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EARLY VOICES: DIVERGENT PHILOSOPHIES/ASPIRATIONS OF THE ORIGINAL PARTICIPANTS

Phøbe Thornley
University of Newcastle

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PHOEBE THORNLEY

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PARTICIPANTS**

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ABSTRACT

The divergence in philosophies of different community radio stations today is obvious. Some stations cater for the diverse needs of their communities and concentrate on a volunteer effort to provide the service. Other stations are almost like mini-commercial stations, catering for a particular demographic within their community with an emphasis on financing the service with the maximum number of sponsorship announcements allowed. There is a myth within the sector that it was different in the early days when there was a single purpose. This paper will show that the divergence in philosophies has been there from the beginning by examining the philosophies and aspirations of some of the pioneers of the sector: Neil Runcie, Max Keogh, Peter Pockley, Brian Cabena, Trevor Jarvie, David Griffiths, Jim Beatson, Stephen Abell, Kent and Dorothy Broadhead, Frank Scambary and Joan Killorn.

The divergence in philosophies of different community radio stations today is obvious.¹ Some stations cater for the diverse needs of their communities and concentrate on a volunteer effort to provide the service. Other stations are almost like mini-commercial stations, catering for a particular demographic within their community with an emphasis on financing the service with the maximum number of sponsorship announcements allowed. There is a myth within the sector that it was different in the early days when there was a single purpose. A recent CBAA submission talked of the sector as 'once considered a radical experiment', as if there had previously been some uniformity.² This paper will show that the divergence in philosophies has been there from the beginning by examining the philosophies and aspirations of some of the pioneers of the sector.

Society was changing rapidly in the late 1960s and early 1970s.³ However, radio broadcasting had remained almost unchanged since before the War, except that commercial broadcasting had lost most of its diversity with the coming of television. While many people thought there was a need for reform, the only thing these people had in common was a belief that current broadcasting services were defective.

Among the first people to put forward coherent ideas about the need for the expansion of broadcasting services were Neil Runcie and Max Keogh. Runcie was Professor of Economics at the University of NSW, with an interest in broadcasting. Keogh worked in commercial radio and television and later became publicity officer for Film Australia. Both became very concerned when the government closed down the experimental FM broadcasts on the ABC in 1961 and when the reorganisation of the ABC's AM networks into Newrad in 1963 failed to improve services.

Keogh petitioned the government to re-open the experimental FM stations, while Runcie founded the Listeners' Society, pressing for higher standards in Australian broadcasting and the development of FM.⁴ Both were involved in the gestation of Australia's first FM station, 2MBS-FM, Sydney's classical music broadcaster. Keogh

was also involved with community station, 2CT in Campbelltown and Runcie with 2RES-FM in Sydney's Eastern Suburbs.

Max Keogh's philosophy of broadcasting was incorporated in his submission to the Senate Standing Committee on Education, Science and the Arts (SSCESA) in 1973. He maintained that the federal government should determine Australia's philosophy, which should be based on the continuation of the dual system of broadcasting. Frequency allocation should ensure maximum diversity of ownership and control of broadcasting facilities, program choice and service to minority tastes. The concept of non-commercial developments, incorporating the principle of a public right of access should not be confined to the ABC. Ample public debate should precede the adoption of this overall broadcasting philosophy.⁵ But Keogh saw little if any public debate. He attributed this partly to 'our infamous apathy to public affairs'. But he also asserted that the patent lack of concern with broadcasting philosophy was caused by 'the early adoption of the present dual system of public and private broadcasting'. In contrast, the national service in Britain and the unregulated private system in the USA provided obviously unbalanced systems, which engendered public debate on basic philosophy. This led to the development of more sophisticated systems, which better fulfilled those countries' needs. Australia's better basic structure had proved an impediment to philosophical debate and future development.⁶ Keogh had earlier claimed that; 'to the public FM might just as well have been a time of day between AM and PM. In the past ten years it has been kept just as much in the dark'.⁷

Keogh's philosophy revolved around a combination of government involvement and control, and commercial enterprise. His commercial background led him to see the listening public as consumers, who were entitled to a diversity of services, including national, commercial and public stations, all regulated by the government.⁸ Since adequate government funding was looking unlikely Keogh advocated limited advertising on public broadcasting stations. The stations would remain non-profit, but

would combine a service to their listeners with a service to their advertisers.⁹ In this basically conservative approach Keogh was just trying to better fulfil the consumers' existing needs for broadcasting services. In fact, much of Keogh's philosophy was very close to that of some community broadcasters today who run stations like mini-commercials.

