

School Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: An Exploratory History

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In the United Kingdom, television for schools is 50 years old in 2007. The anniversary provides a reason to undertake an exploratory history of school broadcasting, an area that has received very little attention from historians of British education. The first part of this article examines the origins of school radio broadcasting, focusing especially upon the pioneering work of Mary Somerville, who served as the BBC's first Director of School Broadcasting from 1929 to 1947. It is then argued that school broadcasting had a 'good war', enhancing its international reputation and sense of public value between 1939 and 1945. Following the conclusion of hostilities, there were high expectations that television for schools would become quickly established, but financial, technical and other practical impediments delayed the launch of services until 1957. By that time, commercial television had emerged as a rival to the BBC and it was an ITV company, Associated-Rediffusion, rather than the BBC, which won the race to broadcast the first television programmes for schools. Some significant technological and market-led changes since the 1980s are noted, but the conclusion states that the reputation of British school broadcasting remains high at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Introduction

One 2007 anniversary that passed largely unnoticed was the half century of television for schools in Britain. At the end of 1956, Associated-Rediffusion, the financially troubled Independent Television (ITV) contractor for London and Southeast England, surprisingly announced plans to launch a school television service the next year.¹ Its initial schedule, which ran from Monday, 13 May 1957 until the end of the summer term, comprised one programme per day, broadcast to secondary-age children in London. The press reaction to the programmes was far from favourable,² but on the basis of information suggesting that 125 schools had regularly accessed these programmes,³ the company proceeded to launch an extended schools television service – with the programmes also carried by Associated Television, the Midlands' contractor – from Monday, 23 September 1957. It was an astonishing coup, which outmanoeuvred and angered the publicly financed British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), whose long-trailed school television service commenced a day later.

This short article charts, in an exploratory manner, the history of school broadcasting in the United Kingdom, from the early days of radio to the digital curriculum of today. In terms of a research agenda, it provides a starting point for further work. There is much scope to draw on a far greater range of primary materials, including – where they have survived – actual broadcasts.

School Radio, 1924–1945

The story of British school broadcasting begins with an experimental radio broadcast to a single school, in February 1924, in Glasgow. The transmission reportedly included a talk about the place of the ballad in literature, a reading in French by a professor from Glasgow University, and the performance of a violin piece.⁴ With educationists anticipating an educational role for broadcasting, especially, as the

1926 Hadow Report indicated, for the teaching of music,⁵ considerable hopes were invested in the British Broadcasting *Company*, which, in 1927, became the British Broadcasting *Corporation* upon the granting of a Royal Charter to become the State's national broadcaster. The Glasgow pilot encouraged the BBC to broadcast some experimental talks for schools – all delivered 'live' – from a scatter of studios around the UK. A series of talks interpreting gramophone music, given by Sir Walford Davies, the composer and Professor of Music at Gresham College, blazed the trail in April 1924. Sometimes wrongly represented as the first national broadcasts for schools, these transmissions were only carried by the '2LO' London transmitter. A national service from London – though still with some regional opt-out variations from studios in Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Glasgow, Bournemouth and Belfast – commenced in 1927, amounting to more than 40 series. Before proceeding further, however, the BBC sought feedback in the form of an evaluation, which the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust agreed to fund. The study collected opinions from education officials and teachers from Kent. These were not encouraging.⁶ Most broadcasts were regarded as 'detached from the ordinary business of teaching'.⁷ Mary Somerville, who rose to serve as the BBC's first Director of School Broadcasting, from 1929 to 1947, later recalled that, among the comments from the Carnegie respondents, Sir Walford Davies was criticised for going 'much too fast for children who were not specially musical' and for using unfamiliar, puzzling metaphors. Some broadcasters were criticised for talking down to children, while others were too highbrow.⁸ Somerville's response was to strengthen her team of core broadcasters. One significant addition was that of Rhoda Power, sister of Eileen Power, the leading economic historian from the London School of Economics, with whom she had collaborated on a series of books, beginning with *Boys and Girls of History* (1926).⁹ Her career with the BBC began as a freelance in 1927, initially to present a series of talks based on these books, entitled *Boys and Girls of Other Days*. She became a full-time member of the School Broadcasting Department in 1939 and remained there, later also working also in television, until her death in 1957.¹⁰ According to Kenneth Fawdry, an assistant to Somerville who later became Head of BBC School Television, Rhoda Power was a presenter with a difference: 'the difference of a broadcaster able to talk to children, and determined to enlist the classroom teacher to work with her'. It was Power's gift for communication that made it possible to contemplate radio programmes that went far beyond the 'straight talk' approach, so disliked by elementary school children in the Carnegie study. It was something of a eureka moment that precipitated the change, according to Fawdry:

