



A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF RADIO NEWS IN AUSTRALIA

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the genre of radio news texts. It shows how latent meanings brought to bear on the outside world are mediated through radio news.

Certain recurrent moral judgments and political orientations are identified in a framework that is constructed by the radio network newsroom. The framework tends to confirm the respective audience's own ideological positions. In this process, the style of the news service is seen to be as important as its content.

The method compares an extensive sample of the news texts of two Adelaide radio stations from two perspectives. Firstly, quantitative content analysis is applied to determine the selection of stories for news items. This indicates the different notions of newsworthiness that are being applied by the two newsrooms. It is shown that news bulletins regularly are patterned in a preferred order which provides the elements of a structure of interpretation of the world.

Secondly, qualitative discourse analysis is used to elucidate the process of composition of news texts, to determine the meaning of the messages of the texts. A narrative and rhetorical method is developed to explicate the dimensions of the messages in terms of the formal characteristics of language, the content or themes, and the kind of reality presented.

STATEMENT

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University.

To the best of the candidate's knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published, or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

The author consents to the thesis being made available for photocopying, and loan, if applicable, if accepted for the award of the degree. It is expected that when such use is made of this work, it will be acknowledged by reference in any other work.

HELEN FULCHER

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THE APPROACH OF THIS STUDY

This thesis is a comparative study of the news texts of two Adelaide radio stations from an extensive sample of bulletins surveyed during 1983. However the focus is not on establishing differences between the two stations. Nor are the findings limited to the news events of 1983.

The point rather is to develop a methodology for analysing the genre of radio news texts. The approach of the study moves from the content analysis of those news bulletins in quantitative terms to a qualitative analysis of the discourse of the texts themselves. The emphasis is on the nature of radio news: its interpretation of aspects of social and political life, and the contribution of linguistic analysis, style and tone towards understanding these aspects of the media.

Chapter One introduces the phenomenon of news and briefly reviews Australian research on radio and on news reporting. The most recent and comprehensive study to date specific to news reporting, conducted by UNESCO, is discussed. The limitations of quantitative analysis to identify many of the complexities and nuances of mass communication are noted. The chapter concludes that qualitative content analysis, which has been neglected in media studies to date, can substantially increase understanding of what the media (radio news in this particular case) presents. It also helps to elucidate what the media assumes about a range of major issues, events and institutions affecting our social, political and cultural life.

Chapter Two describes the two Adelaide radio stations surveyed: the ABC station, 5AN, and the Adelaide station in the national commercial Macquarie network, 5DN. These are the two independent radio news-gathering networks in South Australia. They are described in terms of their history, their style and their differing notions of newsworthiness.

The research process of collecting and collating the news texts from four sample periods in 1983 is explained. Those texts are then analysed in terms of quantitative content analysis. This focuses on the selection of texts for news bulletins, essentially a sociological dimension. The patterns of opening and closing items, patterns of the order of stories and emphases in terms of time allotted to particular categories of stories, are identified. These patterns indicate the dramatic rhythms within news bulletins and the way they have been dovetailed to create a coherent story and an integrated meaning.

Chapter Three outlines the theoretical framework for the detailed textual analysis. Reference is made to previous research that has been adapted to that end. The qualitative method focuses on the process of composition of news texts. Three overlapping dimensions will be explicated with a narrative and rhetorical emphasis. These are the structure of the message in the text in terms of the formal characteristics of language, the content or theme, and the kind of reality presented.

Subsequently Chapters Four to Nine analyse the news texts as narratives. These are organised into six story subject categories

which compare the portrayal of those subjects on the two networks. Foreign news, Australian Political news and Industrial news are chosen as major story categories in terms of the prominence and large amounts of time attributed to them on both networks. The categories of Business, Crime and Sports news are chosen because they have distinctive roles on one or the other network.

The approach to each of these chapters is slightly different, depending on which aspects of the theoretical framework (outlined in Chapter Three) are found to be most appropriate for the subject matter. The respective emphases are outlined briefly on the introductory page of each chapter.

The conclusions of each chapter summarises the approach of the two networks to that particular story subject; indicating the definitions and frames for those subjects which journalists have constructed, and the way the language of those sample news texts which have been analysed, have encoded a particular world view. Recurring narrative and mythical frameworks are highlighted.

Finally, Chapter Ten summarises the ways in which the theoretical framework adopted in the research has helped to identify how news texts create, modify and confirm society's values.

The comparative dimension of this study, the breadth of the sample and the development of a methodology for qualitative discourse analysis, make a significant and practical contribution to research in the relatively neglected medium of radio.

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PART 1 : THE PHENOMENON OF NEWS

The news bulletin is a cultural artefact intended to represent the world "out there". It is a product of a media organisation that rings in the hour or half hour on radio and defines morning, midday and evening on television. The bulletin is tailored to fit a particular temporal zone and various technical constraints, such as actualites and outside broadcasts.

The selection of items by newsmen is made on the basis of a judgment of newsworthiness that to a large extent defies definition but has become instinctive. The practicalities of processing and selecting potential news items from massive amounts of information such as phone reports, cable services and press releases, justifies some streamlining and a common basis of interpretation within a news organization. Research in this area based on interviews with newsmakers and practical experience by researchers in newsrooms, has shown that usually no formal criteria exist. Nevertheless, newsmen feel and demonstrate confidently that they share a common sense with fellow workers, a sense that has developed informally to a point where they make instinctive decisions ... "It would appear that news judgement is the sacred ability of the newsman which differentiates him from other people."¹

The research literature also indicates that the newsman has "socially sanctioned schemes of interpretation",² supports the status quo and assumes that his view of social and political reality are contiguous with the perspective of the audience. To this end the journalist employs various strategic rituals, including "objectivity",

similar to defence mechanisms that professionals of all kinds employ. Some theorists start from a different premise. They deny the possibility of any real world out there to be constructive about and claim that reality is always a social construction.³

A quick way to summarise the development of the idea that the production of the news is not a simple process of compiling objective reports is to use the distinction McQuail makes.⁴ He views the commonplace view of the news selection process as Events __ News Criteria ____ News Report __ News Interest, as naive, and replaces it with this chain: News Interest ____ News Criteria __ Events __ News Report. The second version reflects the manufactured sense of news.

From the point of view of the audience, listening to and/or watching the end result of this chain, the news bulletin, is a national ritual. It attracts a large, wide and regular audience which is familiar with the universe of its discourse that gives it the character of a public document.⁵ The ritual of listening to the news as collective behaviour has been likened to other forms of religious and ceremonial expression which,

"in as far as they create unanimity and maintain morale, play directly and indirectly an important role in politics and political action".⁶

It is evident that radio⁷ and radio news⁸ do play an important part in the lives of many people. As such, radio news has an enormous potential as a commodity in the marketplace, where the media is engaged in actively constructing wants, needs and interests. "News value" can be a near synonym for marketability. News time is prime time and

stations offer advertisers special "news packages".⁹

It is not just the commercials that are packaged though. The entire bulletin has to be presented and promoted dynamically to attract and hold audiences because, as Park noted, public attention under normal circumstances is "wavering, unsteady and easily distracted".¹⁰ The resultant bulletin packaged for general consumption therefore tends to have something of the focus of a kaleidoscope.

No matter how serious the message may be, the task of (commercial) radio news has become like Brecht's idea of the theatre. It is interesting to consider whether radio news as entertainment operates along the lines of what he called "dramatic theatre",¹¹ as in passive entertainment, which draws the spectator or listener into the events on the stage, offering emotions, hypnotising him, and exhausting his mental activity. Alternatively, does radio news operate more like Brecht's "epic theatre", where the listener's intellectual activity is stimulated: the world view is chiefly offered by appealing to facts and the listener remains outside as an observer? The listener is thereby forced to take a stand and draw his own conclusions.

The relative importance placed by newsmakers on entertaining, as distinct from conveying information in a stimulating manner, will affect the way they select items and construct news bulletins and will determine to a significant extent the ideologies communicated through the news.

The news is undoubtedly a popular genre in its own right. Morin identified it as a negotiation somewhere between two opposed modes of "performative", that of the interpretative and fabulative or story telling, and that of the "constative", which is the "demonstrative" and factual mode.¹² The influence of inherited techniques of storytelling on the shape and content of news stories has been noted by researchers.¹³ The heavy influence of stereotypes and preconceptions of what "the story" should be, means that there is a solid satisfaction for the newsman and the listener in finding or writing a story that has a neat fit.

The *raison d'etre* of news originates in the desire of people to have a suitable format in which to receive and to process information from the world about them that they couldn't experience for themselves. The Chicago Tribune of 1922 described the public's appetite for news as "deep-seated, old as the race instinctive, another evidence of the gregarious nature of man". While our own lives are necessarily limited and monotonous, the mind and soul find in news, "a spiritual and emotional satisfaction ... all to magnify and complete and furnish the inner world."¹⁴

The extent of the appetite for news is what American experiments with all-news radio stations are predicated upon.¹⁵ One American Professor of Communication explained the popularity of such stations thus.

"It's all part of a general social-psychological phenomenon. Americans are now very anxious about knowing what happens the instant it happens. Deep in the recesses of their consciousness is the damn thermonuclear thing and the related fear that we must all be ready at an instant's notice for some tragic catastrophe. People constantly feel in imminent danger. Subconsciously, they're terrified that if they don't keep up, they'll be caught out."¹⁶

As a journalist added,

"After fifteen years of violent news in the country ... there seems to be not only a need to listen for news of trouble, but also to listen for assurance that nothing desperate has happened."¹⁷

In a similar view the major 5DN news commercials in 1983 promised

"YOU'LL BE THE FIRST TO KNOW if ever it did happen. Bob Byrne would make sure you're the first to know ... When Adelaide needs to know."¹⁸

This role of radio news in keeping the public up to date is a critical one. Radio has been consistently regarded as the medium that "brings the latest news quickest", and there is a significant increase in the number of listeners tuning into radio immediately prior to the news service on the hour.¹⁹ There are immediate rewards for the listener, then, in terms of immediacy and convenience. There are also delayed rewards in terms of the listener being informed and prepared²⁰.

Helen McGill-Hughes' 1940 definition of the essence of news was "quickenning urgency."²¹ This emphasised the immediate quality of news as well as the drama of it. The rhythm of news bulletins is usually a pattern of dramatic peaks and troughs,²² patterns of light and shade, a mixture of hard and soft news. On commercial stations the pattern can come close to melodrama with a cast of black and white, good and bad, characters. Also there is a restless quality to the news that comes from the delivery, the structure and the language of individual items. Stuart Hall comments that the media's development of a breathless immediacy and heady style of news gives the audience an

increasingly alive, vivid sound and image which eventually becomes "actuality without context."²³

The senses of urgency and restlessness in the news are created too by the rhythm of the bulletins across the day. Stories that are chosen to reappear in successive bulletins are revamped and reangled to give them an edge. They are animations, not stills, and they create an expectation or a sense of suspense like a serial does. The radio station then has to fulfil that expectation.

This sort of agitation and restlessness is reflected in Lippman's image of the press in his 1922 discussion of the nature of news, where he said, the press

"is like the beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision."²⁴

Significantly he went on to say,

"men cannot do the work of the world by this light alone. They cannot govern society by episodes, incidents and eruptions."²⁵

It is an odd complement to this sense of timeliness and drama in news, that it has a prime function of imposing some sense of order on the world. The news is a session in which to review what is happening and put it into some perspective. In the patchwork of disparate items paraded out in the bulletin, it is generally understood that they are ordered in terms of importance from greatest to least. Some sense of order is also conveyed, within each item, in that in the telling of it there is a beginning and an end, a discreteness.

This implies that an event or an issue can be neatly finished. It also restricts the amount of detail and background that can be included. The amount and depth of information able to be conveyed in the short time allowed for each item, is minimal. (The weather forecast at the conclusion of the news probably gives the public more specific information upon which they can act than comes from all the other items of news put together). At best the audience can attain a veneer of knowledge, or an orientation or acquaintance with it, as Park put it.²⁶

The occurrences or incidents the audience can become acquainted with via the news are limited to those which can be expressed relatively straightforwardly, so as to be readily digested. They have to be self contained; they have to deal with the present to satisfy the requirements of being current. Therefore news items need to be concrete, event centred, not abstract or structure centred and not requiring much sketching in of detail to give them context. Thus the news is

"not a mirror of social conditions, but the report of an aspect that has obtruded itself The more points, then, at which any happening can be fixed, objectified, measured, named, the more points there are at which news can occur."²⁷

News, then, signalises an event, rather than searching for the truth necessarily in hidden facts.²⁸ An essential news quality is "factualness or facticity",²⁹ meaning beyond plural view points, having the nature of being able to be proven, to be visible and objective. The pursuit of this quality dictates news form.

"The language of news is 'linear', elaborating an event report along a single dimension with added information, illustration, quotation, discussion."³⁰

But what makes an event "obtrude"? What makes a good story, or an event worth telling? Galtung and Ruge³¹ outline twelve inter-related factors identified in the selection of events, which become news. They include frequency, threshold, absolute intensity, intensity increase, unambiguity, meaningfulness, cultural proximity, relevance, predictability and unpredictability, continuity, reference to elite people and elite nations and to something negative. The suggestion is that news is likely to reinforce the sense of understanding of the immediate environment, both culturally and geographically.

To explain how an event is selected out to become a new item, Galtung and Ruge employ an analogy of a listener turning a radio dial and selecting a station on the strength of the signal. The signal weakens as one goes further afield. This amplifies two qualities of news: firstly, that people are looking for something consonant with a mental image of what they expect to find; and secondly, that it is also in the telling that an event becomes news. Events as news are formed in the process of making an account of them.

These conclusions indicate the paradoxical nature of newsworthiness. While it might seem to be related to the new, the latest, the unexpected, the out of the ordinary, it slips into a mould of expectation, fitting a mental pre-image of what the audience both predicts and wants.³² In these senses "'news' are actually 'olds' because they correspond to what one expects to happen and if they are too far away from the expectation they will not be registered."³³ (Similarly Barbara Phillips writes of news as "novelty without change").³⁴

Because there is great regularity in the structure of the news vehicle in terms of topic, categories and relative amounts of time and ranking given to particular areas, it is possible to typify stories as Tuchman does.³⁵ Also audiences are able to make responses to questions like should there be more or fewer of different story categories.³⁶

With respect to a news item being selected out for its cultural proximity, and its inherent drama or ability to be retold easily, the quality of personification is very important. It has been commented that "the everyday citizen will see himself in what he reads, and that is always a sign of good journalism."³⁷ This is particularly relevant in radio news (as distinct from television and print) because so many consumers regard radio as a personal companion.³⁸

Galtung and Ruge explain the need for personification in terms such as cultural idealism, (man is master of his destiny and events can be seen as an act of free will) as well as the need for meaning and consequently for identification. Galtung and Ruge's thesis is that,

"news has a tendency to present events as sentences where there is a subject, a named person or collectivity consisting of a few persons, and the event is then seen as a consequence of the actions of this person or those persons."

Events then tend to be "idiosyncratic outcomes".³⁹

The ease of recounting a news item as such, as a person centred story, rather than as a structure centred one requiring collection of data, interviews and observations, is undoubted. Also undoubted is the result that the causal aspect of a news item is severely limited or even undermined by this technique.

While the use of personification and reliance on the narrative form of a news event goes a long way towards fulfilling the requirement that news be kept interesting and entertaining, one irony of personifying the news is that it still remains vicarious. The event is still part of the world out there; the world we never quite touch, but "we come to fear and cheer".⁴⁰

We can remain safely uninvolved. Yet by tuning into the news we can still go through the motions of safely participating in the traditional democratic norm of citizenship, to be well informed and socially equipped⁴¹ to provide some of the topics that are part of the currency of conversation. When we tune in, we need only deal with pre-digested items or troubles and there is always the option of turning off the news or tuning in without listening. Studies on comprehension of news and memory for news items show very limited retention rates⁴² and even a significant degree of learned helplessness.⁴³

One main thing retained from the news however is the reassurance that nothing special has happened.⁴⁴ For example, they haven't dropped the bomb yet. This suggests that perhaps the most significant aspect of the news is its residual quality of a public document, of a ritual shared by the lowest common denominator that serves to perpetuate a sense of unanimity and morale.

PART 2 : A BRIEF REVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH ON RADIO AND NEWS
REPORTING

One early Australian wireless telegraph station opened and closed its transmission with the sound of the laughter of the Australian kookaburra.⁴⁵ This could be said to be symbolic of the Australian broadcasting system being consciously different from that of the British and American systems. On the other hand this avian call sign could be regarded as only a superficial difference, ironically representing the view that at its heart the Australian radio system is quite derivative of other systems, as are many aspects of Australian culture.

Australian broadcasting originated as a commercial enterprise with clusters of small independently operated stations serving sectional interests. The potential of the medium as an instrument to serve a country was only slowly realized, especially as commercial stations found it very difficult to be self supporting. This was one of the factors that meant the early development of Australian radio was piecemeal. Other factors included the initial hostility from the newspaper medium, the difficulties of establishing a workable licence system,⁴⁶ and the caution of the parliamentarians making decisions about the responsibility for broadcasting operations.⁴⁷

Existing studies on Australian broadcasting have been largely concerned with its structure and organisational history. Early studies would include MacKay,⁴⁸ Curnow⁴⁹ and Walker.⁵⁰ Otherwise there has not been a great deal of research done specifically on radio, and

particularly not radio news, in Australia.

Western and Hughes⁵¹ have revised their earlier work The Mass Media in Australia which is useful for its comparative surveys from 1966 and 1979 on audience response, opinions and behaviour with respect to radio, television, newspapers and magazines. Their remarks on future media research would seem to indicate that they have shifted to a more conservative position in their later edition. They no longer feel the earlier enthusiasm they expressed for Australia to develop a media studies centre like those at Leeds and Leicester in Britain. They suggest that the threads of research be consolidated, rather than have researchers pursue strategies which "require strong ideological or methodological sympathies which are not universally shared."⁵²

Certainly there has been no equivalent Australian work of the British and American studies,⁵³ on the part the media have played in political socialization and the working of news organizations. Bonney and Wilson⁵⁴ discuss some concern for the structure of power in Australia's commercial media and include chapters on the interconnections with advertising, the structure of corporate capitalism and the process of marketing the news. They claim that the determinants of media output are more complex and contradictory than Humphrey McQueen's portrayal in Australia's Media Monopolies.⁵⁵ However their discussion does not deal with the research in the systematic way of the overseas research.

Several fiery works have come recently from the ABC as their battles have become increasingly political in flavour. Dixon,⁵⁶

Harding,⁵⁷ and Thomas,⁵⁸ illustrate how the ABC absorbed socio-political values, and was susceptible to empire-building and outside interference. These accounts are particularly interesting in that all three write from the insider's point of view as former ABC employees.

The first Australian book specifically on newsmaking was The News in Focus (The Journalism of Exception)⁵⁹ edited by Patricia Edgar. It contains a range of theoretical and practical studies, including contributions from experienced journalists covering the local scene. Edgar's introduction starts from a view of the news as a commodity packaged for the ratings and a belief that

"News is a form of knowledge which has more to do with social control and social cohesion than interest, diversity and impartiality."⁶⁰

The conclusions made by the contributors to this book are generally not new; they replicate overseas studies but provide Australian data. For example the study by Ian Baker⁶¹ (Assistant News Editor for the ABC in Victoria) on how reporters learn their job, notes how haphazard and idiosyncratic their training was, but how common are the news values shared by journalists within given groups. He illustrates the theory of gatekeepers in news organizations and the very high degree to which television news stories are dominated by a powerful elite. Baker's discussion on the criteria for news selection is similar to that of Galtung and Ruge.⁶²

The News in Focus includes Bruce Grundy's⁶³ content analysis of the television news over a five day period that suggests that one's

view of the world differs according to which news network one watched. He suggests the idea of news as a "recipe" and concurs with Barbara Phillips' paradoxical notion of news being "novelty without change."⁶⁴

Conceptual frameworks for news analysts are explored by John Langer⁶⁵ and Ian Mills.⁶⁶ Langer's analysis, similar to that of the Glasgow Media Group, is concerned with the implicit ideology of news content and how the genres of news and use of film footage are selected and structured to reinforce the underlying conservatism of the status quo. Langer sees the main aim of the production of scripted news being to create preferential hearings that close off questions about evidence and causality. He quotes a memo from an executive producer of a major news program to the effect that the news needs to have the structure and attributes of fiction and drama. The study by Mills looks from more of a semiotic approach at the mythic form of news content, the God-like position of the newsreader and the patterning of items including the commercials to give an overall impression of unity.

The News in Focus is very readable if not a rigorously academic book, that raises questions of interest to media organizations and the general public and goes some way to fulfilling the need for journalists to be involved in research questions. As Patricia Edgar comments, journalists involved in the study learnt from it about the implications of the way they had been working.

However Edgar's book remains largely concerned with television. There is still no radio research equivalent to Keith and Elizabeth

Windshuttle's Fixing the News⁶⁷ that collects together pieces from newspaper journalists in the field who produced New Journalist magazine. Windshuttle's new book The Media⁶⁸ is concerned with the question of why the media is so popular and reflects his background as both a journalist and an academic.

There has been no lasting equivalent to New Journalist⁶⁹ or the American Journalism Quarterly,⁷⁰ although a shortlived magazine called Broadcasting Australia,⁷¹ was started in 1980 to provide a service of information news and views on all aspects of broadcasting, particularly public broadcasting. The contributors included academics and individuals involved in public broadcasting stations and issues discussed were future options, media resource centres, aboriginal broadcasting and cable television.

Contemporary Australian magazines that have included articles on radio and news include SCAN produced at the Queensland Institute of Technology and Media Information Australia, a quarterly launched in 1976, published by the Australian Film, Television and Film School. A special edition on radio which appeared in August 1986 edited by Moss looked at a number of issues including, ABC children's radio, public radio, educational broadcasting, deregulation, ethnic radio and radio commercials. This edition of Media Information Australia also included a bibliography of over three hundred texts on radio in Australia compiled by myself.

General newspapers and magazines like The National Times⁷² and The Bulletin⁷³ occasionally feature an article on the production and

marketing of news services with a popular angle. Look and Listen,⁷⁴ a monthly magazine about the ABC and its programmes which was launched in August 1984 and closed down within two years mostly included lightweight articles on radio. Quadrant⁷⁵ has published a number of articles on the issue of bias in the ABC. Since 1978 ANZAAS has had a communications section, with some linguistics papers.⁷⁶ Industry Journals have remained more interested in the technical and marketing aspects of radio.⁷⁷

The ABC itself has published occasional papers on audience research⁷⁸ and two relatively recent government reports on broadcasting have been the Green Report⁷⁹ (equivalent to Britain's Annan Report⁸⁰) and the report by Gyngell.⁸¹ The latter suggests that Australia has a highly conformist radio industry and that its commercial radio stations reveal themselves as imitative, mundane, repetitive and opting out of social responsibilities.

A regular contributor to media debates has been Henry Mayer. He has had numerous publications, for example on the political preferences and opinions on bias in various media.⁸² With Pauline Garde and Sandra Gibbons he has drawn together a great breadth of statistical data from research in The Media: Questions and Answers (Australian Surveys 1942-1980).⁸³ This records the polls and surveys of media performance and of consumer behaviour, and reflects the roles of the media in the range of information, entertainment and leisure processes. Mayer also continues to speak at media conferences where interest often focuses on public access and ethnic radio.

The challenges and difficulties facing the development of public broadcasting stations have been a frequent topic of discussion.⁸⁴ Trevor Barr has summarised these in his recent book The Electronic Estate: New Communications Media and Australia.⁸⁵

At the National Conference, "Broadcasting in Australia: Today's Issues and the Future" (July 1980),⁸⁶ Pamela Steele⁸⁷ gave a paper on political news reporting that highlighted the compromises news organizations made in packaging the news as a product, but the conference seemed not to include discussion on substantive or political issues relating to radio. Regulars from the industry talked on their special area; for example, Keith Conlon⁸⁸ on public broadcasting, Allan Ashbolt⁸⁹ on the ABC's role and Bill Ryan⁹⁰ described commercial radio's sense of public accountability and how it remained subject to an economic model which mediated all programme decisions.

In terms of specific methodological studies, the analysis of radio news has had a lesser place, and often a rather blurred bit part in comparative studies alongside television and the press. Generally the methodology applied has not been developed beyond conventional content analysis and empiricism has remained a major influence in the studies. This approach goes some way to dealing with the questions of media bias towards particular political parties as well as questions about international news flow and diffusion of news between countries.

For example an empirical study by Henningham⁹¹ looked at the diffusion of news by all three media in Queensland and challenged a previously held notion of radio being the primary news breeding medium.

His results suggested that it was the time of the day at which the event occurred that was the major factor in its diffusion. For example radio seems to have been the dominant news source in the cases of Presley's death and Whitlam's dismissal. As reports of Presley's death first reached Australia in the early morning and Whitlam's dismissal in the early afternoon, each story missed being included in the papers and were radio scoops.⁹² Like the American study by Walter Gantz⁹³ on the diffusion of news of the attempted Reagan assassination, it seemed that the more significant a news event, the more likely it was that people would hear about it firstly from other people. Hence, perhaps, the cliché that "news travels"!

An Australian case study of news flow was undertaken by Overton and McKenzie⁹⁴ that looked at Tasmanian television and newspapers only. It took into account the number of stories, length, position, country of origin and content, roughly identified by theme. The results, that can reasonably fairly be applied to radio also, given the media monopolies here,⁹⁵ noted the relative shallowness of news reports, lack of balance and that the four main Western news gathering agencies still supplied most of the news. The study also raised considerable doubt about the capacity of the news industry to achieve a level of self regulation that was socially responsible and provide useful data to those seeking greater public guidance from the news media.⁹⁶

There is one study by Henningham⁹⁷ on the attitudes towards news and use of it on radio, television and newspapers that touches on news content, although it is limited to a pilot telephone study of three hundred Brisbane residents. Respondents were asked whether there were

"too many", "about right", or "not enough" news stories, of various categories. More than 50% of those surveyed considered the number of stories in each category "about right", except for the category of education/culture (only 32% for "about right"). Approximately one-quarter considered there were too many stories of the crime/courts and unions/industrial type. The categories of news where there were considered to be "not enough" stories (on Brisbane radio) were education/culture 66%, health/welfare 53%, economic/business 39% and human/interest 37%. Overall, in the study most people interviewed were satisfied with radio and television news: that satisfaction with news media was greater among women and older people.

Generally, however, there seems to be a sense of cynicism common to the conclusions of a number of Australian studies on the quality of media news coverage. References are commonly made to the apathy and parochialism of the Australian audience with respect to international news events, particularly. Suggestions are also made about the need to make research findings on media news services more readable and readily available to the public and the journalists and the news organisations.

A very different and stimulating research approach into radio has been taken by Higgins and Moss in Sounds Real⁹⁸ and subsequent papers.⁹⁹ They adapt some principles of discourse analysis and examine radio texts as a species of discourse to show the way radio language and technology create messages for the audience. Their analysis explores the way messages are coded, the nature and significance of the structure of radio programmes, the codes and conventions of radio as a genre, and radio's version of reality. The

scope of texts discussed include talk-back radio, commercial radio morning programmes and news and current affairs.

Higgins and Moss work from a cultural studies position with a literary criticism background. The gap in the research studies which they try to fill is to give audiences a way of seeing the productions which different media habitually produce. Although they respond to neo-Marxist pessimism by making a case for the anti-hegemonic potential of radio, their conclusions confirm and strengthen Hall's theoretical position¹⁰⁰ on the media's systematic tendency to reproduce the ideological field of society and also its structure of dominance.

This line of research is developed further in the next section which looks at the ways in which contemporary researchers in the field of mass communications are attempting to extend quantitative methods of investigation, by taking a qualitative approach.

PART 3 : A REVIEW OF SPECIFIC RESEARCH ON NEWS REPORTING

The bulk of this section summarises the most recent directions of research into news services and where possible, the research is related to radio news. Comments are made on the relative depth and reliability of the methodology in general and its application to this study in particular.

The latter section of this chapter discusses the largest most recent study, namely that of UNESCO on foreign news coverage.

As indicated in the earlier discussion of theory, there has been a great increase in the number of studies of media news since the nineteen-sixties. The majority of these have been sociologically orientated, and include numerous studies on the production of news in the newsroom, the role of various gatekeepers in media organizations and the portrayal of violence on television. Later British studies of news, such as those of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, have been more ideologically orientated and often used a neo-Marxist framework.

Contemporary researchers in this area seem to agree that it is imperative to take news research more deeply into analysis of content proper, of the text itself, as well as take into critical consideration the content of the research. A variety of attempts have been made by researchers to extend the empirical methods of investigation. Examples outlined here illustrate methods which look at the social, political and economic dimensions of events which become news: at the cultural

meanings attached to words, language domains and sociolinguistic characteristics of news; at discourse analysis which explores ideology encoded in news texts; at technological aspects of news production and physical delivery; at psychological aspects of audience comprehension of news; and at dramatic and mythical story telling aspects of news.

In the 1970's Karl Rosengren¹⁰¹ published a number of articles on the methods, data and theory of dealing with the flow and structure of international news. In his work Rosengren develops a series of tables to try to assess the performance of a news medium in terms of its transmission of foreign news. Also, Rosengren responds to, and builds on, the hypotheses of Galtung and Ruge¹⁰² who used a psychologically based theory of perception to determine the probability of an event becoming news. Rosengren argues that the theory of Galtung and Ruge needs to be placed in a larger framework that encompasses social, political and economic dimensions.

The starting point for such investigation is the comparison of extra-media and intra-media data; between events and reports of events. Extra-media data which would establish what he calls a universe of events,¹⁰³ has to be as independent as possible of the data used by the news media. It is suggested that the extra media data be culled from reports or registers of events, made up officially, using the internal knowledge of organizations. Such sources might include "The Annual International Congress Calendar" based on reports of various scientific organizations and their secretariats, Lloyd's list of shipwrecks and journals like "International Financial News Survey."¹⁰⁴

The extra-media data is characterized in terms of three concepts: of importance, distance (physical and cultural) and predictability.¹⁰⁵ To produce explicit and quantitative standards from such data with which to evaluate the performance of a news medium, Rosengren distinguishes four types of tables.¹⁰⁶ These are substantially more reliable than previous ad hoc descriptive testing, and could be starting points for cross-sectional and longitudinal studies.

The first three tables are reasonably simple, but quickly become cumbersome if more than one or two independent variables are applied. They tabulate data for descriptive purposes, normative statements and explanation of events. Rosengren's fourth table is more sophisticated because it is able to achieve what he called "multiple regression analysis."¹⁰⁷ Using parliamentary elections during the nineteen-sixties in a number of countries as the data, Rosengren's Table Four maps out the percent of variance in election coverage of three newspapers. Four variables are accounted for: namely physical distance between the capitals of election country and newspaper country, population, total import and total export of the election country.¹⁰⁸ The result is that economic variables are made evident and analysis is not restricted to rather diffuse psychological indicators.

Empirical theories like Rosengren's have moved the study of media news into a more comprehensive framework. Qualitative research which has been stressed in the outcome of a number of studies as a major area of deficiency, has not had nearly as much effort put into developing it. However, one study that has attempted to develop the qualitative research is the assessment of the cultural meaning of foreign news made

by Stevenson in conjunction with Smith.¹⁰⁹ This attempts to assess a subjective perspective on the news, through the eyes of participants.

The method identifies the cultural differences in meanings attached to words used in two American newspapers Time and Newsweek to describe two Third World countries, namely Mexico and Lebanon. Osgood's method of the "semantic differential"¹¹⁰ is used to isolate and measure three universal dimensions of subjective meaning: evaluative, activity (active or passive) and potency. Osgood compiled linguistic atlases which specified the cultural values of each language group. Each word became a unit of analysis each time it appeared and because each additional culture added another factor to the analysis, as other countries were added, the data would expand almost exponentially.

Overall the list emphasizes mundane, commonplace words more than emotion-laden words. With respect to the two countries, coverage of Mexico was found to be somewhat more positive than that of Lebanon. While the subjective meanings of words associated with both countries are more positive in the view of Lebanese readers than to a Mexican reading the same material, the evidence suggests that cross cultural bias was more often in the eye of the beholder than in the media themselves.

Presumably a linguistic atlas similar to that adapted by Stevenson and Smith above, could be compiled for radio news across different nationalities, ages and different classes. Such an approach would be similar to the socio-linguistic work of Labov¹¹¹ and Bernstein,¹¹². It could use Fishman's¹¹³ idea of the language "domain", of socio-

cultural norms and expectations leading to congruent social and linguistic behaviour that could be mapped out for radio. This is the kind of base used by the Glasgow University Media Group¹¹⁴ in their studies of television news, where they analyse the effects of the choice of particular lexical items and sequences of information and linguistic correlations. They claim that functional interest in the selection and codification of news items and the high degree of predictability of news language, contribute to the creation of "preferred readings" or particular interpretations of reality.

There has been some discussion of the social background of the language of radio and the pattern of formality across the news, by Kress and Trew,¹¹⁵ who detail for example the use of syntactic structures like the passive, and by Leitner¹¹⁶ who is also interested in the effects of the paralinguistic and prosodic properties of the newsreaders.

One small sociolinguistic study of five commercial radio stations in the city of Brisbane, Australia, has been done by Val French.¹¹⁷ She looks at market segmentation and the selection of news items for their particular audience, news selection and news language. The early evening broadcasts of each station are transcribed for four nights for five weeks, and the items measured in seconds to determine the amounts of local, state and international news. As radio journalists from each station had stated that they aimed to make their language as close as possible to conversational style, the stylistic devices common to conversational language are ascertained from selections of conversation taped in the local community, with the help of the Walker Gibson Style

Machine.¹¹⁸ Stylistic devices tabled include use of modifying adverbs, contractions, numbers of clauses and colloquialisms. The reading age required for the comprehension of each station news is also ascertained.¹¹⁹

Generally Val French concludes that the language of the news service is adapted to the audience. For example, the national commercial Macquarie network news on 4BH is the station commanding a large, middle-of-the-road audience; fairly conservative people from all age groups and a major market of housewives over thirty-five years old. The conservative image is mirrored in the emphasis on state and national coverage of news (available through the Macquarie network) and in the language of its broadcasts. This news does not employ conversational linguistic devices. It is closer in style

"to that of newspaper writing with no contractions, fragmented sentences or colloquialisms."¹²⁰

The idea of the broadcaster modifying his language to win the approval of his audience is echoed by Allan Bell¹²¹ in his sociolinguistic studies of New Zealand Radio Stations and their news styles. He argues that broadcasting adopts the standard language because of its social prestige; that the public is ultra sensitive about broadcast language and "cast broadcasting in the role of guardian of the standard language."¹²² The role of the news broadcaster is a critical part of this because news is the most deliberate of common language uses,

"consciously molded by many people before reaching its final linguistic form."¹²³

Five Auckland stations, including three operated by the public corporation Radio New Zealand, are surveyed by Bell. They are charted for station characteristics such as audience, ownership, community involvement, programming, music, advertising, announcer style and news. Audiences are surveyed for demographic information and media reception habits.¹²⁴ Thirty-five hours of radio news bulletins are collected over a composite five day week (over March, April and July to allow for seasonal variations), and from 6 a.m. to midnight on each of those five days.

Bell's paper on this study discusses the variables affecting language style such as organizational structure and gatekeeper in the news organization and their view of their audience. He explains that his approach to identify shift in style is to examine language style via several features which appeared typical of shifts in language as a whole. Using methods similar to Labov's,¹²⁵ Bell measures three linguistic variables: negative contraction, consonant cluster reduction and intervocalic /t/ voicing.

Bell establishes from his study of Auckland radio stations and their use of news language, that there is a strong co-variation of news style with audience prestige. Parallels are drawn between the factors at work in Labov's department store survey¹²⁶ and news language including "the circular process by which a radio station borrows prestige from its audience and lends it back again."¹²⁷ Bell finds that national radio serves as a focus of the standard language, while local radio is identified with a local prestige. Therefore Bell concludes that in contemporary language there is a

"good deal of truth in Tunstall's assertion (1977:128) that 'the newspapers and the news bulletin are the new authorised version'"¹²⁸

The twist is that the audience can choose the style that suits them, but only from amongst the set of styles the media offers.¹²⁹

A comparative study with a similar socio-linguistic component has been made by Eve Stocker.¹³⁰ She compared two American radio stations and their news services: namely KCBS an all news format station and KPFA, a listener-sponsored station with major emphasis on news and public affairs. Eve Stocker compares their newscasts using a simple form of content analysis to examine the priorities (agenda) of coverage and the nature of depiction of that research.¹³¹

Stocker recorded one major news bulletin from each station from four weekdays in the same week. Coding forms were devised to collect data on the order of items; local, state, national and international content; duration of items; who presented them; and whether actualites or comments from experts were included in the item. While the sample is very narrow and Stocker acknowledges the limited results possible with content analysis and the nuances it misses, the research is well supported with details on the resources and workings of the respective organizations.

The results are limited to discussion of differences between the two stations leading to generalizations such as one station's coverage being "more extensive" on local issues than the other. This kind of result surely begs numerous questions: the assumptions on audience, the real aims of the station and all the complexities of values and

ideology guiding selection and reporting of the news.

Such limitations remain until the research reaches past the empirical focus and uses other tools to get some depth of understanding about the language used to convey the message content. This is the place where discourse analysis can be applied and two examples of discourse analysis of newspaper texts are worth mentioning here briefly for their methods.

Gerbner¹³² for instance studied a criminal event, "L'affair Amiel" as reported in nine French newspapers, from the Left and the Right press and the commercial press. It was accepted that the party press selected news and views according to standards relevant to its political clients' ideological perspectives, while the commercial press selected for the need for broad mass appeal, for a perspective that cut across party lines. Gerbner's aim was to analyse that "ideological dialogue."¹³³

A procedure called "proposition analysis"¹³⁴ was developed to measure the specific content composition of differential tendencies in the presentation of the same events by different sources. Message samples were screened sentence-by-sentence to develop a list containing all basic propositions advanced by each source. In over six hundred propositions, two thirds were "balanced", or advanced by papers of all three groups in about equal proportion. Propositions were grouped into passages dealing with various aspects of the events. The spectrum of differences between the three groups in their presentation of the event were tabulated to show the order and magnitude of shifting perspectives

from Left to Right.

For example where the commercial press were strongest on the theme of "defective personality" of the criminal, the Left stressed social injustice as the root of personal tragedy, while the Right was concerned with threat to law and order. The Right wing press perspective limited the scope of the discussion to carefully circumscribed and relatively marginal areas.

"Outside these areas the terms 'politics' and 'government interference' are used mostly as epithets."¹³⁵

The analysis tended to support the proposition that

"there is no fundamental neo-ideological, apolitical non-partisan news gathering and reporting system."¹³⁶

The idea of every text encoding an ideology is argued also by Kress¹³⁷ in his comparison of two texts dealing with an impending strike, taken from two Australian newspapers, (The Age and The News). His analysis shows two different modes of mediating the event, two different forms of ideological structuring. This is manifested in the grammar: use of nominalizations, embedded clauses and active and passive verbs.¹³⁸ Kress shows that if syntax is regarded as acting metaphorically, it can be seen that where one paper presents the issue

"in terms of the major participants involved and some of the significant concepts of industrial relations, giving thematic prominence to (human) participants in the event",¹³⁹

the other paper may present the issues in terms of the utmost generality and abstractness.

Kress also analyses the classifications imposed on events and the relative valuations placed on the utterances of different speakers.

For example speakers are ranked along an institutional personal axis.¹⁴⁰ Utterances from official institutions are likely to be least prominently marked, or sometimes not marked at all in the resulting report, with the effect that the report is treated by the media as seemingly uncontentious fact.

Overall it is argued that the readership of the two newspapers would find their own ideological positions reaffirmed.

