of the visual. While sonic geography has encouraged geographers to incorporate sonic methods within their practices (Prior 2017; MacFarlane 2020), scholars have also critically engaged with theoretical understandings of sound production and its relationship to power, representation, and meaning-making (Matless 2005; LaBelle 2010; Revill 2016). There is a growing body of work examining the sonic geographies of childhood, particularly in relation to contemporary experiences of schooling (Brownell 2023; Gershon 2017; Goodman 2017; Wargo 2017; Gallagher 2011), children's embodied understanding of place and place-making (Bartos 2013; Duffy 2015; 2016), as well as the historical sounds of childhood (Mills 2017).

While the sonic element is particularly important to explorations of schools radio, my research is more broadly aligned with scholarship on the 'animation' of historical geography (Mills 2013a) and comparable works which have sought to investigate the traces of embodied experience in historical archives in relation to themes such as governance (Merriman 2005), nationhood (Gagen 2004b), colonialism (Patchett 2008; Lorimer and Whatmore 2009), imperialism (Kopf 2008), practices of consumption (Evans 2008), and landscape (Yusoff 2007). To clarify, my research is not about the child's direct experiences with broadcast sound as interpreted through primary accounts, but rather the institutional (BBC) and structural (schools) production of sound, sound worlds, and sonic citizenship which determined and shaped the pupil's embodied practice of listening. As such, I engage with sound through a specific set of intellectual reference points regarding period, place, and practice. For example, the 20th century contextualisation of the British broadcasting landscape, the specific production of sounds by a Scottish organising body and for Scottish children, and the explicit utilisation of the sounds as a learning tool in Scottish schools.

My research has been informed by the following research questions. The first two which shaped project inquiries, and the third which falls in line with the collaborative aims of this project and has given direction to institutional activities:

1. *With the popularisation of radio, how was 'listening-as-learning' introduced as a new educational medium and teaching technique, both in the broadcasting studio and the school classroom?*
2. *Over time, how did the content of BBC schools radio broadcasting and publishing represent versions of Scotland's past, present, places, politics and processes of social change?*
3. *In what ways can the intangible heritage of BBC schools radio broadcasting be shared as a cultural and educational asset connecting communities and generations in today's digitally-mediated world?*

Overall, my research seeks to compile an engaging and scholarly account of BBC schools radio in Scotland—one component of national broadcasting history which is categorically under-researched**.** Through a rich assortment of archival source materials, I describe and explain how: listening-as-learning was choreographed and mediated; the ways in which programmes were crafted to sonically bring the world into the classroom; and, how schools radio broadcasting and publishing represented Scotland's collective social imaginary. Just as I seek to write a history of schools radio, I also explore the ways in which this topic can be expanded through a phenomenological treatment of the classroom as a listening environment. While the sensory aspect of listening is pivotal to this thesis, I also seek to further engage with the phenomenology of broadcasting through the incorporation of sonic concepts and theories regarding spatiality, ephemerality, mediation, and sociocultural production.

Chapter Outline

The **Introduction** of this thesis has outlined the cultural, educational, and institutional significance of researching a history of schools radio broadcasting, particularly in Scotland, set within the specific circumstances of a collaborative partnership pairing a Scottish university and cultural heritage organisations.

Chapter 2 lays the groundwork by subjecting to review existing literature from a range of subject areas and disciplinary fields; principally those relating to sonic geography, broadcasting history, and educational history. By acknowledging and evaluating the contributions of literature within these fields, I situate my work in relationship to past scholarship, as well as positing how I seek to compile a historical narrative of schools radio informed by phenomenological perspectives concerned with sound and sensations. I call forward recent arguments by media historians who have advocated for the implementation of 'sensory' dimensions to augment what are judged as too 'static' retellings of broadcast histories. This secures my own proposition that schools radio is a

prime pathway for simultaneously documenting a piece of broadcasting history and advancing transdisciplinary theoretical considerations. The literature review also provides a theoretical groundwork for a series of key concepts, including but not limited to 'the soundscape', 'acousmatic' and 'radiogenic' sounds, 'techoustemology', and 'sonic mediation'. Furthermore, a review of existing treatments of media broadcasting history in Britain is undertaken so as to provide a holistic sense of knowledge to-date, the identification of research gaps, and to offer a perspective on the complex relationship between the BBC and British popular culture. Likewise, it is imperative to examine educational histories, particularly the ways in which scholars have approached research on past methods of schooling, the configuration of young citizenship, formatting of lessons, and importantly, the distinctiveness of the Scottish schools education system. This chapter concludes, in brief, with a review on geographical imaginings of Scotland outlined for the purpose of tracing these imaginaries alongside those produced by BBC schools radio programmes.

My discussion of methods and sources in **Chapter 3** overlays the journey of my research with theoretical considerations of the archives and how I employ approaches drawn from historical-cultural geography to 'enliven' and piece together a fragmented array of source materials. I emphasise the circumstances of my own research, particularly the limited range of surviving sonic sources relative to the wealth of printed and textual source material. As such, I engage with Mansell's (2020) approach to 'hearing with' the archive, developed as a way to contextually understand sound in spite of a lack of recorded content. Furthermore, this chapter introduces my guiding and primary framework for analysis, the 'circuit of culture' (Du Gay et al. 1997), which I modify in order to better inform the four empirical chapters of my thesis through an analytical-thematic cycle labelled as *Regulation*, *Production*, *Mediation*, and *Reception*. Each aspect of my analysis is largely bound to a component or actor within the schools radio network. *Regulation* focuses on the School Broadcasting Councils. *Production* considers the producers' role in broadcasting and the materials they created. *Mediation* examines the role of the classroom teacher in mediating the broadcasts for the school-pupils. *Reception* seeks to infer the mediation of listening experiences in the classroom, where children received, interpreted, and came to understand the transmitted lessons. While presented sequentially, the four empirical chapters are not directly indicative of a linear, or serial, relation. Rather, they are a constellation—pieces within a connective 'circuit' which, although focus on different actors, components, and materials in the history of schools radio broadcasting, are also often crosscutting. This chapter also presents an opportunity for me to explain the uniquely collaborative nature of my research inquiries, guided by founding partnerships and placement opportunities within the National Library of Scotland and BBC Scotland.

Chapter 4 offers an account of the emergence of schools radio broadcasting in Scotland during the period 1924-1947. It examines the motivations for the creation of schools broadcasts, and their fit into the new broadcasting landscape of Great Britain,

emphasising the confluence of circumstances and influences enabling a radical educational and broadcasting experiment. While the chapter begins with the first experimental broadcast in Glasgow, the Scottish story must be intertwined with broader British schools broadcasting initiatives, such as the 1929 investigation of wireless education through the Carnegie-funded Kent Report. The Scotland-centred story does, however, reemerge with the Kent Report affirming the need for separate provision due to the distinctiveness of the Scottish education system. Thereafter, the story of the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting unfolds, one of dedicated efforts to extend transmission across the country, and to teach children, through sound, about what it meant to be a new and future citizen of Scotland. I explore the concept of 'sonic citizenship', which encapsulates the necessities of soon-to-be-citizens as dictated by schools broadcasting councils. The 'sonic citizen' was a subject who practiced active listening while maintaining a dedicated interest in understanding the world around them, particularly through a local and regional lens. At the chapter's conclusion, the Scottish story seemingly dissipates with the onset of World War Two and the lapse of regional programming in favour of a national schools broadcast. This, however, does not diminish the importance of Scottish broadcasts, but rather emphasises their necessity as evidenced by an accelerative return in programming and transmission following the end of the war.

Departing from the basis of historical documentation, **Chapter 5** begins to embrace more conceptual aspects of schools broadcasting, combining source material with theoretical explorations regarding the *production* of wireless lessons. This chapter is not bound by a specific time frame, as the materials available encompass different pockets of time within the history of schools broadcasting. Through sources such as meeting minutes, reports, and scripts, I recount just how programmes were imagined, produced, and crafted to engage children in a wide range of subjects. There will, however, be a degree of speculation as I am approaching these materials as a researcher rather than as a listening student. For this reason, I investigate and overlay theoretical concepts such as the 'disembodied voice', the 'imagined audience', and the 'transmedial' nature of radio broadcasts in an attempt to capture a reconstructive phenomenology of radio production. While these scholarly concepts may not have been explicitly applied by BBC schools radio production teams, I uncover strong evidence of their presence from the early days of schools radio and throughout the continuation of programming. Over decades, producers grappled with the complex nature of educating through a distinct medium: sound. Radio brought a disembodied voice into classrooms across the nation, and with that came an intricate consideration of spatiality and temporality when crafting each broadcast. Producers first created a sound world, which subsequently, for a brief 20-minutes, transformed the soundscape of the classroom into a site of experience and encounter for the listening children.

Observing a sequential progression which began with the work and functions of governing committees, continuing onwards to the radio production team, **Chapter 6**

concentrates attention on the materials, both sound recording and print format, transmitted and distributed to schools across Scotland. Through an extensive analysis of geography, as well as geographically-adjacent lesson-subjects (such as history, environmental studies, heritage, and citizenship), the chapter explores the themes which enabled children to be taught about their locality, and the nation of which it was a part. While chronologically sequenced, the chapter explores the various kinds of themes highlighted in broadcasts during each decade, how they intertwined with the cultural understandings of Scotland during the period, and how these geographical imaginaries changed throughout the history of schools broadcasting and shaped children's understanding of place and identity. Shared understandings of who the model 'sonic citizen' ought to become were moulded through these lessons, their subject matter, and implicitly – or sometimes explicitly – morals and social norms conveyed through the same broadcast material. As I explain, geographical imaginings of the nation rehearsed through schools broadcasts largely align with broader popular and prevailing imaginaries of the country: the rural idyll contrasted by the challenges of urban living; expressions of post-war civic pride and duty; Scotland as an emerging modern nation, as well as the onset of nostalgia spurred by such rapid change. What makes these imaginings unique, however, is that children are positioned as central to Scotland's story—ultimately bringing to light narratives of the nation which acknowledge the child's experience and their influence on Scotland, its past, and its future.

As the final empirical chapter, **Chapter 7** appends the circular mode of analysis by paying heed to the inferred *reception* of experiences within and outside of the classroom environment. This chapter is largely informed by 'place'—the learning environments in which children listened to broadcasts and applied their understandings as expressed through the sonic material. Much like Chapter 5, this chapter combines theoretical and exploratory elements, reflecting the fact that the classroom experience as expressed by the children themselves was never directly documented. I draw on a variety of sources to reconstruct a sonic geography of the classroom; from the act of receiving sound, to the teacher's role of mediating sound, and ultimately the children's role of consuming sound and undergoing enduring processes of meaning-making and identity formation. I describe the close choreography required by the classroom teacher in order to both mediate the technology within the classroom as well as work alongside a broadcasted disembodied voice. Throughout this chapter, the classroom unfolds as a 'socio-material assemblage' (Roehl 2012)—a site of action informed by material (the accompanying pamphlet) and immaterial (the sound broadcast) learning resources. Furthermore, emphasis is placed on learning outside the classroom through additional field trips and activities suggested by schools broadcasts. Children were encouraged to explore their own locality, drawing connections between the places they were familiar with, and faraway places they learned about in their lessons. As addressed throughout the thesis, broadcasts brought the world into the classroom, however, this did not limit, and rather encouraged, children to go forth and discover the world beyond the four walls of the schoolhouse. At the heart of these broadcasts were values of enjoyment and imagination,

made evident through a sustained emphasis for children to appreciate what they heard and to harness that appreciation, applying it to their own lives as children of Scotland.

In the thesis **Conclusion**, I revisit and reflect on central themes and threads of radio-centred education in relation to processes of meaning-making and identity formation amongst listening children, then consider potential pathways for future inquiry. As stated, I recognise this thesis as only the first step towards understanding schools radio. There are still more stories to be heard and archives to be uncovered. This thesis is a contributory retelling of schools radio broadcasting in Scotland—the country in which the first trial broadcasts began; where a branch of schools radio governance was first developed, distinctive from provision in England; where producers made programmes which preserved Scottish speech, heritage, and history; and where children listened and learned to appreciate, uncover, and explore their locality, their region, and their nation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

"What was the origin of radio? Of course it is not new. It existed long before it was invented. It existed whenever there were invisible voices: in the wind, in thunder, in the dream" (Schafer 1990, p.207).

The above quote is from composer and sound theorist R. Murray Schafer's essay, "Radical Radio", written as a call for a phenomenological approach to broadcasting. Schafer's prose depicts an impressive religiosity to broadcasting pre-dating and physically detached from its contemporary technological incarnation. Arguably, media scholars and broadcast historians have been hesitant to embrace the enigma of radio broadcasting's ubiquity, choosing instead to focus on history as presented through evidence, political contextualisation, and societal narratives. Some, however, have ventured beyond these disciplines, endeavouring to comprehend broadcasting's enigmatic nature. Shortly before Schafer's publication, Shaun Moores (1988, p.13) argued that "broadcasting is a taken-for-granted part of everyday life", naturalised within the domestic setting and concealed from profounder examination. Moores ultimately unveils an apparatus with deeper powers that can create an audience and capture both time and space. Paddy Scannell (1995) echoes Moores' sentiments, calling for a phenomenology of radio and television, writing of the temporality of broadcasting, the spatiality of transmission, and the creation of a listener. Scannell (1995, p.18) concludes his analysis by affirming, "the kind of theory presented here finds the world (and in particular the world of broadcasting) as enchanted and enchanting, meaningful and full of meaning."

While Moores (1988) and Scannell (1995) offer influential reflections that ultimately guide my own approach to this research, I acknowledge that the 'enchantment' of radio has not been fully embraced across disciplines, and as such, I attempt to strike a balance within this literature review by including a wide range of academic fields and sub-fields. By doing so, I more attentively highlight and engage with various understandings of sound, broadcasting, and pedagogy. Notably, there has been a slow but steady merging of historicism and phenomenology, advancing the supposed 'stasis' of historical scholarship by applying elements of the sensorial, the ephemeral, and the visceral into analyses of broadcasting and educational histories (Hendy 2010; Skoog 2018; Grosvenor 2012; Grosvenor and Lawn 2001; Crutchley, Parker, and Roberts 2018). These trends largely fall in line with the disciplinary evolution of historical-cultural geography, which, as of recent decades, has come to embrace enlivenment of the archive and archival material as the result of a broader 'cultural turn' within the field (Mills 2013a; Gagen, Lorimer, and Vasudevan 2007). As such, schools radio broadcasting, an understudied topic across various fields, holds the possibility to span these disciplines, documenting a missing piece

of Britain's broadcasting history while continuously advancing theoretical considerations.

Although historical geography and cultural geography are considered synonymous within the contemporary intellectual landscape of the geographical discipline (Cresswell 2010), the passage towards this convergence proves far more complicated. The leading, Western tradition of cultural geography in the mid- 20th century can be attributed to Carl Sauer and the 'Berkeley School' of thought, which developed theories on landscape, material culture, and physical formations. As observed by Dennis (1991, p.270), historical geography was integrated into the Sauerian iteration of cultural geography, as historical and contemporary inquiries were linked through "interest in relict features, architecture and artifacts from the past that have survived into the present landscape". Explicably, this was a materially-minded approach with fell in line with the cultural geographical trends of the time. The 'new cultural geography' of the late 20th century, however, was derived as a critique of the Sauerian emphasis on materiality. What is widely regarded as the 'cultural turn' dates to the late 1980s and early 1990s, as geographers framed culture as "a signifying process, a concern with cultural politics, and an engagement with post-structuralist and post-colonial theory" (Valentine 2001, p.166). Crang (1998, p.3), for example, defined the discipline as one "about the diversity and plurality of life in all its variegated richness; about how the world, spaces and places are interpreted and used by people; and how those places then help to perpetuate that culture". Furthermore, there was a notable shift in the ways in which researchers approached geographical work, as scholars began more critically emphasising reflexivity and researcher positionality alongside the nature of subjectivity as derived from Foucauldian philosophy (Oakes and Price 2008).

Despite prior connections to Sauerian thought and materialism, historical geography was evidently included in the 'cultural turn', further developing the historical-cultural nexus. This is highlighted through Cosgrove and Jackson's (1987) pivotal paper, "New Directions in Cultural Geography". Writing in the midst of a growing convergence between "historical interest in landscape representation" and "contemporary cultural politics", Cosgrove and Jackson state:

> "If we were to define this 'new' cultural geography, it would be contemporary as well as historical (but always contextual and theoretically informed); social as well as spatial (but not confined exclusively to narrowly-defined landscape issues); urban as well as rural; and interested in the contingent nature of culture, in dominant ideologies and in forms of resistance to them" (p.95).

The 'cultural turn' further seeped into the discipline of historical geography by shifting the ways in which scholars approached and expressed their research. "Grand histories", in particular, were phased out in favour of "thick descriptions and micro-studies" (Naylor 2005, p.631). This trend has been specifically evident in historical geographies of 20th

century Scotland, for example, Lorimer's (2003) work on 'small stories', as well as the *Scottish Geographical Journal's* recent call for Scottish locale examples of place-based writing (Laurie 2025). More broadly, the contemporary convergence of historical and cultural geography has encapsulated a range of scholarly interests, for example, embodiment (Griffin and Evans 2008), landscape (Naylor 2006; Revill 2000), and the politics of representation (Tolia-Kelly et al. 2020; Alderman and Modlin Jr. 2014).

As repercussions of a quick descent into the realm of the representational, 'new cultural geography' attracted criticisms for a perceived concern of a pre-occupation with immateriality (Philo 2000), comments regarding the lack of a definition for the concept of 'culture' (Barnett 2004) and further calls for a considered 'rematerialization' of the discipline (Jackson 2000). The word *considered* is of importance here, for Jackson (2000, p.13) interprets the revival in interest of material culture as separate from the "object fetishism" of the past, as there are added deliberations such as "processes of commodification, social differentiation and the attribution of symbolic power". Through an evaluation of the current intellectual landscape of cultural geography, it is fair to say that the considered "re-tethering" of the discipline to the material has been successful as it now has a more nuanced, expanded, and fleshed out approach which consists of a "multi-faceted engagement with culture, sensitive to embodiment, performativities, immaterialities, absences and contingencies of meaning, expression and interpretation" (Tolia-Kelly 2016, p.372).

Furthermore, as a result of the cultural turn, sound and sonic experiences became a focal point for scholarly engagement (Pocock 1989; Rodaway 1994). Sonic geography, a sub-discipline of cultural geography informed by the ways in which sound relates to place, has typically been steeped in methodological engagements with sound. In particular, listening (Gallagher and Prior 2014; Gallagher, Kanngieser, and Prior 2017; Bennett et al. 2014), soundwalks (Butler 2006; Cameron and Rogalsky 2017), audio 'drifts' (Gallagher 2015), sound mapping (Rich 2017; Thulin 2018), visceral sonic mapping (Duffy, Waitt, and Harada 2016), sound diaries (Duffy and Waitt 2011), and sound art installations (Cameron and Rogalsky 2006; DeSilvey 2010). This wide variety of sonic methods has challenged the "visual expectations of representation" by attuning to the intangible and "promiscuous" nature of sound (Dowling, Lloyd, and Suchet-Pearson 2018, p.784). The dominance of these methods, however, has steered the field of sonic geography more in the direction of a "listening geography", thus centralising the act of listening and neglecting potential examinations of "sound-making" and "resonance" (Paiva 2018, p.8).

While geographers' utilisation of sound methods has been pivotal to the discipline of sonic geography, there is also strand of scholarly investigation which focuses on more theoretical considerations of sound and place. Of note to this project, for instance, are frameworks of moral geography as applied to sound-making (Matless 2005), historical examinations of sonic geography (Della Dora 2021; Paiva 2018; Hemsworth et al. 2017), and questions of sound and institutional power as analysed by Rich (2016; 2017),

Gallagher (2011), Jones (2005), and Hemsworth (2015; 2016) in the settings of the museum, the school, the factory, and the prison, respectively. My role as a historical sonic geographer is to contribute to the discipline by examining and understanding the production, transmission, and reception of schools radio broadcasting, thus engaging with concepts such as sociocultural production and identity through a historical, structural, and institutional lens. My work therefore continues the academic tradition brought about by the 'cultural turn' and convergence of cultural and historical geography which contemplates themes of meaning-making, cultural reception, and representation.

In order to demonstrate culturally-informed, theoretical engagements with the sonic as well as a contextualisation and understanding of historical broadcasting and education, the following review of relevant literature is divided into three larger disciplinary themes. Firstly, the theme of 'sonic geographies' offers theoretical groundwork for studies of the aural alongside relevant examinations of sound as a political enactor, conveyer of knowledge, and sociocultural transmitter. Secondly, 'broadcasting histories' sets the scene for what has been written: a bulk of work that has largely ignored schools radio broadcasting despite thorough analysis of the BBC and its histories. Thirdly, the section on 'educational histories' is where multiple disciplines converge. History is entwined with geography and more 'sensory' focused considerations, establishing an interdisciplinary relationship which broadens analyses on curricular governmentality, geographical education, and material cultures of the school. In addition to these disciplinary-guided sections, I include a brief analysis on the 'geographical imagination', offering an academic foundation of the concept and a documentation of the various imaginings of Scotland in the 20th century. This section provides an important foundation for my later argument that schools broadcasting shaped children's understanding of their own country, and therefore, those involved in creating wireless lessons were concurrently involved in the production of a specific, yet adaptable, geographical imagining of Scotland. The review culminates with an examination of gaps within the literature and the potentials that are offered through my own research.

Sonic Geographies

Geography has been long defined by the concept of 'landscape'; a concept that has been primarily constructed, perceived, and examined through a visual lens**.** Geographical knowledge has thus notably been constructed via processes of visualisation (Rose 2003; Thornes 2004; Matless 1996). While 'ocularcentrism' has been scrutinised by scholars (Rose 2003; Driver 2003), these criticisms focus on how the visual should be examined at a deeper epistemic level. A separate quandary arises, however, from the supremacy of visual methodologies and epistemologies in the field of geography: the silencing of the 'aural' and the 'sonic' (Pocock 1989). Sonic-focused methods, which offer an alternative yet equally as informative form of encounter with landscape, have been rendered 'too uncertain' and incapable of providing sources of valid knowledge. Substantial areas of examination and possibility have been erased by ignoring audio-media and allowing

visuals to take precedence methodologically (Gallagher and Prior 2014). Gallagher and Prior (2014) refute claims regarding the uncertainty of sound by noting that the sonic is influentially involved in the construction and mediation of our lived environments, the production of identity and difference, as well as the exercise of political power. Audio sources offer a distinct mode, rather than an uncertain mode, of engaging with human geographies.

Notably, there has been a recent shift towards and re-conceptualisation of sound in the geographical discipline. Studies in the field gradually emerged from Schafer's conceptualisation of the 'soundscape' (1993) and Feld's work on 'acoustemology' (1996). The terminology of 'sonic geography' was coined by Rodaway (1994, p.84) in reference to the "spatial organisation of sounds and characteristics of places in terms of sound". While Rodaway did not necessarily pioneer an examination of the sonic in relation to space, this term marked a crucial point within the field. A more recent marker on sonic geography has been Revill's (2016) call for a critical phenomenological approach to sound studies and sonic geographies. This has led scholars to embrace sonic methods and their sense-making potentials, as well as strive towards a furthered understanding of the affective qualities of sound. Revill (2016) writes of the all-encompassing nature of sound within the realm of geographical inquiry: it is a medium, a method, and a modality. As these studies have focused on broader conceptualisations of 'sound' and 'place', they provide essential groundwork and ample opportunity to apply these theories to an examination of radio broadcasting, or more specifically, schools radio broadcasting.

The following review of sonic geographies is divided into three conceptual themes that were developed through a cumulative observation and critical examination of texts within the fields of sonic geography, cultural geography, and sound studies. What emerges are interdisciplinary focuses on how sound is mediated by and for various institutions, the capabilities that sound has attuning to and affecting emotions, as well as the mediation of sound by and for sociocultural and political reception and transmission.

Sensory Regimes

Sound, while primarily understood as a sense-making tool, is also apparent in the creation, reproduction, and enactment of political relations (Matless 2005; LaBelle 2010; Revill 2016). As specified by Attali (2007, p.7), "any theory of power today must include a theory of the localisation of noise and its endowment with form". Power is exercised through sound and sound articulates spaces of power. Revill's (2016) theorisations on the politics of sound provide a foundational approach to the inextricable connections and co-production between power structures, sound makers, and listeners. In particular,

> "The physical complexity of sound suggests that even the most tranquil of sonic spaces can be heterophonic and unruly, providing a ground for conflict and contest which is difficult to either manage or resolve. To this extent sounds have the specific capacity to express a sense of multitude" (Revill 2016, pp.247-248).

Revill's claim speaks to both sound and silence, as do studies from Rich (2016; 2017) and Gallagher (2011) who reflect upon the sonic politics of supposedly 'tranquil' institutional landscapes: the museum and the primary school. Rich and Gallagher's studies are particularly of note to this project due to their focuses on the governance of listening within situated educational spaces, thus warranting a thorough analysis. Rich (2016; 2017) variously examines the auditory history of the Science Museum in London, an 'exhibition landscape' which has long-followed guidelines signifying that silence was the pinnacle of an optimal educational environment, for sound was disorderly and interrupted channels of communication offered through visual means. The Science Museum emphasised principles of quietude and enacted a form of museum governance which strengthened institutional cultural politics and controlled the educational environment (Rich 2017; Bennett 1998). In spite of this, technologies such as the radio-guided-tour directed meaningful engagements by individually enlivening exhibitions and "placing corporeality centre stage and shifting the site of sense and meaning-making away from the autonomous object, enclosed behind glass, to the relationship between viewer and viewed" (Rich 2016, p.70).

Along a similar vein, principles of quietude have been evident within British primary schools, with educators exercising power over pupils through noise regulation and deploying a 'countdown' technique to silence students (Gallagher 2011). Silence was a regulating and corrective force within educational institutions. Sound, on the other hand, was viewed as a force of defiance or a catalyst of boisterous behaviour. The classroom, here, unfolds as an 'acoustic arena', where power is transferred aurally between the student and the teachers, perceived through a distinctly Foucauldian understanding of power as "inherently unstable, fluid and dynamic" (p.49). The classroom was, inherently, an institutional space, yet, through sound, institutional power became malleable through varying degrees of aural surveillance and noise-making. As emphasised by both Rich and Gallagher, sonic space, devoid of noise and indoctrinated with quietude, remains a space defined by institutional, and notably educational, regulations. Through embodied acts of sonic production and mediation, however, the boundaries of power are blurred, and the associative meaning of sound is left for the individual subject to interpret and engage with.

The politics of sound expands beyond the educational institution and into the realm of the macro and micro political, where sound is mediated by and for distinctly political means. As noted by LaBelle (2010), sonic mediation is both physical and phenomenological, and this mediation provides political agency from both a hegemonic and counter-hegemonic perspective (Revill 2016). LaBelle (2010) developed the concept of an 'acoustic politics of space', which underscores the use of sound as means to engage with political landscapes. This concept was expanded upon through Kanngieser's (2012) notion of the acoustic politics of voice, indicating that voice is a particular modality of engaging with political landscapes. For example, the microphone has been a critical tool

in Kanngieser's theorisation as it transmits and amplifies speeches given by political figures. The radio has similarly been studied as a significant artefact of political engagement with sound (Pinkerton and Dodds 2009)—broadcasting news, political messages, and propaganda across the airwaves. Much of radio's political usefulness can be attributed to the omnipresence of voice, or what Adorno (2009) considers an 'illusion of closeness' and what Kane (2016) elaborates upon as an 'illusion of immediacy'. The listener faces the apparatus, and the liveness of radio renders the voice of the presenter temporally present. Through the culmination of immediacy and omnipresence, the radio voice becomes a more objective, more authoritative, and more enticing sound in the domain of broadcasting (Wendland 2006).

The political is evidently enmeshed with the acoustic, for struggles between power and dissent are apparent in micropolitical environments examined by scholars such as a nature region in the Norfolk Broads (Matless 2005), British factories (Jones 2005), and prisons (Hemsworth 2015; 2016). An inherent thread throughout this literature is the moral geographies of these spaces (Matless 1994; 2005)—a reckoning of who gets to hear what sounds, who gets to make certain sounds, and where certain sounds can or cannot be present. These moral geographies tie sound to the collective and individual identities of people as well as to the spaces in which they occupy. Jones (2005), for example, presents a study on the genre of 'factory music' broadcast from the BBC radio programme, *Music While You Work*, exerting emotional control over countless factory workers across Britain as a functional exercise of power. For the workers and for the producers, this created a staunch divide between what the BBC broadcast to the nation versus what the BBC broadcast to the factory. This demonstrated a demarcation between domestic space and workspace and between the broadcast and its designed audience. More overtly, and much like studies on educational spaces (Rich 2016; 2017; Gallagher 2011), Hemsworth's (2015; 2016) historical and contemporary examinations of prisons uncover the production of carceral soundscapes where silence was the reigning method of control over inmates. Sound, as such, became a form of resistance, whether through noise demonstrations or rehabilitative musical collaborations. By presenting a range of institutional spaces and landscapes in which sound is governed, I aim to position my work within this growing intellectual stem of sonic geography, further elucidating upon themes of power, subjectivity, and the mediation of sounds produced by the BBC for schools.

Hearing Sound, Knowing Sound, Feeling Sound

Acoustemology, a term coined by anthropologist and ethnomusicologist, Steven Feld, as a combination of 'acoustic' and 'epistemology' is "an exploration of sonic sensibilities, specifically of ways in which sound is central to making sense, to knowing, to experiential truth" (Feld 1996, p.97). Feld developed the concept of acoustemology through his time doing research among the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea where he observed that the Kaluli held an intricate understanding of the rainforest environment through acoustic ways of knowing. Sound was embedded within navigational knowledge as well as forms of

communication such as poetry and song, thus guiding the Kaluli's ways of sense-making and knowing place. Through listening, an additional channel of knowledge emerges to provide further insight into landscape materiality and morphology (Gallagher, Kanngieser, and Prior 2017). Sound doesn't simply occupy a landscape, but rather it transforms the landscape, connecting listeners through the 'arc of sound' (LaBelle 2010). Landscape is understood through a multisensory conceptualisation that expands beyond the Western ocular regime and dominating visual epistemologies to include acoustemological understandings of space.

The 'soundscape' is another crucial concept within the field of sonic geographies. Developed by Schafer, soundscapes are meant to encompass "any acoustic field of study" (1993, p.7), embracing all sonic elements present within the natural or built environment. The complex array of a soundscape highlights not only the auditory nature of what is heard, but also the historical, cultural, and socio-political aspects that can be understood through acoustic organisation. Though a significant concept, soundscapes have been subject to critique. Feld (1996) notes that the terminology of 'soundscape' does not capture the experience of sound within a dynamic environment. Similarly, Ingold (2007), in his piece "Against Soundscape", writes that landscape should not be tied to any specific sensory register. "Sound", Ingold states, "is neither mental nor material, but a phenomenon of experience", an immersion that is not necessarily anchored to place, as place is always in flux (2007, p.2). With these critiques acknowledged, scholars have disregarded the stasis of the terminology and included dynamic qualities within the understanding of soundscapes (Ray 2006; Calanchi 2020; Devadoss 2020).

The meeting point between the soundscape and the listener, or 'soundself', is the act of sonic encounter, a "socially shaped and culturally specific affective relationship between hearer and heard" (Mansell 2020, p.97). Sound not only possesses affective qualities and forms affective relationships but also is a form of affect. Through the interconnection between sound and space is the interconnection between sound and bodily sensations, and subsequently sound and emotion. As Gallagher, Kanngieser, and Prior (2017, p.625) state, "sound produces affective atmospheres, which interface with bodies on auditory and other listening registers". At a fundamental stage, sound as affect "strips back the discursive and socio-cultural layers of sound" (Gallagher 2016, p.43) operating as a vibration which flows through emotion, memory, and sense. This is a process that first connects bodies (LaBelle 2010) and then transforms bodies (Kanngieser 2012) through resonating beyond the physiological vibrations of the ear (Schrimshaw 2013).

As such, sounds can be part of creating what are considered 'affective atmospheres'—where emotional experience is conjured. As Anderson (2009, p.80) writes, atmospheres are "spatially discharged affective qualities that are autonomous from the bodies that they emerge from, enable and perish with". Affective atmospheres are not bound by any means but are shaped through spatial contexts and sensory modes of interpretation. Within the affective atmosphere, the body undergoes an affective response, an

understanding "beyond words" (Duffy 2010, p.45), which ultimately contributes to a knowing of place developed through embodiment and experiences of sound.

Although the experience of sound as affect or sound within the affective atmosphere is 'stripped' of its discursive layers, this does not mean that it cannot be 'pre-discursive' or intentional. Messages embedded in sound, particularly broadcasting sounds, are constructed, co-constructed, and reconstructed. Radio scholars such as Crisell (1986, p.3) focus on the 'blindness' of radio as it connects to the emotionality and feeling of sound, writing that the messages sent through radio have to "carry a heavy freight". Radio requires listeners to undergo processes of association, memory evocation, and imagination in order to conjure up and create forms of meaning-making from the transmitted sounds (Forsslund 2012; Rodero 2010). Miller (2018, p.338) similarly examines the intensity of radio's expression, noting that "radio writers and producers sought to control the listening process to the extent possible by tapping into these shared repositories of cultural memory." In this sense, the visceral experience of listening to sounds is a sociocultural production, manufactured to encourage sonic contextualisation, connection, and creation by the listener (Rodero 2010). As written by Street (2019, p.105),

> "…the journeys upon which we embark in the sonic imagination are not only rendered remarkable by the way things are made, but by the way we interpret them and respond to them. Everything from the final point of production onwards is a matter of sharing. Whatever and whoever is the agenda, the result of active listening to sound can be a profoundly immersive one, be its source consciously created as art or narrative, or the result of an imaginative interpretation within ourselves of the information we absorb."

While seemingly ethereal and vitalising, sound as affect is rather a complex modality of both power and emotion (Hemsworth 2016). Sound affects are "ambivalent forces that can both enliven and alienate, sooth and intrude, repel bodies and attract them, regulate space and reconfigure it" (Gallagher 2016, p.7). While the experience of sound, to some extent, is physiologically universal, sound also works to construct subjectivity, group identity, nation, citizenship, and place-making (Revill 2000). Embodiments of sound are a form of socialisation, for sound is "key to conceptualising how communities use sound to express, recreate, shift between, or solidify identities" (Devadoss 2020, p.2368). Sound is therefore a vital part of identity (Duffy 2000; Devadoss 2017), serving as a place-based resource that constructs the self and the collective (Duffy, Waitt, and Gibson 2007). Affect, as written by Duffy, Waitt, and Gibson (2007, p.2), is "pre-personal" and "non-conscious" until constituted as such through emotional engagements. While these perspectives of affect are largely gleaned through literature regarding sound and sound worlds, it is important to consider that feminist geographers do not position affect as superior to emotion as this enforces a hierarchy of knowledge alongside a reductive understanding of emotion as an intersubjective process (Thien 2005; Tolia-Kelly 2006; Sharp 2009).

Transmission, Mediation, and Reception

Sound is both mediated and mediating. As Revill (2016, p.244) writes, "relationships between sound and space are thought of as mediations". Sound *mediates* a multitude of experiences by being *mediated* through technological or physiological transmission and reception. Mediation is more transformative and complex than simply linking or bridging, for it is a phenomenal process which aids in the formation of agency, identity, and experience. Sonic mediation is associative (LaBelle 2010) and systematic (Born 2013), shaping worldly experiences through reception and perception. Sonic mediation remains sensitive to both physical properties and sociocultural practices of sound production, hearing, and reception (Revill 2014). Mediation, while not always explicitly addressed, is a theme that is present in literature on sonic geographies. Whether through questions of physicality or phenomenology, mediation is an embedded process that gives meaning (or meaninglessness) to sound (Voegelin 2014). Mediation does not operate along a single channel, for it is a relational and interactive process between listener and broadcaster (Karpf 2013). The process of mediation is imaginatively contemplated by Westerkamp (2015, p.7) who posits the concept of 'radio that listens', a phenomenological reversal of transmission which spurs listeners to undergo active and reflective processes beyond that of simply hearing. Ultimately, sound, heard or unheard, undergoes perpetual processes of transmission, mediation, and reception.

The physical and material aspects of sound mediation have been studied through an examination of the technologies which allow for sonic transmission. These studies can be associated with what Greene and Porcello (2005) consider 'techoustemology', a term that accompanies Feld's notion of 'acoustemology' but further emphasises the importance of technological mediation of sound. In a more embodied technological sense, Kanngieser (2012, p.337) looks at the sonic geography of voice—the most immediate means of expression for some, which "creates worlds". While the body cannot "endure transmission", "through technological extensions, speech gains what is forever denied to the flesh: omnipresence and afterlife" (Pinchevski and Liebes 2010, p.271). The technological mediation of sound has spurred the creation of various terminologies used when analysing radio production. One is the concept of 'radiogenic sounds', suggested to encompass "something having its origins in radio or designed with radio in mind specifically" (Uimonen 2019, p.264). Another is that of 'acousmatic' sounds. The 'acousmatic' voice (Schaeffer 1966) is the sound unseen, a disembodied voice. The combination of 'acousmatic' and 'radiogenic' sounds creates contextual sounds, serving as the backdrop for performance, setting the scene through 'out-of-frame', subconscious engagement (Beck 1998).

Radio as a technological artefact regulated cultural life as well as political life in modern societies. Drawing from Du Gay et al.'s (1997) study of the Walkman and the 'circuit of culture', the radio can be viewed as both a cultural artefact and a medium of modern culture as it influenced a mass audience through enthralling programmes tuned in to by

millions. Hayes and Battles (2010), however, refute the perceived notion that the radio is a one-way system of transmission and communication, stating that it is rather a two-way exchange between broadcasters and listeners. The authors use the transmission of *War of the Worlds* as an example of two-way communication developed through the production and transmission of the theatrical broadcast, the mediation through the artefact, and the public reception which catalysed widespread panic, trauma, and social paralysis. Hayes and Battles (2019, p.53) argue that the audience response was, in fact, "an effort of communication through social and technologically mediated networks". Overall, in order to provide an in-depth analysis of schools radio broadcasting, it is imperative to position the wireless apparatus as a conveyer of knowledge—an object in which sounds were produced for transmission and mediated for the audience and the listening space.

Broadcasting Histories

A review of broadcasting histories literature examines the overarching themes and patterns of the medium's history and its implicit connections to society, culture, international relations, politics, and education. It is important to note that though rich in material, broadcasting has undergone a "luxuriant growth" from its "relatively modest roots" (Crisell 1997, p. xxi). Much of broadcasting history is a contemporary history, with research growing in the latter quarter of the 20th century, "inspired by and financed through anniversaries" (Dahl 1978, p.130), similar to the timing of my own research. As there is much to uncover through the extensive archive material as well as through possible explorations of critiques, connections, and gaps in what has already been written, this review will focus on British broadcasting histories primarily regarding the BBC.

As radio broadcasting grew in popularity and became an established part of everyday life globally, the medium and its messages were increasingly studied by social, cultural, and media historians. The writing of a broadcasting history is a monumental task, as historians must deal with the mass amounts of archive material and analytical approaches (Dahl 1978). Notable works include comprehensive institutional histories such as Briggs' chronological epics of the British Broadcasting Corporation (1995), and more condensed accounts on specific aspects of broadcasting such as *A History of Radio Four* (Hendy 2008) and *An Introductory History to the BBC* (Crisell 1997). In terms of Scotland-specific broadcasting histories, literature includes *Scotland on the Air* (Burnett 1938), which documents the workings of BBC Scotland by various employees ranging from the station's secretary to the Scottish Regional Director, as well as *The BBC in Scotland: The First Fifty Years* (Walker 2011), a similarly 'insider' account and internal project of the institution.

Briggs' histories of the BBC stand out as influential pieces of both British as well as broadcasting history. While officially an institutional historian, Briggs (1980) maintains

a secure and scrutinous understanding of all facets of broadcasting—from social fact to commercialisms, considering much of the social history of broadcasting to be of an 'ephemeral nature' that is not experienced until after the development of the recording. The ephemeral nature of radio broadcasting brings to light the sensory dimension of media that is largely neglected throughout mainstream media history, which Hendy (2010, p.218) considers as crucial to "reflecting and shaping our minds, our perceptions, our emotions" by spanning across cultural currents. Notably, Skoog's (2018) study on the sensory aspects of wartime radio addresses Hendy's observation, conceptualising a more abstract cultural provision of the BBC: the British soundscape. Skoog argues that the radio was a key feature in the transformed soundscape, morphing from a private mode of entertainment to a provision of public information at home and on the battlefront.

A recent article by Mullen (2021) prompts, "what questions need to be asked about the history of the BBC?", urging historians to examine the political, institutional, cultural, social, technological, representational, and global histories of the BBC. Guided by Mullen's prompt, this review is divided conceptually into explorations of the Corporation and public service broadcasting, questions of identity and media, and the international influence of the BBC, before turning to a review of literature on schools radio broadcasting to date.

The BBC and Public Service Broadcasting

The BBC has long grappled with the vexed question of what it means to be a public service, transmitting broadcasts to the nation through times of everyday banality or periods of strife, crisis, or war. In its conception, the BBC was imagined as an informer of public opinion and crucial part of a functioning democracy (Seaton 2021). Researchers and employees alike have noted the fine balance the BBC must uphold between audience satisfaction and the maintenance of high standards (Blumler and McQuail 1965). While this is a conflict that has plagued the BBC since its founding, there has still been an ongoing shift and reinterpretation of the ethos of public service broadcasting (PSB) as guided by the fluctuating values and voices of an everchanging United Kingdom (Dawes 2021).

Despite the manipulability of public service values, the 'institutional DNA' of the BBC has survived political and societal changes (Seaton 2021). The BBC was created as a democratised service in a time when the press and politicians were distrusted, and the public was seeking a source of impartiality. While not explicitly stated, Seaton's analysis and writings on the BBC's values are largely tied to mass emotion. She writes of the "alarm" of propaganda, the "worry" that public opinion could be bought, and an "anxiety" of the role of big business in politics circa 1922, the founding year of the institution (p.87). These agitated emotions arose for different reasons during the Second World War, when the BBC became a "warm source of distraction" (p.92). While Seaton (2021) alludes to public emotion, Hendy (2014) outrightly claims that emotion was the primary driving

factor in shaping the BBC during the interwar period. This was due to a 'sonic-mindedness' brought on by World War One—or rather, how those with a direct experience in the war cultivated a sensitivity to noise as well as a critical approach to listening. Hendy also notes that the post-war era led to a fluctuating desire for stability and the notion of home by the public. The BBC soon became so embedded in everyday life that for many, it was a constant from childhood onwards, wooing and enticing the public to listen as a nation (Seaton 2021). In this regard, Seaton and Hendy contribute to an argument that the BBC was shaped by 'systems of feeling' attuned to the emotional audience as opposed to a "linear process of emotional control" (Hendy 2014, p.97).

While Seaton (2021) and Hendy (2014) trace the shift of PSB values as a result of public emotion, Dawes (2021) undertakes a more critical approach to understanding why and how the institution's ethos has changed throughout the decades. Dawes cites the origins of the BBC as a system of 'public control' rather than 'public service' as John Reith, the original director general of the BBC, was intent on broadcasts being a media utility rather than a provision for democracy. Dawes, however, is also attentive to a shift towards familiarity as the BBC became a part of the everyday in national households. Once the BBC garnered familiarity, it became a 'public service', and ultimately it became so embedded within British society that its existence was one of 'public interest' (Dawes 2021). This understanding provides an almost-mechanical reconfiguration of ethos, a stark contrast from the intuitive, sensitive, and fluctuating nature of PSB that Seaton (2021) writes of. Wall's (2018, p.332) claims, drawn from Scannell's (1990) analysis of the BBC, mirror those of Dawes, noting that the BBC manipulated a "very specific mode of listening that reflected the earliest notion of audience". As Wall (2018, p.332) theorises, "to be an audience member means far more than just listening, and our status is constructed through a number of social practices which collectively constitute sound broadcasting". In this regard, the audience was a social group deliberately established by the BBC, and audience members were poised to engage with and actively listen to the sounds transmitted by the broadcaster.

The use of voice was carefully curated to maintain the BBC's precarious balance of public service values. The institution selected a group of professional broadcasters to convey messages to the public through the 'collective personality' of the BBC (Kumar 1975). Though often contested, this collective personality was originally dictated through upper-middle class accents and styles at the microphone, making the BBC, as Lewis (2021, p.3) writes, a "decidedly male and middle-class institution". Ultimately, the ruling class transmissions created a form of sectionalism and economic hierarchy that did not serve the BBC's mission to be an organisation for the public. Kumar (1975) considers the original broadcasters and presenters to be socialisers and controllers of high culture that soon had to shift towards impartiality and the voice of a middleman. Kumar (1975, p.83) observes that, the "BBC cannot afford to identify with any sectional interest in the society—even something as indefinite as 'high culture'". Moran (2014) continues this analysis of vocal shift to include the fact that the BBC understood the need to undertake

in the democratisation of the voice, thus allowing the nation to hear the 'voice of the people' beyond the London studio setting.

While the BBC's PSB values shifted alongside social change, they were still met with ideological resistance. Much of the criticism that the BBC faced was during Thatcher's time in office, for the Prime Minister was said to "readily loath" the idea of PSB as it contradicted her commitment to the idea of a free market (Tracey and Herzog 2014, p.64). When writing about the history of the BBC, many authors note of the influential creation of the Peacock Committee (1986), which was set to report on the financing of the BBC (Tracey and Herzog 2014; Carter and McKinlay 2013; Dawes 2021; Scannell 1990). The final report of the Peacock Committee solidified the obscure nature of PSB, for those interviewed in the report could not provide a singular definition (Scannell 1990). Through the Peacock Committee, Thatcher had intended for the license fee to be replaced with advertising, strongly going against Reith's aversion to the "darker side of modernity, particularly in the materialism that lay at its heart" (Tracey and Herzog 2014, p.75). Tracey and Herzog's (2014) analysis is guided by this stark divide. On one hand, Thatcher was pushing for the public to fully reimagine themselves as consumers, whereas Reith's foundational belief was that materialism would dangerously inhibit what it is to be human. Carter and McKinlay (2013) even note that Reith carefully organised the BBC through a specific separation between the creative process of programming and administrative and budgeting operations. Of course, Reith's vision, which emulated a high-brow cultural image, changed over time, as illustrated in the previous literature. The Peacock Report, however, ultimately challenged the 'institutional DNA' of the BBC through the socioeconomic paradigm of private commodification.

Figure 2- BBC Coat of Arms. Source: BBC Yearbook 1930.

The BBC's motto, "nation shall speak peace unto nation", is inscribed on the coat of arms alongside a lion, thunderbolt, eagles, and a shield adorned with a globe and estoiles (see Figure 2). With a commitment to this maxim, BBC broadcasts offer representations of the nation to the nation as well as to the rest of the world. Through these broadcasts, the BBC shaped the daily lives of British citizens and contributed to British national identity—contributions supposedly unmatched by any other country's forms of broadcasting (Huard 2012). The unity projected by the BBC, however, is not necessarily the reality of citizens who feel few, or no, ties to the concept of 'Britishness' (Seaton 2007). Just as Seaton observes how the BBC struggles with the definition of 'public service' (2021), she also notes that the institution has struggled with defining what 'the nation' is (2007). Seaton concludes that what the BBC does is "metabolise" the nation through a "reflective anxiety" and "creative imagination" that airs the nation's virtues while also representing a range of citizens and their experiences (2007, p.78). The nation is ever-changing, and

the BBC, as bound by duty, reflects growth and reimagination. Beginning as a centralised broadcasting company, the BBC diversified to international, national, regional, and local focuses—exemplifying the complex political geography and local identities of Great Britain and citizens living abroad.

The idea of Britishness as transmitted through the airwaves was contested through the creation of more localised or even independent stations that cropped up throughout the country. While the BBC was broadcast through the London station by English-speaking presenters, both the centrality and use of language did not provide for minority language speakers whose lives were not intertwined with the capital city. Furthermore, histories of broadcasting, as Scullion (1995, p.63) argues, have been skewed with a "distinct London bias", largely ignoring Scottish developments despite a "remarkable degree of devolution in the structure of the BBC" prior to the Second World War. With the onset of the war, it was necessary for the BBC to promote and defend a unified national cause, a case for *Britishness* (Huard 2012; Curran 2002), projected and idealised as a "soft-focused communalism, symbolised by an arcadian, rural idyll" (Curran 2002, p.145). The BBC cultivated this imaginary through an "intimate, conversational style of public discourse which conveyed the important democratic message that politics is about everyday things, and within the competence of all" (Curran 2002, p.137). Curran (2002, p.137) elaborates that this specific imagining of Britain was crafted to appeal to both the political left and the political right through representations of community and order, thus "extending the political community" and speaking to all inhabitants of Britain.

Just as Scullion (1995) observes, the interwar period, which she considers as characterised by locality, has been eclipsed by wider transformations of regionalising and unifying the BBC. The 1920s was a time where both metropolis and periphery were empowered through tailored scheduling and localised programmes. Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Dundee held their own semi-independent local stations, promoting a distinctive Scottish identity particularly through the medium of radio dramas (Scullion 1995). Both Walker (2011) and Scullion (1995) pay mind to the significance of Aberdeen station, 2BD, which staged 'Doric Nights' and transmitted folk songs and fiddle music. Moreover, the 'Glasgow Voice' was distinctly used in comedy broadcasts from the Scottish stations, and although often stereotyped, provided sonic representation of local accents (Walker 2011). Devolution, however, succumbed to the dominance of regionalisation, no longer maintaining a "close and even organic relationship with the local culture it served" (Scullion 1995, p.79). Later accounts of Scottish broadcasting include Cormack's (1993) examination of Gaelic broadcasting, which notes that radio had not been "generous to minority languages" (p.101) despite Britain being multilingual. These issues lead to increased Gaelic programming by Radio Highland as well as the creation of Radio nan Gaidheal in 1985, broadcasting in Gaelic and preserving the language through the airwaves. While languages were underrepresented, so were community issues and Scottish collective identity. Meech and Kilborn (1992) argue that media in Scotland should have distinctive characteristics and contribute to Scotland's own national self-

perception. The authors note that this issue was in some ways remedied through the creation of an independent Radio Clyde, which holds a commitment to the coverage of local affairs, and BBC Radio Scotland, which provides a platform to Scottish creatives and collective identities.

The BBC underwent a journey from operating through devolved, semi-local stations to becoming a unified national broadcast, to the regionalisation and returned localisation of programming. Regional broadcasting highlighted the cultural complexities of Britain as well as its class diversity (Clark 2003). Briggs (1975) makes note of the fact that some BBC administrators were largely of the belief that it was their own broadcasts that created cultural and geographical regions of England, and that the concept of a 'region' was unheard of before the airwaves shaped them as such. In the 1960s, localisation became a pioneering focus of the BBC's broadcasts. Local BBC stations first began as an experiment and ultimately became what Briggs considered a "topical triumph" (1975, p.166). It also comes to light in Briggs' article on local and regional broadcasting that employees of the BBC such as Peter Eckersley, the first Chief Engineer, was adamantly against a national system and firmly championed for local news, education, and debates. Briggs also outlines the creation of commercial stations such as Radio Trent, based in Nottingham and first going on air in 1975, which provided both a geographical divide with the River Trent as well as a sonic divide between English Northerners and Southerners. Ultimately, the regionalisation of broadcasting was viewed as a form of 'symbolic unification' (Harvey and Robins 1994), a sharp turn away from London-centric provisions and geographical subordination.

Notably, the BBC's influence has expanded beyond Britain, with a number of international sonic outposts. In Mullen's (2021) interrogation of the history of the BBC, he specifically prompts researchers to analyse how the BBC's activities helped colonial and imperial projects under the guise of a 'world service'. Researchers have thus examined the BBC World Service in all its incarnations as well as its influence on the creation and formatting of other international broadcasts. Seul and Ribeiro (2015, p.365) pinpoint the Second World War as a turning point for transnational broadcasting, noting that broadcasting soon became a "major element in the conduct of Britain's diplomacy". Radio broadcasting thus became more than an evening pastime in British households as it embedded itself in international relations and developed into part of a toolkit for soft diplomacy.

The BBC World Service has been considered by Seaton (2008, p.441) to be a "pragmatic ethical engineer". Its pragmatism is derived from its claim to enable the provision of impartial, fair, and honest reporting, although Seaton writes that the BBC does not "always get everything right", but "it believes over time that the journey towards truth is its vocation" (p.442). While Seaton explores the values of the BBC as emulated through world service broadcasting, Robertson (2008) undergoes a closer examination of the initial embodiment of these values abroad. Robertson argues that the World Service's first iteration as the BBC Empire Service was a tool to bolster propaganda during the rise

of totalitarianism in Europe. To do so, programmers were intent on 'projecting Englishness' overseas, making it desirable for international consumption. Robertson specifically notes of the design to appeal to British expat listeners, utilising the sonic world to conjure feelings of home through folksongs, messages from the monarchy, and aural iconographies of Britishness such as the chimes of the Big Ben. While transnational broadcasting was in many ways meant for British expats, Kerr's (2002) critical approach exposes how it also came to form a colonial discourse specifically during the Second World War. Kerr draws upon George Orwell's broadcasts for the Indian Section of the BBC's Eastern Service to conclude that broadcasts were a form of propaganda, transmitting the worldview of London to its peripheral subjects.

Radio for Schools

A history of British radio broadcasting would be incomplete without the mention of BBC schools broadcasts. This is an area of inquiry, however, that has not been extensively studied. To provide a chronological account of literature: Bailey (1954) delivers a first-hand analysis of school broadcasting three decades after it launched in Britain. This account not only traces schools broadcasting's development but also exemplifies what it was like once it had become cemented in the educational landscape. Bailey extensively documents the inner and outer workings of schools radio broadcasting, from how the programmes were selected and broadcast as well as the various roles necessary for production, dissemination, and instruction. Two decades later, in 1976, Elliott provided an examination of history talks for schools in the early years. Elliott (1976, p.351) similarly focuses on the criticism that school broadcasting initially faced—the "prejudice against wireless" amongst teachers, the "understandable reluctance" to share class time with BBC presenters, and the risky potential for a "drab uniformity" amongst schools and the curriculum. Furthermore, schools broadcasting history has been noted in Crisell's (1997) *An Introductory History of British Broadcasting*, with the author remarking on the friction in shifting from leisure and entertainment programming to educational and informational programming.

Most notably, and most recently, some scholars have documented pieces of schools broadcasting history, contributing significant work which ensures that the practice is not forgotten. Dolan (2003), although focusing on *Children's Hour,* importantly traces the linkages between home and the school as well as the converse relationship between the BBC's children's entertainment programming and schools radio. Crook's (2007) exploratory history provides an account of schools broadcasting's transformations up until the end of the Second World War, mentioning its unexpected success during wartime as a reason for its continuation. Crook also notes the influence of Mary Somerville's appointment as the first Director of School Broadcasting in 1927, as Somerville carefully curated a team of broadcasters who had the ability to talk to, engage with, and be liked by children. This observation is thoroughly expanded by Carter (2021) who focuses on one member of Somerville's production team in particular: Rhoda Power.

Carter first traces the development of schools broadcasting alongside the adult education movement of Britain in order to set the scene for Power's introduction and everlasting influence. Power, as Carter (2021, p.2) argues, provided a "quasi-anthropological pedagogical philosophy, which was hugely influential on BBC broadcasting for schools in the period up to the 1960s". Barclay (2022; 2025) has also provided key contributions to the history of schools broadcasting, focusing more so on the organisational operations, influenced by government policy on education and broadcasting. Barclay (2022, p.215) attentively argues that "the BBC was an educational resource provider with remarkably complete provision in a time when a national curriculum did not exist", later adding that the ambiguity of its original intentions only furthered its success (2025). Recently, Grenby and Gribling (2024), have examined programmes and their content, focusing on history and heritage education and the construction of national identities. The authors make important note of the emphasis on national and local histories in Scottish broadcasts, observing that this was a "model that developed first in Scotland" (Grenby and Gribling 2024, p.474). This is a significant claim, and remarkably the first of its kind—emphasising an overlooked importance of Scotland in the history of schools broadcasting, thus providing substantial support for my own arguments and research.

Educational Histories

This third section, which focuses on educational histories, attempts to examine the growing bond between histories of education and cultural and historical geography, as well as the varying methodologies and methods scholars have undertaken to understand the 'opacity' of the school. The bulk of this review shifts from examining the act of *doing* educational history and turns towards a conceptual analysis of organisational categories within the "ambiguous and unbounded nature of the world trapped within the term 'school'" (Grosvenor and Lawn 2001, p.56). These include structures, sites, and social spaces such as 'the curriculum', which produces power and citizenship, amongst other things; 'the learning environment', which can be situated within the classroom or the outdoors; and 'the lesson', a material and immaterial indicator of knowledge-needs and knowledge consumption. For the relevancy of this review to the research project, literature concerning the United Kingdom (especially Scotland) is favoured alongside literature pertaining to the subject of geography and multimedia lessons.

As educational historians grapple with the study of past schooling environments, epistemologies, and existences, they are faced with interpreting what Grosvenor and Lawn (2001) consider the 'opacity of the school'. The authors clarify:

> "The ubiquity of the school as a foundation for normative description, functionalist expression and radical critique and the site of interactionist portraits and personal experience is so obvious that it is a strange act indeed for an historian to begin by raising this commonplace idea as a problem" (p.55).

The school remains just out of reach for historians to fully understand, thus lending to its opaqueness. It is simultaneously a known and unknown space. Grosvenor and Lawn continue by noting, "the living, ambiguous and unbounded nature of the world trapped within the term 'school' is lost to the familiarities of sorting, allotting, describing and footnoting" (p.56). To analyse this immediate and elusive environment, educational historians have thoughtfully drawn inspiration from the fields of cultural and historical geography, particularly the notion of the 'spatial' in connection to educational policy, mobility, and literacy (Gulson and Symes 2007). Through this marriage of disciplines, geographers have also piqued their interests in the realm of histories of education, although this field is only recently expanding (Mills and Kraftl 2016; Holloway and Jöns 2012; Hickman Dunne and Mills 2019).

In order to first understand the school and systems of learning from the perspectives of geographers, it is imperative to trace the discipline's engagement with notions of childhood and education. Geographical work on childhood, in particular, emerged in the 1990s as scholars began to address the lack of attention given to younger social groups. James (1990) and Philo (1992) have been regarded as pivotal in pinpointing the possibilities for critically understanding children and their relationship to environments largely mediated by adults. Further reflection prompted geographers to align their understandings of childhood with debates occurring in the social sciences which contested the biological categorisation of childhood and age. Attention quickly turned towards the construction of the child through processes of socialisation, moralisation, and institutional influences (Holloway and Valentine 2000). This shift from examining essentialist understandings of individual growth to practices of power, culture, and space foregrounded the discipline of children's geographies, and as such, childhood is widely regarded by geographers to be an 'invention'. Although childhood is universally experienced ("[w]e have all been 'children" [Jones 2001, p.177]), it is still stipulated and made unique by a variety of historical and societal circumstances.

Holloway and Valentine (2000, p.9) importantly clarify through geographical emphasis that "the conceptions of childhood are spatially as well as temporally specific", influenced by a sense of place as well as multi-scalar experiences and understandings. As such, geographers have examined various place-based settings where the socialisation of children takes place, from the more-evidently institutional spaces of the school (Ploszajska 1994; Catling 2005; Gallagher 2011) to the adjacent, yet deceptively institutional setting of the playground (Thomson 2005; Gagen 2001a). Expanding this scale outwith the formal educational environment, scholars have examined geographies of childhood within the home (Sibley 1995; Valentine 1999; Holloway and Valentine 2001), the urban environment (Hendricks 1994; Cloke and Jones 2005), and the rural countryside (Valentine 1997; Matthews et al. 2000; Jones 1997; Philo 1992). The recognition of these spaces as key facets in the geography of childhood contribute to a diversity of experience, a variegated range of what it is to 'grow up', and a sensibility

towards cultures of difference and macrosocial characteristics of gender, class, age, and race (Matthews et al. 2000).

Tangential to geographies of childhood are geographies of education and learning, which "consider the importance of spatiality in the production, consumption and implications of formal education systems from pre-school to tertiary education and of informal learning environments in homes, neighbourhoods, community organisations and workspaces" (Holloway and Jöns 2012, p.482). While rooted in an attempt to understand the intersectional relationship between 'space' and 'education', scholars have, as such, derived studies ranging from spatial compositions of the classroom and the school building (Moore and Lackney 1993; Blyth and Milner 1993; Fielding 2000) to the more intangible influences of family, community, and state (Kraftl et al. 2020, Thiem 2009). In regard to geographies of education and learning, Kraftl et al. (2020, p.18) come to the important conclusion that "child- and youth-centred processes within education across contexts are embedded in and surrounded by social norms, structural inequalities, and power dynamics in the places and spaces in which children inhabit, learn, and grow up", thus centralising theories of power within contemporary geographical debates of education.

As such, entangled within this sub-discipline are wider questions regarding the political, economic, social, and cultural processes which shape both the formal and informal learning environments. An inherent theme within geographies of education which is of particular importance to the subject of schools radio broadcasting is the production and (re)production of citizenship and nationhood. Central to this notion of citizenship is a concern of children's agency and a problematisation of children as "human becomings rather than human beings" (Holloway and Valentine 2000, p.4). Gagen (2004a, p. 406) elaborates that this "involves reimagining children as competent decision-makers, self-aware individuals, and creative participants in social life". This brings into question the position of children as citizens. The institutional space of the school is a mediator of civic identity, shaping the child's understanding of belonging in the classroom, the locality, and the nation (Aitken 2005; Pykett 2009; Schmidt 2011; Mills 2021). Civic participation and belonging is also practiced in the informal learning environment, expanding the reach in which education produces imaginaries of nationhood through dominant cultural narratives (Church 2019; Mills 2013b). Overall, within the growing developments of children's geographies and geographies of education, there is shared attention to the social production of childhood and its relationship to power, space, and futurity. By providing a foundational understanding of these socio-spatial relations, the school emerges as a key, multi-scalar site of pedagogical practice, civic socialisation, and national belonging.

Despite the growing symbiosis between educational historians and geographers of education, Grosvenor and Lawn (2001, p.57) argue that the concept of space is better understood by geographers, and that "the school needs a new methodology, a close

observation of textures, materials, usage, volume and flow, and a constant return to questions about space and time in schooling". Gulson and Symes (2007, p.98) both refute and support this proposition, contending that spatial theories "travel through and between social theory" and are therefore not bound to their traditional home of geography, but educational studies are evolving as part of an 'epistemological flux' and therefore should be re-evaluated. Ultimately, through shedding the more discernible frameworks such as 'educational histories with a spatial aspect' or 'cultural and historical geographies of education', scholars have speculated that the opacity of the school can be understood through governmentality, embodied senses, spatial design, and identity formation—all concepts that will be presented in the literature review.

The Curriculum

Production of Power

The curriculum remains a foundational source for understanding power relations and pedagogical goals dictated by educational authorities. Ultimately, the curriculum commands "cultural theses" about "how the child is to live, and should live" (Popkewitz 2009, p.312). It enacts a categorisation and 'reasoned' regulation of what children should become in their lives after they exit the persisting guidance of an educational institution.

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, when curriculum history was emerging as a field of study, scholars adopted interpretive lenses and critical frameworks to understand the process of how the curriculum conveyed political, cultural, and societal values while reproducing structures of "power, privilege and inequality" (Franklin 1999, p.468). For scholars to understand these processes and power relations, it is integral for them to understand how exactly the curriculum is produced and regulated. How did hegemonic agents decide what was of value, and how did they then use this as a form of determining children's ways of becoming? To understand the curriculum, Hazlett (1979) notes that scholars must remember it is not an ahistorical process. Much of what guides curriculum historians is the Foucauldian theorisation of a 'history of the present'—or rather, a critique of the foundations of the present and how the past remains a part of contemporary phenomena. Just as the study of the curriculum is commonly misconceived as ahistorical, the curriculum itself is commonly misconceived as pre-given despite it being a social construct (Goodson 1992). Building off this understanding, Lankshear (1997, p. 30) questions why "dominant social and cultural groups have been able to establish their language, and their knowledge priorities, learning styles, pedagogical preferences, etc., as the 'official examinable culture' of the school". Through these critiques and interrogations, scholars are prompted to understand how power, value, and knowledge are bound within the curriculum and used to achieve society's goals of moral citizenship.

The construction of the curriculum ultimately enacts a form of social order. Writing in the context of the United Kingdom, Franklin (1999) observes that those who make the

curriculum, though immensely influential, are largely unidentifiable as persons or individuals, but rather as representative organisations. The curriculum-makers behind the curtain, though championing for universalist education, instead enact a dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion by making, subjecting, and positioning the child into categories constructed by the institution (Popkewitz 1997). This is evident through phrases found in past curricula such as "all children can learn". Popkewitz (1997) questions who exactly *all* the children are when there is a comparative portrayal which clearly discerns who that child *is not.* As such, the curriculum was not sensitive to the diversity of children as individuals, focusing and depending more so upon the idea of a 'normative child'. With the curriculum as a foundation, the school becomes a place of social construction and hierarchical order (Mcgregor 2003). The reasonable student is contrasted by the juvenile delinquent, one who disregards the values and principles set by the almighty curriculum. Ploszajska (1994) argues that these were inevitable roles, oftentimes predetermined by socioeconomic status, and necessary for the classifying nature of the curriculum.

When assessing the curriculum, many scholars turn to Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' which focuses on the relation between the state and the governing of citizen's behaviours for the aid of society (Popkewitz 1997; 2009; Depaepe, Simon, and Verstraete 2014; Gulson and Symes 2007; Dussel 2013). As stated by Popkewitz (2011, p.8), the "curriculum served as the 'converting ordinance' to secure the possibilities of the future". In many ways, the curriculum can be viewed as a document that governs a microcosmic mirror of society, a society of soon-to-be citizens learning and adapting to a regulated way of being determined by local or national 'educational authorities' which ensure that ideas of citizenship and good learning are fulfilled in the school. When viewed in this manner, the curriculum becomes an "instrument of social control"—a power that reconstructs, regulates, and re-enacts based off "prevailing values and beliefs, particularly those things that [society] cherished and wished to pass on to succeeding generations" (Franklin 1999, p.459). While there is a fluidity in the changing of principles with the changing of time, those in power remain to determine what is or is not of value for those who are soon to be fit for society.

Production of Citizenship (the Scottish context)

Through processes of 'moulding', 'becoming', and 'making', a child ostensibly develops into a citizen through schooling. One is not born but created through the "pedagogic machine that operates not only to impart knowledge but to instruct in, conduct, and to supervise, evaluate and rectify childhood pathologies" (Rose 1990, p.157). As mentioned, the curriculum mirrors the values that society holds and emplaces them upon young learners. The curriculum is therefore core to larger society. While in many ways the curriculum can be studied as a greater entity of power-enaction and hegemonic value regulation, some scholars maintain that it should still be studied in the specific contexts of where it was created. Hughes (1904, p.11) claims that the "national idiosyncrasies" of curriculums "will need to be very carefully estimated". Each curriculum is key to

unlocking the motivations of the nation and the tactics employed to mould loyal citizens. Tröhler (2016) elaborates on Hughes' claim by noting that the curriculum and its values need to resonate with the public and therefore appeal to a shared cultural background and identity.