One day Rhoda Power was giving a talk about medieval London. She was describing the crowds crossing London Bridge – the hubbub, the jostling, the singing. George Dixon was producing. 'Those songs are extant, you know, why don't we have them sung? A voice approaching the microphone from a distance, then receding.' The illustrated talk was born. Then the traveller's tale with sound effects, the 'nature walk' with inserted sound and song from moor or woodland; the inquiring adult – or indeed the inquisitive child – as observer ...¹¹

Sound effects, played by engineers at appropriate moments during the live talk, were normally taken from the Corporation's vast sound library, but, as Mary Somerville recalled, the advent of the travelling van 'made it possible to go out with the BBC engineers to make special "sound pictures" and "interviews on the spot"'.¹² As

recording technologies advanced, the interests of authenticity outweighed those of budget. Recalling his experience of listening to a travel programme with an English elementary school class in 1935, Lester Parker, an American visitor, commented that 'the sound effects are actual recordings made in a German forest ... delivered yesterday by airplane'.¹³ Sound effects marked only the beginning. The next steps were dramatised inserts, full dramatisations and imaginary interviews.

The arrival of radio for schools was accompanied by a degree of scepticism and even anxiety. Some doubted the power of 'the disembodied voice' to hold children's attention,¹⁴ while others were concerned that listening to the radio might create 'a race of listeners rather than of thinkers and men of action' and introduce 'robot' teachers into schools.¹⁵ Assurances were provided that the broadcasts were to supplement, not supplant, teachers, that they should make demands of children, rather than merely 'tickling their interest',¹⁶ and that they could contribute to 'a curriculum which had a closer connexion with life'.¹⁷ When, prior to the start of the 1934–1935 school year, it was announced that the service would be transmitted on weekday mornings – with programmes for younger, as well as older elementary-age children, and some for secondary pupils, too – as well as five afternoons per week, there were concerns that schooling might become over-standardised and the Board of Education stipulated that no school should follow more than four or five broadcasts per week.¹⁸ At the Board, not all were persuaded about radio in the classrooms. A 1936 request for £18 to cover the costs of loudspeakers for Abitellery's three central schools was granted, but one official dissented on the grounds that the equipment would be used for 'entertainment'.¹⁹ Broadcasting, according to Sir Henry Richards, the Senior Chief Inspector of Schools in 1934, was 'a new and most potent instrument which might make either for intellectual advancement or intellectual degradation'.²⁰ Other views, according to Mary Somerville, demonstrated 'too much missionary zeal'.²¹ W. H. Perkins, the Director of Education for Warwickshire, saw school radio as a possible solution to teaching secondary school subjects like biology, where there was a shortage of trained teachers. He also believed that programmes could introduce children to Arnoldian-style culture: 'Children to-day', he told the 1934 New Ideals in Education conference, 'had come to know the difference between good and bad music, and they preferred – or at least pretended to prefer – the music they got at the school to all except the better type of entertainment music which they got at home'.²² Lester Ward Parker similarly enthused about witnessing a rural Devon elementary teacher gather the class around a new radio set at half past ten to hear a programme about India, narrated by a man who 'knows India personally, has actually lived there, and can tell them all sorts of vivid, intimate things about the country which they could not get from their geography books'. Of another history broadcast, by Rhoda Power, he wrote:

She sets the stage skilfully for a dramatic interlude, and for twenty minutes we hear Roman soldiers in a camp near Hadrian's Wall talking about the Britons and the impending arrack of the savage Picts. They visit a bath, and we even hear the splash of the water as they plunge into the swimming pool. (I learned more about the Roman occupation of Britain than I had ever known before, and of course the children were enthralled.)²³