Another area of news research that remains relatively unexplored is that of audience response to the technological aspects of news production and physical performance of the newsreader. For example how do these aspects relate to maximising positive audience evaluation of news? How do they increase the probability of accurate transmission of information and minimise audience distraction?

A number of studies exist on the effects of use of actualites, timeliness cues, use of emphasis and provision of additional information. Although they generally are not integrated into more comprehensive studies of radio news, it is worth diverting attention from the text related research at this point, to summarise the findings of the effects of some technical aspects of news production on audience.

Results of such studies suggest that there is an optimal delivery speed (between 160-190 words per minute)¹⁴¹ for recall and positive judgments of news sources, although other increments such as pitch and length of pause also need to be considered. In terms of recall of

information, Meyer and Miller¹⁴² find no definitive effect on listener ability to recall information between a delivery that used emphasis and one that did not. However there is some preference indicated by listeners, for vocal stress and intentional pauses to set off key words and phrases in an attempt to add meaning and further clarify a story.

There has been some indication of the viability of altering audience evaluation of radio newscasts through manipulation of perceived immediacy, by using verbal timeliness cues.¹⁴³ However more study needs to be undertaken on the number of such cues able to be employed and the effects of long term use of such cues. The nature of the audience, and the points at which they become aware of being manipulated or simply become distracted from the bulletin, are unknown.

Another technique used by broadcasters to introduce a sense of immediacy and interest is the use of actualites or on-the-spot reports. Wulfemeyer and McFadden¹⁴⁴ study the effects of actualites on audience recall of and interest in news bulletins. Their result, which is limited, and apparently contradicts other similar studies, indicates a straight delivery is the most effective. Informal comments by those listeners surveyed, point to the relative importance of slower, clearer, more enthusiastic delivery, with more background detail, humour and human interest stories.

An earlier study by Harrell, Brown and Schramm¹⁴⁵ also indicates that human interest and spectacular stories of crime and disaster are remembered better than are stories of public affairs. The majority of

an audience without a very good memory, respond to index words or cues of familiar or sensational nature; such as Hollywood, Danny Kaye, old age, children burning, escaped convict or a nearby town.

It is suggested by Findahl and Hoijer¹⁴⁶ that differences in recall of news items are related more to psychological rather than geographical proximity. Their work over the last decade has explored the process of the comprehension of news from the viewpoint of psychological theory as well as structural analysis. They surmise for example, that with respect to repetition, the nature of a repeated comment plays a more important role than the amount of repetition: the emphasis must lie on the connecting causal relationships. The important thing is to emphasise those things which give listeners a framework or context, an opportunity of binding together the different parts of an event.

These ideas have been developed further by Hoijer¹⁴⁷ in a context of psycholinguistics and cognitive theory. Hoijer outlines the factors that cause misunderstanding of messages and notes the importance of variables such as the role of previous knowledge, age, social background and level of education. Additionally she relates comprehension of news bulletins to aspects of textual presentation such as stage setting, novelty, standard story schema, actors, cause and consequentiality. Aspects of comprehension and recall that need to be researched further are indicated.

Hoijer's perspective has aspects in common with some of the researchers working in the area of discourse analysis; for example the

dramatic and storytelling aspects of the news, as elaborated into mythic structures by Higgins and Moss¹⁴⁸. Their major concerns are the version of reality presented to the listener and the way it is structured. They have written the first detailed Australian study of radio texts as structured wholes. Discourse analysis, frames and drama conventions are used in the analysis which they believe

"should focus on words because they are not simply a means of description and factual retelling of events; the ways in which words are presented and structured are telling events in themselves."¹⁴⁹

Discourse analysis focuses on the formal qualities of media discourse, the message or the text. What comes under scrutiny is the view of the nature of language itself, in a role of constructing reality, rather than reflecting it. Therefore discourse analysis deals qualitatively with text, making explicit surface structures, but also making explicit the implications, pre-suppositions, connections and strategies that usually remain implicit in discourse. It is not a unified theory, but a practice that has been developed from disparate bases, each of which has some relevance to media research. For example, Foucault (1971) works from a philosophical base, while Coulthard and Montgomery (1981) use a linguistic and functional approach, and Teun Van Dijk (1983) starts from the grammar and linguistics of the text.

There are a whole new range of questions to explore. What kinds of meanings are systematically and regularly constructed around particular events? How is the dominant discourse with the taken-for-granted feel, made the account? How is a preferred range of meanings actively produced by various institutions? ...

The text is regarded as a complex representation of an encoded reality. It is internally structured and organized in accordance with various rules or codes which determine, in part at least, the meanings produced. These texts, in turn, are set in a larger context. For example, the radio news bulletin needs to be considered in the contexts of mass communications and audience, and its own material practices such as story grammar, coherence, relevance and technical production.

Higgins and Moss develop a practical and flexible method "applying dramaturgical touch-stones"¹⁵⁰ that define the performance-centred nature of news items and "delineates the outlines of mediation which the medium's imperatives impose on the surface meaning of news stories."¹⁵¹ The ideas of news as mythic and ritual (Gaye Tuchman,¹⁵² Barbara Phillips,¹⁵³) are rejected as too cumbersome and inadequate as tools of analysis.

Their method of exploring what radio does with words and technology shows that "language bears the weight of much more than reportage."¹⁵⁴ To illustrate this they develop an analysis on the evidence of produced radio material from news and current affairs programmes. This is organised in the form of frames, tables and rhythms, which give the breakdown of the nature of the events portrayed and the origins and shaping of the players.

They stretch the metaphor of reporters-as-actors to its limits and introduce the idea of the frame to illustrate how different types of initial shaping determine the flow of the text. For example, in the drama of controversy, with reporter as hero or truthseeker in the

political jungle, the reporter shapes the event in an obsessive frame. Trying to get a confirmation of his own judgement of a case, he hunts the interviewee relentlessly. If the subject refuses to accept the frame of the reporter's posturings, a different drama ensues.

One importance of the frame Higgins and Moss discuss is its ability to be used to fog perspectives. Yet at the same time the frame can play a critical entertaining role of a "produced" item where the whole programme is planned, recorded and edited for dramatic effects with careful attention paid to dramatic rhythm. From the setting of news segments in relation to one another, come the alternative scenes of drama and smooth narrative. Word pictures are painted with the language devices: some words and phrases focus the listeners' minds in terms of conflict, or exploit the suggestive power of words and emotional trigger phrases. As Higgins and Moss comment,

"taking the stuff of everyday life, as good playwrights do, blowing it up to striking proportions and presenting it to the audience in the form of scenes of artificial suspense will permanently ensure that they will come back for more."¹⁵⁵

A subsequent paper by Higgins¹⁵⁶ analyses radio news at a variety of levels to show it as an artefact. She views news as a collection of narratives, as

"a mosaic where all the parts dovetail together at the level of myth so as to create a coherent and integrated system of meaning which supports dominant definitions of cultural practices."¹⁵⁷

Her paper shows how the latent meanings of news broadcasts are structured in dominance, so that a preferred meaning emerges at the level of connotation. To maintain a consensus, the actions of certain individuals and classes¹⁵⁸ are legitimated. Oppositional voices are

often allowed only a limited right of reply. The commentator plays the bardic role as narrator and organizer, providing suitable explanations of current cultural life stories and the audience is lulled into accepting the explanations proffered as part of the show. Additionally the analysis considers news in terms of topics, key words, and dramatic significance, with a brief consideration of the use of linguistic structures such as metaphor, active and passive voice and coherence. The main focus is on narrative and mythic significance embedded in the news stories.

The methods of these last researchers who focus on discourse analysis and the dramatic and mythic aspects of news texts, have a particular influence on the research undertaken in this thesis. This is because such methodology relates to developing qualitative analysis of news texts. The need for such analysis was made evident in the conclusions and subsequent responses to, the major UNESCO study on foreign news outlined in the next section.

PART 4 : THE UNESCO STUDY: "THE WORLD OF THE NEWS"

Internationally, the emphasis of news studies has been on the flow of foreign news. The largest and most recent study of foreign news coverage organised by the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) on UNESCO's behalf was called "The World of the News: The News of the World".¹⁵⁹ It came about as a result of a 1976 General Conference of UNESCO that looked at the issue of international news as one of continuing controversy, especially since the arguments of the nineteen-seventies about imbalance, news flow and presentation and dominance of Western news agencies.

The resolution UNESCO passed was for

"a study on the image of foreign countries representing different social systems and developmental stages as portrayed by mass-circulated press in respective countries."

Particular attention was to be paid

"to the image given over the past twenty years by mass media in industrialized countries of the developing world and of the changing economic and political relations in the international community."¹⁶⁰

The results of the study are reasonably bland. The statistics tend to support fairly self-evident conclusions such as that the major topic of international news is politics.

Nordenstreng condemns the study generally as a

"textbook example of how social science can be misused for political purposes."¹⁶¹

He points out that the assumptions behind the UNESCO brief are that the media are not apolitical by nature and that rather than remain neutral,

the media should actively contribute to peace and other universal values espoused by UNESCO ideology. Such comments place the UNESCO study in the context of American social science research, reflecting the interests of its initiators and relating to values of market research.¹⁶²

Nevertheless the methodology and the breadth of the study make a sound background to any exploration of news services, and usefully indicate areas that need to be further researched.

"The World of the News" project was planned to be an inventory of international news with thirteen participating teams from Australia, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Iran, Hungary, Lebanon, Malaysia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, the United States and Yugoslavia.¹⁶³ The press sample includes three or four of the largest daily papers in each country, but the radio and television sample is only one main news bulletin of the day, each. The time sample is based on one six-day chronological week¹⁶⁴ in April, 1979 and a composite one which spanned April to June. With respect to radio news, then, the survey covers only twelve bulletins from each participating country. (Unfortunately the UNESCO tables of results blur the differences between press and broadcast news, so that radio results cannot be specifically extrapolated.)

The sample therefore is reasonably shallow, but very broad. It necessarily reflects the diverse decisions of individual teams as to which channels and papers were representative. Another constraint of

the survey is that in order to handle large amounts of data, the twenty-nine media systems involved are condensed into seven geo-political regions for ease of reporting large patterns. Differences between countries are lost; for example, Australia is put in to the Asian region along with Indonesia, India, Malaysia and Thailand. This is a very disparate region, including countries from the developed and Third and Fourth Worlds.

The unit of analysis is the news item. Each one is coded for location (where the news item originated), source (from whom the item originated), the position and nationality of the actor who made the news, the topic and the theme. The length of space given to each item is also coded. As this is found to correlate closely with the frequency of the item, some researches report only in terms of the total number of items.

Analytic problems arise with the definition of foreign or external news in terms of origin and in dealing with events in more than one country. There are also no neat dividing lines between purely domestic and international.

"Sometimes a strong international focus would appear to draw attention away from necessary domestic investigation, while a weak international focus seemed to result in an isolationist and introverted outlook."¹⁶⁵

There are two, clear, major results of the study. Across the variety of participating nations the overall pattern of attention paid to certain kinds of events is remarkably similar. Politics and news with political actors dominate international news reporting everywhere. Nigeria and Australia have less though, and Iran more, than all other

participating media systems. Secondly, regionalism is most prominent.

"Every national system devotes most attention to events happening within and to actors belonging to its immediate geographical region."¹⁶⁶

Extra regional concern for other developing areas would seem to still be weak, consistent with Galtung's assessment¹⁶⁷ of the importance of geographic proximity in foreign news: that "peripheral nations do not read much about each other, especially not across bloc borders."¹⁶⁸

In terms of what is newsworthy, there seems to be a common definition of news that centres on the exceptional event, for example coups and catastrophes. However, part of the explanation of the emphasis on hard news is that fast-breaking and event orientated such as in the arena of politics, war and foreign affairs, might be explained by the methodology, which analysed general news sections of the press, but not the material from special (mostly 'soft') sections like sports or food.

With respect to attributed sources of international news it is not possible to distinguish much but there seems to have been a

"significant amount of possible secondary gatekeeping ... that originally may have been culled from external sources."¹⁶⁹

The methodology is not sophisticated enough to allow any more specific conclusions.

The lack of difference in the news between media of very different political systems, seems to argue against theories of cultural imperialism. The study does not show that Third World media are held hostage to a Western news monopoly. Far less reliance by under-developed countries on Western agencies is shown than in studies

published in the nineteen-sixties and nineteen-seventies. On the other hand, assertions that the Western media ignore the Third World cannot be substantiated ...

"The big gaps in world news are not the Third World in Western media, but Eastern Europe in all other areas of the world and Third World regions in other Third World regions."¹⁷⁰

Whether or not this is due to lack of interest or some more subversive reason cannot be ascertained from the study. Stevenson made a sensible point, however, that the influence of Western agencies seems to relate to geographic and topic emphasis, but is less influential in transmitting cultural values. He concludes that

"the influence of Western agencies derives from their ability to provide timely, straightforward accounts of major events of news value around the world."¹⁷¹

(Perhaps this suggests that differences in technological expertise and sophistication of communications system are as important as anything else.)

While the categories of themes and references are reasonably successful in capturing the cultural and ideological context of foreign news, Stevenson notes how little of the news contains any themes, and how

"two thirds of the stories in the international regional files of the Western agencies were without these explicit cultural values."¹⁷²

He mentions that cultural bias such as references like "African interest" or "treasonous accord" could easily have been edited in, so that they were not necessarily the responsibility of Western agencies.

Few stories in any country are found to be either explicitly

negative or positive and it is concluded, as with earlier studies, that what most people see as 'bias' in the news is a result of the expectation they bring to it.¹⁷³

Stevenson and Thompson¹⁷⁴ conclude that the UNESCO study of world news "did not resolve the debate in UNESCO as much as form(s) it."¹⁷⁵ It does not touch the way the news is put together. Given the similarities of news from immediate geographic areas should the similarities or differences be emphasised? Is a half-glass of water half-full or half-empty they asked?

Stevenson and Thompson attempt to do something more with the kinds of data "The World of the News" study gathered, than remain on the macro level that is susceptible to arbitrary decisions on boundaries and categories and time samples. They develop a method they called "contingency analysis"¹⁷⁶ which looks at the way aspects of foreign news content are linked together. Their study seeks

"to determine the probability that a specified symbol will be drawn, given that other specified symbols are in that or related units."¹⁷⁷

In this way they look at the links of recurring combinations of categories, rather than the frequencies of occurrences of categories.

The tables identify topics linked to particular parts of the world. They also identify which actors are linked to which topics and where there are positive and negative links. For example, in the American media North America has positive linkages with international politics, economics and sports. Coverage of Africa and the Middle East is mainly on the topics of foreign and domestic politics and military-defence

actions. In the Soviet media, there are positive linkages with Eastern Europe and topics like sport, education, science and culture. Soviet coverage of North America under-represents domestic politics but over-represents military-defence.¹⁷⁸

Many of the results are self evident and expected. For example, politicians are cited in political news and not sports news. What stands out in Stevenson and Thompson's study is the absence of any consistency in foreign news coverage.¹⁷⁹ Overall the tables that are constructed reflect a narrow definition of news and limited journalistic sense of who ought to be given access to the media. This would seem to confirm the theory discussed above of gatekeepers and the importance of primary definers of news.

THE UNESCO STUDY: THE AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH

Elizabeth and Grant Noble¹⁸⁰ were part of the Australian team for the UNESCO study, trying to

"document the amount and type of news particularly from developing countries which Australian audiences are exposed to via newspapers, radio and television."¹⁸¹

They see the notion of image diluted in favour of quantitative measurement, and regard space and time measurements as the best measure in describing coverage patterns. Hypotheses of the Noble and Noble study include the questions

"Do electronic media present more foreign news in Australia than print media and are Australian media also dependent on the transnational agencies, and if so which agencies?"¹⁸²

Their sample of news media is taken from New South Wales The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald, The Telegraph, ABC T.V., Channel Seven (Sydney), ABC Radio and Macquarie Radio News. The radio news broadcasts are respectively 7.45 a.m. (15 minutes with 9-10% audience) and 7.30 a.m. (5 minutes with 14-16% audience).¹⁸³ As with the general UNESCO study, the radio sample is 12 bulletins for each station, from a six-day chronological and a six-day composite week. (The Nobles indicate that

"although Windhauser and Stempel contend that any period of four days or more adequately represents the news pattern within a media system, we are somewhat less confident,"¹⁸⁴

and they think results need to be treated with some caution.)

The emphasis for this study is on comparing Australia's position with other countries. It is evident that Australian media do neglect whole areas of the world, most particularly South America and Africa and news items from those countries are not 'good' news. Eastern Europe is virtually ignored.

"If anything, we deduce that the cold war is a more effective block to news flow than is the label 'developing world'".¹⁸⁵

For example, the news agency Tass is not mentioned in any of the media in the sample period. Consequently they conclude that news flowing into Australia comes from very restricted sources; for the press one third comes from the big three agencies (Reuters, U.P.I., and A.P.) another third from the media organization's correspondents in selected countries and most of the other third from Australian Associated Press.

About a third of foreign news reaching Australia originates from the Asian region, (which includes countries from Iran to India). Our foreign news seems dependent on geography firstly, history secondly

(especially with the ABC reporting a great deal of British news) and thirdly economic-political relationships. (The commercial Australian media are particularly orientated to America.)

The images Australian media portray of other countries are determined in the survey by tabulating topics by region. It is found that whilst the image of South America is one of military defence and natural disaster (when it was visible at all), the high profile of North America emphasized science, followed by crime, international politics, economics and diplomatic activity. Western Europe is portrayed as dominated by internal politics, (they make up one third of items and largely reflect the British General election), followed by items on crime and police and the economy. Eastern Europe is 25% natural disasters and similar to Western Europe whose portrayal features crime and police matters, relating to respective dissidents. 50% of African reporting is on the topic of internal politics, reflecting the election in Zimbabwe. A diverse spectrum of events flowed within the home base of Asia.¹⁸⁶ Such results seem full of ideological significances that need following up with more specific qualitative studies.

The overall pattern of the UNESCO study shows that international news reporting equals politics, though more so in the developing world (65%-85%) than in the industrial world (45%-65%). Australia's figure is well below the international average, but Asia as a region resembles the developed rather than underdeveloped world. Only Australia and Nigeria do not focus on politics as international news.

The Noble and Noble study suggests that Australia's low rate of foreign news

"shows a concern for domestic self-government within states rather than seeing events as controlled by power play between states."¹⁸⁷

The reasons remain a matter of conjecture. Perhaps

"Strong market condition amongst media outlets simply means that foreign news is presented as simply and briefly as possible for an audience of Europeans sitting incongruously in the Pacific Basin."¹⁸⁸

Perhaps it is because Australians are inundated with domestic politics and/or are forced to vote? Perhaps Australians are internationally provincial?

Within the Noble and Noble multi-media analysis of foreign news reporting in Australia it is possible to extrapolate some conclusions about radio, given that their results are based on 24 news bulletins in total from ABC and Macquarie networks, and that they are framed in comparison with television and newspapers. ABC radio has the greatest proportion (over half) of bulletin time given to foreign news. ABC radio news covers four times as many foreign news stories (51.5%) as Macquarie news (17.7%)¹⁸⁹ (Note that the ABC bulletin is also three times as long.) Samples of both commercial radio and television neglect foreign news in favour of domestic events. Foreign radio news is principally relayed from Western Europe (25% of items). More news from North America is reported by the commercial media than the ABC. Macquarie radio neglects South America and Africa.¹⁹⁰ One odd result is that radio news tends to report on the Middle East at least twice as often as does television news. Four-fifths of all foreign news concerns the world in which Australia is not featured and Noble and Noble see commercial radio news is the most "cosmopolitan"¹⁹¹ in

reporting almost entirely on foreign news abroad.

The constraints on the Noble and Noble study are similar to those on the UNESCO study. Like Screberny-Mohommadi, they suggest that the severe limitations on the notion of image and qualitative analysis are unfortunate.

"There is considerable interest in analysing not only the manifest content of news but also in interpreting latent meaning."¹⁹²

Supplementary work might serve to explain the differences between countries and types of media, to overcome the blandness of the project.¹⁹³

For instance even more detailed content analysis can reveal differences between the coverage of foreign news on the 2 stations. My research indicated that while roughly equal average times were spent on foreign news, the 2 stations did not use the same news items. For example a large proportion of the ABC's world events covered foreign political news, while 5DN covered more foreign sporting events. The placement of items in bulletin order showed a much higher emphasis given to world stories by the ABC than 5DN. (These sorts of differences are discussed in Chapter Four on Foreign News.)

Henry Mayer¹⁹⁴ suggests that involving more journalists in these results and getting them to be more self-critical would be a constructive next step. He adds that study of news flow from Australia to other countries, including America and Canada, also needs to be explored.

Andrew Bear¹⁹⁵ comments on the Noble and Noble study, again in terms of the almost self evident results, and outlines many of the varied areas that still need to be researched. The questions of righting apparent imbalances of news from various countries and deciding for example how and whether more news of what kind should come from other countries, are open ones. Like Mayer, he stresses the need for new ways to be "probably more polemical and more political ways of conducting and disseminating research."¹⁹⁶

An original intention of the UNESCO study was to balance the formal quantification of data with some deeper qualitative analysis, to use a "delicate methodological instrument that would get at the qualitative sphere of image building."¹⁹⁷ This proves very unsatisfactory, because of the lack of real method. It is diluted to analysis of three or four selected "dominant" stories, where "dominance" is interpreted by each team. At the same time, items are only selected from representative or major media and no alternative media are included.

The few selected "dominant" items were to be summarised in terms of perspective, news angle adopted, and language style and journalistic devices used in reporting. Interestingly this attempt at qualitative analysis indicates some differences in outlook, while the major part of the survey, the quantitative analysis tends to reflect similarities in coverage. As Screberny-Mohommadi concludes

"The implication of this divergence - whether a continual and low key or a short term and dramatic focus has a greater effect on audiences of media news - deserves attention."¹⁹⁸

The intention of my research is to analyse radio news texts from

that perspective, taking both of the approaches referred to above: quantitative and qualitative analysis. The sample of news items is very extensive and also comprehensive, because it compares the contemporaneous news bulletins of two independent news gathering networks. In trying to build up a view of the world each news service structures for its (regular) audience, a large quantity of data is necessary to identify the most common recurrent images and patterns.

It is submitted that the quantitative analysis of news items (for example by source and by story category) tends to reflect similarities or only minor differences in coverage of stories between the two networks. However, the qualitative analysis indicates many differences in outlook between the two news services, and therefore differences in the picture of the world which each network is building for its respective audience.

The point of the investigation is not to attempt to identify and detail the differences between the two news services. (This is more of a by-product of the method: the comparison provides some objectivity with respect to the events being portrayed as news.) The point of this work rather, is to develop a narrative and rhetorical methodology based on close textual analysis of the news discourse is developed, to identify the ways in which news is structured.

CHAPTER ONE - FOOTNOTES

A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE IN THE FIELD OF MASS
COMMUNICATION.PART 2 : THE PHENOMENON OF NEWS

1. Tuchman, G. (1972) p672.
2. Fishman, M. (1982).
3. Epstein, E. (1974) as quoted by Windshuttle, K. (1984) p269.
4. McQuail, D. (1983).
5. Park, R.E. (1940) p679.
6. *ibid.*, p678.
7. Mayer, H. et. al. (1983) p150.
Summary of Australian Broadcasting Control Board survey of 1974 in Melbourne....."From your personal experience would you say that radio plays a very important part in your life, a fairly important part, or not such an important part?"
Results: Very important part 25%, Fairly important part 37%, Not very important part 38%.
8. Western, J.S., and Hughes, C.A. (1983) p53, table 24.
1979 Survey into major reasons for listening to radio. 60% listened for news as a major reason. (Only higher figure was 70% for music). Figure was broken down into ABC radio audience listening for news - 74% and commercial audience - 57%.
The authors note that between surveys of 1966 and 1979, there was more convergence of evidence between ABC and Commercial Stations.
p54 notes also that the proportion of audience using radio for news seems to increase regularly with age, whilst socio-economic factors make a smaller difference. (Farmers stood outside the class structure as the most avid listeners to radio for information).
9. For example, radio station 5DN offers a news package where they charge the highest rates for a commercial for the spot immediately following the news; Say \$80 for one 30 second commercial in a bracket of 2 minutes maximum commercial bracket of uninterrupted prime time, as against a \$20 minimum commercial at another time. (February 1984 figures).
10. Park, R.E. (1940) p676.
11. See Brecht's theories as discussed for example by Williams, D., Drama From Ibsen to Brecht, Pelican, 1973.

12. Terms used by McQuail, D. (1983) p146.
(Quotes terms of Morin, V., "Televised Current Events Sequences Or A Rhetoric of Ambiguity", News and Current Events on TV, Edizioni RAI, Roma, 1976.)
13. Darnton, R. (1975).
14. Chicago Tribune, 1922 - quoted by Sommerlad, E.C. (1950) p40.
15. See Shaw, R.F., and Riffe, D. (1980).
This comment indicates that although a number of all-news stations failed, this was often because they failed to adapt their workings and marketing sufficiently and to educate their audience to the new approach. It is still believed that all-news radio is viable and the authors conclude "Radio, since its inception, has always carried news. But in the not too distant future it may come to pass that news will carry AM radio." p33.
16. *ibid.*
Comment by Harold Mendelsohn, Professor of Communications at Denver University.
17. *ibid.*
Comment by Ben Bagdikian, journalist and media critic.
18. 5DN Newspaper commercial in The Advertiser 12/6/84.
(Similarly a Channel 10 Television Commercial claimed "Be the first to know at 6 on 10" in The Advertiser 30/10/84).
19. Western, J.S., and Hughes, C.A. (1983) p93.
Survey on news listening habits. Radio scored ahead of television and newspapers in terms of "brings the latest news quickest"...as distinct from presenting the "most complete, most intelligent, unbiased news or best understanding of issues and/or of leaders". Statistics used came from McNair Anderson surveys. (Note a similar trend in P.F. Lazarsfeld, Radio Research 1942-43).
20. Schramm, W. (1949).
Distinguishes between immediate and delayed rewards for newspaper readers and relates them to Freud's Pleasure and Reality Principles respectively. The kinds of news expected to furnish immediate reward would include crime, corruption, accidents, disasters, sports and recreation, social events and human interest. In such stories the reader/listener can enjoy a vicarious experience without any of the dangers or stresses involved: in doing so he usually retreats from the world of threatening reality toward the dream world.
On the other hand the reader/listener who selects delayed reward news (expected from news of public affairs, economic matters, social problems, science, education and health), "jerks himself into the world of surrounding reality to which he can adapt himself only by hard work" (p261).
Schramm hypothesises that reading for delayed reward seems to be a rather more sophisticated form of learned behaviour which increases with education or similar experience and marks a development in the socialization of the reader.

21. McGill-Hughes, H. (1940) as quoted by Tuchman, G. (1973) p111.
22. This sort of theory is developed by Higgins, C.S., and Moss, P.D. (1982).
23. Hall, S. (1981).
Hall notes that the net effect of such techniques is to underline the quality of the world as being "out there".
24. Lippman, W. (1957) p364.
25. *ibid.*, p364.
26. Park, R.E. (1940) p669.
27. Lippman, W. (1957) p341.
28. Lippman, W. (1957) distinguishes news and truth. "The function of news is to signalise an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts, to set them in relation with each other, and make a picture of reality on which men can act. Only at these points, where social conditions take recognisable and measurable shape, do the body of truth and the body of news coincide." (p358).
29. Terms used by McQuail, D. (1983) p146.
30. *ibid.*, p146.
McQuail adds "According to the Glasgow University Media Group (1980, p160) the language of news seems to be in a form which would allow of a fairly, simple test of its truth or falsity."
31. Galtung, J., and Ruge, M. (1965) p60.
32. *ibid.*, p54.
Galtung and Ruge, note that the word "expects" has both a cognitive meaning of "predicts" and a normative interpretation of "wants" and that both meanings are relevant here.
33. *ibid.*, p55.
34. Phillips, B. (1976).
35. Tuchman, G. (1973).
36. Henningham, J.P. (1979).
This study of 300 people chosen at random from the Brisbane telephone book and interviewed in 1978, indicated that in terms of radio news 50% or more felt that the categories of news on politics, foreign, accidents/disasters, crime/courts, economic/business, unions/industrial and human interest were given about the right number of stories. However about 40% felt there were not enough human interest, foreign and economics/business stories. About 30% felt there were too many unions/industrial and accidents/disasters stories, 66% felt there were not enough education/culture stories, and 53% said not enough health/welfare stories.

37. Sommerlad, E.C. (1950) p54.
38. See MacKay, H. The MacKay Report: Radio, Centre for Communication Studies, Bathurst, New South Wales, (1982). A major finding of this study of how Australians use radio was that in middle class Australia radio is regarded as an intimate companion and also as the medium of reality (as distinct from television which is a kind of "dream machine").
39. Galtung, J., and Ruge, M. (1965) p57.
40. Molotoch, H., and Lester, M. (1981).
41. McCombs, M., and Poindexter, P. (1983).
42. Petolta, P. (1973).
43. Levine, G.F. (1977).
44. A major finding of Petolta, P. (1973) p117.

PART 2 : A BRIEF REVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH ON RADIO AND NEWS REPORTING.

45. MacKay, I.M. (1957) p18.
The station with the laughing jackass as its call sign was VK2ME Sydney. It was one of three stations operated by Amalgamated Wireless (A'sia) Ltd., a company first directed by Ernest Fisk who had served his apprenticeship with Marconi. VK2ME's programmes comprised Australian music, news and descriptive talks and programme announcements were broadcast in English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Italian and German. Thousands of overseas listeners regularly expressed their appreciation of a service operating before 1920 that could be seen as a distant echo of the ethnic radio stations established much later.
46. MacKay, I.M. (1957) p17.
While the first broadcasting station in the world started in Pittsburgh, America in 1920, (with a news report on the Harding-Cox Presidential election) the Australian regulations for the first radio licences were not issued by the Post Master General's Department until August 1923, and the first official programme (a concert on 2SB Sydney) was not transmitted until November 1923. The ABC Service did not commence operations until September 1929, and it did not have the power it had sought to organize its own news service until 1946. Adelaide's 5DN began in 1924, although the Macquarie Network which now encompasses 5DN, was not started until 1938.
47. *ibid.*
In 1927 a Royal Commission was set up to inquire into broadcasting within the Commonwealth and it made recommendations on such items as licence fees, advertising, location, power and frequency of stations. The establishment of a National broadcasting commission was not recommended. However in 1931-32 the Australian parliament cautiously debated the responsibility for the operation of broadcasting. They transferred it to a

Commission answerable to parliament through a Minister. The ABC and commercial broadcasters were to operate independently and side by side, governed by the same regulations and charged with the responsibility of meeting majority and minority requirements in the field of culture as well as entertainment.

48. MacKay, I.K. (1957).
49. Curnow, R. (1963).
50. Walker, R.R. (1973).
(A popular history of commercial radio commissioned by the industry association).
51. Western, J.S., and Hughes, C.A. (1983).
52. *ibid.*, pxi Introduction.
53. Beeds' "Social Control in the Newsroom" (1955) referred to the disjunction between the worlds of social science and journalism over differing views on political events. He explored the way journalists learnt the policies of their organization by a process akin to osmosis, and the reasons why they conformed to them.
American and British news research of the 1960's and 1970's developed further the gatekeeper theory.
In this the media are seen not as reflecting the world out there, "but the practices of those having the power to determine the experience of others ... Seen this way, one approach to mass media is to look not for reality, but for purposes which underlie the strategies of creating one reality instead of another." Molotch and Lester (1981: 133) ... One theoretical approach operated at the level of individual journalist dealing with the flow of news across his desk and how subjective and practical constraints tempered his news judgement. Examples of this would be White (1950), Rock (1981), Whitney (1979), Gans (1979), and Phillips (1976). A second emphasis looked at the factors operating at the larger institutional framework; see Tunstall (1971), Fishman (1982) and Tuchman (1972). Thirdly Galtung and Runge documented the interplay between the individual and the media organisation. Other British media sociologists like Cohen and Young (1973) the Glasgow University Media Group (1976) and Schlesinger (1978) who were particularly stimulated by critical analysis of television news, readily developed a theme of cultural imperialism by media organizations.
54. Bonney, B., and Wilson, H. (1983).
55. McQueen, H. (1977).
56. Dixon, F. (1976).
57. Harding, R. (1979).
58. Thomas, A. (1980).
59. Edgar, P. (ed) (1980).

60. *ibid.*, p6.
61. *ibid.*, Baker, I.
62. Galtung, J., and Ruge, M. (1965).
63. Grundy, B., in Edgar, P. (ed) (1980).
64. Phillips, B. (1965).
65. Langer, J., in Edgar, P. (ed) (1980).
66. Mills, I., in Edgar, P. (ed) (1980).
67. Windshuttle, K., and E. (1981).
68. Windshuttle, K. (1984).
69. Published irregularly since 1972.
70. Produced at University of Minnesota.
71. The Journal of the Public Broadcasting Association of Australia. Established with a grant from the Film, Radio and Television Board of the Australian Council. This wound up in 1981 after 3 issues.
72. For example, Phillip McCarthy's article "Current Affairs: News and Showbiz", The National Times, 29 Nov - 5 Dec., 1981.
73. For example, L. Nicklin "Australia's Top Rating Radio", The Bulletin, 29 Sept., 1981.
74. Look and Listen August 1984. For example, Denis O'Brien "Recappers Please" argues that while many of us have a news habit and are saturated from news coverage of all media, we need more basic background detail and recapitulation of issues, to really comprehend the news.
75. Quadrant, for example.
A. McAdam, "Bias in the ABC" Vol. 26 June 1982.
Gelber, "Media Bias July 1981."
A. McAdam, "The ABC's Marxists: The Watchman" Vol. 27 Jan-Feb 1983.
76. For example, ANZAAS 50th Congress in Adelaide 1980, a paper by M. Clyne, "Culture, Discourse Structure and Communicative Competence", and ANZAAS 53rd Congress in Perth 1983, a paper by R. Tiffen, "The News Media and Intra Party Politics".
77. For example, G.N. Soutar and Y.M. Clarke, "Life Style and Radio Listening Patterns in Perth, W.A.", Australian Journal of Management, Vol. 8, No. 1, June 1983.

78. For example, Audience Research April 1980.
VOLUBILITY Tested hypothesis that ABC listeners are more voluble, more responsible to media and more likely to phone or ring the station, than with commercial radio. The result suggested that the volubility factor in surveys is a measure of knowledge and intelligence.
Second example. ABC Audience Research Study, Adelaide 1969. This survey testing the conservatism of Adelaide audiences, found 5DN audience was conservative, 5AD was polar opposite. Low active people chose 5DN. Conclusion p33 ... "Most highly active, permissive and voluble people are drawn away from ABC radio to apparently more satisfying commercial stations. The direction of the attraction depends on age, but 5AD, for instance tends to have an attraction, in some way, for everyone".
79. Australian Parliament. The Green Report. (1976).
80. Annan Report. (1977).
81. Australian Broadcasting Tribunal. The Gyngell Report, 1977.
82. Mayer, H. (May 1978).
83. Mayer, H., Garde, P., and Gibbons, S. (1983).
84. Examples are
Joan Dugdale's Radio Power: A History of 3ZZ Access Radio, Melbourne, Highland House, 1979.
Publications of the Public Broadcasting Association of Australia (PBAA) particularly their annual conference papers.
Detailed references are given in
H. Fulcher's "Radio in Australia: A Bibliography", Media Information Australia, No. 41, August 1986.
85. Barr, T. (1977) and Barr, T. (1985).
86. O'Dwyer, B. (ed) (1980).
87. Steele, P. "Political News Reporting: Radio and Television Journalism" in O'Dwyer, B. (1980).
88. Conlon, K. "A Public Broadcasting Perspective" in O'Dwyer, B. (1980).
89. Ashbolt, A. "The Role of the ABC" in O'Dwyer, B. (1980).
90. Ryan, B. "Commercial Radio and Public Accountability" in O'Dwyer, B. (1980).
91. Henningham, J.P. (1978)
92. *ibid.*, p10.
93. Gantz, W. (1983).
94. Overton, D., and McKenzie, B. (1982).

95. Noble and Noble (1981) commented that the relationship between media ownership and foreign news copy in Australia, seems to support findings of R.G. Hicks and J.S. Featherstone ("Duplication of newspaper content in contrasting ownership situations" in Journalism Quarterly 1978 55 p549-553) who showed joint ownership did not result in duplicated copy. Rather extensive homogeneity of news topic coverage suggested remarkable "common" foreign news values among Australian editors sampled. A. Bear (p68 SCAN 9 & 10, 1980-81) comments that it has not been conclusively proved that common ownership leads to commonality of news.
96. Overton, D., and McKenzie, B. (1982).
97. Henningham, J.P. (1979).
98. Higgins, C.S., and Moss, P.D. (1982).
99. Higgins, C.S., and Moss, P.D. (1981).
Moss, P.D. (1979); (1985); (1987).
100. Hall, S. (1977).

PART 3 : REVIEW OF SPECIFIC RESEARCH ON NEWS REPORTING.

101. Rosengren, K.E. (1970); (1974) and (1977).
102. Galtung, J., and Ruge, M.H. (1965).
103. Rosengren, K.E. (1974).
104. *ibid.*
105. *ibid.*
106. Rosengren, K.E. (1977).
107. *ibid.*, p73.
108. Rosengren, K.E. (1977) p73.
109. Stevenson, R.L., and Smith, J.W. (1982).
110. Osgood, C.E., May, W.H., and Miron, M.S. (1975).
111. Labov, W. (1969).
112. Bernstein, B. (1970).
113. Fishman, M. (1982).
114. Glasgow University Media Group. (1980).
115. Kress, G.R., and Trew, A.A. (1978).
116. Leitner, G.L. (1983).

117. French, V. (1981).
118. Gibson, W. (1966) p33.
119. French, V. (1981) p16.
French applied the American Air Force Readability Scale.
120. *ibid.*, p18.
121. Bell, A. (1977); (1982); (1983).
122. Bell, A. (1983) p37.
123. *ibid.*, p38.
124. Bell, A. (1982) Survey details.
125. Labov, W. (1975); (1979).
126. Labov, W. (1969).
127. Bell, A. (1977) p70.
128. Bell, A. (1983).
Bell quotes Tunstall, J. The Media are American: Anglo-American Media in the World. Constable, London, 1977, p39.
129. Bell, A. (1982) p163.
130. Stocker, E. (1980).
131. *ibid.*, p3. (Stocker's term).
132. Gerbner, G. (1964).
133. *ibid.*, p495.
134. *ibid.*, p498.
135. *ibid.*, p516.
136. *ibid.*, p508.
137. Kress, G.R. (1983).
138. See the influence of M.A.K. Halliday here on Kress. (Refer further to Kress, G.R. (ed) Halliday: System and Function in Language, Oxford University Press, London, 1976).
139. Kress, G.R. (1983) p47.
140. *ibid.*, p52.
141. Smith, James R., and McEwen, W.J. (1973-74).
142. Meyer, J.P., and Miller, W.C. (1970).

143. Tiedge, J.T., and Ksobiech, K.J. (1982).
144. Wulfmeyer, K.T., and McFadden, L.L. (1983).
145. Harnell, T.W., Brown, D.E., and Schramm, W. (1949).
146. Findahl, O., and Hoijer, B. (1975); (1981) and (1982).
147. Hoijer, B. (1984).
148. Higgins, C.S., and Moss, P.D. (1982).
149. *ibid.*, p148.
150. Higgins, C.S., and Moss, P.D. (1982).
151. *ibid.*, p128.
152. Tuchman, G. (1972).
153. Phillips, B. (1976).
154. *ibid.*, p128.
155. *ibid.*, p180.
156. Higgins, C.S. (1984).
157. *ibid.*, p1.
158. The idea of the "bardic role" is discussed in J. Fiske and J. Hartley Reading Television, Methuen, London, 1978. See particularly Ch. 6 "Bardic Television" which related to R. Barthes "The Rhetoric of the Image" 1977, in WPOS No. 1 p37-50. (Republished in Image-Music-Text, ed. S. Heath, Fontana, London, 1977).