In the context of Scotland, the curriculum has historically been underpinned by epistemological values of liberal universalism, egalitarianism, meritocracy, and public provision (Paterson 2009; Raffe 2004). These values contribute to what is largely considered the 'Scottish democratic myth of education' (Anderson 1995). Paterson (2009) attributes the Scottish myth of education to the expansion of secondary schooling in the late 19th century, a policy provision which demonstrated the flourishing expanse of comprehensive learning—a stark contrast to England's schooling system. The myth recounts the tale of a 'lad o'pairts' from humble origins who was able to obtain a higher education through hard work and perseverance. Many educational historians have attempted to deconstruct and contend this myth, noting the absences and flaws of the overarching claim to 'education for all'. One absence is the belated introduction of the 'lass o'pairts' counterpart, which only arose alongside the growth in teacher training opportunities for women from the 1820s (McDermid 2020), indicating a preference and exclusivity for the masculine. While Raffe (2004) ultimately notes that conflicting interpretations of the Scottish myth render its application in studying educational histories null and void, Munn and Arnott (2009, p.439) argue that with every myth is a "kernel of truth that resonates with lived reality". While the myth is present in many studies of Scotland's educational histories, its use remains contended.

Where scholars tend to agree is in the fact that Scottish education has historically been a 'distinctive' education. This 'distinctiveness' strengthens the link between education and national identity, as specific "institutions and traditions of education have symbolised Scotland's identity as a nation within the United Kingdom" (Raffe 2004, p.50). Scottish identity in education is not only concretised through the formulation of egalitarian values but also through the subjects taught on the curriculum. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 marked a crucial point in establishing these guiding principles and frameworks for much of the 20th century. This piece of legislation became somewhat of a scripture for "Catholic human rights"— a significant step in incorporating women into public educational roles, requiring more attention be paid to Gaelic language, and establishing a comprehensive system of schooling for ages 5 to 18 (Paterson 2018). Paterson (2018, p. 3) strongly affirms,

> "The Act represented Scottish educations' – and therefore Scotland's – firm choice of liberal universalism as its preferred way of entering the age of the welfare state. It was not laissez-faire liberalism, but it was also not socialism or even, in a sense, social democracy. It was a Scottish predilection for common but individual rights, for freedom that was constrained by conformity to social norms."

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 did not necessarily sustain itself as a strict rulebook for pedagogical practice, for educational reform continued throughout the decades. Rather, the 1918 Act concretised characteristics of Scottish education which allowed for cherished, liberal interpretations of what education is and how it should be done. By 1925, the previous two-stage system of secondary education which included a three-year intermediate stage and the granting of a Leaving Certificate if a further two years was completed transformed into five years of secondary education. Curricular shift slowly began to occur, as Paterson (2015, p.5) observes, English was preferred over Latin, literature was favoured as an important facet in moral education, French language added "contemporary relevance", and science and mathematics became essential requirements.

In brief, Munn and Arnott (2009) establish that Scottish education continued to transform with free and compulsory secondary education in 1947, comprehensive education in 1965, raising of the school leaving age in 1973, and parental choice of school in 1981. Furthermore, curricular distinctiveness from England continued to maintain importance into the 20th century. One such example is the subject of Modern Studies, introduced in 1959 to blend "social, economic and political approaches in studying Scottish, British and international issues" (Munn and Arnott 2009, p.441). Additionally, outdoor education, which was encouraged in the 1940s and gained popularity in the 1960s, was uniquely contextualised to Scotland's natural and cultural heritage (Higgins 2002). These teachings ultimately establish belonging through an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991; Hague 2001) via what Billig (1995) considers a form of 'banal nationalism' presented in the everyday lives of schoolchildren. Banal nationalism most obviously exists in, but is not limited to, subjects such as citizenship education or modern studies, used to promote a "common framework of civic values and a coherent national identity" (Andrews and Mycock 2008, p.149). In particular, responsible citizenship is considered a key purpose for education in Scotland as outlined on the Curriculum for Excellence which was developed in 2003 and implemented in Scottish schools from 2010 up to present day. As Biesta (2008) notes, citizenship in the case of the Curriculum for Excellence serves as an ideological position to be available throughout all educational subjects. Biesta argues that the distinct need for a citizenship ideology arose from the necessity to produce a sub-national identity, one separate from England, which focuses on "education for citizenship, rather than citizenship education" (Blee and McClosky 2003, p.3).

The Learning Environment

Inside the School

In addition to the curriculum, the learning environment plays a crucial role in histories of education. I have chosen to categorise the following literature into the concept of the 'learning environment' as it presents the opportunity to examine a wide range of educational sites from the school building to the field. The school building is commonly perceived in its most identifiable form of a 'neutral container' of learning, which perhaps,

if anything, is shaped by social and educational reform over the decades (Burke and Whyte 2021; Rousmaniere 1997). Breaking through the confines of environmental determinism, researchers have begun to focus on the social construction and production of the learning space, and how, within the 'neutral container', there exist what are understood to be animated and imperceptible experiences (Herman and Tondeur 2021). The school is assembled in a way to be influenced by "flows of people, by sensation and affect, by the memories and sense impressions of inhabitants as well as by more apparently tangible things" (Burke and Whyte 2021, p. 550). Forms of ritual and rhythm throughout the school day still remain, structured by timetables and school bells, thus rendering the school as a site of tension, particularly between students and authorities (Eggermont 2001). With considerations of these multifaceted components, scholars have grown to understand the school as a socio-material space, or a socio-material assemblage (Roehl 2012)—a space to be studied beyond the apparent (Correia 2021).

Braster, Grosvenor, and Del mar del Pozo Andrés (2011, p.209) note that within the black box of schooling, there is the "beating heart of the educational system", otherwise known as classrooms. Tondeur et al. (2017, p.281) similarly turn their attention to the crucial and most well-known proponent of the educational landscape, also considering the classroom as a living entity; part of a "connected ecology—informed by place, pedagogy, and design". Through a study of teachers from various decades, Tondeur et al. inquire about the evolution of the material landscape of the classroom, concluding that the changes of the classroom's hardware and design was attributed to the educator's changing teaching styles. Sommer (1977) similarly states that the teacher's educational philosophy can be understood simply by reviewing the layout of the classroom. Spatial and material organisation is therefore a mediator for instruction. Design was reconfigured overtime to communicate a variety of "pedagogical, curricular, socio-cultural, and economic factors" (Tondeur et al. 2017, p.292). There is a common thread of viewing the classroom as a corporeal entity, one where the space itself is a 'third teacher' (Strong-Wilson and Ellis 2007). While this contrasts O'Donoghue's (2010) view of the classroom as an 'installation', both conceptualisations share the same sentiments, prompting scholars to consider the connections, configurations, and choreographies of learning, being, and becoming that occur in a deceptively fixed space.

The immaterial is also a crucial component in the classroom environment. Recall in the section on 'Sonic Geography', Gallagher's (2011) study of an English classroom. Gallagher traces a variety of ways in which silence ruled the space, and how the instructor achieved control and order through diminishing noise. While a contemporary study, these practices trace back and are prevalent in histories of education such as Hoegaert's (2017, p.514) elucidation of the paradox of 19th century educational soundscapes, where "the clear goal of education was vocal sound" yet "silence was mobilised by educators" as a means of discipline. These disciplinary measures expanded into the realm of sight, as Landahl (2013) particularly considers the 'territory of gaze' patrolled by instructors in

Swedish classrooms. In particular, Landahl traces how the placement of school students within the classroom determined the teacher's disciplinary reign of the learning terrain.

Outside the School

The outdoor learning environment was used for both the socialisation and re-socialisation of children. The act of socialisation was for the reasoned student, eager to become a citizen of society. Re-socialisation was for the delinquents, or another way of characterising Matless' concept of the 'anti-citizen', introduced in his study of public space and environmental citizenship to portray "'vulgar' elements of the working class, whose behaviour did not live up to environmental standards" (1996, p.425). Ploszajska (1994) pays close attention to how the outdoors, specifically the rural, played a key part in remoralising juvenile delinquents, concluding that the rural was a way of distancing children from society. Ploszajska notes that in early 19th century Britain, the contrast between the urban and the rural was greater than ever. For this reason, the rural was manipulated into a "well-ordered domestic environment", serving as the "antidote to the most corrupting features of urban life, suitable for many of the newly-identified categories of socially threatening deviants" (p.416).

Outdoor and rural education was not always a restrictive way of enacting a subtle othering and moral superiority over the young anti-citizens. Higgins and Kirk (2006) examine the growth and formalisation of outdoor education in Scotland, one of the first places in the world where it was prioritised on the curriculum. While looking at the Scottish context, Higgins and Kirk refute the idea that outdoor education was utilitarian in any way, arguing that this cynicism overlooks the fact that outdoor education fostered a 'sense of place', a precursor to understanding and enacting sustainable initiatives. In a separate article, Higgins (2002) assesses the impact outdoor education had on Scottish laws, which protected natural heritage sites and strongly encouraged nature studies amongst children. Ploszajska (1998) takes a more nuanced approach in her examination of outdoor field work in education, noting that while it did foster personal development and creativity amongst children, and gave students access to vast scenic amenities, these sensory experiences were meant solely for patriotic purposes. Ploszajska notably picks up on the absence of feminine and female roles in field activities, further analysed in Mills' (2013b) study of Britain's Scout Movement, which propagandised an active and specifically masculine version of citizenship.

In a study of the Council for Preservation of Rural England's (CPRE) educational initiatives, Church (2019) examines principles of citizenship in a different light—focusing on the notion of 'hope', which, as Church argues, is notably lacking from other studies of outdoor education and citizenship. The CPRE taught children through embodied and sensory lessons in the landscape to connect preservation with hope and futurity, crafting future preservationists who held a great appreciation for their own natural environment. The relationship between the outdoors, education, citizenship, and patriotism are

complex and muddled, and although scholars have come to various conclusions, there is an evident and strong synthesis between outdoor learning and notions of identity and belonging.

The Lesson

The Geography Lesson

In connection to the curriculum, school subjects and lessons are not "monolithic entities" but rather, "continually changing bodies of knowledge, skills and beliefs reflecting the diverse interests of sub-groups and alliances among educators, which themselves are frequently shifting over time" (Franklin 1999, p.461). Although the nature of the lesson is always evolving, these changes are still enacted by hegemonic social groups who determine the principles of schooling. Morgan (2002) notes that geography is a particularly contentious subject, as it presented to students a biased image of the nation which reflected the interest of those in power. Inspired by the overarching analysis that studies of the development of geography are uncritical of power relations and disciplinary developments, Morgan adopts a critical lens, claiming that the field of geography in Britain was established "during a period of arrested imperial expansion and international competition in which many influential figures and associations took the view that greater 'social efficiency' required a renewal of cultural leadership at a national level" (2002, p.41). Through geography, young British subjects would be able to understand the Empire through a framework of imperialistic projects and social order.

As the subject developed following WWII, it faced a long push-and-pull battle with the curricular principle of producing vocationally trained students. Although geography entered the curriculum to produce clerks, merchants, and soldiers for the Empire (Huckle 1996), the subject was 'de-traditionalised' in the 1960s, challenging the hegemony of the curriculum and introducing a more nuanced understanding of children's place in the world (Morgan 2002). Nonetheless, the growing cries of relevancy returned, and geography was once again confronted by the demand for professional skills in the 1980s despite recent inclusion of "behavioural, humanistic, welfare, and radical geographies", which also met the demands of pupils, educators, and society at large (Huckle 1996, p.244). Geography, although underpinned by teachings of social responsibility, ultimately became more of a conceptual subject and therefore less vocational, putting it at threat of irrelevancy (Stannard 2003).

As part of the attempt to mould children into informed citizens, there was a subtle yet notable push for teachers and school children to focus on strengthening their 'local' understanding. This pattern of instruction was originally developed in Germany in the late 19th century under the name of *heimatkunde*, or 'home geography', which instructed students to engage first in their local environment, prompting them to emulate this pattern of study in different regions of the world (Barton 2009). In a primary account on the need for Scottish geography lessons, Rae (1953) argues that students must learn

about their 'Home Area' by educators and lesson-designers who have experienced and/or lived in this 'Home Area'. Rae lists a plethora of inaccuracies on Scotland found in geography textbooks produced in England, continuing to comment on the invaluable nature of local resources, from local surveys and news outlets to the very experience of landscapes. In the early 20th century, Bryce (1902) warned for the necessity of 'direct personal knowledge', and the great benefits of students coming to experience and learn about the very region in which they live. It is important to note that teachings of the local were not restricted to geography, for they were also present in folk dances taught in physical education classes in Scotland (Skillen 2009), the study of landscape and language through classic Scottish literature (Withers 1984), as well as science, history, religious education, and modern studies (Lawrie 2015).

The Multimedia Lesson

Within the field of educational history, there is a growing pursuit to understand how the senses were taught in the classroom (Grosvenor 2012; Crutchley, Parker, and Roberts 2018). Research has primarily been done on visual education (Adams 1989; Williamson 1938; Bradbury 2021) as well as audio education (Symes 2004; Burke and Grosvenor 2011). Geography is a beneficial focal point for understanding the senses in the classroom, as the subject paved the way for multimedia technology use, particularly through the introduction of the magic lantern, which then advanced into the use of radio and film, linking students with the wider world (Driver 2003). Ultimately, scholars aim to examine ways to understand histories of education beyond the documentary evidence of text and create a multi-layered analysis of the past (Crutchley, Parker, and Roberts 2018).

In the early to mid-20th century, there were rising calls to improve visual literacy amongst children, therefore making visual education an important component of schooling. Adams (1989) notes that visual methods were significant in environmental education, as they promoted aesthetic awareness and a feeling response to place. Adams does state, however, that exploring the natural environment was still a more favourable option to visuals if available. Art patronage schemes in post-war Britain became more common as educators believed that visual literacy promoted participation, individuality, and critical evaluation (Bradbury 2021). There was a widespread aim for children to become culturally enlightened citizens, or rather, consumers with taste (Symes 2004). This desire to "mechanise the pedagogic process" and "regulate and reform popular taste" expanded into the sonic realm through the use of the gramophone as a pedagogic instrument (Symes 2004, p.163). While the gramophone was introduced in some schooling environments to enhance musical appreciation, it was quickly replaced by the wireless apparatus. Although both are forms of mechanised, technological teaching, the radio possessed unique live-to-air qualities which allowed students across the country to tune in and learn together.

The wireless became an influential addition to education. Through its introduction, BBC broadcasts dramatically altered the soundscape of the school through the additional presence of a broadcaster's disembodied voice (Burke and Grosvenor 2011). Burke and Grosvenor claim that broadcasting was ultimately what brought the world to the school, providing experiences to students and developing a form of critical listening intwined with visual literacy. Geography, a focus of this thesis, was the most popular schools radio subject (Fox 2005). Furthermore, radiovision (wireless broadcasts supplemented with filmstrips) was noted as particularly beneficial to the study of geography due to its visual and auditory nature. In an analysis on various radiovision geography packs, Green (1985) concludes that the audio-visual approach promoted interaction and enthusiasm amongst students. In a separate analysis, O'Conner (1972) defends the use of radiovision over television to teach geography, claiming that the multimedia method is more flexible, affordable, and imaginative.

It is also important to make note of research on a neglected pedagogical sense: touch. Ploszajska (1996) traces the growing and declining use of displaying geographical phenomena through relief models in the classroom. Through the relief model, "a child could actually feel the gradual slope between a river's source and mouth" (Ploszajska 1996, p.389). Children paired touch with the visual through the construction of these models, particularly during the interwar years, where project work in the classroom was favoured. Students were encouraged to not only feel and see relief models of their own locality, but also to create models of artefacts and environments from across the globe. Tobin, Lorimer, and Naylor (2024) also explore the historical use of physical relief models for geographical instruction, observing an importance of physicality rather than theory, and a significant lack of 'playfulness' despite the embodied aspects of learning.

Geographical Imaginings of Scotland

The geographical imagination has been a driving concept within the discipline of human geography, with scholars tracing its inextricable links to the known and unknown world (Daniels 2011), landscape and aesthetic (Cosgrove 1979), and space and place (Harvey 1973). As remarked by Daniels (2011, p.182), "geographical imagination has the metaphorical capacity to refigure a larger conceptual field, to bring material and mental worlds into closer conjunction, to connect the mythical and mundane". The confluence of material and mental worlds is where identity is moulded and formed, ultimately understood through connection to and perception of place. The nation, for example, is "increasingly seen as being as much an imaginative discourse as a material reality" (Gruffudd 1995, p.220), formed through landscape, national identity, and inventions of geographical knowledge. Geographical imagination and identity formation hold ties through nationalist, notably colonial, discourse, particularly Said's (2000) conceptualisation of 'imaginative geographies' whereby geographical boundaries, citizen's identities, and cultural perceptions are articulated and exploited for the benefit of Western power and expansion.

Scotland's geographical imaginings come in great variety, as many scholars have documented differing notions of the country as constructed through social, cultural, and political means. Most notably, Blaikie (2010, p.8) writes:

> "Scotland is a physical place, but it is also a landscape of the mind: when we consider it as a country, we think not just about the objective facts of its geography but also of the images that are evoked and the emotions that belonging conjures up. Such projections and intuitions are not naïve reflexes; instead, they signal historically specific categories of thought."

Blaikie's account retells of the country's history, nation-making, and self-perception as formed from media, memories, fictions, and contradictions. The divides and separations, particularly between the urban and rural, the industrial and the agrarian, the grotesque and the idyllic, have distinctly moulded Scotland's 'branding' as a nation both inwardly and outwardly. These persistent polarities lead to Britton (2011, p.221) arguing that Scotland has a "schizophrenic identity" careening between "cosmopolitan imperialism and ethnic historic essentialism". These modern, dual imaginings of Scotland can be found in the Empire Exhibition of 1938, where Scotland was put on display to the world. The country was made to be an exhibition, an "'international' self-portraiture" where Glasgow was "leading the way on industry, engineering, and imperial (often Indian) aesthetics" and Edinburgh "retained the 'apparent immutability' of ancient Scotland" (Lamont 2023, p.95). A third exhibition was also introduced at the time: the Highland village, which complexified and contested dominant representations of Scotland focused heavily on industrial progress (Britton 2011).

Just as identity is a "moveable feast: formed and transformed continuously in relations to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us" (Hall 1992, p.277), so too are geographical imaginings bound to the identity of a nation. Political change spurred economic change which spurred social and cultural change—the aggregation of which shaped Scotland. Social welfare and the arrival of new towns brought revivalism and futurism (McEwen 2002; Fair 2023; Forsyth and Crewe 2009); hydroelectric development, carved in the pristine landscape of the Scottish Highlands symbolised economic prosperity and modernisation (Robertson 2019); and the shift in Scotland's economy towards tourism marked Scotland as a country worth visiting, prompting further emphasis on heritage preservation (Kinchin and Peach 2002; Finlay 2007). While this is only a brief summation of literature documenting Scotland's transformation, it serves as a means for pulling out threads and patterns of representation beyond that of semiotics, for as Blaikie (2015, p.82) heeds, "in seeing the nation through its signs and symbols, we often miss the narratives".

Gaps and Potentials

Regarding literature within the field of sonic geography, which includes sound as a political agent, epistemology, affect, and mediator, there has been a lack of literature examining schools radio and its relations to these larger themes. Radio, however, has not gone unstudied in this field and has been written about as a soundscape (Schafer 1993), a way of connecting youth communities (Wilkinson 2015), a device for qualitative geographical research (Pompeii 2015), an aural mode for memorial (Cohen and Willis 2004), and a trigger of imagination (Douglas 1999). Despite a vast body of geographical literature on radio, classroom radio has largely been overlooked. As the radio is broadcast through the classroom environment, it offers a new perspective to Rich (2016; 2017) and Gallagher's (2011) examinations of British educational landscapes and the necessity of quietude to demarcate spaces of learning and discipline. Sound shaped what children learned about, thus emphasising its acoustemological qualities. Additionally, it spoke to ideas of national identity and citizenship, aiding in the formulation of collective identity. In terms of mediation, there is potential to study how and why school radio programmes were produced—the content being mediated by both BBC staff and educators.

Furthermore, research on 20th century school radio broadcasting in Scotland's classrooms fits within the growing interdisciplinary and experimental understanding of the historical school. Falling into the disciplinary realm of historical and cultural geography, my research adds to Grosvenor and Lawn's (2001) call to understand the opacity of the school and undergo the difficult task of sensing educational experiences beyond the material form and function of the building. As evident in the previous section, the senses have not gone unstudied in the historical school space, and primary accounts on the effects of geography and schools radio are plentiful. Research specifically on BBC schools radio in Scotland, however, is sparse, as well as literature connecting schools radio to broader themes such as historical soundscapes, identity formation, and embodied learning. As Crutchley, Parker, and Roberts (2018, p.144) state on the growing body of work of sound and educational histories, "the neglect of the sensorium, in this case the auditory as a historical source, underlines how hearing as an aspect of human and social life is too often ignored in the everyday, and perhaps as a consequence, the historical". They continue to note that the sounds of the school are an integral part of a historical construction of the embodied educational experience. The importance of schools radio is clear—it played a large role in the classroom environment as a "'memorable interruption' in the school routine, designed to 'provide experiences'" (Burke and Grosvenor 2011, p.330). Understanding the role of schools radio opens pathways to understand the reasoning for its place on the curriculum and why educational authorities viewed the auditory as valuable for young minds, how sound configured the classroom through technology and pedagogical styles, and how the broadcast lessons taught young citizens about their own world and their place within it.

Ultimately, the analysis of radio in Scotland's classrooms offers a new avenue of study within historical-cultural geography, furthering the cultivation of the discipline as well as the possibilities of examination. While there is some literature regarding schools broadcasting, there is potential to expand upon these histories and to go beyond the static writing of events and towards more place-based and conceptual analyses that combine historical geography with sonic geography. This provides an opportunity to conduct an interdisciplinary exploration about what it meant to be 'sonically present' and experience the changing classroom soundscape alongside the changing of the nation.

Chapter 3: Methods and Sources

Introduction

This chapter introduces the various methods and sources used during my research project on schools radio broadcasting in Scotland. Upon entering the archive and beginning my process of historical research, there were the materials I knew to exist, which offered a deceptive sense of straightforwardness in the research process. With time, however, further sources emerged, and I uncovered alternative pathways of knowing and understanding the story of schools radio. As such, this chapter warrants a deeper examination of the spaces, processes, and theories of *doing* historical, or rather historical-cultural, geographical research. Furthermore, there has been substantial growth in methodological considerations of the archive worth re-examining, unpacking, and applying. I begin by taking in a series of theoretical considerations of the archive. These are particular to the sub-disciplinary area of historical-cultural geography, positioning my own work in an intellectual lineage that stems from the 'cultural turn'. My commentary also weaves together passages of more personal contemplation, when I reflect on time spent in the archives, bringing theories of 'enlivenment', 'embodiment', and 'animation' into conversation with primary source materials, detailing the ways in which I mined documents for evidence. Along the way, I introduce and explain Mansell's (2020) process of 'hearing with' the archive, which guides me to trace the sources (and lack thereof) alongside the sociocultural contexts of Scottish broadcasting and education. The chapter then includes a section on my analytical framework, one shaped around, and ultimately adapted from the 'circuit of culture' (Du Gay et al. 1997). Perhaps a little paradoxically, I end where things first began: undertaking crucial work in reflexivity by pondering on my initial experiences dealing with the subject matter, highlighting my original state of 'unknowing', and reflecting on the process of writing a missing part of the BBC's history. These considerations spark a discussion on research collaboration, a central dimension of my doctoral work, ultimately drawing this chapter to a close.

Historical-Cultural Geographies and the Archive

As observed by Mills (2013a, p.701), the archive has been "variously re-defined, its material re-imagined, and its inhabitants resurrected" largely due to "broader theoretical and methodological shifts in contemporary human geography". Mills attributes this reframing to the 'cultural turn' within the discipline. More broadly, Mills addresses the specific cross-section in which my research is positioned, that of historical-cultural geography, where, according to Dwyer and Davies (2010, p.89) energy has been directed towards 'animating' the archive and bringing "the material and documentary properties of archives into play, through an emphasis on bodily performance, the mobility of materials and the interplay between generating accounts and ongoing processes of interpretation".

While animation speaks to Griffin and Evan's (2008, p.6) suggestion of understanding a way of 'being-in-the-world', the authors insist on a cautionary notice about source materials: "If one is seeking to break new ground by escaping the tyranny of representation and immersing oneself within lived, visceral practices, then a dusty archive brimming with words and symbols hardly seems the best place to begin." In this vein, I turn to the foundational theory of the archive, to fully understand the 'dusty' space in which embodied experiences, such as listening to a schools radio broadcast, may somehow come to life.

The archive is a much-contemplated epistemic space. It has been theorised as more than merely a repository of documents surviving from the past, and rather as a place where power originates and is bound to authority (Derrida 1995). Any exploration of the archive is therefore elaborate and delicate, with scholars attempting to understand the physical space, the meaning of the space, and the production of what resides within it. To historical geographers, documents are investigated alongside notions of silence and power within a situated and contested space (Moore 2010). Researchers face ongoing challenges from the "hazardous" and "uneven" survival of documents (Moore 2010, p.263), for in almost all cases, far from everything has been preserved. The limits of what has been retained are often determined by the institutional politics of what is deemed worthy of preservation or the temporal reality of what remains materially unspoiled (Till 2001). In the case of my own research, there was a considerable unevenness between material and immaterial preservation, with archival significance seemingly granted to the former: pamphlets, teacher's notes, syllabi, and scripts stored in boxes, officially labelled, carefully treated. Understanding the production *of* and preservation *within* the archive is a common struggle for historical geographers—a situational evaluation of social, political, and value-based processes deduced from a variety of factors including the nature of the archive, the material that is present, and consequentially, informed suppositions about what is absent (Mills 2013a; Moore 2010; Withers 2002).

As the focus of never-ending questions and considerations, the "archive looms large in the imagination of historical geographers" (Moore 2010, p.263). Regarding the nature of the archive as a space, Derrida (1995) suggests that the archive is a site of 'action' due to the continuous movement of information, material, and researchers in and out of the public and private domain. Alternatively, and more humbly, Steedman (1998, p.77) describes the archive as "a place in which people can be alone with the past". Furthermore, the configuration of the institutional archive as a formidable fortress has been breached by opportunities for digital access and preservation that "requires neither travel nor the declaration of scholarly credibility to 'unlock it'" (Withers 2002, p.305). Throughout this research, I found myself navigating through the near-indefinable imaginings of modern-day archives and archiving—traversing between official and amateur collections, the orderly and the disorderly, the present and the absent, the material and the immaterial, the analogue and the digital.

I began my research in what would be considered a "situated space of archontic power" (Withers 2002, p.304)—the National Library of Scotland, more formally classified as a legal repository of documents published within the country. In this regard, this archival site is shaped by a commitment to preserve and display Scottish identity. As Foucault (1972, p.145) observed, the archive is both "evidence of a continuing identity" as well as a "system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events". The National Library of Scotland is steeped in formality, according to purpose, processes, and sense of place. I began my inquiries with the expectation that a similar convention would be applied to the material. Falling victim, however, to the 'problematic assumption' of formality (Mills 2013a), I instead encountered a wealth of unsystematic sources, disguised by box labels with dates and descriptions incompatible to the materials found within. Plenty of my time in the archives was spent somewhat becoming an informal archivist: sorting, categorising, arranging, rearranging, and documenting the material in my own database of information.

Mills (2013a, p.704) encourages fellow researchers to "embrace" the "fragmentary and disordered nature of archives", seeking out:

> "… cracks that have been central to much work by cultural-historical geographers that have animated and creatively played with fragments, using them as a way to explain the incomplete nature of our lives, states, institutions and everyday geographies".

Archival fragments are similarly embraced by educational historians, conceptualised through Grosvenor, Lawn, and Rousmaniere's (1999) method of the 'montage'. This was created as an appeal for a new methodology of understanding the school through a process of excavating, assembling, and envisaging the past. The montage "offers the historian of urban education both a method and a task: to shock, and by doing so, to illuminate and retrieve that which lies hidden and forgotten" (Grosvenor, Lawn, and Rousmaniere 1999, p.84). From a material cultural standpoint, fragments bring forward questions of what, how, and why objects survived; whether it be a snippet, a remnant, or a piece of what it once wholly was before (Trettien 2023). Despite this inherent nature of 'separation', fragments, as attested by Trettien (2023, p.516), "remain whole unto themselves…they are not themselves fragments but ephemeral—and already complete—documents". In addition, archival traces and fragments offer a productive point of entry in understanding the past (DeSilvey 2006; Ladwig et al. 2012). While there are instances of material ruination and decay, this brings into focus the "inherent silences, exclusions, and lacunae that erupt from many archival sources" (Ladwig et al. 2012, p.4). Fragments, as such, do not indicate an insufficiency, but rather an opportunity for reflective interpretation. In the case of my own research, the partial inclusion or deteriorating condition of sound recordings informed my understanding of soundscapes by drawing close attention to loss, noise, and the material limits of historical sound, in turn

foregrounding an understanding of the ways in which radio sound was produced, transmitted, and received.

Despite the intentions and practices of the BBC to publish comprehensive materials for the student, the teacher, and the institution, the materials I discovered in the archive were, indeed, fragmentary. With schools radio broadcasting, the publication of each document was highly comprehensive. The BBC itself was a miniature publishing house and acknowledged that accompanying textual material was central to the success of the sonic lesson. Each year, schools were provided with a syllabus that detailed the lessons and experts who would be at the microphone, methods for adequate reception, and theoretical underpinnings of auditory learning (see Figure 3). Despite the dedication of the BBC to textual outputs, the references which now form the archive were but a fragment of the initial material, with the only available syllabi from 1929 to 1940.

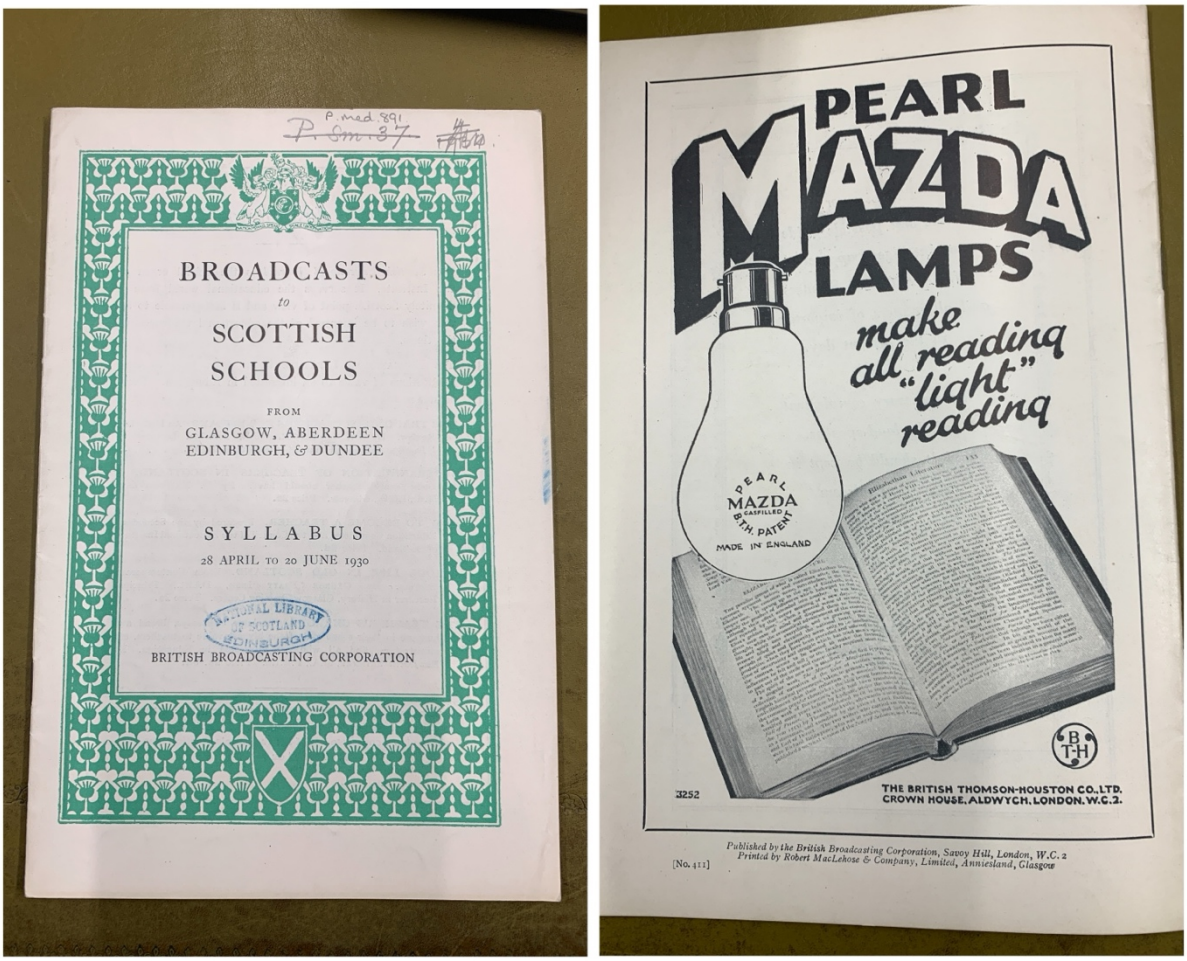

Figure 3- Front and back cover of a syllabus. Source: NLS (1930).

What survived in far greater abundance were the pamphlets. The National Library of Scotland retains hundreds of student pamphlets, containing textual instructions and visuals to be followed in parallel with broadcast listening. These pamphlets run from the 1930s to the 1990s (with a notable gap in the 1940s due to the cessation of publications during WWII), covering a multitude of subjects (heritage, history, music, drama, literature, physical education, citizenship, geography, maths, science, and foreign languages). Whilst abundant, there was a missing link between student pamphlets and notes for the teacher, with very few matches between programmes. The notes for the teacher provided valuable evidence in how best to conduct a broadcast, before, during, and after, so students would be able to integrate what they heard with their usual classroom learnings. The most glaring absence in the archives was, however, as I previously believed, the most critical aspect to my research: sound.

The act of listening to schools radio broadcasts was an embodied experience. Sound was projected by the broadcaster, mediated by the teacher, and encountered by the students. I was, however, notably lacking auditory material, and as such, I was sonically severed from the listening experience, unable to hear what was broadcast in the classroom. While sound is temporal, Revill (2016, p.245) elucidates the spatial and corporeal aspects of sound, describing the "immersive medium through which worlds are experienced". As Della Dora (2021, p.5) importantly remarks, "sound is moulded by the specific physical setting in which it is embedded". The spatial and technological conditions of sonic encounter within the built containment and soundscape of the school were naturally lost with time: the murmurings between students, the scratching of pencils, the static of the radio, and the turning of pages. Yet, the preservation of sound broadcasts through digital means would at least provide an attempt to 'sonically encounter' past lessons. Furthermore, my research pays heed to Gagen, Lorimer, and Vasudevan's (2007, p.5) instruction that "we must, by necessity, forgo any claims to the possibility of recovering in fullness the realm of lived gesture, touch and emotion". Only then can the fragments of the archive be fully embraced to generate insights beyond the rift of written word and lived experience.

While I couldn't experience the sonic present, I was still able to be 'alone with the past', closer to the material through the textual fragments of sonic encounter, required to derive meanings of embodiment from the printed word within the silence of the archive as it stands. Eventually, my archival investigation brought more sources into play—scripts and notes for broadcasts offering sonic clues and vocal instructions, allowing me to "hear a tone of voice in words that were not, in fact, spoken aloud at all" (Steedman 2002, p.30). My work therefore follows a recent trend in the realm of historical-cultural geography, which transforms the absences and fragments of the archive into an opportunity for animation and an embracing of enlivenment, experimentation, and innovation (Dwyer and Davies 2010; Lorimer 2009; Holdsworth 2003; Evans 2008; Mills 2013a; Hill 2015).

The Interspersed, the Digital, the Monolithic

It would be remiss of me if I did not also examine and explain the collaborative nature of my doctoral project, the specifics of which I cover in greater depth further along in this chapter. Through collaborative partnerships with the National Library of Scotland and BBC Scotland, I was granted further access and resources, such as the help of employees with extensive knowledge of archives and their materials. Despite being afforded a version of 'insider status', it is important to note that access to the once seemingly impenetrable archive is becoming less exclusive as it is transformed into a more public space (Myerson 1998), as has long been the case for NLS. The BBC archive, on the other hand, is less accessible, even to the institutional archivist, largely due to its monolithic nature, interspersed across various digital and physical locations. The BBC archive houses audio broadcasts alongside bureaucratic and administrative sources that document the creation and transmission of each programme such as meeting minutes, correspondences, financial records, press cuttings, and scheduling (Kavanagh 2004). As an institutional archive, it has been noted to "illuminate the broadcast world in scripts, programme decisions and interaction with the public, the great and the good, and nearly every significant musician, writer, expert and government of the day" (Seaton 2015, p.188). Though spread out over various locations across the country, my research focused on the holdings within BBC Scotland in Glasgow as well as digital repositories such as the Radio Digital Archive.

Coincidentally, as I began to boldly embrace the absence of sound in my research, I was just as quickly granted access to the Radio Digital Archive as a 'staff member', or rather a collaborative partner, of the BBC. Although founded upon radio broadcasting, the BBC has had a long-complicated relationship with its own sound archive and sound archiving practices. The BBC even has a series of stipulations as to why broadcast radio and television programming has not been retained in the archives, with reasonings such as "no recording was ever made", "making recordings was very expensive", and most glaringly, "there was no requirement to build an archive".[11] The convoluted nature of the sound archive in particular has been explored by Rooks (2010, p.177), who writes that "for there to be a sound archive, there needs to be recorded sound". Rooks describes the sheer lack of recording equipment in the early days of broadcasting, and the limited technical capabilities of recording facilities installed only decades later. With time, the sound collection grew. An appointed post of 'Sound Archivist' was created in 1999; notably at a time where schools radio broadcasting was consumed by changes such as favourability towards tape recording, swingeing budget cuts, and efforts to devise digital futures. With this new role came new stated policy aims to "retain all transmitted programmes, for at least five years" and to "capture more output in high quality itself, ensuring more live output was also captured" (Rooks 2010, p.182). Eventually the 'Sound

[11] BBC. *BBC Archives- Wiped, Missing and Lost.* Available at: https://tinyurl.com/5b8pwtd6 (Accessed: 21 May 2025).

Archive' seeped across the BBC's interconnected collections, no longer found in a single location.

Once granted access myself, I faced a challenge comparable to Chignell (2013, p.1), who remarked that the BBC's archived sound material was "very far from straightforward". Through a process of false starts and dead ends, navigating through an unfamiliar system, I eventually assembled a limited collection of digitally preserved broadcasts from Scottish schools radio. While the actual number of archived broadcasts was greater in number than the ones I ultimately used, I developed a criterion to determine which broadcasts should be further analysed. Broadcasts, naturally, had to be from Scottish schools radio (rather than English or Welsh schools radio), they had to be hearable (or rather free from a constant overpowering of static that would drain away recorded sound, as was the case for a few programmes), and they had to fit into my search for geography or geography-adjacent programming such as heritage, citizenship, and history.

Eventually, seeking to find even more clues in the fragmentary history of schools radio broadcasting in Scotland, I widened my search, discovering materials housed at the National Records of Scotland. I uncovered a host of logistical and organisational information: meeting minutes, reports, newspaper clippings, and correspondences from the varyingly named schools broadcasting committees in Scotland, examples of which are pictured in Figure 4. Sources were concentrated in the latter-half of the 20th century, documenting an array of information ranging from programme proposals, pedagogical considerations, critiques, praises, budget reports, and production concerns, showcasing the innerworkings of schools radio and compensating for my initial lack of organisational documents beyond 1940. This trove of information provided insight into an aspect of schools radio that was once sorely absent, presented through an ensemble of varyingly fragile documents bound together with fraying string and loose staples. I continued to trawl for sources from digital sites as well: amateur archives created by those who were particularly enthusiastic about radio broadcasting, official archives of newspapers such as *The Scotsman*, and online collections of the BBC's "The Listener" publications. As such, my research was marked by both the formal archival visit, and as Mills (2013a, p.710) notes, an opportunity to "remotely connect with material and 'animate' the archive", digitally "playing" with archives made for the sake of cultural engagement and wider public access.

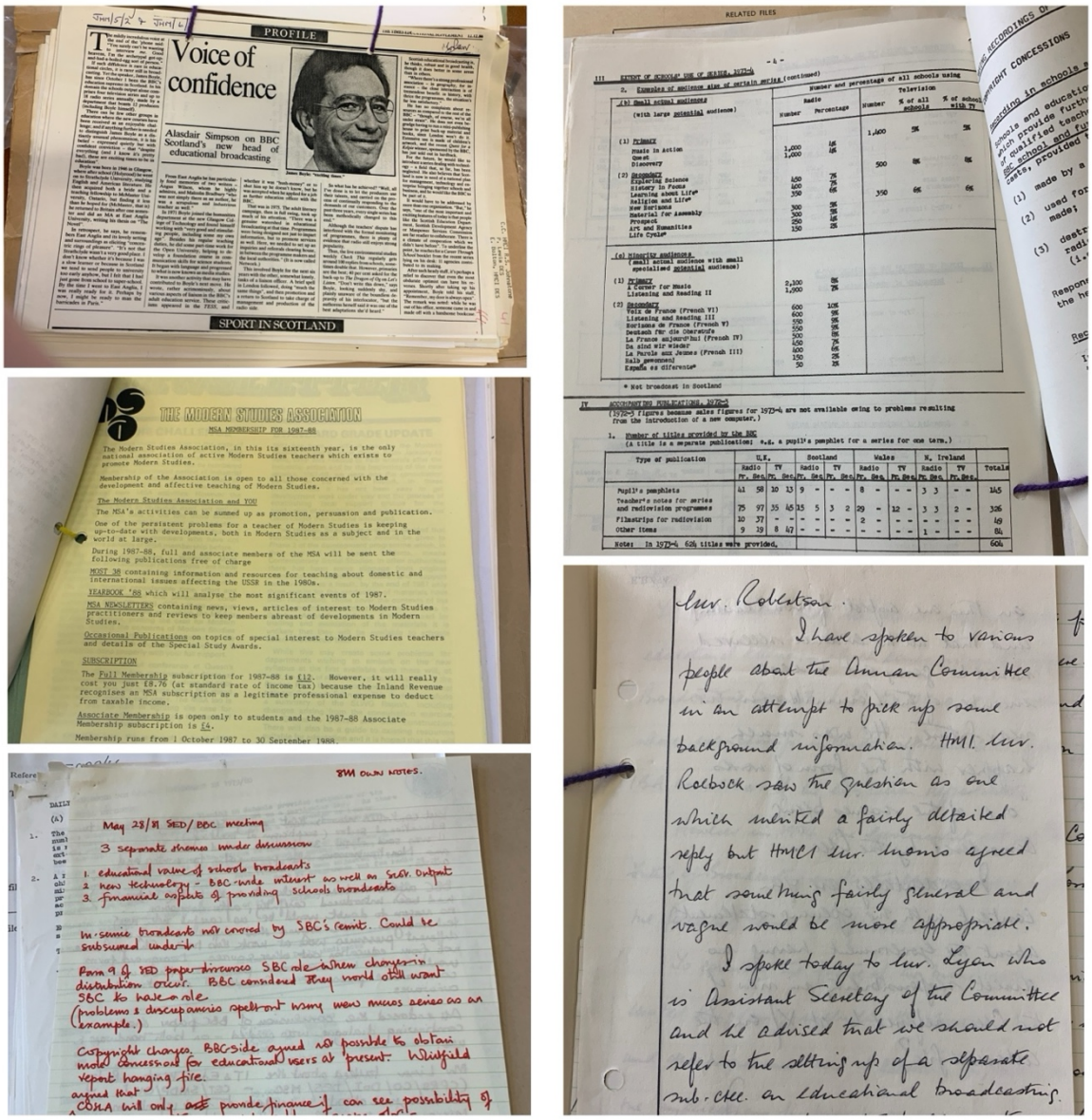

Figure 4- Sample of materials from National Records of Scotland.

For ease of reference, I have provided the following table of archival collections, and a summation of consulted materials. Further detailed information on specific sources can be found in the Appendix.

Table 1- Sources consulted.

Collection	**Materials**
National Library of Scotland	*General*: - Student pamphlets, notes for teachers, syllabi, programme schedules, worksheets, leaflets, songbooks, posters, and activity packs from 1929 to 1992 *Reports*: - The Kent Report (1928) - The Scottish Education Department Circular on Quality of Reception (1936) - School Radio and the Tape Recorder (1968) - A List of Broadcast Receiving Apparatus Suitable for Use in Schools (1932 to 1939) *Radiovision*: - Programme booklets *Books*: - *Scotland on the Air* (1938) - *Broadcasting and School Education in Scotland* (1984) - BBC Yearbooks from 1928 to 1980
National Library of Scotland Archives and Manuscript Catalogue	*Script materials*: - Manuscripts, corrected typescripts, broadcast scripts, production notes
National Library of Scotland Sound and Moving Images Collection	*Films*: - *Education at Your Service* (1954) - *The Children's Story* (1938) *Audio* - Digitally preserved programmes from Scottish schools radio as part of the John Junner collection
National Records of Scotland	*Agendas, meeting minutes, reports, and discussion papers*: - School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1960 to 1975) - Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1972 to 1991) - The Scottish Council for Educational Technology (1976 to 1981).

	Other: - Scottish Education Department flyleaves, correspondences, and newspaper cuttings
BBC Archives	*Digital* - Digitally preserved programmes from Scottish schools radio *On Site* - Radiovision pamphlets - Cassette recordings of radio programmes from 1982 to 1998
Other Archives	*GALE*: - The Listener Historical Archive 1929-1991 *ProQuest*: - Historical Newspapers: The Scotsman *British Council Film Database* - *Lessons from Air* (1943)

Hearing With the Archive

One of the main methodological and epistemological concerns that I grappled with is the interpretation of unpreserved and lost evidence. While material relics related to sound may remain, sound has largely been lost due to its fleeting nature. Lowenthal (cited in Della Dora 2021, p.1) poses a seminal question, asking, "What becomes of music, speech and other sounds, natural and man-made when they cease reverberating?" This, as Della Dora (2021 p.1), clarifies, is the "paradox" of "venturing into the sonic dimension of past environments" as historical geographers. Despite this challenge, numerous scholars have applied an acoustic way of knowing to the re-imagining and re-enlivening of histories (Veronesi and Gemeinboeck 2009; Holloway 2017; Sabra 2016; Mills 2017).

This research project has been profoundly informed and guided by what Mansell (2020) proposes as a practice of hearing with rather than listening to the past, or 'hearing with the archive'. The act of 'hearing with' "takes shape in text, image, and social discourse as much as in sound" (Mansell 2020 p.97). Mansell chooses to employ the term 'hearing' rather than 'listening' as it encapsulates the embodied and the affective within sonic encounters in the soundscape as well as within the sociocultural and political context of sound production. There is balanced emphasis on embodiment, affect, production, and operation within the study of historical geographies of sound. The technical jargon of hearing versus listening is also reasoned by Smith (2014), who writes that 'listening' is done by the historical subjects rather than by the historian, for the historian is understandably influenced by the hearing processes of the present, thus disallowing them from gaining pure and authentic access to past sound worlds. Both Smith and

Mansell encourage the historian to attempt to hear just as the historical subjects did, with Smith describing a

> "methodological, epistemological, and even ontological embeddedness—a way of examining the past that becomes second nature so that evidence is read, consciously and even subconsciously, for tidbits of the acoustic, smatterings of the auditory, gestures of silence, noise, listening, and sound" (Smith 2014, p.13).

With this way of hearing, Mansell suggests that the historian can uncover auditory truths. This, however, can only be done if the historian simultaneously hears with "both those who shaped ways of hearing and with those who were subject to their influence" (Mansell 2020, p.100). Accordingly, the incorporation of the aforementioned sociocultural and political context of sound production is central to my research.

As previously noted in brief, engaging with historical text in the archive can highlight the connections between language and embodied practice, creating a contemporary understanding of processes and performances of the past (Evans 2008). As will be made evident through this thesis, documents with visuals and text are more abundant than audio sources on schools broadcasting. Despite the imbalance, Taylor (2003, p.19) argues that there isn't a dichotomy

> "between the written and spoken word, but between the archive of supposedly enduring materials (i.e. texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral repertoire of embodied practice/ knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual)".

Therefore, this research will focus on how exactly these documents hold evidence of embodied existence (Evans 2008) and sonic encounter. As I mined for evidence of sonic clues throughout the historical documentary sources that I collected, this confirmed my appreciation of Evans' (2008, p.40) argument that

> "language employed within historical texts is teeming of life. Ways of writing reflect ways of speaking and ways of speaking are both embedded within everyday practical copings in the material world (discourse) and are capable of intervening with that world (performativity)".

Similarly, the sonic will occasionally be interpreted through the visual. This is a form of what Boutin (2021) considers a reflection of 'intersensoriality', where the sonic experience is encoded in ocular experience. Throughout my research, I came to understand that traces of sound were left in unassuming places, embedded in pamphlet material, hiding in plain sight in scribbled notes on documents, or waiting to be uncovered by "heightened powers of observation and an openness of manner" (Lorimer 2009, p.258).

Adapting the Circuit of Culture

During the later years of the 'cultural turn' in geography, there was a heightened focus towards material culture, a return to 'things' rather than to "discourse, narrative, semiotics, and the visual" (Tolia-Kelly 2009, p.500). Cultural material was, as theorised by Williams (1980), naturally attached to politics, societal makings, and sociocultural systems of governance and economics. Eventually, cultural materialism developed into studies of the 'social life' of things, or rather understanding non-agentic objects as functional and influential, capable of concurrently shaping identity and holding identity (Tolia-Kelly 2009). The radio, for example, as studied by Skuse (2005) is culturally enlivened through social processes and given meaning by the individual or larger society, as well as technologically enlivened through practices of maintenance and investment. Pegg (1983) speaks to radio as an object as well as a pervasive entity dominating the living rooms of British households, even in its silence. While my research is not entirely guided by principles of cultural materialism, my work does revolve around a technological artefact which served as the medium by which children received sound and were shaped by sound. This follows Prown's (1982, p.6) conviction that "artefacts transmit signals which elucidate mental patterns or structures", thus serving as a "cultural releaser".

This research contributes to recently expanded literatures that have incorporated the acoustic into studies of the history of education. Increasingly, scholars are turning to study the 'sonic culture of school life', addressing the 'neglect of the sensorium', and in particular, the auditory, as a meaningful historical source (Crutchley, Parker, and Roberts 2018). There is a specific quandary outlined by Weiner (2011) in regard to the materiality of sound. Weiner begins by pondering on the immaterial quality of sound, one of an ephemeral nature that dissipates with time. He then goes on to describe the physiological process of hearing, where the producer of sound is enmeshed with "particular historical and social contexts" (p.110). In this manner, sound is studied in a similar fashion to material culture, simultaneously addressing physical properties and historical processes. The material evidence of historical sound is overlapped with the immaterial, acousmatic, and imagined. Consequently, this research will not strictly apply frameworks of cultural materialism, so instead adhering to Hill's (2015, p.824) notion of "the material that incorporates the immaterial—not as something defined in opposition to the material, but as that which gives it a liveness in excess of its material, or representational, form".

For this reason, I turn to Du Gay et al.'s (1997) usage and interpretation of the circuit of culture framework in order to critically engage with the cultural meanings of the radio as an object, or 'cultural releaser', as well as the practices derived from the object. While the circuit of culture was originally linked to early works in British cultural studies (Champ 2008), it was later developed by Hall (1980), who explicated processes of 'encoding' and 'decoding' objects. Du Gay et al. (1997) more formally established the circuit of culture as a specific framework with their study of a technological device, the Sony Walkman,

connecting it with a distinct set of social practices, certain people, certain places, and its own social profile and identity. As it is also represented within a media of communication, the Walkman is inherently rendered a cultural artefact. I will be studying the radio in a similar manner, following a pattern of analysing production, consumption, regulation, representation, and identity. To provide further detail, the circuit of culture framework (Figure 5) is explained as follows:

1. Production: the creation of the cultural object and its associated materials and practices.
2. Consumption: use of the cultural object in everyday settings, or the cultural process of 'decoding' the object (Hall 1980).
3. Regulation: codifying or controlling practices of regulating the cultural object (Champ 2008).
4. Representation: processes in which language or various other symbolic systems present meanings of the cultural object.
5. Identity: 'social profiles' (Du Gay et al. 1997) of individuals, social groups, or types of people which are represented or associated with the cultural object.

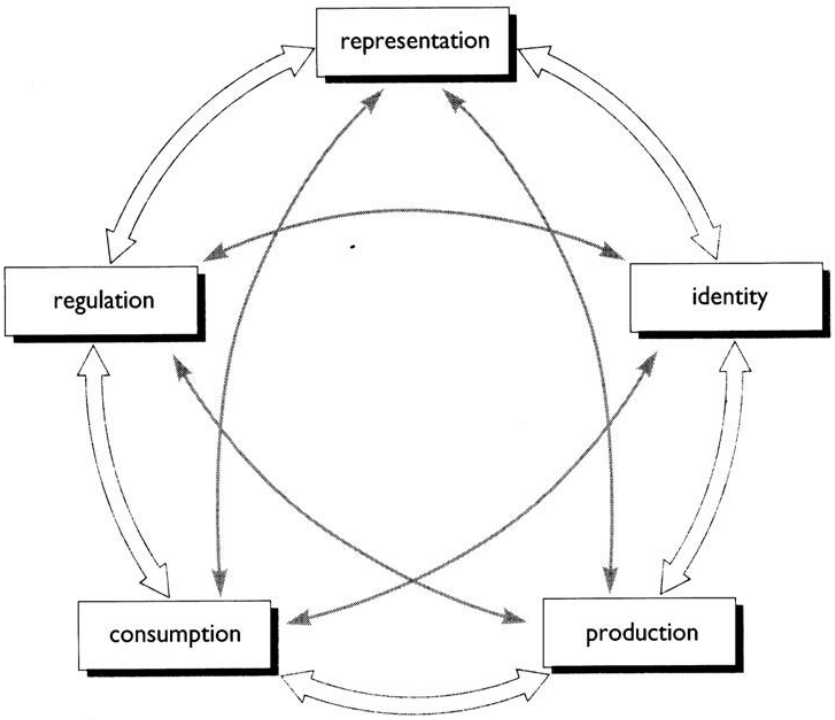

Figure 5- Circuit of culture from Du Gay et al. (1997).

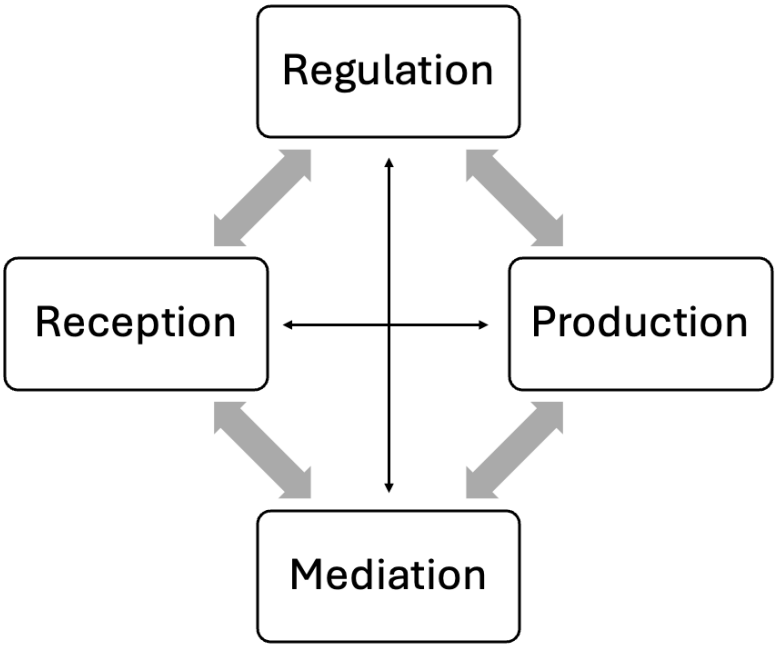

Figure 6- Adaptation of circuit of culture.

In the initial stages of my research, I tried to adhere strictly to the five components of the circuit of culture. As I delved further into analysis, however, I noted Hall's invitation to scholars which stated, "if you're going to work with the model you have to change the model and develop it" (quoted in Lewis 1994, p.272). I developed my own variant, whereby I sought to apply it to schools radio and pay mind to both the material and immaterial, fitting with the scope and breadth of my studies (Figure 6). Ultimately, I adapted the following components of analysis: *Regulation*, *Production*, *Mediation*, and *Reception*. These modes of analysis eventually framed and guided the four empirical chapters of this thesis.

Within the analysis of Regulation, I turned my focus to the governing bodies of schools radio broadcasting: the BBC, which strengthened the influence of the radio within British society, and the School Broadcasting Councils which simultaneously maintained the radio as a technological artefact throughout Scottish schools, and 'encoded' the guiding principles, pedagogical considerations, and content for children. Production, in my own research, is adapted to fit the role of the producer, thus taking away the element of *creating* the cultural object and emphasising analysis on associated materials and practices. Returning to the original circuit of culture framework, I enmesh aspects of 'representation' with my own categorisation of Production, as it was the role of the producer to attach meaning through the broadcast lessons they created. Penultimately, although these elements of analysis are not necessarily done in any specific order, I focus

on the process of Mediation, an analytical component that was not present in the original framework. Mediation, in regard to my study, encapsulates the role of the teacher, who technologically mediated the broadcasts for students, operating the artefact whilst interpreting the broadcast lesson in their own manner, choosing follow-up activities or placing the broadcast within their own schedule of lessons. Conclusively, I focus on sonic encounter in the classroom through Reception, integrating aspects of identity in order to infer how experiences of receiving the sound broadcast, being part of a listening community, and attaching meaning, or 'decoding' what was heard were constructed, anticipated, and framed through institutional and pedagogical means.

A Note on Reception

It is important to iterate that while I employ the term *reception* throughout my research, this is not intended to denote pupils' direct experiences of listening to BBC schools radio broadcasts or provide any insight of their inner worlds or subjective responses. Rather, it is used to analyse the historical and institutional conditions under which schools radio broadcasts were *received* within classrooms across Scotland. As such, I consider reception to be a situated, mediated, and pedagogically structured process which was shaped by educational authorities, broadcasters, and unique classroom circumstances. The reception of a wireless programme was intended to be an active experience dependent upon material arrangements of the classroom, social configurations of the learning environment, and interpretive frameworks provided by the BBC which encouraged children to decode broadcasts and attach meaning aligned with sociocultural, educational, and civic objectives.

Historical geographers have methodologically engaged with the presences (and absences) of children in the archives. In particular, Mills (2017, p.21) investigates audio recordings of children's voices from the past, concluding that these voices are "*impossible* to hear and are 'trapped' in written material or must be accessed via oral histories with adults". Mills continues that recorded tapes singularly provided an experience of "someone *else's* research encounter with children" (p.22), prompting further questions of mediated encounter and secondary experiences. Gagen (2001b, p.53) grapples with similar questions of writing child-centred histories, asserting that "while children are the conspicuous subjects of evidentiary material, the degree to which those texts speak of their experience is curbed by the representational politics of the archive". Ultimately, Gagen's approach is to re-examine children's participation in the realm of playground production by seeking moments of children's agency within a "complex discursive framework that obstructs any direct reading of children's subject position" (p.55). These considerations emphasise Mills' (2012, p.357) previous call arguing that "thinking about historical research can challenge children's geographers to consider other types of encounter from that of the (embodied) encounter between a researcher and a child", for example the "(adult) creator of 'material' and a young person, a young person (as creator) and their intended audience, and the further encounter between a young person from the past and a present-day researcher during fieldwork".

Drawing upon these debates, my research is strongly informed by understandings of encountered mediation and experiential mediation. By this I mean the inherent mediation of accessing materials from the archive in which encounter is skewed by "spatial and temporal deferral" (Mills 2012, p.357), and the mediation of materials by the BBC to elicit successful listening, appropriate responses, and emotional engagement from students within classroom environments. The archival sources that I engage with throughout this thesis are inherently mediated and my analysis of these materials is inferential. My points of access into this research are done through materials created by adults either working in Scottish education or for the BBC. Although there are moments in which I am able to glean certain aspects of a child's experience interacting with these broadcasts (for example, the recording of a child's voice used for a wireless lesson or the documentation of children's feelings towards certain broadcast methods for annual broadcasting council reports), it is my full intention to avoid an over-interpretation of this evidence when it does appear. With methodological caution, I approach these moments not as transparent or definite evidence of lived experience, but rather as highly mediated, curated, and institutionally framed understandings of listening by children. Through analysis, I reveal the ways in which the BBC intended to mobilise children's interpretations and engagements— matters of representation rather than experiential certainty. Crucial to this thesis is the emphasis that reception is reconceptualised as a system of 'classroom mediation' or 'inferred reception'. By framing reception through these means, I foreground listening as an institutionally and pedagogically organised act where post-broadcast meaning-making was historically contingent and dependent upon socially embedded processes.

Through my own adoption and adaptation of this circuit of culture framework, I aim to exemplify the "shared cultural space in which meaning is created, shaped, modified, and recreated" (Curtin and Gaither 2005, p.38) by incorporating analysis of all individuals and committees involved in schools radio broadcasting. It would also be beneficial to consider my own role as an interpreter of evidence, learning from the "material remains" where "the data and the interpreter bring each other into existence in dialectical fashion" (Hodder 2012, p.182). Reflexivity is a key component in the process of researching historical geography, for researchers inherently contribute meaning to historical materials (Cook and Schwartz 2002). Historical representation of materials in the archive is, as some argue, a contemporary reconstruction embedded with the perceptions of the researcher (Hanlon 2001; Moore 2010). The majority, if not all, of my research is done with the traces of what was left behind from schools radio broadcasting, preserved in an array of formal and informal archives. As the term 'traces' invokes an imagining of incompleteness, it is imperative to note that I am attempting a reconstruction from the fragments, the traces, the absences, and the presences of what remains. Through this research, I have experienced disciplinary cultural turns, archival enlivenments, and material animations, finding ways in which to embrace the disorderly, to play with the fragments, to observe embeddedness, and to seek embodiment through the inert.

Writing a History of the BBC

Now I return to reflect on the beginnings of my doctoral research. When I began in October 2021, my breadth of knowledge was limited to the awareness of the existence of schools radio in Scotland, but not the extent of its operations, the innerworkings, the why and the how, or even the general history. Through my initial findings, I established that the BBC is a powerful presence in broadcasting histories, yet my research grapples with a part of the BBC that was largely ignored. I argue, however, that a history of British radio broadcasting would be incomplete without the inclusion of BBC broadcasts for schools.

From my initial findings, histories of schools radio broadcasting were particularly limited, with any documentation focusing on Scotland even more so. I was also unaware as to how much of the whole story survived in the archives, or where the sources would take me. In many accounts, schools radio was only ever reduced to a mentioning—a fleeting comment, a brief analysis, a snippet, or a blurb, published more so in primary rather than secondary sources which largely ignored the distinction of Scottish educational broadcasts from its English or Welsh counterparts. Most notably, the origins of schools radio broadcasting have incorrectly been attributed to the London station, 2LO. In actuality, the very first experiment in schools radio was conducted in Glasgow, Scotland, months before the first 'official' London broadcast [see Chapter 1].

Admittedly, my initial position of unknowing has not fully dissipated. Being in the archives, or rather, being in the *disorderly* archives, continuously sustains a certain degree of my own ignorance. I am left unaware of the complete picture, which can only truly be formed through creation and organisation of a complete repository of schools broadcasting materials. The archived material, as mentioned, were fragments, pieced together while I hunted for the available and happened upon the unexpected. Working with fragments can be a discomfiting process. There is a nagging feeling of incompleteness, and an abiding curiosity for what else may remain interspersed in places I have not searched: schools, personal collections, informal archives, or even the materials which remain in the possession of former teachers and pupils, strewn or shoved in cabinets, shelves, and attics, with owners unbeknownst of their piece to the puzzle.

While the project was partnered with, and facilitated by, BBC Scotland, this is by no means an institutional history. Rather, I aim to adapt qualities of a social history to my own research, emulating Briggs' methods of writing a comprehensive history of the BBC (which was consciously characterised as 'a' history rather than 'the' history). As analysed by Dahl (1978, p.134), Briggs' style of writing was described as follows:

> "Programmes are present as social facts, broadcast with certain (usually very cultural) ambitions, but they also exist in the form of received programmes, whereby

> they may play a different part as compared with the one intended by the senders: they form part of the listeners' general concept of the events of the day, and mixed with the colouring of the times, they are absorbed, distorted and simplified—in short: the programmes lead their own lives. They form an element of the folklore of the 20th century."

The absorption of programmes recalls my earlier comments on incompleteness and an ever-present degree of unknowing. I will never fully understand the visceral nature of hearing a lesson broadcast live in the soundscape of the classroom. I will, however, seek to combine any textual remnants of this ephemeral experience with the remnants of institutional history in order to compile my own research on schools radio broadcasting in Scotland within the discipline of historical-cultural geography.

The Collaborative Dimension

It is now that I turn to the collaborative dimension of this research, a unique and invaluable element of my project. Through the Arts and Humanities Research Council's (AHRC) Collaborative Doctoral Partnership scheme, my research was undertaken in partnership with the National Library of Scotland and BBC Scotland—a collaboration which shaped both the experience and the output of the thesis. My industry supervisors, Alistair Bell (NLS) and Vicky Plaine (BBC Scotland), were organisational 'gatekeepers' and mentors while I was on placement and while I was researching the collections.

There was, as stipulated, a fulfilling element of industry-based career development where I spent an aggregate of six months working on placements at my partner institutions. My first was in June 2022 at BBC Scotland, where I worked on the project, *BBC Rewind*, a centenary-aligned digital showcasing of the United Kingdom's cultural history through archived film clips from the BBC. I began my placement at NLS shortly after in September 2022, working within the Moving Image and Sound Archive to gain experience in audience-driven research and digital learning. While on placement at NLS, I had the opportunity to be closer to the collections, curating a digital display on radio and giving a public talk for another important centenary: 100 years of broadcasting in Scotland. In 2024, I was interviewed in an on-air radio segment for BBC Scotland, marking the centenary of educational broadcasting. All the while, I was guided by one of my initial research questions which posed further considerations into how schools radio broadcasting can be shared as a cultural and educational asset in a digitally-mediated world [see Chapter 1]. This question held a satellite presence throughout my placements, informing my training outcomes and advancing considerations on the benefits of collaboration. Through my time at both institutions, I crossed interdisciplinary boundaries while simultaneously gaining considerable opportunities to engage with different audiences, widening the impact of my own research. In this manner, Driver's (2013, p.27) commentary for the Historical Geography Research Group's series on 'Collaborative Geographies', resonates: "Who else but geographers, those aficionados of

the ‘real world’, would embrace the possibilities that such cross-border collaboration can bring?”