Neil Runcie's philosophical base was different. While doing his PhD in Britain in the late 1950's he had been most impressed with the high quality of the BBC educational programming and the introduction of FM broadcasting. Runcie was concerned with excellence rather than diversity and advocated high quality city-wide, even state-wide public stations. He promoted the idea of expanding 2MBS-FM to state-wide and helped establish the Sydney Public Affairs Radio Foundation (SPAR) which sought to broadcast Sydney-wide professional quality public affairs. 'Localism' did not appeal to Runcie. When helping to establish 2RES-FM he found having to deal with the many little local groups seeking licences, 'a little wearing, time consuming, tedious and very parochial'.¹⁰ He advocated 'high standards' and new initiatives in educational, cultural and community affairs broadcasting. This was the rather elitist notion of handing down programs to the community for its improvement rather than involving the community in program making.¹¹ Runcie simply wanted to use the introduction of public broadcasting as one way to work towards improving individuals and society.

Although this elitist philosophy is unpopular now, Runcie was not its only supporter in the early days. Dr Peter Pockley, who was the first person to be in charge of ABC Science programs from the mid 1960s, became very dissatisfied with programming opportunities. He had also become aware of developments within the BBC while completing his PhD at Oxford. Pockley's solution to Australia's broadcasting woes was to advocate public broadcasting. He founded the Public Broadcasting Association of Australia (PBAA).

Pockley's original ideas were also incorporated in a submission to the SSCESA. The outline of his philosophy and practice of broadcasting included three groups of principles; access by the public, responsiveness to society and quality, authority, diversity, creativity and experimentation in programming.¹² This would entail appropriate structure and control, with staff of the highest professional quality who were independent of outside influence. Pockley proposed three groups to provide distinctive services, which taken together would offer a real divergence of choices and provide a real solution to the current restrictive broadcasting structure. Firstly, the national broadcasting service would be based on a smaller, cheaper ABC, concentrating on its national character. Secondly, commercial broadcasting would remain essentially the same except that licensees would be amalgamated reducing the number of stations in capital cities. These would come under tougher control from the Australian Broadcasting Control Board (ABCB).

Lastly, an entirely new group of nationally co-ordinated, but essentially local stations, would be established under the auspices of a Public Broadcasting Authority. These stations would provide a flexible and experimental set of informative, educative, cultural and community programs. Educational radio would include secondary high school material, 'open university' and non-formal adult education. For Pockley, public participation meant critical assessment of high quality programs made by permanent professional broadcasters rather than being allowed to make programs themselves.¹³

By the time Pockley gave a paper at the Department of the Media Conference on Public Broadcasting, in July 1974, he was aware that many aspirant public broadcasters, including music broadcasting societies and educational institutions, were not interested in a Public Broadcasting Authority. They wanted their own independent stations.¹⁴ While holding to his ideas on quality and diversity Pockley now envisaged public broadcasting being created by a number of independent broadcasters who would

work together for everyone's benefit. A loose co-operative structure would lobby government for the necessary legislative and regulatory structure and sufficient funds to make the establishment of this new sector possible. After this conference Pockley convened the inaugural meeting of the PBAA.

Although Pockley's vision changed, his image of the sector was still a fairly conservative one. When seeking parliamentary support he explained, 'it was absolutely essential to put on a very conservative type of tie. I probably wore my Oxford tie when they came in to show I wasn't a kind of ramshackle raving ratbag who would want to go and fight in the streets with police. I wasn't that sort of person'.¹⁵ Nevertheless, he conceded that such groups, including students, should be licensed so they still had a channel of communication open to them 'which we embryonically arthritic types might never touch'.¹⁶ Pockley's final plan, then, was for a basically conservative, highly professional but independent sector providing quality programming for the improvement and entertainment of individuals, allowing a space for the 'ratbag' element within the diversity of interests. All this was to be under the guidance of government legislation, regulation and funding.¹⁷