PART 4 : THE UNESCO STUDY.

159. International Commission For the Study of Communication Problems (MacBride Commission, UNESCO) (1980). See also Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. et. al. (1981). The project originally started under the title of "Foreign Images". Currently circulated as "The World of The News", and to be published in full as Foreign News in The Media.
160. Nordenstreng, K. (1984).
161. *ibid.*, p141.
162. The Cultural Indicators Research Project in America epitomised this research. Content analysis was used to look for specific effects: the methods could be turned to practical account. Educators, politicians and media administrators used survey methods to measure concrete media goals like the number of people affected by a particular programme.

162. See also P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton (eds) Radio Research 1942-43, 1944.
163. In addition the American team covered 16 media systems, so further quantitative data was generated for Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Greece, Iceland, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Mexico, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, USSR, Zaire and Zambia.
164. Sunday presentations were excluded as they tended to break with the normal pattern.
165. Screberny-Mohommadi, A. (1984).
166. *ibid.*, p127.
167. Galtung, J. (1971).
168. Screberny-Mohommadi, A. (1984) p128.
169. Stevenson, R.L. (1984) p134-135.
170. *ibid.*, p136.
171. *ibid.*, p135.
172. Stevenson, R.L., and Greene, J.W. (1980).
173. Nordenstreng, K. (1984) p139.
174. Stevenson, R.L., and Thompson, K.D. (1981).
175. *ibid.*, p21.
176. *ibid.*, p7.
177. *ibid.*, p9.
(Quote from Pool, I. (ed) Trends in Content Analysis, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1959).
178. *ibid.*, p17.
179. *ibid.*, p14-15.
180. Noble, E., and Noble, G. (1980-81).
181. *ibid.*, p49.
182. *ibid.*, p50.
183. *ibid.*, p51.
Noble and Noble quote audience estimates from McNair Anderson/Media Information Australia.
184. *ibid.*, p63.
185. *ibid.*, p63.

186. *ibid.*, p55.
187. *ibid.*, p65.
188. In this context it's interesting to note J.P. Henningham (1979, p22): a survey of 300 Brisbane people analysed the categories of news published and broadcast and whether or not there were the right number of news stories of these subject types. The results (compared to a Western and Hughes (1983) survey of 1966), indicated a "dramatic increase in public distaste for political news. The turbulence and divisiveness of both national and state politics in the last decade seems to have resulted in a public that is largely fed-up with politics" ... "The news media's emphasis on political news is quite disproportionate to people's apparent interest in politics".
189. Noble, E., and Noble, G. (1980-81) p51.
190. *ibid.*, p55.
191. *ibid.*, p55.
192. *ibid.*, p64.
193. Mayer, H. (1980-81) p66.
194. *ibid.*
Note Mayer's reference to Steve Keen's project in Sydney where he conducts workshops with journalists. e.g. S. Keen (ed) Press Coverage of India's Political Crisis: Report of a Journalists' Workshop, Aus. Freedom from Hunger Campaign, Sydney, 1980.
195. Bear, A. (1980-81).
196. *ibid.*, p69.
197. Screberny-Mohommadi, A. (1984) p129.
198. *ibid.*, p129.

CHAPTER TWO

PROJECT DESIGN AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

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CHAPTER TWO

APPROACH

PART 1 describes the design of the project and collection of news texts.

PART 2 describes the two radio news networks compared in the study with a brief historical description which indicates something of their respective identities.

This section also introduces the idea of the news discourse defining ways of seeing the world. It is complemented by a discussion of newsmakers' attitude to their materials, as indicated by the inhouse titles, or slugs, they use to label stories for their purposes.

PART 3 applies a variety of statistical analyses to the materials collected to establish the similarities and differences between the two news services, within the limits of content analysis.

Firstly the content of opening and closing items on the two services are analysed. Different notions of "newsworthiness" for the ABC and 5DN quickly become apparent and this leads to some discussion of the different purposes of the two news services.

Secondly all the news texts are identified by story category and the emphasis on different types of news is discussed.

Thirdly the order of items by story category in the bulletin is examined to see whether any regular patterns recur.

The analyses made in Part 3 are based on the evidence correlated in detail in the Appendices A,B,C,D, and E which appear at the end of the work.

Footnotes are placed at the end of the chapter.

PART 1: DESIGN AND COLLECTION OF TEXTS

A wide sample of radio news bulletins was collected from the ABC's first station 5AN, and from Adelaide's Macquarie Network Station 5DN. The samples were taken over four survey periods of six weeks each in 1983. The four periods have been labelled Periods A (February/March), B (May/June), C (August/September) and D (November/December). Each of these periods covered six days of news services from each station. To conform with the research convention of the structured week, a Monday was recorded from the first week, a Tuesday from the second week, a Wednesday from the third week and so on. (The exact dates are shown in Appendix E.)

On each day surveyed, news bulletins were collected and recorded from 5DN, on the hour from 6 a.m. to midnight, as well as 6.30 a.m. and 7.30 a.m. bulletins. Transcripts only were available from the ABC and were collected for news bulletins at 6.30 a.m., 7 a.m., 7.45 a.m., 1200, 1300 and 1800 on survey days.

Many hours were spent in the 5DN control room working around technicians and producers to dub the news services of relevant days. This was a useful experience for gaining a sense of the station's identity. The news scripts for each day were stored in the newsroom in an unordered pile, with most scripts being marked in one corner with the times they were used (for example 6, 7.30, 11). The scripts had to be sorted and matched with the bulletins on tape. Each bulletin was played and replayed to ensure that individual scripts were in the correct order and exact wording in which they went to air. Particular

care was taken to ensure that substitutions of odd words and introductions made to items by the newsreader, rather than the subeditor, were noted on the transcripts.

Unfortunately the on-line inserts or actualites in the 5DN scripts were rarely included in the texts. All that was noted in the newsroom was the length of the actualite in seconds, and sometimes the closing phrase. Where such items were examined in detail in the analysis, it was therefore necessary to refer back to dubbed tapes and then to transcribe the live inserts. This partial validation of scripts in omitting the tape inserts and the relative chaos of the 5DN newsroom, reflected a sense of the fleeting nature of its news.

The ABC scripts made available were nearly always complete and included the full text of actualites. Considerable time had to be spent, however, sorting out the differences in running order between adjoining major bulletins. For example, some bulletins from 6.30 a.m., 7 a.m. and 7.45 a.m., and then bulletins from 1200 (or 1230) and 1300, were respectively grouped together. In adjoining bulletins many of the same scripts were used, but in a different order and/or with new or additional inserts.

A few weeks after data-gathering for the project began, the ABC changed the national structure of radio news production. The old system put the National news first, usually relayed from Sydney. Local State news followed in a separate section added by each State newsroom. This division established a national character of an almost official centralised bulletin of items of National and World significance, for

the major part of the ABC news.

The new bulletin structure introduced just at the time of the survey was a composite one. It allowed each State newsroom to choose its own items from the general mix coming in from the National newsroom, where there had been prior editing and culling. State services therefore had new autonomy to make their own selections and more editorial freedom to arrange news items from State, National and World sources within the total bulletin.

The effect of that change on this research was that where editorial judgments of news items were previously made on the basis of a national audience, the composite bulletin structure meant that judgments were being made in the Adelaide newsroom for a South Australian audience. (Since that time, the ABC radio news has reverted to the former structure which separates out the editorial decisions of the National newsroom and the State newsrooms.)

Once the correct news items and order of stories were confirmed, the transcripts were filed in two batches, one for each station. They were organised in chronological order for ready comparison of one day's news on ABC with the same day on 5DN. The daily files were used extensively to examine the developments of stories across one day.

The reference system used in the text so that readers may verify sources and can refer to the original scripts, operates as follows. In the section to follow, the example is given of a news item (5DN D5-1200-1). This indicates from right to left that the item was the

first one in the 1200 bulletin, of the fifth day (Friday) of the fourth period, (namely 9th December 1983).

The sample of the news bulletins collected initially was too large to cope with in this research, so it was narrowed in two ways. The bulletins analysed were limited to a five-day Monday to Friday week. Weekend bulletins (Saturdays) were excluded because they were differently organised from the other five days and tended to distort the statistical data, in particular the balance of World, National and State news. As both newsrooms operated with minimal staff on weekends, the news bulletins were briefer and there was heavy reliance on wire service news, often read straight from the teleprinter copy.

Secondly, rather than dealing with all bulletins from a day, it was decided to focus on major bulletins. These were identified as peak listening times, when the range of items was broader and individual items were significantly longer and more detailed than at other times. Because comparison of the news of the two networks was important, the major bulletins focused on at 5DN were 7 a.m., 8 a.m., 1200 and 1800 to match the ABC bulletins at 7 a.m., 7.45 a.m., 1200 and 1800. While these were the bulletins compared for statistical analysis, reference is made in other parts of discussion to adjoining bulletins which often featured the same story with minor changes, such as 6 a.m. and 7.30 a.m. on 5DN and 1300 on the ABC.

These decisions resulted in a sample for statistical purposes of 80 bulletins from each station, which constituted 800 news stories or items from the ABC and 1082 from 5DN.

The length of individual stories was then calculated. ABC bulletins were of a consistent length and included a summary of leading items at the beginning and end of each bulletin. The ABC newsreader used a standardised delivery, and reading speed was usually about 180 words per minute. However, to establish the reading speed for each bulletin and determine the exact length of each item, every word of each news item had to be counted and a time for each story calculated. The length of each actualite was also calculated and noted for analysis.

5DN news bulletins were of varying length, although approximately the same length for time slots of one day compared with another. Therefore every news bulletin had to be timed with a stopwatch and commercial and racing breaks omitted. As with ABC, each word of each 5DN news item had to be counted and the length of inserts taken into account; to work out the speed of the newsreader's delivery, which was usually slightly faster than the ABC newsreaders; and to compare proportions of time spent on different items.

This information on length of individual items was incorporated into a running order sheet for each bulletin. (See examples 5DN C1-1800 and ABC C1-1800.) The running sheet identified the subject of the item and any major characters in the item. For example, the item subject, "HAWKE/BUDGET" indicated that the speaker Hawke, was as important in that item as his subject, the proposed budget. Each item was identified by source: that is the place where the action of the story occurred, regardless of where the press release might have been issued. Three categories were used; World (W), National (N) and State

Examples of Running Sheets

5DN C1 (15/8/83) 1800 Bulletin

Item order	Item Subject	Source	Wordage	Insert	Total Time
1.	Queensland politics	N	21"	100"	121"
2.	Wine industry/budget	S	23"	45"	68"
3.	Hawke/budget	N	16"	38"	55"
	C O M M E R C I A L S				
4.	Holmes A'Court/BHP	N	42"	72"	114"
5.	Steel industry	N	28"	25"	53"
6.	Parole discussion paper	S	31"	30"	61"
7.	Aboriginal relics/museum	S	30"	30"	60"
8.	Nursing home raid	S	25"	-	25"
9.	Sport - De Castella	W	17"	45"	62"
10.	Sport - Adelaide Grand Prix	S	40"	32"	72"
			273"	417"	691"

ABC C1 (15/8/83) 1800 Bulletin

Headlines: Holmes A Court/BHP)
 Queensland Liberals)
 Parole system) 83 seconds
 Nursing Home raid)
 Tobacco advertising)

Item order	Item Subject	Source	Wordage	Insert	Total Time
1.	BHP takeover bid	N	129"	54"	183"
2.	Qld. - Liberal resignations	N	35"	-	35"
3.	Parole discussion paper	N	88"	64"	152"
4.	Nursing home raid	S	29"	-	29"
5.	Tobacco sponsorship/sport	S	29"	35"	64"
6.	Hope Royal Commission	N	40"	32"	72"
			350"	185"	535"

Headlines repeated
28 seconds

(S). Length of time in an item taken by the newsreader reading the body of the text (wordage) was differentiated from time spent on inserts or actualites.

The raw data collected on running sheets was organised onto statistical sheets, examples of which are shown in Attachment 1. These indicated the number of items as well as length and time taken as a percentage of the whole bulletin. From these tables, cumulative figures on time spent on stories could then be calculated, for example by story origin and by story type. (Appendices C and D show the results of such analysis.) Comparisons of such figures between the four survey periods and across the two networks indicated the relative depth of coverage of items and different emphasis of the two networks.

Early in the research two story categories were identified, sport and politics. These were later found to be not particularly useful or sophisticated, although they did suggest initially for example, that the majority of ABC stories from a World source were political in subject, while 5DN World news also included a number of sports items.

An expanded system of cross-indexing was later found to be necessary for discussion of types of story such as government, business and human interest. This involved identifying stories by type, from running sheets and transposing that information onto a subject card index. This is explained in detail in section 4.3 on analysis of story categories.

The foregoing is a brief description of the method of collecting the hard data. The following is a brief description of the history and identity of the two news networks sampled, followed by a quantitative interpretation of their respective views of news based on that data.

SDN
 Date: 15/8/83
 Time of bulletin: 1800
 Length of bulletin: 11'25"
 Approximate reading speed: 3.6 w/sec or 220 w/min.
 Commercial breaks: 1

PERIOD C - Day 1

	WORLD	NATIONAL	STATE	TOTAL	APPROXIMATE DURATION
Opener/headlines	-	-	-	-	-
Number of items	1	4	5	10	11'25" (685")
Inserts	1	6	4	11	6'57" (417")
Sports content	1	-	1	2	2'12" (132")
Political content	-	2	-	2	2'56" (176")
Wordage	54w	387w	545w	986w	4'28" (268")
Total of item wordage and insert	60"	343"	288"	691"	6" out
Total as per centage of whole	8%	50%	42%	100%	

Example of statistical sheet

ATTACHMENT 1

ABC

Date: 15/8/83

Time of bulletin: 1800

Length of bulletin: 10"

Approximate reading speed: 2.5 w/sec or 150 w/min.

Commercial breaks: -

PERIOD C - Day 1

	WORLD	NATIONAL	STATE	TOTAL	APPROXIMATE DURATION
Opener/headlines	-	3	2	5	56"
Number of items	-	4	2	6	8'53" (533")
Inserts	-	4	1	5	3'05" (185")
Sports content	-	-	-	-	
Political content	-	1	-	1	35"
Wordage	0	728w	144w	872w	5'48" (348")
Total of item wordage and insert	0	441"	92"	534"	8'53"
Total as per centage of whole	0	83%	17%	100%	

Example of statistical sheet

PART 2: THE TWO NEWS SERVICES

2.1 Brief Historical Background of the ABC.

Australian radio news had a sluggish start. Because newspaper editors feared that radio news would kill their stories, early radio stations were not permitted to put stories to air before they appeared in newspapers. From the 1930's until World War 2 radio news on ABC and commercial stations constituted a series of reports read directly from items out of daily papers and not independently checked.

News and current affairs were very much the concern of the ABC from its beginnings. From 1932 to 1936 ABC stations in each state produced their own news bulletins: mostly with the duty announcer reading local and foreign news items under the arrangement sanctioned by a gentleman's agreement with the Australian Newspaper Proprietors' Association. In 1939 the ABC bought a cable service and the right to re-broadcast all BBC news bulletins. Subsequently a thrice-daily national news bulletin was introduced to all ABC stations.¹

During World War 2, while commercial stations tended to concentrate on entertainment, the ABC set up news reporting units in all areas where Australian forces were stationed and used eye witness reports in their news. When the war ended the ABC had to re-establish its service on a peace time basis. From 1945 the ABC was allowed by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting to also select news materials from overseas cable services. In 1946 Frank Dixon won a ten year struggle for the ABC to have independence in news gathering.

The ABC was then granted government money to procure news and information, recruit and train journalists and set up newsrooms in each state. "Stringers" or reliable people in the community, who were not journalists, were also paid for stories sent in to the ABC that were broadcast on news bulletins all over the country.

The early ABC borrowed most of its organisational methods and ethos from the BBC and the ideas of its first director general, John Reith. In the Commonwealth Government's original conception, the ABC was to be harnessed to an imperial network centralised and co-ordinated by the BBC. As the Postmaster General told the House of Representatives on 9 March 1932,

"It is anticipated that, under the Empire Broadcasting system, it will be possible for naked blacks to listen-in in the jungle to the world's best operas ... I believe that by means of wireless we shall be able to bring different parts in the British Empire into very close touch with each state."²

Although it would not be true today to say that the ABC is so harnessed to the ideals of the old British Empire, it does continue to be responsive to the Establishment, to entrenched pressure and power groups in the community. While editorial opinion is avoided, it is argued in this thesis that the ABC speaks with an institutional voice. Nevertheless, its responsibility to provide programmes for social minorities and for cultural elites, and for authoritative programming in news gathering, pronunciation and political commentary have led to the conventional reputation of its news services

"as an indispensable bastion of Australian democracy".³

Such rhetoric represents it as

"providing a national service; as being independent, impartial and objective in its reporting; as being the guardian of professional standards, ensuring that all comment is balanced;

as the arbiter of good taste, having a civilizing role through the dissemination of selected cultural products; and as an instrument of national unity".⁴

This kind of language, implying ideological reinforcement of the status quo, has made the ABC subject to heavy criticism by left wing media analysts who see it as paternalistic, conservative and timid. On the other hand, from the mid-70's, the ABC has been much criticised by conservative forces for its pro-socialist bias. The association of the ABC with the government and the questions of its accountability have been vexed and ambivalent areas.⁵

Important influences on the current services provided by the ABC include continuing government cuts to the ABC and more recent moves to re-structure it and make it more competitive with commercial stations, as well as changes to the membership of the Commission, which formally controls the ABC. (The title was changed in 1983 to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, a title which echoes the foster parent, British Broadcasting Corporation.) The audience it serves has probably remained much the same: reasonably well educated, and more voluble or responsive in being more likely to write to or telephone the station with comments on programming and presentation (as distinct from talk back) than listeners to commercial stations.

The ABC news service serves this audience well. It concentrates on news as information and takes seriously its role in the formation of informed public opinion.

2.2 The Macquarie Network

The Macquarie network also bases its reputation on its news service, and the fact that in South Australia, its 5DN station is the only independent commercial news gathering service.

The orientation of Macquarie network's news service is distinctly different from that of the ABC however. Many of the differences in style, and tone and to some extent intrusion of editorial comment, reflect an emphasis on news as entertainment, rather than news as information. As one early 5DN journalist said, "At Macquarie, interesting news always rated very highly - perhaps more highly than important news."⁶

5DN, which claims to be the oldest commercial station in South Australia, began as a hobby in the home of Mr. Ernest James Hume in 1924. He was a philanthropic industrialist who apparently generated no profit from advertising from the station during his lifetime although he held a commercial licence. As early as 1938, Gordon Marsh, at 5DN, changed from using newspaper items as the source of news, to introducing South Australia's first independent news service. It was not until after the war that other commercial radio stations in Adelaide established their own newsrooms. 5DN became incorporated into the Macquarie network in the mid 1930's.⁷

The Macquarie network was first registered in July 1938 as a corporate name and its strength lay in creating programmes for network use and in helping to educate advertisers to use small country stations

as well as larger city ones. The Macquarie news service began in 1949, in Sydney, as 2GB. (At that time it only covered New South Wales^a taking its news from the Sydney Morning Herald newspaper and rewriting it for radio.) The Macquarie radio news service was the most prestigious in commercial radio during the 1950's. It had a smaller staff than the ABC and a different emphasis because it did not cover national news.

Macquarie was the first network to introduce the American Radio technique of using the real voice of people involved in events into the news broadcasts, although the actualites were three to four minute taped inserts, rather than the short snatches used now. Currently, in Adelaide, the newsroom has eleven journalists, is computerised and is manned twenty four hours a day. Of the commercial stations it has the most elaborate news organisation. Direct relays go to 43 stations at fixed times from its capital city stations. Non local material is collected, collated and edited in Sydney and fed to participating stations by both landlines (including audio voice clips) and by teleprinter.

In Adelaide, 5DN's image is still built largely on the Macquarie network image of news, information broadcasting and openline or talk-back programmes. Its chief advertising slogan at the time of this research was "5DN 972 - When Adelaide Needs to Know". Although one of its chief programming staff indicated that its past news research had shown that listeners did not perceive 5DN news as different from other commercial stations, its news bulletins are longer and more substantial than those of other Adelaide commercial stations. 5DN points proudly

to its commitment to the news service: for example, in the Ash Wednesday Bushfire Disaster in Adelaide in the summer of 1983, it was the only commercial station on which the natural disaster took precedence over all else. They broadcast news of the progress of the fires throughout the day and night and refused to play music at that time.

Towards the end of the period surveyed in 1983, 5DN won its third Adelaide Radio Survey in a row. It led the ratings in the categories all people twenty five and over Monday to Sunday, housewives Monday to Friday and housewives Monday to Sunday. It was also number one for week day periods 9 a.m. to midday, (Jeremy Cordeaux), 4 p.m. to 7 p.m., (Ken Cunningham) and number two for 5.30 a.m. to 9 a.m., (Bob Byrne): those being the periods of their major news bulletins.⁹

5DN would not release audience profiles for publication but the programming manager in 1983 said that the audience was neither mostly blue, nor mostly white collars workers, although the audience was "a bit grotty with the racing audience".

2.3 The Newsrooms' View of their Products.

In a light hearted conversation, in the 5DN newsroom, a leading journalist defined the 5DN idea of a good news item as one that interested the majority of people. Tongue in cheek, he described the ABC's definition of news as the opposite: as items that were of interest to a minimal number of people. On that particular day (D5) the journalist believed he had an item that fitted the Macquarie definition of a good news item perfectly. It was an item about a consumer finding a dead cockroach in his bottle of Coke. This incident was identified as having universal appeal, because everyone drinks Coke and is familiar with a cockroach. The experience described was bizarre, titillating and yet within the bounds of common experience.

The cockroach story had excellent dramatic potential as well as interesting mythic significance, in terms of coke's attributes. The commercial promise, "Coke adds life", was ironically contrasted with the antithesis of the dead, dirty creature from the insect underworld. The horror of the consumer finding this insect was de-fused to some extent by the story occurring inside the framework of a court case. Justice would prevail because the drink manufacturers had been charged.

The other story, identified by the 5DN journalist as being a "winner" on that day, again for its universal appeal, was a crime story of a policeman who, with two other men, succeeded in murdering his wife, after plotting to do so for twelve months. The drama of the crime was reinforced by the sense of "man bites dog", the reversal of the policeman's role as a moral guardian in society. The story was

grist for the subliminal dislike of police ("the pigs") which exists in this society and the journalist's glee in this one having been caught out, is clearly illustrated in the 'slug' he chose for the story: "ANOTHER NAUGHTY BOY". This was indeed a neat and powerful reprimand. (Slugs are the shorthand memory boosts, for newsreaders' and sub-editors written at the top of each scripted news item. They are not read 'on air' but 'cue' the reader as to subject of the item which he/she will read next.)

When it came to the 12 noon 5DN news bulletin, which is a major one of the day, the police story was placed at number 2 of 25 items and the cockroach in the Coke, at item number 12. In these positions the two popular stories played a critical role in establishing the tone or flavour of the bulletin and also provided dramatic peaks in the bulletin for the listeners' entertainment. Significantly, on this day, neither of these stories appeared in the ABC radio news bulletins.

The story which was run in number 1 position in the noon 5DN bulletin, on that day, was about the position of the Australian dollar as announced by the Prime Minister after extensive speculation by financial experts over the preceding week. The slug on the newsreader's script used to identify the story was "MONEY", indicating that the story's content related to us all in a basic way.

The complexities of foreign currency and its effects on Australia's banking system and total economy were not featured in the story. Rather, the item was presented as a drama, a threat to our general well being, a threat averted by incisive Prime Ministerial action in

Canberra. The headline read

"Canberra suspends trading in foreign currencies because of a threat to our economy" and the story opened,

"Prime Minister Bob Hawke says speculation in foreign currency this week has been threatening to destabilise Australia's economy". The newsreader stressed on "destabilise".

Interestingly, in the headline, the noun, 'Canberra', acted as a subject for the verb and then Hawke was substituted for the city, creating the analogy of the relation of capital to country being equivalent to that between spokesman and government. Hawke as the official representative was identified totally with the State and the implication was that the government acts as a collective entity.

While the equivalent ABC news bulletin made no mention of the stories of the policeman murdering his wife and the cockroach in the Coke bottle, it led with the same story of the Australian suspension of dealings in foreign currency. Although the information used was essentially the same as the 5DN item, the tone and structure of the discourse was distinctly different.

The ABC story was not so much one of a crisis narrowly averted by Australia's popular leading politician "Bob Hawke", but was detached, contained and apparently objective. The headline stated "Australian banks suspend dealings in foreign currency at the discretion of the Reserve Bank."

While this statement contained some drama and may have enticed the listeners to stay tuned for more details, there was not the sense of threat and substantial disruption to our economic system as in the 5DN version. Also, the authority in this situation was not vested in a personality. It was strictly the preserve of one of the country's leading financial institutions, and "The Prime Minister, Mr. Hawke" was only reported as commenting later on the decision, (ironically on commercial radio).

This example suggests that there are some significant differences in areas of selection of news events as well as presentation between the ABC and the Macquarie Network. Distinctions can be made between the objective importance or significance of a piece of news and the subjective interest felt in the news by the listeners or viewers. In addition the news value of an item can be appreciably affected by the way it is presented. Such distinctions identified in the discourse start to define different ways of seeing the world.

I would argue that ABC news items tend to be chosen on the basis of the extent to which the event described affects the lives of the audience either directly or indirectly, regardless of whether or not the audience is itself aware of this effect. On the other hand 5DN news reflects the values of a commercial news room: it manufactures a commodity and the manner of presentation is not necessarily of secondary importance. The service is angled to give the public what the station believes it wants to hear and what it has been conditioned to expect. While this might attract audience attention to follow more important news, it is also possible that the inclusion of such material

deflects audience interest away from more important issues, and towards trivialities.

An additional indicator of the newsworthy aspect of various stories that was available on most transcripts from both stations was the story slug; the identifying title, the words or phrase that code each news item for ready reference in the newsrooms. Not only does it indicate what constitutes the bare bones of news, but it also tends to reflect attitudes of newsmakers to various topics and people.

5DN Slugs

The majority of stories were tagged with a straight slug such as "POLLS", "ROYALS", "FIRE", "ROAD", "DEAD KID", "PRICES", "STUDY", "GOVERNMENT", "KILLER ESCAPEE". The newsworthiness of those stories is self evident. Particular crime cases that were repeated and developed to the point where they were part of a public repertoire of stories, had titles of familiarity. Examples of these were "LOUISE" for the case of missing Adelaide girl Louise Bell; "LINDY" for the long running Lindy Chamberlain murder trial; and "BONES" for the story of the British murderer who had buried the bones of thirteen people in a backyard.

Recurring characters like Prime Ministers Hawke and Fraser and Queensland Premier Bjelke-Peterson, tended to be tagged as "BOB", "MAL" and "JOH" respectively. News items that were essentially press releases or press conferences by politicians were often tagged with epithets of cynicism and boredom: Fraser's attack on Hawke during the 1983 Federal election campaign was translated "FRASER WANKS ON" (5DN

A1-6-8); the Australian Democrat Party claiming their highest poll yet in the coming Federal election became "DEMOCRAP" (5DN A1-6-5) and "BJELKE BANANAS" described an item where Deputy Prime Minister Bowen said the Queensland Premier has broken all the rules of the Westminster Parliamentary system (5DN C5-6-7).

Mr. Hayden's comments to the Hope Royal Commission on the Combe-Ivanov affair were not taken too seriously in the newsroom either. They labelled the story "BOOFHEAD" (5DN C2-8-7). Similarly, the comments of Mr. Olsen the State Liberal Party leader on aboriginal land rights, were condemned - both by the A.L.P. who saw the comments as political point scoring and by the news journalists who saw the comments as "BOONER SHIT" (5DN B4-6-7) and "OLSON BOONGER" (5DN B4-7-5). No mercy was shown for politicians who found themselves in trouble. Peacock's attack on Bowen over his remarks on Kampuchea reflected a "BOWEN BALLSUP" (5DN B1-1800-2). The fuss made about threats to jobs in the health insurance industry, over the introduction of Medicare, was attributed, by pun, to the responsible Minister, Blewett, who simply "BLEWITT" (5DN B2-1800-1). Continuing reference to Medicare tended to label it "MEDISICK" (for example, 5DN B2-7-1).

More warmth was shown towards recurring sporting heroes such as Robert De Castella. At the time of his winning marathon in Helsinki, he was known to the newsroom as "DEEK" (5DN C1-6-5), "ROBBO" (5DN C1-1800-9) and "DE" (5DN C1-1200-13). There was a twisted sort of warmth expressed too for tennis champion John McEnroe whose bad behaviour on court earned him the title "SUPER BRAT" (5DN C3-1200-8), as well as for the Builders Labourers Federation Chief, Norm Gallagher,

hero of the workers, up on charges of fraud. He was indulged as "NAUGHTY NORM" (5DN C4-1200-12). Similarly the Victorian MP, Primmer, who publicly criticised the head of the Australian Intelligence Agency, ASIS, for being a drunk, a crook and a bully, was labelled "NAUGHTY PRIMMER" (5DN D5-6-5). The relish in the newsroom for his outspoken criticisms was evident in the other slug, "PRIMMER THE MOUTH" (5DN D5-8-4). A similar enthusiasm for the notoriety of Frank Costigan was expressed with the announcement of the money paid to him for the Painters and Dockers Inquiry: "BIG FRANK" (5DN D4-6-11).

Other stories of "NAUGHTY BOYS" were the policeman who murdered his wife (5DN D5-1200-2) and the pilot who mistakenly sprayed pesticide on a school (5DN D5-1200-22). These reflected enthusiasm for the stories of the man bites dog variety. There was a similar sense in the expression "DIRTY OLD BUGGERS" (5DN D1-6-4), for the item on a Victorian police investigation into pornography; or "HOOKER" for Abe Saffron's evidence to the NSW Parliamentary investigation into prostitution (5DN D2-1800-7). The news value of sex was again evident in the title "FILTH" (5DN C4-1200-2), for a study released on State crime statistics that indicated that one in six people apprehended for sex attacks were not taken to court. An item on strip searching of prisoners evoked a sense of smut among newsmen in the slug, "STRIPPERS" (5DN D5-6-3).

This sense of humour of the 5DN newsroom thus reflected an earthy chauvinism of popular Australian and male attitudes, that presumably is shared by large proportions of their audience. Parochialism was evident in the newsroom in the references to international sports

events like "POM CRICKETERS" (5DN A3-1200-21); "CROUT TENNIS" (5DN B2-1200-15); or international politics, "POPE VISITS FROGS" (5DN C2-6-7), for the Pope's visit to Lourdes; or "FROGS KILLED IN LEBBERS" (5DN C4-6-9), for deaths among the French peace keeping force in Lebanon. Most striking of all, perhaps, was the reference to a team of black basketball players, who easily defeated the local St. Kilda team, as "BIG BLACK MOTHER FUKIN NIGGERS" (5DN B4-1200-14).

None of these epithets was truly vindictive: the sense of them tended towards the familiar and abusive. However, occasionally they were more macabre and reflected a black humour and sense of detachment from the news as reality, as in "IRISH STEW" (5DN A4-1200-24), which told of a spate of sectarian shootings in three counties of Northern Ireland. A derogatory tone seemed deliberate in the story of ten people killed in a ski accident in Italy: "DEAD DAGOES" (5DN A1-7-7) and "DEAD WOG FAT CATS" (5DN A1-1200-9). The title "BARBIE DOLL" (5DN A1-7-8) was also black for the former Gestapo Chief, Klaus Barbie, standing trial for crimes committed against humanity and who "apparently regrets nothing about his past activities and laments the fall of Adolf Hitler".

The spareness of the slugs chosen sometimes for tragic stories is macabre, however. For example a woman who was murdered, had her body chopped to pieces and put into the sewer in Hobart became "FINGER" (5DN C5-6-5); and the story of a murdered woman's body found floating in the sea off the Queensland coast was "FLOATER" (5DN A1-6.30-7). The need for, or development of, a professional hard edge to the newsman's sensibilities was also there in "BARBECUED" (5DN D4-6-4), the story of

a killer who went to the electric chair in America; and in "SORE HEAD" (5DN C4-1200-6) for a six year old boy very ill in a Canberra hospital after having his head caught in a garbage compactor.

The news value of a police search for a missing three year old indicated a self deprecating sense in the slug "LIDDLE BUBBY" (5DN B1-8-6). There was straightforward sexism in "GIRLS HOME" (5DN B4-1800-10), the story of the delays in the establishment of a new Women's Health Centre.

Just as often though, there was a sense of wit and a certain pleasure in using words cleverly and not being too serious about the stories. Examples would be the TAA hijack drama represented as "HIJILL" (5DN A1-7.30-1); the court case of East-West airlines "NORTH-SOUTH" (5DN B4-1800-1); Telecom's Union Stoppage, cutting off telephone lines, "TRUNKATED" (5DN B4-7-3); and "BIT-O' WATER" (5DN C4-6-3) for the story of floods in Adelaide. There was a similar sense of mischief in "MAGIC MUSHYS" (5DN A4-7-7) for tinned Taiwanese mushrooms found to be causing botulism and "EDICATE" (5DN A4-6-1) for the Education Minister's comments on school staffing levels.

ABC Slugs.

The ABC 'slugs' were more detached, less racey and more precisely functional than 5DN. As such they corresponded with the general decorous and functional ABC house style. The slugs were aids to the memory, designed for ready reference to stories within the newsroom. Usually they referred to the news event and/or to the person in that situation. The following examples illustrate these types.

<u>People</u>	<u>Event</u>
Mayor on Airport	(Period A, Day 5) Hospitals Future (Period A, Day 5)
Bannon to Canberra	(Period A, Day 5) Mitsubishi loss (Period A, Day 5)
Ligertwood speaks	(Period D, Day 3) Space shuttle (Period C, Day 3)
Hawke-Gandhi	(Period D, Day 3) News Dispute (Period C, Day 1)
Cash wins	(Period 2, Day 4) Tough Libs (Period 2, Day 4)

The above represented the general style and nature of the slugs. Journalists, however, have a human side and their prejudices, wit and cynicism were revealed in the occasional outbreak of individual reflexes and playful intelligences at work. For example, the mildly xenophobic, "BANNON ON JAPS" (ABC B4-7.45-16); the soft contempt of "LITTLE GENERALS" (ABC A5-7.45-16) - an item about the Chinese military high command; the mock pity in "POOR JIMMY" (ABC B3-7-15), about a Jimmy Connors' Tennis defeat; the amusingly wicked ambiguity of "CHAPMAN ON REMAND" (ABC B4-7.45-14) - about a female mayoral candidate in Adelaide, commenting upon the building of a new Remand Centre; the subtle cynicism of Mr. Keating's "DOLLAR DEALINGS" (ABC D5-1800-1), about the Federal Treasurer's decision to allow the Spot Market to float; and a certain relish in "AMAZING BLUNDER" (ABC B5-7-2) about the realisation in South Australia that Justices of the Peace had been unlawfully imprisoning people.

Very occasionally, a darker tinge was given to the slugs. In the Macquarie slugs, such instances would go unremarked because the overall tone of their creations was irreverent and openly representative of a lower middle class stereotypical culture. The ABC newsroom seemed to have pretensions to more than this. The infrequency of such comments was itself a reflection of a darker, if private, reflex.

Instances of this occasional personal-private element in the ABC slugs included the pretentious, "LAND RIGHTS IMBROGLIO" (ABC D5-7-4); and the ostensibly confusing but, presumably, personally meaningful, "BUDDY ARRESTED" (ABC A5-7.45-14) - Buddy was dead but his alleged killer had been arrested. There was one example of poetic formalism, the alliterative "ARMY FOR ARGIES" (ABC D5-1800-10). However, in the main the ABC slugs were decidedly sluggish in a verbal sense.

While this variety of responses told something of the attitudes of journalists to particular topics they were reporting, it also indicated their need for a certain ironic immunity to the hundreds of news items they had to face and cull everyday.

PART 3: CONTENT ANALYSIS

3.1 ANALYSIS OF OPENING AND CLOSING ITEMS

Approach

Opening and closing items of all the bulletins sampled in the survey periods are analysed here to establish a comparative sense of judgments of newsworthiness on each network. The assumption behind this is that opening and closing bulletin items are considered the most and least important items respectively.

Both kinds of items are analysed by source (that is World, National and State) to identify any regular patterns. The kinds of stories chosen for first and final items for each station are then discussed and illustrated briefly to establish how such items set the tone of the two news services. Many of the items referred to as examples in this section are analysed in detail in later chapters which discuss the presentation of various story categories.

The tables used in the body of the text summarise the statistical analysis which is detailed in Appendix A. In that appendix results of analysis of opening and closing items are broken down into comparisons of the two stations for each of the four survey periods, and for different times of the day.

The texts of the opening and closing items referred to in this section are provided for reference in Appendix B.

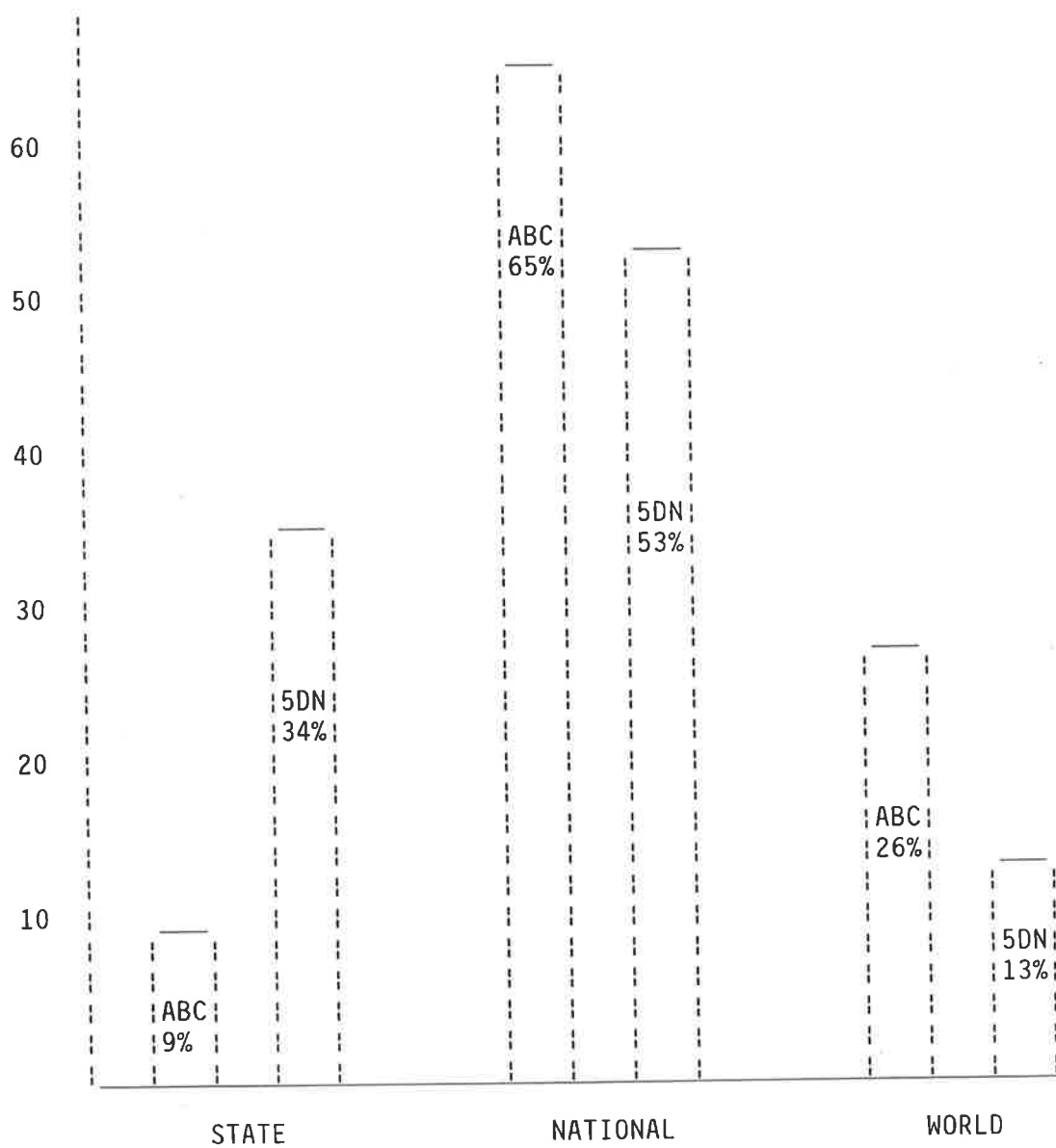
Opening Items

Analysis of opening items by World, National and State source showed considerable variation between the two networks. The geographical focus of ABC opening news put more emphasis on World events, while 5DN was more local/State orientated. For the period surveyed it could be predicted that there was at least a 50% likelihood of a national item leading the news on either station, although there was no consistency in terms of what time of the day National news might do so. The ABC put greater emphasis (61.25%) on a National perspective in the opening item than 5DN (50%).