While placements were integral during my time as a PhD student, so too was the greater access to collections and material. Being in collaboration with NLS and BBC Scotland, I had a team of colleagues eager to help me discover what I may have missed in the archives, taking me through the collections hidden away from average visitors, or purely inaccessible to anyone outside of the institution. It was in these moments where I encountered an array of happy accidents, discovering boxes of material from the Scottish Education Department stored in the maze-like depths below George IV Bridge, masses of uncatalogued pamphlets and cassettes in the BBC’s Glasgow offices, and digitised broadcasts stored on internal servers and databases. Without collaboration, it is safe to say that many of the materials analysed in this thesis would never have come to light. It is important to note that collaboration did not begin and end with my placements—it was a continuous process of support and reciprocity. While I oscillated between industry and academia throughout my doctoral degree, there was never a staunch separation, but rather profound evidence of realised opportunities and future promises of the benefits that these partnerships can bring.

Conclusion

As suggested by Mills (2013a, p.704), “indeed, the histories we seek to uncover as geographers are often just as fragmentary as the material we can access”. The fragments gathered in this research on schools broadcasting in Scotland can be abridged into the following classifications: ephemeral, deteriorating, and expansive. Radio broadcasts, soundscapes, and sonic encounter are naturally ephemeral, unfolding and dissipating through the temporal atmosphere, somewhat out of reach from the researcher. A companion to this ephemerality is deterioration, the materials boxed away, browning at the edges, becoming more fragile with continued storage. Lastly, is the expanse, described twofold. First, the seemingly impenetrable, unnavigable, and monolithic archive of materials, with items lost in a web of data, search terms, information, or lack thereof. Secondly, is the expanse of unknowing: the materials to be discovered and the experiences to be heard. The following history of schools broadcasting in Scotland, presented through my empirical chapters, is of a fragmentary nature, although I would clarify that these remnants remain fluid and porous. Nonetheless, the materials are pieced together by a careful examination of objective facts, analysed alongside the sociocultural and political context of their production. Mansell (2020, p.99) claims, “the historian’s role, then, is to return to these historical ways of hearing, to understand how they are assembled, and to assess what effects they had in shaping of social life”. By ‘hearing with’ the pamphlets, teacher’s notes, syllabi, meeting minutes, reports, and broadcasts, I pay mind to audible cultures shaped by those who produced the sound, and the sonic encounter of those who listened, assembling and assessing the nature and profound influence of schools radio broadcasting in Scotland.

Chapter 4: Assembling the Listening Audience: Wireless Governance and Sonic Citizenship in the Early Years of Educational Broadcasting

Introduction

This chapter creates a historical portrait of the beginning period of schools radio broadcasting in Scotland. Many components are woven together to provide a foundational historical account of the years 1924-1947, a period which includes the first experimental broadcast in Glasgow, the structuring and restructuring of broadcasting committees, and the influence of wireless education on pupils during the Second World War. I trace the motivations for the creation of schools radio and how this fitted into the new broadcasting landscape of Great Britain, the inner workings and operational duties of organisational councils and committees, the mass infrastructural project of adapting schools into 'listening schools', and the underlying ambition of authorities to mould children into sonic citizens who were trained in the practices of 'active listening'. I draw from a variety of archival sources: syllabi, BBC Yearbooks, and newspaper articles to piece together a historical narrative, and to also argue for schools broadcasting in Scotland to be considered as a pioneering influence on children's educational experiences. While the BBC was both a cultural and intellectual project guided by Reithian principles of unification and edification to a middle-class and normatively English (or rather London-centred) standard, schools broadcasting in Scotland was able to subvert these norms, first by emphasising the distinctiveness of Scottish education, and as a result, underlining the necessity to develop and preserve Scottish identity, interest, and speech through broadcast programmes.

An Auditory Experiment

Before delving into the tale of schools radio broadcasting, it is important to set the scene of the British broadcasting landscape into which wireless education emerged. When the BBC was founded in 1922 as the British Broadcasting Company, the possibilities of wireless endeavours were manifold. On the one hand, company employees were equipped with a new technological advancement in the form of a wireless apparatus, and on the other, they were brimming with the immense ambition of broadcasting to British citizens as a public service of utility to the populace. Ambition was, however, coupled with anxiety. John Reith, the Director General of the BBC, affirmed in a meeting with Glasgow Educational Advisors, "we have no set purpose of 'educating', but we know that for many the purely entertainment side of broadcasting is apt to wear thin".[12] For Reith, broadcasting was a form of civic duty—a mission to demonstrate the greatness of Britain through wireless transmissions (Huard 2012). As the first of its kind in Britain, the BBC

[12]BBC Scotland (1973) *Early Days of Broadcasting in Scotland*. Glasgow: BBC Scotland, p. 23.

had substantial control of what and who the British public would hear when they turned on their wireless receiver. In its early days, control found its voice in a paternalistic, middle-class version of the BBC which prioritised taste, intellect, and reason. Burns (1977, p.42) considered the BBC to be a "domestic diplomatic service, representing the British—or what [Reith] saw as the best of the British—to the British".

Despite the creation of child-centred programming such as *Children's Hour,* children were never explicitly at the forefront of the BBC's early mission "to inform, to educate, and to entertain". Adult education was the primary framework upon which the BBC could realise its values and bolster a practice of active rather than passive listening. This came at a crucial time in the aftermath of the First World War, when, as Jones (2021) observes, moralities heightened the need for social order and egalitarianism. Accessible, wireless education was regarded as a great equaliser in a society stratified and made vulnerable by years of conflict and massive loss of life. Hendy (2014, p.89) marks the First World War, alongside the technological invention of audio apparatuses, as a significant point in shaping the "sonic mood" of Britain, as people adapted to a form of "sonic mindedness" attuned to the affective qualities of noise and music within a newly formed soundscape which filtered into homes. Furthermore, Britain was undergoing mass educational reforms such as the 1918 Education Act for England and Wales and the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918, in an attempt to expand secondary education within a "fragmented and stratified education system" (Carter 2021, p.4). Through an almost incidental alignment of circumstances, schools radio broadcasting found a place within a society eager for order, an educational period primed for expansion, and a broadcasting landscape aspiring towards mass education and cultural edification. With the support of the Glasgow Education Authority led by Sir Charles Cleland in February 1924, the BBC formed a committee comprised of Local Education Authorities, Directors of Education, and teachers to expand the BBC's enlightening mission to children.

On February 26th, 1924, the educational possibilities of the wireless were electrified. Station 5SC, a local output of the BBC in Glasgow, broadcast the first transmission to schools. Just down the road at Garnetbank Primary School, representatives from all areas of education were present for the landmark occasion: members of the Education Authority, the Headmasters' and Head Mistresses' association, H.M. Inspectors of Schools, and most importantly, the school pupils. Very little information remains regarding what was broadcast, although arguably very little information would have been attainable even at the time of transmission. The broadcast was created to be 'closed-circuit' with only those either in attendance at the studio or at the school able to listen in to the programme—its transmission as ephemeral as its reception. The transience of the sounds thus warranted written documentation, as proof of its success could only truly be measured by those who bore audible witness. An article for *The Scotsman* detailed the organisation of the schoolroom, which was assembled to suit the technicalities of the experiment rather than the comfort of the listeners. The article reported, "[t]he demonstration took place in a room the acoustics of which left much to be desired. From

the point of construction, it was not suited to the test."[13] Dual stretches of 20-foot-long wire, earthed to a heating apparatus, coiled through the space amongst the listeners as they eagerly awaited transmission. What they eventually heard was not entirely up to a standard of good reception as the sounds transmitted from the apparatus were considered thick, staticky, and difficult to follow.

Despite this difficulty in delivery, over at station 5SC, Professor J.R. Peddie, Professor Martin, and Mademoiselle Pierrette Grizel were enthusiastically advancing the sonic trial, delivering lessons on Scottish poetry, French, and English. Their talks concluded with a violin performance, which, according to *The Scotsman,* was considered the most successful item of the experiment. Other reports, such as one published for *Wireless Weekly,* have left out any mention of this musical conclusion, writing instead that Professor Peddie's lecture on Scottish poetry was the most popular item.[14] Ultimately, despite the substandard technical arrangements and poor acoustics, the broadcast was deemed a success—proving to authorities and children alike that learning by wireless would undoubtedly become a ground-breaking and vital mode of education.[15]

As the Committee appointed by the Glasgow Education Authority endorsed the popularity of the experiment, in an equally ambitious plan, they decided to take in all Education Authorities within a 40-mile radius of Glasgow, selecting representatives to form an official Advisory Council on schools broadcasting. While this Council was in the early stages of formation, the Glasgow Education Authority was already installing wireless sets in public schools to prepare children for lessons by radio in early May.[16] The Council and Authority remained willing, and by May 9th, 1924, regular broadcasts from station 5SC to schools began with planned programmes on music, history, geography, natural history, and languages. The scope of broadcasts reached Aberdeen in September, and Edinburgh and its neighbouring counties by October. Transmission to Dundee was available in Spring of 1925.

Missteps were predictable. The pitch of content was sometimes misplaced. University lecturers, rather than primary or secondary level teachers, were used and not trained for the role of schools radio broadcasters. Well-known educationists were brought into each station: 5SC (Glasgow), 2BD (Aberdeen), and 2EH (Edinburgh) to deliver short lectures. Edinburgh 2EH, for example, chose Nobel Laureate, Professor C.G. Barkla, to speak to children about electricity and the wireless for the inaugural transmission.[17] This model mirrored that of David Cuthbertson's suggestion of wireless education, which was

[13] The Scotsman (1924) 'Experiment at Glasgow', 27 February. Available at: ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Scotsman.
[14] 'Glasgow' (1924) *Wireless Weekly*, 12 March.
[15] The Scotsman (1924) 'Experiment at Glasgow'.
[16] The Scotsman (1924) 'The Educational Aspect', 25 March. Available at: ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Scotsman.
[17] The Scotsman (1924) 'Broadcasting to Schools', 10 October.

initially described as a 'Wireless University', or a 'University for All'. The idea was first proposed in October 1923 through a letter to *The Scotsman* in which Cuthbertson writes:

> "There is a vast body of people who cannot attend a university throughout the day. They are thus debarred from acquiring a degree, at least in Scotland. But since there is so much done by wireless and 'listening in', why should not the Government establish a centre for broadcasting in the evening, so that a university course might be sent to all interested? I admit there may be a drawback in the fact that not all professors and lecturers are articulate speakers, but this broadcasting could be done by clear enunciators."[18]

Cuthbertson's opinions expose the anxieties of a post-war nation. His proposal for an early form of remote education emphasised the wireless as an opportunity for scholastic democratisation, rather than as a transmitter of elitist standards. Moreover, Cuthbertson predicted difficulties in using university lecturers untrained to speak engagingly at the microphone. As schools broadcasting was implemented and enacted with great haste, authorities operated on their own understanding of what made a 'good' education with little consideration for how a child would react to a disembodied adult voice. Furthermore, Barclay (2022) notes that despite a desire for education and entertainment through broadcasting, the BBC never had any precise plans for what this would entail. This extended to schools broadcasting which was guided by the "narrow conception of 'lectures' by 'some eminent scholar'" but ultimately devoid of any "practical courses of action to promote its' use" (Barclay 2022, p.217). By one reading, the BBC acted with conviction and urgency, much to the detriment of production content and children's listening experience.

Ignoring these impediments and opting to focus on the zeal for schools broadcasting, the BBC regarded itself at the dawning of an era of great possibility. The Company expected that children would be transformed by the introduction of the wireless in the classroom setting, and the BBC would be at the helm of educational reform, sanctioning the values of active listening and knowledge acquisition at an early age. Broadcasts would give children the opportunity of "hearing great men [*sic*] of the day, and of being associated with great events, otherwise impossible to them".[19] Despite the invaluable nature of wireless lessons, schools broadcasting did meet with criticism. In a meeting of the Glasgow Education Authority in 1923, one member moved his disapproval, disparaging the "educational value" of broadcasts by claiming that they were "another form of amusement introduced under the guise of education".[20] Others were quick to cast the wireless as the antagonist of the teacher—a misconception that the BBC sought to eliminate. At a conference on "Broadcasting and Scottish National Life", Reith reinforced

[18] The Scotsman (1923) 'Universities for All', 01 October.
[19] The Scotsman (1925) 'Cinema Programmes: Supervision Suggested Head Teachers' Views', 3 June.
[20] The Scotsman (1924) 'Teachers' Salaries: Discussion By Glasgow Education Authority', 22 February.

the fact that teachers would always be in cooperation with the broadcast, and in no way would the broadcaster ever supersede the trained teacher.[21]

While broadcasts may not have relegated the teacher, they certainly had an impact on how the wireless was used and how education was delivered. The effects of broadcasting to schools were not formally evaluated in the initial years of operation. The BBC, however, remained compelled by the possibilities of the wireless, both a form of instruction and a technological medium that already presented great potential in transforming the nation. They maintained that the scope of schools broadcasting was not limited to children, for "people as young as two and as old as ninety-three" were listening to these broadcasts.[22] In only a few years, the BBC had established itself as an important component of, and medium for, modern British life, and it was deemed only proper for the corporation to extend, rather than alienate, its values to the children of Britain. Reith also had a specific inclination for educating the children of Scotland. A Scot himself, he noted that it would be a particular gratification for him to "contribute still further to the improvement of the amenities of life and the advancement of education in this country".[23]

The Kent Report

With this new mode of learning introduced to classrooms across the nation, it was vital for authorities to ensure its effectiveness and educational value. In 1926, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees financed a report on the value of broadcasting in schools in order to subject wireless education to a critical examination. What came to be known as the "Kent Report" was an impartial inquest which, with necessary friction, slowed the eagerness of the BBC through the collection of evidence and proposals of future recommendations. The report came at a time where schools broadcasting had been established for only four years. In a short period, there were already 70,000 children listening across Britain, in spite of a federated education system.[24] Schools broadcasting went through an unprecedented period of growth, and statistics seemingly proved that the BBC's zealousness did not jeopardise its use. It is important to note that in the first few years of schools broadcasting, the BBC was not progressing without recourse to listeners. Teachers regularly provided feedback by submitting reports and letters, while in turn receiving a syllabus issued at the end of the term to all schools, Local Education Authorities, H.M. Inspectors, educational organisations, and educational newspapers. Before the inquiry began, it was clear to the members of the Kent Committee that schools broadcasting was an established force which would only continue to grow in popularity.

[21] The Scotsman (1926) 'Wireless in Schools: Educational Value: Glasgow Conference', 14 October.
[22] The Scotsman (1927) 'Creative Education: School Experiment Boys And Printing Press', 6 January.
[23] The Scotsman (1926) 'Wireless In Schools'.
[24] Kent, England Education Committee (1928) *Educational broadcasting: report of a special investigation in the county of Kent during the year 1927*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

Despite experimentation having begun in Scotland, the inquiry turned south of the border, and researchers selected the County of Kent in England as the area of study due to its wide variety of districts which exhibited differences in social, economic, and cultural conditions. The Kent Education Committee, free from influence of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, was to compile a report based on the opinion and experiences of teachers and students within the county. For Rt. Hon. H.A.L. Fisher:

> "The Report, which is characterised throughout by candour and common sense should have an important effect in commending a wide use of wireless lessons under proper safeguards to those who are responsible for the teaching in elementary schools."[25]

The report contents acknowledged common criticisms of wireless education, particularly the fact that the wireless was a contrarian to the "best tendencies of modern educational thought" as it "tends to make a virtue of mere passivity".[26] The report's language found a middle ground between the extremes of condemnation and grand opportunity, concluding that the wireless was a mode of education which should not be ignored. According to the Kent Committee, the future and impact of broadcasting to children remained fairly unknown. A summary of the findings of the Kent Inquiry is as follows:

1. There was a demand for wireless lessons by teachers.
2. Properly maintained technology, permanent machinery, and suitable conditions were essential for educational transmissions.
3. Broadcast lessons were stimulating for impressionable children.
4. There must be better cooperation between the speaker, teacher, and pupil. For this reason, the BBC should maintain communication with schools.
5. Children were emotionally moved when they realised that they were listening to broadcasts alongside other pupils across the nation.
6. The lecturer needed to be an expert as well as a good speaker.
7. The teacher should have knowledge about the broadcast.

The usefulness of schools broadcasts was carefully measured throughout the inquiry, with a criterion of 'effectiveness' evaluated primarily through testimonials. The report collected statements from Mr. J.C. Stobart, H.M.I, the first Education Director of the BBC, who, naturally biased, spoke positively of the experiences by emphasising the value of broadcasts in enriching the educational lives of children through exposure to concerts, plays, and lectures. Stobart also noted the practical essentials of wireless education, with many schools understaffed, and others isolated in rural areas. The wireless teacher was able to present children with a broader outlook on life while commanding their direct

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[25] British Broadcasting Corporation (1929) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Edinburgh- Programme and Syllabus, April 29th- June 26th, 1929*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[26] Kent (1928) *Educational broadcasting*.

attention, sometimes awakening an enthusiasm hitherto untapped—all tasks which may have been difficult for a standard lesson to fully accomplish. The inquiry did, however, find evidence to challenge Stobart's claims of unquestionable enthusiasm and interest amongst children. Just as Cuthbertson foretold, most lectures were found to be 'dry', dull, and impersonable. Subject experts were not properly equipped in the skill of communicating to or retaining the attention of young children. It was also noted that lessons given by teaching experts were too like the ordinary classroom lesson. The BBC therefore found itself in a challenging position—forced to somehow find "masters of their subject" and "good broadcasters" with personalities that would also spark the child's curiosity.[27]

[27] Kent (1928) *Educational broadcasting*.

1. MADAME OBERLIN. 2. M. JEAN JACQUES OBERLIN.
3. MR. ROBERT McLEOD.
4. DR. GEORGE PRATT INSH. 5. MR. W. KING GILLIES.

Figure 7- Schools radio broadcasters. Source: NLS (1929).

The Kent Education Committee similarly collected testimonials from teachers who spoke for the emotional receptiveness of the listening children. For the Head Teacher of an urban girls-school in Kent, "there is an unconscious, immeasurable, but real benefit in the wireless connexion with other schools in other parts of the country".[28] While this observation may seem sensational, perhaps written as a way of further promoting the importance of the wireless, there still remains some objective truth as interpreted through sonic theory. Whether known to them or not, children were undeniably a part of a collective moulded by sound as affect, with its synchronicities and creation of sonic encounter. As Hangen (2015, p. 104) describes, "by collapsing space with simultaneity—whisking listeners instantly to locations both real and fantastic—radio allowed its audiences literally to constitute imagined communities". While it was possible to listen to programmes on the BBC outside of the school day, the production, structure, and implementation of radio and transmitted lessons were uniquely tailored for the school pupil, providing an inimitable experience of listening and learning alongside the nation's children.

Along a similar vein, the Head Teacher of a boys' school reported,

> "I am of the opinion that an opportunity is afforded of fostering within our pupils the spirit of adventure, and it is this, to them, broadcasting, in its not just facts that they require. Present form has a certain wonder for them—there is distance and yet near-at-hand sounds. The calls are from an outer world unknown, and, to many, mystic. A broadening outlook, a spirit of enquiry and a differentiation between good and indifferent things will be fostered, but only in so far as the lectures are suggestive."[29]

These findings were compiled as "definite evidence" collected by a series of "prosaic questions" as the Committee noted that it would be difficult to estimate the indirect effects of wireless.[30] Despite the straightforward nature of inquiry, threads, theories, elucidations, and patterns of experience can be pulled out of the findings: the creation of an imagined audience; the sonic expanse transmitted within the contained walls of a schoolroom; and the sophisticated choreography between institution, broadcaster, teacher, and child. The Kent Report marked an early, yet important, shift in the nature of schools radio broadcasting, illuminating themes which will be considered in greater detail later in the thesis.

Meanwhile, the BBC, upon recommendation from the Kent Report, decided to develop an appropriate body for undertaking and governing schools broadcasting. In February 1929, the Central Council for School Broadcasting (CCSB) met for the first time, serving as the lasting administrative structure, and ensuring continuous contact between the BBC (The

[28] Kent (1928) *Educational broadcasting*.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

British Broadcasting Corporation, as of 1927), Education Authorities, and teachers. The CCSB held various powers. At the 'studio end' responsibilities included scheduling tailored to the "various types of schools and grades of pupils, and to the relative claims of different subjects".[31] Additionally, it ensured alignment with the curriculum, as well as desirable *un*alignment with the curriculum. Also within its command was research on, and recommendations for, radio-led teaching techniques. For the 'listening end', Council responsibilities included "obtaining systematic reports from Local Education Authorities, H.M. Inspectors, and Teachers on the conduct and utility of broadcast lessons to schools", investigation of any teaching or administrative issues arising, and efforts to encourage experiment and disseminate findings to the educational world.[32] Other responsibilities extended to planning content for publications such as pamphlets and teacher's notes, and to continuously obtain any additional information or advice concerning schools broadcasting.

In May 1929, it was decided that due to Scotland's distinct educational system, developed from an education act separate from England's in 1918, it would serve interests best to create a Scottish Sub-Council. Scottish schools radio was therefore granted a limited amount of pedagogical freedom largely due to its learning system—resulting in the creation of a Scottish wireless governing committee. The Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting met for the first time on December 4th, 1929, maintaining close contact with the CCSB while representing the pedagogical needs of Scottish schools. Membership of the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting consisted of a Chairman; representative members of the Scottish Education Department (see Figure 8), the Association of Education Authorities in Scotland, the Education Institute of Scotland, the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland, the National Committee for the Training of Teachers; and Subject Committees in English Literature, History, Geography, Science, Modern Languages, Music, and Rural Schools (see Figure 9). The responsibilities assigned to the Scottish Sub-Council closely mirrored those delineated for the CCSB. There was, however, an accommodating expectation that complete responsibility would be placed on the Sub-Council to tailor programmes to the unique circumstances of Scottish education and subject interest. Members of the Sub-Council were to plan all broadcast courses produced in Scotland, study the development of schools broadcasting within the nation, and disseminate any findings to those involved in Scottish education. This marked the foundational point in which schools broadcasting in Scotland was able to expand and transmit the sounds and stories of Scotland to listening pupils, teaching them of their country, how it came to be, what it was, and what it could become.

[31] BBC (1929) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, April 29th- June 26th, 1929*.
[32] Ibid.

Figure 8- Sir John Reith and David Cleghorn Thomson, the BBC's Scottish Regional Director, meeting with Education Advisors. Source: Early Days of Broadcasting in Scotland (1973).

Figure 9- Organisation of schools broadcasting in Scotland. Source: NLS (1929).

Listening Cultures

Although the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting was a pedagogic extension of broadcasting operations in Scotland, it still had to navigate the cultural norms of the British broadcasting landscape, forged and moulded by the BBC. The 'BBC culture' represented a union of intellect and status, and the values that the speakers' voiced were a projection of an idealisation of upper middle-class British identity, standards, and beliefs. The Talks Department, founded in 1927 under the direction of Hilda Mathieson, upheld these ideals, broadcasting the voices of "'the great and the good', well-known names in society and the literary world" (Lewis 2021, p.2). Despite being experts in their fields, the voices at the microphone were warded off adapting their speech patterns to be conversational, warm, or effective. This was largely due to the fact that Reith enforced a rule stipulating that talk-based and discussion programmes were to be scripted, thus amplifying the unnatural elements of the voice (Lewis 2021, p.2). Reith, and by extension, the BBC, placed value on a certain vocal steadiness, devoid of emotion, creating a 'collective personality' of broadcasters whose voices ultimately functioned as acousmatic symbols of the BBC and its values (Moran 2014). It is through these voices, that the British public learned to listen.

With control over the airwaves, the BBC had the power to influence what people listened to and train them in new ways of listening to a disembodied voice (Western 2015). The act of listening to the BBC was meant to be concentrated and active, and the BBC would deliberately avoid continuity and fixed scheduling in order to "discourage lazy, non-stop listening" (Scannell 1989, p.149). These practices of auditory power granted Reith and the BBC a foothold for exerting influence on the social order—arguably a more hegemonic conceptualisation of the BBC's mission of 'public service broadcasting'. Broadcasting was implicitly an act of ethics and enlightenment, and explicitly, a form of education. Schools radio broadcasting nestled into the broader mission of the BBC, and found a place within the Talks Department, alongside Adult Education. Listening cultures in the early days of radio were intentionally educational. As listening to the radio was a new act, practice, and occasional task, there was no way of knowing precisely *how* to listen. As Mansell (2020) observes and Gallacher (2022, p.241) affirms, our "seemingly normalized ways of listening are not innate, and they are, in fact, a form of learned behaviour". To illustrate the claim, Gallacher employs the example of when listeners of the British Empire were left questioning whether or not it would be respectful or necessary to wear hats and stand when listening to a broadcast from the Queen. The British public was introduced to a technological artefact that broadcasted a disembodied voice yet were left untrained as to how to engage with sounds and speakers they could not witness, and if the adults could not ascertain how exactly to listen, it is uncertain whether the children would be able to grasp, or adapt to, this way of hearing.

By the late 1920s, the 'radio feature' joined 'Talks' as a novel genre of broadcast. Features were an injection of modernism and experimentation into the radio world, dramatising

material with a combination of music, poetry, and scripted narration (Lewis 2021; Lodhi and Wrigley 2018). Through features, producers were eager to expand the voices heard on the airwaves, challenging the sturdy listening cultures of the BBC by presenting regional voices and tones of informality. While radio features on the BBC, through the initiative of a select few producers, attempted to broadcast a range of voices on the airwaves, only a few programmes were successful in broadcasting a wider variety of accents, particularly English regional variations (Lewis 2021). North of the border, however, local voices, cultures, and Gaelic language were, in fact, thriving through local BBC stations such as 2BD in Aberdeen. In his institutional memoir, *The BBC in Scotland: the First 50 Years,* Walker (2011, p.61) recalls that 2BD was "the perfect station, wanting little or nothing from the other broadcasting centres and ready to supply Scottish humour, music and variety, to both its own listeners and to the rest of the country as required". Walker considers 2BD to be an "insulated" broadcasting community, free from the "taint of metropolitan snobbery" due to its situation in the "agricultural hinterland with its long tradition of bothy life and entertainment" (p.60).

Reith's imposition of broadcasts as suitable means of communication for those who had a 'claim to be heard' largely restricted the sonic representation of Great Britain, although local Scottish stations seemed to persevere against these standards. Little has been said, however, about the expansion of voices through the schools radio department, particularly the Scottish branch of educational broadcasting. While recordings from the early days of schools radio in Scotland have evaded preservation in the formal archive, it is possible to infer that schools radio producers were some of the first at the BBC to instigate, maintain, and amplify a greater representation of voice as early as the 1930s.

The Influence of Schools Radio

Transformation in schools radio began following recommendations by the Kent Report, which ultimately deemed the 'talk' format unsuitable for students. Educational broadcasters were told to make their programmes 'lessons' as opposed to 'lectures' through techniques such as cooperation with the teacher, interaction with the students, illustrative anecdotes, dramatisations, and musical performance.[33] The women of schools broadcasting in the London studio were production visionaries for these techniques. Mary Somerville, the Director of School Broadcasting from 1929 to 1947, observed the general detachment of wireless education from the interest of the child, and thus carefully selected a team of producers to align with her values (Crook 2007). Most notably, Somerville chose sisters Rhoda Power and Eileen Power; the former who developed an 'oral vision' methodology which incorporated sound effects, dialogues, and music, and the latter who proposed the idea of 'dramatic interludes' (Carter 2021). While these techniques originated in London, they found their way into Scottish programming as well.

[33] Kent (1928) *Educational broadcasting*.

The Kent Report had substantial influence on Scottish schools broadcasting, ultimately recommending the continuation of a separate Scottish provision, though this case was presented on the basis of educational rather than cultural distinctiveness. In September 1928, schools broadcasting in Scotland was merged into a singular programme, further unifying the nation's children through sonic experience. Notably, this coincided with the planning of a Scottish Regional Programme in 1928, a radio service which would consolidate local stations 5SC, 2BD, and 2EH. Localisation, though a treasured asset amongst Scottish stations, was thus superseded by regionalisation on a basis of financial gain (Scullion 1997). The merger of Scottish programming was heavily debated by both the public and those employed at the BBC. Yet, by 1929, regionalisation was proceeding "with vengeance" (Walker 2011, p.68), and locality was diffused by centralisation and a strengthening of Scotland's unity. Despite similar narratives of consolidation, Scottish schools radio broadcasting flourished while regular Scottish programming was briefly reduced, and as such, this is where the narratives diverge. Schools radio successfully demonstrated via the Kent Report the necessity of a distinctive Scottish education, and with this one technicality, schools broadcasting expanded, slowly amplifying the airwaves with Scottish voices—voices which were gradually fading out on regular programming due to the reduction and centralisation of local stations.

Regular Scottish programming seemingly struggled with its shift towards regionalisation, succumbing to a brief period of relaying London programmes due to its lack of broadcasting headquarters and a proper transmitter. The Scottish Regional Programme was in a vulnerable state, but by the 1930s, had recovered through the establishment of headquarters in Edinburgh and the 1932 expansion of transmission through the Scottish Regional Wavelength. Notably, Walker (2011) claims that the expansion of Scottish programming was actually a result of the popularity and success of schools radio broadcasting. With Scottish regional broadcasting solidified, this provided producers with greater opportunity to reflect the interest of Scottish listeners through their programmes, free from the authority of the London studio. Schools radio followed these trends, arguably bringing the sounds of Scotland onto the airwaves and into the classroom.

As time passed, the Sub-Council was intent on teaching children about their own country and their own culture, and by way of this, the voices of the people of Scotland. They could, however, find themselves in murky, uncertain territory. Spoken Scots was represented by dialects which differed in consonants, vowels, and intonation. On the one hand, producers found it a necessity to preserve the life of local dialects, yet on the other hand, they were aware that the preservation of local variations might deter children from employment in metropolitan areas, particularly 'down South' in England. After an experimental trial of *Speech Training* lessons, where a variety of Scottish dialects were featured with clear articulation on intonation and inflection, officials opted for further experimentation. The hope of the Speech Committee was for children to gain "a

sensitiveness to the beauty and utility of clear, correct speech" while avoiding any form of forced or false homogeneity.[34]

While broadcasts during this time were not formally preserved and stored, through documents such as accompanying pamphlets, teacher's notes, and syllabi, it is possible to 'hear with' (Mansell 2020) the archive and understand the audio content and sociocultural meanings of educational broadcasts. The *1935 Annual Programme for Broadcasts to Scottish Schools* notes that "the course will be designed so as to avoid any tendency towards standardization of Scottish speech or modification of local dialects".[35] In the Annual Programme for the upcoming year, Anne H. Macallister, a lecturer in speech training at Jordanhill Training Centre, clarified the following regarding her course, *Speech Training for Scottish Schools*:

> "The standard of Southern English, although now commonly accepted in England, does not apply to Scotland. Historically, the phonology of Scots has always differed in some respects from the phonology of Southern English. If this were all, it might be comparatively easy to agree on a standard of educated Scottish speech that would be true to the Scottish tradition and acceptable to educated people in any English-speaking country. But spoken Scots is represented to-day by a variety of dialects which differ from each other, sometimes in their consonants, more often in their vowels, and most of all in intonation and stress; and these differences tend to persist into the English used by Scottish speakers. Such local variations give life and character to speech; although in extreme forms they may be a serious vocational handicap [*sic*] to boys and girls who seek employment furth of Scotland. For these reasons the Committee are anxious that the broadcast lessons should take account of local variations, in so far as these occur in educated Scottish speech; and they are investigating the question as fully as possible."[36]

Understandably, there was caution about how to preserve a Scottish way of speaking that did not conform towards "artificial uniformity".[37] Schools radio producers were pushing the boundaries of what could be heard on the radio at the time, notably persisting against the 'collective personality' of BBC radio presentation dictated by Reith. In literature-focused broadcasts, children were also presented with a range of dialects, where the student pamphlet noted,

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[34] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.

[35] British Broadcasting Corporation (1934) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1934 to June 1935, Annual Programme*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.

[36] British Broadcasting Corporation (1935) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1935 to June 1936, Annual Programme*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.

[37] Ibid.

> "By the way, you may find some of the Scots words, especially in the older poems, a little difficult. If you read the poems several times over, and think hard, you will be able, with the help of the explanations given in the margin, to follow the poems quite easily."[38]

In a lesson for the programme, *Scotland's Workshops,* which took rural children on an audio journey through the city, they listened to the "voices of the people who live and work there".[39] While the actual sounds of these broadcasts cease to exist, through textual evidence, it can be gleaned that children were exposed as well as encouraged to maintain Scottish phonology and learn Scots dialects in a time where 'received pronunciation' was the dominating broadcast voice. Through schools broadcasting, traces of locality began to reappear, just as they once did in the days of 5SC, 2BD, and 2EH, transmitting distinctive identities in a broadcasting landscape defined by regions.

The *Sine Qua Non* of Schools Broadcasting

According to the Kent Report, the influence of schools radio "reached 'as far north as the Orkneys, and as far south as the Channel Islands,' and there was no apparent reason why it should not penetrate every school in-between".[40] At the core of the educational broadcasting mission was some form of geographical balance, ultimately to be manifest through widespread technological equity. There is a reason why Hangen (2015, p. 100) describes radio as "the most pervasive media on earth". From the outset, the BBC was conscious that broadcasting to schools would require vast technological and infrastructural developments. If it was to fulfil its mission of educating the nation's children, then it would also have to uphold the responsibilities of ensuring equal access to a wireless apparatus with good-quality reception. In 1924, at the very beginning of schools broadcasting's mission, a local company installed loudspeakers in schools in Renfrew and Greenock. A sub-committee, in connection with station 5SC, studied the quality of reception at these two schools, noting headmasters' mixed reviews. Findings of poor reception in Renfrewshire were not encouraging. It was decided that "the future of the development of the wireless lesson will depend very largely upon the improvement of the receiving and loud-speaking apparatus".[41] The educational use of wireless in the classroom had great potential, however, the success of this mission was entirely dependent on technology and reception.

One of the biggest barriers the Scottish Sub-Council faced in ensuring good quality reception was Scotland's physical relief. The range of transmission was obstructed by

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[38] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) *Scottish Minstrelsy, Summer 1936*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[39] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) *Scotland's Workshops, Autumn 1936.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[40] Ibid.
[41] 'Broadcasting in Schools- Renfrewshire' (1925) *The Broadcaster and Wireless Retailer*, 6(33), Apr., p.187.

Scotland's mountain ranges—not something registering on radio's 'pervasive' electromagnetic spectrum. Transmissions were at risk of fading out or interference, and as such, the availability of broadcasts to children remained restricted. The Scottish Regional Transmitter in Falkirk, which opened in 1932, provided a much-needed widening of broadcasting activities and an increase in Scottish programming. This did not end the Scottish Sub-Council's battle with reception quality. It was still necessary for schools to use specific types of receiving sets in specific areas. After some research, the Sub-Council created a publication titled "A First List of Broadcast Receiving Apparatus Suitable for Use in Schools", including the prescription of devices suited to geographical location.[42]

While conditions for provision on the airwaves were an impediment in the Sub-Council's mission of broadcasting to the children of Scotland, through the formation of further specialist committees, the Sub-Council remained steadfast in efforts to ensure that good reception would be widely attainable. In 1931, they developed a Technical Sub-Committee to devise standards and techniques of good reception. The Sub-Committee soon found that they not only faced challenges set by physical geography, but they also faced challenges in the form of ineffective installations in local schools. The Sub-Committee discovered that many schools were spending money on unsuitable wireless sets, not properly installing the sets, trialling lessons improperly, and unfairly deciding schools broadcasting was a useless form of learning. The school broadcasting councils were obliged to send a clear instruction to headmasters: it would be a "waste of time and money" for schools to install loud-speakers incapable of delivering to a good standard of volume or clarity of speech.[43]

While 'the birth' of radio oftentimes portrays the invention of the apparatus and the values bestowed upon it, the 'enlivenment' of radio (Skuse 2005) and the 'emergence' of radio exemplify socioeconomic systems and a "diffused network of social interactions" (Mowitt 2011, p.1) born from the conception of the apparatus as a cultural object. For example, when the Sub-Committee emphasised that maintenance of the apparatus was essential, this prompted the creation of a small-scale, radio-centred economy. Teachers were not left to survive on their own. The BBC placed a limited number of engineers at the disposal of the Scottish Sub-Council for the purpose of aiding teachers in the maintenance of wireless sets. Teachers were also advised to plan with the "local dealer for periodical charging of accumulators and the replacement of high-tension batteries when necessary".[44] Regular talks on the installation and maintenance of school sets were

[42] British Broadcasting Corporation (1933) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Arranged by the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee- Programme January to June 1933/ Syllabus 9 January to 17 March 1933.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[43] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.
[44] British Broadcasting Corporation (1930) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Edinburgh- Programme January 1930-June 1930/ Syllabus 13th January to 21st March 1930*.

given by the BBC Education Engineer in Scotland, and answers to frequent questions by teachers were given over the microphone during the last ten minutes of a school broadcast. Such talks included "The Ideal School Installation", "The Maintenance Problem", "The Central Set for Supplying Several Departments", and "The Selectivity of Receiving Sets".[45] Additionally, teachers were given specific guidelines in obtaining a wireless set via lists published by the Technical Sub-Committee, available alongside explanatory pamphlets on aerials, the positioning of loudspeakers, and the maintenance of the apparatus.

"Good reception is a '*sine qua non*' of school broadcasting" was a guiding statement of the BBC and the school broadcasting councils.[46] 'Good reception' in this instance was meant as a high-quality standard of reception where all participants, children and teachers alike, were able to hear a lesson without straining their ears. As mentioned, the Scottish Sub-Council made it clear that unless good reception was available, then schools should not be tuning in to lessons. Teachers were now not only saddled with the responsibility of obtaining and maintaining receiving sets but also the responsibility of recognising 'good broadcasting'—a skill not immediately comprehensible to many. For this reason, the Technical Sub-Committee provided teachers with the following guidance, for example,

> "It should be possible to distinguish clearly all the initial and final consonants, even in isolated words."
>
> "If the 's' sounds are blurred, or sound like 'th', the set is not reproducing the higher notes in full measure, and care should be taken that the 'tone control', if the set has one, is adjusted to the 'brilliant' position."
>
> "In some sets the loudspeakers' certain bass notes are over-accentuated. This makes speech sound boomy and tiring to listen to."[47]

While broadcasting councils were determining what was heard on the radio, they were also determining the spatial layout of the classroom, thus expanding their influence and optimising the choreography of education. Instructions for teachers included meticulous stipulations such as,

> "The loudspeaker is best placed three to six feet above the floor in a central position in front of the class: care should be taken to ensure the quality of reproduction is good at every point in the classroom where a child may have to listen. The quality should be tested particularly from the furthest desk and from the desks at the end of the front row."[48]

Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.

[45] Ibid.

[46] 'Broadcasting to Schools' (1928) in *The BBC Handbook 1928*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.138. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

[47] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.

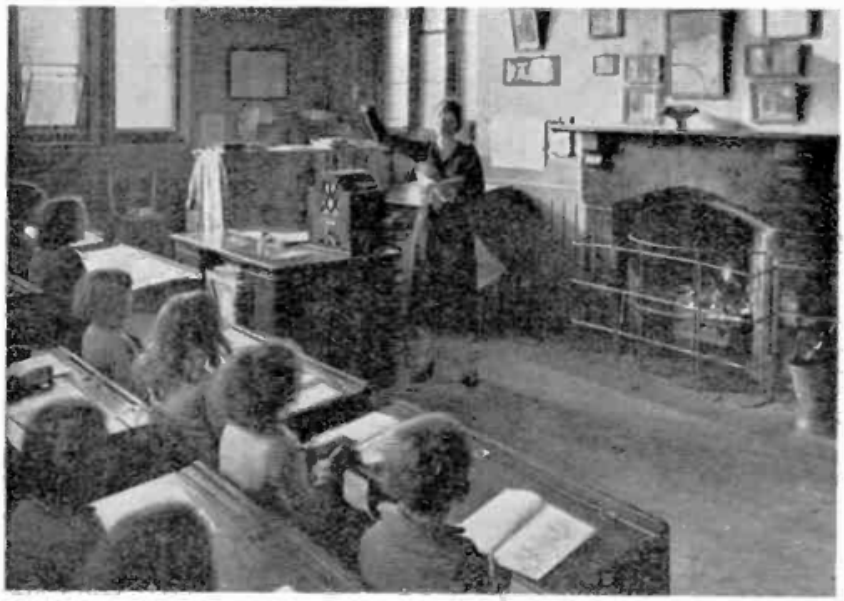
[48] Ibid.

Wireless pedagogy necessitated the careful consideration of a 'socio-material assemblage' (Roehl 2012) within the learning environment. Educational theorists such as Roehl (2012) and Tondeur et al. (2017) consider the material landscape of education as 'active', 'living' spaces where material hardware interacts and is reconfigured by human and spatial agents. In the case of schools radio, where the listening apparatus became a 'hardware' of the school, the educational landscape underwent a rapid evolution to adhere to the practicalities and possibilities of a new auditory pedagogy. Through a simple act of installation, the wireless apparatus commanded the classroom space, influencing the choreography of learning, creating new ways of interacting between teacher and student, student and disembodied voice, and as such, transformed not only how lessons were delivered but also how learning itself was configured and arranged.

By 1935, the Scottish Sub-Council observed great progress through the formation of more 'listening schools', a term commonly used by the councils to depict a school equipped with a wireless apparatus to receive and transmit lessons. The CCSB expressed gratitude to teachers for their cooperation and feedback, attributing the success of schools broadcasting to the mutual relationship. Teachers, students, and the Council witnessed vast technological improvements in the decade since schools broadcasting began, yet further progress was paramount in the BBC's mission to "inform, educate, and entertain". For this reason, further experimentation was needed. This time in Ayrshire.

In 1935, transmission to parts of Scotland remained difficult, however the Northern Counties were soon to be equipped with proper reception after the opening of a new transmitter in Burghhead. In preparation for this, and to commemorate the Royal Jubilee, the Ayrshire Education Committee decided to take a ground-breaking step by offering to install wireless sets free of charge in any school in the County that was interested in tuning in to the educational broadcasts. It was recognised by the Glasgow Education Authority back in 1924 that without funding or aid of installation, it would be difficult to have most schools participating in wireless education. A grant of £1 per receiving set was offered to schools at the time. Fife followed suit by also offering partial aid towards the creation of listening schools, yet nothing had been done to the calibre of the Ayrshire Education Authority.[49] Other counties were expected to pay the price of installation alongside the cost of pamphlets [see Chapter 3] issued in connection with the broadcast lessons. In the end, this was a small price Education Authorities were prepared to pay in order to partake in the modern transformation of education, or the quickest way to implement their mission of schools radio broadcasting.

[49] 'School Broadcasting in Scotland' (1936) *The Listener*, 13 May, p.912.



BROADCASTS TO SCHOOLS

A LESSON IN NATURE STUDY

Figure 10- Children listening to wireless lessons in classrooms. Source: The Radio Year-Book 1935.

The importance of schools broadcasting in Scotland was solidified in 1936 when a circular written by Sir William McKechnie was issued by the Scottish Education Department stating:

> "It is clear that an essential condition of the effective use of the courses broadcast to schools as part of the curriculum is that the arrangements made should be as such to secure accurate reception and reproduction; unless all the pupils are able to hear voice clearly, or to listen to music without strain, they cannot be expected to derive the fullest benefit or greatest enjoyment of the experience."[50]

The Scottish Education Department gave a definite conclusion to the hypothesis that schools broadcasting would become central to education in Scotland. As centralised control became more of a reality, the Department found the need to make an official statement, communicating to Education Authorities the fully effective use of broadcasting as an educational service. The Department therefore recommended that necessary arrangements for the provision of a receiving apparatus and expert advice should be made for all schools. Education Authorities were recommended to take the necessary steps in securing a high standard of accuracy in reception so the listening classroom would not "suffer through any inadequate adjustment of the apparatus or the acceptance of mediocre reproduction".[51] A memorandum was issued to His Majesty's Inspectors, inviting them to further investigate the position of broadcasting in schools and to use their findings to insist upon the importance of good reception.

Understanding that there were already fears circulating against the 'wireless teacher', the CCSB and the Scottish Sub-Council placed considerable emphasis on cooperation *with* teachers, stating that it was a determining factor in the success of schools broadcasts, noting:

> "The opinions and constructive criticism of listening teachers provide the final criteria in the planning of courses and the presentation of talks. Teachers are, as it were, in the position of shareholders owning jointly the service of school broadcasting, and it is hoped that they will continue to take an active part in its direction."[52]

Teachers were considered invaluable in planning courses and strategising proper techniques in the classroom. It was apparent that wireless education required a specific teaching method, and these methods could only be developed by those who were direct participants in mediating broadcasts. To connect teachers through training in these methods, the CCSB published an "Annual Programme", generally treated as a handbook for teachers. The programme provided information on reception, aims of various courses,

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[50] McKechnie, W. and the Scottish Education Department (1936) *School Broadcasting*. Scottish Education Department Circulars. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.
[51] Ibid.
[52] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.

the policy of the Council, and general classroom procedure. Additionally, the Scottish Sub-Council organised a series of demonstrations given by Education Authorities on best practice and new methods of using the wireless in the classroom. These demonstrations were appreciated by teachers as events to network and discuss more theoretical implications of broadcast education; oftentimes swaying non-listening teachers to embrace the new medium. In addition to these events, the Council issued regular questionnaires for teachers to answer and provide insights on the classroom experience. Through these trainings, publications, and forms, teachers across the country were interwoven into a process of co-creation, co-production, and choreography with the BBC, gaining skills in the act of collaborating with a disembodied voice, developing this partnership without ever truly knowing the people governing these processes.

Sonic Citizenship

Scotland pioneered the venture of schools broadcasting, which elsewhere grew in popularity. Children in Germany, Russia, Hungary, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands, Austria, and Mexico were also soon tuning in to wireless educators, globally unified through new sonic pedagogy.[53] Radio broadcasting had permeated and established itself as an important facet in everyday life, and children therefore had to be prepared to utilise this medium in a careful and considered way. In order for children to learn from the radio and listen critically in their adult lives, it was important to nurture the skills of 'good listening' at a young age. At a foundational level, broadcast lessons presented children with sounds which would teach them about the wider world. To some pupils, a lesson was just that—a string of sounds to be passively heard. In many instances, children found broadcasts to simply be "extraneous noise", unsuited to sustaining their attention.[54] If so, then the role of the teacher was to educate children in how to add layered meanings to these sounds through critical listening. Teachers were tasked with the challenge of transforming a child's curiosity into evaluative reasoning, for broadcasts were certainly not just "extraneous noise". Broadcasts showed children patterns of experience, communicating to the audience through sound.

Education Authorities pushed the necessity of 'good' and 'active' listening amongst children as a marker of model citizenship, demonstrating a form of what could be considered curricular 'governmentality' whereby pedagogical principles regulated future citizenship. In order to better understand the reasons behind Education Authorities' efforts to create an exemplary and well-trained listenership, it is necessary to examine a broader culture of youth engagement and associated imperatives of good citizenship in Britain. The distinct use of the adjectives 'good' and 'active' by schools radio authorities

[53] BBC (1929) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, April 29th- June 26th, 1929*.
[54] British Broadcasting Corporation (1931) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Arranged by the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee- Programme January to June 1931/ Syllabus 12 January to 20 March*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.

mirrored a trend in early to mid-20th century conceptualisations of youth citizenship across Britain, which pushed the idea of a 'good citizen' through personally developed and embodied characteristics such as physical fitness (Mills 2013b; Matless 1997) and national duty (Beaven and Griffiths 2008), as well as through material improvements of schooling environments through architectural and technological development (Hulme 2015). Children were trained to navigate a binary of ethics and morals by shifting from 'bad' and 'passive' ways of being, existing in what Valentine (1996) considers a 'moral landscape' of adult-imposed conceptualisations and spatial boundaries. Within the 'moral landscape of childhood' existed a moral landscape of schooling, one which established a contrast between the virtuous child and the delinquent one (Ploszajska 1994), the 'reasonable' learner and the 'disadvantaged' learner (Popkewitz 2009), the 'active' citizen and the 'passive' citizen, and by extension, the 'active listener' and the 'passive listener'.

While some scholars have examined the 'idiosyncrasies' of the curriculum as determined by national and public motivations (Hughes 1904; Tröhler 2016), in the case of schools radio broadcasting, the most noticeable feature is the auditory nature of pedagogy. Children were trained in traditional curricular subjects, attentiveness and use of wireless technology, and the act of 'active listening'—readied to become citizens in a society where broadcasting was newly embedded. The dichotomy drawn between 'active listener' and 'passive listener' can also be configured through what I consider the 'sonic citizen' and the 'sonic anti-citizen'. This dualism of citizenship is characteristic of moral geographies, particularly those conceived by Matless (1996) in relation to his study of Lake District subjectivities personifying those who innately understood how to act 'appropriately' within leisure spaces, as opposed to those classified as 'anti-social' and 'vulgar'. Under the auspices of geographical citizenship, 'good' citizens were trained in 'aesthetic sensibilities', relying on visual education and 'principles of seeing' to foster an appreciation of the landscape. Notably, Matless' (2005) work on the Norfolk Broads extends the sensory moralities into the realm of the sonic by emphasising the policing of a quietude as a virtuous environmental value. As such, my work draws on Matless' conceptualisation of the 'geographical citizen' as trained by the eye as well as his work on the moralities of sonic projection, extending these studies to further understand the reception of sound by a 'sonic citizen' who was trained through the ear, learning not only how to hear, but rather, how to listen, absorb, retain, and connect the sound to an appreciation of their own country.

It is worth noting that although schools radio explicitly positions the child as a 'future citizen', this terminology is contested in the geographical discipline alongside similar classifications such as 'semi' or 'partial citizens' (Roche 1999). Tracing the debate, it can be understood that the notion of *becoming* a citizen rather than *being* a citizen has its roots more concretely in the idea that children do not hold the same legal status as adults, and more conceptually in the sense that children have been imagined as malleable and mouldable beings who, through education, absorb a sense of 'good character' (Mills 2021). There is more to be said about the liminality of being a child and being a citizen,

for within this ambiguity, tensions arise. Particularly, there is a sense of marginalisation, as children are consistently located along a border of experience (Wood 2016; Aitken and Plows 2010), determining an exclusionary line within society. In an attempt to redraw the liminality of childhood citizenship, recent scholars have countered ideas of the child as a 'citizen-in-waiting' by characterising them instead as active agents within their own communities (Percy-Smith 2015; Oswell 2013; Hammond and Freeman 2025; Pykett 2009). In order to recognise the historical context of a period in which children were perceived as 'citizens-in-the-making', while also applying a critical lens to this conceptualisation, I find generative Wood's (2022) framing of youth citizenship as a process of *becoming*, *being*, and *doing.* Wood (2022, p.7) cautions that although this framework adapts a terminology reminiscent of constraints around the child citizen, this is intended to "highlight the dynamic and multiple experiences and expressions of citizenship which make up young people's lives". Wood continues their argument:

> "Understanding youth citizenship at the intersection of becoming, being and doing, reins in wild claims of youth autonomy and agency (see Holloway et al., 2019) and draws attention to understandings of youth as relational and shaped by the interaction with others (including adults) within material spaces" (p.7).

When discussing citizenship, particularly sonic citizenship, within the context of schools radio, there is value in examining the morals and ideals created and enacted by BBC schools radio, while at the same moment complicating past conceptualisations of childhood.

Initially, broadcasts intended to mould children into the future citizens of Scotland by edifying taste. Educating children in 'taste' through a mechanised pedagogic process can be traced to before the advent of schools radio. Symes (2004) notes the gramophone, and its use in classrooms, was an instrument for teaching children about how to experience music and the art of listening. As Symes (2004, p.166) writes, "on the surface at least, the cultivation of musical appreciation was intended to entrench processes of aesthetic discrimination", especially at a time when children were the most receptive to learning. While the educational use of the gramophone does demonstrate the regulation of taste within a child's understanding of the world, its values, although similar, were decoupled from the Reithian principles that guided the BBC. Consequently, it was imperative for the Sub-Council to understand the contemporary broadcasting landscape influenced by the values of the Corporation. The schools radio broadcasting curriculum provided a form of assurance as it attempted to shape the soon-to-be citizen through lessons in music, modern languages, and general topics. Through music lessons, children would have the opportunity to sing and move as led by the broadcaster's commands, practicing an interactive form of active listening. Modern languages presented children with exposure to native French and German speakers. Stories told in English Literature and History lessons were brought to life by the speaker at the microphone, igniting the imagination of schoolchildren. It was intended for broadcasts to provide a "fresh, vital, expert teaching

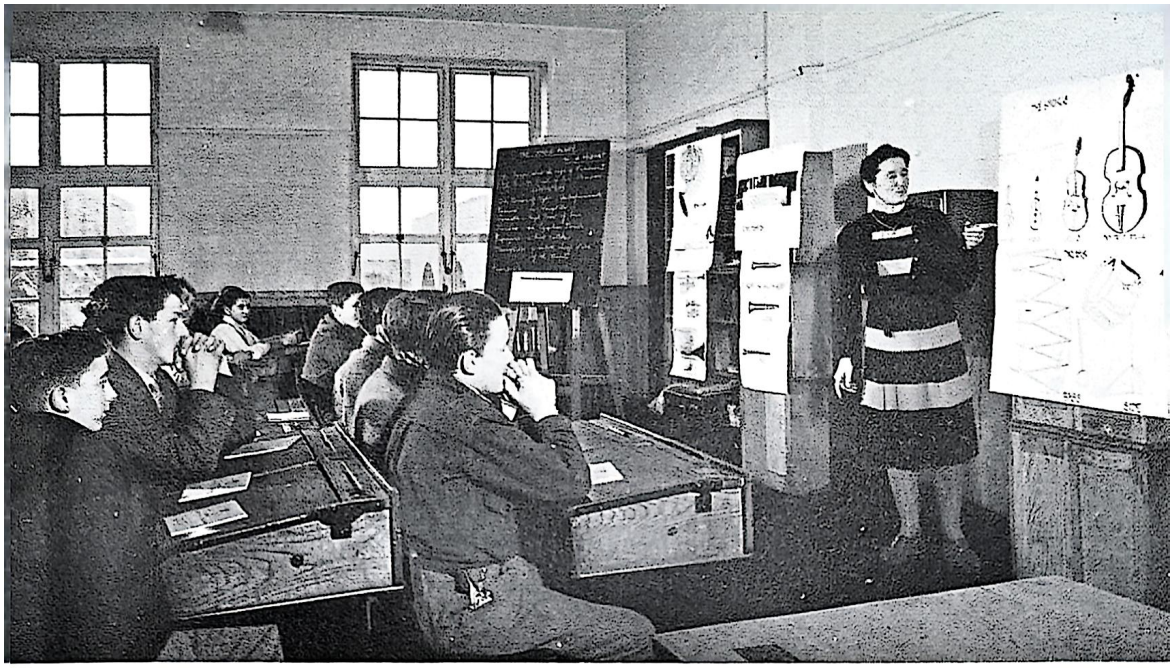
to the Scottish school curriculum" while simultaneously leading and moulding children under a model of good citizenship.[55] Furthermore, there was the ever-present element of distinctiveness when applied to Scottish broadcasting. With this in mind, the Scottish Sub-Council both extended and balanced the BBC's mission in developing taste and well roundedness, while maintaining Scottish identity.

In a piece for the culturally higher-brow BBC publication, *The Listener,* educationist A.C. Cameron supposed,

> "The taste of the next generation is largely formed at school—children's receptiveness and power of association are being trained: and this training is possibly not the least of the services which the new medium may render—if the material is right."[56]

Taste, in this instance, referred to a selective appreciation—exercising children in the act of deliberative listening which would in turn, form their cultural palate. This was done through programmes which exposed children to a Scots cultural repertory, for example, broadcasting performances from the Scottish Orchestra (see Figure 11).

[55] The Scotsman (1927) 'Broadcasting: Wireless In Schools B.B.C. And Education', 6 October.
[56] Cameron, A.C. (1938) 'How Film Links With Radio in the School', *The Listener*, 15 Dec., pp.22–23.



January: Schools Broadcasts; this class of thirteen-year-olds is about to listen to an orchestral concert

Schools Broadcasts: listening to a story

Figure 11- A music broadcast and a reading. Source: BBC Yearbook 1946.

Well-roundedness was an additional guiding principle in curricular development, and so, the Sub-Council produced courses in speech training and physical education. By 1938, *Speech Training* was a regular course on the annual programme, which, as mentioned, attempted to retain the accents and dialects of Scotland. *Physical Training* was introduced the same year as an experimental series produced in collaboration with the Moray House Training College, Education Committees, and specialists in physical training. The creation of this programme notably corresponded with a UK-wide impetus for outdoor fitness as part of an inter-war culture of physicality, encouraging citizens towards increased environmental exposure through activities such as walking, hiking, and hostelling (Matless 1997; Lorimer 1997; 2003). The schools radio programme, *Physical Training,* as observed by Skillen (2009), was similarly a form of 'active citizenship' due to its components of character exercise and responsibility. As the virtues of a purposeful, national fitness regime seeped into the schooling environment, producers were aware that classroom limitations would hinder the general production of these broadcasts, and so, two programmes were made—one where students were able to move freely around a hall or classroom, and the other where students were restricted in space due to the obstructive presence of desks and chairs.

Moreover, theoretical considerations of 'taste' were naturally paired with theoretical considerations of 'interest'. First and foremost, the child would have to be interested in the subjects that they were taught. By the 1930s, the 'dry lecture' style of broadcast was abandoned in favour of dramatisations with the creative elements and methodologies adapted by Rhoda Power and Eileen Power (Carter 2021). Broadcasts were to be used for children to develop their future tastes by laying "the foundation of afterschool life interests".[57] Of course, lessons were meant to follow the curricular motivations of the Scottish Education Department and train students for examinations. Following the war, however, Scotland was undergoing a rapid educational reform. There was a notable shift from teaching children 'what they ought to learn', towards teaching them about ideas, experiences, and interests. [58] The responsibilities of the teacher were increasing alongside the development of wireless education, and they were now needed to prepare children for life outside of the classroom—a life contrasted by work and leisure. To form a well-rounded future citizen of Scotland, it seemed necessary for curricular information to be received alongside a development of taste and outside interests.

As radio was a popular mode of both learning and entertainment for the adult citizen, it was deemed only sensible for children to be taught these lessons through a technology which would later be ever-present in adult life. The 1937-1938 Broadcast to Scottish Schools programme stated:

[57] The Scotsman (1927) 'Radio Lessons: Wireless In Schools Edinburgh Demonstration', 20 January.
[58] Somerville, M. (1945) 'School Broadcasting Comes of Age', in *The BBC Yearbook 1945*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.234. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

> "As the life of almost everyone is touched in one way or another by broadcasting, the wireless set becomes an increasingly important adjunct to education. It seems proper that the school pupils should receive training which will enable them in later life to listen critically, to form judgements and the habit of mind that expects significant matter—be it music, news, or drama, from broadcasting…It can thus be of great service to the educational practice of our schools in their endeavour to produce well-informed, alert, and critical minds."[59]

Education, at its core, had been revolutionised by the introduction of wireless lessons. It was not just an act of 'learning and doing', for children were taught how to listen, and how listening would add a critical layer of understanding to the subject matter. As Rt. H. Herwald Ramsbotham, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, stated with regard to schools broadcasting:

> "There is a place for appreciation, for the quiet, or it may be the exciting, reception of experience and achievement. It is here that broadcasting has found itself able to perform its most valuable educational function, both for children and the adult public. Life is a better educator than learning, and broadcasting takes its virtue from its contact with life rather than its contact with books."[60]

Broadcasts presented children with the rare opportunity of experiencing the world through auditory senses. The specialist at the microphone would enliven lessons through personal anecdotes, spoken with emotion and interest to grasp the students' attention. Geographers would share tales of their exploratory endeavours, political experts would provide insights on current affairs, and special broadcasts of important events offered children the chance to bear auditory witness. For the majority of children, direct observation of events and sites of interest, even within their own country, was a limited and privileged experience. Now that children had access to the "unfolding drama of modern development" through current affairs programming, as well as lessons where "Alan Sullivan's voice may suddenly fill the schoolroom, telling of his own visits to the Eskimo", they were equipped with a well-rounded knowledge, making them citizens of Scotland as well as citizens of the world.[61]

Schools broadcasting councils considered contact with the wider world especially valuable to children in rural schools as they had the potential to reduce geographical distances by bringing people, experiences, and places into the classroom. As such, the supposed burdens of isolation were lessened when classrooms in remote areas would tune in to the radio programming.[62] When creating these broadcast lessons, the Scottish

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[59] British Broadcasting Corporation (1937) *1937/1938: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[60] Ramsbotham, H.H. (1940) 'Let Us Begin with the Children', *The Listener*, 18 Apr., p. 36.
[61] 'School Broadcasting' (1931) in *The BBC Yearbook 1931*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.234. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.
[62] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.

Sub-Council considered factors such as remoteness of location, limited number of schoolteachers, restricted classroom space, and differing interests.[63] In 1935, a committee for rural schools was formed to advise educational broadcasts specifically tailored to the needs of the rural child. While this could be interpreted as a careful attentiveness by the Scottish Sub-Council to the distinct localities of Scotland—a point which may have been lost due to the regionalisation of broadcasting—what emerged was a more complicated narrative intertwining characterisations of youth citizenship and the ideals of rurality.

The rural might reasonably be characterised as a site of contestation for geographers, particularly when it comes to historical experiences of childhood in the countryside. Yarwood (2017, p.2) observes that "the countryside has often been viewed as a training ground for citizenship" through, for example, encouragement by the Scottish Youth Hostel Association to develop a sense of national identity by actively exploring the Highlands (Lorimer 1997). As Yarwood argues, this construction of rurality is a discourse of nationhood as appropriated through rural idealisation and teachings of folk heritage. By applying these arguments, schools radio broadcasts' emphasis on rural education was a means of adapting to a model of youth citizenship and national identity which valued the rural environment and its imagined principles. Courses such as *The Farms of Scotland*, *The Forests of Scotland*, and *The Scottish Countryside* were intended to teach rural children about interests such as folk singing and local events as well as occupations such as shepherding and fishing which would be relevant if they chose to *actively* participate in their local economy and assume rural citizenship.[64]

Scholars such as Jones (1997, p.168) have asked the question of whether or not the experience of children in the rural idyll was "*represented* by adults or whether it is an idealisation *constructed* by adults". While imaginings of the rural through schools radio broadcasting were constructed and emplaced by Education Authorities and schools radio councils, the narratives which accompanied these imaginings provided space for rural children to explore and appreciate life outside of their own locality, offering children a degree of spatial agency. Take, for example, this statement from the Rural Schools Committee. It begins with a description which aligns with broader imaginings of the rural childhood as an ideal childhood (Valentine 1997):

> "Few would insist that life in the country is less rich in experience for the child, if indeed for anyone, than life in a town. The countryside, with its freedom and healthiness, its inexhaustible interest, and its opportunity for acquiring knowledge, supplies many of the conditions for a complete education…"

The second-half of the same statement demonstrates a scalar form of citizenship—one which deviates from rural contributions and encourages more national contributions:

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[63] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.
[64] BBC (1935) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1935 to June 1936*.

> "…But the interests of the country child cannot to-day be bounded by his [*sic*] own parish. Whether his life after leaving school is to be one in the country or in the town, he must, if he is to fulfil his responsibilities as a citizen and make the most of his leisure opportunities, acquire some knowledge of the world outside the parish and some sense of the relationship of his own environment to the whole social and economic scheme of the nation."[65]

The ideals of citizenship as realised through rural schools radio broadcasts not only demonstrate an appreciation of an imagined rural idyll, which, arguably falls in line with hegemonic constructions of the countryside, but also encourages the ethos of schools radio broadcasting. This ethos is one of bringing the world, sonically, into the classroom, while relationally encouraging pupils to explore and understand the nation beyond the boundaries of their local childhood experience. In this instance, the countryside is a point of departure, a place in which the rural child could learn how to *become* a citizen, and then later *be* a citizen of Scotland, equipped with a set of distinct virtues.

There was no doubt that broadcasts for rural schools would be of great importance to children. In preparation for the 1935-36 school year**,** the Rural Schools Committee sought to improve these broadcasts by collecting evidence from rural schoolteachers on particular interests and possible difficulties children may encounter, further localising the programme content. It seemed the case, exposing pejorative views, that rural children required a simplification of subject-matter and use of vocabulary, specifically in subjects such as science and geography. There was also a noticeable demand for talks that would speak to the relevance and wonder of the countryside, as students were assumed to be more fascinated by the possibilities of city life. Teachers also suggested a programme of weekly current events and a broader inclusion of age ranges in lessons as many schoolrooms would cover all levels due to smaller populations and lower numbers of teachers.[66]

It was evident that the Rural Schools Committee were presented with a delicate task, for they were faced with a society in transition, as well as a broadcasting tradition that broadly favoured metro-centricity. If these programmes were to be useful, then they had to find balance in simultaneously sparking interest in the countryside as well as the world at large. As such, the Rural Schools Committee took into consideration a variety of factors of rural life: industries, attitudes, misconceptions, and environments, in order to create a programme situated in the curriculum, the countryside, and the cultural landscape.

[65] BBC (1934) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1934 to June 1935*.
[66] BBC (1935) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1935 to June 1936*.

Schools Broadcasting in Wartime

While the historical focus of this section centres on the Second World War, it is presented in order to emphasise the durability of schools radio broadcasting, which was arguably made more valuable as it supplied a form of distance learning to children scattered across the country facing a variety of circumstances. The BBC and the CCSB agreed in preparation that if war were to come to Britain, then as authorities they would work, as best possible under the circumstances, to provide a programme for schoolchildren. Their anticipation soon proved valuable. When Britain was targeted through bombing attacks, children were quickly evacuated from major cities and ports, and the BBC Schools Department was moved to an undisclosed country house 'Somewhere in England'.[67] This vague geographical description was used to mask the various locations where broadcasts were transmitted from. During the very first stages of evacuation, members of the BBC Schools Department quickly arranged for programmes to lighten the lives of children and amuse them during a time of uncertainty and tragedy. Producers recorded programmes from a library of scripts which were stored for potential use in the summer term. They organised programmes for one hour in the morning and one in the afternoon for three weeks beginning on September 5th, 1939.[68] Due to limited access, broadcasts specifically for Scottish and Welsh schools were suspended as children across the country listened to a nationalised Home Service. While the lapse of Scottish programming may have seemed like a substantial hinderance to broadcasting distinctiveness, its return following the end of the war speaks to contemporary understandings of its enduring necessity.

The conditions of children's learning environments varied to the point of uncertainty, thus altering the conventional material landscape of the school (see Figure 12 and Figure 13). Approximately 75% of British children were considered to be listening under "abnormal conditions".[69] Some children were listening at home with family members as their fellow pupils, others were gathered in makeshift classrooms in countryside barns, and some remained in schools. Some children were even reported to have perched their household radio on a windowsill to listen in their back gardens. Children in air-raid shelters were forced to deal with sirens and blackouts interrupting their lessons, and of course, the ever-present threat of destruction.[70] What remained clear to producers was that the standard classroom environment had quickly dissipated under the conditions of war, and they would have to consider all of the possible variations.

[67] Somerville, M. (1940) 'School Broadcasting in Time of War' in *The BBC Handbook 1940*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.70. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.
[68] Ibid.
[69] British Broadcasting Corporation (1940) *Programme for the Summer Term 1940*.Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.197: School Broadcasting in War Time.
[70] Somerville, M. (1940) 'School Broadcasting in Time of War', p.70.

When schools were closed

Figure 12- Children learning from home. Source: BBC Handbook 1941.