The founders of the Music Broadcasting Societies (MBSs) in Victoria and NSW, Brian Cabena and Trevor Jarvie had a simpler vision, just yearning for sufficient access on the airwaves for their beloved classical music. Cabena, who ran a small Hi-Fi music store in Melbourne, had lived in Canada for a number of years and had appreciated the public broadcasting system there.¹⁸ He was also dissatisfied with the ABC's introduction of Newrad. He moaned that 'the rearranged ABC broadcast programmes are, no doubt, a gallant attempt to try to retrieve a hopeless situation'.¹⁹ But, with school broadcasts, parliamentary broadcasts, a wider range of talks broadcasts, cricket commentaries and programs from the BBC, there was not enough time left on the two networks for classical music. Without a third network, Cabena claimed, no amount of program rearrangement would help. At the end of 1966 Cabena called together a small

meeting of music lovers and by the middle of 1968 had established MBS Victoria to set up 'a listener-owned co-operative broadcasting station in Melbourne'.²⁰ Trevor Jarvie responded enthusiastically to Cabena's call. But, in 1969, Jarvie abandoned his postgraduate studies in Melbourne and returned home to Sydney, where he established MBS NSW. Cabena's and Jarvie's ideas diverged from the beginning, but this became more apparent as things developed.

Cabena's interest never really extended beyond the establishment of a 'serious music' station.²¹ He described 'the music lover who finds a need for serious music in his daily life' as one who cannot be gratified by a private record collection. He explained that the ABC's original inadequate coverage of classical music had been reduced further since the war and the commercial stations played virtually none. Cabena envisaged broadcasts entirely of pre-recorded music with no announcements, no time calls and no need for microphones in the studios. Details and times of programmes would be available only to subscribers for \$8 a year. As well as entertainment the station would 'encourage the efforts of Australian performers, musical academics, composers, teachers and critics in the preparation and presentation of programmes'.²² The only mention of broadcasting in a larger context was that such a service 'should be an integral part of any democratic and culturally developed community'.²³ Cabena conceded that part-time public access to the air waves might suit the needs of many organisations but was totally inadequate for the MBSs.²⁴ Overall, Cabena's scheme was narrow and conservative, and is not advocated anywhere today, with all the classical music stations now having announcers with microphones in their studios.

Trevor Jarvie's primary motivation was also a love of classical music, but he paid more attention to the possibilities of FM broadcasting generally and developed an overall philosophy of public and community broadcasting.²⁵ The submission of MBS NSW to the SSCESA began by enunciating this philosophy. This did not confine itself to the musical interests of the Society's members because that would lose the balance which

'comes only from seeing the particular in its relationship to the general wider landscape'.²⁶ Since this submission might 'be the only organisation to offer this important perspective on broadcasting, we feel obliged to attempt to examine the subject as any intelligent listener, without any vested interest in the media, might do'.²⁷

The submission expounded two fundamental principles of freedom, the freedom to choose between services and the freedom to provide a service. Removing technical restraints would allow a plethora of new services, any one of whose commercial failure 'would be no less regrettable, certainly, but similarly no more disastrous than the failure of a newspaper'.²⁸ These new stations could cater for the specialist interests of many types of minorities, including educational interests, independent non-profit interests, ethnic and aboriginal interests. They could be both commercial stations and a new type of service, public broadcasting.

In the paper Jarvie presented to the Department of the Media Conference on Public Broadcasting, he combined the notion of participation with the concept of listeners as consumers of radio.²⁹ Jarvie described the need for 'independence' for public broadcasters, but failed to mention any role for government, either in legislation or regulation. However he did see public radio stations as 'potentially powerful extensions of Government initiatives in arts, recreation, welfare and education, among others, and the value of this should be reflected in the degree of Government subvention'.³⁰ Jarvie advocated specialist programming so that his own fine music broadcasting group could be licensed. He did not support Cabena's idea that program information would only be accessible from a program guide available to subscribers. Jarvie was in favour of 'participatory volunteerism', and placed a greater emphasis on the need for people to have access to the airwaves than the need for listeners to receive excellent quality programs.³¹ In an effort to provide cohesion among public broadcasters Jarvie jumped on the reformist bandwagon and maintained 'I think it is plain that we are discussing an alternative version of human society'.³² But he did not really want to transform society

and actually revealed himself to be a very conservative, if somewhat unusual individual, who loved English literature and classical music.³³

By contrast with those dealt with so far, socially radical philosophies were more prevalent in Melbourne and Brisbane, exemplified by David Griffiths and Jim Beatson, respectively.³⁴

David Griffiths, who was Social Policy Officer for the Brotherhood of St Laurence and Secretary for Alternative Radio Association (ARA), which applied for the community licence in Melbourne in February 1975. Community Radio Federation (CRF), of which ARA was also a member, won the licence and set up 3CR, Melbourne's first station owned and controlled by the community.