The secondary grammar schools were also catered for in the schedules of the 1930s. Ward Parker observed that the boys of the Royal Grammar School, Newcastle, were trained 'not only to listen to the spoken word but also to respond in French when the broadcaster gives instructions for practice'.²⁴ Other series for secondary schools included *Talks to Sixth Forms*, which, between 1935 and 1937, featured such distinguished speakers as Sir William Beveridge, G. K. Chesterton, T. S. Eliot and E.M. Forster.²⁵ Those interested in hearing speakers of this calibre extended far beyond children in the classroom. With radio receivers still absent from many schools, frequently in consequence of local education authorities' hardship and a shortage of receivers available for loan, BBC figures from 1935 stated that some 6% of pamphlets accompanying broadcasts had been issued to independent adults, listening at home during school hours. Series for learners of French, German, science, gardening and world history were especially popular, and *The Times* reported that a group of septuagenarian women met regularly to listen to nature programmes together.²⁶ Five years later, as Britain stood on the verge of war, the adult educationist J. H. Higginson confirmed that he knew many rural households in North Lancashire where school broadcasts were marked in the *Radio Times*, though his own enthusiasm was for programmes about culture ahead of current affairs and 'international problems', which were 'often of dubious educational merit'.²⁷

The widespread admiration for the BBC's output was due in no small part to Somerville's success in persuading the Corporation's hierarchy to recognise the service as a flagship of excellence. In 1927, she recalled,

... our programme allowance was a mere pittance, and anyone on the staff who could read a part had to be pressed into service to act in our 'dramatized lessons'; but soon we succeeded in staking a claim to the use of professional actors, and ... in the course of time School Broadcasting came to have a very fair share indeed of the financial and technical resources of the BBC.²⁸

In 1936 she told the Western Counties Conference of Women that many people believed that the broadcasts were under BBC 'dictatorship', but this was far from so.²⁹ The BBC had formed an Educational Advisory Committee as early as 1923, replacing it five years later with a more independent body, the Central Council for School Broadcasting (CCSB), supported by parallel bodies for Scotland and Wales. The CCSB included many influential figures: its first two chairmen were both former Presidents of the Board of Education, H. A. L. Fisher and Lord Eustace Percy, and, throughout the 1930s and 1940s, its membership included officials from the Board, the Secretary of the Association of Education Committees, teacher trainers, chief education officers and senior representatives from teacher unions and associations, drawn from the State and independent sectors.

The Council also oversaw the work of subject sub-committees, predominantly staffed by teachers and typically chaired by heads of teacher training colleges or local authority officials. For each commissioned series, a panel of 'listening teachers' sent feedback to the relevant CCSB sub-committee via weekly postcards.³⁰ Joseph Lauwerys, of the University of London Institute of Education, sat on the Science and Natural History Subject Committee, which, at its meeting of 7 November 1938, considered in depth the mixed views of teachers as to whether the decision to

broadcast the call of the cuckoo in the *Science and Gardening* series had been necessary or superfluous.³¹

The Second World War brought major challenges for British school broadcasting: national and regional radio variations were temporarily abandoned in favour of a single home service for two hours a day, including a daily five-minute news commentary 'to explain events arising out of the general news bulletins which might give rise to confusion in the minds of children'.³² The greatly admired pamphlets accompanying broadcasts were discontinued and some programmes were shortened, but the achievements of the BBC Schools Department, evacuated to a country house, were considerable. Staffed mainly by former teachers, the Department had grown to around 30 by 1944.³³ The number of schools registered as listening – many of them operating under unfavourable evacuation conditions – continued to rise, reaching 11,000, over half the total number, by November 1942, when R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, gave an evening radio talk to publicise the achievements of the service.³⁴ *Singing Together*, a programme for junior children that continued to feature in the school radio schedules into the early twenty-first century, was first broadcast in wartime, as was *How Things Began*, a seminal series dating from 1943, which presented the story of life on earth from its earliest beginnings to the development of the earliest civilisations. Almost 30 years ago, an article in this journal lauded the latter series:

Most of the programmes were built around conversations between a boy, a girl and their uncle. The children, with whom children in classrooms everywhere could identify, served as 'enquirers', and in this role suggested a somewhat different approach to the study of science in the elementary school. The selection of content for these programmes antedates by some years [Jerome] Bruner's famous dictum to the effect that it is possible to teach anything 'in an intellectually honest fashion' to any child at his own level.³⁵