Evacuated school-children listen to a school broadcast in a country village

Figure 13- Evacuated children listening to a broadcast. Source: BBC Handbook 1940.

Just as the learning environment transformed, so did the content of the broadcasts. Pamphlets, which were a valuable visual and textual aid to the wireless lesson were no longer available during the war due to paper shortages. Producers were unable to call upon live experts to come into the studio. While they were able to unveil their location if the broadcaster was inclined to visit, it was difficult to convince individuals to take the risk of travelling to the new base. Some experts, however, chose to make the trek to record a lecture. Most notably, Sir William Bragg, President of the Royal Society, travelled to the BBC's makeshift station to record a broadcast for children which included his own dramatisation of meetings in the Royal Society.[71] Producers now had to rely upon a set troupe of actors who would aid in broadcasting and education by stationing themselves 'Somewhere in England' and recording adaptations of once used broadcasts or simplified new materials. Dramatisation now became the dominant format of lesson, solely due to the limiting circumstances, perhaps to the relief of listening children. As children were being evacuated to the countryside, Education Officers were enlisted to aid in their transfer. Through this, they obtained first-hand knowledge of the evacuated child's experience and therefore were able to inform the planning and production of wireless programmes.[72]

The experience of broadcasting to schools in wartime remains relatively well-documented. Memories persist through the written word of those who were stationed at the BBC's base, rather than through programme pamphlets or recordings. In these personal accounts, the actual lessons or curricular motivations are seldom written about. A variety of anecdotes and reflections piece together to form an almost romantic depiction of valiant broadcasters called to duty in the countryside, marred with the chaos of programme production and the uncertainty of conflict. Mary Somerville, who was still the Director of School Broadcasting at the time, reflected:

> "Already those first three weeks of the war seem so distant that the school broadcasting staff find it hard to remember what in fact went into their microphones. What remains more clearly in the mind is a series of impressions of the new base—of sunlit lawns and spreading woods and distant hills, framed by the office windows—of crisis indoors, where two small rooms had for a time to house 22 people and 6 typewriters, with some 1500 scripts which had to be frenziedly searched through, on the floor, to find suitable material for adaptation!"

She later continues,

> "Nearly everything, as might expected, takes much longer to do in the country than in London. Admittedly it is work of a very satisfying kind, but time for enjoying the country scene, for climbing those distant hills, remained quite beyond reach of the Schools Department staff, as week after glorious week of autumn weather slipped away, leaving behind the bared woods of winter and avenues lined with the most

[71] Somerville, M. (1940) 'School Broadcasting in Time of War', p.71.
[72] Ibid., p.69.

> adhesive, the very muddiest kind of mud. 'This is the BBC Home Service for Schools.' We wonder sometimes: do the schools notice any difference in what comes to them from 'Somewhere in England' instead of from Broadcasting House?"[73]

A similarly nostalgic account of the countryside was given by a contributor to *The Listener* who wrote of how children were oftentimes excited, rather than anxious, by the prospect of evacuation:

> "So far as the children themselves are concerned, the sudden trek from town to country, with all its attendant changes and excitements, may well have seemed great fun. A break with routine, and particularly with school routine, rarely comes amiss; and to be transported to areas where the conditions of work are totally new, where much that was previously taken for granted has henceforth to be improvised, where in fact life may be viewed from a fresh angle—this is an experience which it would be almost unnatural for children to regret."[74]

Accepting for the sentiments shared in the quotations above, it seems that grappling with the idealistic imagining of the countryside coupled with the anxieties of war proved a common struggle amongst educators, broadcasters, and children. R.C. Steele, Senior Education Assistant to Schools, also presented a near-to-guilt-ridden notion of broadcasting to schools during the war. They recall that the BBC was prepared for blitzkrieg, and employees were ready to improvise from "tents or caravans for the needs of the moment whatever they might be".[75] This was all done in the name of 'Education'—an honourable cause which in turn would safeguard the nation's children, hence proving the importance of the BBC's educational mission.

Broadcasts to schools were an unforeseen pillar of education during the war. As the months passed, producers sought to implement a much-needed normalcy in the programming while tailoring to children in evacuated areas who would be listening remotely. By the middle of the second year of war, producers had developed what was considered a modified 'peacetime routine'. With a peacetime routine, printed schedules were made readily available, broadcasts were given from studios, and the majority of children listened from classrooms. Versions of normalcy were welcomed by teachers across the country. One headmistress reported that broadcasts were "'real' links with our past educational methods—like lifebuoys in a queer, turbulent, scholastic sea".[76]

Broadcasts were made to ensure children had access to learning while also providing a sense of comfort through a familiar medium. Despite the 'modified peacetime routine', however, schools broadcasting was still a part of the wider mission of the BBC to

[73] Somerville, M. (1940) 'School Broadcasting in Time of War', p.68–72.
[74] 'School Broadcasting in Wartime' (1939) *The Listener*, 9 Nov., p. 12.
[75] Steele, R.C. (1941) 'Broadcasting to Schools' in *The BBC Handbook 1941*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.89–93. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.
[76] Ibid.

broadcast to and about the Empire (Hajkowski 2002). Additionally, daily news broadcasts on the BBC presented 'sound pictures' of the frontlines, creating an emotional sensory experience for the at-home listener (Skoog 2018). The war was inescapable, even to the young. Producers made a conscious effort to not avoid any mention of the war and find ways to connect the conflict with lessons from curricular subjects in history, politics, economics, and geography. Two new programmes were also produced in order to provide children with talks on current affairs and the news. These broadcasts were met with favourable commentary. The CCSB compiled a report on classroom experiences with these broadcasts, which states:

> "There are memories, too, of a little group clustered round a map of the Mediterranean after the broadcast on Gibraltar, sagely forecasting Hitler's next move in the area (would it be via the Black Sea or Spain?); of two boys, hitherto shyly silent, sharing their minute knowledge of aircraft after the talk on 'Air War'; of three girls fiercely arguing about the vices and virtues of competition two days after we had heard about the efforts of journalists to be first with the news; of the form divided into two camps—the natives and our evacuees—hotly disputing about the model school they would put in their model town, when 'Rebuilding Britain' was discussed."[77]

In the early days of schools broadcasting before the war, programmes with an international focus revolved around the British Empire, teaching children about environment, people, and cultures of these territories, centralising a system of imperial authority as the primary lens through which life abroad was understood. Notably, these lessons were among the only broadcasts that addressed life beyond Britain, yet they did so through a structure of power which presented Britain, and by extension Scotland, as the organising core of the wider world. These lessons were given from the perspective of British explorers and imperialists, with one pamphlet asking children if they had relatives "living in a distant part of the Empire", before introducing speakers who would describe their lives in "very different parts of the Empire in which they made their homes".[78] Such framing reveals colonial entanglements as gleaned through schools radio broadcasting programmes, and furthermore, the notable absences of Indigenous populations in the lesson material—displaced both by colonialism and narrative silence. As such, Empire was rendered as familiar and familial. It was to be considered an extension of home, and therefore children were positioned to understand colonial expansion as a normal and innate dimension of British identity. Furthermore, broadcasts on the Empire produced a sense of 'sanctioned mobility', in which the idea of 'home' and 'family' was not territorially situated within the British Isles, but rather able to be transplanted overseas.

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[77] 'Broadcasting to Schools' (1942) in *The BBC Handbook 1942*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, pp.63–65. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

[78] British Broadcasting Corporation (1938) *The British Empire, Autumn Term 1938*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

These programmes worked inversely, yet peripherally, with the BBC's global intention of broadcasting 'Englishness' overseas through the Empire Service (Robertson 2008). While these programmes broadcast Britishness 'outward', schools radio ultimately attempted to bring global experiences 'inward'. Empire-focused programmes ceased production after the 1938/1939 school year and were later replaced with 'perspective-based' programmes. For example, the series *If You Were French,* was produced in order for British children to become acquainted with the daily lives of the French and encourage sympathy for their experiences during occupation. One such broadcast included a vivid recollection of "the hollow echo of footsteps down the streets of evacuated Strasbourg".[79] A similar series was produced titled *If You Were Chinese*, which once again sonically presented foreign experiences of war—this time by dramatising the streets of "Hankow [Hankou]" and the "great trek of students carrying equipment to safety from Japanese invaders".[80] In one of the lessons for the programme, *Current Affairs*, producers created an imaginary Norwegian school, and actors performed a scene where the head teacher refused to accept Nazi orders on education. On Thanksgiving Day, 1942, a senior history programme broadcast the voices of fictional American soldiers reminiscing about traditions in their homes—ones which they were stationed so far from. It is difficult to gauge whether or not these programmes were intended to be used as a propaganda tool amongst the nation's young citizens, however, it can be clearly ascertained that despite the context of World War Two, these programmes provided a unique sonic experience of dramatic realism, soundscape, and post-broadcast contemplation of the world beyond the listener's own.

WWII solidified the place of schools broadcasting on the curriculum. As evacuation came and went, children returned to a school life bound in similarity to pre-war education by the broadcast lessons. It appears that teachers regarded wireless lessons as a constant and dependable factor in wartime education, and they remained to do so even as the prevalence of war in Britain waned. In 1942, the CCSB reported the highest number of listening schools than ever before.[81] Despite the limitations of education due to the wartime circumstances, the child's world seemed to broaden through sonic encounters. In 1945, as the war ended, a new school year commenced. German language programmes, previously suspended, returned to the timetable. Students were well-catered for with a broadened understanding of foreign cultures. Broadcast provisions for Scotland and Wales reappeared as their governing School Broadcasting Councils were now back in service.[82] Remarkably, Scottish programmes flourished with the introduction of programmes such as *Scottish Affairs* and *Scottish Heritage*, which taught children about the economic and social climate of their country while fostering an appreciation of

[79] 'Broadcasting to Schools' (1942), p.38.
[80] 'Broadcasting to Schools' (1943) in *The BBC Yearbook 1943*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, pp.63–64. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.
[81] Ibid.
[82] At this point in time, schools broadcasts to Northern Ireland were regulated under a 'programme sub-committee' rather than a contributory 'council'.

Scottish music, literature, innovations, and art.[83] Pupils pamphlets soon resurfaced as a useful aid to the auditory lessons. The presence of war was effectively forgotten, replaced by documentations of the "sunlit lawns and spreading woods and distant hills…" [84] somewhere in England.

Conclusion

Listening cultures of the BBC rapidly transformed in radio's early years. Despite schools radio fulfilling the BBC's pillar of 'education', serving an ethical duty amongst British pupils, it is clear that this form of sonic learning was a pioneering force that quickly broke away from the prevailing listening cultures of Britain, achieving a motive that some BBC features producers in England, and producers at Scotland's various local stations, attempted at the time. Despite the absence of early recordings of schools broadcasts in the archives, I suggest that through the separate governing body of the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting, producers and educators were not overtly granted experimental freedom, but rather implicitly gained creative liberty under the guise of a distinctive education. It is difficult to say whether or not Scottish schools would have received a separate provision if it were not for its unique teaching system, however, it can be observed that this arrangement allowed for schools radio to operate on its own standing in Scotland. Eventually, producers and committees seemed to autonomously understand that if Scottish schools radio were to be a separate entity, then children should be exposed to the sounds of their own country. Ideals of distinct cultural and educational Scottish broadcasts were established by the Council and subsequently produced and sonically forged by educational radio producers. Furthermore, children were taught ways in which they could be sonic citizens, attuned and appreciative towards the unique lesson content. The BBC was intent on teaching children how to become active listeners, originally through means of fostering cultural taste, but ultimately by way of bringing the world into the classroom and allowing children to learn and make meaning from the sounds they encountered.

Schools radio, though often overlooked, was subtly shifting the listening cultures and broadcasting landscape of Great Britain, advocating for Scottish speech and introducing the voices and dialects of Scots before regionality was accepted by the BBC, or even by listeners, on the radio. Though programmes lapsed with the onset of the war, the reintroduction of Scottish schools broadcasting after wartime most notably demonstrates its success, necessity, and popularity. Before continuing this consideration of schools broadcasting, it is important to briefly acknowledge the reorganisation of schools broadcasting governance in which Scottish programming gained even greater powers of creative independence. In 1947, following a post-war restructuring, the

[83] 'More schools than ever are listening to school broadcasts' (1947) in *The BBC Yearbook 1947*. Broadcasting house: the British Broadcasting Corporation, p.57. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.
[84] Somerville, M. (1940) 'School Broadcasting in Time of War', pp.68–72.

Scottish Sub-Council became its own entity, the Scottish Council for School Broadcasting (SCSB). The CCSB ultimately became the School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom (SBC-UK). Pre-1947, the Scottish Sub-Council was supported by subject committees which consisted of subject-experts and teachers. This changed to become 'Programme Committees' which were organised by age range rather than subject. This was done in hopes of planning a more balanced provision of broadcasts to both primary and secondary school students.

Chapter 5: Shaping the Sound World: A Reconstructive Phenomenology of Schools Radio Production

Introduction

While the Scottish Council for School Broadcasting and its advisory committees served as the governing body of schools radio, BBC producers upheld the creative side of operations. Once programme aims and ideas were conceived, the producers assembled the needs outlined by the Councils into a broadcast which would be operative to teachers, and engaging to students. Moreover, producers were the conjurers of sonic encounter: compiling sounds and voices to form an audio portrait of experience that would reverberate across Scotland. While ostensibly operating under the umbrella of the BBC and its Reithian credo, schools radio arguably worked around, or adjusted, these paternalistic values, creating a unique listening culture amongst children. Building from Revill's (2016) theories on the politics of sound, Gallacher posits the following (2022, p.242):

> "Just as different radio stations and formats create different kinds of programmes, they also create different kinds of attention, different listening acts, different cultures, different behaviours. So, to further complicate the temporality of sound, it has to be understood as being co-produced, not just by the makers and the listeners, but also by the political climate, the power structures and the inequalities and inhibitions associated with this, as it is being performed, produced, and broadcast."

Through the efforts of schools radio producers, radio as an instrument of popular communication was altered from a bourgeois socio-affective force to a form of what Westerkamp (2015, p.7) considers 'radio that listens', or rather radio that, variously, "strengthens our imagination and creativity", "inspires us to invent", "refreshes our acoustic sensitivity", "stimulates listening", "does not repeat", "encourages us to sing, to speak, and make radio ourselves", and "lets us listen through it". As narrated in the documentary film, *Lessons from the Air (1943)*, which explained the process of developing schools radio broadcasts, BBC producers exhibited "constant striving to find the most imaginative treatment of new ideas".[85] Through these imaginative practices, attuned to the interests and needs of the child, producers established an active, reflective, and resonant listening culture built from, and through, the broadcasts they crafted.

This chapter is divided into the following four thematic sections: Phenomena, Processes, Portrayals, and Performances. This quartet speaks to the experiences, methods, and considerations of schools radio producers as I seek to address Frank's (2022, p.2025)

[85] *Lessons from the Air* (1943) Directed by Harold Purcell and James Rogers. [Film]. England: British Council Film Department Catalogue- 1944-45.

criticism that the field of radio studies has a "tendency to approach questions of reception from a phenomenological perspective and questions of production from a historicist one". Acts and processes of reception are here couched in conceptual terms in an attempt to understand the intangible qualities of sound and the ephemerality of the listening experience. Studies of production are typically not granted such abstract characteristics, rather, they are grounded in historical accounts detailed with notable events and individuals. While still utilising a historicist lens, the sections to follow incorporate a reconstructive phenomenological treatment of production. The opening section titled 'Phenomena' is a compilation of speculative considerations on sound, such as the ways in which producers had to grapple with the notion of immateriality, or invisibility, particularly relating to the disembodied voice. I turn to Crisell's (1986) version of radio as a 'blind' medium and the nuances of the oft-cited 'imagined audience'. The section considering 'Processes' relies to greater degree on archival sources. I contemplate what Verhulst (2024) deems the 'transmedial' nature of radio, relating this to the study of schools radio broadcast scripts. This section also includes a detailing of producers' concerns such as a child's age, the range of interest, and the maintenance of distinctive Scottish cultural and educational practices. The later sections, 'Portrayals' and 'Performances', grapple with the two main types of programmes that producers created: those containing actual recordings, and those that simulated experience through dramatic method. Despite the two types of broadcasts deploying varied methods, all of the content attempted to provide an imaginative stimulus for the children, which producers had to consider through a variety of techniques including voices, sound effects, and 'radiogenic' sounds.

Throughout this chapter, I draw on a limited amount of sonic evidence for the purposes of reconstructive phenomenology. As such, there are various levels of mediation and interpretation at play. The classroom listening experiences are approached here as mediated via producers' (and by proxy, the BBC and education authorities') conceptual and pedagogical frameworks of wireless education. Any accounts of classroom experiences in this chapter are treated as inferred unless supported by evidence provided through reports written and conducted by producers or education authorities. In instances where radio producers interpret or describe the responses of children, I analyse these accounts as secondary 'constructions' rather than direct evidence of reception by the pupils. Furthermore, my own reading of this material is recognised to add a further layer of interpretation and mediation. I employ Mansell's (2020, p.96) approach of 'hearing with' the archive—a methodology that accommodates factors such as "text, image, and social discourse" just as much as it contemplates sound. By 'hearing with' the archive, I will explore the sonic imaginations of schools broadcasting, combining textual and audio source material with theoretical considerations in order to understand the producer's role in conceiving and constructing programmes that transported children into textured sound worlds.

Phenomena

While the phenomena of radio broadcasting exist in its technology—the electromagnetic radio waves, their refraction and absorption—there is also a phenomenological experience of radio transmission which speaks to the existence and experience of reception, and varying modalities of sensation. Radio has long been considered by broadcasters and listeners as a 'blind medium' (Crisell 1986). Blindness referring to the lack of immediate visuality, for all the listener is left to look at is the technological device itself, transmitting the sounds of a disembodied voice. Scholars, however, have speculated that the blindness of radio contributes to the development of the listener's imagination and interpretation of sounds through their own mental images, thus complexifying radio's ties to visuality (Forsslund 2012; Duby 1990; Rodero 2010; Miller 2018; Street 2019). Forsslund (2012, p.331) contests that this assumption is not based on any form of empirical research, but rather a "common sense idea that radio not only provides opportunities for listeners to create their own images but also requires special imagination skills". Thus, radio has long been deemed by commentators on the medium as 'the theatre of the mind'—a form of sonic encounter which then generates a multisensorial process of listening and meaning-making (Duby 1990). The sounds transmitted from the radio animate the memories and experiences of the listener, prompting them to embody and code the sounds that they hear and employ "a host of sensory and perceptual skills to extract meaningful information from sound" (Rodero 2010, p.458). As Rodero observes, "just because a message is broadcast via radio does not mean it will automatically stimulate in the listener the creation of visual images and attention" (2010, p.461). It therefore becomes the role of the producer to ensure that the listener will be able to either explicitly or implicitly attach meaning to what they are hearing. Consequently, this results in the 'death of the producer', a mirror to Roland Barthes' 'death of the author', signalling how authorial intention is culturally superseded by readers' interpretations of a work. Once the broadcast has been transmitted, the producer is removed, leaving the listeners to experience individualised sonic encounters. Listening to the radio was not a uniform sensorial process in terms of how the listener would interpret the broadcast, but it was the role of the producer to direct "listeners towards similar visual conceptions of the fictional worlds they sought to create" (Miller 2018, p.323). As Street observes (2019, p. 97):

> "The *active* engagement of the listener's poetic imagination is transformative as well as collaborative in the process of sonic creation. If there are ghosts in the machine, they are our own creations, invoked by the clues that the sounds offer us."

Radio ultimately catalyses a phenomenological, embodied process of thinking-by-suggestion rather than simple depiction (Street 2019).

While many scholars allude to the idea of "drawing from their own repertoire of images cultivated through personal experience" (Miller 2018, p. 323), this perspective can

disregard the limited experience of the child in understanding, interpreting, and imagining sonic material. Producers were aware of this age-based limit, and the archive shows this notion was speculated on by educational theorists within the BBC. Oftentimes, producers operated upon the idea that sonic encounter with the world through a schools radio broadcast would be the child's very first encounter with the content. Once dramatic content was embraced in the 1930s, following recommendations from the 1928 Kent Report, producers attempted to bring to schools "remote experiences, lively enthusiasms and unique personalities". [86] Production would, therefore, have to operate with immensely careful consideration of how, through sonic encounter, they could introduce children to attach meaning and establish relationships with "new worlds very far removed from his [*sic*]own".[87]

Despite these methods being tested and theorised as early as the 1930s, throughout the decades, producers continued to contemplate how children could best interpret the sounds they heard through the classroom speaker. In 1960, the Head of Educational Broadcasting observed that,

> "To undertake an exercise of this kind is not only to realise the slippery and indeterminate character of verbal communications, the imperfections of words as a way of extending children's knowledge of the visible world, and the limitations of sound broadcasting. It is also to appreciate the strength of the medium and to realise how far-removed listening is from the 'passive' or 'receptive' role, which is sometimes assigned to it, and how the very indeterminacy of the words sends the mind questing for the combination of images that is 'right' both for the passage and for the individual listener."[88]

The pattern of responses to be evoked in the child-listener through the broadcast was restricted to their own worldview. As the author continues,

> "if the scriptwriter has rightly judged in relation to his intended audience where and how to give precise definition and where to be allusive and allow for a wide diversity of the response, there will be a valid act of communication to each separate listener".[89]

While radio has been complexified beyond its labelling as a 'blind' medium, other authors have investigated the range of sensorial and connective phenomena of radio such as temporality, spatiality, and feeling. In an analysis of Walter Benjamin's pedagogical styles through his noteworthy radio broadcasts to children, Lewis (2017, p.21) acknowledges that "radio pedagogy offers an aural experience of the world, which is an aesthetic shift

[86] British Broadcasting Corporation (1934) 'Progress in School Broadcasting', *The Listener,* 21 Mar., p.474.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Head of Educational Broadcasting (1960) *Sound Broadcasting and Television: Some theoretical considerations about the nature of the two media.* Internal School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/23.
[89] Ibid.

away from childhood sensibilities" presumed to be skewed towards the visual.[90] Lewis chooses to highlight the heightened temporal aspect of the experience of tuning in, concluding that, through hearing, children become more attuned to the unfolding of time in ways that visual media could not convey. The act of seeing is here understood as one of immediacy, but the act of listening is one of reflection. Lewis surmises, "it is only through auditory experience that the child can begin to experience time" (p.22) and that within the world created within the radio broadcast, free from the interventions of formal education (arguably a "diasporic counterinstitution to the schoolhouse" [p.28]), listening becomes an act of discovery and creation. Though not writing with specific reference to broadcasts for children, Miller (2018, p.325) draws on Wilson's (1993) theory of 'acoustic architecture', which notes that auditory stimulation is a visceral act where "sound is not simply heard but felt" to state that "listeners are thus primed from their very first sensory encounters to experience sound more subliminally and profoundly than they would with visual representation".

Through these phenomenological considerations of radio's sensorial qualities, BBC schools radio producers can be understood to have realised a similar form of thinking, directing children through sounds, strengthening and expanding their sensorial and temporal understandings of the world through sonic encounter. While visual perceptions of certain objects, settings, and people may have been limited for children, producers utilised the phenomena of radio to do more than paint a sonic picture and scenic representation, for this was to be supplemented by the striking visuals supplied within the student pamphlets. Rather, "[a] broadcast in either medium is designed to contribute to education by showing children some pattern in experience and leaving with them an enhanced power to see such patterns for themselves".[91] Radio broadcasts for schools were a different entity from BBC broadcasts to the general public, and they were also distinguishable from the usual school lessons. This distinction, as well as the understanding that broadcasts were designed to showcase a 'pattern in experience', were longstanding threads throughout the history of schools radio broadcasting, thus demonstrating an unwavering conviction about its uniqueness. A 1937 report titled "Broadcast Lessons in London Elementary Schools" remarked:

> "Broadcast lessons should be unique, fascinating, dramatic, coloured and new, coming as it were from a world which teachers and pupils without their help cannot enter. The broadcaster should not be concerned primarily with the teaching of facts, rather should he [*sic*] use all the resources at his disposal in order to provide stimulating educational experiences for his listeners."[92]

[90] Notably, Benjamin would repeatedly begin his broadcasts to children with the greeting, "Dear invisible ones!" (Mitrano 2015).
[91] Head of Educational Broadcasting (1960) *Sound Broadcasting and Television*.
[92] 'Broadcasting and Education' (1939) in *The BBC Handbook 1939*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.74. British Online Archives.

Considering the newness of wireless technology in 1937, schools radio producers audaciously harnessed the radio as a form of classroom pedagogy and sensory encounter for the child. In the early years of schools broadcasting, it was, as such, an experiment, and the producers were testers, theorisers, composers, and educationalists who hypothesised, yet were not entirely aware of, the remarkable qualities of sound.

It is seemingly contradictory to include the musings of Sir John Reith, who, as depicted, enforced rigidity in developing a broadcasting service with a moral intention. His early words, however, speak to radio as an experiment in connectivity that the BBC and its producers embarked on:

> "When we attempt to deal with ether, we are immediately involved in the twilight shades of the borderland; darkness presses in on all sides, and the intensity of the darkness is increased by the illuminations which here and there are shed, as the investigators, candle in hand and advancing step by step, peer into the illimitable unknown" (Reith 1924, p.223).

The unique nature of radio was almost mystical in the sense that it utilised the auditory, the spatial, the visceral, and the temporal. Radio spread across space, communicating to those who listened, assembling a collective audience who consumed, imagined, and interpreted the sounds and voices that slowly occupied and then dissipated with the unfolding of time. In this regard, radio was immaterial and omnipresent. Some scholars of culture have theorised that this universality renders an 'illusion of closeness' which ultimately leads to an establishment of the radio as an authoritative voice, making it seem "more objective and infallible than a live voice" (Adorno 2009, p.44). Consequently, radio also possesses socio-affective qualities, either becoming a form of guidance or governance (Frank 2022).

The phenomenological space and power of radio made it suitable for educational campaigning. The unique sound-based lessons could span Scotland, reaching students via a form of transformative exercise in mass education, materialising as an intimate mechanisation of sounds and speakers. Producers, however, were faced with another task when it came to creating schools radio broadcasts. As the Head of Educational Broadcasting for the SBC-UK in 1960 noted, "[the] audience for a sound school broadcast is remote, unknown, and heterogeneous".[93] While the audience was in fact remote and relatively unknown, the heterogeneity of the audience was also scrutinised in a 1950 BBC Yearbook which detailed:

> "A school broadcasting audience may be homogenous as compared with the nation as a whole, but on any closer examination it becomes a collection of

[93] Head of Educational Broadcasting (1960) *Sound Broadcasting and Television*.

> extremely variegated and unpredictable personalities apparently equipped with shining masks to prevent their inner workings to be perceived."[94]

The children in the classroom, although reachable through the transmission capacity of radio broadcasting, were rendered invisible to the producers and broadcasters. Pupils became what was considered, an 'imagined audience', defined by the "mental conceptualization of the people with whom we are communicating" (Litt 2012, p.331). Lessons could not be precisely attuned to *each* classroom, and as such, producers were faced with a difficult task.

Litt (2012, p.334) notes that the alignment between the imagined audience and the actual audience is dependent on the interaction between micro and macro-level factors. Placing Litt's provisions in the context of schools radio broadcasting, macro-level factors can encompass social norms, educational practices, roles of the teacher and broadcaster, as well as technological infrastructure. Micro-level factors could comprise of a variation of age-range, motivation, attitude, and skillset of the individual listening pupils. While some macro and micro-level factors could indeed be ascertained (such as age range) there were also fluctuating infrastructural or sociological conditions such as classroom size and layout, differing pedagogical conditions such as teaching styles of each instructor, as well as the indefinable borderlines of each child's experience.

Despite the seemingly equalising ideal that every child in Scotland would be able to listen and form a collective community of young minds expanded through sonic encounter, the notion of the 'imagined audience' holds greater nuance. Forsslund (2012, p.332) writes that "to be an audience member means far more than just listening, and our status is constructed through a number of social practices which collectively constitute sound broadcasting". The constructed status of a listening pupil in any given school was therefore determined by the Scottish Sub-Council (and later Scottish Council) for School Broadcasting, and by extension, the producers of the listening programmes. The weight of this responsibility was known to producers and council members, with the syllabus for Broadcasts to Scottish Schools 1936/1937 stating, "the school is perhaps the most consciously directive of all the influences in that it selects and devises its special curriculum of knowledge".[95] Broadcasts were not necessarily part of the governing body of 'the school' but rather an informal element of learning with conscious ties to educational establishments. While producers were increasingly contending with new theorisations of sound, invisible audiences, and identity construction, these phenomenological understandings were grounded in the uniform and organised processes of tailoring programmes to specific conditions, maintaining Scottishness in the content, and writing and producing the broadcast. Ultimately, as Burke and Grosvenor (2011, p.331) argue, schools broadcasting succeeded, in part unintentionally, by creating

[94] Postgate, R. (1950) 'The Audience with Shining Masks' in *The BBC Yearbook 1950***.** Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.24. British Online Archives.
[95] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.

a version of "national curricula" as "at the same moment across nation-states, children of a certain age were listening in schools to the same programme or responding in similar ways".

Processes

While a reconstructive phenomenology of radio speaks to the experiences of transmitting and receiving sound lessons, these experiences were manifested via meticulous processes of research, collaboration, scriptwriting, and production. As narrated in the opening sequence for the film, *Lessons from the Air*, directed by Harold Purcell and James Rodgers:

> "Every day, programmes go out from the BBC to schools all over Britain. They go to children in the suburbs and big cities, the children living in the heart of industrial towns, to children living in isolated rural areas. The children have good modern schools and enthusiastic teachers, but their mental experiences would be limited to their immediate locality if it were not for the school radio."[96]

This narration describes the trepidations and deliberations of the schools radio producer; interestingly, through a distinctly geographical framing. How can a schools broadcast speak to and connect with the geographical variety of the country and by way of locality, the children's experiences? In the short thirteen-minute runtime, *Lessons from the Air* takes viewers through the specific procedure for developing a radio programme for schools, beginning with a meeting by the Central Council of School Broadcasting. Those ideas established in tandem with the CCSB are then turned into programmes by the BBC—this is the very same process that will be considered in the section to follow.

What the film illuminates is that, even in the first decade of schools radio, producers were operating as part of a supported network of educationists, broadcasters, and subject experts. The role of the producer was not freestanding, for the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting along with its subject advisory committees were able to provide the educational backbone for the broadcasts. Once the school broadcasting councils and their ways of operation were restructured in 1947, not much changed in terms of duties for the producer. A similar pattern followed where in February, committees would receive the requested provision for the September school year and by November, proposals were made to be interpreted through scriptwriting and studio production.

Once the general idea and goals of the broadcast were drafted, the details and descriptions of programme content were added by independent experts whom the producers could turn to if they required further advice. As the narrator of the film states, "the most meticulous care is taken in ensuring that all the material for the programmes is obtained at first hand from authentic sources and no pains are spared from

[96] *Lessons from the Air* (1943).

determining the correctness of the facts that go into the scripts".[97] Once the information was collected, a first draft was written which then underwent a thorough series of checks, suggestions, and rewrites *as per* the advice of practicing teachers who adapted wordings and phrases to better suit the child's understanding and level of interest. The teacher's involvement in the production process was crucial to the success of the broadcast. This collaboration remained fundamental and largely unchanged across the decades. In 1984, Mr. W. Hendrie, a headteacher in Linlithgow, documented his practices as an educational advisor in the book, *Broadcasting and School Education in Scotland*. Hendrie notes, in general, that "he or she acts as the bridge between broadcasters and teachers. The adviser has to be sensitive to the latest classroom thinking and also to new approaches possible via TV or radio".[98]

While the teaching advisor was a bridgehead, so too, were the accompanying publications for each broadcast. Producers operated what could be considered a miniature publishing house within the BBC. They were responsible for writing the corresponding teachers notes and student pamphlets for each programme, and in collaboration with the BBC Publications staff, would select the illustrations and images needed for the printed materials. These publications essentially served as a form of textual communication to the unknown teacher; a clear-cut method of cooperation in which the producer could freely speak to the content of the programme and the best methods for preparation and broadcast.

Once the material was readied, the content was taken to the studio where actors, narrators, music, and sound effects brought the words to life. Ultimately, the role of the producer was not to offer subject or classroom expertise, but rather to offer content an imaginative uplift, whereby they were able to translate the needs set out by the School Broadcasting Council, the information provided by the experts, and the understandings of the classroom from the teachers to create a programme in which experience was conveyed through sound. Essentially, the producer was the creative core of a collaborative web, positioned at the helm of partnerships with everyone involved in the process of making a schools radio programme, including actors and musicians who producers also secured the services of. As Figure 14 illustrates, programmes typically had an effects rehearsal, a subsequent rehearsal, and an official recording of the broadcast programme, typically transmitting only a week after the recording was complete.

[97] *Lessons from the Air* (1943).
[98] Hendrie, W. (1984) 'Teacher Involvement in Production', in J. Duncan (e.d.) *Broadcasting and School Education in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh HMSO.

~~Number 5~~ Spring term 1975

SCOTTISH HISTORY

The Story of Arbuthnott

The Land and the People

by

Rosemary Booth

Cast:	Narrator-Dominie	David Mowat
	Singer	Sandy Easton
	Man	Sandy Easton
	Girl	Rose McBain
	Thane	John Shedden
	Priest	David Mowat
	Gillanders	David Bannerman
	Morven	Rose McBain
	Steward	David Bannerman
	King William	Sandy Easton
	Prior of Restenneth	David Bannerman
	Voice I	David Mowat
	Voice II	David Bannerman
	Osbert Oliphant	John Shedden

Effects: Battle noises, clank of arms
Wood chopping, tree being felled
Quiet chatter of men and women, feet running
Feet pacing wooden floor
Wind among grass, battle in distance
Crackling flames
Banquet noises: metal dishes, dogs barking, harp being plucked in desultory fashion
Hooves pounding on turf, creaking accoutrements
Water splashing, newborn baby crying

Music: Signature tune: Malcolm Arnold 4 Scottish Dances

Effects rehearsal: Tuesday 4th February 1975: 1000-1300
rehearsal: Tuesday 4th February 1975: 1415-1715
recording: Tuesday 4th February 1975: 1715-1800

Recording number: TEH09/SE33.CS (In Edinburgh Studio 2)

transmission date: Tuesday 11th February 1975: 1140-1200

Radio Scotland on VHF for Schools

Duration (without announcements) .....

Figure 14- Front page of a script for Scottish History. Source: NLS (1975).

Producers were also required to have a keen apprehension of the imagined, invisible audience, as well as the physically present, yet distant to the producer, classroom teacher. Those involved in schools broadcasting were consistently aware of the 'death of the producer', understanding that this was a necessity of the medium where only aspects of production and transmission, not reception, were in their control. This much was acknowledged in a BBC Yearbook for 1950 which stated:

> "A feature about most broadcasting is that you have to guess what the public likes; in School Broadcasting you can go some way to knowing this, and so you have a better chance of fitting the garment to the wearer. But please don't imagine that the producer can measure children's tastes on a slide-rule. No one can predict, not even his [*sic*] mother, what will happen inside her son's consciousness if she takes him to a pantomime for the first time; indeed, a great part of her interest is in seeing what does happen—if one can tell. And no one, however eminent and experienced, can possibly predict what will be the effect of a broadcast delivered through good sets, bad sets, and indifferent ones to groups of children drawn from different families, schools, and districts."[99]

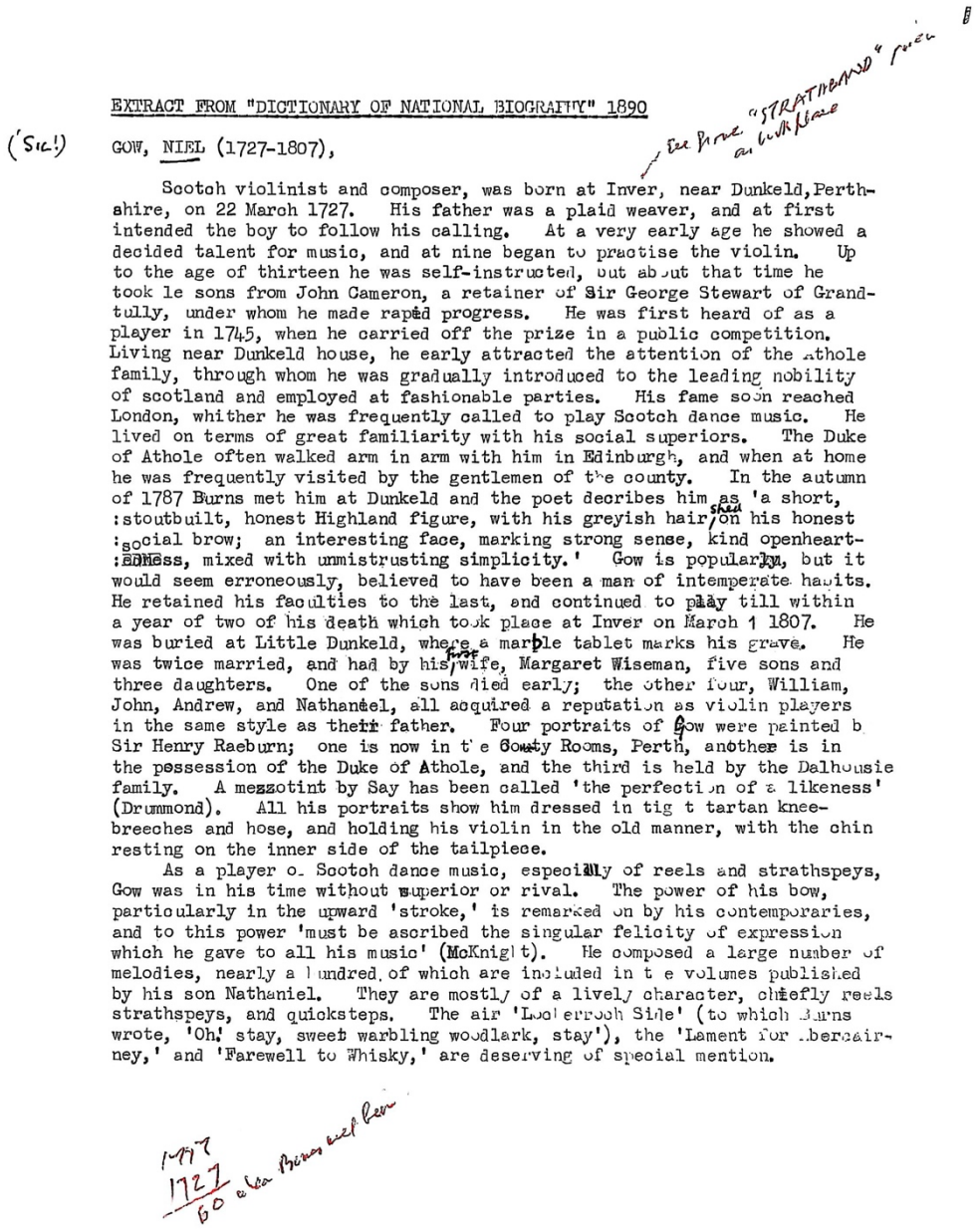
To remedy this level of supposition or guesswork, producers would oftentimes conduct on-site visits in schools to witness how broadcasts were operating, and they would take in the suggestions provided by feedback reports from teachers and Education Officers, adding a certain 'hands-on' element to the production process.

Creating the broadcast script was another fundamental element to the role of the producer. The scripts for schools radio broadcasts serve as a form of multifaceted literature. They are the textual skeleton of an embodied sonic experience, a manuscript for the 'theatre of the mind', as well as an important source of pedagogical practice. The following statement, though written with respect to the genre of radio drama, is applicable to the handling of schools radio scripts: "radio drama is not a wholly immaterial or ethereal art form. It would be more accurate to consider the genre as 'hybrid' or 'transmedial', one that exists in both text and sound, moving gradually from one state into another" (Verhulst 2024, p.523). By understanding schools radio broadcasts as 'transmedial', the script as an archived artefact can fill in the sensorial gaps that exist due to a lack of extensive archiving. The following section uncovers the preparations and performances of the script, more so than a detailed analyses of scripts themselves, solely due to the limited number of script-based sources.

Through the evidence available in the archives, the scriptwriting process can best be described as processual, iterative, and at times messy. Through the disordered documents and various scratchings and scrawling of notes and drafts, however, the script ultimately materialises as a polished product. The experiences of the producer, although arguably personalised based on research and writing style, can be ascertained from the

[99] Postgate, R. (1950) 'The Audience with Shining Masks'.

notes that remain in the archive—manuscripts of ideas which ultimately became sounds and experiences for children to consume. In 1960, Robert McLellan was a producer for the series, *This is my Country.* His script notes for the development of the broadcast, "Eighteenth Century Masters: Niel Gow", remain in the archives, perhaps best entertained as something of a puzzle, with very little indication as to when each document was written.[100] Through a visual progression of formal typography and writing stages, however, it can be deduced that McLellan began his initial research here (Figure 15), with an extract from the "Dictionary of National Biography":



EXTRACT FROM "DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY" 1890

('Sic!) GOW, NIEL (1727-1807),

Scotch violinist and composer, was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on 22 March 1727. His father was a plaid weaver, and at first intended the boy to follow his calling. At a very early age he showed a decided talent for music, and at nine began to practise the violin. Up to the age of thirteen he was self-instructed, but about that time he took le sons from John Cameron, a retainer of Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, under whom he made rapid progress. He was first heard of as a player in 1745, when he carried off the prize in a public competition. Living near Dunkeld house, he early attracted the attention of the Athole family, through whom he was gradually introduced to the leading nobility of scotland and employed at fashionable parties. His fame soon reached London, whither he was frequently called to play Scotch dance music. He lived on terms of great familiarity with his social superiors. The Duke of Athole often walked arm in arm with him in Edinburgh, and when at home he was frequently visited by the gentlemen of the county. In the autumn of 1787 Burns met him at Dunkeld and the poet decribes him as 'a short, stoutbuilt, honest Highland figure, with his greyish hair, on his honest social brow; an interesting face, marking strong sense, kind openheartedness, mixed with unmistrusting simplicity.' Gow is popularly, but it would seem erroneously, believed to have been a man of intemperate habits. He retained his faculties to the last, and continued to play till within a year of two of his death which took place at Inver on March 1 1807. He was buried at Little Dunkeld, where a marble tablet marks his grave. He was twice married, and had by his first wife, Margaret Wiseman, five sons and three daughters. One of the sons died early; the other four, William, John, Andrew, and Nathaniel, all acquired a reputation as violin players in the same style as their father. Four portraits of Gow were painted by Sir Henry Raeburn; one is now in the County Rooms, Perth, another is in the possession of the Duke of Athole, and the third is held by the Dalhousie family. A mezzotint by Say has been called 'the perfection of a likeness' (Drummond). All his portraits show him dressed in tight tartan knee-breeches and hose, and holding his violin in the old manner, with the chin resting on the inner side of the tailpiece.

As a player of Scotch dance music, especially of reels and strathspeys, Gow was in his time without superior or rival. The power of his bow, particularly in the upward 'stroke,' is remarked on by his contemporaries, and to this power 'must be ascribed the singular felicity of expression which he gave to all his music' (McKnight). He composed a large number of melodies, nearly a hundred of which are included in the volumes published by his son Nathaniel. They are mostly of a lively character, chiefly reels strathspeys, and quicksteps. The air 'Lochrroch Side' (to which Burns wrote, 'Oh, stay, sweet warbling woodlark, stay'), the 'Lament for Abercairney,' and 'Farewell to Whisky,' are deserving of special mention.

Figure 15- Extract from "Dictionary of National Biography" on Niel Gow for programme research. Source: NLS (1960).

[100] McLellan, R. (1960) *'Niel Gow', a radio biography by Robert McLellan, broadcast in the series 'This is my country'.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. MS.26397: Broadcasts Written for Radio and Television by Robert McLellan.

From this point of initial research, McLellan gathered the foundational information to produce a radio biography of the fiddler's life. McLellan's writing process can be seen through the notes for the broadcast—a barely legible document of red ink scribblings upon a small slip of paper (Figure 16).

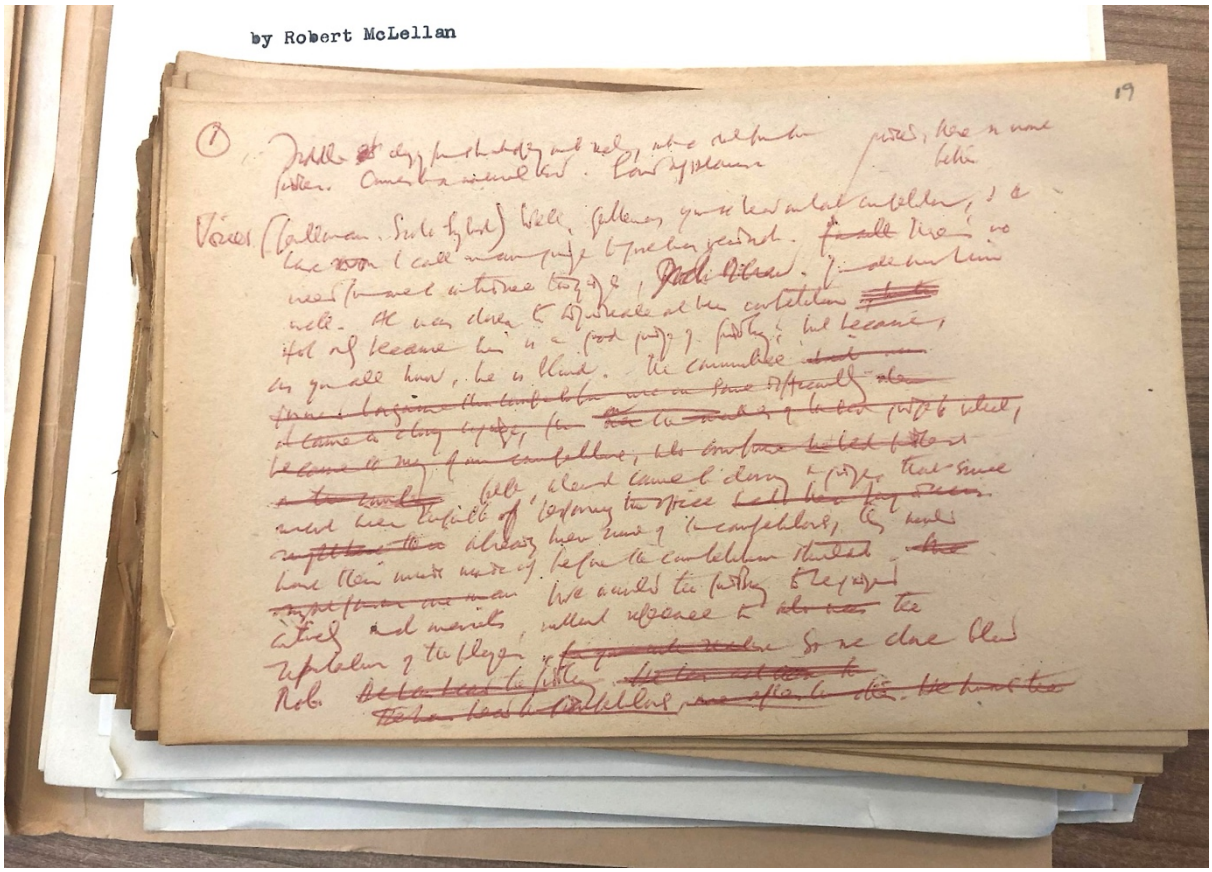


Figure 16- Handwritten script draft notes. Source: NLS (1960).

Eventually McLellan turned to the typewriter, turning out a first draft for the broadcast that included characters, sound effects, and, of course, the remarkable fiddle music of Niel Gow (see Figure 17). Dialogue is indicated through the black text while sonic textures such as "sympathetic silence", "loud applause and laughter", and "deafening applause, fading" are transcribed in red. Through the crossing out of phrases and jottings of edits, the schools broadcasting scriptwriting process is portrayed as just that, a process.

Fiddle, changing from strathspey to reel, with a shout from the fiddler. Comes to a natural end. Applause.

Laird : (~~Scots-English~~ voice) Well, gentlemen, you've heard our last competitor, and I have now to call on our judge to give his verdict. There's no need for me to introduce the judge, John McGraw. (Voice: Guid auld Jock) You all know him well. (Hear hear) He was chosen to adjudicate at this competition not only because he is a good judge of fiddling, but because, as you know, he is blind. (Sympathetic silence) The committee felt, when it came to chosing a judge, that since most men capable of ~~performing the office~~ already knew most of the competitors, they would have their minds made up before the competition started. We wanted the fiddling to be judged entirely on its merits, without reference to the reputation of the players. So we chose Blind Jock. (Applause) We have given ~~every player~~ a number, and they have played in ~~their~~ order. I now ask ~~Blind Jock~~, who has heard the competitors, but has neither seen them nor been told their ~~numbers~~, to ~~tell~~ us the number of the winner.

Applause, then silence.

Jock : Weill, Laird, I haena fund it hard. I wad say that the best fiddler o them aa, withoot a dout, was number twenty-three, Niel Gow.

Loud applause and laughter.

Laird : Silence, gentlemen. Silence, please. John McGraw, I asked you for the winner's number. You gave us his name.

Jock : I gied ye his number tae.

Laird : But how do you know his name? Has someone been breaking the rules?

Jock : Na na, naebody's been brekin the rules. But dae ye think I wad ken ocht aboot fiddlin gin I hadna been listenin aa my life to the best fiddlers in the land? And dae ye think that ance I hae heard a guid fiddler I dinna ken him whan I hear him again? Laird, I could tell ye the names o hauf yer competitors, and gey guid some o them were, but Niel Gow's the daddy o them aa. He has the best feelin for the auld Scots tunes, the maist fire and speerit, and abune aa, the maist pouer in his up-stroke, o ony man in Scotland. Put Niel Gow amang a hunder fiddlers and I could pick ~~out that upstroke~~. Ay, Laird, ~~the winner's Niel Gow's name~~.

Deafening applause, fading.

Figure 17- Typed script draft. Source: NLS (1960).

Throughout the decades, producers employed various methods in attempts to give children a sense of familiarity with broadcasted voices. Oftentimes the producer, who took on the role as an 'author' when creating a script, also served as the narrator for the broadcast. This allowed authors to write in their own tone, assigning personal characteristics to the written word. This did not, however, always translate well once transmitted. As the 1984 book, *Broadcasting and School Education in Scotland,* reports, although considered the "experts in the field of broadcasting", producers as narrators seldom became "a recognisable personality". [101] Through feedback received from students and teachers, this issue was resolved through consistency. If a narrator appeared in all the broadcasts for the programme term, children would gain a sense of familiarity. One teacher even reported, "your actor (i.e., the narrator) projected his personality well and they (the children) journeyed with him almost companionably".[102] This familiarity, referred to earlier as an 'illusion of closeness', or 'illusion of intimacy', was used by producers more as a way of connection rather than authority. As Karpf (2013, p.9) argues, the connection between the listener and the broadcaster is "relational" and "interactive", "not exactly a reciprocal relationship, but both parties have a role to play in the evolution of meaning". In addition, as radio grappled with elements of temporality, the regularity of voice became a virtue of connection. A 1960 report on the series, *Exploring Scotland,* observed that the listening children would only take in narration "provided it was a personal narration delivered by a character they were familiar with. Otherwise, narration tended to bore them…".[103] Producers were left to maintain a balance between interest and instruction.

Furthermore, producers would employ a set of characters, typically children, whose voices pupils preferred listening to. Some teachers, however, suggested in the aforementioned *Exploring Scotland* report that these characters would be more "distracting". [104] Other accounts found the use of child characters restrictive, with teachers suggesting that through "relieving the scriptwriters of the limitations imposed by the recurring convention of a set of characters, a more personal and original style of broadcasting might be achieved". [105] As mentioned, the invisible audience was homogenous to a certain degree, but there was not always a consensus in personal tastes. Some children even sought the "more adult treatment of the material: the use of the scriptwriter as narrator, interviews with actual people, personal impressions of a town or district, and a larger amount of straight narration than had been usual in the past".[106]

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[101] Boyle, J. (1984) 'The Producer's Experience: BBC Schools Radio', in J. Duncan (e.d.) *Broadcasting and School Education in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh HMSO.
[102] Ibid.
[103] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1960) *The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland Report on Experiments Made in the Series "Exploring Scotland", Spring Term 1960.* Internal SBCS report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/23.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.

Despite the varying degrees of interest for narrative presentation, there was an unwavering desire for familiarity.

Arguably one of the greatest and most influential considerations producers implemented when creating schools radio broadcasts was the usage and dissemination of Scottish content. As noted in Chapter 4, the Kent Report of 1928 emphasised the need for a separate governing council for Scottish schools radio, and programmes were tailored to fit the distinctive needs of Scottish education. Eventually, following the Second World War, Scottish programming prospered and was able to expand from its initial purpose of 'educational distinctiveness' to include more programmes based on 'social' and 'cultural' distinctiveness. Although a necessary remit for Scottish schools broadcasting councils throughout the decades, this was not always a smooth process. A greater provision of Scottish content was simply not enough, for there also had to be greater consideration for the "context of distinctive educational and cultural development".[107]

Responsibility over content was associated with the responsibility of presenting the country to the children appropriately, thus formulating their knowledge and worldviews of who they are and where they come from. To add to these identity-driven complexities, producers were faced with the pull and influence of 'the majority'. A challenge expressed in a 1974 memorandum issued by the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland:

> "Although there is adequate Scottish representation on the UK Council and its Programme committees and wide-ranging consultation by producers and education officers, radio and television series designed for transmission to schools in the United Kingdom are sometimes unavoidably influenced by non-Scottish practice and the needs of other examining boards."[108]

As stipulated in a letter to Gordon Wilson, a Member of Parliament, in 1981, the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland sought to "ensure that due weight and attention is given to the Scottish situation, but control over content finally rests with the producers of the individual programmes, whether they originate from Scotland or London".[109]

Producers' attempts at tailoring programmes to the distinctive educational and cultural needs of Scottish students were a process of trial and error. Scottish schools broadcasting was uncompromising in the expansion of dialects heard on the radio, and vocal representation was a strong starting point in providing children with an increased knowledge and experience of the country. Producers, however, became a part of a tug-of-war between the varying needs, understandings, and circumstances of teachers, actors,

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[107] SBCS (1960) *Experiments Made in Series "Exploring Scotland"*.
[108] School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1974) *SBCUK Memorandum of Evidence to the Committee of the Future of Broadcasting Submitted by the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland*. Internal Schools Broadcasting Councils report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/23.
[109] Fletcher, A. (1981) *Letter to Gordon Wilson Esq MP on BBC Radiovision Schools Programmes*, 11 August. [Letter]. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/66.

students, and authorities. These issues persisted from the moment that Scottish provision expanded in the 1940s until the final days of schools radio in the 1990s. If a producer attempted to incorporate more dialect, they were occasionally met with actors who lacked confidence in local accents or teachers who were poorly equipped to handle supporting learning via a Scots or a regional dialect.[110,111] Similarly, it was observed that "Scottish children, particularly in urban areas, had little understanding of dialect speech and little interest in its preservation".[112] Despite content being in the control of the producer, the usage of this content was in control of the individual teacher, and by and large, teachers would only teach Scots if they were enthused by it.

Despite this lobbying for sensitivities and personalisation, producers maintained their stance on incorporating a variety of voices, only occasionally including a careful restraint of speech. Evidence of moderation is included in the broadcast for "The Story of Arbuthnott: The Land and the People" from 1975. The scriptwriter, Rosemary Booth, presumably in an attempt to allow more children to understand what they were hearing, included a short note for the actor playing the Dominie, instructing them to speak with "as Mearns an accent as possible without becoming unintelligible".[113] The script itself is written in Northeast Scots dialect (Doric) by Booth. For example:

> "Aye, it was men made Arbuthnott. They've been making it mair and mair tae their mind since they first arrived in these parts thousands of years syne. At first men came to hunt the deer and, man, they deer were non o' the wee staggies the gentry crawl efter these days. I mind how the auld laird dug deer's horns from a bog near the big hoose and hung them in his lobby."[114]

Writing in the accent or dialect was commonplace for scriptwriters, who therefore had to possess, or acquire, proficiency on the intricacies of language and vocabulary. One script for the lesson "Waverley", broadcast in 1957, included lines of dialogue in Gaelic, integrated into the English-language programme, unaccompanied by translation:

> [*Waverley*]: Old woman?
> [*Janet*]: Dè?
> [*Waverley*]: I have a wound in my shoulder. I need a surgeon.
> [*Janet*]: Cha n'eil Beurla agam.
> [*Waverley*]: Do you speak no English at all? My wound is serious. No, no, do not touch it. I need a surgeon. No, no, not scissors: a surgeon!

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[110] Boyle, J. (1984) 'The Producer's Experience: BBC Schools Radio'.
[111] School Broadcasting Council Scotland (1963) *Report on the Review of the Series "Stories from Scottish History" and "Scottish Heritage" for the Primary Programme Sub-Committee.* Internal Schools Broadcasting Councils report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/23.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Booth, R. (1975) *Transcripts of a series of three BBC radio broadcasts for schools, "The Story of Arbuthnott".* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Acc.6326.
[114] Ibid.

[*Janet*]: Bithidh mi á gearreadh d'aodhach. (Noise of scissors) So, a bhalaich.[115]

Such moments of Gaelic language provision demonstrate a certain attentiveness to the various members of the imagined audience: the native speakers, the Gaelic learners, and those who were just hearing the language for the first time. Production decisions were clearly made about whether or not to interpret, repeat, or simply leave speech untranslated, therefore directing programmes to acknowledge the varying degree of linguistic diversity across the country. Language provision, as such, was an integral part of sonic design, communicating to and inviting the listening audience to sonically encounter the cultural diversity of Scotland.

In addition to cultural diversity, producers were also attentive to certain pedagogical distinctions in Scottish education, namely those outlined through the changing curricula. The breadth of what producers could create was restricted to a slight degree, with more emphasis being placed on examinations. In support of this change, Keith Robinson, Director of Curriculum Development Service in Glasgow, suggested in 1981 that "school broadcasting in Scotland, largely because of the more centralised curriculum development, has played and will continue to play a significant part in the development of new syllabuses and specific curriculum projects".[116] When it was proposed that BBC Scotland would cut the budget of the Scottish School Radio Department by 25% in 1980 and withdraw all financial support by 1981, opponents focused on the strength of schools radio in meeting "the specific requirements of the curriculum in Scottish schools and specific cultural aspects", insisting that

> "the present proposals would turn the clock back and the result would be that programmes designed to stimulate interest, and support curricular activities in Scottish history, literature, language, environment and current affairs would no longer be available to pupils and teachers in Scottish schools".[117]

Despite issuing a rallying cry for Scottish distinctiveness as a curriculum necessity, the budget cuts were partially made, resulting in a shifting departmental structure including the loss of Senior Producers, producer assistants, and consequently, the loss of some programmes.

Some producers were still wary of curricular influence, with a 'Mrs. Cherry' stating that "as broadcasters, we must be wary that programmes were not made purely for

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[115] McLellan, R. (1957) *Broadcast script of a dramatization in four parts by Robert McLellan of Sir Walter Scott's novel, 'Waverley', broadcast in the series 'This is my Country'.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. MS.26396: Broadcasts Written for Radio and Television by Robert McLellan.

[116] Robinson, K. (1981) *Broadcasting and the curriculum: Current Practice and Future Developments*. Internal Scottish Education Department report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/112.

[117] Macluskie, R.B. (1980) *Letter to the Controller on Budget Cuts,* 4 March. [Letter]. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED35/107.

assessment—it was important to aim to broaden children's view, not narrow it".[118] The desires of producers clashed with the desires of teachers who, with the introduction of Standard Grade qualifications in 1986, were "looking for concrete methodologies and required active examples as applied to subjects".[119] Very quickly, the role of the producer drastically changed. Teachers were seldom using live broadcasts, preferring to 'bank' programmes as a resource.[120] Education Officers became more "product conscious and aware of the need to promote products as well as programmes".[121] As noted by Jim Stevenson, the Education Secretary and Chief Executive of the EBS Trust, "inevitably the developments within broadcasting in recent years have made us all 'future conscious'. Wild speculations are much in vogue but if we are to make the most of opportunities, we also have to read the runes as well".[122] By 1992-1993**,** the BBC committed to reducing their number of in-house producers, opting for a 50/50 division of output to be produced by independent bodies.[123]

Portrayals

Mansell (2020, p.97) describes sonic encounter as a "socially shaped and culturally specific affective relationship between hearer and heard", further elaborating the experience as a meeting point of 'soundscape' and 'soundselves'. Sonic encounters are crafted by the producers to be means of communicating experience and information, which the 'soundself' (in this instance, the pupil), metabolises through an affective process of sense and meaning-making. This section elaborates on the first iteration of sonic encounter produced for schools broadcasting: the voice, and how vocal portrayals of personhood transformed and expanded.

When broadcasts for schools began in 1924, programmes followed a similar blueprint to that of the Adult Education and Talks departments. A subject expert was selected to broadcast live to the children, in a lecture format, imparting their own knowledge and experience without music, sound effects, or characters. While the lecture format was short-lived, fading out following recommendations of the 1928 Kent Report due to a lack of interest amongst students as well as teachers, the element of 'liveness' was retained

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[118] EBCS Primary Programme Committee (1988) 'Item 88.08: Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: A Policy for the 90s'. *Minutes of the Eighty-Third Meeting of the Primary Programme Committee on 27th April 1988,* Broadcasting House, Glasgow. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/63.
[119] EBCS Secondary Programme Committee (1988) 'Item 8.06e: Regional Initiatives- Fife, Borders, Central, Grampian and Lothian'. *Minutes of the Eighty-Third Meeting of the Secondary Programme Committee on 10th May 1988,* Broadcasting House, Glasgow. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29.63.
[120] Stevenson, J. (1988) *Educational Broadcasting Services: Finance, Technology and Development*. Internal EBCS report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/63.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Educational Broadcasting Council Scotland (1991) 'Item 91.05.ii.: Independent Production of BBC Education Scotland Programmes'. *Minutes of the ninth meeting of the Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland on 5th June 1991,* Broadcasting House, Glasgow. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/70.

for an unspecified amount of time. When broadcasting live to an audience, the speaker embodies the space behind the microphone. Adorno frames the radio broadcast, not as a live product, but rather an 'echo', or as Kane (2016, p.104) elaborates, "a paradox of simultaneous immediacy and mediation". The immediacy of a live voice, as Adorno conceives it, is skewed by "mechanization and reification", concluding that "the presence is the presence of phantasmagoria" (Adorno 2009, p.378). Scannell's (1995) claim that the medium in which broadcasting exists in is time rings true. Listeners are guided to think that they are present with the broadcast—brought close to the disembodied voice through temporal alignment.

Despite bringing experts into the classroom via live broadcasts in the early years of schools radio, the pedagogical medium was unable to fully establish the radio voice as a form of authority. As previously mentioned, scholars have suggested that radio possesses socio-affective qualities that guide and dictate. Wendland (2006, p.100) considers radio as both a "knowledge conveyer" and "highly credible (believable) and therefore authoritative, especially in a predominantly oral-aural society". Though, as the authors of the Kent Report asserted:

> "Children cannot distinguish between degrees of expertness or eminence; they have not the knowledge either of the subject or of the general public opinion which bestows eminence. If the teacher tells them they are listening to an expert or an eminent man, they must perforce to believe it. We have no evidence in this enquiry on the effect on the children listening to one of the great World leaders of thought."[124]

Qualifications became obsolete, other than to the teacher or the parent who was able to listen in to the broadcast at the same time as their child in school. As stated in the report, "the wireless lecturer must either know something which the teacher does not know or know it in a way in which the teacher does not know it or be able to present it in a way in which the teacher cannot present it".[125] Early radio producers quickly realised that, in order for schools broadcasting to be a successful mode of education, the voice still had to appeal to the children's interests in a way that had not been attempted by past voices of educational authority.

Following recommendations by the Kent Report, which affirmed that the lecturer should "do everything in her power to make her talk a lesson as opposed to a lecture",[126] producers endeavoured to make broadcasts more appealing to the children. While recordings do not survive, textual versions of the broadcast content provide descriptions of the altered lecture style. In the series, *Travel Talks,* it was written that "'men [*sic*] who have been there' can give a livelier description of foreign countries than is contained in

[124] Kent (1928) *Educational broadcasting*.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.

most Geography books".[127] Speakers had a certain degree of "intimate knowledge" and "enthusiasm for his subject",[128] programmes had "new voices and new personalities",[129] and experts added "vivid description"[130] to presented facts. Programmes such as music, modern languages, and speech were altered to be more interactive, prompting a "two-way traffic" of sounds between the broadcaster and the children.[131] Geography programmes were categorised as "imaginative stimulus", regarded as "comparable to the cinema" due to their vivid descriptions.[132] Despite these alterations, however, the 'informative talk' still remained, prompting frustration amongst teachers, and boredom amongst students. In a 1934 piece for *The Listener***,** W.E. Williams interrogated the rationale for the lecture-style programmes, contending the following:

> "The only justification for the informative talk is that it should be given by a person of superlative personality. In no other respect can it compete successfully against average classroom teaching…These informative talks in the Schools Programme, however, represent the last word in expertise and knowledge—being given by such personalities such as Professor Eileen Power, Professor Forde and Dr. Unstead."[133]

With thick verbal description as a key facet, even talk-centred broadcasts were often termed as "sound pictures".[134] This terminology, although seemingly compensating for the 'blindness' of radio, was, in fact, befitting as these types of broadcasts were popularised during the Second World War, where the production of pamphlets ceased.[135] Broadcasters were therefore left without the visual aid that supplemented the sensory understandings of sounds. Even prior to the war, the descriptive qualities of these broadcasts were being developed. One lesson in geography was meant to stimulate imagination through "a vivid personal and pictorial account on the scenery and life of the people",[136] a lesson in *Junior Geography* aimed to give children "an accurate mental picture of the Empire Overseas",[137] while a lesson on forestry attempted to "portray in sound picturesque scenes associated with the industry".[138]

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[127] BBC (1929) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, April 29th- June 26th, 1929*.
[128] British Broadcasting Corporation (1933) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1933 to June 1934, Annual Programme*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[129] BBC (1934) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1934 to June 1935*.
[130] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.
[131] Williams, W.E. (1934) 'The School Broadcast Programme', *The Listener,* 1 Aug, p.199.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) 'School Broadcasts' in *The BBC Annual 1936*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.54.
[135] Somerville, M. (1940) 'School Broadcasting in Time of War', p.70.
[136] BBC (1933) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1933 to June 1934*.
[137] BBC (1935) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1935 to June 1936*.
[138] BBC (1937) *1937/1938: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.

Over the years, talks of 'imaginative stimulus' were praised by students and teachers, particularly in terms of dealing with geographical content. In 1960, one teacher from Aberdeen remarked, "such broadcasts help children to visualise the business of earning a living and the scenic beauties of Scotland…apart from television, it is perhaps the best method of giving the pupil a glimpse of the outdoor world".[139] Successful visualisation relied on the narrative abilities of the speaker, who had to convey landscapes through a collection of descriptive tools. Words in this instance were a means of communication; arbitrary conventional symbols that stimulated a process of word-picture association without the aid of additional studio production techniques such as environmental sounds or sound effects. One such example can be found in a broadcast on "Durness and Cape Wrath" from a 1960 *Exploring Scotland* episode, where it was reported that "the narrator's efforts 'made you feel as if you were there'" through specific expressions such as "bleak", "rugged", and "road winding like a snake".[140] Teachers encouragingly commented on the descriptions evoking the desolation of the landscape for students.