Otherwise the ABC was nearly three times more likely to begin its news with a World item (18.75%), than a State item (10%). 5DN on the other hand gave more emphasis to the State item (32.5%) in its opening news items, compared to 17.5% World items.

Table 3 represents these results in a comparative bar chart.

TABLE 3: SOURCE OF OPENING ITEMS OVER THE FOUR PERIODS



5DN Opening Items

The majority of 5DN's opening items were set in the formal arenas of government and para-government activities. They dealt with legislation in progress, major policy decisions of Caucus, the Budget, and reports from Royal Commissions. The style of the news producers was to focus on the dramatic elements of such stories; either the interplay of personalities or on elements of potential conflict.

For example, the opening item on the Labor Party's debate on its uranium policy opened ominously:

"Former Labor Government Minister Clyde Cameron has warned the ALP that a Labor Government is bound to uphold policy ... the warning comes ... Cabinet and Caucus are under a moral obligation." (5DN D1-7-1)

In another example the issue of Australia's foreign policy on Kampuchea was very much as a story of the Deputy Prime Minister doing the wrong thing.

"Deputy Prime Minister ... Lionel Bowen is expected to be reprimanded today ". (5DN B1-7-1)

An item on the first day of the Wran Royal Commission into the alleged misconduct of the New South Wales Premier which was put second to the Bowen item above, was notably anti-climatic in terms of creating drama in the bulletin. It was noted that "procedural matters will dominate" and "principal figures in the enquiry are not expected to attend." (5DN B1-7-2)

Yet two weeks later when the Stewart Royal Commission tabled its report on drug trafficking in Australia the relevant news item was given top place on the bulletin. Formal legal language was displaced

from this report by the vernacular cliched comments of the Commissioner, with which a general audience could readily identify. They featured in the opening lines:

"The Drugs Royal Commissioner, Mr. Justice Stewart, says police corruption uncovered by his inquiry is the tip of the ice-berg ... and not a case of a few rotten apples ... (He) has also suggested a special national police unit be set up to 'root-out corruption'". (5DN B3-7-1)

Stories of industrial disputes featured less frequently as opening stories, than those from the para-government area. This regularly patterning suggested perhaps that unions were seen as having to take second place to the government. These sorts of patterns are elaborated on in the later discussion of bulletin profiles. When industrial stories did open news bulletins, the focus was on the drama and conflict of the story. For instance, the story of ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) wages talks, began with a protagonist from the other side:

"A leading employer spokesman has indicated his opposition to any wage rise this year ...". (5DN B1-1200-1)

An account of a pilots' strike was structured to provoke immediate uncertainty in the travelling public with a threat of disruption of services:

"Australia's domestic airline schedules for next week have had to be altered because of a series of rolling stoppages by pilots." (5DN B5-1800-1)

Two paragraphs later, however, an airways spokesman said that flights would be rescheduled, so that none would be cancelled.

A minority of opening stories in the National arena came from outside the political or industrial sectors. They fitted the category either of human interest or disaster stories. Each was sensational,

out of the ordinary and told of the death or of the potential death of innocent people. The telling of such stories exploited their drama and sense of threat ...

"Queensland police are on full alert as they await the next development in an extortion threat against the State's railways." (5DN C2-1200-1) ...;"

"Tropical Cyclone Elinore has moved closer to the North Queensland coast. Destructive winds are expected to hit ..." (5DN A3-8-1);

and

"Two young boys ... who've been missing since Sunday in some of the most rugged country in the Northern Territory ... have been found by searchers ... dead" (5DN C5-1200-1).

This last example of an opening sentence in particular, was constructed so as to maintain audience suspense until the last possible second.

The national story of the ASIS raid on the Sheraton Hotel twice led bulletins (5DN D4-1200-18). Perhaps that story fitted somewhere between the categories of government and stories of sensation. On one occasion, a live cross to the cricket test at Adelaide Oval led the bulletin, (5DN D5-1800-1). This was doubtless there for the big sporting audience who follow Ken Cunningham's sporting programme, on-air immediately after this bulletin.

The greatest number of 5DN opening items (32.5%) came from State sources. As with National news, mainly items of government legislation and budgets were chosen and the focus of the story was on the drama of the incident, rather than the processes involved or possible avenues of conflict resolution. For example, the story of a deferral vote in Parliament began on a truculent note.

"The Australian Democrats and the Liberal Party have defended their decision to force the deferral of the Maralinga Land Rights Bill". (5DN D5-7-1)

Otherwise, opening State items related to natural disasters, such as the spectacular local fires and floods in February and March 1983, in Period A. These were often set in government context of requests for more aid or for social workers to help disaster victims. Note the sense of urgency in the State's pleas to the Federal Government and the reminder of the scale of the fires with the use of the word "wake" which introduced one such item.

"The State Government has called on CANBERRA to provide more aid for farmers ... in the wake of last week's bushfires".
(5DN A2-8-1)

The fact that such stories after the main events remained so highly newsworthy, reflected the enormous impact the events had on the State.

A small number of State sourced opening items related stories of local crime, sensation and scandal. For example, the Richard Kelvin murder (D1-1200); drug busts (A1-8, A1-1200); a stabbing (C2-1800); a police car chase (C2-8) and a scandal over the State Museum's treatment of aboriginal relics (C1-1200). In terms of attracting the attention of the audience one could hardly do better than an opener like this:

"A 19 year old man is undergoing emergency surgery in the Royal Adelaide Hospital to remove a carving knife imbedded in his back after a brawl in a Hindley Street amusement centre"
(5DN C2-1800-1).

A further three lead stories from the State arena featured the violence at Roxby Downs anti-nuclear demonstrations. In one such story (5DN C3-8-1), the sense of popular drama was understated effectively in the opening line:

"Police have confirmed two officers did not intervene when a protester at Roxby Downs was attacked by a mine worker yesterday."

However, the next sentence waded in,

"The protester suffered severe facial injuries when repeatedly punched in the face - after his car was rammed by a company vehicle." (5DN C3-8-1)

Only half as many opening items (17.5%) came from a World source as from State sources in the periods surveyed. (In Period A there were none at all). At least half of the World opening items featured America. For example, America's initiatives in nuclear arms talks (B4-7); America supplying cruise missiles to Britain (D2-8); and President Reagan's view on missile limits (D2-7). Otherwise, the Korean airline incident, presenting Russia as the villain, was put first at (C4-6, 7, 8), as a sensational story. Where items on the CHOGM (Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting) talks opened bulletins (D3-6, 7, 8, 1800), they were related to Australia in terms of the appearance of Prime Minister Hawke, and the success of his meetings with other heads of government such as Prime Ministers Thatcher and Gandhi.

At 5DN, the time of day of the bulletin seemed to have some bearing on the source of the bulletin item. World items tended to feature in the breakfast bulletins because of the time difference between Australia and the Northern Hemisphere. Items relating to State legislation, Caucus decisions to be made that day, or Royal Commission findings also led breakfast bulletins as items that anticipated the news of the day. Such early coverage usually ensured the presence of the item in all the other major bulletins of the day. The 1200 bulletin at 5DN often began with a dramatic item that conveyed a sense of an event still in progress, a characteristic of this Newsroom's general "racey" style.

This summary of 5DN's choices of opening news items would suggest that, on any one day, given no major American initiatives or world disasters, the lead story would be about national politics, or a State story of sensation or crime.

An important aspect of opening stories on 5DN bulletins was that the opening story frequently contained a minimal news text by the newsreader. Chiefly that served to introduce an actualite which took listeners to the scene of the event or to a specialist second reporter. For example this was the complete text set before the newsreader in a story called "TEACHERS". (5DN A4-7-1) (See next page)

The effect of this cryptic introduction followed by a live insert was that the news item was delivered with the urgency of an attack or new sensation. It conveyed a sense of drama and immediacy that set the tone of the news service.

Most bulletins began with that sense. The suggestion of newness or freshness was maintained by rewriting or slanting the report on a news item if it were used as a lead story more than once in adjacent bulletins. Alternatively items one and two in one bulletin might be reversed in order in a subsequent bulletin.

For example, on day A4 the lead story at 6 a.m., 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. was about the State Teachers union, SAIT, and its request to the State Government to appoint more teachers. At 6 a.m. the story opened with four paragraphs that signalled possible industrial action and explained the numbers of students and teachers in schools at present. A thirty

teachers

The Institute of Teachers is now threatening industrial action ... if the State Government doesn't appoint more teachers.

PAUL ROBERTS reports :

112

45s

...sign off."

second actualite followed in which the President of the union explained the industrial action that was being considered.

The 7 a.m. version of the story (quoted above) opened with a one sentence threat of industrial action and then went immediately into a forty-five second actualite from a 5DN reporter, who summarised events and paraphrased the President's concerns.

At the 7.30 a.m. news, the item replicated 6 a.m. exactly, so the emphasis was back on Ms. Ebert speaking from the Institute's point of view.

At 8 a.m., the threat of industrial action was quashed by the Minister. The item opened:

"State Education Minister Lynn Arnold says the government will not appoint any more teachers to state schools despite the threat of industrial action by teachers" ...

The Institute's claim was summarised in one sentence, followed immediately by the government view ...

"But Mr. Arnold says overall enrolments in the state are down three thousand and he doesn't see the need for more teachers ..."

A thirty second actualite of Mr. Arnold arguing figures and underlining the government's budget problems, followed.

Within two hours, a story of potential crisis in the system, in the Institute's view, and a threatened militant response to that situation, had been reduced to a few phrases and had been reslanted quite significantly into a reasonably sympathetic and rather different story of the government's budget problems. While the 5DN newsroom had

attempted to fuel the fire to keep the story hot and convey a sense of potential chaos in the Education system, the Government voice contained the threat and put the fire out. To reinforce this, at 9 a.m. the 8 a.m. version was repeated verbatim but the item was placed further down the bulletin.

These small differences of emphasis in 5DN's opening items on subsequent bulletins reflected the concern of that newsroom to catch the attention of listeners and keep them tuned to the station. It suggested that the entertainment value of news was regarded as being as important as the information itself. Perhaps this was generally indicative of the difference between the commercial news service and the ABC network. This was not to say, however, that the ABC did not also structure its bulletin in certain ways so as to highlight qualities in drama and narrative. Such aspects of the discourse will be explained later in terms of the respective bulletin profiles.

ABC Opening Items

65% of the ABC's opening stories were set in the National arena. Largely they were of a government/political nature, such as newly stated party policies, important new legislation and the findings of various Royal Commissions. The only National industrial stories placed first in bulletins in the survey period were the airline pilots' dispute and threatened GMH retrenchments. As with 5DN, the ABC put the ASIS raid on The Sheraton Hotel and an attempted TAA airline hijack first in the news several times: these events of violence were unusual for Australia. Announcements about the people selected for the new ABC Board of Management led three major ABC bulletins. (ABC B4-1200,

B4-1300 and B4-1800)

This last in-house item and several business/industry orientated items, such as a take-over bid for the Australian manufacturing company BHP (ABC A1-1800-1); a Wall Street boom (ABC A3-1200-1); and the oil price war between nations (ABC A2-1200-1), were the only items not likely to get first place on the 5DN news. By way of contrast, the ABC did not place as highly as 5DN, the story of two boys dying in the desert and the Test cricket results.

Whenever an ABC bulletin opened with a story from the business world, a considerable sense of drama was communicated through the metaphors used. A headline on a shift in the American stock market (A3-1200-1), for example, invited audience speculation (!) with,

"Optimism about the American economy prompts more big stock market rises in New York".

An excited statement then introduced a live report from New York thus:

"Share prices have soared on Wall Street again, with the market reaching new peaks."

The live insert was removed for the next bulletin (A3-1300-1), but the reporting there was still dramatic, as the Dow Jones Average "surged" ... "above the old record set just last Thursday."

Another ABC opening item of a business nature employed the metaphors of war to dramatic effect. The story "OIL WAR" (A2-1300-1) began,

"The prospect of a price war between oil producing nations is beginning to hit international markets" ... "Prices have already weakened, there is talk of 'cuts', 'emergency conference' and the need 'to confront' a serious deterioration."

A business oriented story immediately followed this one at both (A2-1200-2) and (A2-1300-2). Its newsworthiness was stated clearly in the title "BHP-HAWKE" and in the first sentence where "The opposition leader, Mr. Hawke, had had a half hour meeting in Melbourne with senior executives of BHP". The substance of the talks was not known; nor was the relationship to Labor Party policy. Despite this, the thirty minute meeting being placed as number two story, underlined a strong orientation, in the ABC agenda, towards an Australian power-nexus of government with multinational companies.

The 10% of ABC opening items from the State arena included stories of government response to local bushfires, Aboriginal Land Rights legislation and a parliamentary impasse over the Roxby Downs development. (Two other stories, which were classed as State ones, arguably could be classed as national stories; namely, the price of South Australian gas being piped to Sydney (ABC C5-1800-1) and South Australian politician, Peter Duncan, being cleared by a Royal Commission for a statement he made in State parliament (ABC C2-1800-1). In the period surveyed, no ABC bulletins led with items of crime.

The style of the ABC news was established in the tone of the opening items, as being serious and detached or objective. The effect was reinforced by the newsreader's measured delivery of three or four concise headlines summarising the first three or four stories. These same headlines were repeated at the close of the story. The effect was a chiming in and out of a special discourse which was clearly contained, rather than being broken by advertising patter, and had the purposeful feel of an information service or a reflection on events of

the world which was focused within a recurring perspective. By contrast those 5DN bulletins which used headlines, plucked them from a variety of stories across the bulletin as if to present an array of topics to tempt audiences with mixed tastes.

The deliberate measured tone of the ABC bulletin tended to reinforce a sense of status quo within its news service, by repeating the same stories at the head of consecutive bulletins such as 6.30 a.m., 7 a.m. and 7.45 a.m. rather than reslating them as 5DN tended to. Changes were made sedately if new information came to hand. For example on day C3 at 7 a.m. one story was titled "ROXBY BAIL" and another "CHILEAN". On the same day at 7.45 a.m. the story slugs indicated changes moderately as "ROXBY BAIL. ADD ROXBY BAIL" and "REPLACE CHILEAN", respectively.

The layout of story texts on the page also reflected the measured tone of the ABC stories. For example see the text of the story "MONEY MOVES" (ABC A3-7-1) (See previous page)

The sense of the story being a series of statements, rather than a narrative built around a climax, was evident from the layout. Each sentence was set out as one paragraph, evenly spaced from the next. This seemed to give equal value to each statement and cued the news-reader to deliver the story in that manner.

Particular care was taken in ABC stories with the details of time, place, identity and relative authority of characters and sources of comment. In this characteristic instance, the story opened calmly with

ABC A3-7-1

MONEY MOVES

"The outflow of capital from Australia continued yesterday -- with money market analysts estimating that transactions involving as much as 200-million dollars were completed.

The analysts say the total withdrawal from local investment since Thursday might amount to 700-million dollars.

Merchant Bankers say the market is unstable and appears to be anticipating a devaluation of up to 10-per cent -- whichever party wins Saturday's election.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Anthony, said yesterday that 500-million dollars had been taken out of the country on Friday because of the prospect of a Labor Government."

a detached sense of an observer noting the progress of a phenomenon:

"The outflow of capital from Australia continued yesterday -- with money market analysts estimating that transactions involving as much as 200-million dollars were completed"

The judgment being made was referred to as being in the hands of professionals namely "money market analysts". The subsequent three paragraphs of the story set out each statement carefully:

"The analysts say ..."

"Merchant bankers say ..."

The deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Anthony, said ..."

While several different viewpoints were juxtaposed, the overall effect was one of restraint and objectivity on the part of the news producers. No direct pointers were given by the news producers to highlight differences of opinions, such as the use of modal conjunctives like "however" or "despite this". The only sense of judgment in the discourse was a subtle one in that merchant bankers anticipated a devaluation, "whichever party wins Saturday's election", while the Deputy Prime Minister attributed outflow of capital to "the prospect of a Labor government". Any conclusions were left to the audience to draw for themselves. The overall sense conveyed by the tone of the report was that order was being maintained and any problems could be confidently contained by those in authority.

Similarly, and in contrast to the contemporaneous 5DN item quoted earlier, 5DN B3-7-1 page 169, any threat of disruption was minimised in the opening item on the release of the report of the Stewart Royal Commission into drug trafficking (ABC B3-7.45-1). While the item began,

"The Federal Attorney-General says there's an obvious need for a shake-up of Australia's law enforcement agencies",
this was juxtaposed with a statement that defused any subsequent concern:

"However no action is likely for three months at least."

Notice here the use of the modal adjunct "however" used to turn the direction of the commentary. The effect is to offset the sense of uncertainty suggested initially.

The rest of that report sets out the order of events to follow, namely a response from government departments and a detailed discussion to be held later in Parliament. Although the second half of the item referred to Mr. Justice Stewart's findings of serious corruption in the system, the Attorney-General was the major focus of the report and he conveyed no sense of needing action. Thus he set the agenda and contained any sense of threat. The story was framed in his terms from the beginning where he accepted the need for change as being an "obvious need", to the end where he had the last word. He reassured the listener that

"A committee would be set up to co-ordinate follow-up action". (ABC B3-7.45-1)

To reinforce this point about the typical structuring of ABC items, the item which followed the one above is taken as another example. It was related by topic. It discussed criticism of the British government (in the extradition case of a former Australian drug ring leader Terence Clark) for not making any move in response to the Stewart Royal Commission recommendations. As with the former example, any sense of immediate concern was displaced by conveying order and justice. This

was achieved by stressing the correct procedure and order of events:

"Australia would have to make the first move through diplomatic channels." (ABC B3-7.45-2)

These kinds of textual emphases are discussed in detail in later chapters on respective story categories. They lead to a conclusion that the ABC news maintained the deliberate and objective tone established in its opening items, largely through speaking with an institutional voice that reinforced the status quo.

Closing Items

While closing items are not as important as opening items in attracting the attention of the audience they can play an important role in regaining the attention of listeners who have lost concentration during the bulletin. If the closing item is carefully delivered and has been prepared for in the rhythm of the Bulletin Profile, it will be remembered by the listener in the short term and leave an impression or flavour of the overall news service.

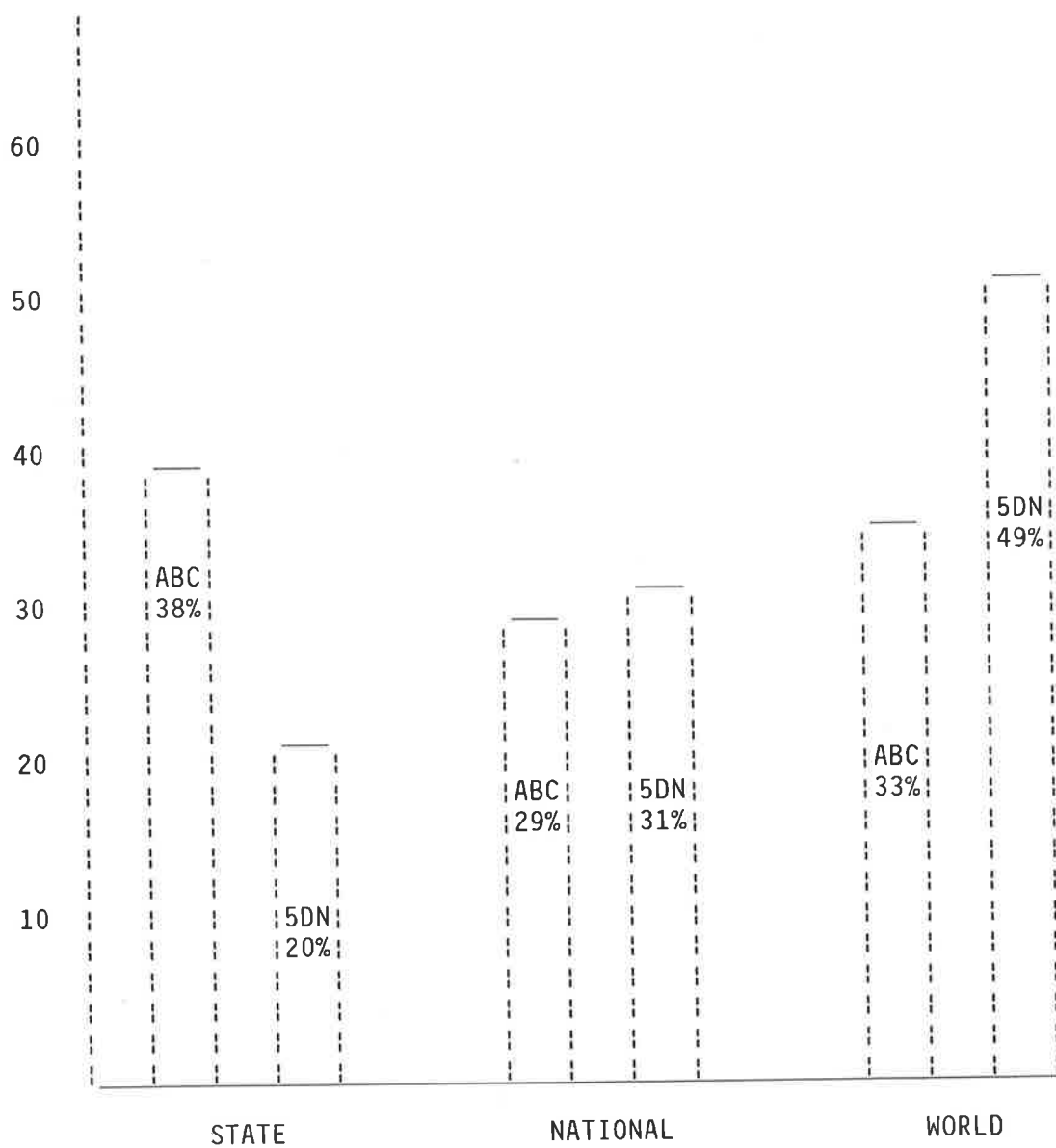
While an audience might believe that the final item in the bulletin is of the least importance or consequence, in commercial radio particularly, it is an essential link with the next segment of programming: the commercials and/or the general announcer who has to keep up his ratings. Consequently on 5DN, news items selected to close bulletins often indicated a shift in tone, away from the relatively objective serious tone of the majority of the bulletin, towards a lighter more entertaining one.

The statistical breakdown of closing items by source (World, National and State) in Table 4 below, does not indicate much about the differences between the ABC and 5DN services, although it complements the respective distribution of opening items. That is, the ABC opened its bulletin with an emphasis on World items and closed with more emphasis on State items and 5DN showed the reverse pattern.

The brief qualitative analysis of closing items which follows, conveys a more subtle picture however. For instance, the topics associated with items from a World source on 5DN were usually domestic

or human interest stories, whereas ABC World stories were politically orientated.

TABLE 4: SOURCE OF CLOSING ITEMS OVER THE FOUR PERIODS



5DN Closing Items

A large percentage (49%) of 5DN's closing news items in the bulletins under discussion, came from the World arena. Of these about half were sports stories, usually involving Australian sportsmen and women in overseas competitions such as the young Australian Socceroos playing in Wales; the Australian challenge for the America's Cup; and Australian Evonne Cawley playing tennis in the French Open tournament.

5DN frequently grouped two to four sports items at the end of their news. In effect these closing items in the bulletins could be seen to be providing a catharsis: a refreshing, wholesome sense of friendly competition and rivalry in a familiar arena that is in contrast to the violence and destruction of many leading political stories. In addition the distinct change in style in the sports items, from the formal to the vernacular, served to reinforce a difference in attitude to that category of news.

Similarly, closing items of sports news from the National and State arenas could de-fuse the threat of serious World news. The story, for example, of how "New South Wales has joined South Australia at the top of the Sheffield Shield table" in cricket (5DN A2-8-12), provided a microcosm of relative peace and security. It was very much in contrast to preceding stories viz. two thousand dead in Indian election violence (5DN A2-8-9); twenty five dead in a Mexican train smash (5DN A2-8-10); and a row involving the American head of Reagan's Strategic Arms Control Agency (5DN A2-8-11). The final placement of the sports story and its change of tone, seemed to overshadow and diminish the importance and relevance of these serious items.

Items that began with the single word "Cricket" or "Football", or a phrase like "Updating Sport" or "And now to Sport", seemed almost to proclaim relief. It did not really matter that "South Australia came second", "Tasmania just pipped New South Wales" and "Pakistan is in a slightly shaky position in the match against Western Australia". Furthermore the rules were clear cut and readily comprehensible: "The first session will decide whether the home side can force a win." (5DN D1-8-8).

After sports items, 5DN closing items from the World arena were most often items either from non-Western countries, such as the War in Chad (5DN C2-1200-28); a plane missing in Papua New Guinea (5DN B1-7-6); and a story on China/Soviet relations (5DN A2-1200-23); or were items of a bizarre or sleazy nature, designed to titillate or amuse. Items from the first group, (political events in non-Western countries), seemed to reinforce a view of those countries as being strategically unimportant. (The images which news providers present of particular countries are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.)

Bizarre closing items, usually delivered in a delighted tone by the newsreader, were based on familiar targets of humour such as sex, the Royal family, the Irish and the famous. Examples were, Hitler finally being struck off the lists of honour in a West German town (5DN A5-1200-23); the birth of babies conceived by terrorists in an Italian maximum security prison (5DN C3-1200-26); and Omar Sharif fighting off sex mad fans (5DN B1-1200-7).

One nuclear item was placed last in a bulletin. "Radio-active

seaweed has been washed ashore close to a nuclear power-station in the north of Britain" (5DN D4-1200-27). While the ramifications of this could be major, the extent of concern, which was reported, was that beaches in the area have been forced to close. The newsmaker's slug for the story, "GLOWY SEAWEEED" suggested a certain scepticism about the material. The issue was not placed there for serious contemplation, especially when it was very much a tail ender following on from stories of a bribery scandal charge against a West German minister (5DN D4-1200-25) and legalisation for therapeutic abortion upsetting staunch Roman Catholics in Spain (5DN D4-1200-26).

The story of "GLOWY SEAWEEED" was an example of a picture of an unexpected or titillating nature, that would leave a graphic impression on the listener's mind at the end of the news. Another example was the story (titled "FLYING YOGIBEAR") of a yoga student getting into trouble with East German authorities for making a peace flight in a glider over the Berlin Wall (5DN C5-1200-27). From the National arena, there was a similar curious instance in a story of Queensland police being kissed on duty to improve their image of sternness (5DN A5-1800-13).

On two occasions National closing stories related to government issues and essentially paraphrased press releases in a disinterested style. Issues noted were a Federal review of youth policies (5DN B3-1800-10), and a forecast on unemployment statistics (5DN D2-1800-12), which concluded with a self evident statement from the relevant Minister to the effect that the unemployment "rate will improve if growth is maintained". There were several similar examples of closing items from the State arena relating to government and policy

issues, such as the introduction of a computer access system for school libraries (5DN B2-1800-12). The tone of such items was flat. It seemed to reflect a concessional attitude by newsmakers out of a sense of duty, towards reporting items that were not very commercially newsworthy.

Two further closing items relating to State Government, presumably based on press releases from the subjects of the item, conveyed a sense of moral righteousness, that was at odds with the bizarre or entertaining stories 5DN usually placed last in its bulletins. The first story was really a non-story, designed to publicise a politician in the opposition party of the time.

"State Opposition Leader ... John Olsen ... is celebrating the first anniversary of his election to leadership ... and says that he has made some changes ... They're changes that not all his colleagues are comfortable with ... but they're changes for the better." (5DN D2-1200-28)

In the second story where the State's House of Assembly Speaker criticised the attitudes of politicians in debates in parliament, it was emphasised that "the Adelaide public has voiced support for him". The reporter added a live insert on people's reactions to the speaker's claims to enliven the story. These comments reinforced the suggestion that

"personal denigration has crept into parliamentary proceedings and added that the public expects some reasonable sort of standard." (5DN C5-1800-11)

This sense of the importance of propriety and appropriate middle class manners formed an interesting contrast to the focus of the majority of 5DN's news stories on sensation and conflict, and a

contrast to the majority of 5DN's palliative closing news items on bread and circuses. The conservative moral stance seemed more typical of ABC closing stories.

ABC Closing Items

Table 4 (on page 114) in the introductory discussion on the source of closing items, indicated that, on the ABC, the proportions of such items from World, National and State sources were roughly equivalent. This reflected the fact that the ABC bulletin generally scattered items from different sources across the bulletin. The closing item was usually simply the last one of a series of serious items, although its repercussions might not be as immediate or action-based as those of earlier items.

World items which closed the news continued to relate to a series of serious political issues in the Western world, albeit not of immediate action. Instances were Hayden's comments on Cyprus (ABC D4-7.45-17); security measures for President Reagan's forthcoming visit to Japan (ABC D1-7-17); the beginning of the English election (ABC B4-1800-9) and an American protest, (religious based), to a nuclear missile deployment plan (ABC B2-1800-11).

Occasionally, World closing items were about natural disasters in less important countries, such as lightning striking hitchhikers in Austria (ABC B2-7.45-18) or extensive Indian floods (ABC C1-1200-12). Sometimes there was a sports report on golf, weightlifting or test cricket on an international level. Once, a human interest story of an heroic lone rower crossing the Pacific (ABC B4-1200-11), closed the bulletin.

Closing items on the ABC frequently ended the bulletin on a note of moral seriousness, as if to reinforce the values that were or should be

important to the audience. Two such instances related directly to the moral issues of unwanted pregnancies and abortions. The first story paraphrased the comments of a leading sex educationist who identified the problems, (evils?), of lack of supervision at end-of-year parties, alcohol and poor sex education (ABC D3-7.45-17). The latter item noted that there were fifty-one fewer abortions in South Australia in the current year than in the previous one (ABC C3-1200-10).

Two closing items from the World arena underlined the moral wrong of fraud; namely the discovery of a fake Holbein painting (ABC A3-1200-11) and the conviction for fraudulent practice against cancer therapist Brych in America. A brief reference in passing was made to the fact that Brych "had previously worked in Australia". (ABC B4-1300-10). By contrast the Brych fraud story which was run on the equivalent time slot at 5DN was used as a headline and positioned at number three out of twenty-eight stories. The 5DN report focused on Brych's legal battle to prevent his being deported from America (5DN B4-1200-3).

Fairly consistently, National and State crime stories which featured high on the 5DN bulletin, were more likely to appear among closing items on the ABC. This placement suggests their low newsworthy value on the ABC. Lack of interest in them was also suggested in their straight, factual style. For example the story of a dead gunman began,

"A full police and coronial inquiry will be held into the fatal shooting of ..." (ABC D4-1200-7).

The sense of law and order being maintained was also conveyed in the news report on a man convicted for making hoax calls on the Richard

Kelvin case ...

"A man was given a nine-month gaol sentence today for" ...

The Magistrate was given the last word in the report:

"At the very least he was a public nuisance and should stay in custody for his own safety" (ABC C5-1900-8).

The only ABC closing item in the survey period which had a lighter note was the story of a dispute between a dog club and local footballers "who claim they can't use their oval after dog shows" (ABC B3-7.45-17). Little more need be said. The story is related with delicacy and the dispute contained and resolved, this time by the local council.

Several ABC closing items from the National arena related to difficulties in the business world. Interestingly, in the telling of such stories, the magnitude of problems (and possible resultant lack of public confidence in the companies) was modified by extenuating statements about the past or likely future success of the companies. For instance in the story of financial losses incurred by a large mining company, while the first sentence of the item suggested concern, the second modified it. (The emphases here are mine.)

"The mining giant CRA has reported a loss of 13.6 million dollars for last year ... (it) has blamed the result on interest rates ... It's the first ever loss recorded by CRA for the first full year since the company came under its present structure almost 20 years ago." (ABC A2-1800-12)

A similar sense of problems caused by circumstances beyond the company's control was conveyed in a story on BHP.

"BHP has been forced to revise its plan to take-over the coal mining giant, UTAH International, because of difficulties in finding partners for a consortium."

However the conclusion was optimistic,

"The company's spokesman said the new arrangement was satisfactory and the take over agreement was still expected to be completed by next April." (ABC D2-7.45-12)

Frequently, ABC closing stories emphasised a positive approach in focussing on issues of conservation and ways of constructing a better future: for example, residents getting together to tackle the problem of noise pollution from a neighbouring airport (ABC A5-1200-8); the Premier encouraging more Japanese tourists to visit South Australia (ABC B4-7.45-16); and good ram sales at Adelaide's Royal Show (ABC C4-1300-10). Closing stories of new government sponsored initiatives that would improve the quality of our lives in some small ways, were reported with the same deliberative serious tone as ABC opening items. For example the Minister for Science and Technology announced grants for,

"inventions to save water, extract gold ore, breed fish and make horse riding safer" (ABC B5-7.45-16)

and the Federal Minister for Health said that,

"The Federal Government is to form a new authority designed to improve health and prevent accidents in the workplace." (ABC C3-7.45-18)

This last item concluded with a financial justification by the Minister that "we do know that the industrial accident injury bill is almost certainly greater than the bill we pay for national defence..." The sense of economic responsibility in that story was echoed too in a story where Opposition Senator Baden Teague,

"accused a government M.P. of a gross abuse of taxpayers' money because the M.P. ran up a bill of ten thousand dollars for telegrams in one day" ... "In reply, the leader of the Government in the senate ... said politicians should exercise their privileges with care" (ABC C4-7-10).

This sense of moral commentary in ABC closing items, seemingly designed to appeal to an audience of like minds, was a common thread through the ABC news discourse. It reinforced a sense of law and order being maintained, through recurring images of propriety and the place and privilege of those in power, from the first items of the bulletin to the last.

3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF STORY CATEGORIES

All news items in the periods surveyed were analysed in terms of story categories to determine the degree of similarity of the stories covered and the relative emphasis given to different sorts of stories on the two networks. Twelve story categories were used: namely Australian politics and government (A), government economy (B), industrial disputes (C), affairs of business and industry (D), foreign news (E), crime (F), stories of the Justice system (G), accidents and natural disasters (H), sport (I), human interest (J) and stories of social/welfare issues (K) and the nuclear issue (L).¹⁰

The first story category of government or politics in Australia, included coverage of State and Federal legislation, State, Federal and local government affairs such as casinos, job creation schemes, the proposed Darwin to Alice rail link, the introduction of AUSSAT and reviews of services by various departments. It occasionally covered legislation or political activities in other states such as the re-organisation of the Queensland Liberal-National coalition, and Hawke's negotiation with Tasmania over the Franklin Dam. This political category also included election campaigning, policy decisions made by Caucus and press statements on current issues such as uranium mining or 'Bottom-of-the-Harbour' tax legislation.

Government financial matters such as the announcement of the Budget, Treasury changes to superannuation schemes, and requests for special State aid were put separately as stories of government economy but could easily be considered under the government political arena.

The industry category covered industrial disputes, (actual and threatened), ACTU policy statements and decisions taken in the Industrial and Arbitration Courts.

The business and industry category included stories that did not directly involve labour, but covered the performance of multinational companies like GMH and BHP, the collapse of local businesses, and Credit Unions responses to the new Financial Institutions Duty Tax. As well, stories of increases in the prices of basic consumer goods, such as real estate, petrol and bread were included in this category, because such items seem to be regarded in the community as an informal gauge of the business and economic climate. Odd items such as the Royal Automobile Association view that the government should spend more on the care of roads and the introduction of new government standards on rust proofing were also included here, because they related to a government/industry nexus.

Crime stories were from the arena of court or police reports: developments or decisions in court cases or action stories of a local hijack; arsonists lighting school fires, an incident between gunmen and police or drug raids.

Stories that related to the Justice system were categorised separately from crime stories. They included reports from Royal Commissions, necessarily seen as separate from government affairs although set up by government decision, usually as a result of political pressure; investigations into human rights; the police stand on hand guns; action by prisoners in response to treatment by police

and jail warders; stories of ASIO and intelligence services like ASIS, including the raid on the Sheraton Hotel; and cases in the High Court, namely over the Franklin Dam. This Justice System category was thus wide ranging, but usually only took a very small percentage of the bulletin (3% to 7%), except in period B when 5DN spent 20% of bulletin time and ABC 17%, largely describing the spate of news on the Street, Hope and Stewart Royal Commissions of that time.

The category of sport stories was straightforward in criteria: results of competitions, team selections and stories about individual champions.

Human interest stories included items of an unusual nature such as the rape of women with wooden legs or an operation to separate siamese twins, births, deaths, marriages, and gossip about the famous or royalty (and such events as the Royal Tour of Australia); and the occasional item in which the weather (for example a fog-bound airport) made news.

Accidents and natural disasters, included fairly ordinary stories of rescues of (often nameless) people from mountain tops or sick people being brought from the city by helicopter; deaths in crashes or explosions, and stories of missing boats. Disasters, or accidents on a large scale, included severe floods in South Australia and Queensland, cyclones, bushfires and very occasionally overseas incidents like big cinema fires or of a report of many deaths in a ski accident in Italy or a train crash in Mexico. However, the Korean airliner with two hundred and sixty nine people on board, shot down by Russia, on the

basis that it was on a spying mission for America, was classified under Russia as a political action.

Foreign news covered news from countries outside Australia about activities of a political nature including, for example, trials of dissidents and political kidnappings; stories of war and faction fighting and relations with other countries. Some items classified here related to international relations: CHOGM talks and United Nations debates on matters like the Korean airliner incident or fighting in the Middle East. Only in the case of America and to a lesser extent of England, were items of domestic foreign news such as space programmes, industrial disputes and technological advances featured as news items. (Elaboration on this and subdivision of foreign news by country, occurs in Chapter Four.)

The category of social and welfare stories covered stories commonly referred to as soft news. They were usually stories based not on events, but on issues, such as unemployment, health, conservation and heritage, topics of art, religion and science and issues affecting special interest groups such as aborigines, women and refugees. Examples were items on AIDS, pollution problems in Port Pirie and the battle to save Adelaide's heritage Aurora Hotel from demolition. On the ABC there were also a number of natural history stories like disappearing species.

Each news item in the eighty bulletins (800 total from the ABC and 1082 from 5DN) was identified by one of those categories. Each item was then entered onto a card system filed by story category. The entry

contained the reference to the date and time of the story, its position in that bulletin, the story title and the length of time of that item.