The unexpected successes of wartime radio for schools encouraged the BBC's Director-General, R. W. Foot, to look, around 1943, beyond the immediate conflict. In respect of the commissioning and evaluation of radio programmes, it was Foot's view that the machinery was 'more complicated than I personally favour'. Another school broadcasting issue 'of the greatest possible importance' was also now visible to him: 'the part which television in due course may be expected to play'.³⁶

The Development of Television and Post-war School Broadcasting

The BBC had commenced a television service in 1936. It was suspended for the duration of the Second World War, but resumed in 1946. Although there was great anticipation, uncertainties about how the new medium might best serve the classroom, combined with the prohibitive cost to schools of purchasing receivers, meant that it was not until the early 1950s that a limited television experiment could be undertaken. This took the form of the BBC reaching agreement with Middlesex Local Education Authority for six secondary schools to be individually linked – by closed circuit television – to the BBC studios at Alexandra Palace, to the north of the capital. The 'Middlesex experiment' of 1952 involved the broadcast of 20 programmes, one per school day, during the month of May. Kenneth Fawdry recalled

in 1974 that the programmes were 'made, to put it mildly, under difficulties': only three school radio producers had been trained in television production and 'they had to team up with others, ill-spared from other TV departments, who lacked experience of the educational situation'.³⁷

The BBC's inability to move ahead quickly meant that the ITV companies, which began to establish their own general services from the autumn of 1955, emerged as possible rivals in the field. The announcement that Associated-Rediffusion was planning to get school television transmissions on air ahead of the BBC led to a personal visit to the Ministry of Education by Sir Ian Jacob, the Director-General, in February 1957. Jacob pointed out that the Corporation had, 'rightly or wrongly, invested a great deal of money in a complicated machine for the production of broadcasts to schools in close consultation with the educational users'. It employed education officers working in the field as well as office staff working exclusively for the School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom, which had replaced the CCSB in 1947. If independent services were to be permitted without similar 'top hamper', he maintained, this would be unfair. He was, moreover, doubtful about Associated-Rediffusion's commitment to excellence in school broadcasting. More likely, he thought, its 'motive might be a direct one of getting advertisements into the school programme or it might be the indirect one of attracting a school audience who would thereby be pre-disposed to prefer I.T.V. to B.B.C. programmes at other times'.³⁸

Within days, Jacob's implication that ITV companies were disinterested in quality seemed to be challenged by an Associated-Rediffusion press release. The company announced the establishment of its own Educational Advisory Council, which shortly afterwards became the Children's Advisory Committee of the Independent Television Association, chaired by Sir John Wolfenden, Vice-Chancellor of Reading University. An educationist, Boris Ford, from Cambridge University, was appointed Head of Broadcasting.³⁹ Other members included respected figures from the world of British education, including William Alexander, Secretary of the Association of Education Committees, Jack Longland, the Director of Education for Derbyshire (who was also well known as the quizmaster on *My Word*, the BBC radio panel game), and Sir Ronald Gould, General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers. In the event, Ford's tenure barely lasted a year. The company took the line that Ford was 'not suitable for the post',⁴⁰ but other accounts associate his dismissal with his objection to the broadcast of unsuitable advertisements between programmes,⁴¹ and to the cancellation of school broadcasts to accommodate afternoon horse racing in the schedules.⁴²

As the reach of ITV extended to more parts of the UK, schools, many of which were initially loaned television receivers by their local education authority, were presented with choices about which programmes to use. Initial doubts about the quality of ITV broadcasts were gradually overcome by greater cooperation between the 'big three' companies – Associated-Rediffusion (covering London and Southeast England), Associated Television (covering the Midlands) and Granada Television (covering Northwest England) – over programme-making and scheduling. In time, too, the BBC and ITV broadcasters learned to live together, informally agreeing not to undertake copycat programming. Career pathways began to emerge for those involved in

making school programmes: it became common for BBC staff to move to posts with independent programme-makers and vice versa.