In 1982, Senior Lecturer in Education at the University of Manchester, Michael Williams, conducted research on the use of language in geography programmes for schools radio and television, finding that broadcasting was a "largely neglected topic of research, study and discussion" and that geography has "figured prominently in the annual provision of broadcasts", warranting further exploration (Williams 1982, p.13). Williams made an important differentiation between the scriptwriter and the textbook writer, observing that temporality and materiality are prominent factors of distinction. While the reader can digest information by returning to the written text, this specific mode of engagement is not granted to the listener, even with the use of a tape recorder, as the teacher selects the extracts of the broadcast to return to as a class. As such, the scriptwriter must attempt to anticipate and ascertain what the audience can absorb through verbal clues and geographical messages. By analysing geographical communication via broadcasting through the scripts, Williams found that scriptwriters tended to emphasis 'concrete' rather than 'abstract' concepts, employing both technical and vernacular styles. Williams examined a number of concepts that were introduced to children in the BBC schools radio broadcast for the programme, *Our Changing World*, where, although supplemented by the visuals within accompanying pamphlets, scriptwriters had to carefully consider the way in which language could also spark a form of visualisation or at least provide 'geographical clues' in the content. Williams documented a list of 174 geographical descriptions and concepts covered in the programme's 20-minute runtime including "a hint of warmth in the air", "wintry day", "snowy blanket", "rugged and lake-strewn land", "harvesting time", "hay making", "clutch of buildings", "export markets", "east-west highway", "block of flats", and "rigours of the environment" (pp.15-16). He remarked upon the "high density" and "sheer number of concepts" students were absorbing in such a short lesson time, ultimately concluding that audiovisual media enables "geographical

[139] SBCS (1960) *Experiments Made in Series "Exploring Scotland"*.
[140] Ibid.

phenomena to be illustrated and made meaningful to children" (p.23), presenting experience and new pathways of observation through sound.

In addition to the 'sound pictures', the introduction of the 'two-way traffic' programmes proved to be a great success, with the element of interactivity aiding in the 'illusion of intimacy' and a greater level of familiarity. If the lesson was presenting a slew of information, broadcasters were instructed to break up their talk with "some device supplying rest-pause for attention of pupils".[141] Some programmes even introduced the element of 'second voices' which would interject by asking students questions or providing an amusing crumb of information.[142] Children were brought into the broadcast and required to produce a vocal reply either through answer-response, recitation, or musical accompaniment. In programmes such as *Music and Movement,* children were encouraged to move around their classroom space, participating in dances such as the Reel of Tulloch.[143] Radio was made to be 'partially-interactive' as children were in a technologically-mediated and staged conversation with the broadcasters through intentional dialogue and communal interaction. While typically viewed as a method of bringing the world into the school, radio alternatively provoked students to enliven their learning space through palpable interactions with the sound, adding another layer to the soundscapes uniquely experienced in each classroom.

While BBC Scottish schools radio was arguably a ground-breaking presence in the realm of vocal representation on British airwaves, there was still room for expansion. As BBC features-producers were increasingly using more 'ordinary voices' with the technological advantage of portable recorders in the mid-1950s, the British public was introduced to "sounds never heard before"— or otherwise, the normalcy of speech, "with its hesitations and pauses and the meanings they conveyed**"** (Lewis 2021, p.5). As general broadcasts seemingly gelled into the amorphous 'collective personality' of the BBC, there were certain specifications that made the broadcasting voice an unnatural sound, withdrawn from individuality, as the voice, stated by Moran (2014, p.25) is "a signature as distinctive as a fingerprint". With the rise of tape-recording, more voices were brought to the airwaves, also coinciding with a

> "widespread anxiety that local dialects and regional culture was being destroyed by rural depopulation and the growing dominance of national mass media, and that the authentic human voices of the regions needed to be recorded before they vanished" (Moran 2014, p.9).

Moran observes that the tape recorder bridged the field of oral history with radio broadcasting. In a sense, aspects of schools broadcasting which endeavoured to bring

[141] SBCS (1960) *Experiments Made in Series "Exploring Scotland"*.
[142] Ibid.
[143] British Broadcasting Corporation (1977) *Jigsaw, Summer 1977*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

children the sounds of Scotland concurrently served as a mass oral history project where producers were field recordists, oral historians, and archivists, perhaps unknowingly preserving the voices of the time.

Following the acceptance by the BBC of the portable tape-recorder in the 1950s, schools radio producers continued to set out to record a variety of voices across Scotland. In the 1960s, while this practice of recording was arguably new and experimental, the use of actual voices was largely criticised. For a programme on "Rothienorman and Fyvie", a Council Official stated, "indeed the only bit of the broadcast which gave any trouble was the actuality recording; the speaker's voice was too rich a baritone for this peculiar type of 'claxon' speaker".[144] The report continues to note a criticism received from a teacher for a programme recorded in a fish chamber in Pitlochry: "the conversation in the chamber for visitors was quite inaudible",[145] and another teacher requested, "clear, trained voices, please",[146] referring to preferred use of professional broadcasters. While a greater inclusion of voices was justifiably a strategic method of developing a greater understanding of the country by way of sonic exposure, the speech of 'ordinary people' was considered too low-quality for educational purposes. With time, however, these voices were embraced. By the 1970s and 1980s, 'oral history' programmes flourished, and children were tuning in to an abundance of sounds of people and places across Scotland, for example, retired fishermen at Wick and Peterhead; [147] Sea Captain Mackintosh of the merchant shipping company, Ben Line;[148] cashmere clothing designer, Valerie Louthan;[149] and bagpipers and fiddlers from the Shetland Islands.[150]

In their role as 'oral historians' producers also sought the actual voices of Scottish children and teenagers—methodically attempting to broadcast an instant familiarity through similar age-based lifestyle and experiences. For the programme, *For School Leavers,* the producer was mentioned as feeling that "their best such recordings could provide authenticity as well as a sense of reality and fellow-feeling".[151] Naturalness was an almost prized-possession to the producer, a rare form of sound in the landscape of radio broadcasting. Producers were not wrong in thinking this way. As schools

[144] SBCS (1960) *Experiments Made in Series "Exploring Scotland"*.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] BBC Scotland (1971). *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1971*.Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[148] British Broadcasting Corporation (1979) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1979, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[149] Ibid.
[150] British Broadcasting Corporation (1980) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1980, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[151] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1971). *Report on a Review of the Series Broadcast to Secondary Schools in Scotland*. Internal SBCS report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/44.

broadcasts shifted from live airings to pre-recorded radio, the opportunity to interview heightened the intimacy of the recordings. This is put best by Gallacher (2022, p.240) who writes:

> "In relation to the human voice, a recording can create a sound that is much more than mere words…a recording can speak to the throb of that moment's existence as it passes through the microphone from the past into the future. Recordings themselves generate cultural understandings, which are informed by all past recordings, future imaginings, and the current critical microphone moment."

Drawing upon LaBelle's theories on sonic geographies, Gallacher goes on to speculate that through 'live' interviews, the auditory landscape expands through what LaBelle considers "a micro-geography of the moment" (LaBelle 2020, p. xix, as cited in Gallacher 2022, p.241), recorded and propagated into the listener's space. Despite the phenomenological significance of recorded sound and authentic voices, efforts to portray voices of realism and relatability were once again buffeted by comments of confusion and frustration. As children were not trained at the microphone, comments were focused on the lack of clear speech, such as the following from a Council official which stated, "I agree with the pupils that some of the young people interviewed spoke very quickly, too quickly in fact for these slow-thinking children [*sic*] to assimilate what they were saying".[152]

Despite these aspersions cast, producers travelled across the country, collecting recordings from most every region in Scotland, creating a sonic portraiture of both land and people through programmes which spanned from the 1960s into the 1980s. What resulted were schools broadcasting programmes that not only included a description of the environment and interviews with locals but also an atmospheric recording of environmental sounds. Producers ventured to and recorded the sounds of an Ayrshire fam,[153] a croft in South Uist,[154] the uninhabited Isle of May,[155] and even locations further afield such as the Netherlands so as to draw a sonic comparison between farms in Friesland and in Scotland.[156]

The schools broadcasting producer as a field recordist and interviewer is an experience that has seldom been documented. Nevertheless, Anna Grayson, geologist, broadcaster, and former teacher, provides a rare and richly detailed account of her own experiences with Hugh Saxby (who held the same occupations), in developing a BBC schools geology programme. It is important to note that the following account is not written about a

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[152] SBCS (1971) *Review of Series Broadcast to Secondary Schools*.
[153] BBC Scotland (1967) *Scotland in the Modern World, Spring 1967.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[154] BBC Scotland (1983) *Scottish Projects: Environmental Studies, Autumn 1983, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[155] Ibid.
[156] BBC Scotland (1967) *Scotland in the Modern World, Spring 1967*.

Scottish schools radio programme but rather an English schools radio programme (still accessible to Scottish schools). Despite this, Grayson and Saxby's documentation provides invaluable evidence and rich descriptions of the unique experiences of crafting a broadcast for schools.

Production of Grayson and Saxby's geology programme began with an initial scriptwriting meeting, where ideas were "flowing like Hawaiian lava".[157] Through a brainstorming process, it was decided by the producers that the material would be best presented through on-site field recordings. Grayson recounts,

> "Thus, it was that on what must have been the wettest and coldest spring day on record, two shivering figures linked by wires and microphones ventured onto the beach at Burton Bradstock, full of enthusiasm and the joys of spring at the prospect of recording a trip up the Jurassic."[158]

Through numerous retakes whilst facing the elements, Grayson exclaims to the future listening children, "Well, this is jolly field trip weather; let's move up the succession and hope that nice blue patch of sky on the horizon soon catches up with us!"[159] Through a simple observational phrase, Grayson brings children into the broadcaster's environment and embodied experience, detailing the conditions of their surroundings and the temporality of the moment as seen by the fleetingness of the blue sky. This experience, however, was modified to a certain degree for the broadcast. Grayson writes about how she felt the need to alter the tone in her voice, making a "real effort to keep our cold and miserable condition out of our voices as we fought to sound enthusiastic about the sedimentary structures and take photographs of them".[160] While this creative choice somewhat altered the capturing of authenticity, it did illustrate the true experience of the producer—one who was constantly attuned to the child's interest.

Grayson's procedural documentation is sensorial, personable, and detailed—including topical considerations of how "geology of an area will always affect its political development"; depictions of "driving rain", water-soaked microphones, "strange looks from an elderly couple sitting in a car on the sea front"; and considerations of how best to retain the pupils' interest in their words and learn how to think in a geological way. By the end of their adventures, they had acquired interviews with David McAdam of BGS "around the Edinburgh volcanics"; tin miners from Wheal Jane in Cornwall; and Alan Timms, the Geological Museum's education officer, surrounded by the marbles of Westminster Cathedral. Nestled within this detailed retelling of experiences is a brief

[157] Grayson, A. (1988) 'Radio geology', *Geology Today*, *4*(2), pp. 62-63.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.

quote that holds great insight, "good programmes are made when the people involved enjoy themselves".[161]

Performances

In addition to environmental recordings and interviews, producers deployed a variety of dramatic methods in schools broadcasts, finding that these techniques were best used for the sonic reproduction and studio performances of historical events. With sparing acoustic knowledge of the past, producers operated with a certain artistic licence common in radio features programmes, relying on cues from sound effects and the use of accents and dialects. Producers chose dramatic method to "illumine a period of history which could not be dealt with in any other way".[162] For children, history broadcasts were some of the most palpable forms of the past. The characters, sound effects, and music weaved together a sonic recreation that could not be experienced from an inanimate artefact housed in a museum or a textbook used by schoolteachers.

Producers were always conscious about sound other than dialogue, writing in their imaginings of sonic production within the scripts, pre-determining the acoustic backdrops and radiogenic sounds that would later be added in the studio. Historical programme scripts included written insertions of "orders being given in distance: hooves pounding on turf and creak of accoutrements", "chopping wood in distance: sound of tree being felled", "crackling flames and shouts of triumph", and more elaborately, a sonic signal for the transition between a scene depicting the end of a battle and the celebration of victory: "Fade battle noises: Fade up sound of banquet—noise, clatter of metal dishes, dogs barking, women shrieking and giggling, men laughing drunkenly, harp being plucked: hammer on table."[163] Producers crafted an acoustic setting upon which the historical events of Scotland played out—enlivening, yet fabricating, the sonic portrayals of history through dramatic method and 'acousmatic sound', a term described by Stanton (2004, p.95) as "a sort of sonic back-drop or envelope in the outer frame: seagulls heard but not 'seen', rain and traffic outside the house, and thunder". Stanton continues, "we are not engaged with the specular but the oral and aural and we are required to use our imagination in a different way from any other kind of performance" (p.95).

It can be argued that the inaccessibility of aural content from historical eras and events, such as the Highland Clearances and Scottish Enlightenment, gave producers greater creative liberty when crafting their programmes. Without the guidance of evidence, producers were able to create a historical soundscape for the children, relieving them from the "dullness and heaviness which occasionally marred the broadcasts" and "involve them more deeply in the reality of the subject".[164] This process of sonic (and

[161] Grayson, A. (1988) 'Radio geology'.
[162] SBCS (1963) *Review of Series "Stories from Scottish History" and "Scottish Heritage"*.
[163] Booth, R. (1975) *Transcripts of "The Story of Arbuthnott"*.
[164] SBCS (1971) *Review of Series Broadcast to Secondary Schools in Scotland*.

simultaneously internal) world-building was aided by the 'radiogenic' environmental sounds. 'Radiogenic' as a concept was advanced by academics in the 1990s, encompassing "something having its origins in radio or designed with radio in mind specifically" (Uimonen 2019, p.264). These aural impressions of the past were uniquely produced for radio in order to cultivate the child's involvement with and knowledge of a subject that could never truly be experienced through sonic senses. As a result, the child's sensory experience was expanded through the forms and textures of historical dramatisation.

While the use of dramatic method was corroborated by the Kent Report in 1928, schools radio producer Rhoda Power was already experimenting with 'oral vision' theory through 'illustrated talks' supported by dramatic interludes and sound effects (Carter 2021)—techniques of which became equally popular in Scotland by the early 1930s. The use of dramatic form in schools radio broadcasting was embraced by students and teachers alike, with a summation for the 1938-1939 Annual Programme on teacher's reports articulately justifying the contribution of this format:

> "Reports from schools during the past two years have indicated that this is the most effective method of treatment for broadcasts in history, the vividness of the dramatic scene reinforcing the lessons of the bare narrative and giving flesh to the skeleton of historical fact."[165]

While dramatisation of schools radio has its origins in history programmes, these methods quickly expanded to cover a wide range of subjects. This being the case, producers had to become skilled in a very particular form of communication, relying on the phenomenological qualities of sound to catalyse a vivid process of meaning-making and imagining within each individual child. Radio broadcasting to children had a precise *modus operandi* where producers could communicate and attach meaning through sound effects, dialects, timbre, inflection, music, and verbal description. This semiotics of sound is further analysed by Huwiler (2005, p.52), who writes that "the listeners make sense of the narrative by relating the different acoustic signs they hear to specific narrative functions and combining them into a coherent whole".

Take, for example, the lesson, "By Trawler to Shetland",[166] a 1951 broadcast from the series *Exploring Scotland* (see Figure 18). It opens with a simple narration, refreshing the students on the previous week's programme where David and Ian are visiting Aberdeen, and 'Uncle Arthur' arranges for them to venture out on the trawler by the name of 'Heather Bell'. Once the narration is complete, the sounds of horses trotting and seagulls squawking drift in to indicate the atmosphere, placing the listener in the environment of David and Ian. A foghorn blares, locating the action at the dockside. David and Ian meet

[165] British Broadcasting Corporation (1938) *1938/1939: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[166] *Exploring Scotland* (1951) [Radio programme] BBC Scotland, 7 May.

one of the trawlermen, who speaks in an Aberdonian accent, peppering his speech with local terms: “twa”, “puckle”, “awa’”. As they converse, the sound of seagulls continues in the background, maintaining the continuity of setting. Eventually, David and Ian indicate that they will be leaving by exclaiming, “We’ll soon be out of the harbour now! Oh, look at that lighthouse!” David quickly cries, “I can see the coast stretching away for miles, and miles, and----”. His voice fades out as the trawler presumably enters the open sea, and the silence of the programming grants a pause for listeners to visualise what they just heard and wait for what comes next. The broadcast is interspersed with what Duby (1990) considers ‘radio codes’, or indications of meaning through sound. Each radio code is carefully planned as a way of meaning-making, where time, rather than space is “the major structuring agent” (Duby 1990, p.155). The radiogenic environmental sounds are transient in nature, oscillating between the foreground and the background of the broadcast. Voice is another mode of signification; a characteristic indication made through accents and dialects that adds another radiogenic layer to the sonic picture by “flavour of a particular area or dramatic interest to a scene”.[167]

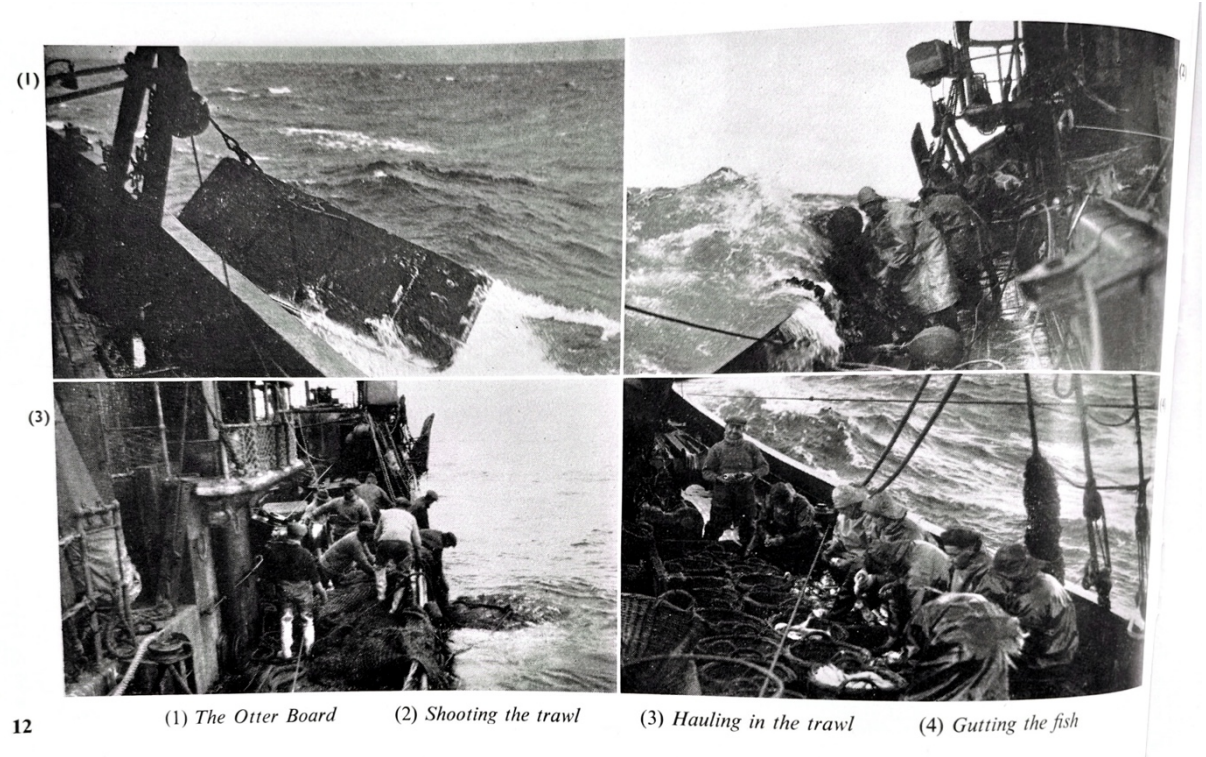

Figure 18- Photos to accompany the programme, "By Trawler to Shetland". Source: NLS (1951).

[167] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1967) *Primary Programme Sub-Committee: Report on a Review of the Radio Series Exploring Scotland.* Internal SBCS report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/59.

Child characters were commonly used as a form of dramatic method—their success speaking to the reported disdain of hearing the real voices of young people who were not trained at the microphone. The usage of fictional children greatly appealed to Scottish pupils, and even teachers, who, when questioned, claimed they preferred a fabrication of naturalness and relatability by way of trained actors. These characters, however, went through a strenuous process of trial and error by the producers who strove to emulate a certain degree of likeability. Before David and Ian, the *dramatis personae* of *Exploring Scotland* were Colin and Bill, characters ultimately dropped in the Autumn Term of 1959 due to having too "didactic and oversimple style of presentation".[168] Some teachers even reported them as being "irritating and tiresome".[169] Colin and Bill were replaced with David and Angus, although the fictional Angus later emigrated to Australia with his family! Producers ultimately found a well-rounded success with David and Ian, introduced in the Spring Term of 1960, the latter of whom was reported to be "natural and attractive" with "no objection to his accent".[170]

Fictional children always possessed a curious nature befitting to the exploratory plots of their broadcasts. They were travelling through the towns of Scotland, questioning locals about industries and interests, writing about their experiences, and making connections between places around the country. One example is the character Iain (not to be confused with the aforementioned *Ian*), who discovers a crowd of children playing in a fountain in the middle of a Glasgow street. Iain is "so interested in what he sees that his uncle decides to take him on a motor trip to Loch Katrine, the main source of the city's water supply".[171] While there is documentation of the use of child characters as a tool of likeability, relatability, and enjoyability, there is little written evidence of child characters serving as a form of inspirational imitation. Despite this, I wish to argue that the children's portrayal was a cultural representation of what the BBC producers viewed as model Scottish citizens. The children were inquisitive, interested in their own locality, and inspired by the industries, environment, and people of Scotland. This is not to say that producers expected children to mould themselves into the characters that they regularly listened to, but rather it was an aim in hopes to stimulate and potentially edify ways in which children could experience their country through a lens of curiosity and enthusiasm.

There were, however, instances of dramatised programmes that were explicitly utilised to demonstrate and exemplify certain behaviours for students. These are what could be labelled 'slice of life' programmes, typically catering to school-leavers who would soon enter the working world and needed to learn the nature of specific vocations. These programmes were most prominent in the 1960s, before the raising of the school leaving age to 16 in 1972. Programmes provided glimpses into working life including what it was

[168] SBCS (1960). *Experiments Made in Series "Exploring Scotland"*.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] British Broadcasting Corporation (1966) *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1966, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.

like in the factory or the office, interview techniques, personality traits suitable for certain jobs, as well as potential moral conundrums that may arise in daily life. One programme depicted the experience of Isobel, an eighteen-year-old who had been working an "easy office job" but switches to work in a pharmaceutical factory in order to save money for her upcoming marriage. Her mother is appalled by this decision, "[f]or her, a factory is a dark satanic mill—no place for a respectable girl!" [172] Teachers were in favour of presenting children with seemingly real scenarios, even asking for a "little more reality". One teacher wrote,

> "Couldn't we have a little more reality in the broadcasts, occasional displays of temper, examples of misunderstandings or of practical jokes that misfired, etc.? The impression the broadcasts tended to give of factory life was rather Utopian than actual. In the real world, shop floor troubles are commonplace, and it is misleading to suggest that everything in the factory is rosy and designed to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest numbers of apprentices."[173]

The scenarios faced by fictional characters created a 'dramaturgy of the real', or as Masson (2023, p.1) clarifies, "a dramatization of an authentic, real event" aimed at "making the listener understand better the phenomenon presented to him". While these events were not necessarily 'authentic' through the replication of an actual scenario, they were authentic in the sense that these were familiar scenarios in which children could feel at home and respond in a way that felt relatable to some extent. For example, children could find familiarity in programmes such as "The New Estate", which dealt with the problems of a typical Glasgow family moving from the city centre to a new housing estate in 1965. Producers incorporated natural elements of human connection— "teenage tiffs and kitchen-sink cross-talk among the various members, old and young". [174] These programmes orchestrated a way to bring authenticity to an artificial reality. Producers carefully and skilfully found methods of capturing experiences and producing them for the radio, dealing with emotional and social development creatively through sound.

Conclusion

The role of the producer was seminal in radio production for schools listenership. Not only in terms of transforming and quietly challenging the dominating listening cultures and conventions of the BBC, but also in terms of the skilful creation of sonic portraitures and sound worlds in which children could imaginatively exist in and engage with for a 20-minute portion of their school day. Producers formulated methods to transmit the experiences of Scotland into the classroom via sonic portraiture—whether it be through the audio production of historical atmospheres, the preservation of authentic voices from

[172] British Broadcasting Corporation (1971) *For School Leavers, Spring 1971, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[173] SBCS (1965) *Review of "Living in Scotland" and "From School to Further Education"*.
[174] Ibid.

across the country, imaginative stimulus through verbal descriptions of the environment, or even a dramatisation of human experience. Silences, pauses, and sounds formed a deliberate component of the producers' sonic palette, and each choice in production and editing functioned as a pedagogical device within the broadcast. Quietude prompted moments of reflection, anticipation, and transition. Atmospheric sounds shaped the mood and orientation of the broadcast, situating the lesson within produced, imagined environments. Overall, the variety and skilled thoughtfulness of producers' aesthetic strategies demonstrate how listening was an actively manufactured discipline within the classroom.

The process of production is a process involving the seen and unseen, the knowing and unknowing, and through these realisations, producers grappled with concepts that expanded beyond a simple voice in the studio. Through schools broadcasting, producers first created a world where students across the country could enter—a sonic space built from voices, sound effects, and verbal clues understood through active listening. Through the airwaves, they gathered a listening community, an imagined audience of children. As the sound faded into silence, the imagined audience was left with their own interpretations of what the producers endeavoured to communicate, undergoing a process of sonic imagination and meaning-making unique to their own sensibilities of the world they know and the world they listened to.

As Rudolf Arnheim wrote in his 1936 book, *Radio*:

> "This is the great miracle of wireless. The omnipresence of what people are singing or saying anywhere, the overleaping of frontiers, the conquest of spatial isolation, the importation of culture on the waves of ether, the same fare for all, sound in silence" (p.14).

Chapter 6: 'This is my Country': Imagining, Reimagining, and Reflecting Upon a Changing Nation

Introduction

Scotland is a composite thing. Through cultural representations and visualisations, it has been imagined, remembered, and perceived, taking shape through an amalgam of landscape transformations, moral figurations, and societal shifts, creating an 'emotional geography' conjured in iconography, memory, and place (Blaikie 2010). While there are notable imaginings which endure in the nation's consciousness through cultural prominence—think here of, say, the Kailyard school of literature and provincial idealisations (Nash 2007), the Gorbals of Glasgow and the industrial grotesque (MacFarlane 2011), or 'tartanry' as the epitome of kitsch sentimentalism (Brown 2010)—BBC schools radio has also been an influential source of national representation.

The formulation of narratives about the nation and its imaginings evolved across the decades, continuously reimagined to reflect changing social values and attitudes of the time. Yet, at each point or phase, schools radio offered a clear idea of what Scotland was, or rather, a clear interpretation of the country, with programmes designed to impart firm values on pupil-listeners. These reinterpretations of the nation, as created by those involved in schools radio, were crafted as specific visions for young citizens, who were to be transformed alongside Scotland's evolving cultural formations and institutional systems. What emerges is a transformative interpretation of Scotland's landscape, strongly rooted in conceptualisations of localism and regionalism. The landscapes portrayed through schools radio broadcasts and their accompanying material highlight long-standing notions of identity formation and sense of place as understood through geographical scholarship. The landscapes of Scotland, in this instance, are not passive backdrops upon which children experience the everyday, but rather they are actively embedded with understandings and processes of meaning-making and belonging, upon which aspects of identity are inherited, contested, performed, and imagined (Mitchell 1994; Crang 1998).

Schools radio, since its inception, was about expanding the child's world beyond the classroom walls. Following the creation of a separate governing provision for Scottish schools, cultural distinctiveness became a guiding principle for the content of these broadcasts. Despite the prominence of an expansion of place, the boundary of this expansion has its limits, for lessons are primarily rooted within the landscape of Scotland. Over the decades, schools radio taught children ideals of citizenship, morals, local geography, and nationhood—thematically dealing with Scotland's future prospects along with Scotland's past.

Relationships between landscape and identity are intrinsically bound within the broadcast lessons. For this reason, it is important to understand the expression of landscape is as both a representation and as a site of action. It is at once "embedded in a tradition of cultural signification and communication, a body of symbolic forms capable of being invoked and reshaped to express meaning and values" (Mitchell 1994, p.14) and a "process by which social and subjective identities are formed" (p.1). Within geographical scholarship, landscape is linked to discourses of nationhood and nation-building (Huysseune 2010; Massey 1995; Kaufmann and Zimmer 1998; Darby 2020; Brace 2003) in which the nation becomes an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991), moulded through sociocultural productions of place and an "inclusion of ideas or images that give credence to a particular version of national identity and omission of ideas or images that challenge it" (Brace 2003**,** p.128). There is, however, a degree of hostility when conforming a sense of place in relation to the nation. Duncan and Duncan (2001, p.41) account for the "dark side of topophilia (and sense of place) as manifested in the naturalization of the nation-state", as homogeneity inherently breeds boundaries of exclusion and heightened hostility towards difference. Furthermore, the traditional connection between nationhood and landscape has suppressed experiences and understandings of regionality and locality (Lowenthal 1994). In particular, Lowenthal observes the dominance of 'centrist' thought in understanding Britain, notably in schools, where the "regional past scarcely figures. The salient architectural past is shown through National Trust and English Heritage not local senses" (p.16).

Notably, schools radio broadcasting for Scotland subverted the norms that Lowenthal details, presenting a more nebulous understanding of place which traversed across regional landscapes in order to piece together an intricate understanding of the nation with a rich variety. This addition of regional knowledge into the informal curriculum of wireless education speaks to Allen et al.'s (1998, p.10) clarification of a region as intrinsically relational, for "the identities of regions are constructed through their relationships with other regions and therefore come with a history in which they have already been 'placed'". Geographical scholarship, however, has called into question more traditional approaches to regionalism which "often celebrated the primordial nature of regions, accentuating their 'personality' and the harmony/ unity between a region and its inhabitants" (Passi 2003, p.475). Regions, as argued by Passi (2003), are still subject to a process of institutionalisation, territorialisation, and boundary-making, much like the nation. As such, it is imperative to remain critical of the composition of identity within a region, and to become attuned to region not as "an 'area', but a complex unbounded lattice of articulations with internal relations of power and inequality and punctured by structured exclusions" (Allen et al. 1998, p.65).

Geography programmes serve as the source material and associated focal point of analysis throughout this chapter. One reason for this choice being that teaching about the nation was primarily delivered in geography programmes, which throughout the decades, encouraged exploration across the country, thus fostering a greater

appreciation of Scotland's regional variety and a better sense of one's identity within the country. Furthermore, as Fox (2005) argues, geography lessons pioneered the use of technology in education through mediums such as photography and broadcasting, first with the introduction of the magic lantern and the subsequent use of photographic slideshows and radio programmes for schools. Lessons about the nature of nation were not restricted to geography. Heritage and history programmes taught children a sense of 'national pride' and historical preservation, and citizenship programmes educated children on how they could benefit and build their society. Geography and citizenship education are considered as complementary (Morgan 2002; Mills 2013b), as geography lessons enable children to foster a commitment to the society and their environment, enacting a form of active citizenship.

I return to the concepts of the 'sonic citizen', an active listener and learner who knew how to make meaning from auditory lessons, and the 'geographical citizen' (Matless 1996), a figure who understood and appreciated the natural landscape, demonstrating a model of good citizenship. In this chapter, these two identities merge. Once children gained skills in active listening, they were then trained to learn about Scotland, its peoples and its landscapes, by adding another layer of sensory experience: seeing as a way of noticing. I will trace and uncover the evolving versions of Scotland depicted for the students, the fluctuating values set for soon-to-be citizens, and the ways in which schools radio was a driving force in formulating geographical imaginings by which children came to understand and make sense of their place within Scotland, and Scotland's place within the world.

1930s and 1940s

A Utopian Synthesis

The farm, the forestry plantation, and the fishery. The stationmaster, the shopkeeper, and the shepherd. Each was figured as part of an intricate, interconnected imagining of countryside and community portrayed by schools radio programming in the 1930s. Scotland was harmonious, yet mechanised, functioning resourcefully and largely self-sufficiently through ties to the land. Children were taught about the physical geography of the country and how climate and physiography "affected the activities of its people and determined to some extent its products".[175] They were shown through maps where wheat and oats were grown and where stock was reared. Where fishing took place on motor drifters, steam drifters, or trawlers up and down the coastline. How industries from cheese and jam-making to jute weaving and cattle rearing were connected through an extensive railway system. Scotland was represented as a network—a socio-technical

[175] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) *The Scottish Countryside, Summer 1936*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

infrastructure where "the station and the railway join village and countryside to the greater world beyond them".[176]

While schools radio producers crafted a utopian imagining of an efficient nation which was skilfully able to balance the promises of modernity with the preservation of traditions from the past, the reality of Scotland was a country marred by a deep economic depression (Durie 2010). Foundational industries were crumbling as joblessness became a fact of life. The economic depression of the 1930s gave way to class conflict, heightened gender discrimination (Finlay 2005), and emigration (Knox 2000), and as such, Scotland's societal pitfalls catalysed an aggressive push by the government towards mass economic activity through industrial means (Tomlinson and Gibbs 2016). Heavy industry became a way of labour but also a way of life. Wider cultural commentaries on the country portrayed landscapes of industrial growth, but also synonymous with slum housing and a mass workforce. Furthermore, individuals were characterised through occupational identity and masculine embodiments of work in coal, steel, or shipbuilding (Tomlinson and Gibbs 2016). As a reaction to this growth, industry was sometimes represented as a stain on society, depicted as hellish and grotesque—a coupling of environmental decay and social degeneracy (Blaikie 2010). Culturally, literary figures the likes of Edwin Muir and Hugh MacDiarmid documented a pervasive aversion towards urban living, and politically, the Labour Party steered towards preaching "the gospel of good clean outdoor life" (Knox 2000, p.16). The geographies of Scotland had deeply changed, and the urban and rural were materially and figuratively divided by aesthetics, morals, and labour.

As Britton (2011, p.220) writes, "nations are often articulated through contrasts such as rural/ urban, core/periphery, agricultural/ industrial, metropolitan/ provincial". Scotland's transforming physical and cultural geographies were realised through the distinction of industry as innately 'bad' and countryside as innately 'good', a "Manichean morality of place so central to the critique of modernity that emerged in response to the failures of industrial capitalism" (Blaikie 2010, p.428). Arguably, as a consequence, national self-perception and cultural identity became disoriented and disjointed. If industrial life was disparaged, so too was the mission towards modernity. Scotland's national identity struggled to conform with a dichotomy, and the complexities of a new identity proved difficult to navigate. When considering how to embody a new era of Scotland and teach its shape to children, schools radio ultimately developed an idea of utopian synthesis rather than polarisation. Modernity was carefully placed within the context of the countryside, and rural values were sensitively highlighted within the imaginings of the industrial town. Programmes were careful not to paint the image of a singular rural backbone, but rather an interdependent country, one sophisticated beyond

[176] British Broadcasting Corporation (1938) *Round the Village, Autumn 1938*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930), P.la.2551 SER.

the rural/urban dichotomy, where "the country's produce goes up to the town's factories" and "the country receives in exchange other goods which it cannot grow".[177]

The modern rural life depicted in schools radio partially reflected the mythologised virtues of an idyll pastoral central to British national identity: "bucolic, natural, unchanging, innocent and safe" (Hall 2020, p.6). These distinctive qualities of the rural arguably stabilised a specific imagining of Scotland in which authenticity was traded for a more idealised version of place. Brace (2003, p.131), when analysing similar inter-war imaginings of the English countryside, writes that "such representations of England as rural, timeless, harmonious and organic were a thinly veiled social and political critique of the contemporary state of the nation. They were set against the perceived threat to the English countryside from suburban and ribbon development, new roads and urban sprawl". Schools radio lessons on the Scottish countryside were no different, presenting a stark contrast from common everyday realities of economic depression. One lesson glorified the country as a place where "miracles are happening all the time if we know where to look for them".[178] Pamphlet descriptions portrayed how it was possible to "dig potatoes from your own gardens, perhaps get milk from your own cow, eggs from your own hens".[179] In the programme, *The Scottish Countryside*, it was reported that "a grass plant, for instance, lives a more difficult and complicated life than a clerk in the office".[180] This depiction of a virtuous idyll, however, speaks to Brace (2003) and Daniels' (1993) understanding that national identity discourse operates upon a basis of exclusion, including exclusions of present realities, peoples, and experiences.

What differentiated the rural idyll depicted by schools radio from popularised imaginings, however, was that although it preserved tradition, it was not chained to the past or virtues of 'timelessness'. Schools radio taught a progressive re-imagining of the rural through an approach mirroring Shucksmith's (2018) registers of a 'good countryside' that is networked, agentic, reflexive, and resilient. The rural was not a periphery, but rather a delicately modernised heartland of the country. This is best conveyed through an image (Figure 19) from the programme, *Round the Village,* which illustrates a generic village—one which captures and composites the harmonious virtues of all locales across the country, with an impressively connected town with a harbour, a train station, roadways, and carriageways. The farm in this village is located at a close distance and equipped with modern tools, and in the glen, water is turned into electricity, all whilst the shepherd continues to herd his sheep in the background, just as he would have centuries prior.

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[177] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) *Scotland's Workshops, Autumn 1936.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[178] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936). *Scottish Countryside, Spring 1936.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[179] BBC (1936) *Scotland's Workshops, Autumn 1936*.
[180] British Broadcasting Corporation (1935) *Scottish Countryside, Term I 1935*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

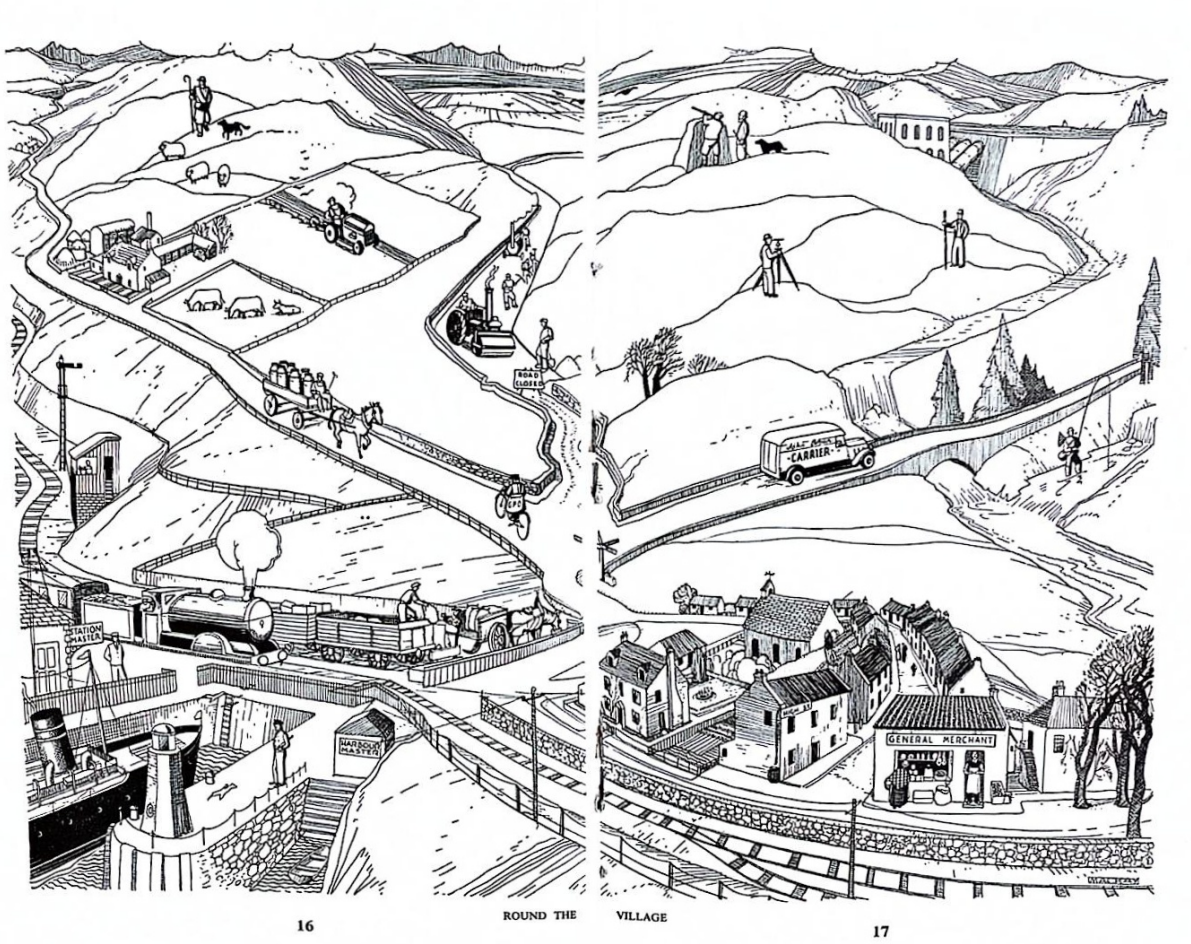

Figure 19- Illustration of a village. Source: NLS (1939).

As Scotland's economy drew itself out of Depression, children were taught lessons in geographical equity and a co-operative way of situating oneself in the grand scheme of nationwide operations. Children were educated through the understanding that "education as a preparation for life has become an axiom, and no one denies the duty of the school to present many facets of contemporary life, political, industrial, and social".[181] To prepare children for life as future citizens of Scotland, it was imperative to merge the urban with the rural to gain a complete understanding of the nation. Rural children were instructed about their geographical familiarities while simultaneously being exposed to the sensorily intense life in the city—the "bustle and rush", the "clang of the tramcar bells, the motor horns", and the smells of the railway station.[182] City children, on the other hand, were taught that "the country is only dull to people who cannot see what is going on around them".[183] Programmes endeavoured to "interpret the significance of these

[181] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.
[182] BBC (1936) *Scotland's Workshops, Autumn 1936*.
[183] BBC (1935) *Scottish Countryside, Term I 1935*.

industrial centres in the nation's life, and to indicate the complex relationship and close association between town and country, divorced though they be in appearance and habit".[184] Schools broadcasting attempted to bring rural life in connection and in symbiosis with the urban. This, however, taught children somewhat of a 'binary geography' where locations were contrastable, yet complementary. Although separated by distance, the fundamental values and contributions remained the same, and each child was a child of Scotland.

Although possibly aware through experience, children were not explicitly taught about economic decline, structural imbalance across the regions, or the day-to-day blight of industry. Rather, children were offered a pinhole view into the future—a utopian vision of Scotland made possible by the dialectical relationships between invention and historic essentialism, sentimentality and forward thinking, regeneration and preservation. This version of the nation was made evident in the film, *The Children's Story,* one of seven documentaries produced by Scottish filmmaker, John Grierson, for the Empire Exhibition held in Glasgow in 1938. *The Children's Story* documented educational advancements, giving an image of "Scottish education as a nation making itself through constant progress" (Cabeleira, Martins, and Lawn 2011, p.483). In the final scene, Sir William McKechnie, former secretary of the Scottish Education Department, is prepped at the microphone for a broadcast for Scottish schools. He then gives the following speech:

> "Children of Scotland: it is a great thing to be a Scot, and it is a great thing to be taught in our Scottish schools. We are providing better buildings, playing fields, gymnasiums, playgrounds, pictures, and music. The schools are now as bright as they once were grim, and what they teach you in them is far more sensible and human than it was. The ball then is at your feet. The opportunities are there. Make the fullest use of them. Learn while you're at school all you can about the city and country, and nation you live in. You have inherited a great tradition; you must prove yourselves worthy of it. You, who are to be citizens of the future, must try to understand the privileges you enjoy as members of a great democracy. You must preserve and develop these privileges and mould them to the needs of our changing world. That, children of Scotland, is the part you have to play as world citizens. If you play it well, you may rest assured that the fame of Scotland shall continue to be great among the nations."[185]

McKechnie's speech is overlaid with the grinning faces of Scottish children, working and playing in the school, eager for ideas and knowledge. Orchestral music swells as children are seen camping in the forest, cycling through Edinburgh's Old Town, and climbing a hill wearing the national costume of the kilt. These, of course, are the 'privileges' that McKechnie extols—the rare opportunity of being born at a time of great change in a country of great tradition.

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[184] BBC (1936) *1936/1937: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.

[185] *The Children's Story* (1938) [35mm] Marylebone Studios Ltd: Strand Film Company Ltd. Glasgow: National Library of Scotland. Moving Image Archive, 1059.

"It is an Easy Country to be Happy In"

From the 1930s and into the 1940s, schools radio programming maintained the notion that Scotland was a complex and varied country that skilfully blended past and future; a country that was certainly worth living in. Radio programmes were intended to instruct and convince, inoculating children with an impression of their nation's significance. Oftentimes, however, it seemed that the practice of convincing outweighed practical instruction. Children were persuaded that "there are many things to learn about the homeland as interesting and more important for ourselves than anything we have seen in our far journeys across Europe".[186] Pupil-listeners were encouraged to develop "a new interest in their own environment and to lead them from a study of this environment to a knowledge of life and activity in other parts of Scotland".[187] Following the war, there seemed to be an especially anxious promotion of the country towards children, through restorative phrasing such as, "it is an easy country to be happy in, easier, we Scots think, than most countries" and "if you treat [Scotland] like a friend and are eager to hear the stories it has to tell, the more you will enjoy your days in it".[188] Programmes spoke to the seemingly estranging nature of wartime experience for children longing for life elsewhere, troubled with their fates of growing up in a time of unemployment, industrialised life, and war.

Schools radio attempted to brand and market Scotland to students as an attractive place for living, rather than a place they were destined to leave as emigrants to England, or elsewhere. What made Scotland unique, as endorsed by the programmes, was its immense variability within such a small geographical space. The 1940s saw a rise in exploration-based broadcasts where characters on programmes would traverse the country by car, cycle, foot, or train. This was a shift from earlier travel talks, where renowned geographers would broadcast live from the studio, recounting their tales of visits across the Empire. In a 1946 broadcast for the programme, *Exploring Scotland,* Mr. Bowster and John Sinclair set out on an adventure to travel around their own country, initially planning a modest holiday but captivatedly visiting the majority of the country.[189] Mr. Bowster and John encountered tremendous diversity in their extended travels, from "the Port of Leith, a Lothian farm, a Border weaving mill, the City of Glasgow, and a Galloway creamery". [190] In their reflections, the two characters concluded that the remarkable differences across the borders of the nation contributed to the endless "excitements to be found while exploring the land we live in".[191] The prose of exploration

[186] British Broadcasting Corporation (1932) *Round the British Isles, Term I 1932*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[187] BBC (1936) *Scottish Countryside, Spring 1936*.
[188] BBC (1936) *Scottish Minstrelsy, Summer 1936*.
[189] British Broadcasting Corporation (1946) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1946*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.

programmes was descriptively tailored to take children on a sonic tour covering a vast expanse of land and culture, all within a 20-minute broadcasting slot:

> "We shall visit the crofters in the Islands, and the grouse moors of the Highlands, and learn about the famous cattle industry of the North-East and the fisher folk on the coast. Then we pass on to the Scottish fruit growing industry, visiting the Clyde Valley orchards and the fruit-fields of the Carse of Gowrie. The geographical features of the 'Kingdom of Fife' and its principal industries will be described and then comes a visit to the capital of Scotland and the district of Lothian. From there our journey takes us to Glasgow and the busy banks of the lower Clyde, and we extend our tour of industrial Scotland to the Central Coalfield. After the bustle of the mines and the shipyards we turn south to Ayrshire to watch the farmers at work and to visit the famous golf-courses. Soon we are among the hills and dales of Galloway, and the next stage of our journey finds us in the valley of the Tweed, where we learn something of its past history, see the great flocks of sheep, and visit some of the places which Sir Walter Scott knew. The time of the Border raids is past. As the coal and iron industries changed the habits of life of thousands of the people, so the great power schemes of today are changing again the face of Scotland."[192]

Another description noted, "it is for instance only an hour's run from the rich garden of Strathmore to the desolate glens of the Grampians: only a step from an ancient harbour to a modern aluminium works in the Kingdom of Fife".[193] Scotland held an assortment of ways of life and places of interest. Sonic exploration was an initial point of contact and discovery, offering a brief yet varied peak at life in a country where children, according to the radio programmes, could easily find happiness once they got to know it better.

Schools radio broadcasts framed nationhood as something to be learned through varying scales of place, alternating between situated experiences of the child's environments and broader teachings of regional and national contexts. Within lessons, teachers were instructed to draw the children's attention to their own localities, and to make "more vivid the pupils' interest in their immediate environment, with which they are sometimes so familiar superficially that they scarcely realise its significance".[194] Understanding the nation came with first understanding the child's own parish, village, or town. Hyperlocal teachings mirrored the international educational trend of 'home geography', a pedagogy developed from the German teachings of *heimatkunde*, which emphasised direct observation, a primary teaching of the home, and a secondary expansion further afield (Barton 2009). Within this framework, geographical knowledge became inseparable from lived and situated experiences. These situated understandings of space reflect

[192] BBC (1932) *Round the British Isles, Term I 1932*.
[193] British Broadcasting Corporation (1947) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1947*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[194] British Broadcasting Corporation (1944) *At Our Village, Spring 1944, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

Simonsen's (1996, p.508) assertion that a person "can only 'know' from somewhere". As such, local experiences were not treated as isolated or parochial, but rather essential to gaining understanding of the nation. The diversity of local environments, experienced with encouragement from schools radio broadcasts, mobilised into a shared national geography depicted through the wireless lessons, allowing for the unique contribution of place-based experiences to contribute to a broader national understanding. While radio programmes were able to provide a spark of interest and foundational knowledge, local application ultimately depended on the schoolteacher, and from there, curiosity depended on the individual student. And so, Mr. Bowster imparted a single piece of advice to the children: "when ye look, just mind this—ye've got a tongue in your head and a tongue was made for speirin. Speir on and guid luck to ye".[195]

1940s and 1950s

Civic Duty, Past and Future

By the 1940s, a peculiar trend in schools radio programming surfaced: the imaginary town and village. Broadcast producers would conjure a fictitious, somewhat placeless model place, furnished with a detailed history "to illustrate the development", environmental features "to explain the sites of villages and industries", and socioeconomic operations to document the "modern social life".[196] In the parish of Inveralt, so-called, there were traces of a Roman Camp near the river Alt which then runs past the village of Dunord. A secondary road runs inland along the railway line into the village of Clach, where minerals are mined from the earth. In a shift from teaching children about the great variety of Scotland, the imaginary town or village was easily recognisable as Scottish, but the characteristics of these locales, although rich in description, remained ambiguous enough that neither the teacher nor the student would be able to pinpoint a specific geographical location. These imaginary places were microcosms of the nation constructed for children to find similarities or contrasts with their own environment. Blaikie (2010, p.127) reasons that fictive constructions of Scotland offer people a "cultural solace" which self affirms a specific worldview that "draws on the past to establish the ethics of the present". Imagined communities are an act of branding Scotland, but, as Blaikie continues, "against them people test their sense of self, and sometimes they are found badly wanting" (2010, p.127). Children were led to grapple with the understanding of their own place, their own surroundings, and how, despite the variety of Scottish life, there were innumerable threads of moralities, operations, histories, and landscapes as depicted in the fictitious towns of schools radio.

[195] British Broadcasting Corporation (1949) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1949*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[196] British Broadcasting Corporation (1945) *In Our Parish, 1945*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

The imaginary town of Cairnton (see Figure 20), they were told, had once been a small village expanding through trade like many towns throughout the country. The Cairnton of 1696 housed "small cottages grouped round a village green on which a cattle market was held three times a year".[197] There was a parish kirk, an inn for travellers, and a meal-mill for the 125 residents. An era of peace in Scotland ushered in trade and financial gain, improving the conditions of village life. As tradesmen and merchants settled, the village grew. After some centuries, a linen factory became the economic heart of Cairnton, yet, like many industries in Scotland, it closed down during an undescriptive, indistinct period of "bad times".[198] Hope came to Cairnton in the form of a railway, a brand-new wool mill, and innovative agricultural engineering. The Cairnton of 1947 is a prosperous town, with adequate work (yet "not quite enough housing"),[199] and so, the village shall continue to grow and foster its common, applicable character. As outlined in the broadcast pamphlet, "you will not find Cairnton on the map".[200] While partially derived from the imagination of the producers, Cairnton was a composite of Scottish characteristics, a layering of geographies, values, and histories. Principles of ethics and honour applied to the future of Cairnton and its young inhabitants, for "very soon the children will have grown up and they too will be making plans for the glory of Cairnton".[201] The message was clear that the children of Cairnton undoubtedly were going to continue residing in the town, and if not, they were still going to remain in Scotland. The teachings of Cairnton and other imaginary towns followed a 'civic democratic ideal' of citizenship education, where the contributions of the child to the community and values of "loyalty, honour, and commitment to a common good" are conveyed (Holden 1998, p.141). The listening children were led to ponder, "What about your town? Or your village? Or your farm? And what plans will you be making when you have grown up in a few years' time?"[202]

[197] British Broadcasting Corporation (1947) *Cairnton, Autumn 1947*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[198] Ibid.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.
[201] British Broadcasting Corporation (1948) *Cairnton, Summer 1948*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[202] Ibid.

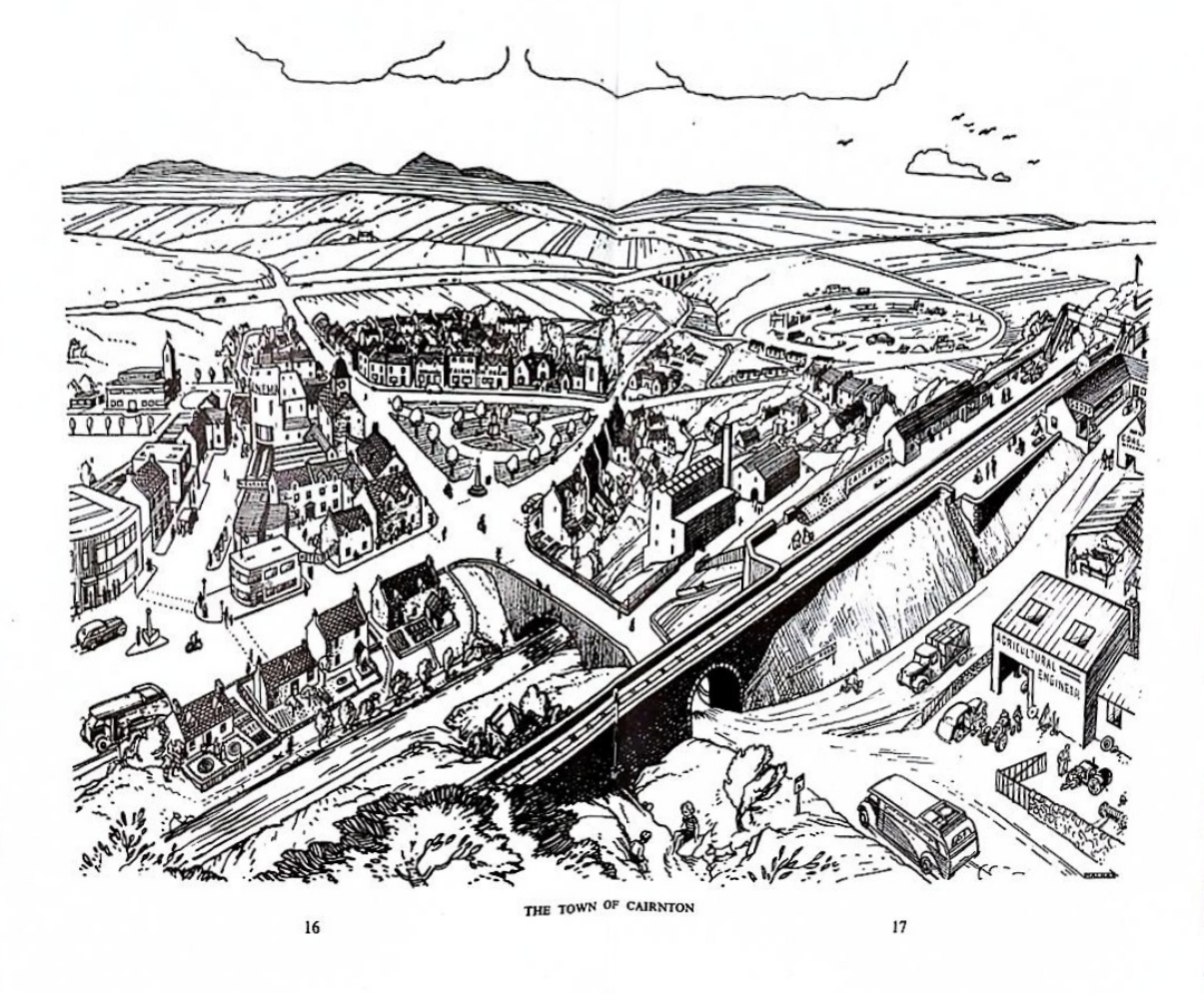

Figure 20- Present day Cairnton. Source: NLS (1947).

Unwavering spirit and a vision of the future seemed to be the only path forward for the nation following the economic depression of the 1930s, quickly succeeded by a descent into wartime. Sentiments from schools radio of the 1930s continued on post-war, this time, acknowledging the pitfalls of the advancement of industry, which only intensified with wartime manufacturing (Finlay 2005). These sentiments were overlaid onto Cairnton, a wealthy town which ultimately became blighted in appearance by industrial growth, affecting the health and wellbeing of its residents. Just as schools radio programmes attempted to convince young listening citizens that Scotland was an appealing country, the residents of Cairnton were also being persuaded by the Town Council that their home's security rested upon inhabitants appreciating that their town "was a good place to live in".[203]

[203] British Broadcasting Corporation (1948) *Cairnton, Spring 1948*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

Social welfare was the foundational component of revitalisation. By 1948, Cairnton was to have a Community Centre where townspeople could meet and enjoy "debates, or sewing classes, or boxing tournaments; play badminton or table tennis; read books or listen to music; act plays and learn to dance", and naturally, as they would so wish to, "they may think out new plans for Cairnton".[204] Social welfare, although a concrete and tangible form of planning, has been perceived by scholars to hold conceptual bearings. McEwen (2002, p.66) has argued that state welfare ultimately serves a "nation-building purpose, reinforcing identification with and attachment to the state as a nation". Deustch (1966) suggested that working-class citizens in particular would be more inclined to feel as if they 'belong' to the nation, as social welfare transcends class solidarity. The working-class neighbourhood, once infrastructurally tarnished, would benefit from "schools, parks, hospitals and better housing"—middle-class badges of "security and prestige" (Deutsch 1966, p.99). In Cairnton, the rigidities of class identity would be swept away, for everybody in the town would have plentiful food, clothes, homes, and childcare. As fictional residents of Cairnton, Mr. and Mrs. Brown and their family would benefit from these provisions, however, under certain gendered and civic stipulations. Mr. Brown, as the head of the household, would receive benefits such as "employment exchange" and "unemployment insurance", whereas Mrs. Brown would access "maternity benefit" and "family allowance". The child, a schoolboy, would of course gain "school milk" and "school meals" alongside participation in the "Boys' Brigade" and the "Youth Hostel Association".[205] These provisions, however, were not given unreservedly by the council authorities, for "every man and woman must do his or her best for the town and take a fair share in running it".[206]

The recurrent symbolism of family unit in such programmes performed civic and gendered work in constructing a specific imagining of Scotland. As a normative unit, the family was a pillar in civic society, demonstrating values of domesticity, civic pride, and future preservation. The people of Cairnton were "still working for the sake of their children".[207] Fathers were frequently aligned with wage labour and participation in public authority, and mothers like Mrs. Brown were tasked with domestic management and familial care. Children, on the other hand, were provided with healthy sustenance and active participation in civic outdoor projects. National transformation, as guided by community and township-based transformation, was staged through the intimate sphere of the household and the family unit, embedding a certain civic expectation within a gendered domestic framework that underpinned Scotland's postwar social and economic vision.

These imaginings reinforced the boundaries of belonging in a modern Scotland, now defined by citizenship and values towards a nation. Welfare systems, as depicted through

[204] BBC (1948) *Cairnton, Summer 1948*.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.

the likes of Cairnton, established community participation as a practical marker of community, societal, and national membership. Boundaries of belonging, as such, were demarcated through cultural narratives of civic duty, 'good' behaviour, and social responsibility rather than class identity or constitutions of age and race. Furthermore, civic participation fostered a sense of place, bringing into discussion Massey's (1993, p.144) analysis of locality and how "the actions of 'local people' at a 'local level' are fully implicated in, and thus have some responsibility for, events in, and conditions of, people in lands which may often seem remote". The imaginary figuration of a town like Cairnton allowed pupils to understand social and economic operations on a local level, but through messages of civic duty and social welfare, they were equipped to comprehend their existence as part of a wider national body, producing a narrative of solidarity, collectivism, and interconnectedness from the local to the national.

As Grenby and Gribling (2024, p.474) note, place-based history encouraged a sense of belonging amongst the listening children, and the BBC pioneered this form of heritage education in order to "create future generations of active participants in history whose attitudes and actions would spring out of their embeddedness within their past". As such, schools radio aimed to communicate the necessity of history which only aided in, rather than became overshadowed by, the necessity of modernisation. In this sense, Cairnton, and the various configurations of model villages were deployed as a heuristic device—a composite of Scottish life and landscape crafted to form an idyllic, 'authentic' realism which children could use as a learning tool to observe and mirror cultural truths and moral figurations. The 'heuristic village' posits an additional variation to Matless' (2004) existing categorisations of the 'model village'. Matless (2004, p.163) writes that the model village "comes in two sizes"; the larger of the two is a "product of philanthropic and reformist dreams of community and social and moral improvement" while miniature counterparts are "lilliputian" as the adult visitor dwarfs the "imagined life" and children "relish the chance to rampage the settlement". While the 'heuristic village' does not demonstrate these scales of material spatiality as it is fictionalised space, existent only within the pages of pupils' pamphlets and sounds of radio broadcasts, as a conceptual space, it replicates similar idealisations of exemplary, imagined living.

Students were simultaneously learning about a separate, yet similarly idealistic plan for the regeneration of Scotland in the form of New Towns (Figure 21). New Towns were a model realised in practice, a blank geographical slate, "flagship elements of the planned post-war state" where planners were able to activate futuristic ideals of revival through industry-adjacent housing developments (Fair 2022, p.819). According to the teacher's notes for the programme, *Scottish Heritage II,* "it is clear, when the new plans are carried out, the whole social and industrial life of Scotland will be profoundly changed".[208]

[208] British Broadcasting Corporation (1948) *Scottish Heritage II, Summer 1947, Notes for the Class Teacher.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

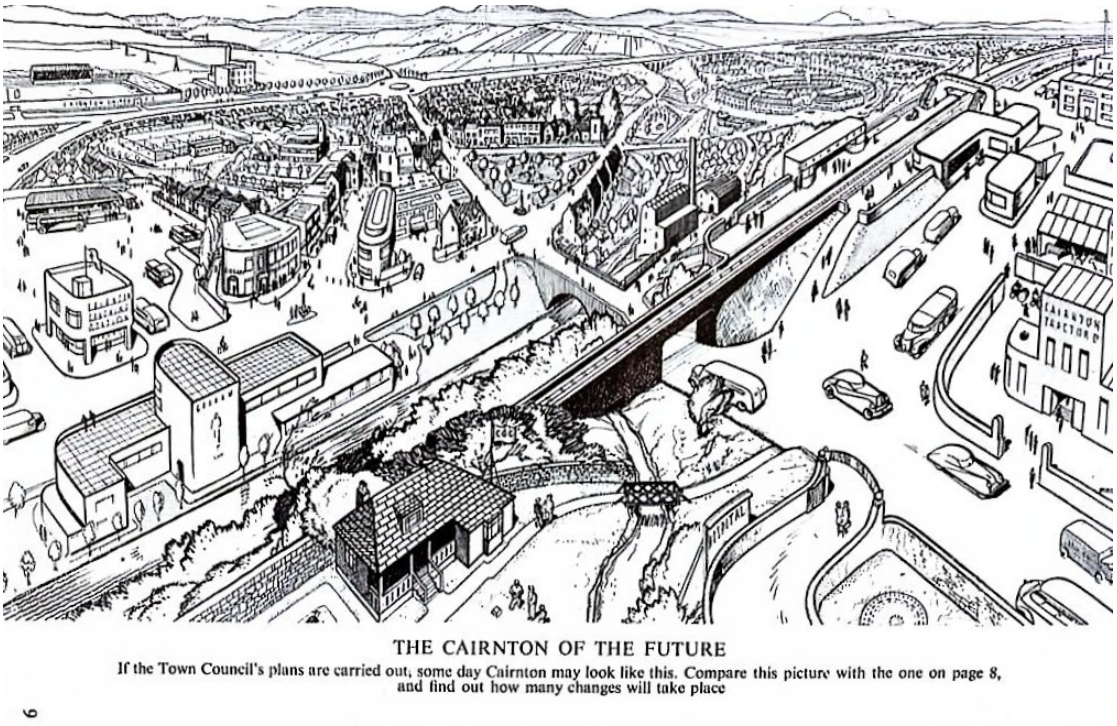

Figure 21- The Cairnton of the future. Source: NLS (1948).

As Scotland was planning for a better future for and by the young citizens, children were exposed to a greater variety of occupations. The country was hauling itself out of industrial decay through labour diversification, and children's occupational paths expanded. While being a miner, steelworker, or shipyard worker were all viable options, so too were becoming a doctor, a district nurse, a postmaster, or a sanitary inspector. These vocational choices demonstrated a continuing gender divide as well as a division in terms of the school leaving age. For example, one lesson (see Figure 22) which outlined occupations for school-leavers illustrated that a 17-year-old girl could contribute to society through medical or teaching professions. Subtly inserted into the example of becoming a schoolteacher is a map of Scotland, for the hypothetical student would undoubtedly wish to share her knowledge of the country with future young minds.

Figure 22- "What shall I be when I leave school?" Source: NLS (1948).

As evident through schools broadcasting programmes, patriotic pride in Scotland shifted from an anxiety-led promotion immediately following the economic depression of the 1930s and wartime to a secure sense of national identity by the 1950s. Teachings of the 'home area' became essential in Scottish school geography curriculums, with educators calling out inaccuracies found in geography textbooks published in England (Rae 1953). Post-war, programmes such as *This is My Country* (1949-1964) and *Exploring Scotland* (1946-1981) flourished, and young children were more exposed to Scottish literature, music, geography, and history. When opening their pamphlets for *This is My Country,* students were greeted by the poem, *Scotland,* by Sir Alexander Gray, depicting a nativist version of nationhood and belonging:

> "This is my country,
> The land that begat me.
> These windy spaces
> Are surely my own.
> And those who here toil
> In the sweat of their faces
> Are flesh of my flesh
> And bone of my bone."