The length of time spent on each story topic was subsequently calculated as a percentage of total bulletin time on each station for each of the four survey periods. The results of this statistical analysis are tabulated as bar charts in Appendix D. The same information is set out there in several different ways: The relative time spent on story categories by the ABC is compared across the four periods; the same is done with 5DN; and then the two stations are set out side by side for each period.

These results are summarised in Table 5 below.

Briefly, the results suggest considerable similarity of time spent on story categories by the two networks; perhaps higher than had been anticipated in early discussion here, that differentiates 5DN's more commercial emphasis. This indicates the severe limitations of the methods of quantitative analysis, because the main part of the thesis which compares treatment of various story categories on the two stations by qualitative discourse analysis, illustrates how differently they focus their news.

Statistical analysis by story categories also indicated a fairly regular distribution of events in the categories described across the four periods on each station. This suggests that both news services construct a particular picture of society derived, partly, from the need for a constant output of news in predictable areas. In other

TABLE 5: 5DN / ABC NEWS STORY CATEGORIES

		PERIOD A	PERIOD B	PERIOD C	PERIOD D	AVERAGE
Gov. Legislation/politics	5DN	30	17	18	27.5	23
	ABC	25	14.5	18.5	25	21
Gov. economy	5DN	2	2.5	4	2.5	3
	ABC	2	2	2.5	1.5	2
Industrial (disputes arbitration unions)	5DN	7.5	6.5	6	5.5	6.5
	ABC	4	7	5	6	5.5
Business/industry/ consumer prices	5DN	4.5	4	7	5	5
	ABC	12	9	10.5	10	10
Foreign news	5DN	16	18	14	17.5	16.5
	ABC	15	19	22	27	21
Crime (straight reports and court forum)	5DN	7	6	10	16	10
	ABC	9.5	9	5	3.5	7
Justice system (inc. Police, ASIO, Royal Commissions)	5DN	3	20	4	3	8
	ABC	-	17	7.5	5	7.5
Accidents & natural disasters (international inc.)	5DN	9.5	2	4	2	4
	ABC	17	5	3.5	1	6.5
Nuclear issue	5DN	0.5	1.5	5	5	3
	ABC	0.5	2.5	4.5	6.5	3.5
Social issues (welfare, health conserv., heritage, unemploy)	5DN	9	10.5	10	6.5	9
	ABC	8.5	7	12	10.5	9.5
Human interest (bizarre etc.)	5DN	5	1	2	1	2
	ABC	5	-	3.5	-	2.5
Sport (inc. world)	5DN	6	11	16	8.5	10
	ABC	1.5	8	5.5	4	4.5

words, news is regularly shaped and processed. The chief defining characteristic of news is, as the Glasgow University Media Group (1976) put it,

"that which can be itemised and contained within a bulletin."¹¹

The apparent circularity of such a definition is further elaborated in discussion of the effects of regular ordering of items, in terms of story categories within news bulletins, in the next section (4.4).

This breakdown of story categories shows that the major "hard" story categories of government/political news (including economy), industrial news and foreign news, made up about 50% of the bulletins. Over the four periods they constituted 48.6% of 5DN, 49% of ABC bulletins.

The story category in which there was considerable variation between the four periods (between 14.5% and 30%) was that of government/politics. The variation in this category was assumed to be due to events of the time (detailed in Appendix E). The fact that Table 5 shows a significantly greater percentage of political stories in Period A, was attributed to it being the time of the 1983 Federal election and in Period D, to a substantial number of items on new legislation as both Federal and State houses of parliament were involved in their last sittings for the year. By contrast stories relating to the government's economy remained consistent across the four periods (averaging 2% on ABC and 3% on 5DN).

Coverage of industrial disputes was remarkably similar on the two networks: 5.5% of ABC bulletin time and 6.5% of 5DN's. This suggested perhaps a maximum level of tolerance and interest in the industrial arena, and/or a reasonably good period of industrial relations in Australia.

In terms of foreign (largely political) news the ABC's coverage was significantly higher, averaging 21% across the four periods surveyed whereas 5DN averaged only 16.5%.

Where 5DN gave more time to sport and crime stories, the ABC gave approximately 10% more time to coverage of foreign stories (mentioned before) and to business and industry. On this latter category the ABC spent twice as much time (10%) as did 5DN (5%). In terms of the number of such items the ABC had about one third as many business stories again, as 5DN. The sorts of business stories the ABC included that 5DN did not, were stories of profits or losses at smaller (smaller than GMH or BHP) companies like CRA or Seppelts; the sale of Myers; the campaign to save the Berri Cannery; Woodroofe becoming a public company; control of "The Age" newspaper; extra wheat silos to be built at Port Lincoln; and other new industry initiatives. Thus the ABC would seem to be catering to a slightly different, perhaps more of a white collar audience than 5DN, in presenting stories that were not only about dramatic business developments, but also filled out a picture of growth and financial buoyancy with more coverage of minor developments in Australian industry.

Stories of crime rated different coverage on the two stations and a

substantially larger amount of coverage on 5DN; an average of 10% compared to the ABC's average of 6% of bulletin time. The discrepancy in Periods C and D between 5DN and ABC coverage (10% to 5% and 16% to 35% respectively) indicated that 5DN selected and used crime stories on rather a different basis. 5DN included an additional number of stories that were racey, colourful and immediate, such as sex crimes, bag snatching, attacks on children or a daring local theft. The style of the reporting tended to be more lively than the standard bureaucratic format of court reports or police statements which ABC relied upon in compiling its reports.

There was more similarity in the percentages of time each station gave to stories related to the Justice System. The explanation for the figures, showing that the ABC gave 2% or 3% more to such stories, seemed to be that the ABC discussed items such as the changes to the Parole system in more detail than did 5DN. As noted earlier, the unusual amount of time spend on this category in Period B (17% on ABC and 20% on 5DN) was due to the sitting of three Royal Commissions at that time.

A small percentage of stories related to accidents and natural disasters and in this story category, the ABC and 5DN covered virtually the same stories. Light plane crashes, road fatalities and occasional cyclones were characteristic fare. In Period A, very serious bushfires and then major floods in southern Australia, dominated headlines.

The two stations were remarkably consistent in their coverage of the more minor categories of nuclear issues and human interest, even

when the time spent on these categories fluctuated considerably between survey periods. The explanation on nuclear stories must be that both stations presented reasonably straight forward events that were clearly newsworthy, such as American missiles arriving in Britain or violent anti-nuclear protests at Pine Gap.

The correlation of percentages of time spent on human interest stories on the two stations was surprising, given the different kinds of stories each network chose to use. In Period A both stations rated big rains in South Australia and the Royal Tour as newsworthy items. Otherwise, where the ABC noted other unusual weather in this category and told of a fraud over a Holbein painting, 5DN featured news items on a campaign to kiss Queensland police, bits of Hitler/Gestapo history, an Irish horse kidnapping and an item on Australians' cruelty to horses. In Period C where 5DN listeners were hearing about Italian prisoners conceiving and giving birth in jail and computer buffs tapping top secret information in America, ABC listeners had to be content with reports on fog closing the airport, a spell of unseasonably balmy weather, and then wet weather for the Royal Show. So the nature of the human interest items varied from one station to the other. Essentially such items remained as fillers in the bulletin; useful for effecting a certain kind of pause in the drama.

Another area of consistency of coverage between the two networks and across the four periods was that of social issues. Given the variety and number of events available to be reported on in this category at any one time, the consistency noted here perhaps suggests (altruistically) a basic commitment by news makers to this area, and/or

(in a utilitarian assessment) a need for a certain quality of softer news stories to vary the dramatic tension of news bulletins.

The fluctuation in the amounts of time devoted to sports stories across the survey periods, indicated that these stories were used to fill out bulletins to some extent, although in the case of 5DN they also had a specific identity in the news. Certainly, it could be said that 5DN gave a far wider coverage to sporting items, including overseas events. In the periods surveyed, 5DN news covered about three times the number of sports events the ABC did. Where about 27% of ABC sports items came from overseas, 44% of 5DN sports items were from the world outside Australia. The average length of an ABC sports item was approximately forty seconds, but the average 5DN sports item took only twenty five seconds. The 5DN sport items were often particularly brief in the 1200 bulletins where a special reporter often read between four and seven consecutive such items that might only last fifteen seconds each.

The increase in sports items in Period B was largely explained by the fact that this period included Adelaide Cup Day (B1), a public holiday on which several major sporting events were held. The 16% of sports items heard on 5DN in Period C were not unusual in nature: they served to fill out bulletins, perhaps where fewer stories from the arenas of government and the justice system were to hand.

A number of points arise from this statistical analysis which need to be developed further in later sections of the investigation. Firstly, the consistency of time spent on some story categories

indicates that both news services share a basic definition of newsworthiness and in doing so, regularly construct a particular picture of society. Thus the news is regularly shaped and processed: it is a cultural artefact.

Secondly, the differences in time spent on particular story categories (more time on foreign and business news on ABC and more on sport and crime on 5DN) suggests that each network shapes the news for its respective audience, presumably reflecting the interests of those people. Thus the world view of each news service is slanted for content and orientation.

Thirdly, it is noted here in passing, that the variety of stories selected in various story categories were sometimes different, although the percentages of time spent in the area might be roughly equivalent for the two services. The subtleties of these choices and the differences in the discourses which relate the same stories are analysed later in chapters Four to Nine. To identify and to analyse them a different approach of discourse analysis needs to be developed.

In the interim, the analysis looks at the ordering of various story categories within the news bulletins of the two networks. Some typical bulletin profiles are identified which in themselves are metaphors for a world view.

3.3 ANALYSIS OF THE ORDER OF ITEMS IN BULLETINS

Once each news item was identified by story category, the order of items in terms of story categories was analysed for each news bulletin in the sample period. The results are tabled in Appendix C. They are arranged to show the patterns of major bulletins at 7 a.m., 8 a.m., 1200 and 1800 on 5DN and 7.45 a.m., 1200, 1300 and 1800 on the ABC. Note that the 7 a.m. bulletin on the ABC nearly always followed the same order of stories as the 7.45 a.m. bulletin, whereas there were significant changes in the order of stories between 1200 and 1300 on the ABC.

Analysis of the order of items in this extensive sample of news bulletins indicated that regular patterns of story categories recurred with minimal variation. There was an arrangement of news items observed within bulletins, similar to the layout of items in a newspaper. As the newspaper layout is designed to catch the eye and take it in certain directions, so also the ordering of the radio news bulletin can direct attention to certain items.

The recurring patterns in the bulletin were different for the two networks and obviously formed an important part of the character or rhythm of each service. This rhythm catered for regular audiences who would be familiar with the pattern, however unconsciously, and could therefore tune in to the sections of the news which were of most interest to them, just as people establish their own patterns of reading the paper. For example a sports fan would know where the sports news came in the bulletin.

It is submitted that the rhythms of news bulletins are based on the peaks and troughs of dramatic narrative: metaphors for the story of life. The fact that the news is based on a dramatic rhythm makes it entertaining, easy to listen to and relate to, and structures a sense of "naturalness".

Opening and closing items are featured by virtue of their positions, and are often emphasised by the newsreader's delivery, being urgent and forceful at the beginning of his delivery and changing to a slower pace and a more relaxed tone of voice at the conclusion. The other items are organised in a rhythm that corresponds to the troughs and peaks of drama, allowing for less than 100% listener attention. Various cues can be structured for the audience to indicate which are the important or most entertaining items. For example this can be achieved through a change in tone of voice of the newsreader, analysis of which is beyond the scope of this investigation, and through the use of index expressions such as "meanwhile" or "turning to international news" or "now it's over to sport". (The use of such expressions is discussed in Chapter Three on Theoretical Framework.)

The next section looks at the bulletin profiles which typify each of the news networks. It is shown that the fact that a regular patterning of items exists, means that the nature of the bulletin is more than the sum of its individual items. As well as having a rhythm to the stories, the continuous use of story categories in a preferred order provides the elements of a structure of interpretation. Certain social values are embodied in the ordering that reflect or re-enact an order in society. That order becomes ritualised in the structure of

the news bulletin as well as in its language and metaphors.

This sort of study is able to show that "news bias" is not as crude as the view which interprets bias as allowing certain individuals or institutions favourable mention or privileged access. It suggests something far more fundamental, in that news constructs a certain picture of society. The fact that the Bulletin Profile is highly predictable and story categories vary in only limited ways, tells us that "the news" is an artificial structure, regularly shaped and processed. These features carry meaning, as does the language of news, but the structures of the discourse are generally hidden from, or not reflected upon, by the consumer who views the stories as a sequence of unconnected stories that seems "natural".

5DN Bulletin Profiles

The eighty 5DN news bulletins surveyed by order of story categories (see Appendix C) presented such consistent patterns that it was possible to identify a generalised formula used by news editors to order bulletins: namely typical Bulletin Profiles. Because there was some variation in the character of the bulletin profile at different times of the day (related to source of items available then for example), the comments that follow discuss breakfast, midday and evening bulletins separately.

5DN Breakfast Profiles

5DN breakfast news bulletins went to air at 6 a.m., 6.30 a.m. 7 a.m., 7.30 a.m. and 8 a.m. The frequency of bulletins served audiences who rose at different times of the morning. The relatively limited time many people working outside the home have to listen in the morning was perhaps reflected in the notes of the news editor. His marks, showing the time at which an item would go to air at the top of each page, indicated some regular recycling of less important items: for instance using an item at 6 a.m., omitting it at 7 a.m., and re-using the same item at 8 a.m. Alternative regular patterns of repeated items observed were 6 a.m. and 7.30 a.m., 7 a.m. and 8.30 a.m., 5.30 a.m. and 8 a.m., and 8 a.m. and 12 noon. For the purposes of this discussion, a general bulletin profile was constructed from the examples of 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. bulletins which usually featured seven to nine items each over five to six minutes, and from 6 a.m. bulletins which had up to twelve items and lasted about ten minutes.

A typical 5DN breakfast Bulletin Profile looked like this.

<u>Order of Story</u>	<u>Category of Story</u>
1	Politics/Government
2	Politics/Government
3	Union arena/industrial dispute
4	Business/industry/consumer affairs
5	Crime or Accident/Natural Disaster
6	Social interests or Foreign News
7	Foreign News
8	Sport
9	Human interest

These early morning bulletins were always headed by one or two stories from the political/parliamentary arena and followed by an industrial story. Exceptionally, disaster stories displaced the political story as the lead, as indicated in the discussion on opening items. Industrial stories were dispersed across the first half of the bulletin, along with domestic or bureaucratic State and National affairs, such as the City Council casino lobby (5DN B2-7-3) and a public opinion poll on random breath tests (5DN B2-7-4) or the introduction of fines on S.T.A. (State Transport Authority) Transport (5DN B3-8-4).

It would seem from the regularly patterning of industrial stories in second position in the bulletin rather than first, that while stories of industrial disputes were highly newsworthy in terms of immediately involving or affecting a large number of people, there was some constraint on featuring them. The line taken by the Glasgow University Media Group (1976) in their study of industrial disputes,

was that such stories have a reputation for being tedious stories. This judgment may well apply in Australia where union bashing is a popular cultural activity and news of services disrupted by union action is often greeted with a resigned sceptical remark such as "The unions are at it again".

Whatever the reason for placing industrial stories second to government/political stories, this regular juxtaposition metaphorically suggested that the government was able to dominant and contain the unions. The formal connection in the discourse of the two story types implied some causal connection.

Occasionally there was a verbal connection between the items that added substance to this. For example in the 6 a.m. bulletin on day A5, in item 1, Premier John Bannon flew to Canberra to ask the Prime Minister for 100 million dollars in special aid for South Australia and to discuss GMH's plan to cut its workforce. The serious ramifications of GMH's plan for South Australia were evident. The next item, 2, juxtaposed this government concern with an item on GMH that included the threat of a closure of the company's plant at Woodville. It began with a verbal connection "meantime" implying that GMH was somehow betraying South Australia's economy:

"Meantime, General Motors Holden is considering merging with a major Japanese car firm....." (5DN A5-6-2)

The GMH item was followed by one on an industrial dispute at Moomba in which the words, "again" and "despite" in the opening lines reinforced a sense of unreasonable industrial lack of co-operation:

"Talks to resolve the dispute in the State's Moomba gas fields have again broken down. As Graham Guy reports, the dispute

remains at a deadlock, despite three hours of talks between the parties involved." (5DN A5-6-3)

In another example of the juxtaposition of political and industrial items, on day A5 in the 1800 bulletin, items 4 and 5 discussed, respectively, a Hawke Treasury Report about a budget shortfall attributed to the previous government, and an all clear given for the Australian purchase of fighter aircraft built by the United States. These two items established a sense of a responsible and honest government. They were followed in items 6 and 7 by stories of BHP and Mitsubishi planning sackings of workers.

While there might seem to be no substantial connection between the two sorts of stories, the continuous use of subject matter in a preferred order did suggest elements of a structure of interpretation.

Secondly, the juxtaposition of political and industrial stories was a dramatic device that gave an immediate edge to the bulletin in exploiting the different methods of the two kinds of institutions. On the one hand there was the stable formal democratic forum of a parliament embodying law and order and which is seen to be dealing rationally with change via rational debate. Its activities were represented by political spokesmen like Reagan, Bannon, Hawke or various Ministers who, as the officials of power, embody control and respect. On the other hand the industrial stories came from the forum of the unions which were seen to be stirring up discontent, threatening disruption and conflict. For example, "The Institute of Teachers is now threatening industrial action if the State Government doesn't appoint more teachers" (5DN A4-7-1).

After two or three such stories the 5DN bulletins offered a series of domestic stories of softer news value; stories of crime, fires, prisons, abuse of civil rights. These were populated with people whose names were usually unknown and unimportant. Exceptions to this were those who had become notorious in a long running serial of Australian prison lore like Creed, Kelvin or Chamberlain; or where the point of the story was the suppression of names and the audience is to be titillated by the reasons for this.

Following this type of story, in the 5DN breakfast bulletin, there was a distinct shift from domestic to foreign stories. Two or three stories from other parts of the world were usually introduced by a phrase like "Now to international news ...". These stories were briefly sketched, dealt with a limited range of countries and often featured disasters, political chaos or violent conflicts.

The international segment was followed almost invariably by one or three sports stories and/or a bizarre light hearted incident such as the sexing of emus in South Africa (5DN D2-6-14); a post graduate study of frisbees in America (5DN D2-7-8); or commercialised dirty weekends in England (5DN B5-7-10).

This last section acted like a conventional catharsis to give a good finish to the dramas of the day. The sports stories embraced the myth of the wholesome outdoors life in a country where many people still hold to the belief that sport and politics should not be mixed. In the case of the bizarre item it was a twist, like the denouement to a good short story, that puts things right and left the audience

feeling that everything would be all right in the end. The lighthearted tone tended to serve as an apology for the seriousness and distastefulness of the items that made up most of the bulletin, or perhaps as a reward for having listened through to the end. This tone was often reinforced by the bright commercials that immediately followed the bulletin and/or the promise of the weather forecast.

5DN's Major Evening Bulletin

5DN's 1800 bulletin averaged twelve items presented without a commercial break. There were some variations of order with such a large number of items, but essentially the profile was the same as the breakfast bulletins. The opening items usually described a political or parliamentary development from the day, such as the introduction of the National Crimes Commission or a Royal Commission Hearing. Then came an industrial or economic story, before the bulletin moved into the arena of domestic stories.

Amid these rather negative crime stories the 1800 bulletin often featured a story with a positive, redeeming side to it. This centrally placed story might have a theme of addressing wrongs and protecting the consumer (for example 5DN D1-1800-7, where the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee tries to ensure that taxpayers get "value for their money"). The story might literally be a heart warming rescue (for example, 5DN D2-1800-6 telling of a mercy dash by helicopter to a sick woman). In another kind of example, there were rewards for hard and creative work such as when South Australia's Constitutional Museum won the Museum of the Year Award, (5DN B1-1800-6).

The 5DN 1800 bulletin had few World items, partly explained by the fact that the northern hemisphere countries usually reported upon, were experiencing night as the evening news programme was aired. In place of the small block of World news that occurred at breakfast, at 1800 5DN had more of a mixture of domestic items. They were not readily newsworthy in the sense of being dramatic or immediate. They tended to focus on the arena of welfare issues such as housing, education, job creation schemes or a High Court hearing. The spokesmen were from community groups or the lesser political parties, such as the Democrats, giving their view on the Maralinga Legislation (D4-1800-8), or they were tailenders or has-beens in terms of official spokesmen, such as ex-Prime Minister Gorton giving his view on the legalisation of marihuana. The journalist's slug indicated the stature of such an item with "POTTY GORTON" (5DN B5-1800-13).

5DN's Midday Bulletin

The 5DN midday bulletin had a different profile again because it averaged 25 items over a half hour time slot. The fact that this bulletin was interrupted with two or three breaks for commercials and/or race calls meant that the bulletin was divided into three or four sections, each having its own rhythms, and thus could be considered as four mini bulletins.

The first stories were introduced with headlines that highlighted a variety of story categories, not necessarily from the first 3-5 items as was the case with the ABC radio news. For example, the headlines from the 1200 bulletin on day A5 read:

"GMH says a leaked document outlining plans for its future operations is out of date ...

Typical 5DN Midday Bulletin Profile

<u>Order of Story</u>	<u>Category of Story</u>
1	Politics/government
2	Politics/government
3	Politics/government/economy
4	Politics/government
5	Human Interest
-----Commercial/races break-----	
6	Crime/union and industrial arena
7	Politics/government
8	Social interests
9	Union arena and industrial dispute
10	Business, industry, consumer affairs
11	Sports News
12	Sports News
13	Sports News
14	Sports News
15	Sports News
-----Commercial/races break-----	
16	Human interest or Social issue
17	Social issue (in government arena)
18	Crime
-----Commercial break-----	
19	Foreign news
20	Foreign news
21	Foreign news
22	Foreign news
23	Human interest

The Royal Tour likely to start in Alice Springs, despite flood damage

And.....

South Australians among the healthiest people in the World."

The mixture of multinational scandal, Royalty and bad weather, and the rejoinder about locals being healthy, offered the variety of a sideshow where every player wins a prize. Certainly the serious news of potentially massive GMH retrenchments was offset by the other two headlines.

Two further examples of headlines from the midday news show similar patterns of the seriousness or threat of one news item being counterpointed by the humour or justice of another. On day B4:

"Unemployment up again

A witness at the WRAN inquiry denies receiving a phone call from the Premier before the Humphreys case.....

and MILAN BRYCH convicted of fraud over his cancer treatment...."

On day D1

"The Adelaide Magistrates Court releases the name of the man charged over Richard Kelvin's murder.

Federal caucus set to debate the uranium issue.

And a cartoon book on unemployment slammed."

Following the headlines, the first 3 to 5 news items at noon often featured a story that had developed during the day in the arenas of politics, Parliament or Royal Commissions. That news was immediate, and may well have been anticipated or awaited during the preceding morning bulletins: for example, the Caucus decision on uranium mining (5DN D1-1200-2); the introduction of new Tax Avoidance Legislation (5DN

B1-1200-1) or the opening of the Nugan Hand Royal Commission (5DN B1-1200-2). Occasionally 5DN would also lead the bulletin with a sensational item of crime, such as the naming of the murderer in the local case of schoolboy Richard Kelvin, son of an evening television news presenter (5DN D1-1200-1).

There was generally an item of popular interest to conclude the first segment of the noon news, an item placed there to hold the audience's attention and tide them over the commercial break. Sometimes it was written with a tendency to tantalize the listener's imagination ... The story of the escaped murderer who has been recaptured, detailed the original murder crime from nearly ten years ago, (5DN D1-1200-4) and might lead one to conjecture what if this "dangerous" man hadn't been caught? ... The story from America of the cancer therapist Brych being convicted for fraud (5DN B4-1200-3) ended with a thirty second insert from Queensland's Premier that threw an equivocal light on the item ... "A long time supporter of Brych - Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Peterson - says he still respects the work of the cancer therapist". Could Joh be right? ... In a further example, a Mrs. Carolyn Graham had a listening device removed from her kitchen by the New South Wales Special Branch (5DN B4-1200-3). It was noted that she was a campaigner for the Palestinians and lectured in Politics. This additional information threw the item open to various unstated implications, especially when it concluded, "She suspects The Israeli Secret Service or ASIO planted the device!"

After the first commercial break the noon bulletin often used a dramatic item of conflict or threat of violence to recapture audience

attention, for instance: the firefighters' dispute (5DN D2-1200-6); West German Parliament giving the go ahead for deployment of nuclear missiles (5DN D3-1200-5); deaths resulting from racial brawls (5DN D5-1200-7) and an investigation of AIDS (5DN B4-1200-4).

The subsequent four or five items could afford to be less dramatic and they tended to form more of a dramatic plateau. Usually, there were four or five items from the category of domestic affairs, public service, education, consumer standards. They sometimes shifted into a sports segment of 5-6 (even up to 8) items. As with the first segment the conclusion to this bracket of items may have been designed to stimulate listener imagination, perhaps in a lighter more titillating vein, such as the issue of sale of condoms in supermarkets (5DN D3-1200-11).

The third noon segment of the news bulletin often continued the humorous or scandalous tone that had concluded the second segment. The audience had now been listening for twenty odd minutes, and great affairs of state had given way to items like a British cartoon book on 101 uses for the unemployed (5DN D1-1200-11); new state legislation on video pornography (5DN B4-1200-12); or a scandal of industrial pollution in Adelaide market gardens (5DN B4-1200-15). Alternatively, the third segment may have opened on a dramatic trough with an item of straight information and less general interest, such as the beginning of the Northern Territory election campaign (5DN D2-1200-20). Following this, a human interest story was often inserted, such as an operation to separate Siamese twins (5DN D2-1200-21) or the story of ageing national hero, Cliff Young, performing in a marathon running

race (5DN D3-1200-13).

The next 5DN noon segment was clearly delineated. It consisted of items from foreign countries which conveyed fairly stereotyped views of other nations (discussed in a later section) with typically recurring themes (except perhaps in the case of America) of chaos and violence in trouble spots. The Poles demonstrated against the Pope's visit (5DN B5-1200-18); in Beirut there was continued fighting (5DN B4-1200-21); and in Zimbabwe, white airforce officers were put on trial under the threat of the death penalty for helping anti-government guerillas (5DN B2-1200-24). The international items came in a block, and were characterised by brevity, minimal explanation or context, unrelatedness to each other (except in terms of violence), and unrelatedness to Australia. Their position at the tail end of the noon bulletin underlined a sense that they belonged to a world far distant from us, both geographically and emotionally.

This burst of seriousness was de-fused with a humorous or incongruous concluding item: such as the Duke of Edinburgh being criticised for condoning cruelty to wildfowl (5DN D1-1200-27); a story about seaweed glowing in United Kingdom from radio activity (5DN D4-1200-27); and film star Omar Sharif telling how women have tried to force him at gun point to make love to them (5DN B1-1200-27).

Overall, in the 5DN noon bulletin, although there was more flexibility of story categories possible, given the length of the bulletin and some external constraints such as the time of race calls coming down the line, there was a discernible profile pattern. The

order of story categories of political, industrial, crime/domestic, sports and international stories was fairly closely maintained.

Other Aspects of 5DN's Bulletin Profile

The dramatic troughs and peaks of the 5DN Bulletin Profile have been described above as being edited to create a sense of "naturalness" in the flow of the news. The ideological emphases that were structured in that "natural" way by regular juxtapositions of various story categories have been referred to. It has been indicated that the final product of the 5DN news bulletin had a regular and readily identifiable style.

Three further aspects contributed to the way this structure was dovetailed to give that final product a 5DN identity: the use of 5DN trademark stories, the use of a variety of reporters and the counterpointing of stories with positive and negative associations.

Earlier discussion about what sorts of stories were considered particularly newsworthy by the 5DN newsroom (see page) used the examples of the policeman who murdered his wife or the person who found the cockroach in his bottle of coke. Such stories highlighted the unexpected, stories of the man bites dog variety. They were sometimes twisted and often of the human interest variety but essentially entertaining to a majority audience.

In the analysis of 5DN order of news items it was observed that particularly across the broad spectrum of the midday bulletin, such stories were regularly dispersed. For example, in the following

example of the midday bulletin on day B4, among the 20 items, items 3, 8 and 17 stood out in this way, viz:

1. Wran Royal Commission
2. Australia's Unemployed Statistics.
3. BRYCH CONVICTED FOR CANCER FRAUD.
..... race/commercials
4. AIDS working party (state).
5. Olsen/Liberals on drug pushers.
6. East/West airlines.
7. ABC Board Members.
8. LIONEL ROSE ON BURGLARY CHARGE (FOUND HIDING IN A CUPBOARD).
9. Sport
10. Sport
11. Sport
12. Sport
13. Sport
14. Sport
..... Commercials
15. Pollution of market gardens.
16. Franklin Dam High Court case.
17. TEST TUBE TRIPLETS BORN
18. Telecom positions lost.
19. British election.
20. Israel Parliament.
21. Beirut fighting.
22. Reagan offer at START talks.
23. Painter and Docker extradited.

The effect of placing these 5DN trademark stories at regular points in the bulletin, was to mark and reinforce the bread and circuses identity of that news service and to provide light relief from more serious stories. This aspect of these particular stories was usually highlighted by a shift to a more colloquial or fond tone in the newsreader's voice.

The other technique employed in the 5DN bulletin to vary the rhythm of the bulletin was the extensive use of the anchor newsreader's voice operating in duet with the voice of another specialist reporter's. As smoothly as the patter of old style vaudeville stars, the main newsreader would say, "and now it's over to you Mark Robinson for the

sports news" ... On occasions there was a separate voice again for international items, which put some stamp of the authority of the specialist on those items, as well as accentuating the separateness of the world outside Australia. In addition, the use of inserts of various spokesmen, telephone interviews and on the spot reports gave an edge to items and further reinforced the element of apparent immediacy and realism that sustained the drama.

Finally there was another pattern observed in the choice and ordering of news items in the formal discourse of the bulletin, that I describe as counterpointing. By this I mean there were echoes that can be observed in complementary pairs or trios of stories. While it is hard to say whether or not these are conscious links, sometimes the slugs the journalists used to identify their stories to each other suggested a need for the journalists and their audience to have a certain sort of order in their news, in their picture of the world. For example, in 5DN's noon bulletin on day D5, containing 25 items (and a 26th script that was not used), story 14 ("NUCLEAR"), of France going ahead with a second test on nuclear explosions, was balanced by story 15 ("START") in which President Reagan spoke out optimistically on the Soviet Union returning to the START talks on limiting nuclear warfare. The overall effect of this ordering of the discourse was the impression of (Reagan) containing the nuclear threat. This nuclear theme also echoed story 8, ("ELECT"), where state politicians argued over the deferral of the legislation for the Maralinga nuclear site.

From the American point of view, Reagan's omnipresent role as a do-gooder was supported by story 5, ("SHUTTLE"). This highlighted America

in celebrating its space shuttle, Columbia, successfully ending a record breaking space mission. This story had an effect of wiping the slate clean for America, and minimising the implications of story 20 ("HUMAN WRONGS"), buried towards the end of the bulletin, which noted that America has resumed arms sales to Argentina "despite continuing concern over human rights violations".

The story 20 of ("HUMAN WRONGS") was itself counterbalanced by an earlier story, number 6, ("PRISONS/HUMAN"), which related how the Australian Human Rights Commission was investigating the rights of prisoners. Story 18 ("FLAG") describing the United Nations debate on the situation in Lebanon, acted as a foil for story 17 ("WEAR") and story 19 ("GULF") on either side, which talked of mounting West Bank tensions and Iraq sinking more ships, respectively. Interestingly, if the items on the political battle of the Middle East were beyond the listener's comprehension and interest, it was possible to take story 18 at a different level. The story of tensions mounting over the Israeli shooting could be focused on the victim of the shooting, an eleven year old girl, so as to highlight the mythic theme of the innocence of the child-victim in society. Taken this way it echoed the preceding story, 16, which recorded a plane missing off Scotland with two babies on board.

A further example of counterpointing in a different category of story occurred in local story, 10, ("RUG THEFT"). While police reported that thieves escaped with valuable persian rugs, in story 21, ("GOLD CHARGES"), justice was seen to be done. Three men faced a London court for the biggest ever gold robbery. The crime theme was

also distributed across the bulletin almost equidistantly by journalists in stories 2, "ANOTHER NAUGHTY BOY"; 11, "NAUGHTY BOY!" and 22, "ANOTHER NAUGHTY BOY". These related, respectively, and in descending order of sensation, to a policeman up in court for murdering his wife, a hold up and shooting in a gun shop with no charges laid and a pilot who accidentally sprayed a school with pesticide and was being pulled into line by the government.

There was also an echo operating between the first and final political stories. In story 1, ("MONEY"), the Prime Minister spoke out on the threat to currency from foreign trading, while in story 23, ("POLE DEMO"), it was explained that a demonstration of captive nations to be held next day would protest against money from the West being used to help support the Polish military dictatorship. Such an echo in the structure of the discourse could be taken as a statement of an ideological line on Western capitalism. Whichever way it was taken, the seriousness of both stories was lessened by the close proximity of reports (stories 3 and 24) of Australia's success in cricket against the Pakistan team.

The order of items in the 5DN news bulletin thus seemed to balance out the good and bad, positive and negative forces at work. It released the listener in a graduated fashion from the high drama of leading news items, through a ritualised pattern of events, to a conclusion that allowed him to go on his way free of involvement or responsibility for the items tabled in the 5DN news.

ABC BULLETIN PROFILE

It was considerably more difficult to identify a recurring profile in terms of order of items for the ABC radio news bulletins, or distinguish different profiles for different times of the day. It was just as easy, however, to map regular rhythms to the bulletins of dramatic rises, declines and plateaux, indicating that the ordering was arranged with attention to the listener concentration and interest levels.

The ABC bulletin profile seemed to maintain a consistently deliberate and even tone for its news service. This effect was largely created by the way stories were written, but also by the dispersal of different story categories right across the bulletin (in contrast to the regular spots 5DN tended to use for particular kinds of stories). For example, on the ABC, foreign news was not placed in a block towards the end of the bulletin, but occurred throughout the bulletin. The order related more to story immediacy, or the extent of possible repercussions on the rest of the world. For example, in the 7 a.m. news on day D1 the five World items, out of a total of eleven, related to Arafat's last stand in a fierce battle in the Middle East (story 2); a meeting of ASEAN COUNTRIES to resolve threatened sanctions (story 6); a stepping up of fighting in Timor (story 7); a fence mending summit of the British and Irish (story 8) and a big turn out for the Turkish election (story 9).

Therefore the closest one could come to identifying a typical ABC bulletin (which did not show much variation in story categories across

the day) would be the following outline. It indicates the consistent emphasis on hard news stories. It also puts news with more immediate repercussions first; that is events before issue based news.

<u>Order of Story</u>	<u>Category of Story</u>
1	Foreign news or Australian politics
2	Politics/Government
3	Politics/Government
4	Justice system
5	Union arena/industrial dispute
6	Business, industry, consumer affairs
7	Foreign news
8	Government economy or social issues
9	Social/Welfare issues
10	Foreign news or social issues.

The ABC bulletin always began and ended with headlines which gave some detail of the first three to five stories, so every effort was made to impress those major stories on the listener's memory. The first two stories were invariably from the political/parliamentary arena, notably National or World. They established a serious authoritative tone, which decreased slightly by story three or four. At this point there was nearly always a State story. Effectively the bulletin zoomed in on a close up, a story that related more immediately to the local community: for example, the release of the name of the Kelvin murderer (ABC D1-1200-3) or Premier Bannon speaking on the Ash Wednesday Bushfire enquiry (ABC D1-1800-3).

In fact, where 5DN used crime or human interest stories to lighten the tone at calculated spots across the bulletin, the ABC seemed to use State stories. For example, the order of the seventeen items at 7.45 a.m. on D4 intermittently returned the audience to local State news from troubles in Bangladesh; an execution in America; police bans in New South Wales; and the ASIS raid on the Sheraton. Story 1 described the State parliamentary debate on Maralinga; story 5 outlined a new State law on selling red meat; in 7, a local Archbishop commented on legalising euthanasia; at 8, Adelaide's Aurora Hotel was to be demolished. As indicated earlier in discussion of source of news there was a sense in the ordering of these State issues, of moving from issues of great to lesser importance. This also reflected the fact that the news editor was constructing the composite news for a South Australian audience. In placing items of local relevance across the bulletin, he could hold or attract the attention of the local public.

As discussed in the section on closing items above, the ABC bulletin did not deliberately lighten the overall seriousness of the news with a concluding item on sport or one of silliness. In the bulletin of D4 7.45 a.m., at the final item 17, Bill Hayden as Foreign Minister was preparing to visit Cyprus to help resolve problems there; at the end of D4 1200, police were still investigating a police shooting after a hold up, and at the end of D5 1200, Senator Mason had telegraphed Margaret Thatcher about the British Aircraft Carrier Invincible and awaited a reply.

At the conclusion of the bulletin, therefore, the news was suspended until the next bulletin. Battles were still being fought and

industry moving on between the hourly bulletin unlike the winding down that 5DN's bulletin structure suggests. Though the items in the second half of the bulletin were less urgent than those in the first half, the ABC concluding format of restating the headlines kept the important items before the audience.

Across the day, 5DN changed the face of bulletins by reslanting or updating stories to keep the news product "fresh". It has already been noted that the 6 a.m. and 8 a.m. bulletins replicated items, presumably working on the assumption that there were different [or less attentive?] audiences at those times of the morning. In contrast to this the ABC, which kept precisely to constant lengths of time for bulletins, rarely made changes to the two major breakfast bulletins. The fifteen minute 7.45 a.m. bulletin simply added three to six items onto the ten or eleven items of the 7.00 a.m. bulletin of ten minutes duration. This in turn had been built on the 6.00 a.m. bulletin.

The ABC did reorganise or substitute items for entirely different ones at lunchtimes, however. The rationale was likely to be that the audiences at 1200 and 1300 were largely the same. For example, on day B2 the ten minute bulletins at 1200 and 1300 covered 10 and 11 items respectively, but of these the proportions of time given to the World, National and State items varied considerably (26%, 67%, 6% at 1200 compared to 11%, 74% and 15% at 1300). Also the ordering of items was significantly changed, as can be seen from the running orders.

ABC B2-1200

1. Tax avoidance laws
2. Nugan Hand
3. GMH - Union talks
4. Franklin High Court Case
5. Queensland Floods
6. Mozambique air attack
7. USA spy flights/El Salvador
8. Home lending
9. North American drive/SA product
10. Drug charge - guilty plea

ABC B2-1300

1. Nugan Hand
2. Home lending
3. Queensland floods
4. GMH - Union talks
5. Franklin High Court case
6. Tax avoidance laws
7. Bottom of Harbour charges
8. Mozambique air raid
9. Referendum off
10. Drug charge - not guilty
11. Drug charge - guilty plea

The main ABC evening bulletin at 1800 ran for an average of six stories in a regular ten minute time slot. As with 5DN, the diminished proportion of world items at this time of the day contributed to a relatively low key tone. The total number of items the ABC used varied between five and twelve, depending on what was happening. For example, on day D4 there were only five items in the bulletin, each accompanied by a live insert. The first story was about the ASIS raid on the Sheraton Hotel. Rather than pad out the bulletin with crime, sport or human interest stories, the items were presented in almost magazine style: the turnaround in Qantas profits and its redundancy scheme for workers, new state laws on video classifications, job losses in the health care industry and the lack of preservation of the state parliament house. The ABC's discussion of issues of social and economic management in such an example, reflected its selection and

presentation of new stories on a basis of quality rather than quantity or potential for ready packaging for popular consumption.