Competition between broadcasters was restricted to school television, however. To this day, commercial broadcasters have not challenged the BBC's school radio Service. From its earliest days of around 3,000 'listening schools', it was estimated that, by 1972–1973, some 90% of all UK schools used radio broadcasts, while 80% used television programmes.⁴³ By 1974 the BBC was broadcasting more than 80 annual radio series and 38 television series for schools.⁴⁴ *Time and Tune*, the primary-level series, was listened to by 15,500 schools, which had purchased 500,000 publications.⁴⁵ The advancement of studio technologies and recording equipment in the late 1950s gave greater flexibility to programme-makers to use tape, while the coming of school audio, and later video, recorders, in the 1960s and 1970s, meant that timetables no longer had to be fitted around 'live' broadcasts. These decades also saw the launch of a second BBC television channel, colour transmissions and the carrying of radio programmes on the higher-quality FM band. Supporting programme materials became more extensive, often including teachers' notes, tape slide presentations (widely referred to as radiovision), vinyl records and pupil workbooks.

Several important post-war landmarks might be noted. For example, the 1951 Beveridge Report on Broadcasting praised the quantity and quality of school broadcasts, but raised questions about how successfully teachers were integrating broadcast material into their teaching.⁴⁶ Twenty-six years later, the Annan Committee on the Future of Broadcasting commented that 'the broadcasters' track record in producing educational programmes is too consistently successful to contemplate their release from their obligation to make educational programmes', adding that the BBC and ITV services had 'enhanced not only education but the general output [of broadcasting]'.⁴⁷ Educationists, too, acknowledged the power and potential of radio and television in the classroom. John Scupham, Head of Educational Broadcasting at the BBC, was appointed to the Newsom Committee which reported in 1963,⁴⁸ after which more series were commissioned which dealt with the transition from school to work and Certificate of Secondary Education examinations. The history of post-war British school broadcasting can also be researched through its treatment in the Crowther, Albemarle and Plowden Reports of 1959, 1960 and 1967.

The period from the 1960s to the 1980s, during which the Schools Council was influential in supporting teacher-led curriculum development, might be thought of as a second 'golden age' for school broadcasting, the first being the 1930s and 1940s, dominated by the influence of Mary Somerville and such speakers as Rhoda Power and Sir Walford Davies. From the 1980s, the stability of the previous quarter of a century was challenged. The switching – arguably misguided – of some BBC school resources to support microcomputers and the reallocation of radio programmes across the Corporation's network saw many broadcasts, including bursts of computer program data, shifted to overnight slots for schools to record. More recently, since 2003, all school radio programmes have been available as 'audio on demand' Internet services. The withdrawal from ITV from school broadcasting in the early 1990s was also significant, through Channel Four Schools was to become a major player in the field, re-titling its service '4Learning' in 2000.

Since its inception, British school broadcasts have won acclaim and awards of various kinds,⁴⁹ but there have been controversies, too. In 1937, one Member of Parliament criticised the BBC *History in the Making* series for espousing 'Soviet propaganda',⁵⁰ but, 21 years later, Labour's Michael Stewart believed that a series of factual errors in history broadcasts favoured the political Right.⁵¹ Various sex education programmes, beginning with Granada TV's *Understanding*, in 1966–1967, and BBC TV's *Nature*, in 1970, proved especially controversial,⁵² leading to complaints from such figures as Mary Whitehouse of the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association and Victoria Gillick, the pro-life campaigner.⁵³ *Scene*, a BBC school television drama series, has, since the early 1970s, included provocative dramas for upper secondary pupils by writers who have included Alan Plater and Colin Welland. The programme's dramatisation in 1999 of Melvin Burgess's award-winning novel about drug addiction and under-age sex, *Junk*, proved too much for the British tabloid press.⁵⁴

Conclusion

This article has traced the development of British school broadcasting from the 1920s to the present. In terms of developing national school broadcasting services, Britain enjoyed the advantages of a single time zone and a large measure of curricular uniformity, even before the 1990s' drive for a national curriculum. School broadcasting helped to shape British children's understandings of history, science and other societies in both rural and urban areas, has complemented syllabuses for tests and examinations and has supported teachers' classroom objectives.⁵⁵ The monopoly position that the BBC enjoyed until the late 1950s enabled it to develop first-rate scriptwriters, producers, artists and engineers.⁵⁶ These high standards, initially set some 80 years ago, have served the industry well, and, in the face of market competition and technological change, respect for British school broadcasting remains high.