Such is a bold, 'of the earth' representation of the Scottish landscape. With the increase of heritage-based narratives, national belonging was implicitly tied to ideas of rootedness, familiarity, and historical continuity with place. This idea of 'rootedness' is not something to be consciously developed, but as Tuan (1980, p.4) describes, a "state of being at home in an unselfconscious way". The usage of Sir Alexander Gray's poem situated a certain imagining of landscape as emblematic of the nation. Coupled with the understanding of heritage-based content as a form of civic responsibility, schools radio version of nationhood privileged a timeless, territorially anchored version of belonging.

There was a fresh interest in traditional music such as ballads and Gaelic folk-songs—all spotlighted and documented through heritage-focused radio programmes. State welfarism, industrial reform, and rural regeneration secured a sense of confidence in the country's future. Although the past was being celebrated, there remained an unwavering air of melancholia in the teachings. While children were being taught of the "lullabies, love songs, laments, songs in praise of home, dream songs, carols, ancient bardic chants, and versions of the metrical psalms", they were subsequently being told of communities faced with the burden of population decline, and consequently, minimised means of preserving ways of life.[209] Heritage studies was therefore incorporated as a form of civic duty. Resultingly, just as the future was in the hands of the young citizens, so too, was the past.

[209] British Broadcasting Corporation (1949) *Scottish Heritage II, Summer 1949, Notes for the Class Teacher.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

1950s and 1960s

Operating the Machine

By the 1950s, schools radio programming had established an educationally intricate and sophisticated imagining of Scotland. Individuals and industries were parts of a greater machine moving forward into the future, driven by a modern economic nationalism rooted in prosperity different from but interdependent with England (Paterson 1994; Tomlinson and Gibbs 2016). Industries were rebranded as the lifeblood, rather than the blight, of the nation. Iron and steel were considered "vital to Scotland's economic life",[210] Scottish agriculture was "a combined effort, with each farmer doing his [*sic*] utmost to make the most productive use possible of Scotland's natural resources",[211] and fishing was a "very ancient occupation" and therefore important to both heritage and economy.[212] These prompts were not socially neutral. Narratives produced by schools broadcasting valorised industrial, agricultural, and extractive work as forms of masculine contribution to a national service, whereas domestic and public service occupations were commonly depicted as reserved for women. Despite an occupational gender divide, there was a common need to perceive Scotland as a socially coherent nation, which smoothed over inequalities of class, gender, and opportunity, presenting participation through employment as a national duty. At a young age children were prompted to consider what and where their place in the national scheme of work would be. How would they contribute to the country's operations and wellbeing through their choice of occupation? As students became exposed to different regions and localities, the figurative distance between the rural and the urban lessened, and through understanding, children gained more access to the country. Schools radio programmes exposed children to the ways of labour and life in Scotland, for as long as they remained attracted to life in their own country, they were completing their civic duty in creating an economically prosperous nation.

The nation, Gruffudd (1995, p.220) remarks, ought to be "seen as being as much an imaginative discourse as a material reality". It is characterised by cultural imaginings of landscape, political configurations of national identity, and inventions of tradition and iconography. Nestled within the broader cultural creation of the 'nation' are imaginings of regions, towns, and villages. In schools radio, localities were given traits exemplified by diversity born out of the physical environment; some verging on caricature. Aberdeen was "strong" due to its variety of industries and interests such as textiles, papermills,

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[210] British Broadcasting Corporation (1952) *This is my Country, Autumn 1952, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

[211] British Broadcasting Corporation (1955). *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1955, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

[212] British Broadcasting Corporation (1951). *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1951, Notes for the Class Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

granite, fishing, and holidaymaking;[213] Perth was "prosperous" as it was a "modern city which enjoys the advantages of a sound balance between town and country";[214] and Skye "romantic" due to its "beautiful scenery" and "associations in history and folk-lore".[215] Through an emblematic mapping of characteristics and distinct environs, schools radio continued to prove to students that Scotland was a complex and varied country to live in. Through educational initiatives and transforming imaginings of the nation, Scotland seemingly escaped a predisposed dichotomy, and through cultural and geographical influences, it embraced the once disjointed identity by reframing it as an identity of variety, complexity, and congruity through regionality. This was a distinct shift from the generic ideal embodied in a village such as Cairnton which attempted to capture a national essence, emplaced in a fictional locale. With time, schools radio communicated various degrees of scalar and spatial thinking when representing locality, regionality, and the greater geography of the nation.

Labour was instinctively tied to land, and this was made apparent through the striking visuals published in schools radio pamphlets (see Figure 23). Situated in the midst of the great expanse of Scotland's landscapes were roads, factories, quarries, and dams. The mightiness of industry paralleled the majesty of the environment. Following a post-war initiative driving hydroelectric development in the Highlands, dams and power stations "functioned in the landscape as signs of modernisation and investment" (Robertson 2019, p.5). Robertson (2019, p.6) notes that architects were "designing at the scale of the landscape in order to achieve a new height of monumentality". These images were not meant to portray a landscape carved out for economic activity, but rather they were a way of aligning the sheer power of revitalisation with Scotland's expansive beauty. The markings of modernity upon the environment were described in pamphlets as "remarkable" [216] and "great". [217] These ideas were taught alongside lessons on environmental conservation, with children learning about the establishment of nature reserves, the Forestry Commission, and agricultural land restoration. They were told that the old ways of coal mining disfigured Scotland's beauty—a beauty that must now be protected, but the dams and quarries of a modern era were a wondrous might and a national amenity.

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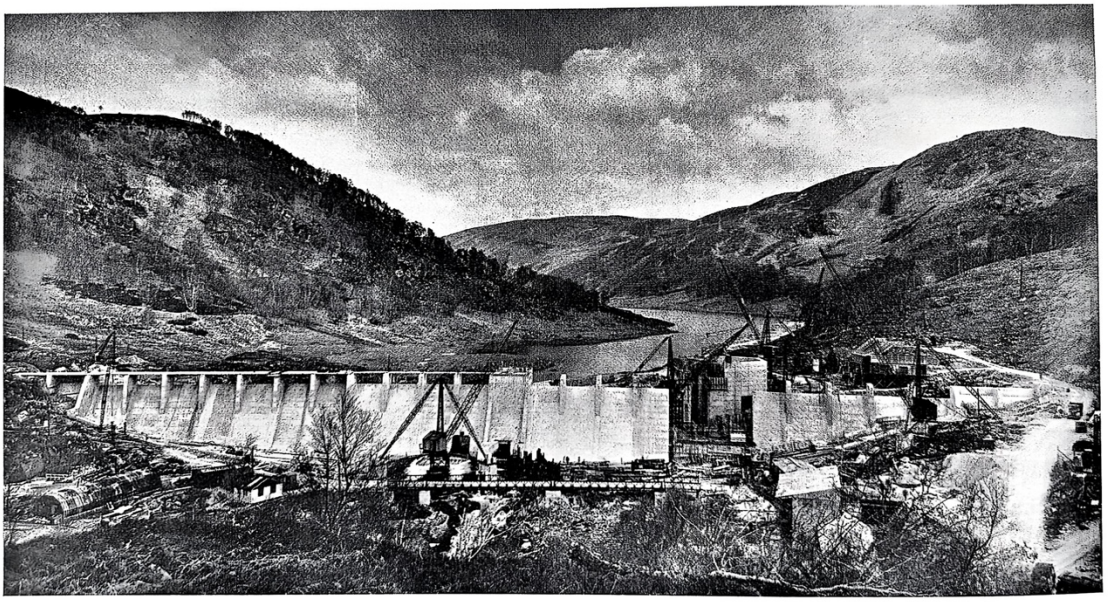
[213] British Broadcasting Corporation (1954). *This is my Country, Spring 1954, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[214] Ibid.
[215] British Broadcasting Corporation (1957). *This is my Country, Spring 1957, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[216] British Broadcasting Corporation (1952) *This is my Country, Summer 1952*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[217] British Broadcasting Corporation (1953) *This is my Country, Autumn 1953*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).



LOCH LUICHART DAM

22 When this dam is completed it will double the amount of water in the loch and raise its level by 40 feet. This is one of the eight dams to be built in the Conon Scheme

Figure 23- Loch Luichart Dam. Source: NLS (1954).

Comparing the Past

In a contrast from preferred teachings of the rural idyll in the 1930s, schools radio programming in the 1950s assigned traits of pleasantness and prosperity to new towns and modern industries. The overcrowded tenements and slums of the city had largely been left behind, ushering in a civic plan for blissful life in new town housing schemes. Schools radio programmes heralded the socioeconomic improvements by utilising contrasting visuals as evidence of change. On a single page, children were guided to view a visual of congested 18th century tenements juxtaposed with an image of a uniform, spacious post-war building scheme (see Figure 24).[218] Similarly, in *This is My Country*, through a balancing of two contrasting images, children were encouraged to see the vast improvement made through social welfare and city services. An image of dereliction and litter was labelled as "the old problem", and an image of a new dustbin lorry was distinguished as "the new answer" (see Figure 25).[219] Schools radio made clear that Scotland had been rapidly rebuilt following the depression of the 1930s and Second World War. Past conditions were made a form of visual offence and discomfort, while the present was an era of aesthetic satisfaction and balanced life. These depictions trained students visually in becoming 'geographical citizens' [see Chapter 4]. As Matless (1996, p. 436) observes, postwar reconstruction spurred a geographical imagination of

[218] British Broadcasting Corporation (1958) *This is my Country, Spring 1958*. P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).
[219] British Broadcasting Corporation (1957) *This is my Country, Autumn 1957*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

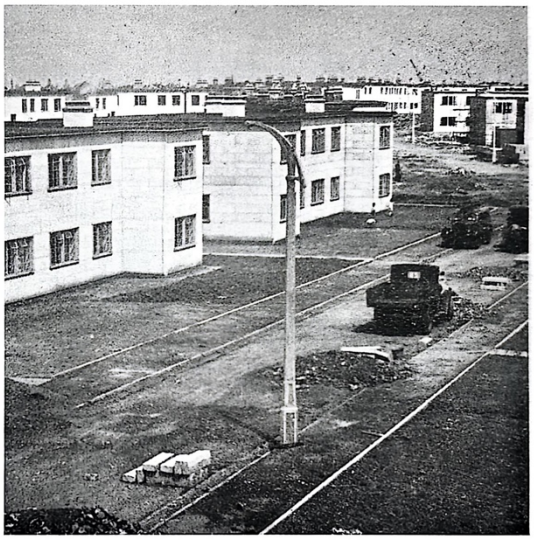
improvement whereby "environmental and social visions were necessarily combined" and geography became part of a "cultural movement seeking a design for modern life". According to one pamphlet, "the factories at Hillington are pleasant to look at, and comfortable to work in".[220] New towns attempted to emphasise the human experience, which was evidently driven by sensory value (Forsyth and Crewe 2009). As such, through radio pamphlet visuals, children were conditioned to perceive modern life as humane, tasteful, and satisfying.

In schools programming of the 1930s and 1940s, societal pitfalls were never mentioned in any great detail. By the 1950s, however, the difficulties of life were addressed head-on as a pedagogical and promotional method of contrast. Pamphlets were not shy of telling children about the "unusually long and bitter experience of unemployment and misery and unrest". [221] For the first time, children encountered visual representations of unemployed shipyard workers, ruined Highland crofts, and decrepit tenement slum-dwellings. There was also recognition that Scotland had not resolved all of its socioeconomic problems, but it was most certainly on its way to doing so. There was a shortage of hospital accommodation *but* "this is rapidly being overcome",[222] there was a lack of housing *but* this would be aided with the "cost of services already offered by the welfare state",[223] the Hebrides had suffered acutely from poverty *but* "today Skye attracts tourists from all over the world".[224] Through nationwide schemes, a civic duty amongst citizens young and old, and a recognition for a better future, the country was equipped with a plethora of components necessary to catapult it towards prosperity.

[220] British Broadcasting Corporation (1952) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1952*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[221] British Broadcasting Corporation (1951) *This is my Country, Autumn 1951, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[222] British Broadcasting Corporation (1956) *This is my Country, Summer 1956, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[223] Ibid.
[224] BBC (1957) *This is my Country, Spring 1957, Notes for the Teacher*.

18TH CENTURY TENEMENTS

These tenements were built about the same time as Charlotte Square. Many are still lived in.

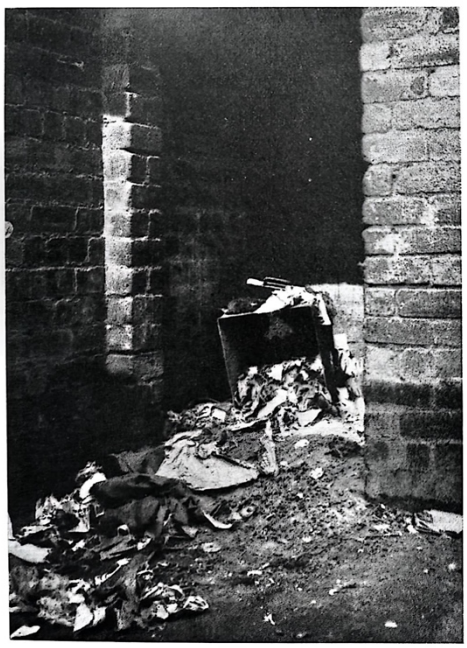


POST-WAR BUILDING SCHEME

Since the war many families have moved from old tenements to new homes on the city's outskirts.

19

Figure 24- Tenements contrasted with new homes. Source: NLS (1958).



CITY SERVICES—II

29 Nov. Cleansing

THE OLD PROBLEM

THE NEW ANSWER

27

Figure 25- Cleaning services. Source: NLS (1957).

The Complexities of Civic Pride

The 1950s and 1960s continued the legacy of schools radio programming as a form of sonic exploration. Scotland was now an accessible country, with a network suitable for both public and private transportation via rail, car, caravan, or cycle. Moreover, labour was rewarded with leisure—a concept which children were taught to practice as well as how to experience. Using a statement by the Scottish Youth Hostel Association, which was particularly popular following wartime as a way to promote outdoor life (Lorimer 2007; Matless 1996), one pamphlet indicated how newfound time-off would help young people "use and appreciate the Scottish Countryside and places of historic and cultural interest in Scotland".[225] Programmes made it clear that through activities such as hiking, climbing, camping, and cycling, children would "experience a fuller, more satisfying kind of life".[226] Such statements demonstrate the evolving concept of a 'good geographical citizen', whom, as Matless (1996, p.428) outlines, was "carried forward from the inter-war open-air movement, where landscape had been presented as nurturing a mentally alert, physically fit, and spiritually whole citizen". While in the 1930s and 1940s, children were taught to awaken an interest in their own country as a method of remaining in and revitalising Scotland, now they were being taught that exploration was a way of living a fulfilled life away from "ordinary surroundings".[227] As gleaned through schools radio lessons, leisure was done for oneself, but by extension, it was done for one's country.

The second wave of broadcasting sonic exploration coincided with a "steady atrophy of Scotland's manufacturing skills and export markets" which ultimately shifted the economy's focus towards tourism and heritage (Kinchin and Peach 2002, p.2). Scotland's place-identity was less characterised by patterns of labour and rather those of leisure. Programme pamphlets advertised places and traditions of note: North Berwick had the Bass Rock,[228] Glasgow had shopping on Buchanan Street,[229] and Jedburgh had an annual game of hand ba'.[230,231] Tourism can be discerned as an economic industry in Scotland. Schools radio programming documented the ongoing shift in economy, noting that "tourism is an industry; an important industry making valuable contribution to the national economy; a developing industry, with the same need for continual modernisation and expansion as any other modern industrial enterprise".[232] As tourism

[225] BBC Scotland (1964) *Living in Scotland, Summer 1964, Notes for the Teacher.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[226] BBC Scotland (1965) *Living in Scotland, Summer 1965, Notes for the Teacher.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[227] Ibid.
[228] BBC Scotland (1963) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1963.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[229] British Broadcasting Corporation (1959) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1959.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[230] British Broadcasting Corporation (1956). *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1956.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[231] Otherwise known as 'handball', it is a version of Medieval football popular in Jedburgh.
[232] BBC Scotland (1966) *Scotland in the Modern World, Summer 1966, Notes for the Teacher.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.

became a replacement motor in economic operations, there was an expectation that momentum would be maintained. Moreover, tourism communicated a sense of civic pride, as international sightseers were flocking to visit the attractions of the country (Figure 26). Programmes frequently spoke about the "tourists from all over the world", who were fascinated by what Scotland had to offer.[233] Interestingly, despite the growing connectivity of Scotland with the wider world, teachings remained insular and rooted within the geographical boundaries of the nation. This brings to light certain tensions that arise between rapidly expanding globalisation, internationalisation, and mobility, and more traditional teachings and parochial imaginings of Scotland. On the one hand, the country was increasingly being presented as outward-facing through a strong connection to tourism and cultural exchange. Scotland was both home and a destination, stable yet increasingly mobile. Furthermore, Scotland's appeal to tourists was portrayed through imaginings of a timeless rurality and centuries-old heritage (Hughes 1992; Butler 1998)—portrayals of which did not adhere to the new imagining of Scotland as a modern nation. As made evident through the broadcasts, these tensions remained unresolved, lost somewhere between the past and the future, the local and the global, the rooted and the mobile.

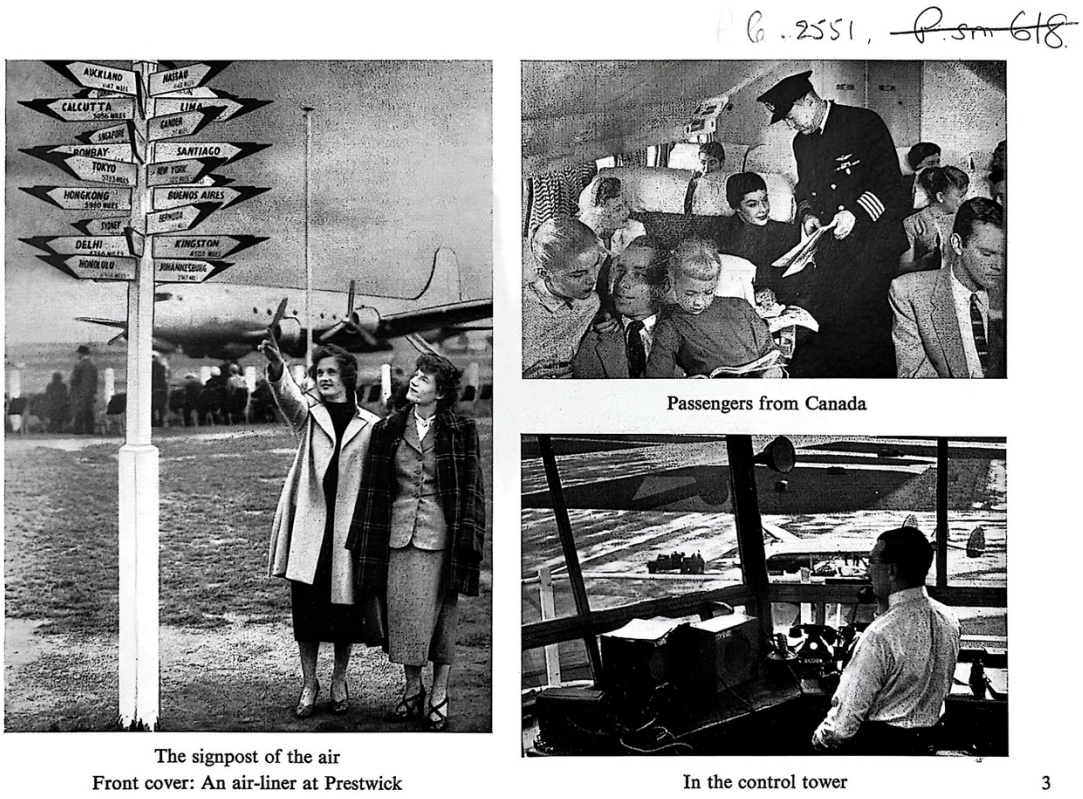


Figure 26- International travel. Source: NLS (1958).

[233] BBC Scotland (1964) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1964.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.

With a now well-established sense of modernity and a newfound recognition as an international destination, Scotland had found an identity as a country of the future. Schools radio programming documented the innovations and new infrastructure arising across the country: the construction of the experimental nuclear reactor at Dounreay,[234] new housing estates in Dalkeith,[235] and a proposed 'hover-ferry' down the Clyde (see Figure 28).[236] Future-facing teaching resulted in reduced content about the past. In 1964, the Scottish heritage and geography programme, *This is My Country* was replaced with the economic geography series, *Scotland in the Modern World* (see Figure 27), which taught children about Scottish industry, exports, and development**.** Reviews conducted by the Schools Broadcasting Council for Scotland found that schoolteachers generally neglected Scottish Studies in their classrooms. Factors that contributed to this neglect included the following:

> "(i) new developments in the primary school, especially the introduction of new subjects such as science and French
> (ii) the difficulty of finding teachers, particularly young teachers, who had a knowledge of, and interest in, Scottish vernacular, literature and traditions
> (iii) the lack of interest shown by children, many of whom considered such studies old-fashioned
> (iv) the decline in understanding of 'the guid Scots tongue': in certain areas, Inverness for example, the children neither spoke it nor were they accustomed to hearing it, and in some other areas its use was actively discouraged."[237]

Some viewed the trend away from Scottish studies as a positive due to labelling of the subject as too "parochial" and "nationalistic".[238] It was documented that a heavy focus on Scottish material, particularly the variety of dialects, was "unrealistic", and it was increasingly necessary to teach children about life in the modern world.[239] It was concluded that teachers were not equipped to handle lessons using local accents, and Scottish children in urban areas had "little understanding of dialect speech and little interest in its preservation".[240]

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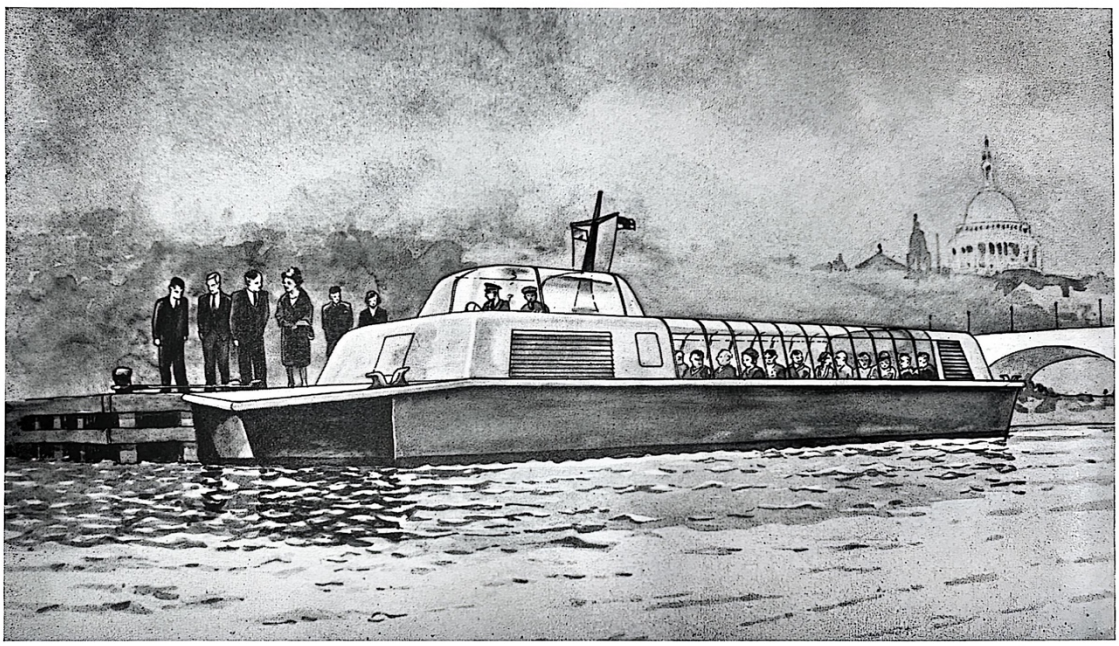
[234] BBC Scotland (1965) *Scotland in the Modern World, Summer 1965.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[235] BBC Scotland (1964) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1964*.
[236] British Broadcasting Corporation (1962) *This is my Country, Summer 1962*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[237] SBCS (1963) *Review of Series "Stories from Scottish History" and "Scottish Heritage"*.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid.

Figure 27- Front cover for the programme, Scotland in the Modern World. *Source: NLS (1965).*



30 PROPOSED HOVERFERRY FOR USE ON RIVERS

Figure 28- Pamphlet illustration of a hoverferry. Source: NLS (1962).

Despite a constrictive view directed towards the future and lessening attention paid to Scottish heritage, schools radio programmes seemed to be coming to a different reckoning with the past. While in the 1950s the past was something to be looked down upon due to mass industry and a low quality of life, by the 1960s, schools radio programming cautiously began a process of rethinking and reframing. The industries of the 1930s and 1940s, although in living memory of adult citizens, were now relics of the past. Programmes noted that Scotland's landscape was one of "ruins of mills and factories, abandoned mines, or disused roads and railways".[241] Industries were disappearing or had "practically come to an end".[242] Through broadcasts, children were hearing the accounts of families who had warily moved from Glasgow tenements to new housing estates, acknowledging a gain of "more space and a higher standard of living", but the shortcomings of "increased expense; the loss of community life of the tenements and attractions of the city centre, such as dance halls, cafes and picture houses".[243] For the first time, tentatively, industry and urban life were being mourned.

Programmes such as *Living in Scotland* interviewed individuals such as Johnny Morris, a sheet metal worker, and Dorothy Nimlin, a student at Glasgow School of Art. Both had moved from now demolished tenements to new housing estates. Johnny recounted to the listening children:

> "In Kinning Park, my bedroom wall, my sister and brother's bedroom wall, was right up against a big forge, engineering works. And they worked constantly throughout the day and night. And the noise was terrible, it was fantastic. But it never bothered us, you see, because we're so used to it, and we slept like tops every night. And the tram cars down the road, about 100 yards down the road, used to rattle back and forward. When we went up to Pollock, we found ourselves in this big house with no noise at all. And we couldn't sleep because there was no noise. It was crazy, you know? Mother and father used to say, 'This is ridiculous, you know?' They used to take aspirin, one thing, they'd go to sleep with aspirin, but they'd never give us any. It took us about six months to get used to this idea. And then they moved a bus terminal up beside us, and this eased the pain a little."[244]

Interestingly, the sensorial loss that Johnny mourned is what had long been problematised as a poor symptom of city-life and industrialisation (Payer 2020). Dorothy similarly recounted the sense of loss she felt when moving, particularly the loss of urban community:

> "You know somebody who knows somebody else, who knows somebody else. You're just part, even in our street, you were part of that street. You knew all your

[241] BBC Scotland (1967) *Scotland in the Modern World, Spring 1967*.
[242] BBC Scotland (1965) *Scotland in the Modern World, Summer 1965*.
[243] BBC Scotland (1965). *Living in Scotland, Spring 1965, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[244] *Living in Scotland* (1964) [Radio programme] BBC Scotland, 1 January.

> friends—you knew all your friends' mothers and aunts and uncles and so on. You knew all their business, they knew all your business, although we stayed in the outskirts. As I said, this one row of pre-fabs, we all stuck together, we all knew everybody else."[245]

Through these interviews, listening children were exposed to the negotiations and contentions that occurred in a transitioning society. They were left to question and critique what was promoted and what was experienced and consider what had been gained along with what had been lost.

1960s and 1970s

Negotiating Transition

From the late 1960s and into the 1970s, reckonings of the past transformed into a more fully blown nostalgia. The feelings of loss expressed by Johnny and Dorothy were grappled with in songs printed in schools radio pamphlets:

> *"Oh, where is the Glasgow where I used tae stey,*
> *The white wally closes done up wi' pipe cley;*
> *Where ye knew every neighbour frae first floor tae third,*
> *And tae keep your door locked was considered absurd;*
> *Do you know the folk steying next door tae you?"*[246]

As if suddenly realising the consequences of a narrow vision of progress, there was now an anxiety for preservation, or what Mandler (2013) considers the 'heritage panic' of the 1970s and 1980s in Britain. Schools radio producers used programmes as a form of recording an oral history of Scotland (see Figure 29). They spoke to retired fishermen and taped them singing "North Sea Holes", "Net-Hauling Song", and "Song of the Fish Gutters";[247] they interviewed Alexander Fenton, of the National Museum of Antiquities Scotland;[248] and produced lessons titled "I Remember",[249] "Changes",[250] and "When I Was Your Age".[251] After a brief period of neglect towards Scottish Studies, schools radio returned with volumes of heritage-based content. This overlapped with a distinctly British trend of 'the cult of the past'—a phenomenon considered through growth in historical societies and preservation of industrial heritage (McLean 2016). Industrial

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[245] *Living in Scotland* (1964) [Radio programme] BBC Scotland, 1 January.
[246] BBC Scotland (1974) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1974*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[247] BBC Scotland (1971) *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1971*.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid.
[250] British Broadcasting Corporation (1976) *Scottish Magazine, Spring 1976*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[251] British Broadcasting Corporation (1979) *Jigsaw, Spring 1979*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

heritage and ‘everyday material’ were salvaged just as the economy moved away from heavy industries, marking the end of an old Britain (Finlay 2007).

Here is a research worker from Edinburgh University making a tape-recording of an old crofter talking about his life.

Figure 29- Example of an oral history recording. Source: NLS (1973).

Children were encouraged to become active participants in the nationwide quest of cultural preservation. While the nostalgia of the 1970s has been characterised by some commentators as right-wing and conservative (Mandler 2013), Smith and Campbell (2017) trouble this version of nostalgia, noting that it could be progressive, mobilising, and affective. Children were prompted by schools radio to become curators and undertakers. They explored their own family histories by questioning and reflecting on how people, old and young, reacted and adjusted to the loss of the familiar and the illusion of an "exciting", "glamorous", modern life.[252] They were sonically exposed to the culture and the lifestyle of their families' pasts—listening to the music of the 1950s while adults spoke about their own childhoods. Schools radio instructed children to engage with contemporary history through creative methods. Pupils could "interview and record" family members,[253] curate a "fifties museum",[254] collect local newspapers,[255] or conduct an environmental study of building preservation.[256] Broadcasts spotlighted children at Inverness High School who were crafting a museum on crofting life; and pupils at Shawbost School on the Isle of Lewis who interviewed the elderly, restored a water-mill, wove tweed for the curtains, and curated exhibits for a nearby museum.[257] The past was rendered a living past, preserved and protected by the children.

In an unusual creative blending of heritage and modernity, a folk song was composed for inclusion in a broadcast about the new town of Glenrothes, documenting the industry, environment, and sentiments, recording the heritage of the present via a traditional template. The song goes:

> *"Down in the valley where the green grass grew*
> *The farms have gone and it's all brand new*
> *Shops and houses and schools to learn*
> *In Rimbleton and Caskieberran.*
>
> *Near Glenrothes there's a coal mine*
> *Where no miners earn their bread*
> *Built a new town, closed the pit down*
> *So, what did they do instead?*
>
> *In Glenrothes it's a grand new life*
> *With fresh air and wide-open spaces*
> *There's jobs in the factories for husband and wife*
> *And the houses have bright painted faces.*

[252] BBC (1976) *Scottish Magazine, Spring 1976, Teacher's Notes*.
[253] BBC (1979) *Jigsaw, Spring 1979, Teacher's Notes*.
[254] Ibid.
[255] British Broadcasting Corporation (1973) *Scottish History, Autumn 1973, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.

We said goodbye, my friends and I
No more we'll play together
For we've moved to Fife for a better life
And a new job for my father."[258]

The wave of nostalgia, and sense of loss, beckoned the question of whether or not mass industrial change and redevelopment had, in fact, been worth it. As teaching about urban geography was incorporated into British schools curricula (Bishop, Adams, and Kean 1992), radio programmes followed suit, educating children about urban change, planning, housing, and their own connections to these topics. Schools radio deemed the promotion of new towns as "a little like propaganda" but "largely justified".[259] One lesson tackled how, along with the loss of community, came the loss of character: "one place looks just like another, with the same kinds of house, the same shops, and even the same goods for sale in the shops".[260] An illustration from the programme *From Seven to Nine* (see Figure 30) shows children at a demolition site crying, "But we've always played here! There's nowhere else for us to go."[261] A drawing in the same pamphlet depicts an elderly couple, adamant yet sorrowful, saying, "This has been our home for years and *nothing* will make us leave it!"[262] The past once villainised was now lamented, and the future once praised was now being questioned. In schools radio programmes, children sang along to the lyric, "*The cost of land and property is rising, But are the people being included in these stakes?*",[263] they considered the implications of a new bypass which cut-off traffic from an imaginary village,[264] and they debated the consequences of redevelopment.[265] Schools radio carefully did not give children a clear labelling of right or wrong, for they were to disentangle the moralities and values of changing life in Scotland themselves.

[258] BBC (1974) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1974*.
[259] British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *Geography Studies, Spring 1975, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[260] British Broadcasting Corporation (1973) *Scottish History, Spring 1973*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[261] British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *From Seven to Nine, Spring 1975*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[262] Ibid.
[263] British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1975*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[264] British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1975, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[265] British Broadcasting Corporation (1979) *Questions of Living, Summer 1979, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).

Figure 30- Illustrations for a lesson on urban change. Source: NLS (1975).

Presentability to the Nation and of the Nation

The Scottish Education Department's 1963 Brunton Report noted pointedly that education should place a greater emphasis on "vocational impulse" as well as "the need to develop the whole human personality, the social and moral, cultural and artistic aspects, as well as the 'getting and spending' aspects".[266] Following this recommendation, career-oriented teaching was an increasingly prominent broadcasting feature in the 1960s and grew further in the 1970s. An increasing amount of radio programming approached employment and 'employability' through differing lenses, creating a holistic picture of a post-school life for listening pupils. This coincided with the 1972 raising of the school leaving age in Scotland to 16 years old (Lawrie 2015), driven by an expectation of equal employment opportunities and a desire for a better-educated workforce (Paterson 2020). The working methodologies of schools radio education, hitherto focused on teaching children about life and the wider world, were restructured to fit the contemporary social and economic climate. Schools radio broadcasting tailored programmes to cover the social dimensions of young adulthood, employment, health, and leisure. Due to a decline in industry, employment opportunities in the sector were becoming scarcer, and so, if a young adult remained in school for longer, they could subsequently "escape the consequences of the structural changes" (Paterson 2022, p.34). Schools radio took this opportunity to better equip students with social awareness and practical know-how. The emotional dimensions of leaving school were dramatised in the form of a studio discussion,[267] students were taught how to join a trade union,[268] and practices such as money management were covered through post-broadcast activities.[269]

As critical thinking and teachings of societal norms became more commonplace in schools radio programmes, children were instructed to discuss and debate with their fellow peers on political, economic, and social topics. Children were embedded in what Splitter (2011) considers 'communities of inquiry', or 'CoI'. Once a participant of a 'CoI', the student could individually or collaboratively

> "develop their own ideas and perspectives based on appropriately rigorous modes of thinking and against the background of a thorough understanding and appreciation of those ideas and perspectives that, having stood the test of time, may be represented as society's best view of things to date" (Splitter 2011, p.497).

As part of a listening 'CoI', students were presented with the means of engaging with their own socially conditioned values and judgements. Topics were contemporary and applicable to the young school leaver or graduate who was about to face life in an

[266] SBCS (1971) *Review of Series Broadcast to Secondary Schools*.
[267] BBC Scotland (1966) *Living in Scotland, Autumn 1966, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[268] BBC Scotland (1968) *Living in Scotland, Summer 1968, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[269] BBC Scotland (1972) *For School Leavers, Summer 1972*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.

expanded and changing world. Students dissected the linkages of football and patriotism when questioned, "has supporting our international sporting stars anything to do with real patriotism?";[270] they were confronted with the contradiction that at 18, they are eligible for military service but not allowed to vote until they are 21;[271,272] and they were questioned about everyday occurrences such as, "do you think a man should always give up his seat for a woman on crowded public transport?"[273] Children were made to view their life outside of school through a series of moral conundrums. Through the understanding of schools radio officials and programme producers, when children would become citizens, they would be obligated to address these issues, and in order to actively contribute to society, they should be well versed in their own views, and ready to appreciate the potentially differing views of others.

A well-versed, presentable citizen was a good Scottish citizen. Children had to be equipped with skills of respectability, such as using their words 'correctly' so they could be employed and contribute to the economy.[274] Jobs were described through personal characteristics, and children were taught to evaluate their own personalities, motivations, and achievements to see which vocation would offer a best fit. If you had "good manners and appearance, a sense of humour, patience and a genuine liking for people", then shop-work would be an excellent match.[275] If you had "good health, good sight and physical fitness", fishing could be considered as a suitable line of work.[276] A spectrum of careers was presented to the children: chef, caterer, office worker, receptionist, police officer, post officer, extending to less likely pursuits such as store detective and police frogman.[277]

In 1970s Scotland, the general trend of health education veered towards a positive approach, teaching individuals that they could assume responsibility over their health (Young 2005). Healthiness, when determined by the individual, correlated to the healthiness of a community. Wellbeing was a responsibility, and if the school leaver remained robust, they could "do their work properly and enjoy their leisure".[278] How young adults chose to spend their leisure time was also a gauge of good citizenship. The

[270] BBC Scotland (1964) *Living in Scotland, Autumn 1964*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[271] Ibid.
[272] The voting age for all UK elections was lowered to 18 in 1969.
[273] BBC Scotland (1966) *Living in Scotland, Summer 1966*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[274] BBC Scotland (1967) *Living in Scotland, Spring 1967*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[275] BBC Scotland (1969) *For School Leavers, Autumn 1969, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[276] BBC Scotland (1963) *Living in Scotland, Summer 1963, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[277] BBC Scotland (1963) *Living in Scotland, Autumn 1963, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[278] BBC Scotland (1968). *Living in Scotland, Summer 1968, Notes for the Teacher*.

young adult who chose to engage in current affairs and cultural activities was a greater attribute of community life than one who chose to drink, partake in football violence, or vandalise their town. All were choices of the individual. Young adults were instructed on how to critically assess and consume mass media, and they were exposed to forms of popular culture such as pop, folk, and jazz music in order to develop a varied cultural taste.[279] Even the topic of 'moods' was introduced in the programme *Scottish Magazine*, recording

> "moments of ecstasy and exhilaration, the identification of such moments with particular people and objects, the realisation of dreams and ambitions, e.g. the euphoria of victory in a particular sport, the pleasure and delight to be found in a new possession, the development of a satisfying relationship".[280]

Schools radio daringly captured all aspects of life, providing listening young adults with a relatability that could not fully be emulated by the curriculum. Broadcasts harnessed the initial mission of schools radio, which was to put students in contact with the wider world through sound, and producers transformed this mission to meet the evolving needs of society. Citizenship was taught through sound and stories, cementing the innovative and well-rounded nature of utilising radio to teach students about life and how to live it well.

[279] BBC Scotland (1972) *For School Leavers, Summer 1972*.
[280] BBC (1976) *Scottish Magazine, Spring 1976, Teacher's Notes*.

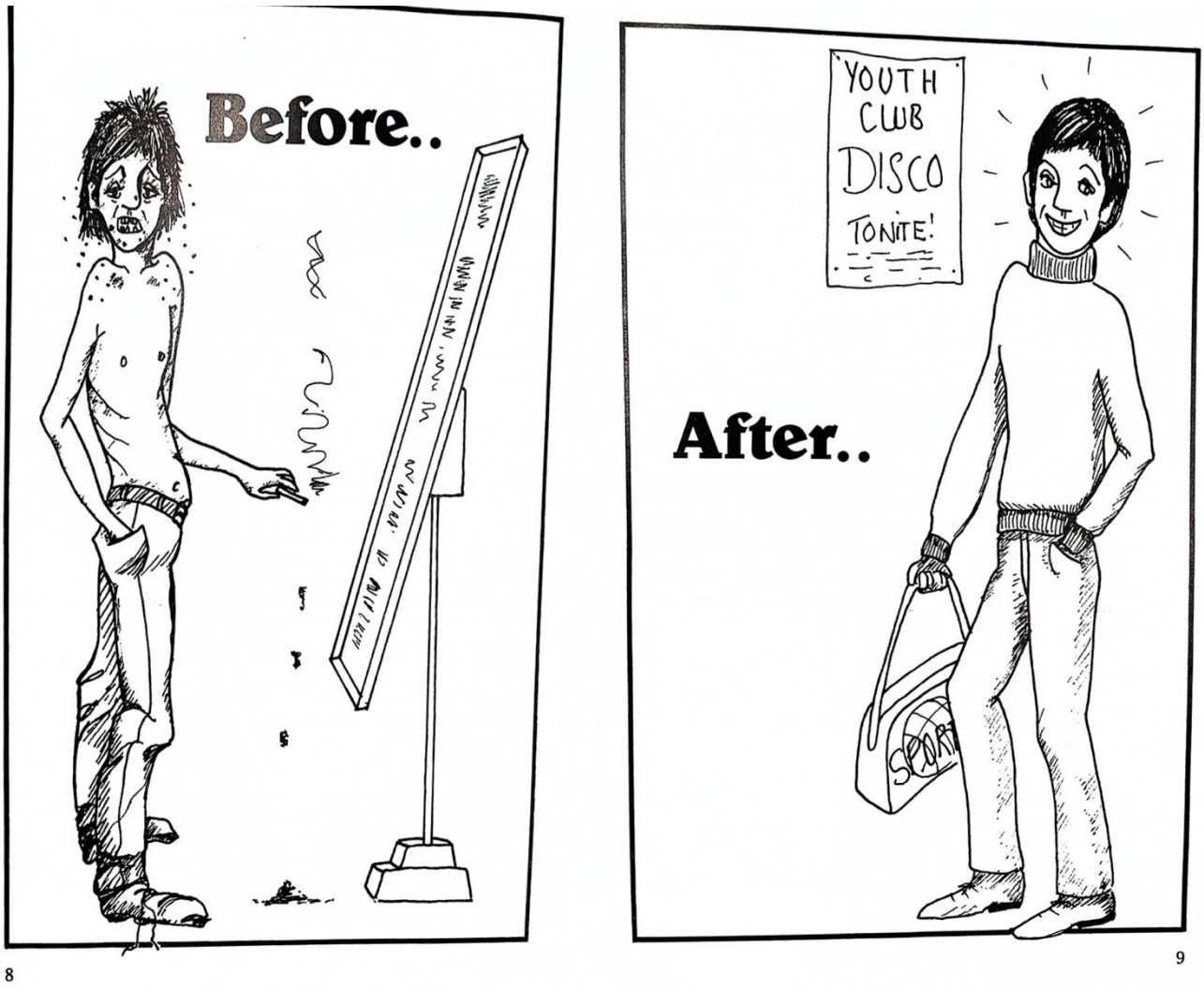

Figure 31- Before and after of a 'good citizen'. Source: NLS (1979).

Environmental stewardship and ecological conservation were additional educational trends reflective of teachings of moral awareness and current affairs. Environmental pollution had been increasingly covered via general news, and schools radio producers considered the topic appropriate for children, making them aware of various forms of ecological harm and ways in which they could be combatted. Dramatised programmes documented the effects of a sheep dip spillage in the upper Forth;[281] the story of an east coast fisherman whose children find guillemots unable to fly due to oil pollution;[282] and the tale of 'Wonder Ray', a superhuman from the Sun who was sent to Earth in order to educate citizens on clean energy.[283]

Similarly to programmes from earlier decades on the urban vs. the rural, programmes on the environment focused on values and morals, crosscut with a sense of scenic appearance. Children were meant to "keep Scotland beautiful"[284] and were taught songs such as "Cleaning Up", which included the lyric, "*Our eyes rove around the countryside- what do we see? Some trees are still standing- but you know… The black silhouettes of coal and shale bings rising, free. What can we do from here? Where can we go?*"[285] 'Cleaning up' was primarily an aesthetic of remediation and restoration which could potentially be linked to environmental stewardship (see Figure 32). The levelling of "ugly old bings" resulted in a place for sheep and cows to graze[286] and the cleaning of "smoke and grime" from old buildings resulted in a more pleasant town centre.[287] The 'cleaning up' movement presents what Beardsley (1970) coined and Carlson (1976) developed as 'the dilemma of aesthetic education'. The dilemma is between either ridding the world of 'aesthetic displeasure' or teaching people to adjust their aesthetic sensibilities. Throughout schools radio education, such messaging encompassed not only lessons on environmental conservation. Children were also taught to train their gaze so as to appreciate certain landscapes as pleasant, mighty, grimy, or grim. Through the cultivation of scenic values, schools radio was not solely about training the ear and creating 'active listeners'. During broadcasts, sound worked in tandem with the visual, and children were taught to be well-rounded in their sensory skills.

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[281] British Broadcasting Corporation (1977) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1977, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[282] Ibid.
[283] British Broadcasting Corporation (1979) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1979, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[284] British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *Exploring Scotland, 1975/76, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[285] Ibid.
[286] BBC Scotland (1969) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1969.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[287] BBC (1975) *Exploring Scotland, 1975/76, Teacher's Notes*.

Figure 32- Examples of the 'Cleaning Up' movement. Source: NLS (1977).

Throughout the 1970s, students were made to both celebrate and critically assess their Scottish identity. While programmes in the past decades would consider what it meant to live in Scotland and why one should appreciate their own country, children were never faced with a direct questioning of what it truly meant to be Scottish. Following a lull in the teaching of Scottish studies, the subject experienced something of an educational renaissance through the popularity of programmes such as *Scottish Magazine* and *Scottish Writing.* In these heritage-focused programmes, children once again became aware of the individuality of the social and geographical environments of their country. They were taught "local dialects, urban and rural modes of expression, idioms, and socio-linguistic phenomena";[288] prompted to gather an understanding of the "richness and diversity in Scottish writing past and present";[289] and, exposed to "the flavour of life" to be encountered in various parts of the country.[290] In the lesson "I Come From Aberdeen", children from across the country read and listened along to the following Doric speech, tuning in to the language, humour, and mannerisms:

> [*Jock*]: Fit are ye daen the morn', Angus?
> [*Angus*]: Och, ah thoct a'd gang tae the fitba'. The Dons are playin' Celtic ye ken.
> [*Jock*]: Aye, an' they're bound tae win. Ye're richt lucky being' able tae gang. The wifes wuntin me tae bide at hame while she gaes tae the shops. Ah've tae look efter the bairns.
> [*Angus*]: Aw, that's an awfy shame for ye. Ah wis gan tae ask if ye was wuntin tae come wi' me.
> [*Jock*]: Ach weel niver mine. Oh, did ye hear aboot thon mannie fa wis buried in 'is car under twinty fit a' sna' for fower days?
> [*Angus*]: Aye, it's a meericle 'at 'ee ever survived. It's a good job 'at 'e thaws started noo.
> [*Jock*]: Aye, ah ken. Ah weel ah better be gan noo or ma' wife'le be efter me wi' 'er rollin' pin. See you again sometime. Cheerio.
> [*Angus*]: Aye, cheerio.[291]

Because dialect was being taught by an official authority via a mass form of broadcast education, children were now given the permission, and hopefully the confidence, of using their own ways of speaking. Similarly, Gaelic programming found greater popularity in the 1970s. Programmes such as *Say it in Gaelic* even ventured to teach non-Gaelic speaking children Scotland's second language.

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[288] British Broadcasting Corporation (1977) *Scottish Magazine, Autumn 1977, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[289] British Broadcasting Corporation (1973) *Scottish Writing, Autumn 1973, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[290] British Broadcasting Corporation (1978) *Scottish Magazine, Autumn 1978, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[291] Ibid.

In a lesson for *Questions of Living*, students were told to discuss the question, "do you feel proud to be Scottish or English or British… if so, why?"[292] They were then instructed to draw and describe a Scotsman: "What does he eat? What does he drink? How does he dress? What music does he play? Which poems and songs does he know? How does he spend his money?", and ultimately, "How true is this popular image?" Other lessons prompted children to question their identity as Europeans, and whether or not they felt the benefits of being considered a part of a larger community.[293] Additionally, during the 1970s, Scotland was becoming an increasingly multicultural country, and so, through schools radio, children were taught a progressive language of cultural sensitivities and appreciations. Lessons on "New Neighbours" introduced immigrants from India, inviting them to speak about the traditions and customs of their lives back home.[294] The lesson "I Come from Hong Kong" introduced Chinese legends and folk songs and allowed listening children to hear from immigrants their own age.[295] Schools radio programming drew back from promoting what it was to be Scottish. Instead, broadcasts chose to expose children to the richness and diversity of Scottish life, and then children were meant to question for themselves, "do you feel proud to be Scottish?"

As such, national belonging became an understanding of reflexiveness and plurality. Programmes pivoted to foreground identity as something open to reinterpretation, not as a fixed inheritance but rather in flux. Broadcasts began challenging prior understandings of territorial rootedness, opening up the boundaries of belonging to include concepts of mobility and cultural exchange. Paired with the re-emergence of heritage teachings, children came to understand national identity as something which could be inclusive without being placeless, both inviting of multicultural influences and capable of maintaining and celebrating distinctive cultural traditions. Imaginings of Scotland as depicted through schools radio broadcasts positioned the country as dynamic and responsive, a place where cultural specificity was not singularly bound to past nativist imaginings.

1970s and 1980s

The Realities of Young Life

Other versions of 1970s Britain have described the period as one of "political crisis" and "decline" (Robinson et al. 2017). In Scotland, despite "changes to external image and

[292] British Broadcasting Corporation (1974) *Questions of Living, Spring 1974, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[293] British Broadcasting Corporation (1974) *Questions of Living, Summer 1974, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[294] British Broadcasting Corporation (1978) *Jigsaw, Autumn 1978, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[295] Ibid.

urban fabric", deprived localities continued to exist along with the social issues that came with increased poverty and inequality (Lorimer 2007, p.19). Children were not immune to these problems, and due to an increase of dissatisfaction of a society created and dictated by adults and politicians, it became more common for young people to experience anger and alienation (Henn, Weinstein, and Wring 2003). Schools radio programming addressed and documented the feelings of a confused and troubled adolescence by tackling subjects such as youth-sub-cultures, fears of post-school unemployment, aversion towards authority, drinking and smoking, and violence. Grittier schools radio programmes such as *Hard Edge* emerged as a result of what was considered a 'youth crisis' (Lynch 2021) where juvenile delinquency was commonplace. If schools radio was to educate students on moral awareness, then they first had to grasp and maintain their attention through relatability. *Hard Edge* would primarily rely on interviews of Scottish teenagers. A 1983 broadcast recorded a teenager describing his appearance as a form of rebellion:

> "I've got a bleached Mohican way, blue tips on it and, eh, ripped gloves the dog collar way—dog tags hanging through it. And, eh, my band's t-shirt on, black canvas troosers, Docs, 'So what?' written—bleached on the side of ma heid and dots and that on the other side. I just dress how I want. If I see something I like I just do it, ken. For the gloves, like, kinda ripped them apart. It was a sorta, like, was bored, and I was thinking about the state of the world and that and I sorta—it was just really an expression that we're all ken fallin' apart and that, and a mess, so that's why I ripped up the gloves."[296]

Another broadcast reflected the anger felt by young people in Scotland:

> "There's a lot more they could be doing for us, more than what they're doing. They start spending too much on nuclear weapons and that. Don't think they should be spending so much money on that. Think they could be doing a lot more for us than what they're doing. If you're unemployed and you're sitting aboot at your house all day, it makes you feel like a right layabout—useless. Now it doesn't help you any. If you were to get up and go aboot somewhere, like say, an unemployment club, sit with your pals and that, now it makes you feel better than sitting aboot all day."[297]

Another on the cycle of violence:

> "[Violence has] always happened, it always will. It just gives them something to do about their depression. You know because you're walking about and naebody's got a job, they're all depressed. But that's what people try to blame it on—unemployment. But you cannae just blame it on that. It's always happened, and it always will happen."[298]

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[296] *Hard Edge* (1983) [Radio programme] BBC Scotland, 26 May.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.

Hard Edge was undeniably a bold programme, but it followed educational trends and policies of implementing 'guidance' in secondary education. Guidance as a policy instructed educators to treat students with "respect" and "give them a voice" (Paterson 2020, p.1172). The educational ethos surrounding pupils with less-than-average academic achievement was not to conform them to the standards of the schools, but rather to psychologically prepare them for life after leaving school (Hartley 2017). *Hard Edge* did just that. It taught through raw testimony, capturing the complex feelings of anxiety, fear, and anger that troubled a large part of Scotland's young population. In a time when the "ned underclass" was posed as a "decivilizing threat" to society (Law and Mooney 2011, p.110), programmes such as *Hard Edge* approached youth disruption and rebellion with a touch of sympathy.[299] Voices were broadcast as a way of showcasing to listeners that they were not isolated in their feelings, and that social unrest was a symptom of problems beyond the control of teenagers.

Extending levels of sympathy could meet with criticism. When the programme *Scottish Projects* tackled the subject of health education, producers were accused of "cowardice and lack of responsibility" for failing to directly address issues of solvent abuse.[300] Very quickly, lessons enforced societal order through teachings of rules and responsibilities. These were programmes developed in conjunction with the police force, who offered consultive roles in topic development.[301] The number of police-school liaisons, a scheme established in Scotland in 1956 (Mack 1963), were increasing in Scottish schools as means of developing a positive outlook on authority and gaining a sense of responsibility against criminal offences by youth (Hopkins, Hewstone, and Hantzi 1992). Schools radio reflected this nationwide trend. Rather than using testimonies directly from young people, programmes became packaged into strict teachings of what was "unacceptable", "aggressive", and the ultimate "effectiveness of rules and laws".[302]

1980s and 1990s

Fading Out Schools Radio

The creative freedoms of schools radio untied to any formal curriculum were eventually restricted through the decision that "educational broadcasting should be fitted into a curricular framework so that it is seen to be vital, and not a desirable, but disposable, extra".[303] Schools radio was always influenced but never dictated by the curriculum. It was considered part of an 'informal' or 'hidden' curriculum which was represented by a

[299] 'Ned' is a Scottish term which stands for 'non-educated delinquent'.
[300] Boyle, J. (1984) 'The Producer's Experience: BBC Schools Radio'.
[301] Ibid.
[302] British Broadcasting Corporation (1980) *Living With Others, Summer 1980, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Pla.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[303] Robinson, K. (1984) 'Broadcasting and the Curriculum'.

separate educational ethos.[304] Producers were hesitant about curricular alignment, claiming that assessment would reduce the "excitement of the programmes".[305] Listenership, however, was declining due to the lack of "curriculum match".[306] Schools radio in the 1980s and 90s was suffering from financial cuts and the loss of a secure place on the airwaves. In a perfect storm of decline, television was already the preferred form of media-based education. Unfortunately, schools radio waned in popularity at a time where Scottish identity was formally solidified as a National Guideline in education, and cultural understandings of the nation were being creatively paired with studies of the environment. The National Guidelines for ages 5-14 in English language specified that "[i]t should be a central aim of Scottish schools to help their pupils understand that the common experiences, activities, history and artefacts of the people of Scotland constitute an identifiable and distinctive culture, worthy of transmission and study."[307] A Working Paper on the subject of Environmental Studies also emphasised the above statement by noting that,

> "pupils should have opportunities…to explore the character, languages, dialects and achievements of Scotland and its people. In this way, pupils should identify with and relate to the country in which they live and acquire knowledge and understanding of the interwoven strands of culture and heritage".[308]

Children were formally learning about Scottish folk songs, lore, and language as cultural phenomena tied to the land. Environmental studies were the base for "music, art and drama".[309] An entire series was created regarding Gaelic heritage and its connections to the environment. Programmes containing dialect always began with a stipulation regarding the importance of the material, strengthening the stances of the producers:

> "The Scots words are used to foster respect for, and interest in, our Scottish culture; teachers can use this opportunity to create awareness of different languages, and good attitudes to these, at an early age."[310]

> "To foster a sense of personal or nations identity, pupils should encounter languages and texts of a specifically Scottish and regional character. Giving

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[304] Robinson, K. (1984) 'Broadcasting and the Curriculum'.
[305] The Educational Broadcasting Council Scotland (1989) 'Item 89.10: Future Policy Issues'. *Minutes of the Eighty-Fifth Meeting of the Primary Programme Committee on 27th April 1989,* Broadcasting House, Glasgow. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/68.
[306] Duncan, J. (1984) *Broadcasting and School Education in Scotland.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh HMSO.
[307] British Broadcasting Corporation (1992) *Scottish Resources:7-9, Autumn 1992, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[308] Ibid.
[309] Acting Secretary (1987) *Expressive Arts in the Primary School: Visual Arts.* Internal Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland Primary Programme Committee report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/111.
[310] The Educational Broadcasting Council Scotland (1992) *EBCS Primary Programme Committee Scottish Publications and 5-14, a discussion paper from the Secretary.* Internal EBCS report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/70.

> attention of the Scottish culture will permit the exploration of issues appropriate to the needs of children growing up in communities with their own histories and concerns."[311]

Scotland had achieved a certain "cultural self-confidence" (Finlay 2005, p.222) that was clearly reflected through schools radio programming. The potential of schools radio, however, was ultimately swallowed by the rigid formalities of the curriculum and the coming of the digital age. The possibilities of schools radio in its final decades were written but never fully realised. There is no formal demarcation of an 'ending' of schools radio programming. The Schools Broadcasting Council, which had been going by the name of the Educational Broadcasting Council since 1987, ultimately disbanded in 2000, but sonic education for Scottish children continues to exist in a different iteration more suitable for the internet age.

Conclusion

BBC schools radio pamphlets and programmes reflected Scotland's geographical imagination through various depiction of a changing nation, crafted and tailored to the relevancy of its listening pupils. There are numerous reasons schools radio is an invaluable source in understanding the face of the nation. Firstly, these were representations of Scotland which were made to fit the child's understanding of the world, created for pupils who were living in, yet only just learning lessons on their country's history, heritage, and geography. Furthermore, schools radio produced cultural representations through a variety of mediums. Pupils learned about Scotland primarily through sound, but also through images, descriptions, and experiences befitting of the pedagogical needs outlined by schools broadcasting councils. Schools radio therefore serves as a specific site of production—a production of the nation as understood through the eyes and ears of sonic, geographical citizens.

Schools radio captured the complexities, tensions, and sentimentalities of the nation throughout time. While earlier imaginings were steeped in idyllic iconography and rural idealisations, programming eventually grew more candid in communicating and depicting the hardships woven into Scottish life. While representations of the nation evolved throughout the decades, exploring themes such as historic essentialism and heritage preservation, the promises and pitfalls of modernity, civic pride and duty, environmental change and conservation, and the fears and hopes for life after school; broadcasts demonstrated an unwavering commitment to understand and engage children and young adults through sound and vision. By tracing the imagining and re-imagining of Scotland via schools radio broadcasts and pamphlets, I have uncovered the realisation that young listeners are at the heart of these national portrayals and imaginings. Whether they were part of rebuilding the post-war nation and safeguarding

[311] EBCS (1992) *Primary Programme Committee*.

Scotland's heritage, or as individuals whose anxieties and experiences resonated through broadcast voices. Through schools radio, children were embedded into the national canon, figuring prominently as citizens of Scotland with their own sense of place, memories, and experiences just as integral in shaping the 'emotional geography' of the country as their adult counterparts.

Chapter 7: Lessons Beyond Listening: Sonic, Visual, and Experiential Encounters

Introduction

Schools radio was a complex operation, interweaving different organisational, pedagogical, and technological domains. This chapter rounds out the 'circuit of culture' as an analytical framework by shedding light on and examining the intended experiences of teachers and students in the classroom as framed and mediated by the BBC and education authorities. As Braster, Grosvenor, and Del Mar del Pozo Andres (2011, p.209) write,

> "There is something strange about classrooms… they are the most well-known physical space where formal learning takes place. In classrooms the main players of the education game—teachers and pupils—meet. They are like the living cells of the school, the beating heart of the educational system. But that does not mean that we know many things about them."

This chapter attempts to understand the classroom, where the disembodied broadcast voice was brought into the material space as a second teacher, where the physically present teacher performed an intricate choreography of learning with the situated wireless apparatus, and where children were guided to hone their auditory and visual literacy skills, having their imaginations stimulated. Much like previous chapters, it is important to re-iterate that this analysis is not intended to document the child's direct experiences with the broadcast material, but rather to understand the mediation an inferred reception of sound within the classroom space as a deliberately produced and institutionally framed encounter. While there are reports of children's first-hand experiences evident throughout these chapter, these are recognised as a product of the BBC's compilation and interpretation, and not as an assertion of how children felt in the moment.

Through the configuration of cultural values and pedagogical practices of learning with sound, the listening classroom became something of a 'socio-material assemblage' (Roehl 2012)— a site of active interaction between the material and the immaterial. Various existing analytical accounts of education have portrayed the school as a dynamic, bustling space through the noisiness and animation of teaching (Rousmaniere 1997) and the ritualised movement of pupils (Eggermont 2001). Despite the complexities of these educational worlds, however, there are ongoing silences in the history of education, particularly those centring on teachers' experiences (Rousmaniere 1997). Throughout this chapter, I will be drawing upon a variety of sources (including meeting minutes, reports, pamphlets, recorded broadcasts, and publications) in an attempt to more fully understand the complexities found within the 'beating heart of the educational system'.

Schools radio, while not necessarily a formal mode of educational reform, did challenge universal imaginings of the 'school' and commonalities found in the content of lessons. Only recently have educational histories begun to embrace aspects of the 'sensorium' beyond the visual, uncovering rich sources of the auditory, sound as affect, and memories of listening (Crutchley, Parker, and Roberts 2018). Furthermore, schools radio, while bringing the wider world into the classroom, encouraged students to explore beyond the confines of the school environment. Programmes were the initial point of sonic encounter, aimed at sparking a sense of curiosity and excitement amongst the children, guiding them towards ways in which they could continue learning from the environment and people around them.

"A Voice, A Mere Voice"

"This is the Scottish Home Service for Schools." Broadcast lessons would consistently begin with variations of this sonic ident. It served as an acoustemological cue for children to focus their attention on the forthcoming sounds. While visually, their gaze may have been directed towards the teacher standing at the front of the classroom, or at the images in a pamphlet placed on their desks, sonically, their ears were meant to tune in to a familiar voice which would then fade into an auditory learning experience.

Before the use of radio in the classroom, listening was not an unfamiliar act. Children, whether or not it was known to them, were trained to tune in to the soundscape of the school. Outside the building, in the playground, the school bell was a sonic signal which summoned children to begin their day (Burke and Grosvenor 2011). Inside the school, the classroom was a micropolitical configuration of a soundscape—a sonic regime led by principles of quietude (Hoegaerts 2017). Children were to listen and remain silent while teachers were to instruct and control noise. Yet, as radio became commonplace in Scottish classrooms, children encountered a new way of listening via a broadcast voice, disembodied, yet physically brought into the classroom through the wireless apparatus (Burke and Grosvenor 2011). The voices of broadcasters were present in the classroom, yet the source of the sound was invisible to the students. The corporeality of the teacher was replaced with the immateriality of the equally authoritative but faceless voice of the broadcasters, filling the classroom, layering the soundscape, and immersing children in the transmitted lesson.

The broadcaster had to meet with a formidable task. As a disembodied voice, they had to first pique the interest of students and then hold their attention without bearing witness to attitudes, facial expressions, or mannerisms—all markers of concentrated attention visible to the teacher in the physical space of the classroom. The only direct connection the broadcaster had to the students was the temporal element of 'liveness', however, broadcasting live-to-air was a feature of schools radio that diminished over the decades. While the broadcaster was in the studio, behind the microphone, speaking directly to the children, their voice transmitted synchronously throughout the schools of Scotland.

Recall in Chapter 5 where I established how radio broadcasting as an act is bound first to time, and then to space, unfolding and dissipating into the listening environment (Scannell 1995; Lewis 2017; Hangen 2015). Lessons were therefore dependant on the personality of the broadcaster. In a contribution to the BBC publication, *The Listener*, from 1934, a columnist analysed the effectiveness of wireless education, particularly the lack of physical engagement by the broadcaster, by supposing,

> "How old must children normally be before they can be expected to listen intelligently to a voice unaccompanied by physical presence with all that that means to a very young child, and how long a broadcast talk can children of different ages sustain? Lessons of a certain length are possible and profitable only because the teacher is there engaging his [*sic*] pupils with his eye, facial expression, and movement. But a voice, a mere voice, charm it never so wisely, is another matter."[312]

While the broadcaster had to develop techniques to engage with the listening child, the listening child also had to find ways to engage with a new teacher, unknown to them, suddenly present in the classroom only through sound.

The 'illusion of intimacy' (Adorno 2009) was most successfully achieved when broadcasters were able to communicate and express their own interest in the subject matter. By the 1930s, schools broadcasting councils had established the belief that children would then be able to reflect and absorb the enthusiasm of the voice. Programme notes would describe these attempts of shared interest through statements such as, "in this course, Mr. Haddow will try to communicate to the children something of his own 'delight' in these poems of action"[313] or "the broadcasters are chosen not only for their special qualifications but for their ability and interest in their subject".[314] Personability and relatability were paramount to the broadcast lesson, for it allowed the broadcaster to educate without lecturing and disengaging the student. If the broadcaster was detached, impersonable, and disinterested, so too were the pupils.

These central facets of wireless pedagogy retained their importance throughout the history of schools radio broadcasting. Broadcasters consistently operated under the guise of omnipresence. Typically, in wireless lessons, the presenter would speak directly to the children, attempting to break the barriers of disembodiment and immateriality. In a 1981 broadcast for the programme, *Chapbook,* Betsy Whyte, a storyteller and Scottish Traveller, engages the listening audience through lines such as: "Now *you* may wonder

[312] British Broadcasting Corporation (1934) 'Films and Wireless in Schools', *The Listener,* 3 Mar., p.503.
[313] British Broadcasting Corporation (1932) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools Arranged by the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee- Programme and Syllabus 25 April to 17 June 1932*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[314] BBC (1934) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1934 to June 1935*.

why…", "*you* may not have heard that story before…", "*I* was very much surprised…".[315] By addressing the children directly, broadcasters situated themselves within the space, becoming, through the wireless apparatus, an actor in the 'socio-material assemblage' (Roehl 2012) of the classroom. While this was a tactic for connection and co-presence, it was also a way of encouraging active listening amongst the children. Direct questions would ensure a sustained state of concentration while hopefully prompting further evaluation. In a 1984 programme for primary school children on global customs, broadcaster Jenny Baird directed the young listeners by saying, "I'm sure you've all celebrated a birthday by singing 'Happy Birthday'. Here's another celebration sound. Listen carefully and see if you can guess what's being celebrated. Are you ready?"[316] Through this brief snippet, Baird connected with the audience and then directed their attention to the next sound. After 'Jingle Bells' played through the classroom speakers, Baird's voice returned to question the young children about their listening experience, activating a mode of engagement: "What are some of the ingredients that make Christmas a splendid celebration? What do you do on Christmas Day to celebrate?" [317] Baird ultimately took on a reflective tone, indicating the change in listening task. She asked, "Well, what do you think? If you were brought up in Glasgow, how do your experiences compare with what you've heard?",[318] encouraging the students to critically evaluate the lesson via their own understanding of the world. The intended impression was as if Baird was teaching within the material space.