Interestingly, in terms of the pairing or tendency to have complementary stories as discussed above in the 5DN bulletins, the ABC also had some complementary or balancing stories, but on a different more thematic level. In the example of D1 7 a.m. bulletin referred to, the stories of political conflict in some countries were balanced by stories of conflict resolution and the democratic process in others. That pattern was observable in most ABC bulletins in the survey period, and the overall effect was of a world under control overall, a world where order prevailed.

This was the order of stories on day D1 in the 7 a.m. bulletin.

<u>Story Order</u>	<u>Story Topic</u>	<u>Story Source</u>
1.	Caucus vote on Uranium	(N)
2.	Arafat resists	(W)
3.	Local oil spill	(S)
4.	WA diamond mine development	(N)
5.	Alice/Darwin rail link project	(N)
6.	ASEAN meeting	(W)
7.	Fighting in Timor	(W)
8.	Irish/English summit	(W)
9.	Election in Turkey	(W)
10.	Preselection in State seat	(S)
11.	Double fatality crash	(S)

Groups of items counterpointed by theme could include fighting in Timor (story 7) being balanced by the ASEAN meeting (story 6) to resolve conflicts in a forum of discussion; and Arafat's strategies in warfare in the Middle East (story 2), against the democratic process of

elections in Turkey (story 9) and a summit between the English and the Irish (story 8).

In the national arena the process of the controversial Labor Caucus vote on uranium (story 1), could be seen to be balanced by the explanation in story 10 of the preselection process of the Labor Party for a parliamentary seat. In another sense the uncertainty about uranium mining going ahead, could be offset by the new diamond mine being developed in Western Australia (story 4), or the rail link to be constructed to assist Port Pirie Smelters and help guarantee future jobs (story 5). (The metaphorical irony of the oil spill (story 3) juxtaposed with Arafat's resistance in the Middle East oil country (story 2) was doubtless accidental!)

It would seem then that political turmoil in Australia and overseas countries and disputes in the industrial arena, were often balanced or offset in the ABC bulletin by the formal ordering of the discourse; with stories of governments exploring new policy directions, improved relations with each other, and stories of new projects and developments in the business world.

This quantitative analysis of the macrocosm of the world of the news has shown how the source of items, frequency of story categories and ordering of story categories in regularly preferred patterns, have structured certain balances, emphases and causal connections between institutions, people and events. The next part of this investigation turns to the microcosm of the news text itself. In order to explore this, a method of qualitative analysis needs to be developed.

CHAPTER TWO - FOOTNOTES

PROJECT DESIGN AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

1. Bennett, J., Denny, T., et. al. (1982)
2. Wheelwright, E.L., and Buckley, K. (1975) p190.
3. Harding, R. (1979) p13.
4. Bonney, B. (1983) p263.
5. It has been argued that the following comments from the official ABC staff publication still apply: "The odor of government interference is often seen to lurk over the ABC. But direct governmental interference is in fact extremely rare. What is more common is the influence of the old boy network and the cocktail circuit; and what is more common still is the reaction of the frightened little man in middle and super management. The tender minds of many ABC executives see threats and dangers where there are none. This is what stifles new initiatives and genuine talent, and this is what makes direct government interference, in fact, quite unnecessary because it guarantees that the ABC of itself will continue as an organisation which will cause no trouble. Seeing that any real progress must offend some entrenched interest group, this really means that the ABC will make no real progress."
Original quote from Channel, 1974, Official Publication of the ABC Staff Association, 1974 quoted by T. Molomby in a paper "Pressures on the ABC" from the Communication Technology and Control Conference (3rd: 1980: New South Wales Institute of Technology).
6. Kent, J. (1983).
Quoting Brian White, who became the first Macquarie News cadet journalist in 1953.
7. MacKay, I.K. (1957) p52-155.
8. Kent, J. (1983) p124.
The Fairfax organisation which owned The Herald bought shares in 2GB in 1953. At the time of this investigation, the broadcasting and publishing interests of the Fairfax Organisation were as follows:

<u>Magazines</u>	<u>Radio</u>
Woman's Day	4AY (Townsville)
Dolly	4MMM (Brisbane)
Cosmopolitan	4BH (Brisbane)
People	BTQ7 (Brisbane)
Good Housekeeping	5DN (Adelaide)

Personal Investment	2WL (Woollongong)
Business Review Weekly	2CA (Canberra)
Harpers Bazaar	2GB (Sydney)
Today's Computers	2DAY-FM (Sydney)
Omega Science	3FOX-FM (Melbourne)
<u>Papers</u>	3AW (Melbourne)
Newcastle Herald	
Illawarra Mercury	
Canberra Times	
Sydney Morning Herald	
Sydney Sun	
Sun-Herald	
Financial Review	
National Times	
Melbourne Age.	

9. Average audiences McNair Anderson Radio Survey, No. 3, Adelaide, 1983.
- 3.2 Distribution of Story Categories
10. See Appendix D.
11. Glasgow University Media Group (1976) p120.

CHAPTER THREE

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapters four to nine in this thesis present detailed textual analysis of a large number of news stories from the two networks, organised by story categories. The method is qualitative discourse analysis which focuses on the process of composition of news texts, as distinct from quantitative content analysis which looks at the selection of material (which is essentially a sociological dimension that reflects decisions of news management and organisation.)

That second aspect of the selection of stories and shaping of news bulletins has been analysed in the preceding chapter (Chapter 2) on source of news, bulletin profiles and opening and closing items. The section on bulletin profiles showed how the linear structure of news was carefully ordered and linked to make a successful product that centred on a metaphor of drama. It was shown that the narrative product had to be sufficiently flexible to draw attention to some items, provide relief from concentrated listening in others and generally satisfy an audience's need for something more than straight information.

The desire for news was seen as a desire for an important cultural ritual that was a repeated, coherently structured and unified aspect of people's experience; one able to give significance to their activities. This model of communication as a ritual has been discussed by Williams. He described communication as a process through which

culture is created, modified and confirmed and in which society is maintained in time as well as in myth. He asserted that communications research needs to be taken seriously as a cultural science and that appropriate technical skills need to be applied in its analysis. For example, someone trained in the analysis of language could contribute:

"descriptively, as with someone noting and analysing the conscious politics; critically, to attend to the forms of discourse - the diction and imagery but also the basic strategies of address, the encounters and evasions, the mode of question and answer and rhetorical question and non-answer ... someone sensitised to dramatic analysis ... a recognition of the significance of view-point, close-up, variation of angle, cutting ... we would need an understanding of the positive requirements of the technology and the overlapping but not identical version of those requirements adopted by the professionals now using it ..."¹

These are the aspects of analysis this thesis attempts to encompass through a modified structuralist approach. Latent meanings derived from relationships, oppositions and context are seen to be more essential than manifest meanings. This is because qualitative discourse analysis starts from the supposition that news is structured as a representation of reality in which the medium significantly shapes messages, affects perceptions of the audience and structures their understanding of the meanings behind events.

"The function of narrative is not to 'represent'; it is to put together a scene which still retains a certain enigmatic character for the reader, but does not belong to the mimetic order in any way. The 'reality' of a sequence does not lie in the 'natural' order of actions that make it up, but in the logic that is unfolded, exposed and finally confirmed in the midst of the sequence."²

Put simply, this means that there is a distinction between narrative rhythm and the pattern of meaning. One intention of this analysis is to illustrate that distinction in the analysis of news texts.

Several other aspects of discourse have to be taken into account, in addition to the central narrative structure of the text, because the scripts are performed on air. These revolve round the commercial nature of news and reflect the fact that the news service is a key product of a broadcasting network in terms of the large audience it attracts. Therefore it needs to have a consistent and readily identifiable style of service that reflects the network's understanding of its regular audience and the kind of interaction appropriate between newsreaders and respective audiences. One important way in which this is communicated is through the spoken delivery of the written word (formally referred to as prosody.) The intonation or the way in which words are pitched constructs tonic stress, which indicates news items or aspects of items the network wants the audience to concentrate on.

All of these sound-images contribute to the meaning of the text. They need to be explored for their part in establishing complex, latent and culturally dependant meanings of the text, and for their elucidation of the polysemic meanings of the text. Thus it is argued that it is not adequate to understand the messages of the news by applying formal linguistic categories across a range of grammatical functions. There are no appropriate systematic conventional research categories or established grammars which apply.

Rather, the approach chosen is a stylistic and rhetorical analysis of the discourse in which a variety of overlapping and interlocking methods are adapted and applied.

It is useful to define rhetoric freshly here. It was classically concerned with the persuasive properties of discourse and sophisticated analysis of figurative language. However, rhetorical method later shifted to a concern with the humanities, which, as Barthes saw it, had become separated from the study of language. Barthes argued for the resurrection of the study of rhetoric from the vantage point of linguistics.

"It is obvious that discourse itself (as an arrangement of sentences) is organised, and that, through this organisation it is perceived as the message of another 'language' functioning at a higher level than the language of linguistics: discourse has its units, its rules, its 'grammar'. Because it lies beyond the sentence, and though consisting of nothing but sentences, discourse must naturally be the object of a second linguistics. This linguistics of discourse has for a very long time had a famous name: RHETORIC."³

The news texts analysed here in terms of style and rhetoric are offered as narratives (organised into story subject categories). They are explained through a descriptive method, which relates to the concept of a "reading" of a text similar to Williams and Hall. The "readings" are embedded in literary critical and semiotic conventions, which rely considerably on individual intuition and natural sensibilities rather than strict objective data. In this way discourse analysis can make explicit the implications, presuppositions, connections and strategies which usually remain implicit in discourse.

While the variety of methods used attempts to encompass the complexity of the composition process of news texts, extensive potential remains for more subtle and more formal linguistic analysis of these texts beyond the scope of this thesis. For example, Kress and

Trew⁴ show, through a very detailed close analysis of one newspaper text, how linguistic theory can be deployed to give an objective grasp of how ideology operates in determining discourse. The focus of this thesis is not a strict linguistic or ideological base like that of Kress and Trew. Nor is it ideologically framed as in the method of the Glasgow University Media Group.⁵ The emphasis in this thesis is more narrative and rhetorical.

METHOD

To construct a theory of analysis for the genre of radio news the various aspects of the message are viewed in three dimensions. These are an adaptation of the work of Roeh.⁶ The first dimension is that of the structure of the message as described in formal terms. That is the characteristics of language as a symbolic system; for example, voice, style, lexical choice, syntax and metaphor, and their effect on the narrative and dramatic levels of the text. The second dimension is that of the content or theme of the message: the kind of reality presented or the symbolic landscape of our world, the level of myth. The third dimension is point of view: in other words, the stance taken by the news journalists as narrators, vis-a-vis the representation of reality and of the audience. Because each of these dimensions is an integral part of the news text and

"the meaning does not lie 'at the end' of the narrative, but straddles it ... meaning eludes any unilateral investigation."⁷

The three dimensions necessarily interact and overlap.

The first dimension referred to, the structure of the message in terms of the formal characteristics of the language, is the most readily analysed. The techniques used identify what generally could be described as the written style. The effects of these techniques constitute the basis of the other two dimensions. The dimension of theme or content is shown to be established in terms of recurrent imagery and range of metaphor, but also is focused by the highlighting of ideas through lexical choice and syntactical structure for example, and by intonation. The third dimension of (narrator's) point of view

also is bound up inextricably in imagery and in intonation. Additionally, the use of key indexical expressions are shown to indicate the attitudes of news journalists to the news. Many of these attitudes are confirmed by the analysis of story title 'slugs'. The techniques used in the analysis are explained in detail in the following order:

Voice and Style (including actualites)

Lexical choice (with particular focus on verb use and connotation of words)

Metaphor

Syntax

Intonation and Tonicity

Key Indexical Expressions

Slugs.

Voice and Style

The style of the news text will represent the 'voice' adopted by the radio network. The expectation of the audience is that that voice will be impartial and independent. In that case it is virtually disembodied, in that although the news anchorman introduces himself at the beginning of the bulletin, he offers the product, not himself, when he says "This is Bill Caldicott in Adelaide with the 12 o'clock news." From that point, the events, facts and truth speak for themselves (supposedly).

The appropriate impartial and measured tone of delivery of such a voice necessitates a formal written style, established by complex sentences with lengthy clauses and generous punctuation; careful

attribution of statements to context (that is, frequent reference to names, positions, times, settings); and use of standard bureaucratic and specialist terminology.

Statements of "fact" and formal announcements readily fit this style. There is no place for emotion, threat or supposition. This particular voice conveys a sense of authority and acceptance: it encompasses a conservative viewpoint that perpetuates what is, a sense of events being under control. This does not allow for any oppositional reading of events. Roeh (1982) describes this dominant news genre characteristic as a "referential" and transparent representation of reality.

"It is as if news organisation executives tell you the following: that which is important should be shown clearly and without 'much' intervention of a speaker. Only the not so important may be shown/seen in a less vivid way, in a way that permits the medium or the speaker to intervene."^a

These points of departure from the formal voice, where the medium or speaker are indicated as intervening are carefully noted in the analysis because they help identify the voice of the news service itself. For example, the interpolation of such expressions as "so-called", or "what Mr. X called" ... appear distinctly as digressions from the formal disembodied style. The effect undermines the authority of the subject and disassociates the network from the information: for instance, in referring in the description of industrial action to "what they (union) describe as scab labour", or that striking police "are refusing to perform what are viewed as non-essential duties". In digressing from the formal style here, news journalists highlight the relative unreliability of that information.

The implication is that, in contrast with the rest of the text, that interpretation of events is not aligned with the independent voice.

This one instance of the interpolation of expressions reflects something of the paradox of this formal voice. In stressing "facts" and therefore its own objectivity and authority, the neutral formal voice actually represents dominant ideology: "shaping the consensus while reflecting it" as Stuart Hall describes it.

"To be impartial and independent in their daily operations, (the media) cannot be seen to take directives from the powerful, or consciously to be bending their accounts of the world to square with dominant definitions. But they must be sensitive to, and can only survive legitimately by operating within, the general boundaries or framework of 'what everyone agrees' to: the consensus. When the late Director General of the BBC, Sir Charles Curran remarked that 'the BBC could not exist outside the terms of parliamentary democracy', what he was pointing to was the fact that broadcasting, like every other institution of state in Britain, must subscribe to the fundamental form of political regime of the society, since it is the foundation of society itself and has been legitimated by the will of the majority. Indeed, the independence and impartiality on which broadcasters pride themselves depends on this broader coincidence between the formal protocols of broadcasting and the form of state and political system which licenses them. But, in orienting themselves in 'the consensus' and, at the same time, attempting to shape up the consensus, operating on it in a formative fashion, the media becomes part and parcel of that dialectical process of the 'production of consent' - shaping the consensus while reflecting it - which orientates them within the field of force of the dominant social interests represented within the state."⁹

This formal voice is the one described by Claire Lerman¹⁰ as the "institutional voice": dominant, privileged, skilled at the language game, using the language of morality (particularly through the use of metaphor) for the discourse of power. The unique quality of claiming to be neutral or having no voice, is that the "institutional voice" is unchallengeable. From a distance it asserts the right to define the

terms and level of discourse, to create and define reality while denying it is so doing. While news journalists are speaking with no voice, or from an impersonalised mouth, they unwittingly serve as a support reproducing dominant ideology of state organs. As Stuart Hall points out, the critical paradigm is that:

"ideology is the function of the discourse and of the logic of social processes, rather than an intention of the agent."¹¹

The other dominant news voice is a more informal one that is described loosely and variously as commercial, stylised, digressive. Often it is characterised by use of colloquialism, contractions, minimal use of the passive voice and general use of modal verb auxiliaries like "may", "could", "should" and "ought". There is more expression in the text of the news journalist's point of view: more opportunity to take some news items ironically, satirically or simply less seriously than others. There is more use of rhetorical devices and choices of syntactic arrangements and order of information. For example, placing subordinate clauses that contain dramatic details first in the sentence, can change the focus of the story and can create a melodramatic rather than a neutral representation of reality.

The cumulative result of these aspects of discourse found in the commercial news voice is that the reading of events may appear to be oppositional or more open than the formal voice. As Roeh has commented,

"A stylised representation conveys some kind of non-acceptance; some degree of rejection of what is".¹²

Another aspect of voice that needs to be noted is whether there are shifts of style within the news related to change of topic; for example, from political news to industrial news, to sport. Any such shifts that could be identified would indicate a different image of the interests of the audience in the mind of the broadcasters.

Other paralinguistic characteristics which can help identify attitudes of news journalists to topic and to audience, include inflexions or intonations in the newsreader's voice (discussed separately below) and use of the linguistic variables such as negative contractions, consonant cluster variables and intervocalic(t) voicing, used by Labov¹³ to identify sociolinguistic differences of speakers. Analysis of these linguistic variables is beyond the scope of this analysis, although in the case of negative contractions, the impression of the researcher is that the ABC, like the BBC, does not use them and that this contributes to their formal style, and that the opposite is true of 5DN. Research done by Bell¹⁴ on the style of radio news in New Zealand, looked at the linguistic variables used by Labov in his systematic study¹⁵ of the conversations of employees of three large New York department stores. (For example, he studied the variable of the post-vocalic (r) in the expression "fourth floor.") Bell's results indicated that the speech patterns of individual newsreaders were subordinated to the corporate style, which correlated closely with audience characteristics. (The station borrows prestige from its audience and lends it back again.) Bell argued that broadcasters modified their news language to get audience approval and that audiences shifted networks according to the style that suited them.

Whichever voice or style is adopted by a news broadcasting network, another aspect of voice that must be analysed is the effect of using a variety of speakers in a news service. In addition to the anchor newsreader one or two other specialist journalists may be used, for example in the field of sports or foreign news. The widespread use of recorded interviews, direct telephone interviews and the live crossovers to reporters at the scene of events, means that frequently there is an interplay of voices on the news. The tenor and tone of the voice interpolated in what we call actualites often may be less formal or more descriptive than that of the anchor newsreader. Such a shift from one voice to another is equivalent to a perceived shift closer to the news event, then a stepping back, like turning the focus control of a camera.

That shift can be in terms of time, place and point of view. A strong emphasis in terms of length or high position in the item can, for example, focus the story's interpretation on the view of the reporter on the spot, thus metaphorically reinforcing the sense of immediacy and drama of that item and that news service. While this can give an impression of the network being in close touch with events in the world, that focus on the present frequently denies any historical perspective.

The social background of the people recorded or interviewed for the news also is highlighted by actualites. The change of voice from the even and restrained delivery of the anchor newsreader can highlight by contrast the voice of the interviewee and unless that person is reasonably experienced and fluent in public speaking and confident

about using radio technology (for example a government spokesman), it is likely that poor grammar, lack of fluency, repetition of a point and general lack of coherence will feature. Consequently the authority or reliability of that person's point of view may be lessened by this effect. Alternatively, careful editing of pre-recorded interviews can restructure them, so poorly expressed responses can be significantly "re-educated" or polished by the newsroom sound technicians and editors. Their ability to choose which sections of a recorded interview or speech go to air gives those newsmakers considerable power of representation: the power actually to give voice and credibility to an idea or person or group.

Details of Stylistic Variation

The analysis of stylistic variation used in the news texts is largely illustrative. It focuses on lexical choice, particularly choice of verbs, and the connotations of those choices; the use of metaphor; variations of syntax and tonicity and intonation. The influence of Labov's work¹⁶ in sociolinguistics, looking at the interdependence of linguistic forms and social categories is acknowledged. Van Dijk's notions of discourse analysis¹⁷ as developed and applied to the structure of news have been adapted. In particular, it has been useful to adapt his identification of notions of discourse analysed on different levels: surface structures (for example phonology and morphology), textual properties (for example stylistic variation and rhetorical operational) and contextual properties which can be described systematically and explicitly to build a picture of what he calls global coherence or macrostructure. This macrostructure is the topic or theme that organises essential

information from the discourse into a picture of the relevant situation for the audience listening to the news.

Lexical Choices

The choice of particular vocabulary has significant implications for the social register of style. Different lexical choices are not just differences in meaning, they also are differences in identity. For example, different degrees of formality in the mode of address for the Prime Minister as "Mr. Hawke" or "Bob Hawke" indicate differing attitudes of journalists to this man and convey a deliberately different image of him to the audience. The first form of address shows standard middle class respect that endorses his authority and distance. The latter, by using the diminutive of his Christian name, suggests more familiarity and a levelling of the hierarchical status of leader to that of the man in the street.

Another example of the effect of choice of vocabulary concerns an incident where police shot at someone committing an armed robbery. Comparative stories described the gunshot victim variously as "a man" and as "an armed bandit". While the former description left the picture open and relatively neutral, the latter prejudged and categorised the person as a criminal, acting outside the law. Additionally it suggested the notoriety of a character from crime fiction. The police role was similarly differentiated in the two networks' versions of the story. In version one, the policeman was referred to formally as an "officer". This conveyed his status and respectability and suggested that as his actions constituted his line of duty, he was distanced personally from the incident. By contrast,

in the second version the policeman was referred to as a "highway patrolman", an expression that evoked a sense of closer involvement in the action; of a specialist with a highway territory and a more aggressive approach to his job than an "officer". Overall two different interpretations of the operations of the law were being inferred.

Clearly such lexical choices are critical to the representation of people and events that the audience absorbs. As Van Dijk (1983) has pointed out

"Although lexicalization is usually treated as a surface structure phenomenon of language use, it is in fact half way between the surface structure and underlying semantic structures of meaning."¹⁸

As arguments in the analysis make constant reference to individual words and images, denoting or connoting certain meanings, some clarification of those terms is necessary here. The distinction that Hall (1980) drew between the use of these terms is followed here. Hall's distinction is analytical rather than related to linguistic theory.

In linguistic theory the difference between the two terms is that denotation is widely equated with the literal meaning of a sign, while connotation refers to less fixed meanings that are more conventionalised and changeable and depend therefore on the instance and intervention of codes. Hall defined the difference in an analytic way only. Denotation means literal meaning that is fixed by certain complex (but limited and closed) codes. Connotation means "more

associative meanings for the sign which it is possible to generate".¹⁹ Although this connotative level also is bounded, it "is more open, subject to more active transformations, which exploit its polysemic values".²⁰ Hall pointed out that in few instances signs in discourses signify only their literal meaning. Mostly, signs combine both denotative and connotative signs in discourse, so acquiring their full ideological value at the level of their "associative" meanings (that is connotative level) where meanings are not apparently fixed. Hall continued by pointing out that the codes connoted by signifiers are

"the means by which power and ideology are made to signify in particular discourses. They refer signs to the 'maps of meaning' into which any culture is classified; and those 'maps of social reality' have a whole range of social meanings, practices and usages, power and interest 'written in' to them."²¹

Barthes reinforced this by stating that:

"As for the signified of connotation, its character is at once general, global and diffuse; it is if you like, a fragment of ideology ... These signifieds have a very close communication with culture, knowledge, history and it is, through them, so to speak, that the environmental world invades the system."²²

Lexical Choices - Re Verbs

It is argued in the analysis that it is the lexical choices of verbs in particular that play a crucial role in framing the discourse because they carry the energy or direction of meaning. For instance, the choice of common functional verbs like "met", "told", "said", "announced" and "address" convey a bare sense of action, connoting completeness, non-negotiability and closure. A more open sense is conveyed by the choice of physical or action-orientated verbs like

"warned", "threatened" and "discussed". These types of verbs suggest a world that is not always rationally motivated or in equilibrium. Potentially they can provoke an unsettled rather than a reassured sense of that world in the listening audience.

It is not only the lexical choice of verbs that is critical to the meaning of the discourse, but also the tense and active/passive voice of verbs used. The most common verb tenses used in news are past and present, with the future occasionally being used to foreshadow a meeting or impending event. A variety of nuances can be suggested about the open or closed state of the action and therefore the event, by these different verb tenses. For example, the simple past tense of "The court heard evidence" conveys an action, expressed directly and now closed. The past perfect "The court has heard evidence" conveys an action that is rounded off, slightly more formal perhaps, but not as complete as the simple past. The present perfect continuous, "The court has been hearing", conveys some sense of action continuing and an openness about the results.

The use of modal verb auxiliaries like "may", "could", "should", "must" and "ought" also need to be noted because they tend to indicate supposition and/or emotion rather than statement of fact.

The nuances conveyed by the use of passive rather than active verbs indicate mood, and substantially affect meaning because action is differently attributed or highlighted. When the agent is not specified initially, the causal relationship between participants and processes is made more diffuse. "The crowd was warned by police" is an example.

It puts the focus on the crowd who have suffered the action, while the police role is seen to be at a distance from the action, literally and metaphorically. The implication of this choice of the passive verb is that the status quo has not been greatly disturbed, and the action therefore is more acceptable than the active version, "The police warned the crowd" would be. This active verb "warned" connotes immediacy and drama. The police role is provocative and unsettling: the police are specified as agents and are therefore highlighted as directly involved and responsible.

Another example from two news texts shows how the distance connoted by the passive voice can be increased by being placed late in the sentence:

"An application by Lindy Chamberlain to be reunited with her baby daughter in the Darwin prison, has been refused." (ABC B3-1800-6)

The focus here is concentrated on the human interest angle of Chamberlain's request to be reunited with her child. It has been refused per se and it is not until the next sentence that it is established that the Northern Territory Government has made this decision. Its responsibility is therefore distanced and diffuse. The other effect of this late placement of the central verb is to increase dramatic tension for the audience, by making them wait until the end of the sentence to hear the result.

By contrast, the second version of the story using the direct form of the verb, highlighted the government's direct, active role in the matter. It was seen to subjugate Chamberlain's role.

"The Northern Territory Government has refused an application by convicted murderess Lindy Chamberlain to be reunited with her baby daughter Kahlia." (5DN B3-1200-19)

A linguistic technique related in effect to the use of the passive voice, though less readily identifiable, is that of nominalisation. Nominal expressions of concepts are used rather than an available verb or adjective. Kress and Trew (1978) illustrate this in the following example of the differences between saying:

"Derek Whittaker has made it clear ... in his recent visits ..."

and

"Derek Whittaker has just visited all ..."²³

In the former expression the action of visiting is expressed by an abstract noun, signifying something Whittaker has, rather than something he has done. Such nominalisation tends to appear in longer, more complex sentences where causal connections are made explicitly. The latter expression "Whittaker has just visited" makes an explicit reference to the other parties affected and enhances the role of Whittaker as agent. It is associated with a style of shorter sentences offering a set of simple, direct but separate relations which are probably more readily comprehended by the listening audience.

Not only do nominalisations distance the agent from the action, so distancing responsibility and making the action less able to be challenged, they also create shifts in the prominence of various agents and change the sequential order of sentences. The potential effect is to change the focus of the meaning. The effects of varying syntax of sentences and the structure and ordering of clauses within sentence are outlined later.

Metaphors

Considerable importance is paid in the analysis to the use of metaphors because these rhetorical devices symbolise a way of looking at something, a focus for the reality that is structured or represented in a given message. The direct translation from the Greek of "metaphor" is transfer of significance. In the terms of Aristotle, metaphor as figurative language means applying to a thing a word that belongs to something else. That word has a literal meaning: as a figure of speech it may be evocative and significant.

A critical aspect of metaphors is that they are universal and common in everyday language so that often we scarcely realise when we are using them. Their pervasiveness in our language and culture, and basic position in our conceptual thinking means that any metaphorical patterns observable in news texts are important indicators of concepts that are being structured there.

Particular attention is paid to the role of metaphor as an institutionalised form of knowledge in establishing and reinforcing moral and social control. For example, political and economic ideologies are framed in key metaphorical terms like power, freedom, independence and equality. These are presented as different ways of attaining meaningful existence. Such metaphors are constantly reiterated in the media by people in power, from political leaders to various experts. They are imposed on audiences because they are structured into discourses and accepted or taken for granted as truths. As Lakoff and Johnson stated,

"What's at issue is not the truth or falsity of a metaphor, but the perceptions and inferences that follow from it, and the actions that are sanctioned by it."²⁴

An example of one of our culture's most basic metaphors is that of life as a story: a rising curve of narrative, with a cast of characters playing various roles, in particular settings, where certain facts are significant, as are conflicts, connections and goals. The complications and conflict dissolve as the correspondent wraps up the story. News is structured as a series of discrete stories and riddled with the associated metaphors of life as a story, often with a stress on the serial version:

"among the stories today"

"the continuing saga"

"Queensland police are on full alert as they await the next development"

"the long running case of"

and

"the drama occurred when" ...

The metaphor of "life is a story" imposes a coherent structure on life, highlighting certain elements and downplaying others. There is a constant expectation of being able to fit important episodes into a coherent whole and of being able to make causal links. The same expectations apply to newsmen processing a news item and the audience hearing it, with the additional constraint on the material that the story be told concisely. The effect of this pressure of the metaphorical concept of "life is a story" on the construction, accuracy and objectivity of news items is monitored closely in this thesis. Some measure of control is possible because there are nearly always two versions of the same story available in this method of comparing the texts from the two news networks.

Metaphor can be used in news stories to structure coherence and provide a sense of order and control that might not be achievable through self-conscious activity and the limits of time and space in a broadcast. This is possible because of the essentially ambiguous nature of metaphor.

"Metaphor is one of our most important tools for trying to comprehend partially what cannot be comprehended totally: our feelings, aesthetic experiences, moral practices and spiritual awareness. These endeavours of the imagination are not devoid of rationality; since they use metaphor, they employ an 'imaginative rationality'".²⁵

The use of metaphor to convey "imaginative rationality" as Lakoff and Johnson term it, is a key concept behind this analysis. Conceptual metaphors which are grounded in correlations with our experience, suggesting concurrence or similarities, can give implicit, tacit structures to our thoughts and feelings. As well as thus having the potential to alter our feelings and attitudes to ourselves, the world and others, they can restructure our perception of a situation (including creating new questions and determining the nature of our answers.)

"Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies."²⁶

In this sense, where metaphors are a powerful device for expressing the unity of a system, they also can create closure. The very structure of a metaphor that translates significance and directs the audience to comprehend an idea or event in terms of another, will necessarily hide other aspects of that idea or event.

"So when we say that a concept is structured by a metaphor, we mean that it is partially structured and that it can be extended in some ways but not others."²⁷

For example, the consistent use of battle metaphors in an area of news like industrial relations can suggest that relationships between workers/unions and employers are by nature antagonistic and that alternative peaceful or unemotive means of negotiation in this arena are not operative. The two parties are highlighted as being in polarised positions. This is similar to the line explored by the Glasgow University Media Group in Bad News (1976) where they showed via linguistic techniques and pictures on television news coverage, how issues were reduced to simple opposites and simple causal explanations, with the net effect of ideological reduction. Claire Lerman's work (1983) also is drawn upon in terms of metaphor creating a closed system of discourse which effectively distances the discourse. For instance, the effect of a journalist saying in a story of an industrial dispute that "time is running out for a peaceful conclusion" closes off the option of rational negotiations between the two parties, in the audience's mind.

Syntax

The examination of syntax or the structure of sentences in radio news texts is also an important part of this analysis. The rhythms created by the structure of sentences help to interpret or frame the message being transmitted. For example, a series of short, crisp sentences tends to create a telegraphic stop-start pattern, often suggesting drama and highlighting the separate actions of each sentence. Cause and meaning is broken down effectively into straight-

forward and consecutive steps. By contrast, a series of long multi-claused statements, necessarily generously punctuated, create a measured deliberate rhythm, in which more complex ideas can be communicated: the overall effect tends to be an affirmative stance, a sense of order and control of complex issues under consideration.

A consistent sentence pattern indicates consistency of importance or relevance of different pieces of information, while a change in the sentence structure may serve to highlight a point by changing the tempo or rhythm of the narrative.

Given that the dimensions of importance in a news story are commonly understood to start with the most important facts and then progress in decreasing importance through functions of clarification, elaboration and specification, the strategic cue to controlling the understanding of the news text is the headline and the first sentence of the story. It is that sentence that signals the theme of the story: the approach that will be taken to the overall event as well as the main facts. The closing sentence of the story also is very important because often it is highlighted by being delivered in a deliberate winding down rhythm. It is a sentence that may well stick in the minds of the audience and so direct their future thinking or summation of the issue of the story.

Thus particular attention is paid in the analysis to the foci of opening and closing sentences of news stories as framing devices in setting the approach to and the tone of the story. For example, if the opening sentence is delivered in a longish measured rhythm and sets out

the issue and context briefly, the impression is conveyed that an event is in progress or completed and that order is maintained. This firm stance reinforced by the smooth, even rhythm, reassures the audience about the status quo. For example:

"Vietnamese officials in Canberra are studying a proposal by the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Bowen, for a peacekeeping force in Kampuchea". (ABC B1-1200-2)

An opening sentence that is descriptive or dramatic in tone and includes a high pitch, sets a more open-ended tone to the subject matter and may well unsettle or suggest conflict to the listening audience. For example:

"Federal Opposition Leader Andrew Peacock has branded as dangerous ... a suggestion by Deputy Prime Minister Lionel Bowen that Australia and Japan should form a peacekeeping force in Kampuchea". (5DN B1-1800-2)

This sentence conveys conflict and threat to the audience. It does so through emotive vocabulary in "dangerous"; through metaphor in "branded"; and through the basic syntax of the sentence. Disjunction is structured and highlighted, by placing a subordinate clause in first position, instead of at the end of the sentence where it would belong in a conventional sentence pattern. The awkwardness of this placement is indicated by the dots: the pause effected by these is necessitated by the rhythm of the whole sentence being grammatically abused by its structure. The resultant discordant rhythm reinforces the opposition or polarisation conveyed in the meaning. Thus an emotive judgment of an issue is structured, before the issue or context is put.

Intonation and Tonicity

The effects of syntactical structures of sentences are inextricably bound up with intonation and tonicity. Intonation describes the way

words sound: that is, the way in which they are stressed and pitched. The importance of intonation for the argument here is that tonic stress gives some credence of what "news" the newswriters want the audience to focus or concentrate on.

Barthes pointed out on his piece on "Voice" that classical rhetoric used to include the aspect of "actio" which is now forgotten. In performance the grain of the voice carried the significance as well as the inflections, the stresses, the accents. He argued that:

"Writing aloud is not phonological but phonetic; its aim is not the clarity of messages, the theater of emotions; what it searches for (in a perspective of bliss) are the pulsional incidents, the language lined with flesh, a text where we can hear the grain of the throat, the patina of consonants, the voluptuousness of vowels, a whole carnal stereophony: the articulation of the body, of the tongue, not that of meaning, of language."²⁸

Such study is well beyond the scope of this thesis. More formal work is necessary in this area to develop an objective and qualitative index to describe the transmission of news texts. However it is possible here to indicate some of the characteristics of patterns of intonation and their effects on meaning, through examples of analysis of several kinds of news texts.

The method used is based on the work of Halliday²⁹ and has been developed by Moss.³⁰ The tone system is based upon a general tension between falling and rising pitch: falling pitch conveying certainty; rising pitch, uncertainty. Meaning of tone, in English, relates to polarity, to positive and negative opposition. Falling pitch means "polarity known", rising pitch means "polarity unknown". Here are descriptions of the five main tones identified.

- Tone 1 The unmarked realisation of a statement, falling tone.
- Tone 2 A yes-no question, rising tone.
- Tone 3 Level tone, where the falling/rising opposition has been neutralised. The meaning of this tone is provisional or tentative and it usually is referred to as low/rising.
- Tone 4 Associated with reservations and conditions, falling/rising tone.
- Tone 5 Used in strong assertions especially contradictory ones and has the implication of "you ought to know that", rising/falling tone.

These five main tones are applied to four examples of news texts. The first two examples compare a major item on a reported statement of President Reagan on nuclear arms talks on the ABC and 5DN. The third example looks at a business story about a financial loss at Mitsubishi Australia, noting in particular the smooth confident tone of the company voice. By contrast, the fourth example highlights the more threatening and conditional voice of an ACTU official in a story of industrial dispute.

The first example from the ABC news (ABC B4-7.45-2) titled "REAGAN ARMS CONTROL" was constructed in three parts, that I have labelled A, B and C. In Part A the newsreader introduced the key information; in Part B a reporter on the scene of the original statement elaborated on that in an actualite; and in Part C, an excerpt from President Reagan's live speech was used in a further actualite. The text is included in full here first and then analysed in parts.

REAGAN ARMS CONTROL ...

ABC B4-7.45-2

PART A

"President Reagan today outlined broad changes in the United States' position at the strategic arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union in Geneva.

The American leader offered to raise an earlier proposed limit of 850-missiles on both sides, and to emphasise the need to count war heads rather than missile launches.

Richard Palfreyman reports from Washington ...

PART B

President Reagan didn't offer a new figure for the proposed limit on the number of missiles on both sides ... but administration officials say the offer would be between the previous American proposal of 850 and the Soviet counter offer of 1450. The American leader indicated that he would leave it to the Soviet Union to suggest ways of equalising through weight ... the lifting power of each country's missile launchers. Mr. Reagan left unchanged the present American proposal to limit each side to five thousand warheads. But he did emphasise the need for greater flexibility in the negotiations that resumed today in Geneva ...

(Reagan actualite) ...

PART C

To the leaders of the Soviet Union, I urge that this new opportunity not be lost. To America's friends and allies around the World, I say that your steadfast support, for the goals of both deterrents and arms control is essential in the future. To Congress and to the American people, I say let us continue to work together in a bipartisan spirit, so that these days will be spoken of in the future as the time when America turned the corner.

(Actualite ends) ...

Richard Palfreyman, Washington."

In part A the first and third sentences were structured to be delivered by the reporter in the neutral tone of a statement, identified as tone 1: the first summarised the key news and the third indicated a technical fact that the voice in the report would change.

The second sentence was more ambiguous in tone.

"The American leader offered to raise an earlier proposed limit of 850 missiles on both sides, and to emphasise the need to count war heads rather than missile launchers."

Overall, the tone could be identified as tone 1, a falling tone of a statement. However, it also bordered on the low rising tone of tone 3, suggesting a provisional sense of rising/falling opposition that had been (almost) neutralised. The opposition seemed to centre around a tacit sense of opposition between the positive open sense of the

President offering to raise a limit and also emphasising a need to count the arms in question in a different manner.

This uncertainty could have come about because the sentence was poorly written, or because it was a reporter paraphrasing Reagan's comments, which themselves were ambiguous. The latter explanation seems to be hinted at in the equivocal tone of the following part.

Section B spoken by the ABC reporter in Washington, Richard Palfreyman, indicated some uncertainty about the meaning and effect of changes outlined by President Reagan. Palfreyman's reporting highlighted some of the difficulties of the news reporter's role as interpreter and mediator, such as his need to indicate what has not been said sometimes, as well as what has been said.

Within this section three juxtaposed voices were required to relate and interpret the President's statement: those of the reporter, the administration officials and the reporter paraphrasing the President. To a certain extent, they were shown to be at odds. For instance, the key use of "but" twice, had the effect of shifting the tone of the clauses which immediately preceded from the falling tone 1 of a statement, to a low rising tone 3 which suggested a more tentative status for that clause.

PART B Text

"President Reagan didn't offer a new figure for the proposed limit on the number of missiles on each side but

Administration officials say the offer would be between the previous American proposal of 850 and the Soviet counter offer of 1450.

The American leader indicated that he would leave it to the Soviet Union to suggest ways of equalising throw weight

..the lifting power of each country's missile launchers.

Mr Reagan left unchanged the present American proposal to limit each side to five thousand warheads, but,

he did emphasise

the need for greater flexibility in the negotiations that resumed today in Geneva."

Analysis

Tone 3
Reporter suggests tentative nature of this information.

Tone 5
Administration asserts that you should know this (i.e. that the American proposal was more modest than the Soviet offer).

Tone 4
President sets down his conditions for USSR.

Tone 1
Reporter interpolates to explain the technical knowledge of the President.

Tone 1/3
Reporter states a fact, which concludes more tentatively than it begins, with "but" to suggest that the President's terms were conditional/bargaining ones.

Tone 3
Indicates the President's approach is conditional.