Underlying Griffiths' philosophy was a desire to see the democratising of decision making in society. He feared that any change to the control of broadcasting was likely to see one collection of vested interests replaced by another, with society being no closer to participatory democracy. Within the context of developments in public broadcasting, Griffiths complained that the Department of the Media Conference on Public Broadcasting was not fully accountable and participatory. It was, by its very nature, 'closed, privileged and elitist [and] it is ironic that a conference about access broadcasting is not accessible'.³⁵ His concern about control by vested interests included not only those vested in-groups, such as businessmen, shareholders and bureaucrats who currently controlled the situation, but also those 'self-styled progressive out-groups', such as academics, educationalists, music buffs, and professional broadcasters, who sought to gain control. It was essentially a struggle between 'two groups within the middle class'.³⁶ Griffiths argued that this led the Whitlam Labor government into broadcasting policies that were 'ad hoc, manipulative and pragmatic'.³⁷

Griffiths insisted people had to stop deferring to professionals and experts as participation was more important than perfection.³⁸ 'The democratisation of radio [was] a process as well as an end' with public, community and access broadcasting being

rather nebulous terms.³⁹ Griffiths soon conceded that 'few people are interested in the democratisation of radio', but claimed that radio is not 'alternative' if it accepts the assumptions of establishment radio about what constitutes good radio and good programming.⁴⁰ He was opposed to the prevailing concept of 'voluntary participation', which he saw as effectively discriminating 'against low-income groups to the advantage of middle-class, affluent groups'.⁴¹ This presented a dilemma for Griffiths as low-income groups were more dependent on professional staff and had less personal resources and opportunities.

Having justified a need for professional involvement, at least in the short term, Griffiths conceded that government funding was going to be absolutely essential. He recommended that all technical equipment be owned by a public authority together with all appropriate engineering facilities necessary for compliance with ABCB standards. Without government funding only affluent groups would be able to establish stations.⁴² Overall Griffiths' political philosophy was to the far left.

Jim Beatson's philosophy of broadcasting was different, despite his involvement in the radical student movement in Brisbane in the late 1960s and early 1970s.⁴³ Beatson claimed the student movement in Brisbane was very strong and was aligned to the notion of participatory democracy. When the 'Springbok' Rugby team from apartheid dominated South Africa arrived in 1971, the University went on strike. The students found very little coverage in the mainstream media but abandoned a planned pirate radio station because the authorities could jam it. A communications licence similar to VL5UV, at the University of Adelaide, under the *Wireless Telegraphy Act* was the only legitimate possibility, but this was useless because it forbade the transmission of music. But the concept prepared the students for the idea of the public broadcasting station, 4ZZZ-FM, later on.

Beatson claimed, publicly, shortly after 4ZZZ-FM was established that it catered for politics, humour, education, community involvement and a number of

different music specialist tastes.⁴⁴ In fact, he later claimed, this was never his intention, even though commentators like Caroline Graham were convinced that it was.⁴⁵ Soon after broadcasting commenced the Brisbane Women's Media Group, and other similar groups, were ousted in favour of 'a steady diet of rock music'.⁴⁶ Beatson had always intended to provide radio for what he saw as a majority but pretended to set up a student station to obtain a licence.⁴⁷ As soon as it went to air he changed the format. It was, for Beatson, still radical radio because it involved the capabilities of people in the radical movement at that time, 'both as musicians, as dancers, as writers and as actors and as political people'.⁴⁸

Beatson justified his program changes declaring that the new conservative Fraser government would cancel the licence if the station broadcast politically contentious material. In fact it was almost closed down for playing an unmitigated diet of rock music when licensed as an experimental educational station.⁴⁹ Although Beatson was a student radical claiming what he was providing was radical radio because it was different, most of the original public broadcasters did not regard it as either radical or desirable to try and out do the commercial stations. Some community stations may regard it as desirable nowadays, but it is still doubtful they think of themselves as radicals.