Notes

1. *The Times*, 19 December 1956, 8.
2. See quotations from the *Guardian*, *The Times* and *Times Educational Supplement* on Ben Clarke's affectionate school broadcasting website, www.lookingandseeing.co.uk.
3. National Archives (NA) ED 147/558, "Advisory Arrangements for School Broadcasts," memorandum marked 'confidential' by Sir Robert Fraser, Director-General, Independent Television Authority, 16 January 1958.
4. Fawdry, Kenneth. *Everything but Alf Garnett: A Personal View of BBC School Broadcasting*. London: BBC, 1974, 43.
5. Board of Education. *The Education of the Adolescent* ('Hadow Report'). London: HMSO, 1924, 242.
6. Bailey, K. V. *The Listening Schools: Educational Broadcasting by Sound and Television*. London: BBC, 1957, 30–31; Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees. *Educational Broadcasting: Report of a*

- Special Investigation in the County of Kent*. London: Carnegie UK Trustees, 1928.
7. Fawdry, *Everything but Alf Garnett*, 44.
 8. Somerville, Mary. "How School Broadcasting Grew Up." In *School Broadcasting in Britain*, by Richard Palmer. London: BBC, 1947, 11.
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 11. Fawdry, *Everything but Alf Garnett*, 45.
 12. Somerville, "How School Broadcasting Grew Up," 13.
 13. Ward Parker, Lester. "British School Broadcasting." *The English Journal* 28, no. 4 (1939): 300.
 14. Palmer, Richard. *School Broadcasting in Britain*. London: BBC, 1947, 11.
 15. Quotations taken from reports of the 1934 Conference of Educational Associations and the 1936 conference of the Central Council for School Broadcasting. *The Times*, 5 January 1934, 17; 3 January 1936, 7.
 16. *Ibid.*, 13 May 1929, 11.
 17. *Ibid.*, 3 January 1936, 7.
 18. *Ibid.*, 14 April 1934, 43.
 19. NA ED 111/267, note by 'PAL', 6 February 1935.
 20. *The Times*, 9 April 1934, 15.
 21. Somerville, "How School Broadcasting Grew Up," 11.
 22. Reported in *The Times*, 9 April 1934, 15.
 23. Ward Parker, "British School Broadcasting," 299.
 24. *Ibid.*, 300–01.
 25. Fawdry, *Everything but Alf Garnett*, 47.
 26. *The Times*, 19 October 1935, 21.
 27. *Ibid.*, 12 May 1939, letter by J. H. Higginson, 12.
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28. Somerville, "How School Broadcasting Grew Up," 13.
 29. *The Times*, 20 May 1936, 22.
 30. Palmer, *School Broadcasting in Britain*, plate viii, opposite 33.
 31. Papers of J. A. Lauwerys (Lauwerys Papers), Institute of Education, University of London, 'Broadcasts to Schools' box, CCSB Science and Natural History Subject Committee minutes, 7 November 1938.
 32. *The Times*, 12 July 1940, 6.
 33. Lauwerys Papers, 'Broadcasts to Schools' box, "Some Psychological Problems of School Broadcasting." Lecture by Richard Palmer to the Oxford University vacation course in education, 11 August 1944.

34. NA ED 121/38, "School Broadcasting and Broadcast by R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, 1942–45."
35. Bramwell, R. D. "School Broadcasting and Curriculum Innovation in English Schools." *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 10, no. 1 (1978): 43.
36. Lauwerys Papers, 'Broadcasts to Schools' box, "Statement on Behalf of the BBC by D.G.," n.d. (c.1943).
37. Fawdry, *Everything but Alf Garnett*, 21–22.
38. NA ED 147/557, memorandum by D. H. Leadbetter, 13 February 1957.
39. Ibid., Associated-Rediffusion Press Release, 19 February 1957.
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48. Ministry of Education. *Half our Future: Report of the Central Advisory Committee for Education (England)*. London: HMSO, 1963; Scupham, John. *School Broadcasting and the Newsom Report*. London: School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom, 1965.
49. See Robson, J. S. "School Broadcasting on Radio in the Seventies." In *After Fifty Years – The Future*, 48.
50. *The Times*, 18 February 1937, letter by W. W. Vaughan and Henry Richards, 15.
51. Ibid., 24 December 1958, letter by Michael Stewart MP, 7.
52. See Carter, C. F. *et al. School Broadcasting and Sex Education in the Primary School*. London: School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom, 1971.
53. See *The Times*, 13 January 1984, letter by Victoria Gillick, 11.

54. See the contrasting press coverage by the *Guardian*, 12 January 1999, 9 and *The Sun*, 16 January 1999, 25.
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