Many educational scholars have undertaken analyses of the configuration of the classroom—the material landscape of education which consists of "school architecture, classroom furniture, spatial organisation, and learning tools" (Tondeur et al. 2017, p.280). Classroom configurations typically change along with teachers' pedagogical practices and educational philosophies (Tondeur et al. 2017; Sommer 1977), and as such, the classroom becomes a developing site of action where educators have a measure of control over the physical setting (Herman and Tondeur 2021). There is, however, in the case of listening schools, another influence within the material space: a second teacher, a disembodied voice. The broadcasting teacher, although immaterial, retains command over the physical space, directing children to speak, to move, and to listen. The classroom is configured around the transmitting apparatus, and as sounds begin to emanate, the broadcasting teacher enters the classroom, and for a brief time, leads the 'invisible audience'. This adds another layer to the 'socio-material assemblage' of the classroom, providing an immaterial element, just as influential as the material landscape and classroom hardware, in bringing the space to life.

Occasionally, children were given a 'peak behind the curtain' via the pamphlets printed to accompany broadcasts, gaining a sense of the broadcaster's appearance and the spaces

[315] *Chapbook: One Eye, Two Eyes, and Three Eyes* (1981) [Radio programme] BBC Scotland, 6 March.
[316] *Let's Listen* (1984) [Radio programme] BBC Scotland, 11 October.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.

where recordings were made. This glimpse behind the scenes, pairing sight and sound, provided opportunities to enliven the children's senses. Children received information through the material (the pamphlet) as well as the immaterial (the broadcaster's voice). They were tasked with combining these two modes of reception before, during, or after the wireless lesson. Children were not left without guidance. Oftentimes the broadcaster would communicate *through* or *with* the printed material. In a 1964 lesson from *This is my Country*, schools broadcaster John R. Allan invited John Mearns to teach the children about life in a bothy. In his segment of the programme, Mearns' voice advised children to follow along with the accompanying pamphlet:

> "I was born on a farm in Aberdeenshire, 58 years ago, and for a time worked on the land. And I have very happy memories of the farm servants singing their songs. They had songs for all occasions, and they sang them to suit the workery rhythms of the farm. And many a good song was written in a bothy. Now, on page 21 of your pamphlet, it's explained that on the bigger farms in the northeast of Scotland, the unmarried ploughmen used to live together in an apartment which was called a bothy."[319]

In this lesson, Mearns guided students in their use of pamphlets, just as a teacher would guide students in their use of textbooks—a natural pairing of vocal instruction and printed reception. The evident difference, however, was not only the physicality of authority but also the sheer number of pupils. Mearns could have possibly been speaking to a listenership numbering thousands of students, forming an immaterial, affective experience by connecting children through a shared sonic reception. Mearns continued his lesson on bothy ballads through song (see Figure 33):

> "There's one that I think of at this moment called 'Drumdelgie'. It gets its name from a big farm in the parish of Cairnie, near Huntly. Well, I'm sure some of you'll know it. It goes: 'There's a fairmer up in Cairney/ Wha's kent baith far and wide/ To be the great Drumdelgie/ Upon sweet Deveronside.'"[320]

While children sang along with the broadcaster, following the pamphlet in front of them, they were unified with the transmitted voice, as well as the unheard voices of children in classrooms across Scotland.

[319] *This is my Country, Bothy Ballads* (1964) [Radio programme] BBC Scotland, 17 June.
[320] Ibid.

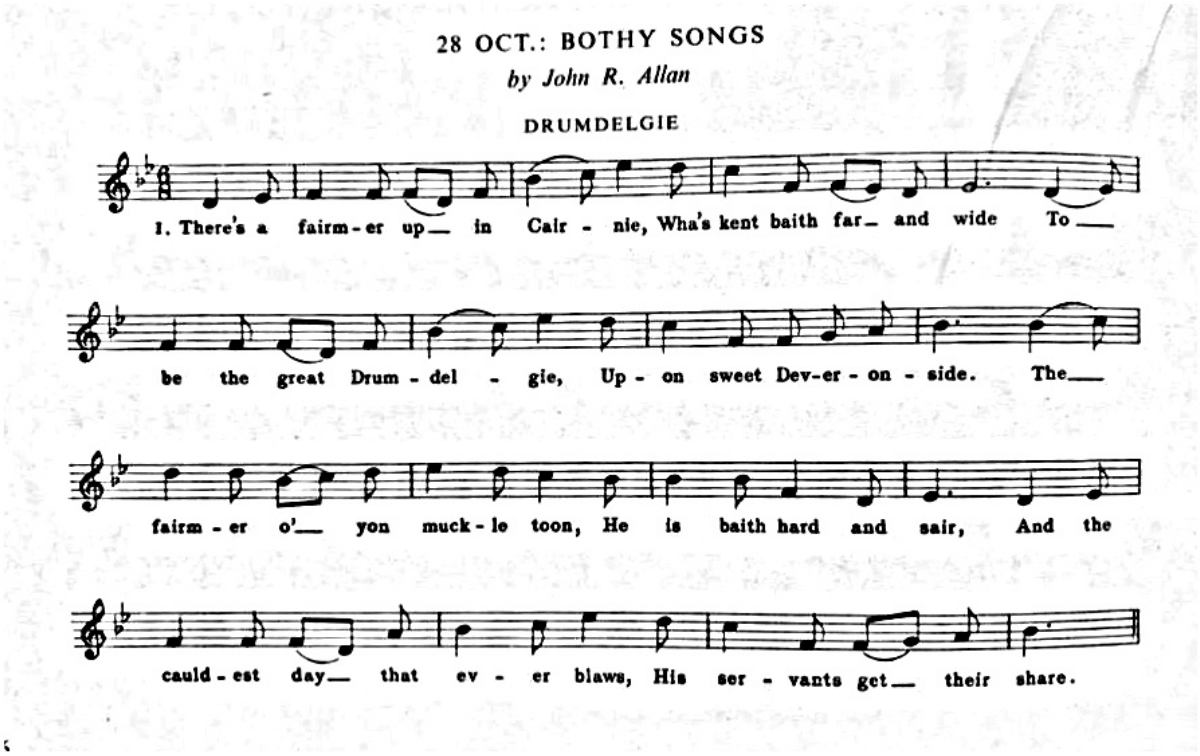

Figure 33- Music from the programme, This is my Country, *Autumn 1949. Source: NLS (1949).*

The idea of sonic unification might seem excessively grand. This was not an overt display of national uniformity and cultural authority amongst the children of Scotland, but rather a subtle yet active production of sociocultural identity informed by sound. Revill (2000, pp.597-598) asserts that "the phenomenal properties of sound are fundamental to the cultural politics of individual subjectivity, group identity, nation, and citizen". The 'listening child' was a socially constructed identity, raised via the wireless and its implementation and popularity within learning environments. The listening child was thus a sonic citizen, with traits informed by activity rather than passivity, an appreciation for sound, and a strong connection to the group identity of an 'imagined audience' across the listening schools of Scotland.

While connection with the listening child was achieved through the familiarity and personality of the broadcasting teacher, this was also achieved through using the voices of children in the broadcasts. Although this form of programme lesson was unpopular in the 1950s and 1960s, as children were deemed as 'untrained broadcasters' [see Chapter 5], lesson material eventually gave way to improved opportunities for the use of children's voices. By transmitting other pupils' voices, there was potential for listening children to relate to or meaningfully understand what was being communicated. The speaking child, like the broadcasting teacher, was placed in the material realm of the school as if they were a fellow classmate. In a 1981 report of the "Inter-College Research Project on School Broadcasting", it was expressed that, "for the pupils, broadcasts provide

a clear, true to life reflection of the pupils' own world".[321] Peers in this case, provided a natural point of likeness and were thus facilitators for further thought. 'Vox-pop' segments allowed listening children to hear the differing opinions of students going through similar processes of critical thinking, typically responding to questions concerned with civic duty.

In a 1990s broadcast for the programme *Scottish Resources*, listening children tuned in to a dramatised story of Freya, a character visiting Orkney to learn about the history of the Vikings. Early on in the broadcast, a vox-pop segment was inserted to demonstrate children reflecting upon and connecting the lesson to contemporary issues:

> [*Voice 1*]: I think graffiti is good because if the Vikings didn't do it, then we wouldn't know they were there. So, it's a double-edged sword.
> [*Voice 2*]: I don't like graffiti because when tourists come it sets a bad example.
> [*Voice 3*]: I think graffiti is bad because it makes the environment look scruffy. But I know why people do it because it's a form of art. And there's nothing else for children to do sometimes. And so, they go and do graffiti because they find it enjoyable.
> [*Voice 4*]: I think graffiti is, in a way, art, because some of it's really, really good what people do. But when it's like racist graffiti on walls it's like obviously really bad and stuff.
> [*Voice 5*]: I see two points to graffiti. One—that it wrecks a lot of things. But the other point is we wouldn't have known that the Vikings came to Orkney if they didn't leave their names written on the wall.[322]

Although only a brief interruption to the dramatised history programme, the vox pop was a disruption *into* reality, severing students from the characters and sound effects and confronting them with voices much like their own, probing the lesson much like they would. Naturally, there were minor pitfalls in including the voices of fellow pupils. In feedback for the 1975 *Scottish Magazine* autumn term programming, a student from Stanley Green High School in Paisley reported, "I liked hearing the things that some of my classmates wrote. It was a wee bit hard to understand some of the accents, but I enjoyed it."[323] Children were not trained broadcasters in any sense, but they were valuable sonic disruptors, mirrors, and peers.

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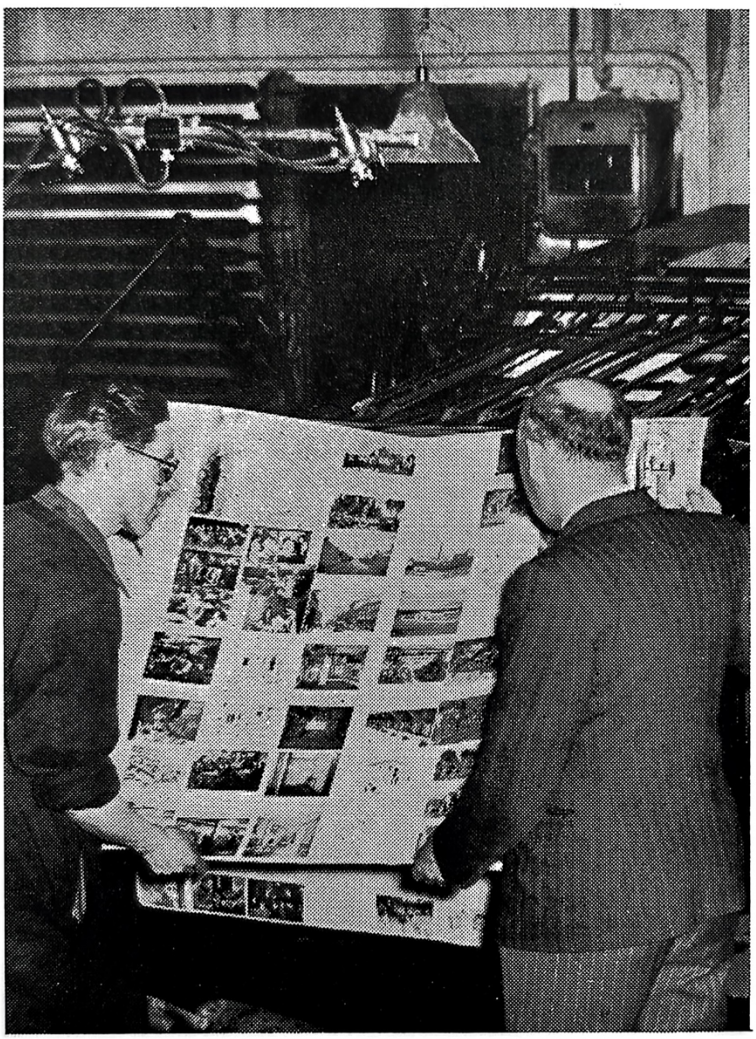
[321] Macintyre, A. (1981) '*School broadcasting in Scottish schools' report of the. Inter-College Research Project on School Broadcasting 1981*. Glasgow: Jordanhill College of Education.
[322] *Scottish Resources 7-9* (n.d.) [Radio programme] BBC Scotland.
[323] British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *Scottish Magazine, Autumn 1975*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930.

PRINTING



EXAMINING A BBC PAMPHLET

The pamphlet you are reading was printed in Edinburgh

Figure 34- Pamphlet printing photo from the programme, Exploring Scotland, *Spring 1955*. Source: NLS (1955).

Broadcasts were consciously directed through accompanying pamphlets and teachers' notes, readily available for use pre-, alongside, or post-broadcast. As established in the 1930s, it wasn't always the case that the pamphlet informed the broadcast, but rather that the broadcast was built around the pamphlet.[324] The publication of these pamphlets was considered, by the BBC, an "educational event".[325] The proof of this significance was in the sales numbers. In 1938**,** over 2,000,000 copies were sold to the 8,250 listening schools across the United Kingdom,[326] and by 1955, over 6,000,000 copies covering 27 series were printed. [327] While the pairing of material and immaterial was not a pedagogical stipulation, pamphlets were a valuable aid to the practice of auditory teaching. Lessons materialised through the printed page. Illustrations, photographs, and texts enriched the student's experience by providing means of guiding, envisioning, and understanding. Commonly, pamphlets would aid in a post-synchronised auditory experience, connecting to the broadcast by telling children what they will hear or what they heard, or a synchronised reflection of the sonic lesson through verbatim text on the page.

Although it was possible for a child to learn solely from sound, it was inferred that many children lacked the lived experience to evoke a form of mental imagery related to the subject matter [see Chapter 5]. While children could develop general concepts and abstract ideas regarding their immediate surroundings, producers understood that their store of senses and understandings was quite limited unless broadened through wider geographical experience. Producers were therefore required to rely on visual pedagogy to enlarge the child's experience and ensure that they would execute an accurate analysis or imagining of the sense-data. Moreover, visual literacy became a popular pedagogical practice in postwar Britain, funded through schemes such as 'Pictures for Schools', where art was used to encourage children to be critical observers with cultivated skills in aesthetic appreciation (Bradbury 2021). In line with wider, national pedagogical trends, children were learning to see just as much as they were learning to listen, stimulating their minds through pamphlet images and illustrations, ultimately developing well-rounded sensory capabilities.

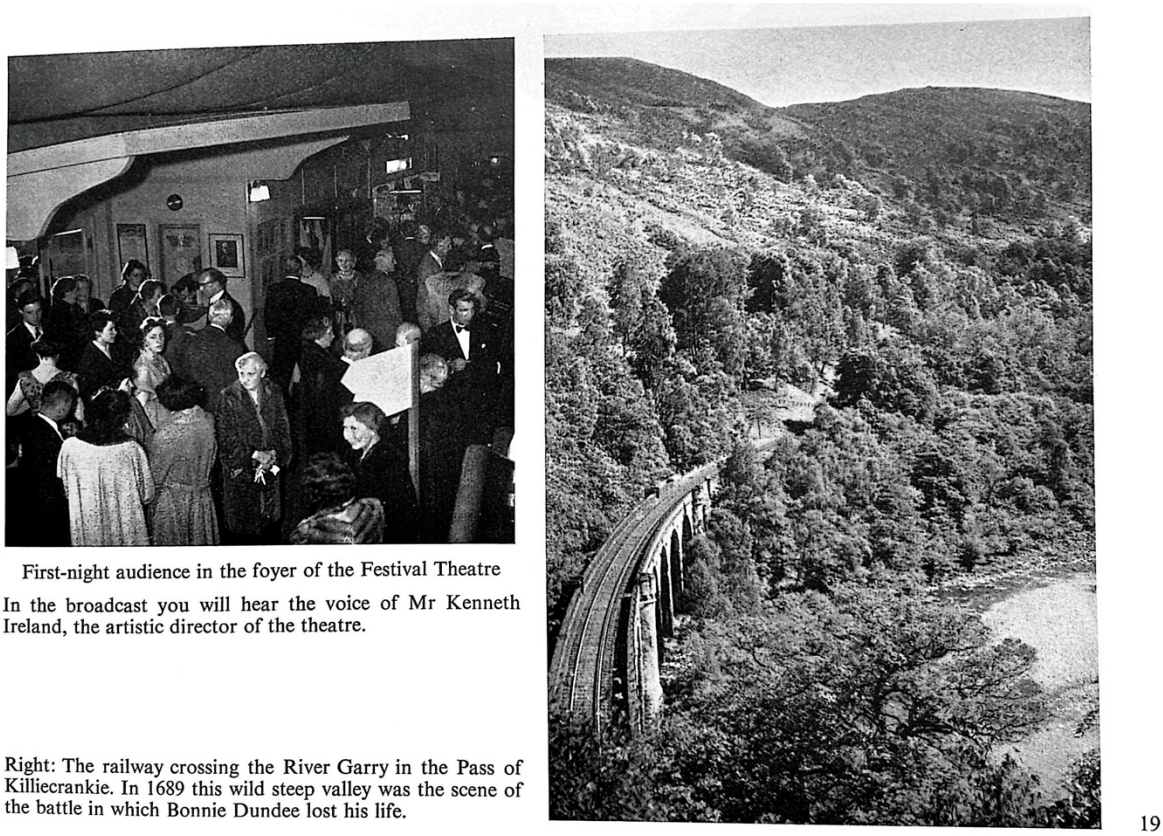
Visual resources were an essential pairing to the sound broadcast, steadily remaining so throughout the decades. As the Head of Educational Broadcasting argued in a 1960 report on the theoretical considerations of schools radio:

> "For many children, many very ordinary words (unless they are most cunningly placed in context) are like dead notes on a piano; there is no response when they are struck, and the existence of one boy [*sic*] in a hundred who can recognise the

[324] BBC (1937) *1937/1938: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.
[325] Cons, G.J. (1938) 'School Broadcast Pamphlets', *The Listener*, 29 Sep., p.651.
[326] Ibid.
[327] 'Publications' (1955) in *The BBC Handbook 1955*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.47. British Online Archives.

> word 'dowager' does not mean that even he responds to it with Dame Edith Evans or Lady Bracknell in mind."[328]

Accompanying images would frequently depict the setting of the lesson. The sounds animated the photograph, enhancing the meticulously curated audio-visual portrait. For example, the pamphlet pictured below (Figure 35) prepares students by stating, "In the broadcast you will hear the voice of Mr. Kenneth Ireland, the artistic director of the theatre."[329] Above it, an image of the Festival Theatre expanded the context of the lesson and gave students a visual depiction of the sonic atmosphere.



First-night audience in the foyer of the Festival Theatre

In the broadcast you will hear the voice of Mr Kenneth Ireland, the artistic director of the theatre.

Right: The railway crossing the River Garry in the Pass of Killiecrankie. In 1689 this wild steep valley was the scene of the battle in which Bonnie Dundee lost his life.

19

Figure 35- Pamphlet images from, Exploring Scotland, *Spring 1960. Source: NLS (1960).*

[328] Head of Educational Broadcasting (1960) *Sound Broadcasting and Television*.

[329] British Broadcasting Corporation (1960) *Exploring Scotland, Spring Term 1960.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).

In Figure 36, the text specified that the broadcast would be about the lives of boys and girls in Cumbernauld and Glasgow. But what if a child had never been to a New Town or large major city? They were prepared to listen to personal accounts of life in New Towns but as these environs were recently built, many children lacked direct personal experience, either in real life or via media. The broadcast voices could attempt to describe the uniform buildings and wide streets, but what if the listening child had only ever encountered their immediate surroundings of rural life?

Living in a new town 28 November

The pictures on this page show how special care has been taken in Cumbernauld to ensure that young children can play in safety in places free from cars and vans. Behind the two boys *above* is one of a number of small shops, designed to provide for day to day necessities. There is one of these shops for every 300 houses.

Most of the people in Cumbernauld are from Glasgow, and in the programme you will hear boys and girls comparing life in the two places, and giving their reactions to the exciting new ideas that have made this Scottish town known throughout the world.

Figure 36- New town images from Living in Scotland, *Autumn 1966. Source: NLS (1966).*

Another method of pairing the broadcast with the pamphlet was to use direct quotes from the broadcast. The text, when synchronised with the sound, would attach voice to printed word, creating a multisensory tableau. The images would become a brief audio-visual portrait, to be glimpsed at only when the corresponding text was spoken, for then the child was to turn the page to continue on with the story.

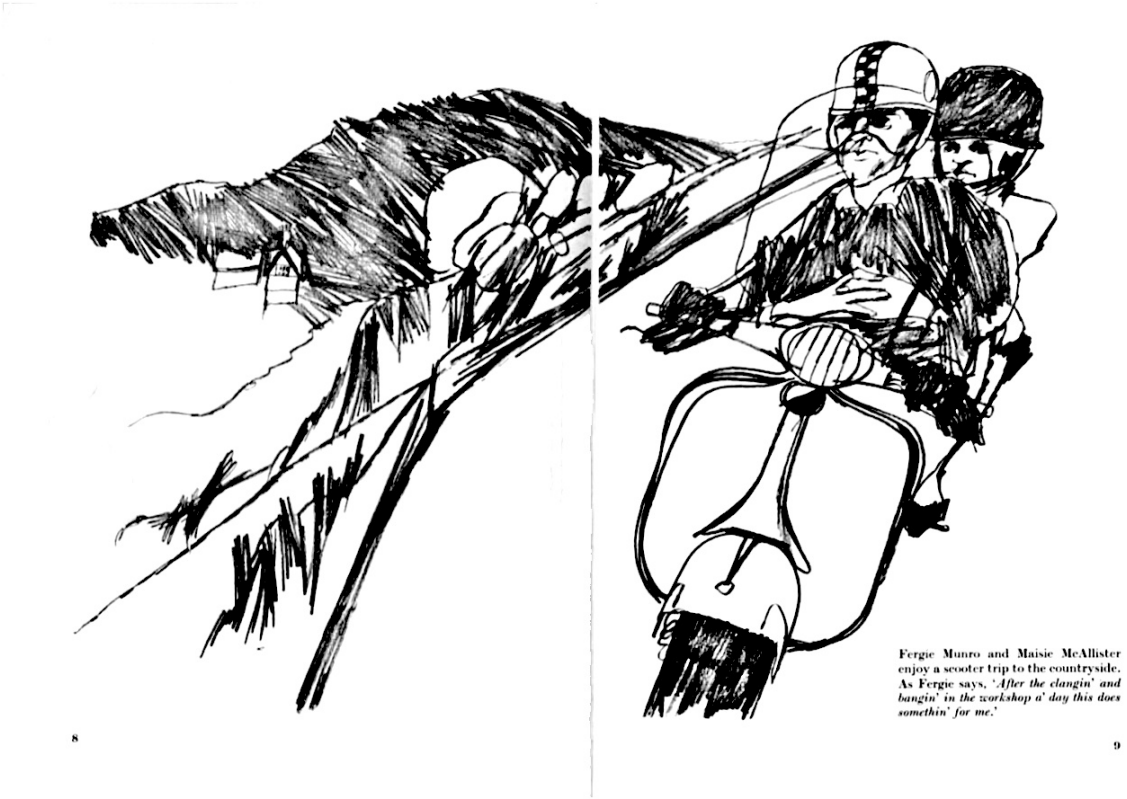


Figure 37- Living in Scotland, *Spring 1965 illustration. Source: NLS (1965).*

Pamphlet makers had considerable creative liberty in terms of both graphic design and content. They could present the information as a textbook where the material was received in an orderly and formal manner, or they could present the information as a work of art, regardless of the subject. The creative parameters were wide, and producers were considered "quite evidently artists at their work" as pamphlets were "admirably prepared and illustrated".[330] In an article for *The Listener,* G.J. Cons, a lecturer of geography at Goldsmiths College, even considered whether or not the production of the broadcasts would be able to live up to the production of the pamphlets.[331] While photographs were the most common form of imagery, illustrations by Scottish artists were widely used, varying the child's palate of visual reception and sonic coupling (Figure 37). The use of artistic images demonstrated that "broadcast teachers have access to material not usually found in textbooks" and that students "no doubt will cherish such an attractive possession".[332]

[330] Beales, H.L. (1929) 'The Stimulus of New Ideas', *The Listener,* 18 Sep., p. 380.
[331] Cons, G.J. (1938) 'School Broadcast Pamphlets'.
[332] Ellis, G.S.M. (1933) 'Putting the Schoolchild in Touch with the World', *The Listener*, 27 Sep., p. 457.

Illustrations were typically used in instances of fictionalisation. In one instance, for a lesson on shipyards and assembly lines, rather than using an image of a real-world family from Clydebank, the artist sketched a portrait of an imagined typical family, in this case Alex, Mary, Sheila, and Billy Johnstone (Figure 38), whose lives were emblematic of realistic situations in the locality. It was clear that regardless of visual mediums, producers took great care in selecting the numerous illustrations, photographs, and diagrams.

Figure 38- Exploring Scotland, *Summer 1975 illustration. Source: NLS (1975).*

Very quickly, pamphlets became an established fixture in the classroom environment, used just as widely as a textbook. While their artistic value was unparalleled, their pedagogical purpose remained the same: to direct the focus of children and to provide further context to the lesson given by the authority figure. A pamphlet, although appealingly crafted, was still a form of supervision and instruction. In a 1937 lesson on geography, pupils were instructed as follows:

> "To the pupils: don't read this until you have looked at all the pictures in the pamphlet. Now you know what sort of places you are going to hear about in the talks this year. Before each lesson look again at the pictures you are going to hear about. Look at them carefully and write down all that you can see in them… The more carefully you look at the pictures, the more you will learn. You will be surprised how much there is to see, and you will want to hear more about the places and the people who live and work in them. For that, you must wait until the talks begin, but you can find for yourself which parts of Europe are shown in the pictures. There are maps in the pamphlets to help you, and, of course, you have your own atlas."[333]

Pamphlets were sources to be meticulously studied, and they were also sources which were meant to spark a sense of delight and intrigue amongst children through the wealth of visuals. They were used to inform 'transmedial' connections (Verhulst 2024) between the voice and the image, between the illustration and the diagram, and between the pupil and the outside world. This affect was furthered by the use of post-lesson, informal examinations which would test the child's attentiveness, listening, and comprehension of the subject matter—hopefully increasing the child's "zest for study and enquiry".[334] The 'ear test', when established in the 1930s, was most commonly used in music programmes, but by the 1950s, its use was promoted in programmes for geography and heritage—a popularity which sustained throughout the decades (see Figure 39 and Figure 40). A 1975 broadcast for the programme, *Nature*, quizzed students by playing animal sounds and asking them to match each sound with the corresponding image.[335] Sound quizzes were still used in the 1990s, with a quiz for the programme, *Scottish Resources: 10-12,* prompting students to "test their listening skills in recognising the different sounds of Scotland".[336] Moreover, these quizzes provided a way for producers to receive written feedback on whether or not the broadcasts were effective in communicating material. One quiz in the programme, *Jigsaw*, featuring a series of sound and word clues on famous towns in Scotland, could be returned to producer Pam Wardell for a prize-winning draw.[337]

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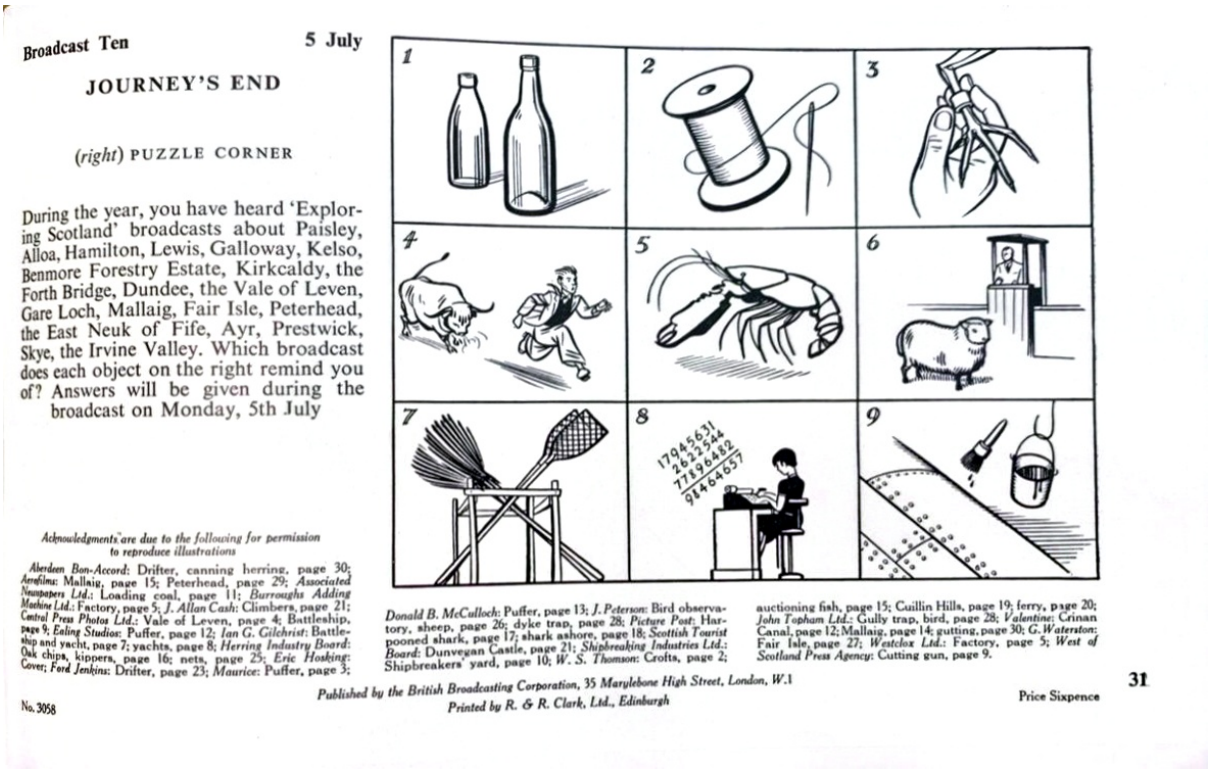
[333] British Broadcasting Corporation (1937) *Junior Geography, Autumn Term 1937: Europe- Western Europe*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[334] BBC (1937) *1937/1938: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.
[335] British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *Nature, Summer 1975*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[336] The Educational Broadcasting Council Scotland (1991) *EBCS Primary Programme Committee Programme Proposals- Scottish Resources 10-12*. Internal EBCS report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/70.
[337] British Broadcasting Corporation (1982) *Jigsaw, Autumn 1982- Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).



Broadcast Ten 5 July

JOURNEY'S END

(*right*) PUZZLE CORNER

During the year, you have heard 'Exploring Scotland' broadcasts about Paisley, Alloa, Hamilton, Lewis, Galloway, Kelso, Benmore Forestry Estate, Kirkcaldy, the Forth Bridge, Dundee, the Vale of Leven, Gare Loch, Mallaig, Fair Isle, Peterhead, the East Neuk of Fife, Ayr, Prestwick, Skye, the Irvine Valley. Which broadcast does each object on the right remind you of? Answers will be given during the broadcast on Monday, 5th July

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

17945631
2622544
77896482
98464657

Acknowledgments are due to the following for permission to reproduce illustrations

Aberdeen Bon-Accord: Drifter, canning herring, page 30; *Aerofilms*: Mallaig, page 15; Peterhead, page 29; *Associated Newspapers Ltd.*: Loading coal, page 11; *Burroughs Adding Machine Ltd.*: Factory, page 5; *J. Allan Cash*: Climbers, page 21; *Central Press Photos Ltd.*: Vale of Leven, page 4; Battleship, page 9; *Ealing Studios*: Puffer, page 12; *Ian G. Gilchrist*: Battleship and yacht, page 7; yachts, page 8; *Herring Industry Board*: Oak chips, kippers, page 16; nets, page 25; *Eric Hosking*: Cover; *Ford Jenkins*: Drifter, page 23; *Maurice*: Puffer, page 3; *Donald B. McCulloch*: Puffer, page 13; *J. Peterson*: Bird observatory, sheep, page 26; dyke trap, page 28; *Picture Post*: Harpooned shark, page 17; shark ashore, page 18; *Scottish Tourist Board*: Dunvegan Castle, page 21; *Shipbreaking Industries Ltd.*: Shipbreakers' yard, page 10; *W. S. Thomson*: Crofts, page 2; auctioning fish, page 15; Cuillin Hills, page 19; ferry, page 20; *John Topham Ltd.*: Gully trap, bird, page 28; *Valentine*: Crinan Canal, page 12; Mallaig, page 14; gutting, page 30; *G. Waterston*: Fair Isle, page 27; *Westclox Ltd.*: Factory, page 5; *West of Scotland Press Agency*: Cutting gun, page 9.

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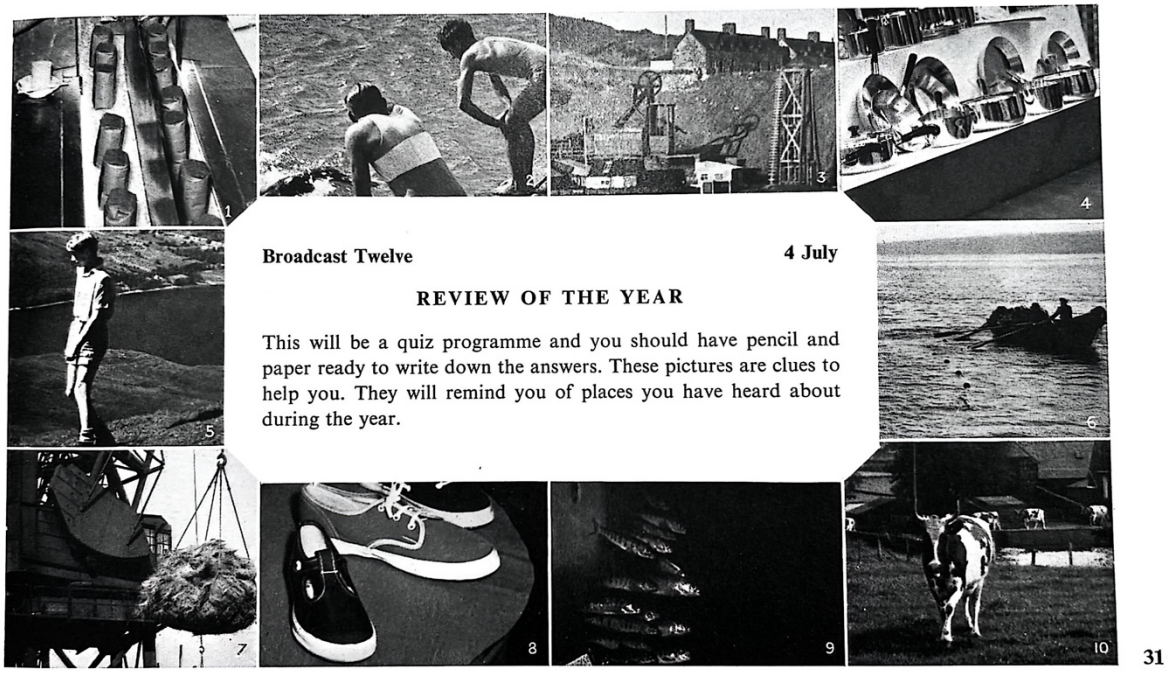
31

Figure 39- Exploring Scotland, *Summer 1954 sound quiz. Source: NLS (1954).*



Broadcast Twelve 4 July

REVIEW OF THE YEAR

This will be a quiz programme and you should have pencil and paper ready to write down the answers. These pictures are clues to help you. They will remind you of places you have heard about during the year.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

31

Figure 40- Exploring Scotland, *Summer 1956 sound quiz. Source: NLS (1956).*

An apparatus *in situ*, a teacher in flux

Central to the broadcast lesson was the technological device transmitting sounds into the classroom: the wireless apparatus. The radio was a part of the classroom's material environment, a visible, static piece of 'hardware' (Lawn 1999), rendered occasionally dynamic by the class teacher overseeing its operation. While otherwise dormant, the radio still had the means to command the classroom, influencing the positioning of tables and chairs, students, and teachers (Tondeur et al. 2017). As elaborated upon through Greene and Porcello's conceptualisation of 'techoustemology'—mediators of sounds, such as the radio, were grounded within the "specific times and places of production and reception of sound" (2005, p.270). In a material sense, the radio was a technological creation, meant to receive and transmit soundwaves. In a cultural sense, the radio was an emerging product of its time, later becoming a ubiquitous presence in the daily lives of modern Britons (Pegg 1983). In an educational sense, the radio was a sociocultural enactor of knowledge production, a device which, through technological means, would transform the learning environment into a fluctuating soundscape where the "walls of the classroom seem to recede to an indefinite distance".[338]

In the first few decades of schools broadcasting, schools typically used master-sets with extension loudspeakers in the classrooms. By the late 1960s, classrooms shifted to using portable transistors, a more convenient purchase which provided a higher quality of sound reproduction. While the radio was a fixed transmitter of sound, bringing an invisible teacher into the classroom space, the regular teacher remained a guiding authority of the broadcasts, choosing when to schedule them into the day, when to turn the device on, what volume level it should be at, and how best to direct children's attention to the lesson. In 1937, school broadcasting councils stipulated that they would not devise a definite statement on correct classroom technique.[339] It was expected that teachers adapt their methods to the size of the class, the children's background level of understanding, as well as their varying ages and listening capacities. Broadcasts would only be an effective learning tool if the teacher tailored them to the variable classroom conditions.

The dynamic nature of teacher participation was put best by A.C. Cameron, Secretary of the Central Council for School Broadcasting in 1936, when they stated, "broadcasting is a mechanical device, but it ought not to be used mechanically".[340] Just as the success of the broadcast was dependant on the personality of the voice on the other end, it was also dependant on the vitalisation of this voice by the operating teacher. Cameron continued, "no broadcast talk can replace the interplay of personality between teacher and pupil, but it can give the teacher who has skill to develop it new and invigorating material to use in

[338] Steele, R.C. (1937) 'Listening in School', *The Listener*, 30 Jun., p. 1313.
[339] BBC (1937) *1937/1938: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.
[340] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) 'School Broadcasting Advances', *The Listener,* 24 Jun., p.1188.

the class".[341] Cooperation was essential, and the guidelines of cooperation were deliberately malleable. It was stated by the BBC that "when the set is installed and going well, the teacher on the spot must enter into the spirit of the thing and train himself [*sic*] to work with his wireless colleague".[342]

With little clear instruction on classroom technique, combined with vague musings on immaterial cooperation, the untrained teacher was oftentimes left with an ambiguous understanding of how to conduct a wireless lesson. Multiple elements were suddenly added to the 'choreography of schooling'—a concept posited by Eggermont (2001) to encompass the structured and standardised bodily movements throughout the school: filing into the classroom, raising a hand, sitting in a fixed place, and so forth. These rhythms and rituals were directed by the teacher. With the introduction of wireless lessons, however, new rituals were being made. Teachers were told to properly adjust the set, tuning in just before the lesson began. They were also advised to place the loudspeaker in the direction of the students, so as to avoid the straining of the ear. The classroom space was meant to be quiet—no noisy movement of papers should occur. The atmosphere of the classroom, however, was also to be "informal and unconstrained"[343]—a seemingly contradictory instruction. Each pupil should be supplied with the corresponding programme pamphlet, for the broadcaster may reference it at any time. Pupils should also be equipped with pencils and jotters for supplementary notetaking; however, there were two schools of thought regarding this technique, with some suggesting that notetaking should be discouraged as students were likely to fall behind the pace set by the talk. Once the familiar introduction of "[t]his is the Scottish Home Service for Schools" transmitted, the teacher's job was not yet complete. Oftentimes, broadcasts would include a section requiring oral responses from the pupils. The teacher was expected to prepare the children in order to avoid delays in the live broadcast. They were also advised to use the blackboard at the broadcaster's request. This was made difficult, however, by the instruction to "take little active part during the broadcast, leaving the pupils free to react to the speaker, and reserving his or her personality and knowledge for work after the broadcast".[344]

Despite initial confusion arising from such instruction, schools broadcasting councils remained focused on 'adaptability' rather than explicit 'direction' for the teachers. Guidance, while offered, remained vague and indistinct throughout the decades. In 1964, an Education Officer reported that teachers were working with an "air of mild confusion

[341] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) 'School Broadcasting Advance'.
[342] 'The Teacher's Interest' (1928) in *The BBC Handbook 1928*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.139. British Online Archives.
[343] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) *The Empire Overseas, Term II 1936: Towards the Rising Sun*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930).
[344] BBC (1937) *1937/1938: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*.

and even scepticism".[345] Still, flexibility was encouraged, and the Council offered a small piece of guidance: advising teachers to consider themselves as part of the production team; a partnership rather than a "self-contained entity".[346] Perplexity sometimes resulted. As late as 1984, one teacher recounted, after observing their colleagues, that,

> "a lot of teachers use [the wireless device] very badly. They don't think long and hard enough about how to employ sound. One teacher I know says that children don't know how to listen and attempts to compensate by playing broadcasts through non-stop at too loud a volume".[347]

For the broadcast to go well, teachers required confidence, technological skills, and sonic intuition—a trio of characteristics dependent upon a certain degree of intrinsic ability, difficult to come by or develop through clear instruction.

In 1964, the nature of teacher and broadcast collaboration was redefined through the introduction of a new innovative format: radiovision. Radiovision was a mode of audio-visual pairing, one requiring increased supervision by the classroom teacher. Alongside the sound broadcast, teachers were provided with colour filmstrips which they would project and control through the direction of a broadcast script. Radiovision differed from the predated use of the film lantern due to the ease of succession in slides, as all were on a single film band. When the lesson was transmitted, the teacher had the option to tape-record content in order to obtain more control in the synchronisation of sound and images. As an initial experiment, six broadcasts in the visual arts, history, and geography were commissioned by the Head of Educational Broadcasting. The experiment was deemed a success, and radiovision gained popularity throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The instructions in the broadcast script provided clear guidance on how the teacher was to cooperate with the presenter. Teachers were given directions such as: "In today's programme we look at the map extract of the Cairngorms area. A filmstrip accompanies this broadcast, and you should be looking at the first frame now."[348] A musical cue would follow alongside a description of the visual slide, for example, "view from northwest of study area towards southeast".[349] They were then guided to follow along with the narration through time-stamps, operating the filmstrips alongside the corresponding text and voice. Some programmes would even provide details such as "cues for moving on to the next frame are underlined in the text" or "STOP THE TAPE NOW", to encourage ease

[345] Senior Education Officer (1964) *Report on a Review of the Primary School in Scotland*. Internal SBCS Primary Programme Sub-Committee report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/25.
[346] School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom (1974) *BBC School Broadcasts: An Introduction*. London: (s.n.).
[347] Duncan, J. (1984) *Broadcasting*.
[348] BBC Scotland Schools Radio (1981) *Geography Studies, Spring Term 1981*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. GEB.2/8: Geography Studies, Spring Term 1985.
[349] Ibid.

of operation between the various mediums.[350] It was only until radiovision came about that teachers could tangibly understand how to practically cooperate with their wireless colleague.

By 1973, however, the wireless apparatus started to become more peripheral. Radiovision catalysed the practice of pre-recording broadcasts, a method which became favoured amongst the teachers. While technical developments in educational transmission led to a growth in school broadcasts, the accumulation of media techniques, television included, led to the slow decline of the radio. Additionally, schools programming was struggling to find a place on the airwaves, and it was ultimately decided that for the Autumn Term, 1973, programmes would be moved to VHF. This posed a difficult challenge for schools which did not have VHF equipment and an outdoor aerial. Just as the BBC and Education Authorities succeeded in equipping schools in Scotland with a wireless receiver almost 50 years before, they were once again successful in installing VHF radio in 95% of Scottish primary schools and 91% of Scottish secondary schools by the 1979/80 school year.[351] Ultimately, this venture proved to be unnecessary. Once again, schools broadcasting met with public criticism voiced as complaints that programming was crowding the airwaves, and that content was irrelevant to the general listener who didn't have access to a corresponding pamphlet. Schools broadcasting was even deemed "an odd child to have in the family—tolerated by some, an irritation to others, and loved by only a few".[352]

At a time when educational broadcasts were also under threat due to budget cuts, a portion of secondary school programmes were eventually moved to night-time transmission in 1983. Schools were meant to record the programmes through the use of a time-switch during hours with very few listeners and then bring cassette tapes to the classroom the following day. If time-switch technology was not readily available, the BBC established a cassette service for use in lieu of recording. Some schools even chose to hire a specialist audio-visual technician to look after the recording technologies and filmstrips. Their role was to meet the needs of the teacher by making recordings and ensuring that the equipment was installed correctly. Other schools opted to use the volunteer efforts of senior pupils to tape record on a rota basis.[353]

While listening numbers remained steady throughout these technological shifts, the nature of listening was permanently altered. The aspect of 'liveness' ceased to exist, and children were detached from their temporal connection to the broadcaster's voice. The

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[350] BBC Scotland Schools Radio (1985) *Geography Studies, Spring Term 1985.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. GEB.2/8: Geography Studies, Spring Term 1985.
[351] Roebuck, M. (1980) *Letter and Statement on Use of School Broadcasting in Scotland from Martyn Roebuck,* 27 October. [Letter].
[352] Duncan, J. (1984) *Broadcasting*.
[353] British Broadcasting Corporation (1974) *The World of Work, Autumn 1974, Teacher's Notes.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).

teacher gained more control in the composition of the classroom soundscape, directing the stop and start of sounds, pausing or completely halting the lesson based on the conditions of the class and learning material. Producers now had to consider that broadcasts were transmitted to machines, which were essentially used as a means of distribution rather than mediation. To some educational producers, this changing pattern of production diminished the art of broadcasting. The imagined, live audience, "held, controlled and paced in real time by the artefact created by producers" was no longer present.[354] While liveness was never fully necessary to the listening experience, it was a treasured concept in the tradition of broadcasting—a mode of being, in part of its time, crucial to an affective atmosphere of sound which connected children to the disembodied voice and to their invisible peers.

[354] Scottish Council for Educational Technology (1980) *The Future of Educational Broadcasting*. SCET Working Paper. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED35/107.

P.la. 2551

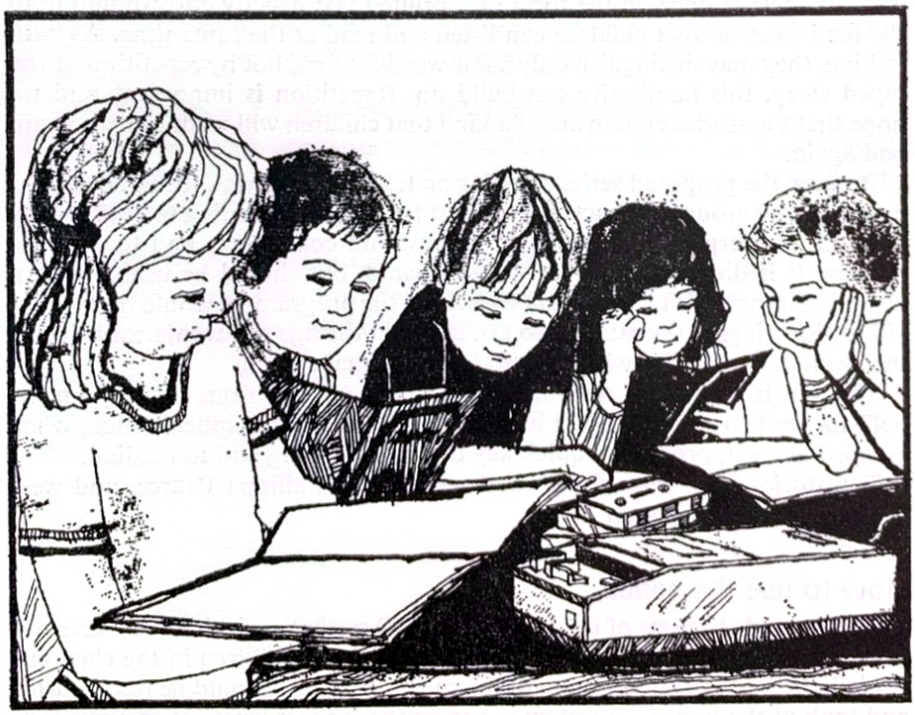
BBC RADIO 4 VHF AUTUMN 1974

Teacher's notes

Listening and Reading I

A series provided by the BBC at the request of
the School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom.
Wednesday, 9.25 – 9.35 a.m.
Series Editor: Philippa Pearce Notes: Moira Doolan and Joan Griffiths

VHF All School Radio broadcasts are now on VHF Radio 4 only. You will find VHF Radio 4 for your area between 92-95 on your radio dial.



Ten broadcasts for recording onto your own tape so that children may listen to them again and again with the reading booklets.

Figure 41- Cover for programme, Listening and Reading, *Autumn 1974. Source: NLS (1974).*

When the wireless lesson concluded and silence was left in the classroom, the teacher was left without the aid of the broadcaster. Before the broadcast, teachers were informed to judge the purpose of incorporating the wireless lesson in their daily activities. Would the lesson be suitable to what they are currently teaching the children? Would the broadcast enhance the pupils' understanding of the subject matter? Would the radio programme fit into the schools' curriculum? After the broadcast, they then had to skilfully incorporate the auditory experience into their own classroom experience. It was not a matter of stopping and starting sound, but rather of integration, heavily dependent on the aptitude of the classroom teacher. Oftentimes, it was reported that the teacher would conclude each broadcast with a short lesson, expanding or contextualising the sounds through their own scheme of work. Great responsibility was placed upon the teacher, not only through technological operation and cooperation with the broadcaster, but also through the vital use of material which would "become part of the educational process only if the teacher utilizes its new information and its stimulus and links it with the general work of the class".[355]

Pamphlets for teachers and pupils would provide suggestions of follow-up activities to be undertaken either inside or outside of the school environment. Producers believed that classroom exercises, excursions, and experiments would keep children "active and interested throughout the lesson". [356] Teachers were also told that post-broadcast activities would stimulate the pupils' interest outside of the school, where learning would be expanded beyond formality and authority, transforming into a fuller state of wonder and a hunger for knowledge. Broadcast producers followed the postwar pedagogical trend that children would learn best by 'doing', becoming active participants in their own education (Bradbury 2021). Children were encouraged to go out into the world, to observe, to collect, to listen, to discover, and to connect. These child-centred trends remained significant following their postwar popularity. A 1964 review of primary schools in Scotland observed that children were to truly learn by

> "finding things out in school libraries and reference libraries; by visiting museums and other places of interest; by writing away for information and then collating and compiling their findings in scrapbooks, magazines, etc.; and by making models and paintings and doing simple scientific experiments on their own".[357]

[355] British Broadcasting Corporation (1939) *1939/1940: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[356] British Broadcasting Corporation (1931) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Arranged by the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee- Programme September 1931 to June 1932/ Syllabus 28 September to 18 December 1931*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[357] SBCS (1964) *Review of Primary School in Scotland*.

Regardless of whether or not the wireless lesson had a memorable impact on the children in the classroom, producers found ways in which pupils would learn beyond the walls of the school through material encounter just as much as sonic encounter.

While these acts of independent study and personal discovery seemingly diminished the role of broadcasting, there was substantial evidence collated in the aforementioned 1964 review by a Senior Education Officer indicating that activities actually made teachers "take broadcasts a little more seriously and to regard them less as extras or 'memorable interruptions' and more as basic contributions central to their own priorities".[358] The same report concluded that it was imperative for teachers to "have more imagination in the way in which they made use of the programmes, better preparation, and certainly more imaginative and diverse follow-up work".[359] Broadcasts and their follow-up work certainly showed great potential through an active and engaged style of learning, but once again, success was only achievable if the teacher was skilled in creative and nuanced techniques of instruction.

While training for teachers was offered, it was reported that the majority of teachers did not pursue this avenue of supplemental guidance.[360] Additionally, notes for teachers and training sessions could only provide so much information on how to incorporate the lesson in an 'imaginative' way. Classroom conditions varied school to school, as did the temperaments of the children. Primary school children sometimes couldn't understand the broadcast material without the aid of the teacher. Secondary school children would approach broadcasts in a "serious minded way" and therefore desired more follow-up activities.[361] From 1957 onwards, television viewing surpassed radio listening as the popular means of media consumption, and it was reported fairly damningly that "children don't listen nowadays".[362] With these varying conditions, best practice was advised only through the "rethinking on the part of teachers".[363] The Council encouraged a holistic approach where the broadcast was an integral part of the curriculum, a mode of learning with intrinsic values that rounded out the educative process.

Very rarely, teachers' notes for certain programmes would directly guide on best practice. The programme *Scottish Magazine,* which ran from 1974 to 1980, was one of few which consistently provided detailed instructions, noting that it was ultimately the role of the

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[358] SBCS (1964) *Review of Primary School in Scotland*.
[359] School Broadcasting Council Scotland (1971) 'Item 581: Matters Arising from Meetings of the Programme Sub-Committees of the School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom'. *Minutes of the Fiftieth Meeting on 17th November 1971,* North British Hotel, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/43.
[360] Macintyre, A. (1981) '*School broadcasting in Scottish schools'*.
[361] Duncan, J. (1984) *Broadcasting*.
[362] Ibid.
[363] The School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom (1974) *Summary of Contents and Conclusions of Using Broadcasts in Schools: A Study and Evaluation by C.G. Hayter, Former HM Divisional Inspector of Schools in the North Midlands.* Internal Schools Broadcasting Councils report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/28.

teacher to decide between using the programmes "merely as resource material or as occasions in the pupils' school week which are meant specially for them".[364] *Scottish Magazine* stressed the importance of pre-broadcast work just as much as post-broadcast work. Before a series of broadcast lessons on "Family Lives", the producer encouraged the teacher to get pupils to begin writing about their daily lives, providing a list of anthologies of children's writing for stimulus. Therefore, before the broadcast lesson, children would already be equipped with an awareness of their own place, their own lives, and the ways in which they could describe them anecdotally.

The most readily accessible and integrated mode of follow-up activity was the post-broadcast discussion, facilitated by the classroom teacher. Pamphlets would provide teachers with guiding questions, prompting children to reflect upon the wireless lesson and converse with their peers. For example, in a 1963 lesson for the programme *Living in Scotland*, children were instructed by the broadcast on ways in which they could choose a future career. The dramatised lesson was meant for school-leavers to seriously begin to think about their vocational options. The teacher's notes stated:

> "Teachers can follow up most successfully by encouraging pupils to answer questions along the following lines:
>
> a. How well have I done at school?
> b. Am I quick to learn (though not necessarily good at examinations)?
> c. Have I any special talents (e.g. mechanical, manual, or arithmetical aptitudes)?
> d. Which of the following five broad types of work would interest me: with people; with things; in an office; out of doors; artistic?
> e. What kind of disposition do I have (e.g. am I an easy mixer; have I staying power)?"[365]

The notes then advised teachers to provide students with as much information as possible on local job opportunities. While discussion questions were pre-determined, it was still crucial for the teacher to conduct supplementary work, contextualising the lesson within the locality of the students, and therefore providing them with a place-based understanding that the broadcaster, or pamphlet producer, ultimately lacked.

The majority of follow-up activities were devised as a means of connection between the lesson and the pupils' locality. This was a prevalent theme even in the early years of schools broadcasting. The teachers' notes for *Natural History Round the Year* in 1929 stated:

> "Suggestions may be asked from the pupils or given by the teacher as to places in the neighbourhood where examples of the various phenomena mentioned are

[364] BBC (1977) *Scottish Magazine, Autumn 1977, Teacher's Notes*.
[365] BBC Scotland (1963) *Living in Scotland, Autumn 1963, Notes for the Teacher*.

likely to be found, and excursions to such places can be planned for the following Saturday."[366]

Local connections remained a central facet of schools radio broadcasting. With time, however, producers paid more attention to the regional variety of Scotland, recognising that excursions were only a circumstantial 'if', dependent upon the child's environment. In a broadcast on environmental studies, the follow-up activity stated, "if there is building of any kind in the progress in your area, ask for permission from the building authority to take the children to the site and perhaps arrange to talk to someone there".[367] In another broadcast on environmental studies, the teacher's notes write, "somewhere near your school there will be a river or a stream. If possible, visit it and trace its course downstream".[368] Some activities were only accessible in rural areas, others were only available to children in urban centres. If the class didn't have access to the location of the follow-up activities, then they were told to rely on the visuals in the pamphlet or through the collection of pictures and postcards as a substitute for experience.[369] While some children remained contained in the classroom, others were brought outside by recommendation and encouragement of the broadcast lesson.

The ethos of Scottish schools radio broadcasting is reflected in Lynch's (1978, p.10) writings on the sensory qualities of a region, in which he states, "Our senses are local, while our experience is regional". Through post-broadcast activities tied to children's local surroundings, schools radio lessons were rooted within the immediate environment, providing a certain degree of geographical knowledge-building which could only be obtained through first-hand experience. This situated knowledge was not treated as self-contained, but rather as a foundational layer to the wider geographical imagination of Scotland. As children were to recognise their own environments as meaningful parts of Scotland's geography, the nation became an assemblage of locally specific experiences unified through broadcast lessons which focused more on regional and national understandings. As such, national identity was composited from the ground up and developed through a system of familiarisation through experience, sight, and sound.

As mentioned, sensory engagement, particularly through sight and sound, was a strong pedagogical tool throughout the decades. Hearing was developed outwith the broadcast as an experiential mode of learning. In a 1982 lesson where elderly participants reminisced on their lives as youth, children were instructed pre-broadcast to "shut their eyes and listen to the sounds outside the classroom or school". They were then told to

[366] BBC (1929) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, April 29th- June 26th, 1929*.
[367] BBC (1975) *From Seven to Nine, Spring 1975, Teacher's Notes*.
[368] British Broadcasting Corporation (1981) *Scottish Projects: Environmental Studies, Autumn 1981, Teacher's Notes.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).
[369] Ibid.

"make a list of what you can hear from your classroom and see if any similar sounds can be heard in the programme".[370] Sight was singularly engaged through the collection of images but also paired with the senses of smell, hearing, and touch, when children were inspired to observe and document their experiences in the outdoor environment. In a lesson on geology from 1936, children were provided with suggestions to:

> "1. Wade across a burn where the bottom is sandy and feel the sand moving. 2. Study the rapids of the burn, noting the kinds and the shapes of the stones. Look for pot-holes in the rock and plunge-pools under the waterfalls. 3. Try to lift a big stone under water which you could not lift on the bank. But be careful not to fall in."[371]

Tactility was also evident in follow-up activities such as model-making, scrap-booking, and illustration. Follow-up activities mentioned in various *Exploring Scotland* lessons from the 1960s and 1970s included making "a model of a container terminal",[372] "a model of Edinburgh castle",[373] a "collage of power sources",[374] or "a collection of food wrappers to show the number of countries from which we import our supplies".[375] Model-building was a popular form of geographical education from the late 19th century well into the mid 20th century, serving as an embodied practice of understanding environments and their formations while engaging a variety of senses (Ploszajska 1996; Tobin, Lorimer, and Naylor 2024). While broadcasts brought the outside world into the classroom through sound, so did the post-broadcast activities. These activities encouraged listening children to cultivate their curiosity and understanding of the wider world themselves, so that when the broadcast stopped, the child's experience in their own boundaries of the outside world was unquestionably enhanced.

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[370] BBC (1982) *Jigsaw, Autumn 1982, Teacher's Notes*.
[371] British Broadcasting Corporation (1936) *The Scottish Countryside, Summer Term 1936*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).
[372] BBC Scotland (1969). *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1969, Notes for the Teacher*. BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher, P.la.2551 SER. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.
[373] Ibid.
[374] British Broadcasting Corporation (1972) *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1972, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).
[375] BBC (1972) *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1972, Teacher's Notes*.

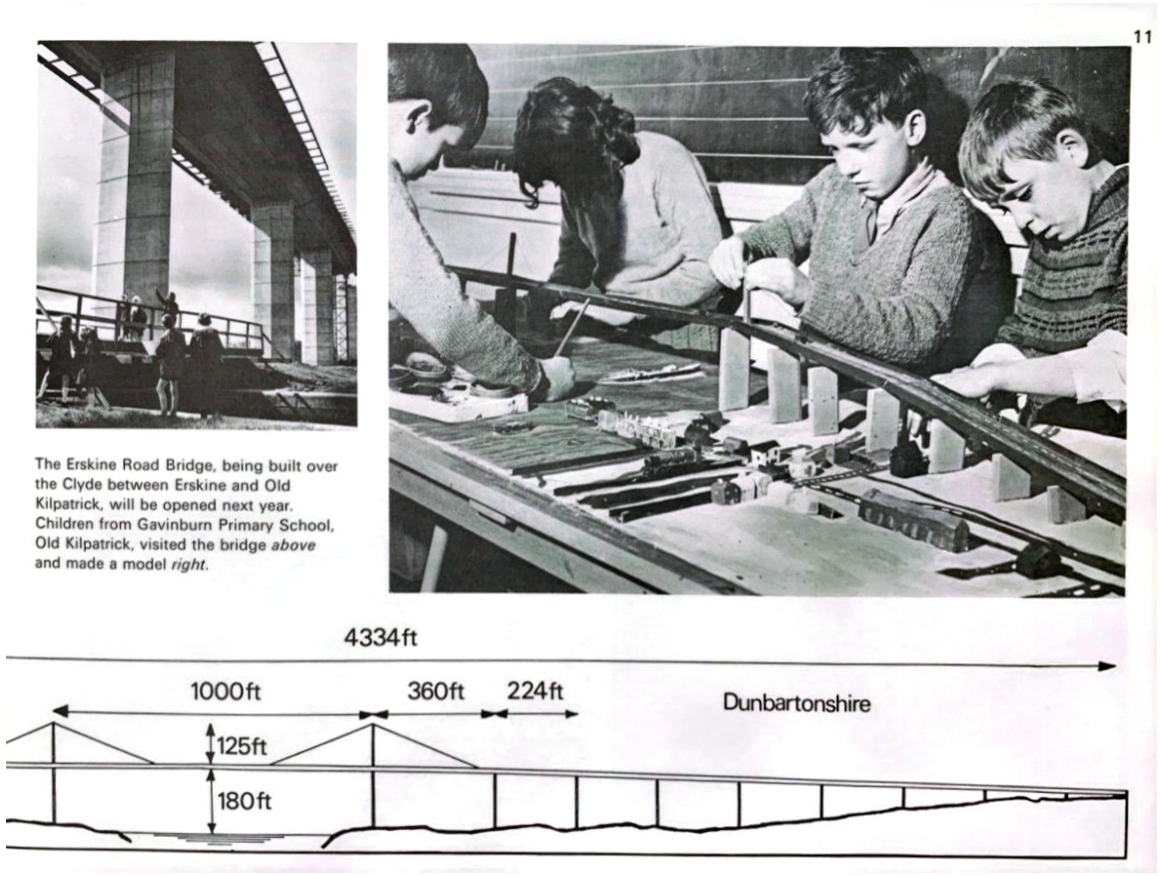

Figure 42- Excursions and model making for Exploring Scotland, *Autumn 1970. Source: NLS (1970).*

Enjoyment, Encounter, Experience

Children were expected to excel in auditory perception—a cultivated and sustained state of attention which involved active participation such as note-taking and oral response. Active participation was a way to digest information, and children, wherever possible, were told to "write answers, to draw diagrams or maps, or even make illustrations and models embodying their own ideas of what has been said in the broadcast lessons".[376] It was intended for children to be prepared to interact with the broadcaster's disembodied voice at any point, ready to follow their instructions or answer their questions, regardless of the fact that authoritative approval would only be redeemable by the classroom teacher. It was speculated, however, that children would be more likely to respond to the broadcaster, as having an external and invisible instructor gave them "a feeling of space and freedom from the ordinary restrictions".[377] All of these components were essential in 'the art of listening', a refinable skill of tuning in to the disembodied voice. The art of listening was mastered through supplementary work, for through this work, children would be able to understand *what* exactly they should be listening for. Producers hoped

[376] BBC (1931) *Programme January to June 1931/ Syllabus 12 January to 20 March*.
[377] Steele, R.C. (1937) 'Listening in School'.

for the young listeners' minds to exist in a constant state of activity through the reception of sonic information and the consumption and meaning-making of the auditory lesson.

The programme producers and broadcasters had to garner the attention of the students before they were able to fully sustain it. Wireless lessons were made to be an enjoyable part of the day for young listeners. Many programme notes from the 1930s demonstrate these prerequisites of joy and appreciation with statements such as, "care will be taken to ensure that the concerts have a recreative as well as an educative value",[378] "care will be taken to make the half-hour a pleasurable experience",[379] and "the lessons are intended to give pupils an immediate pleasure in the books and poetry about which they are hearing".[380] Enjoyment was premeditated by the producers, and if a child was to enjoy these broadcasts, it meant that they were a good, active listener—a sonic citizen. An anecdote published in *The BBC Yearbook 1946* exemplifies these virtues through a 'happened upon' conversation between two young girls taking down 'Broadcast to Schools' posters before the end of term time:

> "'It's a queer thing that when the term's broadcasts finish, I get the flat, lonely feeling I always have when my brothers go back after leave.'… 'The broadcasts should either go on to the last day of term or we should break up when they stop. This morning as I dressed, I was thinking of Tuesday and an English broadcast, but suddenly I remembered, they were over, and I felt cross and snappy when I ate my breakfast."[381]

Various techniques were developed and woven throughout the programmes to ensure that listening pupils would find intellectual reward and emotional satisfaction. Some children were even reported to have demanded the employment of more child characters, for they were more pleasant to listen to and thus, more effective in holding their attention.[382] When more "bright and encouraging" music was included, some teachers observed that children were more likely to enjoy the broadcasts.[383] Producers, however, were not always successful in finding the balance between entertainment and effectiveness. When a broadcaster or character spoke too quickly or with too thick an accent, children were reportedly left in a state of bewilderment and almost too much attention was given, detracting from the 'art' of listening. In other instances, broadcasts were too bland or unfamiliar, and children evidently had a lack of interest in "Rubber

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[378] BBC (1933) *Programme January to June 1933/ Syllabus 9 January to 17 March 1933*.
[379] British Broadcasting Corporation (1932) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Arranged by the Scottish Sub-Council for School Broadcasting, Scottish Regional and Aberdeen- Programme September 1932 to June 1933/ Syllabus 26 September to 16 December 1932.* Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.med.891: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, Programme and Syllabus, 1929-1933.
[380] BBC (1935) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1935 to June 1936*.
[381] Troughton, C.M. (1946) 'Pulling Up the Blinds' in *The BBC Yearbook 1946***.** Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.45. British Online Archives.
[382] SBCS (1960) *Experiments Made in Series "Exploring Scotland"*.
[383] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1962) *Report on the Review of the Series 'Physical Training'*. Internal SBCS report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/23.

from Malaya", "Flax from Belgium", and "Bauxite from Ghana".[384] Occasionally, programmes were not tailored to the general audience, and reviews by the SBCS Secondary Programme Sub-Committee noted that boys would tune out when topics such as "knitwear or nursing" were discussed, and girls would cease to listen when it came to "coal-mining or football".[385]

Producers hoped that sonic encounter and pamphlet illustrations would appeal to the imagination of the child and provide a new way of viewing the world. Following the Kent Report of 1928 and the pioneering methodology of Rhoda Power's 'oral visions' (Carter 2021), programmes were produced for enrichment and creative stimulation rather than for instruction. Even programmes from the 1930s were documented to have the intention of sparking "imaginative appreciation",[386] invigorating the "pupils' imagination and interest",[387] and providing "an accurate mental picture" and a "clear imaginative understanding".[388] This trend continued throughout the decades, and wireless lessons were produced to be vivid and expressive. Children were presumably visualising the lesson in their minds' eye, creatively cooperating with the sound broadcast, and developing their own body of experience. By the 1980s, imagination was explicitly outlined as a guiding element of radio production. While television was meant for "looking and seeing", radio was meant for "thinking and evaluating, and imagination and fantasy".[389] Occasionally, some producers were wary about supplying classrooms with filmstrips or illustrated pamphlets, noting that this would pose a danger to the development of a child's creative capacity.[390] The mind's eye, heightened through the visual aid of pamphlets, was a powerful tool—an embodied visualiser of the detailed sound picture, which ultimately provided a richer learning experience for the listening pupils.