The philosophies of the early public broadcasters examined so far have been wide ranging. However, many who were enthusiastic about the new sector had no definite philosophical perspective and approached the issue more pragmatically. This paper will conclude with a quick look at the aspirations of a few of them.

There was virtually no radio at all in Bellingen when Stephen Abell arrived from Boston, USA. He saw a need to provide emergency information and simple entertainment.⁵⁰ From experience in the United States and Brazil, he decided Bellingen needed a community station. He sat in on the licence hearings for three public stations in Brisbane and learnt how the system functioned in Australia. Abell was similar to

Pockley in projecting his image. "Whenever I approached someone of influence for support or addressed one of the community group's (*sic*) meeting, I always wore a necktie to complement one of my "radio costumes".⁵¹ But he had no sophisticated conception of a public sector within broadcasting as a whole.⁵² Abell merely wanted to compensate for the region's very poor existing radio services.⁵³

Kent and Dorothy Broadhead's interest in public broadcasting came from Kent's love of radio.⁵⁴ He headed a small group of enthusiasts who provided taped programs for the forces in Vietnam. They worked with Defence Forces Radio, which operated community type stations in Vietnam, New Guinea and Malaysia.⁵⁵ With the termination of taped programs to Vietnam 1971, the Broadheads concentrated on a community station, 2RDJ-FM, in the Sydney's Concord area.⁵⁶ They insisted on broadcasting to the local community as a whole, opposing programs in languages other than English for local ethnic communities. Still their primary motivation remained a love of radio.⁵⁷

Frank Scambary and Joan Killorn came to public radio through community work for their local Catholic church in Sydney's Liverpool-Green Valley area. Peter Weir, from Film Australia, delved into this community in his film *Whatever happened to Green Valley*, using considerable input from local residents, including Scambary and Killorn. Through their involvement with the film they learned of the government initiative to set up local community video access centres and met Max Keogh. Keogh also introduced them to the concept of community radio.

Neither Scambary nor Killorn became deeply philosophical merely seeing a radio station as an ideal way of coordinating many disjointed community services which had been duplicating one another's efforts. To fight to establish a station for their community Scambary and Killorn became involved with the promotion of the sector as a whole in its early days. However they remained essentially local people concerned with providing services, of which radio was just one, to their own community.⁵⁸

This study of the philosophies and aspirations of some of the founders of the community broadcasting sector has shown that their views varied as much as those of community broadcasters at the beginning of the twenty first century. Diversity has always been, and remains, an essential part of the community broadcasting sector.

ENDNOTES

¹ The third sector in Australian broadcasting has been known as community broadcasting since the passage of the *Broadcasting Services Act* in 1992. Prior to that it was known as public broadcasting with community broadcasting referring only to those stations which catered for specific geographic areas rather than specialist interests.

² CBAA, Submission for federal funding cited in AMT, *Online Radio Industry Newsletter - Australian Radio News: September 2001*, URL: <http://www.amt.org.au/htm>, downloaded 2 September 2001

³ Dennis Altman, *Rehearsals for Change: Politics and Culture in Australia*, Sydney, Fontana/Collins, 1979, pp.60-65

⁴ Charles Davidson, PMG, Letter to Max Keogh, 26 September 1961, copy with present writer; Neil Runcie, Personal Interview at Centennial Park, Sydney, 9 May 1994

⁵ For his definition of different types of access and their functions see: Max Keogh, 'Case Study No.4: Challenge to Present Management', G. Major, *Mass Media in Australia*, Sydney, Hodder and Stoughton 1976, pp.151-155

⁶ Max Keogh, Submission to Senate Standing Committee on Education, Science and the Arts, Reference on Broadcasting and Television, CPD, Senate, vol.2, 4 May 1973, pp.976-979

⁷ Max Keogh, 'B&T's attitude on FM slated', Your Viewpoint, *Broadcasting and Television*, 9 November 1967, p.18

⁸ Max Keogh, Personal Interview at 2MBS-FM, Sydney, 28 April 1994. Keogh even wrote to the Australian Consumers' Association suggesting that they should not concentrate entirely on the quality of consumer goods but should turn their attention to consumer services, such as broadcasting and should make a Submission to the Senate Inquiry. Max Keogh, Letter to Australian Consumers' Association, 7 February 1972, copy with present writer