Tone 5
President asserts what is necessary.

Part C was the direct quote from President Reagan. It was a cleverly patterned speech, probably penned by a professional speech-writer, for the American home market. It was directed in turn to three audiences. It spoke firstly to Soviet Leaders in the assertive tone 5: "I urge that this new opportunity not be lost". The strong verb

"urge" conveyed a sense that the Soviets ought to know this, where "This new opportunity" was the President's suggested structure. The tacit threat was that if the Soviets did not accept Reagan's plan, all would be lost.

The second statement directed to American allies was assertive, but more gently so; compare here the effect for example of "say" rather than "urge". "I say that your steadfast support, for the goals of both deterrents and arms control is essential to the future." The President's third statement, directed to Congress and the American people began with a confident statement of assumed unity of purpose between the people and the President identified by tone 1: " I say let us continue to work together in a bipartisan spirit...". The middle section of that sentence shifted to the rising assertive sense of tone 5: " so that these days will be spoken of in the future"... The final clause ended on a climactic rising tone of tone 2 as if to answer the rhetorical question, (do) we want to see a new strong America: "as the time when America turned the corner".

The President's speech therefore assumed local and allied endorsement for his plan, his politicking. Such endorsement was seen as conditional for success. Similarly, Russian compliance with Reagan's plan was structured in the tone of the discourse as necessary. Although "flexibility in the negotiations" was highlighted by Reagan as important, the reality that was suggested by the tones of the discourse was that the President was very much concerned with stating his own conditions.

The equivalent 5DN story "MISSILES" (5DN B4-7-1) expressed a similar assertive tone. (The actualite from President Reagan's speech was nearly identical to the ABC's.) The introduction to key information of the story by the 5DN newsreader was less neutral however. The underlining of words to direct certain emphasis in the delivery of the newsreader, meant that the two opening statements could not be conveyed in a neutral tone, for example.

This was the newsreader's text.

"The United States will present new proposals for strategic nuclear weapons cuts ... when the GENEVA arms talks resume today.

"President RONALD REAGAN says the proposals represent a moderation rather than a revision of U.S. plans.

There is a shift in emphasis from counting missiles to comparing warheads.

President REAGAN has called on SOVIET leaders not to miss the opportunity to reach an agreement at the Geneva Talks:"
(27 seconds of actualite)

The first and second sentences expressed the assertive sense of "you ought to know", of tone 5. The stress in delivery on words such as "new", "strategic", "cuts" "moderation" and "revision" conveyed a sense of the urgency of the shifting focus of the talks. That in turn created the dramatic newsworthy presentation of the item.

Notice that the interrupted syntax of the first sentence resulted in its assertive tone. It created a rise and fall which would not have existed if the sentence had been structured as one clause like the ABC version. For example if the 5DN sentence had been

"The United States will today present new proposals for strategic nuclear weapons cuts at the resumption of Geneva arms talks,"

the tone would have the falling tone of tone 1, the unmarked realisation of a statement.

The second sentence would also have been in tone 1 without the changed emphasis of underlining "Ronald Reagan", "moderation" and "revision". By contrast, the simple structures and absence of emphasis on individual words in the third and fourth sentences, resulted in there being statements of tone 1 variety.

Overall this item suggested none of the nuances of the ABC version. The statements of President Reagan were stated unequivocally by reporters. The news interest was instead on the drama of "new" plans being presented "today", in "GENEVA".

There was no sense of drama or threat conveyed in an ABC item on the financial difficulties of Mitsubishi, despite the potential for job losses. In this item (ABC C2-7.45-2) the newsreader reported the company voice of Mitsubishi as fact. The actualite which quoted its Managing Director, further illustrated that smooth impenetrable company voice. The text is quoted in full and then analysed in table form.

ABC C2-7.45-2

Page 1 of 2

MITSUBISHI JOBS

22-8-83

"The car manufacturer, MITSUBISHI Australia, says there'll be no retrenchments, despite the company's loss of almost- fourteen million dollars for the first six months of this calendar year.

MITSUBISHI'S Managing Director, Mr. Graham SPURLING, says that despite the problems which have beset the car industry, there'll be no lay-offs, and he's optimistic about the long term prospects for the company.

take tape

ABC C2-7.45-2

Page 2 of 2

MITSUBISHI JOBS SPURLING

22-8-83

TAPE BEGINS.....

We're not a big company compared with the big General Motors and Ford here in Australia. We're not even looking to compete in the big stakes as far as market share as they are but we've got shareholders who are big, big big. You know Mitsubishi Corporation in Japan and Mitsubishi Motors Corporation in Japan, both very substantial companies and I'm optimistic because I know the sort of investment that we're putting in right now for new models in the future.

TAPE ENDS.....29 seconds

Mr. Graham SPURLING....."

Newsreader's Text

"The car manufacturer, MITSUBISHI Australia, says

there'll be no retrenchments despite the company's loss of almost 14 million dollars for the first 6 months of this calendar year.

MITSUBISHI'S Managing Director Mr. Graham Spurling, says that

despite the problems which have beset the car industry, there'll be no lay-offs

and he's optimistic about the long term prospects for the company.

Analysis

Tone 1
Newsreader states company statement as fact.

Tone 5
Asserts no job losses, although the evidence may seem contradictory.

Tone 1
Newsreader paraphrases company statement as fact.

Tone 5
Again asserts no job losses although the evidence may seem contradictory.

Tone 5
Gently assertive.

Actualite - Mitsubishi's Managing Director.

We're not a big company compared with the big General Motors and Ford here in Australia.

We're not even looking to compete in the big stakes as far as market share as they are

But we've got shareholders who are big, big big

You know Mitsubishi Corporation in Japan and Mitsubishi Motors Corporation in Japan, both very substantial companies,

and I'm optimistic because I know

Tone 1
Begins with a fact everyone would agree on.

Tone 1
Statement of intention that acquires tone and status of fact, in conjunction with preceding statement.

Tone 3/5
Low rising tone, starts as provisional, but shifting to assertive tone of 'you ought to know'.

Tone 1
A statement of fact familiar to everyone.

Tone 5
Medium rising tone (which answers rhetorical question, will you be able to get over the loss?) and shifts to an assertion of his knowledge as fact.

Newreader's Text

The sort of investment that we're putting in right now for new models in the future."

Analysis

Tone 5
Final assertion that the audience ought to know that this company will succeed.

The smoothness and certainty of the company voice in this item was therefore established by constant use of tones 1 and 5: statement and strong assertions about confidence and success, despite what would seem to be the contradictory evidence of the large financial loss and relative smallness of the company. The crux of the item cued by the expression "but" would seem to be the provisional/assertive statement about the company having big shareholders. This echoed the earlier reference to "big" companies and implied an ability to compete with them.

The tone of the item really conveyed that of a company advertisement. The story which had won a top place in the news bulletin, initially because of the substantial financial loss made by an important Australian manufacturer, had been cleverly turned around into a statement of reassurance and confidence by the company about its future.

By contrast the final example of tone analysis conveyed the uncertainty of industrial relations in the building industry. The item "BUILDING TALKS" (ABC B5-7-8), introduced the issue with three statements in Tone 1 in which the reporter outlined the context of negotiations.

ABC B5-7.45-12

BUILDING TALKS

"Time is running out for a peaceful conclusion to the Building Industry negotiations.

Employers and unions have been negotiating for several weeks on new industry awards covering about 130-thousand workers.

A moratorium on industrial action by unions ends on Monday.

An A.C.T.U. industrial officer, Mr. Gary Weaven. said late yesterday that at present the A.C.T.U. proposals were unacceptable to both parties, but employers had agreed to respond by Monday.

Mr. Weaven was asked if there was a chance of renewed industrial action.

(TAPE BEGINS)

That's in the lap of the gods, if the employers accept what the A.C.T.U. has put today, then its a matter of us attempting to convince the unions that that is a fair and reasonable package, and if we can do that well further disputatin will be avoided. If not, then I guess its going to be back to the trenches."

(TAPE ENDS)

"Time is running out for a peaceful conclusion to the building industry negotiations.

Employers and unions have been negotiating for several weeks on new industry awards covering about 130-thousand workers.

A moratorium on industrial action by unions ends on Monday ..."

The next sentence shifted to tone 4 when an industrial officer asserted that both parties were still in disagreement, but that a response from employers was pending.

"An ACTU Industrial Officer, Mr. Gary Weaven, said late yesterday that at present the ACTU proposals were unacceptable, but employers had agreed to respond by Monday."

The falling/rising tone here immediately conveyed the uncertainty and contradictions of the negotiations in the eyes of the industrial officer. When he was questioned about the "chance of renewed industrial action", his reply in an actualite reinforced that sense of uncertain knowledge and volatility in the industry.

Mr. Weaven's expression was a messy run-on sentence with a smattering of cliches and conditional structures. (As such it was in sharp contrast to the short, succinct and confident response of Mitsubishi's Managing Director in the previous example.)

Text

"That's in the lap of the gods,

if the employers accept what the ACTU has put today, then it's a matter of us attempting to convince the unions

Analysis

Tone 1
Statement in cliché form, which does not answer the question.

Tone 4
Conditional nature of negotiations - if ... then

<u>Text</u>	<u>Analysis</u>
that that is a fair and reasonable package	Tone 3 Low rising tone that reflects the tentative nature of the process, but also the neutral role of the ACTU in trying to reconcile opposition.
and if we can do that well further disputation will be avoided	Tone 5 Asserts that you ought to know that the ACTU system can resolve contradictions.
if not, then I guess it's going to be back to the trenches."	Tone 4/5 Asserts the conditional uncertain state of play and the relative likelihood of battle continuing.

The use of the verb "guess" in the final clause epitomised the apparently casual approach of the industrial officer, and by implication the industrial field he represented. Tone analysis suggested that he lacked the control that the company voice in the former example had. Further to that, his ready use of conditional structures suggested a general sense of threat of disorder.

Key Indexical Expressions

Finally, two very important types of expressions are analysed in the news texts to attempt to explicate the attitudes of the news journalists or narrators to their subject matter, and the signs that are embedded in the texts which point the audience towards some sense of judgment on issues, people and situations in the news. As Barthes (1975) has put it:

"The real problem is not how to probe the narrator's motives or measure the effects the narration may have on the reader, but rather to describe the code through which the narrator's and the reader's presence can be detected within the narrative itself."³¹

It is argued here that the available code exists in the form of the key indexical expressions or modalities. These convey the interactional stance of the newsreader to the unseen audience and help construct the frame in which a piece of information should be received. For example, they can indicate whether that information should be read positively or negatively; whether it should be highlighted or buried. There is also a code available only to the respective network newsrooms and the researcher that can confirm the interpretation of the newsroom's attitude towards the story, and that is the existence of the story title slug attached to each story for ready internal identification. (See following, and the more detailed analysis of story slugs made in Chapter 2.)

The method of analysing modalities as key indexical expressions is adapted from the work of Halliday (1983) on the body of non-associated linguistic facts. Halliday's idea is that causal relation is expressed in a variety of grammatical guises, mostly realised in the structure of a clause, for example cause and effect. Clauses represent processes, actions, events: the ideational meaning that enables us to build a mental picture of reality. Indexical expressions, which range from simple conjunctions through to adverbial groups and prepositional phrases, which Halliday terms "adjuncts", relate very strongly to thematic structures and therefore help the analyst pinpoint the way themes are presented by the news journalists. They highlight aspects which might otherwise be taken for granted and can indicate editorial bias or judgment.

I would argue that such form of analysis actively explores and endorses the idea Barthes (1975) puts forward that

"It is in that self-emphasis of narrative that the units at the lowest level take on their full significance".³²

The range of key indexical expressions considered in the analyses are set out below. Halliday distinguishes two types. "Conjunctive adjuncts" (or "discourse adjuncts") operate like conjunctions, to relate a particular clause to the preceding text. Secondly, "Modal adjuncts" express the speaker's judgment regarding the relevance of the message (particularly relevant in the news genre to the evaluation of someone's reported statements).³³

Conjunctive Adjuncts

Type	Meaning	Examples
additive	'and'	also, besides, alternatively, by the way, in addition
appositive	'viz' ('namely')	that is, in other words, for instance
comparative	'likewise'	in the same way, on the other hand, as said above
adversative	'yet'	however, even, so, in spite of that
contrastive	'in fact'	actually, as a matter of fact, at the same time
corrective	'instead'	on the contrary, at least, rather, more accurately
dismissive	'anyway'	in any case, whichever way it is, leaving that aside
causal	'so'	therefore, for this reason, as a result, with this in mind
conditional	'(if...) then'	in that case, that being so, under the circumstances, otherwise
respective	'ref' ('with reference to')	in this respect, as to that, as far as that's concerned
temporal	'(when...)'	meanwhile, before that, later on, next, soon, finally, previously
resumptive	'in short'	briefly, to sum up, to get back to the point.

Modal Adjuncts

Type	Meaning	Examples
probability	how likely? how obvious?	probably, possibly, certainly, perhaps, maybe, of course, surely, obviously
frequency	how often? how typical?	usually, sometimes, always, never for the most part, seldom, often, already
opinion	I think	in my opinion, from my point of view, personally, to my mind
admissive	I admit	frankly, to be honest, to tell you the truth
assertive	I assure you	honestly, really, believe me, seriously, without any doubt
presumptive	how presumable?	evidently, apparently, no doubt, presumably
desiderative	how desirable?	(un)fortunately, to my delight, luckily, regrettably, hopefully
provisional	how constant?	initially, tentatively, looking back on it, provisionally
validative	how valid?	broadly speaking, in general terms, on the whole, objectively, strictly speaking
evaluative	how sensible?	wisely, understandably, foolishly, by mistake
predictive	how expected?	to my surprise, as expected, amazingly, by chance

An example of the conjunctive adjunct "even" being used to relate a clause to the preceding text in an adversative sense occurs in this sentence. "There has even been a report that the store had seriously considered abandoning its historic Christmas pageant." Note that the inclusion of the adverb "seriously" reinforced that adversative sense of the conjunctive adjunct through its own presumptive sense. These conjunctions are inherently thematic. While they seem commonly used and can be taken for granted, they can be critical in (re)directing attention or meaning. They appear at the beginning of clauses and can have a co-ordinating effect (for example, "and") or subordinating effect (for example, "yet", "although"). Cause often figures prominently as a cohesive agent in discourse through conjunctions suggesting result, reason or purpose such as "because", "so", "then", "therefore". Sometimes their very simplicity can be used to belie the complexity of events. For example in this explanation that opens a leading news item:

"New South Wales is without train services today because of a strike by train drivers,"

"because" sits literally in the middle of the sentence directly equating one fact with another. The balance is neat, but no room is left for any explanation of the strike. The effect is that the train drivers are portrayed simply as holding New South Wales up to ransom and the audience is not encouraged to look any further for an explanation.

The meaning conveyed through the use of particular conjunctions can add to, expand on or amplify the meaning of a clause or direct a meaning contrary to the expectation just set up. Halliday made the

point that many temporal conjunctions for example "lastly", "next", "meanwhile", "here", "now" and "up to now" can have an "internal" as well as an "external" interpretation: that is, the time they refer to is not the temporal sequence of the processes referred to in the text. The time to which they refer is "the temporal unfolding of the discourse itself". It relates to "interpersonal not experiential time",³⁴ which gives some indication of the voice of the news journalist/narrator. For example the use of "just" in an opening sentence to an item that announced that a new "pension has just been launched" emphasised the newness and immediacy of that item and its news service. The use of "now" in "The Institute of Teachers is now threatening industrial action"...indicated an updating of a story. The use of "so far" titillated the audience with a sense of action pending in "services to the public have not been effected so far", and "So far, there's been no statement from"

Sometimes the position of the adjunct also changes its interpretation. For example "then" can convey a temporal sense in the order of events being reported, such as in

"Mr. Hawke then attacked claims by"...

whereas in another sentence

"Then Mr. Fraser told a rally"

positioning "then" first, refers as much to the internal sequence of the news reporter telling a story as it does to the external interpretation of what Mr. Fraser did next.

Differences of emphasis created by conjunctions are useful in the interpretation of texts. For example some causal expressions (like

"so", "therefore", "because") are general, while others are specific ("as a result", "in consequence"). Some conditional expressions are positive ("then", "in that event"); some are negative ("otherwise", "if not"); some are concessive ("yet", "still", "despite this", "though"); and some are dismissive ("in any case", "anyhow"). An example of a modal adjunct being used to express the speaker's judgment regarding the relevance of the message is

"Generally, Mr. Hawke maintained ..."

with "generally" conveying a sense of the validity of what Mr. Hawke was maintaining. Other adjuncts are used to express additive or temporal meanings with a strong validifying sense. The use of "as well" was highlighted in the sentence by its placement

"As well, Mr. Hawke has won ..."

The use of "already" was highlighted by its rather awkward placement in the sentence

"The meeting already has confirmed ..."

Adversative meaning is conveyed by "more" in an opening sentence that announces "There is more industrial trouble at ..." or by "only" in

"Hundreds of staff members were told of the move only minutes before the store opened for business today."

Another type of conjunction Halliday identified which could be pertinent to an unadorned functional news style, is the implicit conjunction. Here the semantic relationship clearly is felt to be present but is unexpressed. Halliday gave this example of an implicit conjunction in a temporal sequence:

"George Stephenson died on 12 August 1848 ... He was buried at Holy Trinity, Chesterfield",

Halliday's example follows of an implicit conjunction where the relation is one of cause.

"Hudson decided next to establish himself in London. He bought what was then considered to be the largest private house in London, Albert House ...".³⁵

An example of implicit conjunction conveying the sense of "and so" or "therefore" occurs in this sentence.

"The Flinders Medical Centre says the test tube triplets born yesterday are doing splendidly. They may be seen on television tonight."

While these implicit conjunctions are important in achieving the texture of the text, analysis of them tends to be indeterminate and intuitive. It is considered that they are beyond the scope of this work which focuses on narrative groups of texts rather than on very detailed analysis of a few individual texts.

While analysis of implicit conjunctions may be too intuitive and indeterminate to be tackled in this analysis, it is argued that other overlapping and illustrative methods outlined above, namely lexical choice, metaphor, modal and conjunctive adjuncts, syntax and intonation, are able to elucidate substantially the meanings of news texts in the narrative and rhetorical framework chosen for the analysis of news discourse. The remaining aspect of interpretation available to the researcher is that of story title slugs used and available internally in the network newsrooms.

As explained in Chapter 2 in the section "The Two News Services" (Part 2) the majority of texts analysed were coded with a word or phrase for ready reference in the newsroom. That discussion highlighted the usefulness of slugs as indicators of what constitutes

the bare bones of news stories (for example "FIRE", "PRICES", "KILLER ESCAPEE" and "G-M-H").

On occasions the slugs were very useful as indicators which could confirm the attitudes of the news journalist to a particular story which had been described in rhetorical analysis. For example the story of four Australian citizens who appealed to the High Court of Australia to have their names put on the Electoral Roll ten days after the roll had closed, was relayed on the ABC in a formal style that stressed legal and bureaucratic proprieties in its vocabulary. This functional approach by news journalists was confirmed by its neutral slug "ELECTORAL CASE" (ABC A1-1300-1). The same story was constructed more emotively on 5DN. For example the headline proclaimed a sense of openness with "The Federal election roll may be reopened", and the text connoted a groundswell of public discontent with metaphors like "a flood of complaints from people". In this case the story slug "CHALLENGE" (5DN A1-1800-1) confirmed the critical attitude of journalists and their intent to publicise seeming injustice and provoke an audience to consider that a change to the system was possible (in other words, an oppositional reading).

In a crime story where a youth was stabbed in an amusement parlour in Adelaide's Hindley Street the focus of the story on the two networks was very different, and again this was confirmed clearly by the respective slugs chosen. One version which focused on the issue of street violence and its effect on local trade was titled "HINDLEY ST. ATTACK" (ABC C2-1800-5): the other version, concentrating on an action replay of this one violent incident, was titled "STAB" (5DN C2-1800-1).

Further examples of story slugs which are discussed in detail in Chapter 2 reflect distinctly the separate voices of the news services of the two networks: the one formal and disembodied, the other more commercial and playfully irreverent. These voices reflect the broadcasters' different interpretations of events that constitute news, and also the different components and needs of their audiences.

This brings us back to the idea of a news service as a daily ritual, constructing a world through which an audience can live vicariously and find coherence and meaning for its experiences. The wit, cynicism ("FRASER WANKS ON") the twisted warmth ("NAUGHTY NORM") and the familiar abusive stereotypes ("DEAD DAGOES") of the journalists' slugs convey to us the needs of those workers for a certain immunity to the flood of news material they face daily. It also is a critical code ultimately signifying that news journalists are like us, human and located in a specific culture: the product of their education, experience and private prejudices.

CHAPTER THREE - FOOTNOTES

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Williams, R. (1976) p37.
2. Barthes, R. (1975) p271.
3. *ibid.*, p240.
4. Kress, G.R., and Trew, A.A. (1978).
5. Glasgow University Media Group (1976).
6. Roeh, I. (1982).
7. Barthes, R. (1971) p243.
8. Roeh, I. (1982) p112.
9. Hall, S. (1982) p87.
10. Lerman, C. (1983).
11. Hall, S. (1982) p88.
12. Roeh, I. (1982) p113.
13. Labov, W. (1966).
14. Bell, A. (1977) and (1982).
15. Labov, W. (1972).
16. *ibid.*
17. Van Dijk, T. (1983).
18. *ibid.*, p32.
19. Hall, S. (1980) p132.
20. *ibid.*, p134.
21. *ibid.*, p134.
22. Barthes, R. (1967) p91.
23. Kress, G.R., and Trew, A.A. (1978) p759.
24. Lakoff, G., and Johnson, M. (1980) p158.
25. *ibid.*, p193.

26. *ibid.*, p156.
27. *ibid.*, p13.
28. Barthes, R. (1967) p66.
29. Halliday, M.A.K. (1983).
30. Moss, P.D. (1987).
31. Barthes, R. (1975) p260.
32. Barthes, R. (1975) p264.
33. Halliday, M.A.K. (1983) p79-80.
34. *ibid.*, p436.
35. *ibid.*, p437.

CHAPTER FOUR

COVERAGE OF FOREIGN NEWS

APPROACH

This chapter looks at the interpretative frameworks of the world that are constructed by the foreign news coverage of the two networks.

Firstly, content analysis is applied. The locations and varied lengths of stories on both stations are compared to indicate which nations are focused on, which parts of the world are illuminated.

The news texts themselves are then analysed in a qualitative way, taking each station separately. The analysis adapts the method of "Contingency Analysis" developed by Stevenson and Thompson.¹ This involves identifying topics, actors and story angles which recur in a wide sample of texts. The positive or negative associations of these factors with various nations are observed. The results suggest regular symbolic presentations of different countries that are being put to audiences.

Some slugs or story titles used for internal reference in the newsroom only, are referred to as an additional guide to determining the attitudes of journalists to stories. (It is suggested that these reflect presumed audience attitudes to some extent.)

The qualitative analysis in this chapter is rudimentary. Subsequent chapters develop a closer method of textual analysis in greater detail.

COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN NEWS.

The ABC news spent a greater proportion of time in its news bulletins covering news from other countries than did 5DN: the ABC average was 21% of bulletin time, compared with 16.5% on 5DN. Nevertheless to spend less than a quarter of news time covering events from outside Australia suggests a strong sense of this nation being internationally provincial and/or apathetic. Concern for domestic self-government would seem to override a sense of seeing events as controlled by power play between nations for example.

ABC news coverage gave more prominence to foreign news stories in a number of ways, in addition to percentage of bulletin time. For example that network highlighted foreign stories, so that they constituted 28.5% of ABC opening bulletin items, compared with 17.5% of 5DN headline stories. This ABC emphasis was reinforced by the format of repeating news headlines of lead stories at the end of each bulletin.

Table 6 below shows that although the ABC spent more time on foreign news, 5DN news presented a larger number of foreign stories. In other words, its coverage had to be briefer or more shallow than that of the ABC.

The figures on this table are interpreted in detail in the later sections of discussion on ABC and 5DN coverage. At this point it is simply noted that the emphasis in foreign news coverage correlated roughly with those made by Noble and Noble (1981) in their Australian

TABLE 6: PRESENTATION OF FOREIGN NEWS OVER FOUR PERIODS

	<u>Number of Stories</u>	<u>% Foreign news time</u>
<u>ABC</u>		
Middle East	39	23.3%
United States	28	15.2%
South-East Asia	24	12.4%
Africa	19	12.0%
International relations (general items)	12	9.4%
Europe	16	8.7%
England	14	8.4%
USSR	9	5.7%
Ireland	8	3.5%
Central and South America	3	1.0%
India	1	0.4%
Total	173	100.0%
<u>5DN</u>		
United States	50	26.5%
Middle East	41	20.6%
International relations (general items)	23	12.6%
England	18	8.3%
Europe	17	7.8%
Africa	13	6.6%
South-East Asia	13	5.7%
USSR	11	5.4%
Central and South America	6	2.8%
Ireland	5	2.7%
India	4	1.0%
Total	201	100.0%

study, which formed part of the UNESCO "News of the World" project outlined in Chapter One. (See pages 90 to 96)

For instance they indicated that Australian news media tended to neglect South America and Africa although the commercial media did more so than the ABC. Events in Eastern Europe were rarely reported apart perhaps from an odd item on dissidents. As a result a sense of a continuing cold war seemed implicit in news-gathering and editorial decision-making.

News events in countries in geographical proximity to Australia, essentially in South East Asia, were moderately well covered, as was news of England with its historical-cultural ties with Australia. The commercial media were particularly concerned with reporting events in North America that highlighted the fact that Australia's cultural, economic and political relationships were strongly orientated to America. The nature of these ties tended to be reflected in the topics emphasised in news of those countries, as discussed below. For example half of African news was about its internal politics, news of North America related to science, economics and international politics and news of Eastern Europe and South America tended to focus on the exceptional, like natural disasters.

The Noble and Noble study also indicated that by comparison with other Australian media, radio spent a considerable amount of foreign news time covering events in the Middle East.

The relationship of news of foreign countries to Australian news can be identified in more detail, by analysing the positioning of foreign news items within bulletins themselves. It has already been noted that the ABC gave foreign stories more prominence among top news stories than did 5DN. The parochial perspective of 5DN news was summarised by the slogan often used to introduce bulletins: "Macquarie National News. News from Australia, and the World". To add to that, as described in Chapter Two, Part 4.4, the majority of foreign stories on 5DN were positioned towards the end of the bulletin: after general political and industrial news, business, crime, and disaster stories; and before sport and human interest stories. This indicated that they were not regarded as particularly newsworthy: not of great interest or of relevance to the 5DN audience. Yet the need of the network to offer some foreign news was recognised by this token coverage.

International news was cued as a distinct story category in the 5DN half-hour midday bulletin. Sometimes a "specialist" reporter delivered these items, but the stories came so late in the half-hour that audience concentration must have been reduced by that time. This group of foreign news stories was usually followed by a group of sports stories. Perhaps this suggested that immediate rewards were offered to the audience who listened right through foreign news with some (token) sense of duty to be well informed citizens.

One effect of presenting foreign news in a distinct block was to suggest that the world outside Australia was a separate one, which scarcely impinged upon the audience in Adelaide. This would seem to encourage public apathy and parochialism.

ABC foreign news stories were not presented in a block. They were distributed across the news bulletin, so conveying a sense of world events being interrelated with Australian and local news. Additionally the ABC included dramatically low key items of information about Australia's relationships with other nations, such as Prime Minister Hawke discussing having better relations between Australia and Russia and Indonesia (ABC A5-1800-6). The effect was that the ABC news started to build a picture of Australia's role in the world, a role that was articulate and constructive.

In addition to stories of foreign political news, it is possible to extract measurements of all news which came from outside Australia, identified in the content analysis as World news by source. These figures were similar for the two stations. 27.5% of 5DN and 24.5% of ABC news time² was spent on stories set in countries outside Australia. This figure correlated closely with the percentage of foreign political news on the ABC. However it suggested that on 5DN 10% of such stories were not political stories. Therefore while the ABC coverage presented a consistently serious view of the world, the 5DN coverage was considerably more light-hearted.

Many 5DN stories from the world outside Australia were "soft" news stories, of trivia and human interests. They were intended to amuse and lighten the tone at the end of the news bulletin. 49% of closing items closed with such an item. In other words, nearly half of the total 5DN bulletins surveyed concluded with a lightweight item of foreign news.

Not surprisingly the fond tone or humour in such items tended to play upon stereotyped Australian prejudices, denoting a chauvinism towards foreign people and cultures. For example, such stories from Britain about the bizarre quirks of the Royal family, or the story of dirty weekends being packaged as commercial ventures in England (5DN B5-7-10), suggested a derogatory attitude towards the formerly great mother-land. Images portrayed by telling the story of a Red Brigade political terrorist becoming pregnant in an Italian jail, reflected a risqué tone and perhaps a mocking attitude towards the ability of Italians to organise themselves.

Just as often however the foreign location of such a story was of no importance: as in the story of a New York (cop) policeman who turned out to be a robber (5DN A3-1200-32) or the story of an elderly woman with two artificial legs who fought off a would-be rapist in Kentucky, America. (5DN C1-1200-21)

In addition to these "soft" foreign news items, a number of sports stories set in countries outside Australia, were categorised by source as World items. The blatant parochial theme of Australia as the conqueror in this field are discussed in detail in the coverage of sports news in Chapter Nine.

By way of comparison, 33% of the items which concluded ABC bulletins came from outside Australia. Sometimes they were in a lighter vein than major stories, such as the discovery of a fake Holbein painting in Britain (ABC A3-1200-11). More often they were less newsworthy in terms of their immediate effect. Instances of this

were the beginning of voting in the British election (ABC B4-1800-9) and security preparations for President Reagan's forthcoming visit to Japan (ABC D1-7-17). The effect of such items was to be forward looking and to reassure the audience that the world was functioning in an ordered way.

Finally, reference should be made to a different kind of pattern identified in the content analysis: that of bulletin items by source and by time of day.³

Australia's relatively isolated geographical position in the world was reflected metaphorically in the shifting focus of world news across the day. The effect of Australia's particular time zone on the pattern of World news in bulletins, was that events of world importance dominated morning news and then diminished over the day, while Australian news flourished. For example major morning bulletins on both networks spent over a third of their time on World news. This dropped to a little over a quarter of average bulletin time at midday. At 1800, only 10% of bulletin time was usually spent on World news.

One might surmise that a side-effect of that pattern was to create a sense of Australia operating in a world of its own to a large extent. A sense of the focus of the world coming to focus more closely on the safe or knowable world of Australia as the day wore on, probably served to increase the audience's sense of security.

These are the sorts of generalisations about the world of the news that can be drawn from content analysis. The next section uses a more

qualitative method of analysis to look at the details of meaning in the messages of the text, particularly the recurrent images of nations regularly offered to audiences.

5DN COVERAGE OF FOREIGN NEWSTABLE 6: PRESENTATION OF FOREIGN NEWS OVER FOUR PERIODS

	<u>Number of Stories</u>	<u>% Foreign news time</u>
<u>5DN</u>		
United States	50	26.5%
Middle East	41	20.6%
International relations (general items)	23	12.6%
England	18	8.3%
Europe	17	7.8%
Africa	13	6.6%
South-East Asia	13	5.7%
USSR	11	5.4%
Central and South America	6	2.8%
Ireland	5	2.7%
India	4	1.0%
Total	201	100.0%

The coverage of foreign news on 5DN seemed to amount to a catalogue of stories of violence and unstable governments, lacking in historical or cultural background.

5DN gave minimal space to reports of constructive international relations, or channels of rational discussion aimed at resolution of situations of conflict. One explanation for this is that talks among political leaders are often held behind closed doors and the press has only official communiques made available to them. While television cameras can use footage of leaders arriving amid top security at such meeting places, radio does not have that sort of picture to make the event more newsworthy.

One exception in terms of international discussions was the presentation of the START talks on the arms race in Geneva, essentially between America and Russia. This was newsworthy because it was a rare example of the two super powers meeting officially. It should be noted that the focus of 5DN items depicting these talks was less on the nuclear items under discussion, and more on the drama of the talks. The story was developed like a chess game with one power agreeing to attend and then walking out, or threatening to, offering to start again and so it went on. The point of this was epitomised in the 5DN slugs, "WAR OF NERVES" (5DN D3-6-10) and the "STOP THE START TALKS" (5DN D5-6-7). There was a noticeable tendency in the reporting of these talks to portray America as the initiator and Russia as a sulky and uncooperative partner. For example,

"Moscow is fuelling uncertainty in the West and keeping up a war of nerves by refusing to say if that's when it will break off the talks ..." (5DN D3-6-10)

and

"The Soviet Union has refused to set a date for the resumption of the START talks in protest at ..." (5DN D5-6-7).

The other main forum for international debate presented in the periods surveyed, apart from the very occasional mention of the United Nations responding to a crisis, like battles in Lebanon (5DN D5-1200-18) or the Korean airliner disaster (5DN C4-8-2), was the 1983 CHOGM conference. This was noted as "CHOG-UM" by Macquarie journalists (5DN B3-12-6)! The CHOGM conference was mainly reported in terms of the performance of newly-elected Australian Prime Minister Hawke, as the raw new leader pitting his skills against the leaders of Britain and India: epitomised for example in the story slug "BOB MEETS MAGGIE"

(5DN D3-7-1). The issues under discussion, such as the crisis in Grenada or the issue of nuclear weapons, were given only a secondary mention in the reporting.

Australia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Hayden, was also used to introduce items on Australian diplomacy overseas. Quite important debates on international politics were personified by Hayden flitting around the world, appearing in Cyprus, for example:

"Foreign Minister Bill Hayden ... leaves Australia shortly to begin diplomatic efforts to try to resolve the partitioning of Cyprus" (5DN D4-1200-2)

... The following week he was appearing in Kampuchea ...

Australia's Prime Minister Hawke was presented in that early golden period of his leadership also as the peacemaker, the orchestrator. Hawke was to visit America (5DN A5-1200-4); Hawke was to establish better relations with Russia (5DN A5-1800-10); Hawke was on the stage of South East Asia, where "Mr. Hawke says Australia has more capacity to influence in our immediate area than on the world stage." (5DN B31200-5).

Stories from America were similarly personified by President Reagan, who was seen as virtually ruling alone, with Congress there only to endorse him. America the nation was portrayed like Reagan, as the benevolent giant. It was Reagan who offered Nuclear arms reduction (5DN B4-1200-22); Reagan who arranged aid to El Salvador (5DN A4-1200-21); Reagan who brought his soldiers home from Grenada for Thanksgiving (5DN D3-1300-13); and pardoned the Watergate burglar (5DN B1-8-3). He was presented as having a stern, disciplined, "principled"

side: "The Reagan administration has hinted at a major retaliatory strike" in Lebanon after American troops were attacked there (5DN D1-8-5). He was also treated with a warm respect usually accorded Royalty, as with his safe arrival home from Japan and Korea rated as a news item (5DN D2-1200-25), accompanied by the journalist's slug, "RONNIE HOME".

America itself was pictured as a country of advanced technology, for instance coming to terms with robots (5DN B5-1200-11) and being celebrated for its space journeys (5DN C3-8-7, 5DN A5-8-6 and 5DN B2-1200-27). Occasionally, however, there was a note of embarrassment, the odd seed of doubt reported, such as the incident where American soldiers in Grenada swore allegiance to Queen Elizabeth (5DN D1-1200-23).

Usually any such doubt about American loyalty and unity was balanced by items that stressed the need for America to be tough and uncompromising, but also be seen to be doing the right thing, as a leading powerful nation in the world. Ironically this sometimes allowed for the justification of apparently contradictory actions. For instance in the same bulletin as the item above about (misguided) loyalties of American troops fighting in Grenada, another item related to America's position in the region of South America, which showed America's role as assisting Argentina in the sale of arms. Arms sales could "resume following the U.S. decision to 'certify' the South American nation's human rights record" (5DN D5-1200-20). In an instance in another bulletin, a news item portrayed America making amends when an internal committee announced that America should pay

compensation to American-Japanese interned during World War Two (5DN B5-1200-20).

Occasionally 5DN journalists reflected a sense of events in America having a larger-than-life quality, more akin to the fictional events of soap opera. For example a story of a convicted killer being sent to the electric chair (5DN D4-6-6) was macabrely titled by journalists as "BARBECUED". The story of an American doing a higher degree on frisbees, was described almost fondly as coming from our "It Could Only Happen in America File" (5DN D2-7-8).

An interesting juxtaposition of the different images of Canada and America was highlighted at the end of one news bulletin. The Canadians were gently mocked for a softer, more alternative life style. The Americans were seen to be taking themselves terribly seriously, obsessed about what they put into their mouths and by their own mortality.

In the first item sceptically titled "FLYING YOGIBEAR", newsroom journalists told of a failed attempt by a "CANADIAN-born YOGA Organisation leader" who tried to make a "peace flight in a powered glider over the Berlin wall" (5DN C5-1200-27). The block printing of CANADIAN and YOGA in the text seemed to cue the newsreader to emphasise these aspects of the story.

This was immediately followed by a story titled "CARCINOGENS".

"A U.S. study says people are absorbing a large number of cancer-causing substances in their everyday diet." (5DN C5-1200-28).

Examples of foods were then listed, followed by a remark which focused the point on American obsession with mortality:

"... despite this ... life expectancy in the United States continues to rise."

This comment seemed to verify American confidence in themselves as a rising star nation.

In distinct contrast to the relatively constructive reporting of America was the presentation of the Soviet Union. In the survey periods fifty-four stories were about America, compared to fourteen about Russia, in which the tendency was to present her negatively. For example, in the highly newsworthy story of Russia shooting down the Korean airline, Russia was seen as the villain. The opening line to a report on the incident betrayed the newsmaker's bias:

"Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko has tried to justify the shooting down of a Korean airliner last week" (5DN C4-8-1). The report quickly went on to set this against the other super power "Meanwhile ... The United States claims it has more evidence to support its claims that" (my emphasis).

Similarly in the story of a Russian hijack (5DN D3-6-9) Russia was seen as foiled! The headline read "Seven dead in a hijack which went wrong in the Soviet Union" ... It is unlikely that anything that went wrong in America would be expressed in such direct condemnatory terms.

Otherwise, stories of Russia suggested caricatures of its foolishness or weakness such as when a Soviet historian reinterpreted the story of the British Spy MacLean (5DN B3-8-5); or when Australian millionaire Dick Smith, "CLEVER DICK", was caught in Russian red tape on an aeroplane flight (5DN B4-6-13) ... Despite the Russian political system being so different from that of the Western world, the 5DN news

still highlighted the leader. In contrast to Australian and American images, President Andropov was presented as weak and ill (5DN D1-8-6). Stories of their President's ill health recurred in items from Russia.

A cold war mentality about Russia thus seemed to operate in the 5DN newsroom. Images of Russia as ogre were revived specifically in an item where she was reported as warning the West to keep out of Poland's affairs (5DN B5-1200-19).

One item reported positively on constructive Russian initiatives in establishing better relations with China (5DN A2-1200-23). However when the coverage of China was assessed, it amounted to only one xenophobic item about the bizarre ingredients chosen by a prize winning chef for a banquet.

"A meal of fish stomach, bear's paws, sea slugs and chicken legs might not sound too appetising, but it was good enough to win Liv Jingxian the title of China's champion chef" (5DN D2-8-7).

The implication would seem to be that this country was rather a primitive backwater, and politically perhaps no more closely aligned to Australia than was Russia.

One region of the world that was quite distant from Australia in geographical, historical, and political terms, but which was covered extensively in the 5DN news was the Middle East. This seemed to be accounted for by the continual fighting there on a large and bloody scale that could not be ignored by the outside world.