A sound broadcast could deliver information and develop feelings of delight and wonder amongst students, but it was dependent upon the students to attach meaning to the sounds and undergo processes of sense-making and identity formation. While the majority of post-broadcast activities were facilitated by the teacher, when the child was left to their own devices, it was intended for them to find a way to comprehend and fully understand why they were taught what they were being taught, and what it meant to their own personal lives. In a lesson on rural Scotland, pupils were directly addressed through the printed pamphlet and told to "try to think for yourselves what all this work

[384] SBCS (1964) *Review of Primary School in Scotland*.
[385] SBCS (1965) *Review of "Living in Scotland" and "From School to Further Education"*.
[386] BBC (1934) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1934 to June 1935*.
[387] Ibid.
[388] BBC (1935) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools September 1935 to June 1936*.
[389] Acting Secretary (1987) *Expressive Arts*.
[390] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1985) 'Item 85.5f Radiovision and Video'. *Minutes of the seventy-eighth meeting of the Primary Programme Committee,* Broadcasting House, Glasgow. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/111.

means to us".[391] They were instructed to contemplate on the workings of farms—why it was important to them for the farmer to look after cattle, grow oats, and keep poultry. In another broadcast for *Exploring Scotland***,** the children were told to find the contrast and variety within their country. It was suggested that they might hear about examples of contrast near their own home in the broadcast, but once this was done, they should not stop looking, for "then you will find out a lot about Scotland and Scotland will be a more exciting place to live in".[392] After learning about pollution in rivers, children were asked, "Is there evidence of pollution in your area? What causes it?" [393] Wireless lessons consistently prompted the child to consider their own place in the world, to isolate their own experiences and connect them to subjects such as history, geography, and heritage. Through this, the child would "come to terms with his [*sic*] own environment and to adjust himself in work, play and talk, to his society of fellow pupils, together with the dustman, postman, policeman, milkman, nurse and other adult figures in his world".[394] By instruction of the broadcast materials, children were positioned as citizens in their own country, urged to understand the operations of their locality, region, and nation through a lens of curiosity, cultivating a drive for future participation. The 'geographical citizen' emulated through broadcasts was someone who actively learned as well as lived.

[391] BBC (1936) *The Scottish Countryside, Summer Term 1936*.
[392] British Broadcasting Corporation (1947) *Exploring Scotland, Summer Term 1947*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).
[393] British Broadcasting Corporation (1972) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1972*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la. 2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[394] SBCS (1964) *Review of Primary School in Scotland*.

Here is a map showing the Forestry Commission Areas in Scotland. Look at it carefully and find the forest nearest to your own home. Visit it if you can.

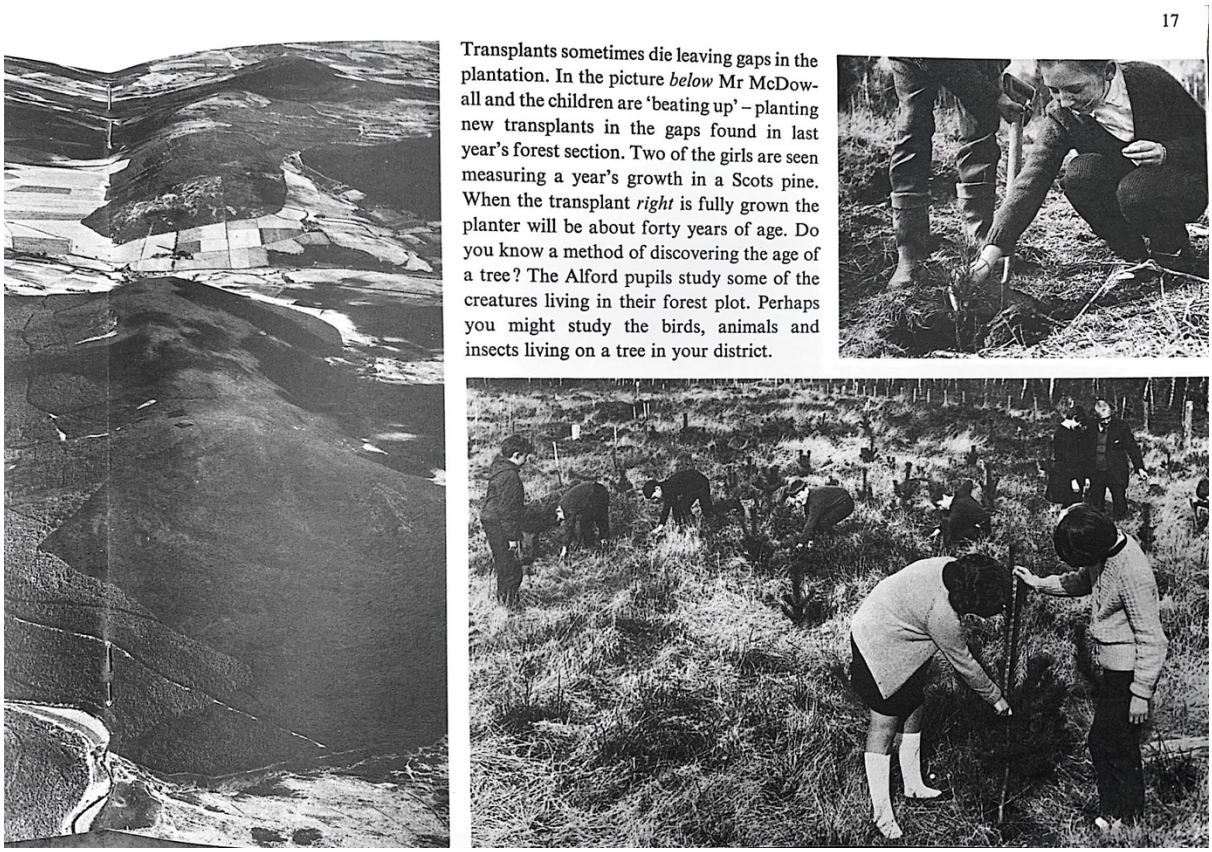
2

Figure 43- Map from Scotland in the Modern World, *Autumn 1965. Source: NLS (1965).*

Children's encounters with the local world around them was encouraged through schools radio material. Following an early 20th century trend in outdoor education, particularly the CPRE in England and the rise of the Scout Movement across Britain, children were trained in values of preservation, reading the landscape, and valuing scenic amenities through aesthetic practice and future citizenship (Church 2019). Through these schemes, children were governed and mobilised through an 'informal' education which primed them to become part of a collective, notably masculine, version of citizenship (Mills 2013b). By the 1960s and 1970s, Scotland had formalised 'outdoor education', bringing children outside of the classroom and into a new pedagogical domain (Higgins and Kirk 2006). Schools radio broadcasts encouraged the trend of fieldwork, regularly providing recommended outings for various settings across the country. What made these lessons unique, however, was this acceptance of variety. While the 'outdoors' was conceptualised by educationists as an environment which could instil patriotism and an aesthetic appreciation for nature (Ploszajska 1998; Matless 1996), schools radio recognised that the amenity of the countryside existed alongside the amenity of the city and the town. Locality was central to schools radio's pedagogical framework. The local was accessible, it was interesting, and it contributed to the valuable variety of the nation. It was a starting point of embodied exploration, inspired by sonic encounter.

School fieldtrips were regularly documented in schools broadcasting programmes and pamphlets. Just as using the voices of students brought imagined classmates into the learning environment, the 'show-and-tell' of student activities was another mirror of experience. Publishing accounts of excursions inspired by the broadcasts was not only a way to document the successes of learning through doing, but also a way to provide a point of reflection. Students had the opportunity to witness the variety of activities and amusement had by other children across the country. In Alford School, Aberdeenshire, children prepared soil and planted trees to later study the flora and fauna in their plot of land (see Figure 44).[395] A class at Hyvots Bank Primary School visited Edinburgh Castle and the Royal Mile, creating a 'Royal Mile Scrapbook' and writing a historical playlet, performed at the end-of-term school concert (see Figure 45).[396] The pupils of Stromness Academy interviewed Mr. Angus Brown, a lobster fisherman, on his experiences diving and fishing. They then interviewed officials at a boat-building yard, the lifeboat station, Stromness Museum, and the factory of the Orkney Fisherman's Society. Afterwards, they "composed songs and poems describing the islands, and acted playlets based on Orkney legends and portraying the adventures of fishermen".[397] It was one thing that children in schools all across Scotland were encouraged by the broadcasts to make sense of their own locality through proposed activities and excursions, but it was another that the child, sat in the classroom, was able to bear witness to their peers across the nation, to find inspiration, and to expand their understanding of their country.

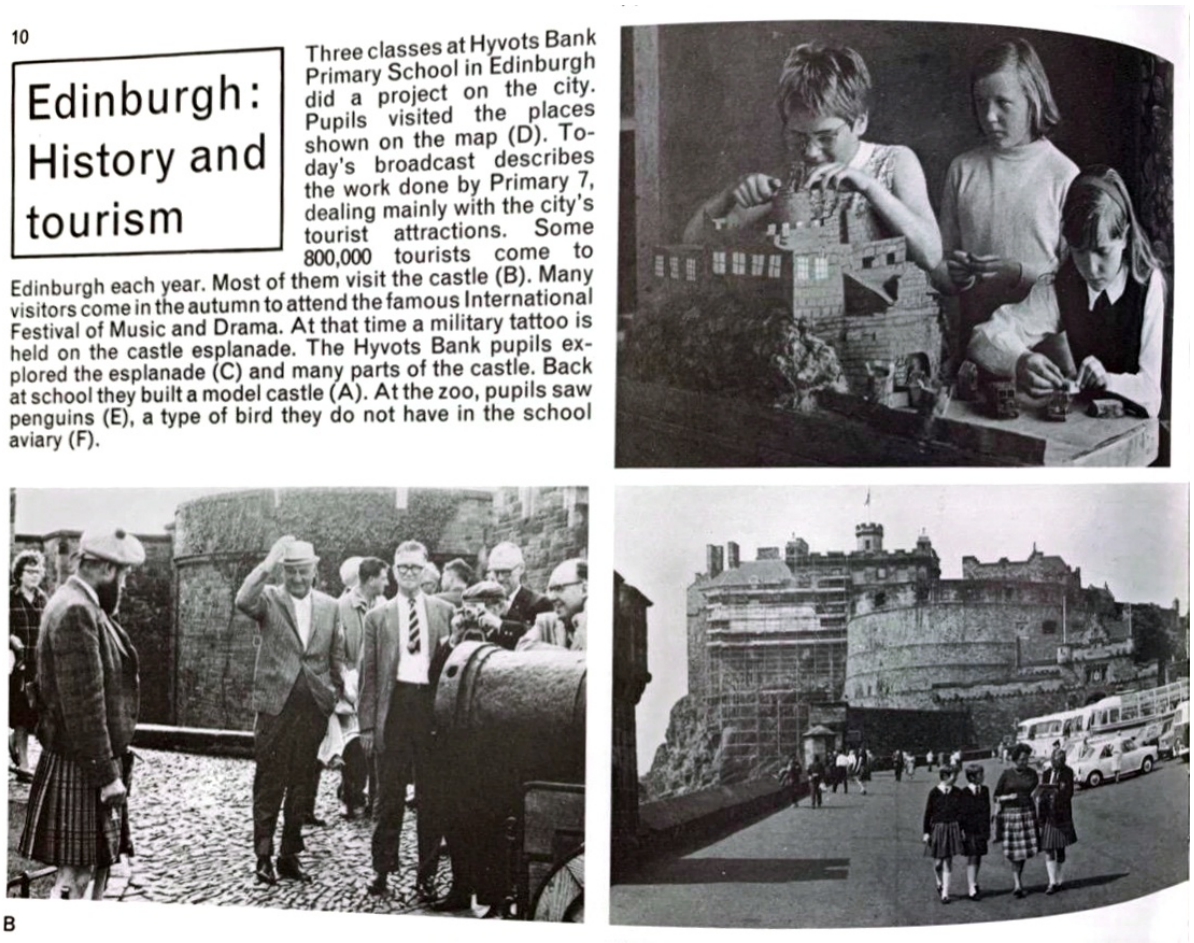
[395] BBC Scotland (1968) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1968, Notes for the Teacher*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher.
[396] Ibid.
[397] Ibid.



17

Transplants sometimes die leaving gaps in the plantation. In the picture *below* Mr McDowall and the children are 'beating up' – planting new transplants in the gaps found in last year's forest section. Two of the girls are seen measuring a year's growth in a Scots pine. When the transplant *right* is fully grown the planter will be about forty years of age. Do you know a method of discovering the age of a tree? The Alford pupils study some of the creatures living in their forest plot. Perhaps you might study the birds, animals and insects living on a tree in your district.

Figure 44- Alford School Forest from Exploring Scotland, *Autumn 1968. Source: NLS (1968).*



10

Edinburgh: History and tourism

Three classes at Hyvots Bank Primary School in Edinburgh did a project on the city. Pupils visited the places shown on the map (D). Today's broadcast describes the work done by Primary 7, dealing mainly with the city's tourist attractions. Some 800,000 tourists come to Edinburgh each year. Most of them visit the castle (B). Many visitors come in the autumn to attend the famous International Festival of Music and Drama. At that time a military tattoo is held on the castle esplanade. The Hyvots Bank pupils explored the esplanade (C) and many parts of the castle. Back at school they built a model castle (A). At the zoo, pupils saw penguins (E), a type of bird they do not have in the school aviary (F).

B

Figure 45- Hyvots Bank field trip from Exploring Scotland, *Summer 1968. Source: NLS (1968).*

Listener Feedback

Throughout this chapter, the child's experience of listening to schools broadcasting is only interpreted through mediated documentation. It is difficult to truly understand what it was like in the classroom environment—in part due to the diversity of classroom characteristics, made distinctive through teaching styles, locations, and children's needs. Informed inference is necessary also in part due to the lack of primary-source documentation free from interpretation by the various broadcasting councils. From the onset of schools broadcasting, the BBC and school broadcasting councils established a comprehensive feedback process to further improve and solidify radio's place in the educational sphere. Teachers would collect responses from children either through direct questioning or observation, and they would then send this information to the BBC through written reports or letters. Children would also sometimes send in their own work to the BBC, which would then be interpreted by the producers to judge levels of effectiveness. More formally, there was an established scheduling of statistical surveys undertaken by the Scottish Education Department, qualitative surveys by Research Officers, and descriptive site-visits from Education Officers who would tend to document levels of enjoyment amongst the children. Education Officers would also take the liberty to arrange meetings with teachers and producers, shrinking the channel of communication and providing a more effective mode of exchanging views.

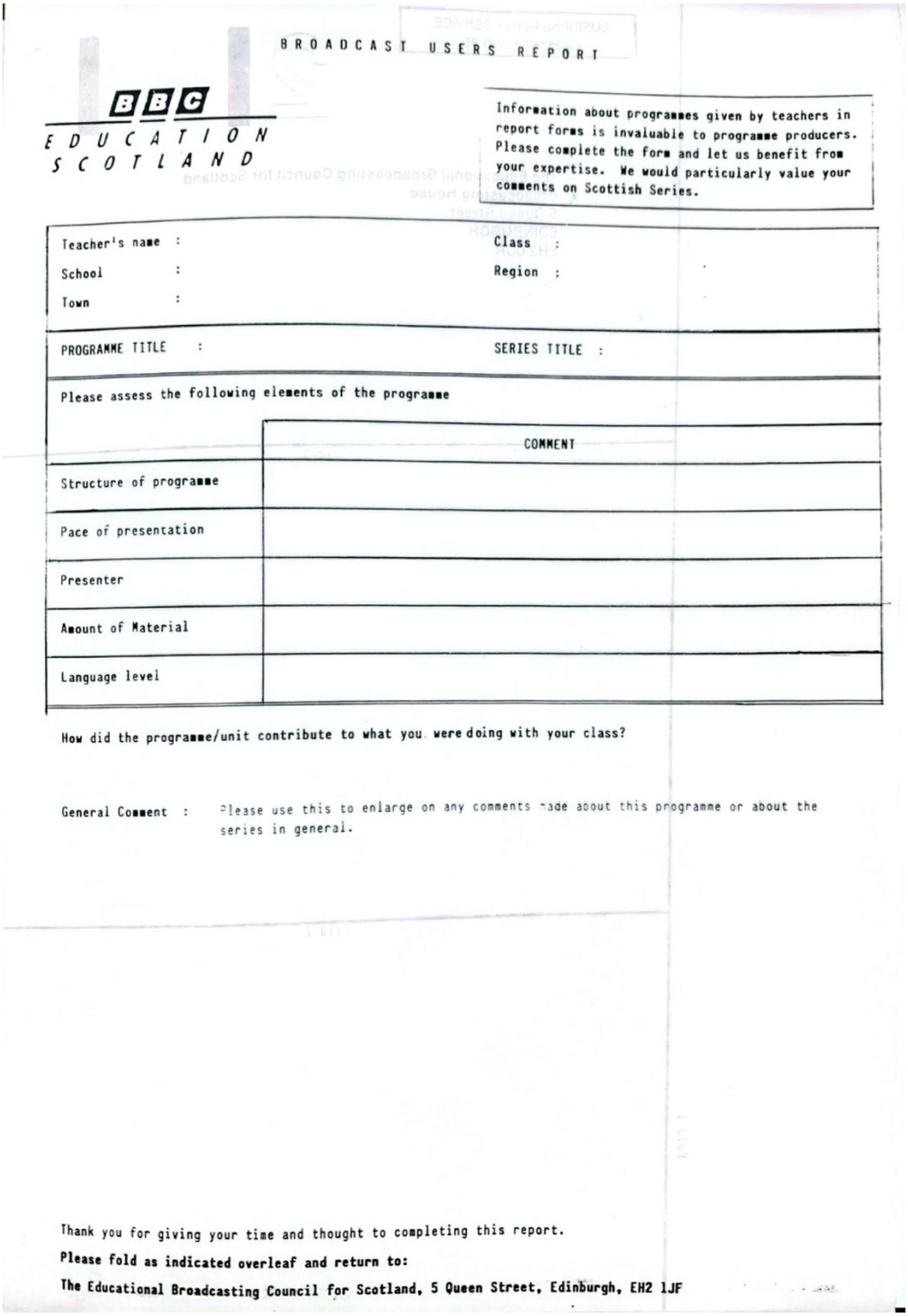
When wireless education began in 1924, it was an experimental venture. Consistent feedback from educators was necessary for the new form of teaching to grow and thrive. From the onset, the BBC stated:

> "It is of value to those responsible for developing school broadcasting that teachers in the schools should feel themselves to be in close touch with the wireless lecturers, reporting instantly any dissatisfaction with the method or material, and communicating suggestions for improvements to the BBC."[398]

Feedback was a responsibility both for the teacher and the broadcasting institution. The BBC was eager to receive all forms of suggestions—whether it be for classroom listening techniques or suggestions for work that children were keen to hear. Teachers had the advantage of being in the physical space of the classroom, observing the mannerisms of the students, and listening alongside to the sonic material. Teachers were also first-hand witnesses to the emotional responses of students, reporting on the weariness towards "disjointed history lessons" or the excitement towards "good stories, preferably of ordinary people".[399] These reports were heavily mediated, as children's emotions were channelled through the classroom authority and written into the space of an outlined

[398] BBC (1930) *Programme January 1930-June 1930/ Syllabus 13th January to 21st March 1930*.
[399] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1970) *Report on a Review of "Stories from Scottish History"*. Internal SBCS report. Unpublished. Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland. ED29/44.

report card seeking information limited to the “structure of programme”, “pace of presentation”, “presenter”, “amount of material”, and “language level” (Figure 46).



BROADCAST USERS REPORT

BBC EDUCATION SCOTLAND

Information about programmes given by teachers in report forms is invaluable to programme producers. Please complete the form and let us benefit from your expertise. We would particularly value your comments on Scottish Series.

Teacher's name :
Class :
School :
Region :
Town :

PROGRAMME TITLE :
SERIES TITLE :

Please assess the following elements of the programme

	COMMENT
Structure of programme	
Pace of presentation	
Presenter	
Amount of Material	
Language level	

How did the programme/unit contribute to what you were doing with your class?

General Comment : Please use this to enlarge on any comments made about this programme or about the series in general.

Thank you for giving your time and thought to completing this report.

Please fold as indicated overleaf and return to:

The Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland, 5 Queen Street, Edinburgh, EH2 1JF

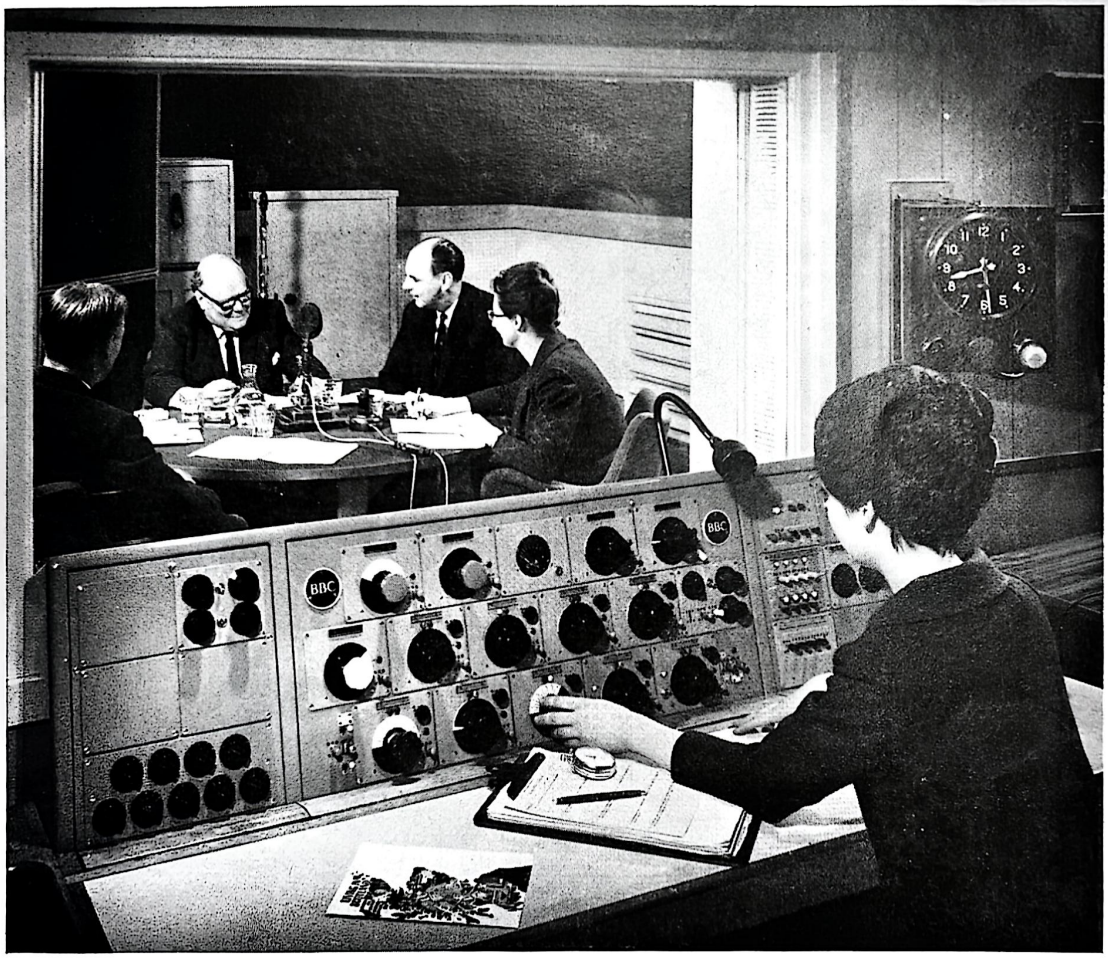
Figure 46- Broadcast user's report. Source: NLS (1992).

Work sent in by the children was one of the only modes of feedback with the least form of influential mediation. Broadcasters and producers sought out drawings, notes, essays, and other forms of activities related to the wireless lesson. Oftentimes, the programme pamphlet would include a note and address for work to be sent in for "inspection and commendation at the microphone". [400] Programmes would occasionally hold competitions for school-pupils to participate in. In 1978, the producers of *Scottish Writing,* alongside *The Scotsman* newspaper, allowed any student in Scotland between the ages of 16 and 19 to submit their poetry on any subject in English, Gaelic, or Scots. The winning entries would be broadcast on the *Scottish Writing* programme and on Radio Scotland, as well as published in *The Scotsman*.[401] A broadcast for the programme *Say it in Gaelic* showcased an "anthology of letters, tapes, stories, poems, and songs sent in by children".[402] Additionally, "Your Questions Answered" was a popular segment on the programme, *Living in Scotland*, where students would write in their questions which would then be answered live by experts in the BBC studios (see Figure 47). Programme producers emphatically expressed their 'delight' in hearing from the children and hoped to include this material as much as possible. While there are many instances of attempting to 'mould' children into an idealised notion of a sonic citizen, and even a geographical citizen, this does not mean that the child's needs, interests, and excitements were not forgotten. Children became a part of the broadcast, and along with excursion-based programming, they were contributors and producers of programmes for the BBC, contributing to a mode of 'radio that listens' (Westerkamp 2015).

[400] BBC (1929) *Broadcasts to Scottish Schools, April 29th- June 26th, 1929*.
[401] British Broadcasting Corporation (1978) *Scottish Writing, Autumn 1978, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).
[402] British Broadcasting Corporation (1979) *Say it in Gaelic, Summer 1979, Teacher's Notes*. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930).

14 Nov

Your questions answered



Since the beginning of the term you have heard a number of programmes about careers and starting work. Today a team of experts, including a youth employment officer, will answer your questions on these subjects. Please send your questions to the address below. To be included in the programme they must arrive by 1 November.

'Living in Scotland',
BBC,
5 Queen Street,
Edinburgh 2.

17

Figure 47- Experts answering questions for Living in Scotland, *Autumn 1967. Source: NLS (1967).*

Conclusion

While it is easy to perceive schools broadcasting as a one-way system of transmission where the broadcasting voice was the authority lecturing to the students, this was never the case. From the onset of schools radio broadcasting, those involved were attuned to the intricacies, delicacies, and unique circumstances of listening and learning. All of these components added to the complexities of the classroom space. There was a layer of materiality: the four walls of the room and the hardware for learning; a layer of spatiality: the positioning of the wireless apparatus and the listening students; and a layer of immateriality: the disembodied voice and its interactions with the teacher and the pupils. This is what made the listening school a space primed for the teaching and advancement of the listening child.

Although there were guiding principles of what made a 'sonic citizen' and a 'geographical citizen', this does not necessarily equate to schools broadcasting being a 'pedagogical regime'. Children were, indeed, learning how to actively listen and engage with their environments, but they were also learning how to stimulate their imagination and seek enjoyment during and prior to the end of the broadcast. Moreover, while schools radio somewhat followed the educational trends of Britain, there was always a unique variation in the method of wireless teaching. For example, while schools radio encouraged visual literacy, this was paired with sonic appreciation and understanding, and while there were activities which encouraged a form of 'fieldwork', demonstrating Britain's inclination towards outdoor education beginning in the 1930s, excursions suggested by schools radio broadcasts were not limited to the countryside, but rather to the child's own locality. Sound made spatial confines illimitable, and this was a central tenet to the mission of schools radio broadcasting. A 1937 article from *The Listener* makes an interesting literary comparison of this experience:

> "The very fact that one is listening to someone broadcasting from outside the school (possibly a man [*sic*] who has just come from the other side of the world) gives one a feeling of space and freedom from the ordinary restrictions. That has a value of its own. You know the story 'The Pit and the Pendulum' by Edgar Allan Poe, about a prisoner in a cell with a deep pit in the middle. Suddenly he noticed to his horror that the walls of the cell were closing in upon him. I think many people who listen to broadcasts in schools feel the exact opposite from that prisoner. The broadcasts make the wall of the classroom seem to recede to an indefinite distance. 'Indefinite' is the right word. New inventions make you feel emancipated."[403]

Sonic lessons brought the world into the classroom through the transmission of people and places near and far; through lessons, children were positioned as citizens; and through post-broadcast activities, children were drawn out of the 'black-box of schooling'

[403] Steele, R.C. (1937) 'Listening in School'.

(Braster, Grosvenor, and Del Mar del Pozo Andres 2011) into the outside world, primed via sonic encounter, to expand their understanding of locality, region, and nation.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Introduction

Before drawing this thesis to a close, I will first tell the story of the gradual decline of schools radio and its subtle reemergence within the new technological and pedagogical landscape of the 21st century. This is done primarily in order to piece together a chapter of schools radio history as gathered from archival documents and news sources, as well as to reflect upon the ways in which the current iteration of schools radio in Scotland has maintained much of the guiding principles, values, and characteristics of distinctiveness which were established in the past. This historical narrative is proceeded by an examination of my research contributions as situated within the cross-disciplinary field of historical-cultural geography and the ways in which my thesis has been informed by conceptual frameworks of regulation, production, mediation, and reception. To conclude, I offer a brief consideration of future contemplations and extended avenues of exploration in relation to the rich world of BBC schools radio broadcasting.

Static, then silence

"Switched off" was the simple headline in *The Guardian* in 2002 marking the decline of BBC schools broadcasts, following the disbandment of the BBC School Broadcasting Councils two years prior.[404] Interestingly, the coverage of this ending paid no mind to radio, instead focusing on the dismantling of schools television. Seemingly, radio had long been forgotten, quietly disappearing without comment. Television was next in line, with the BBC turning its attention enthusiastically towards the Digital Curriculum, encompassing e-learning, examination preparation through Bitesize, as well as the progression of children's channels such as CBBC and CBeebies. The significance in the quiet disappearance of schools radio manifests not only through the absence of programmes on the airwaves but also through the loss of the unique and ephemeral nature of learning through radio. Broadcasting misplaced much of its original essence: the audible voice entering classrooms across Scotland, gathering a listening audience as the classroom transformed into a soundscape, stimulating children's imaginaries through a scheduled interruption to their school day. As such, this thesis has documented, analysed, and engaged with the qualities of schools radio broadcasting which make it uniquely "enchanted and enchanting, meaningful and full of meaning" (Scannell 1995, p.18).

It is possible to track a longer inexorable decline in Scotland's story of schools radio broadcasting. Following a high-water mark of popularity in the 1960s, doubts about the efficacy and usefulness of wireless-led education began to surface by 1970, when the

[404] Brown, M. (2002) 'Switched Off', *The Guardian*, 14 May. Available at: https://tinyurl.com/2f887z6e (Accessed: 21 May 2025).

SBCS first realised that listenership amongst secondary schools was declining.[405] The number of tape recorders in schools, however, was increasing, seemingly granting teachers the freedom to play broadcasts at any time, releasing them from the supposed rigidity of live transmission scheduling. In the same year, the BBC took a decision that all educational broadcasts should transfer to a single VHF network, successfully achieving this mission by September 1973. The shift to VHF was one of the first signs of a growing neglect for Scottish educational broadcasts by the BBC. Areas in Argyllshire and the Central Highlands encountered some technical troubles with receiving VHF transmissions, denying students of the opportunity to either tune in or have the teacher record broadcasts.[406] As the SBCS was set up as the organising body of schools radio broadcasting in Scotland, it advocated for the continuous improvement of VHF radio transmission alongside the expansion of programmes to further meet the needs of Scottish schools. In 1980, however, the SBCS suffered a blow when learning that the BBC was planning to axe the entirety of Scottish schools programming. The budget cuts were projected in two phases: first, a cut of 25% of approximately £360,000 in 1980/81, and the remaining 75% to be withdrawn in 1981/82.[407] The BBC's National Governor for Scotland supported the reduction in budget, citing the increased use of tape-recorded programmes as a justification for taking the broadcasts fully off-air, deeming 'live' broadcasts a "strait-jacket [*sic*] put on educational objectives" as scheduling was dictated by the BBC rather than the school.[408] By this logic, schools inherently lost the freedom to determine their own curricular planning. Furthermore, maintaining schools radio was seen as costly, largely due to the technical necessity of purchasing cassette programmes and employing technicians to operate and record transmissions.

The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland responded firmly to these proposals, pressing the Board of Governors, the Broadcasting Council for Scotland, and the Committee on Scottish Affairs with a strategic question: "Why in Scotland with its separate education system is BBC proposing to withdraw completely from a service which has been a commitment for more than 50 years and remains so in BBC generally?"[409]

Substantial evidence was amassed to affirm the importance of Scottish schools broadcasts, variously noting the fact that Scottish schools were better equipped with broadcasting technologies than anywhere else in Britain, and, that due to the

[405] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1970) 'Item 552.5 Secondary School Audience'. *Minutes of the forty-eighth meeting,* Broadcasting House, Glasgow.
[406] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1974) *Supplementary Evidence to the Annan Committee (Draft)*. Internal Schools Broadcasting Councils report. Unpublished.
[407] National Governor for Scotland (1980) *A Policy Paper by the National Governor for Scotland*. Internal Schools Broadcasting Councils report. Unpublished.
[408] Ibid.
[409] The School Broadcasting Council for Scotland (1980) *Appendix 7: Memorandum from the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland 2 April 1980*. Internal Schools Broadcasting Councils report. Unpublished.

distinctiveness of Scotland's cultural and linguistic context, the service was well-used and servicing a clear, identifiable need. The SBCS cited data that 82% of Scottish primary schools used Scottish produced programmes, rather than London produced programmes, despite greater output coming from south of the border.[410] If the budget was to be cut, students would lose invaluable programmes on Scottish politics, history, literature, and language. Relief resulted, temporarily. Campaigning by the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland was successful, and in September 1980, the BBC dropped proposals to axe Scottish schools broadcasting, compromising on a 25% reduction of the budget while largely maintaining the continuation of programming.[411] Just as this thesis has shown that the educational and cultural distinctiveness paved way for the creation of Scottish schools broadcasting in the 1920s, it was these characteristics which temporarily saved programming from complete cessation by the BBC decades later.

If the immediate threat to the service subsided, a residual fear remained regarding the future of educational broadcasting. Since the BBC was willing to consider taking the axe to Scottish educational provision, what was to prevent Corporation bosses from doing so again in the future? In March 1981, the Chairman of the BBC gave a speech on the delicate place of schools radio in the landscape of British broadcasting, seemingly backtracking on the previous stance by observing frankly:

> "Education is not a sacred cow, but equally it has not got a label on it consigning it to the slaughterhouse. Education has to justify itself, though not necessarily on a cost-effective basis. The BBC has every intention of staying in this business… Unless the BBC as a whole is destroyed by inadequate funding, I can see my successor, ten years hence, at some gathering similar to this, reaffirming the personal commitment which I make tonight to the BBC's involvement in the enlightenment, instruction and, yes, education of a community of all ages, colours and creeds [*sic*], doing what a public service broadcasting of nearly sixty-years' experience can do better than any other country in the world."[412]

Funding was not the only prevailing concern. After the shift to VHF in 1973, schools programming struggled to place itself on Britain's crowded airwaves. Schools radio was portrayed as a nuisance to regularly scheduled, general programming—clogging up frequencies with lessons tailored only for the school environment. In an effort to decongest the airwaves, a portion of secondary schools programmes were moved to nighttime transmission in 1983, broadcasting to the ether. Time-switch recording devices became the new listening audience, still bound to the scheduling of programme transmission, but in turn granting teachers autonomy in their own lesson planning and timetables.

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[410] SBCS (1980) *Appendix 7*.
[411] Dean, G. (1980) 'BBC not to axe schools service', *The Scotsman,* 12 Sep., p.1.
[412] Howard, G. (1981) *The BBC, Educational Broadcasting and the Future*, 3 March. [Speech transcription].

Scottish schools programming remained steady via Radio Scotland VHF transmission, however, access to any other programming remained quite limited. From 1987 to 1990, UK schools radio outputs continued to shift position on the airwaves, bouncing around from Radio 3 to Radio 5; the latter, a move that proved controversial. Scottish schools had difficulty accessing Radio 5 outputs as they were broadcast via Medium Wave rather than VHF transmissions. Schools in Dumfries and Galloway, Grampian, the Borders, the Highlands, and Strathclyde regions simply could not access a large portion of schools radio broadcasts. The SBCS made best efforts to allocate engineers able to identify and amend these technical difficulties, but this was often to no avail. It was concluded that a sizeable number of Scottish schools would simply no longer be able to receive the broadcast programmes.[413]

The move to BBC Radio 5, upon further examination, was itself a tactic of sonic spatiality. In a letter published by *The Listener* on the 27th of July 1989, Nicholas Whines, the Head of School Broadcasting Radio, defended school radio's new home, remarking,

> "You see, we don't like being cooped up in our present obscure FM ghetto [*sic*]. We don't like the way our output is referred to as an irritant. We don't much like broadcasting at night, and the schools who use the programme think it's pretty weird as well…It is a crying shame that the hours of storytelling and dramas produced for children by School Radio are locked away in school-time and are usually inaccessible unless heard in the classroom."[414]

Whines' strength of statement made it clear that the airwaves were a space defined by aural borders and inhabited by radio programmes. Schools radio attempted to navigate through frequencies and time, yet ultimately, it remained lost in the hinterland of the British broadcasting landscape, never fully welcomed onto the airwaves by general listeners.

Slowly, Scottish schools broadcasts were marginalised. For the 1992/93 school year, secondary schools output was completely subject to BBC Radio 3 FM nighttime transmissions. Primary schools programming persisted during the day, transmitting via Radio Scotland FM to all those who would listen.[415] In a further attempt to break schools radio free from the scheduling of schooldays and the spatial confines of the classroom, in 1996, programmes began to be distributed via an audio cassette-based service—a subtle method to simultaneously evolve with the media-sharing technology of the day.[416]

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[413] The Educational Broadcasting Council Scotland (1991) *EBCS Summary of the Meeting Held on 5 June 1991*. Internal School Broadcasting Councils report. Unpublished.
[414] Whines, N. (1989) 'School on Radio 5', *The Listener,* 27 Jul., p. 20.
[415] The Educational Broadcasting Council Scotland Radio Networks 1992-93 (1992) *Discussion paper by the Chairman*. Internal EBCS report. Unpublished.
[416] 'Children and teachers at school' (1995) in *Annual Report and Accounts 95/96*. Broadcasting House: The British Broadcasting Corporation, p.41.

When introducing this thesis, I set the scene for the BBC's mission in broadcasting to children. Originally, radio programmes were meant to be listened to by the child indoors, in a domestic setting. Such programming was a lure, drawing children away from more 'troubled' places of leisure, "the squalor of streets and backyards" (Reith 1924, p.185), to be geographically prescriptive. Within the home-space, children could listen alongside their parents, strengthening and enriching family values, absorbing culture aurally, and learning taste via the listening apparatus. This was Reith's vision for a common sonic enlightenment. Radio was a new technology, and children a ready and receptive listenership, open to its novel technical capacity, its intellectual values, and its cultural significance. The BBC set its sights on the school—an untapped and organised space where sound could be harnessed into lessons which would mould children into sonic citizens. Yet, with almost any technological innovation, just as surely, there comes phases of decay and increasing obsolescence. The wireless apparatus found no easy fit in the 'hi-tech' media landscape of the 1990s and early 2000s. Analogue was dissipating as eagerness for digital only increased. The BBC, which was quick to tap into the potential of the radio as a new technological device in 1922, sustained this foresight into the millennium, conquering the next spatial frontier: the internet. Who better than children to venture into this new learning world?

As the landscape of schools broadcasting was rapidly changing, teachers were enthusiastic, yet still wary of these decisions. In 2000, John Russell, BBC Scotland's Senior Education Officer, affirmed that despite transference from analogue to digital, "migration must ensure that analogue radio and TV remain for those who want them".[417] The online sphere retained much of the character and principles of previous schools broadcasts, notably an interactive element. Much like previous segments such as "Your Questions Answered" [see Chapter 7], children still had the opportunity to consult a subject specialist through the feature "Ask a Teacher". Pupils would be able to type in a question online which would then be forwarded to an expert for reply.[418] Russell continued to affirm, "…though BBC Education is a UK service, and most programmes are relevant to a UK audience, any that are uniquely Scottish have always been produced in Scotland".[419] The current iteration of 'school radio', which can be found on the BBC's website, hosts a Scottish sub-section commissioned to meet the needs of the Curriculum for Excellence. It continues to pair audio programmes with teacher's notes. Although developed in a different format and informed by a different curriculum, the intention of these online broadcasts seems much the same: "to get children listening, talking, thinking and doing".[420]

[417] 'Learning with Auntie' (2000) *The Herald*, 18, Jul.
[418] Ibid.
[419] Ibid.
[420] BBC Bitesize (2025) *Curriculum for Excellence*. Available at: https://tinyurl.com/46yzekuf (Accessed: 21 May 2025).

After listening to a selection of these programmes, my own personal impression is that the ethos of the original Scottish schools radio has not been entirely forgotten. Scottish identity remains central to many of the lessons available: a tale of a Pictish girl; a lesson on Scotland's native species; stories told in Scots; descriptions of life on Shetland; the work of Robert Burns; and, the voices of children themselves, communicating to listeners through languages such as Urdu, Arabic, Mandarin, and Gaelic to describe their lives in Scotland. Broadcasters continue to encourage children to apply lesson materials to their own locality. In the programme *Movement First,* the presenter 'Nicola' asks listening pupils, "You've been to some of the most famous places in Scotland, but where's your favourite place? It might be in your garden, a park near you, or somewhere you've been for a day or a holiday."[421] Producers continue to demonstrate their artful work with radiogenic sound, adding atmospheric and environmental recordings to a lesson for the programme, *Welcome to My World,* where 'Alec' from Eriskay takes listeners to sea, against a sonic backdrop of splashing waves and gusts of wind.[422] "The water's okay, it's not that cold!", he exclaims, before bidding farewell to listeners with a bit of Gaelic, "*Tìoraidh a h-uile duine!* Goodbye everyone!"

Quite notably there is an entire programme dedicated to sensory histories, aptly titled, *A Sense of History.*[423] Children are prompted to engage with a given topic, for example, school life in Scotland. Via a vox-pop segment, today's pupils describe the sounds, smells, tastes, feels, and looks of their school. A sensory portrait of the school is created via descriptions of chatting on the playground, the bell ringing, secretaries typing on their computers, and the smell of the changing rooms. In BBC schools radio fashion, the pupils are prompted to find out about what school was like in the past with the catchphrase, "history's there for the asking". Sounds of a cafeteria fade into the foreground—glasses clinking, drinks being poured—as voices reminisce about their schooldays of gristly meat, overcooked veg, and "free school milk, sour and warm". Interviewees describe playground games and skipping rhymes, singing "The Scottish Soldier" by Andy Stewart, and bomb sirens which would indicate to hide under your desk. Despite the wider incorporation of accents and dialects by BBC schools radio programmes in Scotland, interviewees speak about a prejudice against regional voices, and a conformity to standard English speech. The programme concludes with the broadcaster once again encouraging children to develop and sustain an inquisitive spirit in order to gain a full sense of history.

These programmes are heartening and elucidating. Lessons through sound, ones that truly immerse a student into the sonic world of the classroom, ones that provide children with the opportunity to become critical listeners, to hear the voices and songs of their

[421] *Movement First: Back to Scotland* (2014) [Radio programme] BBC School Radio, 16 May.
[422] *Welcome to My World: Alec and Jyotpreet* (2017) [Radio programme] BBC School Radio, 25 November.
[423] *A Sense of History: 1* (2010) [Radio programme] BBC School Radio, 26 November.

country, to be involved in the stories of their own heritage, and to mould themselves into future citizens, were and remain pivotal means of both listening and learning.

A Review of Contributions

In this examination of the historical and cultural geographies of schools radio broadcasting in Scotland, I have considered differing learning histories by exploring the complexities of pedagogical governmentality and young citizenship, nationhood and representation, reception and meaning-making, and the material and immaterial dimensions of listening. Through various lines of theoretical and methodological inquiry, shaped by the discipline of historical-cultural geography, I have pieced together a 20th century history of listening and learning in Scotland, contributing to and advancing considerations of the relations between source-based empiricism and phenomenologically-informed sensory encounters with the lived past.

After I had embarked on the first in-depth examination of schools radio broadcasting in Scotland, a realisation steadily grew that I was also taking on the role of a broadcast historian, writing a history that has never been fully written, yet working with inconsistent and incomplete source materials, and sometimes silences and absences as much as material resources. I have continued to view this as an opportunity rather than an impediment. The parameters of this exercise in recovering broadcasting histories have prompted a further engagement with source materials, in efforts to re-animate the archive through the creativity of patchwork, embodiment, and 'intersensorality'; one informed by Lorimer's (2009, p.268) observation that "geography is enjoying a fine spell of experimentation in form and tone where fragmentary data is being turned towards more imaginative styles of composition and expression". Bringing remnants and fragments into conversation, I have sought to find in myself complementary ways of being a historical-cultural geographer, balancing the empirical with the sensorial. As Hendy (2010, p.218) argues, the sensory dimension of media in "reflecting and shaping our minds, our perceptions, our emotions" has been left largely absent from mainstream media history. As a geographer taking on the writing of a key chapter in Scotland's broadcasting history, I hope to have activated this hitherto unaddressed 'sensory' dimension, enlivening history by viewing, or rather 'hearing with' it, differently.

Furthermore, as my work revolves around the production, transmission, and inferred reception of sound, I seek to position this thesis within the field of sonic geography. While the use of sonic methods such as recording, mapping, and art installations are predominant forms of engaging with the sub-discipline, my research sits more in the theoretical realm, particularly the ways in which sound has been produced through the institutional and structural frameworks of the 'BBC' and 'education'. This falls into line with broader trends in cultural geography, which, as a result of the cultural turn, have included an emphasised focus on cultural institutions, and how the products of these

institutions contribute to various forms of representation, meaning-making, and identity formation. As posited by Crang (1998, pp.3-4):

> "If we look around at any society, there are activities whose primary role is symbolic; say, theatre, opera, art, literature or poetry. All of these are generally seen as products or expressions of that society's culture. Indeed, we might instantly extend our account to include the libraries, museums, galleries and so forth that allow these forms to exist; that preserve and reproduce them; that make them available to people. Cultural geography must thus include the institutions that keep cultures going. This in itself might take us into surprising corners - into, say, schools where children are taught the 'great' figures of their culture's history or literature, or maybe the interpretation of different public monuments."

Schools radio was specifically organised and produced by a cultural institution, the BBC, and broadcast within schools as institutional sites. This thesis, therefore, presents as a new and additional contribution to a body of work which has examined and explored institutional provisions of sound experience and sonic geography. Notably, in the contemporary setting of the school (Gallagher 2011) and in the historical settings of the museum (Rich 2016; 2017) the factory (Jones 2005), and the prison (Hemsworth 2015).

Rather than reviewing the respective contributions of thesis chapters sequentially, here I want to return to my research questions and the conceptual framework that guided my analysis, the 'circuit of culture'; a version of which I adapted in order to better suit the thesis' subject-matter. By seeking out the ways in which 'listening-as-learning' was introduced as a new educational medium, and how the content of BBC schools radio broadcasting and publishing represented Scotland, I came to understand schools radio through a constellation of values, methods, and people. The 'circuit of culture' aided this understanding, and as articulated in **Chapter 3,** I have emphasised the constellate nature of this circuit, focusing on each component as it relates to the others in a web or network of interactions. While the groundwork of schools radio broadcasting was arguably arranged by and dependent upon its governing bodies, the BBC thoroughly sanctioned a culture of feedback whereby input was accepted from teachers and students. With the 'circuit of culture' in mind, I have chosen to conclude my thesis with a re-examination of these thematic components rather than with a programmatic summation of chapter contributions. The components of Regulation, Production, and Mediation are each synthesised alongside aspects of Reception in order to position the receivers of sound—the listening children—as the central constituency in the history of schools radio broadcasting. Although in the introduction of this thesis it was made clear that the origins of wireless education were not necessarily intended for 'children', but rather for 'schools', I aim to readdress this institutional vision by demonstrating the ways in which the BBC ended up straying from this mission, often with favourable effect and pleasing impact. The child's experience is the beating heart of schools radio: from becoming sonic citizens,

gathering into listening communities, receiving sounds and stimulating imaginations, and thoroughly understanding the nation and their place in it.

Regulation and Reception

'Scottish distinctiveness' is a term which has been surfaced regularly throughout the preceding chapters. Its use underlines both the distinctive nature of Scottish education as characterised by comprehensive and egalitarian learning opportunities as well as the distinctiveness of national identity, with particular regard paid to matters of heritage, culture, language, and citizenship. Schools radio was an egalitarian form of 'education for all', echoing the principles of the Scottish educational system during much of the 20th century. With this distinctiveness in mind, it is appropriate that Scotland (and Glasgow, in particular) was the setting for the very first experimental broadcast of schools radio. Children were included as a particular societal grouping in the BBC's mission to "inform, educate, and entertain" through British broadcasting. The sounds of schools radio lessons were accordingly broadcast to even the remotest parts of Scotland through a technological and infrastructural dedication developed by the BBC and advanced via the Sub-Council for School Broadcasting in Scotland. Quickly, classrooms projected the disembodied voices of broadcasters who, although originally delivered in slightly arid speech patterns, dry text, and without great emotional depth, subsequently developed their performed patterns of speech to better engage and communicate with children. As demonstrated throughout **Chapter 4**, the distinctiveness of Scottish education, separate both in method and mode from England's system, allowed Scottish schools broadcasting to create its own path forward through the creation of the SBCS. Soon, children were exposed to Scottish speech, stories, and songs, absorbing and connecting with the sounds of their own country.

Foundationally, children were educated in the art of listening—the ways in which they could appreciate sounds heard from the radio. From a Reithian perspective, these listening practices and habits would edify the taste of the nation in order to meet more refined (middle-class) cultural standards. The listening child, however, was taught not only how to listen but also how to make meaning from the content of their lessons. In the case of Scottish pupils, much of the content was about their own nation. This created what could be considered a 'sonic citizen', trained in attentively receiving broadcast lessons and engaging with the content of these lessons to foster an appreciation for their nation.

Production and Reception

Producers would craft wireless programmes to first engage children and then encourage children to cultivate their knowledge of locality, region, and nation. **Chapter 5** shifts to a more theoretical perspective in order to demonstrate the ways in which radio broadcasts were forms of 'sonic portraiture'—an elaborate production of 'oral visions', radiogenic sounds, and guiding tones. Broadcasters entered the classroom, and their voices unfolded with time, facilitating students to sonically encounter and thoroughly explore the content of their lessons. Children across the country listened together, forming an audience

despite not all being physically present in the same space as broadcasters projected an 'illusion of closeness', positioning themselves as part of the classroom although functioning as a disembodied voice.

The immaterial sounds were grounded through the materiality of the accompanying pamphlets. Illustrations, photographs, and printed words communicated the essential points of each lesson, and the still figures pictured would be brought to life with sound. Nationhood is a central theme throughout this thesis, demonstrated via a focus on geography and geography-adjacent programming. Through printed pamphlets of this subject matter, ranging from the 1930s to the late 1980s, the story of Scotland as told through the perspective of BBC schools radio begins to unfold. Children are central to this narrative, figured as prominent in imaginings of the nation. **Chapter 6** reaffirms the significance and 'distinctiveness' of Scottish schools radio broadcasts, which communicated to children ways in which they could preserve the past and protect their future as citizens of Scotland. While these characterisations seemingly teeter along the edge of romantic patriotism or de-political national pride, schools radio was able to skilfully balance idyllic imaginings with more candid realities of the nation. Geographical imaginings of the country were, therefore, constructed via sound and vision. Through sonic encounter, children were to make meaning from the oral histories, songs, stories, and poems hailing from across the nation. By participating in imaginative discourse informed by the realities of Scottish life, children were taught to understand Scotland as a regionally diverse nation with a strong sense of history and a commitment towards future social betterment. Producers crafted characters who were excited about the prospect of exploring and living in Scotland for many years to come, projecting an idealised model of active citizenship for the listening children to reflect upon and admire.

Mediation and Reception

Mediation is understood through two primary means: technological mediation and pedagogical mediation. The wireless apparatus was a technological extension of these lessons, transmitting sonic experiences into the classrooms. While seemingly an inanimate fixture of the learning environment, the radio represented a second teacher, one which had to work in tandem with the classroom teacher via a one-way system of transmission. As such, the classroom teacher was made to conduct an intricate choreography with apparatus, broadcaster, and students, finding ways in which to optimally position and operate the device via volume, pause, and play. The disembodied voice was limited in engagement with the students. The broadcaster could not bear witness to the expressions and attitudes of the listening children, and so, this responsibility fell upon the classroom teacher. Furthermore, teachers adapted alongside the technological developments of wireless education. The introduction of radiovision as well as tape-recorded lessons brought about new layers of interactivity and operation. This technical manoeuvring is detailed throughout **Chapter 7,** which further elaborates upon guided instruction of what to do once the broadcast stopped, and the teacher provided children with opportunities outside of the classroom to apply and further

engage with the lesson material. While BBC producers provided suggestions for follow-up activities, quizzes, and fieldtrips, the decision of whether these activities were worthwhile rested upon the classroom teacher.

As evident through schools radio pamphlets, classrooms across the country participated in these activities, even documenting them to be featured on the broadcasts for other children to hear. While this demonstrates a form of active engagement and pro-active pedagogy, there is also a present thread of nation-building as children were specifically taught to explore their own localities. Children were told not to limit their experiences to sonic encounter, but to use the enthusiasm present in the 20-minute lessons to continue their ventures by learning from the physical world around them.

Final Reflections

In the introduction of this thesis, I observed that the history of schools radio broadcasting is not forgotten, but rather undocumented. I have constructed a thesis solely informed by the evidence found tucked away in the archives—in boxes of materials which have been waiting, some for nearly 100 years, to be uncovered and pieced together. While this thesis is guided by frameworks of historical-cultural geography and archival research, there are elements of the Scottish schools radio story which can be further explored through other means, namely oral history. Of course, there are former pupils with fond memories of music and movement programmes, but there are also central figures who have worked at the BBC, producing sonic lessons about Scotland. As I recall, "history's there for the asking". Furthermore, there are a number of school subjects which were not analysed throughout this thesis, paving the way for future opportunities to examine the likes of language-based learning (notably Gaelic-language lessons), science, music, religion, and pre-school programmes. There are as well, quite possibly, more records of recorded broadcast material, perhaps hidden away in the homes of former teachers or in the storage cupboards of primary and secondary schools. These are the paths which can still be taken, the stories which can be uncovered, and the sounds of schools radio which are waiting to once again be sonically encountered.

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Figure 22. British Broadcasting Corporation (1948) *Cairnton, Summer 1948.* P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 23. British Broadcasting Corporation (1954) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1954.* P.LA.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 24. British Broadcasting Corporation (1958) *This is my Country, Spring 1958.* P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 25. British Broadcasting Corporation (1957) *This is my Country, Autumn 1957.* P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 26. British Broadcasting Corporation (1958) *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1958.* P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 27. British Broadcasting Corporation (1965) *Scotland in the Modern World, Spring, 1965.* P.la. 2551 SER, BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 28. British Broadcasting Corporation (1962) *This is my Country, Summer 1962.* P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 29. British Broadcasting Corporation (1973) *Scottish History, Autumn 1973.* P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 30. British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *From Seven to Nine, Spring 1975.* P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 31. British Broadcasting Corporation (1979) *Questions of Living, Autumn 1979, Teacher's Notes.* P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 32. British Broadcasting Corporation (1977) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1977, Teacher's Notes.* P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930). Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 33. British Broadcasting Corporation (1949) *This is my Country, Autumn 1949* P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 34. British Broadcasting Corporation (1955) *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1955.* P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 35. British Broadcasting Corporation (1960) *Exploring Scotland, Spring 1960.* P.LA.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 36. British Broadcasting Corporation (1966) *Living in Scotland, Autumn 1966.* P.LA. 2551 SER, BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 37. British Broadcasting Corporation (1965) *Living in Scotland, Spring 1965.* P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 38. British Broadcasting Corporation (1975) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1975.* P.la. 2551 SER, BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 39. British Broadcasting Corporation (1954) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1954.* P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 40. British Broadcasting Corporation (1956) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1956.* P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 41. British Broadcasting Corporation (1974) *Listening and Reading, Autumn 1970.* P.la.2551, Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 42. British Broadcasting Corporation (1929) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1970.* P.la.2551 SER, BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 43. British Broadcasting Corporation (1965) *Scotland in the Modern World, Autumn 1965.* P.la. 2551 SER, BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 44. British Broadcasting Corporation (1968) *Exploring Scotland, Autumn 1968.* P.la.2551 SER, BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 45. British Broadcasting Corporation (1968) *Exploring Scotland, Summer 1968.* P.la.2551 SER, BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 46. British Broadcasting Corporation (1992) *Standard Grade History, Spring 1992, Teacher's Notes***.** P.la.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation:1930). Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 47. British Broadcasting Corporation (1967) *Living in Scotland, Autumn 1967.* P.la.2551 SER, BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher. Image courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Appendix

The following is a detailed report of materials on BBC schools radio broadcasting available for access at the National Library of Scotland and the National Records of Scotland. The shelf mark or item number is followed by the title and, when necessary, a brief description of the material. While materials from the BBC Archives were consulted, these are omitted from the Appendix as they were made available internally.

National Library of Scotland

Box collections of syllabi and programme materials

P.MED.891: Broadcast to Scottish Schools. Programme and Syllabus. 1929-1933

- Box labelled 1929-1957
    - Syllabi from 1934-1940 [missing 1938-1939]
    - Programme schedules from 1933- 1939
    - Combined programme and syllabus from 1929-1933
- Box labelled 1958-1976/77
    - Programmes and pamphlets

P.LA. 2551 SER: BBC Radio for Schools: Notes for the Teacher

- Box labelled 1968-1992
    - Teacher's notes and pamphlets from 1962-1972

P.LA.2551: Broadcasts to Scottish Schools (British Broadcasting Corporation: 1930), 1930-1968

- Boxes labelled 1930-1938, 1939-1962
    - Teacher's notes and student notes
- Boxes labelled 1972-1978, 1978-1988, 1991-1992
    - Teacher's notes, worksheets, leaflets, songbooks, posters, activity packs, radiovision, Education Scotland packets, student pamphlets

P.MED 891 SER: BBC Radio for Schools… in Scotland

- Box labelled Summer 1968-Spring 1977
    - Programmes

P.MED.197: School Broadcasting in War Time 1940

- Box labelled 1930-1951
    - Programme schedules for classrooms/staffrooms, "School Broadcasting in War Time", pamphlets of programme schedules from national transmitter
- Box labelled1951/52-1969
    - Programme schedules for staffroom notice boards

Radiovision materials

- GEB. 2/6: The American West
- GEB. 2/6: History Studies
- GEB. 2/6: Geography Studies, 1981
- GEB. 2/8: Geography Studies, Spring Term 1985

- PB9.218.28/10: The Way West, 1976

Singular programme pamphlets and teacher's notes

- 6.1429: Scotland in the modern world. BBC radio for schools 1967/68. [Illustrated.], 1967
- HP.sm.285: Có Iad, Culaidh Mhiogais
- HP2.204.3030: Scottish Writing Today: Teacher's Notes
- HP5.203.0161: Scottish History
- Nais.28: Scottish Social history. Term I, Life in ancient Scotland, 1934
- QP1.205.9017L: Scottish history for Secondary Schools
- QP1.205.9761L: Scots fit? Whit? What?: Scots in the primary schools, 1986
- QP1.206.0892L: Stories from Scottish history: BBC sound broadcasts to Scottish schools: Summer 1963, 1963
- QP1.206.1045L: This is my country: broadcasts to Scottish schools: provided by the BBC for the School Broadcasting Council for Scotland, 1961

Reports

- GEB.23: Circular
    - Circular:97: McKechnie, W. and the Scottish Education Department (1936) School Broadcasting. Scottish Education Department Circulars.
- PB9. 218. 11/3: Broadcasting and the curriculum: a broadcast resources file for secondary schools in Scotland, 1986
- QP1.205.7878L: "School broadcasting in Scottish schools" report of the. Inter-College Research Project on School Broadcasting
- T.432.a: Educational broadcasting: report of a special investigation in the county of Kent during the year 1927

Books

- HP2.84.3459: English Resource Book: An Anthology of Prose and Verse from Radio Scotland's English Broadcasts for Secondary Schools
- PB6.220.113/3: BBC Education Scotland: books related to 1986-87 school broadcasts
- R.231.d: Scotland on the Air. [With plates, including portraits.]
- HP2.84.3459: English Resource Book: An Anthology of Prose and Verse from Radio Scotland's English Broadcasts for Secondary Schools
- HP2.85.2350: English resource book 2 an anthology of prose and verse from Radio Scotland's English broadcasts for secondary schools, 1984
- GEB.1/4, Broadcasting and school education in Scotland, 1984, Judith Duncan

BBC Yearbooks

- T.392.b: B.B.C. handbook. 1928-1929.
- T.392.b: The B.B.C. year-book. 1930-1934.
- T.392.b: B.B.C. annual. 1935-1937.

- T.392.b: B.B.C. handbook. 1938-1942.
- T.392.b: B.B.C. year book. 1943-1941.
- NF.1682: B.B.C. handbook. 1954-1980.

Additional sources available on UK-wide schools radio programming

- 1968.125: Broadcasts for the Secondary Schools, 1934-1937
- 6.1550: School Radio and the Tape Recorder, 1968
- 6.2325: Guitar school: a BBC Radio course first broadcast in 1971-72
- 6.2780: BBC School Broadcasts: An Introduction, 1974
- 6.2789: Listening and reading: BBC radio for Schools. 2., 1974
- 6.713: A list of broadcast receiving apparatus suitable for use in schools
- P.la.4094 SER: Notes for Teaching Staff, 1938-1967
- P.med.197: BBC Broadcasts to Schools
    - 1948-1961
- P.med.197: Broadcasts to Schools
    - 1940-1946
    - 1946-1947
- P.med.197: Broadcasts to Schools. Programme and Syllabus. 1930-1932
- P.med.197: Broadcasts to Schools. Programme Schedule. 1932-1939
- P.med.89 SER: Programme Schedule, 1933-1967
- P.med.891 SER: Annual Programme, 1933-1962
- QP2.95.3019: Viewing, listening and learning: the use and impact of schools broadcasts, 1995
- QP3.87.258: A statistical digest of BBC school broadcasts 1976-77 and 1977-78
- QP4.93.808: The use of broadcasts in small primary schools: a report commissioned by the BBC, 1992
- V.321.e: Stories from history. Ten plays for schools (based on... historical broadcasts for schoolchildren.), 1938
- X.151.g: The care of domestic animals. School talks and broadcasts. [With plates, including portraits.] 1944

Archives and Manuscript Catalogue

- Acc.12394/65: Corrected typescript of 'The Shining Mountain', a short story for BBC Radio for Schools, 1986.
- Acc.14003/16: Radio scripts for 'Gu dè tha mi leughadh'.
- Acc.6326: Transcripts of a series of three BBC radio broadcasts for schools, "The Story of Arbuthnott".
- MS.26096: Script of the BBC Radio Scotland Schools programme, 'The Story of Arbuthnott', with related correspondence:
- MS.26360: Duplicated script of the play 'Rab Mossgiel' by Robert McLellan, broadcast on radio.
- MS.26396: Broadcast script of a dramatization in four parts by Robert McLellan of Sir Walter Scott's novel, ‘Waverley’, broadcast in the series 'This is my country'.

- MS.26397: 'Niel Gow', a radio biography by Robert McLellan, broadcast in the series 'This is my country'.
- MS.26402: Broadcast script of 'The Hungry Forties' by Robert McLellan, in the series 'This is my country'.
- MS.26402: Broadcast script of 'The Hungry Forties' by Robert McLellan, in the series 'This is my country'.
- MS.26403: Manuscripts, corrected typescripts, and broadcast scripts of short dramatic pieces for 'Scottish Heritage' by Robert McLellan.
- MS.26404: Manuscripts, corrected typescripts, and broadcast scripts of short dramatic pieces for 'Scottish Heritage' by Robert McLellan.
- MS.26405: Manuscripts, corrected typescripts, and broadcast scripts by Robert McLellan of two programmes broadcast in the series for schools, 'Stories from Scottish History'.
- MS.26406: Manuscript, corrected typescript, and broadcast script of 'Island Life: Arran' by Robert McLellan, broadcast in the series for schools, 'Exploring Scotland'.
- MS.26522: Duplicated typescript of 'Discovering Scotland', a series of seven talks for radio by Joe Corrie.
- MS.9198: Manuscript text, in the hand of Agnes Mure Mackenzie, of a schools' broadcast on Stirling.
- MSS.26392-26393: Dramatised biography of Robert Burns in three parts by Robert McLellan, broadcast in 'This is my country', a radio series for Scottish schools.
- MSS.26403-26404: Short dramatic pieces by Robert McLellan, written for 'Scottish Heritage', a series of radio broadcasts for schools.
- MSS.26412-26415: Four series, each containing six Linmill stories by Robert McLellan, broadcast on BBC radio

Department of Education materials

- *GEA 113*
    - Miscellaneous Box 2
        - “The Primary School”, book, 1931
        - Only available for access via staff member at the Maps Reading Room.

National Records of Scotland

- GB234: BBC Scotland- Radio
    - BBC1/6: Children’s and Educational 1980-1985
    - COM1/112: BBC School Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1974-1977
    - COM1: Committee on the Future of Broadcasting 1974-1977
    - BR/LIB/S15/114: BBC Broadcasts for Schools on Railway Mania and Forth and Tay Bridges 1966
    - BR/RSR/8/36: Investigating Clerk’s Files: BBC “Round and About” series for schools- “Working on a Railway Terminus” 1959

    - GD/214/20: “St Andrew of Scotland”, printed brochure for BBC Broadcasts to Schools by Professor Hannay 1933
- GB234: Scottish Education Department
    - ED8: Advisory Councils on Education in Scotland Files
    - ED16: Inspection reports, public and primary schools
    - ED17: Inspection reports, higher grade schools
    - ED18: School inspection reports
    - ED29: Broadcasting, Television and Film Files
        - ED29/23: School Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1960-63
        - ED29/24: School Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1963-65
        - ED29/28: Committee on the Future of Broadcasting 1974-75
        - ED29/43: School Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1971-72
        - ED29/44: School Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1968-71
        - ED29/59: School Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1965-69
        - ED29/111: Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland (formerly School Broadcasting Council for Scotland) 1985-87
        - ED48/1444: School Broadcasting 1954-63
        - ED29/65: BBC (departmental position paper on educational broadcasting in Scotland following BBC cuts 1980-81)
        - ED29/66: BBC (departmental position on educational broadcasting in Scotland, including consultation with local authorities and draft of paper for departmental meeting with BBC 1981)
        - ED29/63: Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1987-88
        - ED29/68: Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1989-90
        - ED29/70: Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1990-92
        - ED29/71: Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1972-87
        - ED29/77: Educational Broadcasting Council for Scotland 1991
        - ED29/112: Broadcasting Policy (papers relating to policy in educational broadcasting 1981-88)
        - ED35/107: Scottish Council for Educational Technology 1979-81
        - ED35/108: Scottish Council for Educational Technology 1979-81
        - ED35/168: Scottish Council for Educational Technology 1976-79