⁹ Max Keogh, 'Getting on air is One Thing', *Broadcasting Australia*, no.1, October 1975, pp.4-5. It is interesting to note, that although this idea was generally unpopular in the early days of public broadcasting, it was basically incorporated into the changed rules on sponsorship in the *Broadcasting Services Act 1992*, when much of the early idealism had given way to pragmatism

¹⁰ Runcie, Interview

¹¹ Neil Runcie, Press Release, 5 September 1976

¹² Peter Pockley, Submission to Senate Standing Committee on Education, Science and the Arts, Reference on Broadcasting and Television, *CPD*, Senate, vol.2, 4 May 1973, p.1183

¹³ Pockley, Submission, pp.1183-1220

¹⁴ Peter Pockley, 'The Concept and Character of Public Broadcasting', *Department of the Media Papers Presented to Public Radio Broadcasting Conference*, Sydney, 3-4 July 1974, p.6

¹⁵ Peter Pockley, Personal Interview, UTS, Sydney, 9 May 1994

¹⁶ Pockley, 'The Concept and Character of Public Broadcasting', p.3. Pockley probably had this attitude because by now he was in charge of Public Relations at the University of NSW, as well as remembering his own student days

¹⁷ An idea of the kind of government involvement that was envisaged appeared in a list of eight resolutions that were forwarded to Senator Doug McClelland, Minister for the Media, at the end of the inaugural PBAA Conference. See Peter Pockley, 'Static from the radio buffs', *New Journalist*, no.15, July-August 1974, p.15

¹⁸ Geoffrey Evans, Personal Interview at Canberra, 5 December 1994; Trevor Jarvie, Personal Interview at Waverley, 27 May 1994

¹⁹ Brian Cabena, Letters to the Editor, 'ABC's Newrad Programmes', *Age*, 23 August 1963, p.3

²⁰ Brian Cabena, Letter to the Editor, *Electronics Australia*, April 1967; B. Cabena, L. Moorehead, W. Ruffley, R. C. Sneddon, M. Carey, and T. D. Jarvie, Letter to the Editor, 'A third programme of serious music', *Age*, 5 July 1968, p.5

²¹ Brian Cabena, Letters to the Editor, 'ABC's Newrad Programmes', *Age*, 23 August 1963, p.3

²² Brian Cabena, Submission to Senate Standing Committee on Education, Science and the Arts, Reference on Broadcasting and Television, *CPD*, Senate, vol.1, 6 September 1972, p.508

²³ Cabena, Submission to Senate, p.509

²⁴ Brian Cabena, 'Public Radio Broadcasting', *Department of the Media Papers Presented to Public Radio Broadcasting Conference*, Sydney, 3-4 July 1974, p.2

²⁵ Trevor Jarvie, Letters to the Editor, 'VHF FM cost estimates', *Australian Financial Review*, 7 March 1974, p.3; Trevor Jarvie, 'FM Radio - The Future', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, vol.50, no.6, November 1973, pp.26-31

²⁶ T. D. Jarvie, D. Keech, and F. M. Law, Submission to Senate Standing Committee on Education, Science and the Arts, Reference on Broadcasting and Television, *CPD*, Senate, vol.2, 25 July 1973, p.1223. This document has been quoted freely as if it were entirely Jarvie's since he wrote most of what did not deal with technical detail and concurred with that which was not his own. Jarvie revealed when interviewed that it was a political decision to address the interests of all minorities, not just classical music, because this would carry more weight when lobbying politicians. Jarvie, Interview

²⁷ Jarvie, Keech, and Law, Submission, p.1223

²⁸ *ibid*

²⁹ Trevor Jarvie, Paper presented to *Department of the Media Papers Presented to Public Radio Broadcasting Conference*, Sydney, 3-4 July 1974

³⁰ Trevor Jarvie, '2MBS-FM', *Broadcasting Australia*, no.1, October 1975, p.2

³¹ Jarvie, Paper presented

³² Jarvie, Paper presented, p.1

³³ Jarvie Interview

³⁴ 'radical' is used here in its meaning 'favouring drastic political, social or other reforms', M. A. Delbridge, *et al.* eds, *The Macquarie Dictionary*, Sydney, Macquarie Library 1981, p.1421

³⁵ David Griffiths, 'Democratising Radio', *Department of the Media Papers Presented to Public Radio Broadcasting Conference*, Sydney, 3-4 July 1974, p.2

³⁶ Griffiths, 'Democratising Radio', p.3

³⁷ David Griffiths, 'Autocracy in the Airwaves', *media centre papers 4*, Bundoora, Centre for the Study of Educational Communications and Media, La Trobe University 1976, p.1

³⁸ For a more detailed discussion of Griffiths ideas on participation see David Griffiths, 'Participatory radio and what it means', *Community*, no.11, June 1975, p.19

³⁹ Griffiths, 'Participatory radio and what it means', p.9

⁴⁰ David Griffiths, 'Castrating Community Radio', *Dissent*, vol.32, Spring 1975, p.32

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- ⁴¹ Griffiths, 'Castrating Community Radio', p.35
- ⁴² D. Griffiths, P. Wakeham, and B. Walsh, *The Inner Urban Region and Radio - Alternative Radio Association*, Melbourne, 26 February 1975, p.15
- ⁴³ Jim Beatson, Personal Interview at CBAA Conference, Melbourne, 23 November 1995
- ⁴⁴ Jim Beatson(*sic*), 'Achievements - 4ZZZ-FM' *Broadcasting Australia*, no.2, March 1976, p.4
- ⁴⁵ Beatson, Interview; Caroline Graham, 'Public Broadcasting, Dissent and the State', *Media Papers no.3*, Sydney, Media Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, NSWIT 1980, p.18
- ⁴⁶ Brisbane Women's Media Group, 'Triple Z: "maintaining credibility" or, did homogenised radio turn sour?', *Hecate*, vol. 3, no.1, February 1977, p.108
- ⁴⁷ Beatson was aware that the biggest selling albums in the world, *Tubular Bells* and *Dark Side of the Moon*, were not getting any air play, except on one small program on the ABC by Chris Winter, *Room to Move*. He wanted to fill this need. See Beatson, Interview.
- ⁴⁸ Beatson, Interview
- ⁴⁹ Eric Robinson, Minister for Post and Telecommunications, Letter to the Manager, Radio 4ZZZ, re penalty for breaches to the licence, 30 December 1976
- ⁵⁰ Stephen Abell, 'Beautiful Bellingen - Part Two - 2BBB-FM to the Rescue', *Simply Living*, vol.2, no.8 1985, pp.48-49
- ⁵¹ Stephen Abell, Personal Interview at Skillshare Office, Bellingen, 17 June 1993
- ⁵² Abell, 'Beautiful Bellingen'
- ⁵³ Abell, Interview
- ⁵⁴ Dorothy Broadhead, Personal Interview at Concord, Sydney, 27 August 1994
- ⁵⁵ Information about Defence Forces Radio came from Denise Guest, who was involved as a volunteer at the station at the base in Butterworth Malaysia, where her husband was a pilot in the RAAF. Later Guest helped set up 5PBA-FM in Adelaide, where she was station manager when interviewed, and incorporated many of the ideas that had been used at Butterworth. Because of the co-operation between the Defence Forces stations,

Butterworth also played some of the tapes the Broadheads prepared for Vietnam. See Denise Guest, Personal Interview, at Bond University, 22 November 1997

⁵⁶ Ray Jennings who had been associated with Radio RAAF, Vietnam, was part of this group. Guest Interview

⁵⁷ Broadhead, Interview; Dorothy Broadhead, Flyer celebrating 10 years of 2RDJ-FM, November 1993; Dorothy Broadhead, 'RDJ-FM Community Radio', NSW PBA, *A Set of Draft Planning Proposals on the Introduction of Category 'C' Public Broadcasting Services in Sydney*, Sydney 1980, pp.65-67

⁵⁸ Information on Scambary and Killorn came from: Frank Scambary, Personal Interview at 2GLF-FM, Liverpool, 2 July 1994; Joan Killorn, Personal Interview at 2GLF-FM, Liverpool, 2 July 1994; Keogh, Interview; Frank Scambary, 'Liverpool-Green Valley - Achievements', *Broadcasting Australia*, no.2, March 1976, pp.5-6; Joan Killorn, 'Liverpool, Green Valley Community Radio Association', NSW PBA, *A Set of Draft Planning Proposals on the Introduction of Category 'C' Public Broadcasting Services in Sydney*, Sydney 1980, pp.97-98

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