Essentially the same political story was written and repeated. The places and numbers changed, but the stories were of violence, bloodshed, ceasefires violated and retaliation. Whether Arafat was in control or in retreat (5DN B2-7-9 "KRAKAFAT") or the act of aggression was by Iraq ships (5DN D5-1200-19) or political kidnapping (5DN B2-8-8), it amounted to "ANOTHER FUCKING LEBO STORY" (5DN D1-7-7). The boredom and exasperation of the 5DN newsmakers with such repetitive but necessarily newsworthy stories was evident. The reports were uninspired and explanations of the issues involved and the context of factions and hostilities generally absent. Presumably 5DN listeners came to adopt similar attitudes of non-comprehension and boredom to the subject of the Middle East.

Even the associations of domestic stories from the Middle East were negative and reinforced a picture of chaos. Israeli doctors were on strike (5DN B2-6-14); austerity measures were being introduced to reduce the national debt (5DN D2-1200-27); and leader Begin took two weeks to resign (between 5DN C3-7-6 and 5DN C5-7-8).

As with the Middle East stories, items on Poland were not explained and the country was presented as a place of unresolved conflict and barely suppressed violence. This was illustrated at the time of the visit of the Pope, the symbolic international peacemaker (rather irreverently described as "POPE CUMS AGAIN" 5DN B5-7-8) when big protests occurred in Warsaw. Poland was identified as an Eastern bloc country: alien, disordered and guarded from the West by Russia (5DN B5-1200-19).

Another Eastern block country mentioned once in the survey periods was East Germany. Its position in the world order, as essentially on the other (wrong) side of the wall, was symbolised by the story being one of dissidence; a breakout incident over the literal and symbolic wall (5DN D3-8-7).

By contrast, West Germany as one of the Western bloc countries was presented positively on the whole. While the system was portrayed as flawed (for example, the bribery scandal 5DN D4-1200-25) and party rifts were reported over the decision to go ahead with nuclear missiles, essentially West Germany's politics were well regarded in clearly enacting a western parliamentary process (5DN D3-1200-5).

The rest of Europe rated little mention in the 5DN news. Greece was mentioned in passing, though more from an American perspective, when one of her diplomats was shot on his way to work. Indeed the description of the body as being "riddled" with bullets (5DN D2-18-9), inferred a rather barbaric approach by the Greeks. A hijack in Malta (5DN A2-7-9) and the legalisation of abortion in Spain (5DN D4-1200-26) were considered newsworthy. Other foreign news of Europe (as with South America) constituted stories of accidents or natural disasters, where the sensational aspects of those stories were the newsworthy ones and location was of secondary importance. For example in adjoining items on one 5DN bulletin, the drama and scope of two disasters in Italy were stressed from their opening lines:

"The death toll from an ITALIAN cinema fire now stands at 64 ... with dozens of others badly injured." (5DN A1-1200-8) ...

"And disaster has struck elsewhere in ITALY ... 10 people are dead and 2 others injured after a cable car tragedy near the ski resort of CHAMPOLUC." (5DN A1-1200-9).

The sarcastic and detached view of the 5DN reporter to this second incident was illustrated in its internal story slugs "DEAD DAGOES" (5DN A1-7-6) and "DEAD WOG FATCATS" (5DN A1-1200-9).

News coverage of Mexico constituted an accident report:

"25 people have died and 80 are injured ... following a train smash" ...

"Meanwhile ... in Japan ... ten people are dead and one is missing ... following a fire at a northern ski resort." [5DN A1-6.30-9])

Other examples of foreign news items from Europe (namely from Italy and England) illustrated stereotyped images of those nations. They tended to echo the lack of respect identified in the journalist's racist slugs quoted above. For instance, three items on Italy tended to dismiss that country as a corrupt and sleazy place. The inevitable bad guys of the Mafia played a character role. They shared the press with the new style Red Brigade terrorists: for instance a secret Italian government report claimed that these terrorists were KGB controlled and possibly linked to the IRA (5DN B2-6-12). Meanwhile, prison officials were "RED FACED" (the awkward story about a female prisoner who conceived twins while in jail (5DN B3-6-8).

Britain was presented as a puritanical backwater. The Greater London Council was seen enacting harsh laws to counteract the influence of amusement parlours, which were considered to be breeding vice (5DN B4-7-11). The Duke of Edinburgh was criticised for condoning cruelty to wild fowl in his role as patron of a hunting club (5DN D1-1200-27). Perhaps this and the occasional item of Buckingham Palace gossip

reflected a crumbling of respect for the vestiges of the monarchy. The story of a team of Australians dismantling Hinkler's house in England to bring it to Queensland as a tourist attraction symbolised this (5DN B2-1200-22).

The publicity given in the news to an English cartoon book "101 uses for the unemployed" (5DN D1-1200-11), which rated third headline in its news bulletin, and that given to a commercial English package holiday of a dirty weekend (5DN B5-7-10), suggested that England was no longer taken terribly seriously. Its politics were not reported with much depth except on the occasion of the arrival of American cruise missiles there (5DN D2-7-1), where it was the American presence that was newsworthy.

Talks with Ireland rated a bare mention (5DN D1-1200-24), as did the English General Election. The interest in the latter story was the parallel drawn between the style of electioneering of Thatcher and Australian leader Fraser, based on the socialist bogey taking away people's savings (5DN B2-1200-22).

Stories of Ireland, apart from the kidnap of a race horse (5DN A4-1200-18) carried only negative associations of IRA violence (5DN A5-1200-19), man hunts (5DN D3-7-7) and a Sydney man's involvement in an Irish arms cache (5DN D2-1200-10).

England's former glorious colony of India rated only two stories in the period, both concerned with racial election violence (5DN A2-8-9 and 5DN A3-8-8). Pakistan also rated two stories, both concerned with

demonstrations (5DN C2-7-7 and 5DN C4-8-8). These former colonies were therefore seen as lacking order and control.

5DN's coverage of the African continent in the period surveyed tended to present images of distant cultures and politics, bordering even on the dark and primitive. The handful of stories from South African, Uganda and Zimbabwe were all about violence, guerilla movements, reprisals and political turmoil. In particular, the decision by South Africa not to commute a death sentence on three black guerillas, despite international pleas, was pictured as savage (5DN B4-7-9). In some senses, such stories could be the modern versions of the old tribal myths of dark peoples, still living by the laws of the jungle.

Civil unrest, with demonstrations for the return of democracy in Chile (5DN B5-1200-21); an American(!) report on the Grenada government being in disarray at the time of its invasion (5DN D1-1200-22); and a Papal visit (5DN A4-1800-12, 5DN A3-1200-30)), virtually constituted the total of items on South and Central America. One other odd item related to Chile. Under the slug "ASIO LIES" (5DN D4-6-8), it was reported by MP Cameron that ASIO lied about the situation in Chile in 1974. While this coincided with the time of the ASIS raid on the Sheraton Hotel and the subsequent investigations into Australia's intelligence services, it had something of the character of a subversive item which had slipped through.

With respect to the presentation of news events in neighbouring countries, Papua New Guinea tended to be relegated, like Africa, to a

category of a land that was still largely physically and metaphorically jungle. The unexplored wilderness claimed the lives of visitors when a light aircraft crashed and disappeared there without trace. New Zealand was mentioned only once in terms of Prime Minister Muldoon restraining stock exchange trade (5DN D1-1800-11).

However, there was more light and shade used in the presentation of events in South East Asia. Hayden's diplomatic role there on behalf of the Hawke Labor government represented Australia as a vigilant peacekeeping influence, (5DN B1-7-1). The public conflict between Hayden and Bowen over Australia's peacekeeping role in Kampuchea was presented as largely a story of internal ALP (Australian Labor Party) conflict (5DN B2-1800-6).

Reports from the Philippines featured the trial of the Australian Catholic priest, Father Gore (5DN A3-7-5), and the drama of the murder of opposition leader Aquino (5DN C1-1200-11) and subsequent civil unrest. The sense of conspiracy in these events was reinforced by a story where Marcos invited army officials to attend cabinet meetings (5DN D1-6-9). An interesting complement to this was an item on America increasing aid to the Philippines (5DN B3-6-7).

Indonesia was presented more favourably, because the items related to Australia's Foreign Minister Hayden initiating talks on joint Australian-Indonesian defence co-operation (5DN D5-1800-6) and Hayden being regarded unfavourably by representatives of East Timor (5DN B5-1200-7). Taiwan was not presented in any political context, but rather as a producer of consumer goods. South Australia's Health

Minister had to ban imported Taiwanese-made toy snakes as a health hazard (5DN B5-1800-3) and to warn consumers about the safety of eating tinned Taiwanese mushrooms (5DN A4-7-7). Possibly this sort of story served to feed the mythology of South East Asian countries as producers of cheap and second rate goods.

Vietnam was rarely mentioned, although there were odd tacit reminders of the past war, when boat refugees fleeing Vietnam were picked up and among them was the former Premier of South Vietnam (5DN B2-7-8). The slug for this story "SAVED" could be seen as an equivocal reference to the current communist regime there. The retrospective view of the Royal Commission on the effects of Agent Orange used in Vietnam (5DN D4-6-10) and the local story of a disturbed Vietnam veteran gone missing in the Adelaide Hills (5DN D4-6-7), "FIRST BLOOD", were the only other Vietnamese stories. Perhaps this suggested that that (communist) country was now a closed book.

There was not much evidence in the 5DN coverage of foreign news to verify Prime Minister Hawke's statement that Australia would play a more positive and influential role in the South East Region than the Fraser opposition government did, nor that it could have more influence there than it could on the world stage (5DN B3-1200-5). Fewer linkages with Australia were evident in its immediate geographical area than with the political and cultural ideologies of the United States in terms of the breakdown of foreign stories by location. (See Table 6, page 222).

There was evidence, in the World news items on 5DN, in the periods surveyed, of briefly sketched negative stereotypes by newsmakers of countries with dissimilar political and cultural systems to ours, such as Africa, South America, Asia, Russia and Poland. This created a view of those countries of being outside our framework. The Middle East was also pictured as outside it, but needing to be recognised for bursts of violence that were of sufficient scope to need to be noted in passing.

It is possible to surmise that the patterns of 5DN coverage of foreign news would not vary much from the profiles shown here. For instance the attitude of newsmen to stories from the Middle East seemed sufficiently entrenched for coverage of that area not to be increased in depth nor much varied in style. By contrast the relative enthusiasm the newsroom showed for American news ensured that that was the model of society put constantly before us. I would agree with the conclusions of The Glasgow University Media Group that the importance of professional assumptions about news values and the confidence of newsmen about their own world views being shared with others means that

"whatever happens in the real world, we would suggest, will be accommodated in the pattern presented here."⁴

ABC COVERAGE OF FOREIGN NEWSTABLE 6: PRESENTATION OF FOREIGN NEWS OVER FOUR PERIODS

	<u>Number of Stories</u>	<u>% Foreign news time</u>
<u>ABC</u>		
Middle East	39	23.3%
United States	28	15.2%
South-East Asia	24	12.4%
Africa	19	12.0%
International relations (general items)	12	9.4%
Europe	16	8.7%
England	14	8.4%
USSR	9	5.7%
Ireland	8	3.5%
Central and South America	3	1.0%
India	1	0.4%
Total	173	100.0%

In the content analysis section above it has been shown that in terms of the formal organisation of discourse, the ABC news tended to give more prominence and news value to stories of foreign political news than did 5DN, and that the ABC offered greater depth of coverage.

With respect to the coverage of various countries, table 6 showed that the ABC news gave more time to Middle East news on average (23.3%), than did 5DN (20.6%). 5DN gave more prominence, on the other hand, to news from United States (26.45%) compared to ABC (15.2%). News of these two countries made up 47% of 5DN's foreign news and 38.5% of ABC's; suggesting that the ABC covered a broader range of countries.

The ABC's depiction of America included items on the issues of arms build up (ABC A4-7-11) and the MX Missile protests (ABC B2-18-11), as well as items on the successful space journeys by spacecrafts Columbia (ABC D5-1800-6) and Challenger (ABC C3-7-8). Reagan's hopes for the Geneva START talks with Russia were also news items (as in ABC D5-1200-9 and ABC B4-7-2). While these items were also covered by 5DN news, it was noticeable that the presentation of American - Soviet relations was not as antagonistic and slanted as in the 5DN version of the same items.

For example, the ABC explained that, where

"The Soviet Union has suspended negotiations to limit strategic long-range nuclear weapons, weeks after walking out of similar talks... The ABC's European correspondent, Malcolm Downing, says that the announcement has not come as a surprise and it is being noted that Moscow has not completely broken off the talks... Unofficial Soviet sources now say the suspension was not a walk-out". (ABC D5-1200-9)

In contrast to the corresponding 5DN version of this story, Russia was portrayed as taking an active initiating role in proceedings and in the definition or interpretation of events. This made the news report more objective than simply reiterating the American description of events.

Many American items were of a general nature and not personified by Reagan. A good number of them dealt with aspects of the American economy: for example defence spending (ABC C5-7.45-13) optimism on Wall Street (ABC A3-1300-1) and the state of American economic recovery (ABC B5-7-4). Interest in mutual business was expressed in an item on a North American drive to sell a South Australian product (ABC B2-1200-9). Presumably this economic focus to items reflected interest in similar trends in Australia.

The presentation of two other items of domestic politics, the American steelworkers' agreement (ABC A3-7.45-13) and the Federal Environment Protection Agency scandal brought up in Congress (ABC A3-1300-8) was made relevant because background details and chronological developments were well set out to complete the picture of the item for foreign listeners. Note for example the clarity of the explanation of the Steel Industry dispute.

"A total of 50% of all American steel workers are currently unemployed. The United States Steel Industry is operating at around one third of capacity because the recession has cut demand and the cheap imports have increased competition. Against that background, the steel workers agreed to reduce their wages by one dollar 25 from their currently hourly rate of about 14 dollars. They also accepted shorter holidays and a freeze in cost of living allowances. In return, the Steel Companies agreed to use some of the savings to resuscitate aging plants, to improve retirement benefits and to assist laid off workers." (ABC A3-7.45-13)

America's involvement in the politics of other nations was dealt with in more detail on the ABC than in 5DN reports. This gave the audience more opportunity to make a critical assessment of their own about America's position. For instance a report on American security forces in Grenada finding a mass grave there, carefully referred any presumptions about the identity of the bodies to the various non-ABC news sources

"In a report from the Capital St. Georges, the New York Times quotes a United States Official as saying ...
A BBC reporter in Grenada says" (ABC D1-1800-7)

A report earlier on that day placed the American invasion of Grenada into the British perspective. It was put bluntly, that the invasion

"has proved to be more than a brief political embarrassment for the British Government." (ABC D1-1200-9)

Blemished performances by the United States were also included in the ABC news. For instance one story succinctly titled "U.S. SPY FLIGHTS", plainly stated the facts that

"The Pentagon has confirmed reports that 'night-seeing' AC-130 aircraft have been operating secret reconnaissance missions over El Salvador." (ABC B2-1200-7)

Generally ABC reports on America covered hard political and economic news. There were no items of a humorous or indulgent nature on American culture such as 5DN included. Any lighter American news still had significant cultural or political ramifications; for instance the twentieth anniversary of the assassination of President Kennedy as celebrated across the nation (ABC D3-1200-6).

ABC and 5DN carried a similar number of stories on the Middle East but the ABC's were related in more depth. Bomb attacks on Beirut (C2, C3, C4) and Arafat's last stand against Syrian Troops in Tripoli (D1) were sometimes put at number one and two positions in the news, rather than relegated to the second half of the bulletin. The focus of all reports on the Middle East was the fighting, attacks and collapse of ceasefires. The difference from the 5DN reporting was that the ABC reports tried to make these events comprehensible to the Australian audience. For example an item on Arafat's last stand, spent over a minute of actualite describing the scene in refugee camps and the challenge to the rebels, in a way that made the scene come alive for listeners.

"Thousands of refugees are fleeing from the camps and surrounding villages into Tripoli. Hospitals there are already overcrowded. Medical staff are working around the clock to cope with the constant flow of wounded being brought in. They're also attempting to deal with scores of families

searching either for their friends or relatives known to be missing and when those they're looking for can't be found in the wards and corridors they begin the gruesome task of trying to identify the dead. In one hospital there is no more space in the specially prepared rooms so the Red Cross has been utilising refrigerated trucks putting them in the carpark and using them as temporary morgues." (ABC D1-7-2)

Closer to home, Australia's relations with Asia were not presented by the ABC with the same sense of Australian patronage conveyed in 5DN's focus on the good and instrumental work of individuals like Foreign Minister Hayden. In an ABC item on an ASEAN meeting, Australia's role was put firmly in the context of simply being one nation among many, and in fact in this case ...

"Australia's relations with its ASEAN neighbours will come under the scrutiny of a meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers in Jakarta today ... Threatened sanctions against Australia for failing to co-sponsor an ASEAN resolution on Kampuchea at The United Nations would not be an issue and retaliatory measures were not on the agenda." (ABC D1-7-6).

The internal affairs of Asian nations were reported on seriously and the ABC news spent twice as much time on South-East Asia as did 5DN. Coverage of the political difficulties in those countries included anti-government demonstrations against the Marcos regime in the Philippines (ABC C5-7.45-16); a no-confidence vote facing Papua New Guinea's Prime Minister Somare (ABC D2-7.45-7); and an internal political crisis in Thailand (ABC A5-7.45-15). One item called listeners' attention to a United Nations plea to Western countries to increase their quotas for re-settling Vietnamese boat people (ABC D4-7.45-12).

Indonesia was not presented as uncritically as on the 5DN news. Several items detailed Indonesia's conflicts on the border with Papua New Guinea (ABC B4-7.45-5 and ABC C4-7-6). In reports on continued fighting in Timor the ABC news pointed out that

"Indonesia is reported to have stepped up its military operations in East Timor, with daily air strikes against positions held by Fretilin guerillas."

Catholic Church sources were used to build up a picture of the might and back up of the Indonesian troops in attack. The newsmen noted that,

"In addition to their military operations, the Catholic sources said that the Indonesian authorities had increased their detention of local people, many of whom had fled to the mountains for the protection of the guerilla forces." (ABC D1-7-7).

The church representative in Timor was given the last word and it was one of protest at the Indonesian attack. The references to the critical comments of the church, supposedly a reliable supplier of information, and lack of any word in defence from the Indonesian side, tended to feature Indonesia as power hungry.

China was viewed seriously on the ABC news, with items on its nuclear submarines (ABC C2-1800-12) and the sentences passed on revolutionaries, for crimes committed during the cultural revolution (ABC A5-7.45-16). The latter item was explained in a brief historical context, and the former item, quoted from

"the authoritative publication 'Jane's Fighting Ships', attempted to place China as a nuclear force in the context of other nations like America, Russia, Britain and France". (ABC C2-1800-12)

This showed respect for China's place in the world, her own development and the changes to her political system.

With respect to India and Africa, the ABC covered similar items to 5DN: election violence in Pakistan (ABC C1-7.45-17); the hanging of guerillas in South Africa (ABC B4-7.45-7) and that country's attack on Mozambique (ABC B2-7.45-1). The ABC spent twice as much time on African events. Other less immediately newsworthy African events were also encompassed, such as Namibian independence (ABC C2-1200-7), the commemoration of riots in Soweto (ABC B5-1200-9) and curfews in Bangladesh as a result of apparent Moscow involvement in demonstrations against military rule (ABC D4-7-8). Interestingly, this item presented the government of Bangladesh as having a hold on events. The item opened by saying that Bangladesh

"ordered the Soviet Union to reduce by half its diplomatic staff in the Russian Embassy in Dhaka and to close its cultural centre."

The ABC spent similar small proportions of foreign news time as had 5DN covering events in England, Ireland, Europe, South and Central America and the USSR. While the ABC's picture of Ireland concentrated similarly to 5DN on violence there (for example ABC C1-7.45-16), the items it selected on England were all serious. They put some emphasis and detail on the elections there (ABC B4-7.45-6, ABC B4-1800-9); the coal miners' strike (ABC A3-1300-5, ABC A4-7.45-22); and the changing relations with Hong Kong (ABC D1-7.45-9). The only "soft" item on England in the periods surveyed was a report on a very wet spring there (ABC B1-7.45-14).

European coverage by the ABC news included the same few events as 5DN such as: the Pope's visit to Poland (ABC B5-7-1), the East German border dash (ABC D3-7-10) and the West German debate on nuclear

missiles (ABC D3-7.45-12). Additionally ABC reported on anti-nuclear protests in West Germany (ABC D1-1200-8), illustrating how sometimes parliamentary views differed from those of some of the people.

The Korean airliner disaster constituted the main news on the Soviet Union. Although Western spokesmen were each reported giving their views on this incident, the report opened with comments from the Soviet Minister Mr. Gromyko, set down with all due respect for his opinion (ABC C4-7.45-1). In the ABC's report on a hijack attempt to commandeer a Soviet airliner (ABC D3-7.45-10), the story was not sensationalised, as it had been on the 5DN news (5DN D3-6-9). The story was outlined in a series of statements with the authority of each noted. For example,

"It's been confirmed that ... however it's not yet certain ... reports varying from ... Soviet sources say ... According to one report ..."

By such means a second theme of the difficulty of reliable access to Soviet news, played under the immediate news.

This hidden agenda conveyed to the ABC audience something of the difficulties of the news gathering and selection processes undertaken by newsmen. At the same time, the authoritative tone of the ABC news was maintained and its role as an independent network was verified.

CONCLUSION

The views of the world constructed for respective audiences on the two networks were substantially different. The ABC listener was consistently made aware of the existence of the world outside Australia and attention was drawn to the effects of foreign events on Australia. The 5DN news presented a more parochial picture in which Australian orientated events were most newsworthy. Sketchy reporting of foreign news reinforced audience apathy and ignorance about events in other nations.

The selection of foreign events as news items and their position in the bulletin, structured these different interpretative frameworks. The choice of topics associated with various countries was the other major factor in framing images of those countries.

5DN showed considerable indulgence towards America: a strong cultural and political identification with issues there being more extreme versions of those here. President Reagan was shown as a larger than life character (akin to Prime Minister Hawke in Australia). Images of violent unrest and unstable regimes dominated stories of many other countries such as Africa and Asia. The complexities of crises in the Middle East were referred to, but not unravelled, so that the constant image was simply of a bloodbath.

Disinterest and detachment towards other nations suggested by the discourse analysis, seemed to be confirmed by the scepticism, black humour and harsh stereotypes conveyed in internal story slugs on 5DN.

For example a Middle East battle was titled "ANOTHER FUCKING LEBON STORY", a spate of sectarian killings in Ireland was titled "IRISH STEW" and a major accident in Italy became "DEAD DAGOES".

Compared with this tokenism towards "hard" foreign news stories which 5DN reporters seemed to convey out of a tired sense of duty to inform, there was a fondness in the newsroom for "soft" foreign news stories. Mostly these risque or human interest stories of sordid/sexual/curious events in other countries were positioned at the end of news bulletins for sheer entertainment. Their darker side was that they endorsed myths of Australian chauvinism.

The ABC's coverage of foreign news stories was more realistic, impartial and substantive. Foreign news stories were highlighted across the bulletin; covered a wider variety of topics than 5DN; stressed the relative authority of ABC news sources rather than personalities in various nations; and developed lengthy detailed reports on major events. There was an awareness of linked themes (such as the nuclear issue) being followed through across the world and through time.

Major differences from the 5DN view of the world were, a strong sense of orientation towards the political and cultural events of South-East Asia and Africa; regular detailed attempts to convey the complexities of events in the Middle East and a sense of the economy of America as an international indicator. Generally there seemed to be an assumption of the importance of historical context and a requirement to build and extend the general knowledge of an educated audience.

Nonetheless it needs to be remembered that both networks spent less than 25% of average bulletin time on foreign news, so Australian news certainly predominated and a sense of provincialism was endorsed.

CHAPTER FOUR - FOOTNOTES

1. Stevenson, R.L., and Thompson, K.D. (1981).
Their approach on contingency analysis is described in detail in Chapter One
2. See Table 1, Source of News Items.
Section 4.1 of Chapter Two, page 162
3. See Chapter Two, Section 4.1, Table 2.
Relevant world sourced figures were as follows:

	<u>5DN</u>	<u>ABC</u>
8 a.m.	35.6%	32.6%
1200	27.8%	28.6%
1800	8.5%	10.8%

(Percentages averaged over 4 survey periods)

4. Glasgow University Media Group (1976) p112.

CHAPTER FIVE

COVERAGE OF AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL NEWS

APPROACH

The following analysis of Australian political news focuses on the different voices that the two networks use to relate news stories and the effect that these voices may have on the respective audiences' knowledge and view of politics. The two voices are related to different concepts of news: news as information and education (for the initiated), and news as drama and entertainment (for the masses).

The final section analyses the rhetoric of the 1983 Federal Election campaign. It illustrates how the voices of news journalists can intrude into the text and created bias.

News coverage from the nation's political arena plays an important role in establishing the country's understanding of its identity, its democratic system and its leadership. It also helps to focus public attention on issues of the moment. The news can present political stories with varying degrees of complexity and objectivity. On the one hand it can help the audience build a reasonably accurate and comprehensible picture of its political structure. Alternatively, it can portray the structure as excessively bureaucratic, beyond people's grasp and therefore beyond the interest of the listener. Media productions have to strike a balance between the assumed comprehension of their audience, and the style in which they want to relay news and the basic tenet of political objectivity.

The time and prominence in the bulletin given to Australian political news on both stations in the survey period clearly underlines the importance of the political system. It averaged 20.75% of bulletin time on the ABC and 23.1% on 5DN. For each period the amounts of time spent on political news were very similar with the exception of Period A, the time of the Federal election campaign when 5DN tended to have some longer magazine-style election reports.

The three-tiered system of Australian government was reflected in part in that political news from the Federal level was consistently put above State items on the bulletins. The general absence of any coverage of local government reflected either a perceived audience apathy in that area (with the exception of the odd item towards the end of the bulletin such as the Adelaide City Council discussing the Casino site, or a substantial industrial dispute in the outer metropolitan

area), or the inappropriateness of the State radio news network to serve specific localities. (By contrast the ABC regional radio station at Port Pirie in the mid-north of the State has a comprehensive bulletin of local Council news from that region following the National and State news relayed from Adelaide.)

Parochialism was a major feature of political news coverage with a minimal number of stories from interstate. Items were generally limited to those which could have direct impact on contemporary South Australia, for example issues such as the inquiry into the viability of casinos; bushfire compensation claims in Victoria which had parallels in South Australia; or issues which could be expected to have an impact at a later stage on Federal politics, such as the conservation movement in Tasmania or the coalition crisis in Queensland.

Coverage of South Australian politics referred regularly to new legislation, tending to focus on controversial areas like the Financial Institutions Duty, land rights for Aborigines from the Maralinga atomic bomb test-site, and legalising euthanasia. Major government projects such as a rail link between South Australia and the Northern Territory and the possibility of attracting a submarine-building contract were portrayed as newsworthy; similarly, the Federal Government's response to the crisis of extensive bushfires in the summer of 1983. A common theme was the lack of State funds and the consequent regular pilgrimage by State Premier John Bannon to the Federal Government in Canberra to seek additional financial support, for example for bush fire relief or tax relief for the local wine industry.

A common story line began: Bannon was going

"to Canberra to have talks with the Prime Minister Bob Hawke".

The image of talks, negotiations, and meetings connoted a fairly open style of politicking and decision making: a tacit common knowledge that Bannon and Hawke were essentially on the same side as they both represented the Labor party. Canberra as the seat of Federal Government was personified as the centre of power.

In National and State political news the two major political parties, Labor and Liberal/National Parties, were featured frequently locked in battle whilst the Australian Democrat Party was portrayed in a relatively lowly and uncontroversial (therefore not very newsworthy) position.

The following discussion analyses the general stylistic and tone differences between the ABC and 5DN radio news coverage of Australian politics, the comparative coverage of several major events (the Queensland coalition crisis and the challenge to the High Court on the electoral rolls); and the portrayal of the Australian Democrats. Lastly, this analysis focuses at length on the 1983 Federal election coverage which happened to fall within the survey period and set the tone for political stories for some time afterwards.

The portrayal of political news by the ABC and 5DN radio newsrooms was consistent with the respective house styles applied to other kinds of news stories. The ABC coverage seemed to be directed towards an informed and discerning audience. ABC reports were lengthy, containing considerable detail (and formal vocabulary) about procedures, context,

the role of various offices. The result was that they drew for that audience a picture of a reasonably complex democratic system, based on a solid structure, successfully controlling the country. A sense of the importance and access to knowledge was conveyed, along with a sense of confidence in the ability of the Government to act and speak authoritatively.

The 5DN approach on the other hand was more blunt and informal, sometimes demonstrably less objective. The immediacy or newness of political news was important. There was more focus on leading personalities (villains and heroes), on conflict and on the effect of legislation and decisions on the man in the street, its perceived audience. The common technique of introducing a report briefly and then turning to an actualite, such as the reporter at the scene, brought the scene of action stories closer to the audience without being overly concerned with context or the characters involved (aside from the front men).

There was a tendency therefore, for political news coverage on 5DN to be more emotive than on the ABC. Such dramatisation tended to draw people as black and white and to polarize issues as right and wrong. This type of reporting may be seen to allow the audience to identify more readily with the characters as they were represented and with the everyday impact on their lives. A comparison of the following announcement from the two stations on the new spouse carer's pension illustrates this. The ABC news stated:

"The Minister for Social Security, Senator Grimes, today announced details of a new pension scheme for men whose wives require constant long-term care" (ABC D3-1200-3).

This statement concisely conveyed the relevant information in a relatively disinterested tone, firstly crediting the particular Minister by title and name and emphasizing these by the pauses required at the commas. The theme was clearly, today the government has given you something; be grateful.

5DN expressed the same information in a different way:

"Australia's newest pension has just been launched by Social Security Minister ... Senator Grimes" (5DN D3-1200-2).

The emphasis on "newest" and "just" underlining the choice of a strong descriptive verb like "launched" gave the announcement a sense of freshness and action reminiscent of the patter of a commercial for a newly released product. Such a presentation suggested enthusiasm on the part of the journalist, taking up a salesman's role on good news, reflecting confidence in his product. The theme seemed to evoke a sense of celebration for getting something extra, (particularly out of the government)!

Similarly, 5DN journalists seemed to promote a positive response to the news of decisions which they supported. For instance:

"Foreign diplomats posted to Australia are to lose one of their most profitable perks ... the chance to buy a duty-free car every three years" (5DN C3-1200-14).

The sense that it was apt that the mighty, that is foreign diplomats representing powerful mediators who get special treatment, were to forego a former privilege was suggested by the choice of the verb "lose" and by the colloquial reference to "perks", with its negative associations of special treatment for those in power signalled as inappropriate by reporters. Also the rising tone of the first part of

the sentence, suggesting excitement and the sustained, excited rising tone of the final clause that underlined the extravagance, reinforced the sense that the reporter was pleased by this news and assumed that the audience would agree with his sentiments.

5DN political news established its sense of immediacy by focusing on results and action rather than background detail or context. This was epitomised by the short story titles attributed to new legislation. The first story titled "DRUNKS" began:

"Imprisonment for drunkenness is to be abolished in South Australia. Legislation to do this has been introduced in the Upper House of State Parliament" (5DN C2-1800-6).

A second story titled "DEATH" began:

"State Parliament has passed a Private Member's Bill allowing terminally ill people to stop their doctors keeping them alive artificially." (5DN D4-7-1)

In both examples the confident sense of a fait accompli, a process completed satisfactorily and unequivocally within the parliamentary system, was conveyed in the falling tone at the end of the statement. This appeared to be endorsing the actions of the system and in doing so to accept responsibility for taking the decision out of the audience's hands. The important thing for the audience seemed to be that they would get the news of the results as simply as possible, with little thought process needed.

By contrast, the ABC newsroom connoted an air of caution or dubiety on this latter item. By placing the announcement in the context of an opinion sought from the conservative establishment, as represented by the Anglican Archbishop, the discourse openly questioned the necessity and the appropriateness of the Bill, rather than objectively conveying

information. The ABC story "DEATH BILL: RAYNER" began:

"The Anglican Archbishop of Adelaide, DR. RAYNER, says he sees no obvious problems arising from the bill passed by State Parliament yesterday to allow adults to direct their doctors in advance not to use extraordinary measures to keep them alive in the event of terminal illness" (ABC D4-7-7).

In particular the expression "no obvious problems" suggested a nagging sense of uneasiness. Also, by being presented first in the sentence, this sense was introduced in the audience's mind before the point of the bill was even conveyed.

Overall, the ABC connoted the political system as a serious and hierarchical structure operated bureaucratically by people who were qualified and insulated by their titles or positions. Frequent reference to the principles and processes involved reinforced a sense of order and propriety in politics that was not open to question, whereas 5DN's representation tended to appear less closed as a result of their different development of characters and their focus on conflict.

This was demonstrated clearly when the Federal Government announced that State parliamentarian Peter Duncan was protected by parliamentary privilege for statements that he had made in the House related to a Royal Commission in progress at that time. Although both news services used the same story title "DUNCAN CLEAR", the emphasis was distinctly different. The 5DN newsroom related immediately to the character of Duncan, virtually celebrating his defiance of the system in speaking out as he did by reporting:

"The Attorney-General says South Australian Labor M.P., PETER DUNCAN, cannot be prosecuted over his attack in State Parliament last week on Melbourne businessman LAURIE MATHESON. Anne McHAIGH reports ..." (5DN C2-1800-5).

The thrust of the sentence centred around the negative verb "cannot be prosecuted" which underlined Duncan's untouchability. The use of the simple present tense verb "says" attached to the Attorney-General, defused the formality of that man's authority and position to some extent. His remaining nameless suggested audience familiarity with the character was assumed and as such was a show of parochialism. The effect of following that plain speaking statement with the journalist's on-the-spot report was to draw the audience more closely to the event of the announcement and the (popular) figure of Duncan.

By contrast, the ABC's discourse reflected the formal context of parliament and the opinions of learned men whose names and titles were spelled out to reinforce their authority. In contrast to the 5DN version, the ABC focus was a national one. The news report's first two paragraphs read as follows:

"The Federal Government has been advised that statements made in the South Australian Parliament last week about the Hope Royal Commission are protected by parliamentary privilege. In a joint opinion, the Attorney-General, Senator Evans, and the Solicitor-General, Sir Maurice Evans Q.C., said the former South Australian Attorney-General, Mr. Peter Duncan, could not be prosecuted for what he'd said ..." (ABC C2-1800-1).

Two other points about this discourse were worth noting. The choice of the formal passive verb in the past perfect tense "has been advised" served to protect or to take away any onus from the Federal Government and so it retained its untarnished bureaucratic authority in the affair. This image was reinforced by the reference to

"parliamentary privilege." Secondly, by contrast with the 5DN version, the ABC's image of Peter Duncan was connoted as blemished, by the reference, not to his current standing as a member of State Parliament, but to his status as "former South Australian Attorney-General." The choice of this label seemed to imply a reprimand in the effect that a man from his background should have acted with more propriety. It also could have implied that such behaviour was justification for such a title having been taken away from him. In other words, the discourse condemned Duncan's actions although "he could not be prosecuted for what he said."

The tendency of 5DN political news coverage to suggest a more open-ended system than the ABC did, was more likely a result of different house styles and sense of purpose behind the news than any real questioning of the political system. For instance, in the two examples below, of news items about potentially divisive or threatening political issues, 5DN journalists tended to tantalize their audience with the possibilities of drama and conflict in the belief that this titillation made for entertaining news. The ABC maintained a more restrained discourse, focusing on the protection of principles of the system and on communicating detailed information about events. The two examples analysed here in detail are the National/Liberal coalition split in Queensland and the challenge to the High Court to re-open the electoral rolls.

The Queensland story examines the progress of events on a particular day in 1983, on which the Queensland Liberal Party asked its Cabinet Ministers to resign because of Premier Joh Bjelke-Peterson's

refusal to adhere to a coalition agreement and appoint Liberal leader Terry White as Deputy Premier and Treasurer. The move effectively would have meant the end of the 26 year old government coalition of the Liberal and National parties in Queensland. The Liberal Ministers met during the day and agreed to resign. The Queensland Governor, on Peterson's advice, refused to accept the resignations, thus creating political turmoil. Such a story had sound elements of drama and intrigue in its conflicts and unexpected denouement.

The ABC coverage of the story was related strictly in terms of the procedures being worked through across the day in respective bulletins. The items that morning described the Liberal Party asking its members to make a decision and talked of things "expected", "planned", and the "clearing of desks" and how "the next step should be ..." (ABC C1-7-1). In the 1200 bulletin the ABC focused on the image of the Liberal Ministers who "took steps in line with ..." (ABC C1-1200-1). At 1300, the air of normality was stressed as Ministers "attended the regular Cabinet meeting" and discussed "properties and courtesies to be observed before the Ministers left office" (ABC C1-1300-1). At 1800 the State's sovereign representative was the focus, paraded in full title:

"The Queensland Governor, Sir James Ramsey, has refused to accept the resignations ..." (ABC C1-1800-2).

By contrast 5DN focused on the role of Premier Bjelke-Peterson as chief protagonist at the centre of the action. Whilst the resignation of Liberal Ministers was anticipated, the role of the Premier, (otherwise known as "Joh") was emphasized as the interesting twist in

the story by the strategic use of conjunctions like "but" and "because".

"The Queensland Liberal Party has called on its Cabinet Ministers to resign their portfolios
but Premier Joh Bjelke Peterson is denying that means ...
 The Liberal Party State Executive decided on the action in a meeting in Brisbane last night ...
because of the Premier's refusal to ..." (5DN C1-7-2)

The 8 a.m. bulletin version which labelled the episode as a "CONTINUING ROW" began with the expectation that the Liberal Ministers would resign as planned. Once again the Premier's adversarial role was stressed by the use of "but" and the threat behind "if" here.

"The Premier says he'll not take any action until Cabinet meets today ...
but says if the Liberals resign ...
 it'll be" (5DN C1-8-1)

5DN journalists focused the interest on the story at 1200 with the following sentence that stressed the nature of a drama serial:

"The future of Queensland's coalition government is still in the balance following latest developments in the row" (5DN C1-1200-5).

The use of "future" and "balance" connoted a wide canvas and events of real import. "Still" connoted continuing dramatic tension, and "now" kept the scene sufficiently domestic for ready audience identification. The next sentence emphasized the important dramatic element of the unexpected.

"Clinton Fletcher reports that Liberal Party Ministers have not offered their resignations from Cabinet as expected."

Then another character, really a caricature, was added to the story to give it more flair (as the script's story slug said "ADD QUEENSLAND"):

"Exiled Queensland heavy-weight ... SIR JACK EGERTON ... says
"

The first sentence of the 1800 version of this story confirmed how importantly the drama was viewed for its own sake:

"The strange goings-on in Queensland politics have taken another surprising turn," (5DN C1-1800-1).

The use of "another" emphasised the repetition of "strange" and "surprising". More importantly, 5DN journalists implied that affairs of state can well be reduced on news media to unsavoury "goings-on"!

In another story of potential threat to the system in which residents disputed the only closing of the electoral rolls, the ABC news coverage took the theme of reinforcing principles at stake, whilst the 5DN version tantalized the audience with a different story, one of a possible change to the system. The ABC placed the story as the first item on its bulletin indicating the seriousness of the matter. 5DN placed the same story about half-way down the bulletin indicating that it was less important in their view. By contrast the first three stories on the 5DN bulletin were about local house and forest fires and were followed by a series of political stories from the election campaigning of the day.

The ABC version of the story, entitled "ELECTORAL CASE", confined itself, as suggested by that title, to the legal context. It underlined the fairness of those prepared to hear the case at short notice, thus connoting an openness about the law itself. The story opened:

"The Full Court is to hear a challenge by four New South Wales people seeking to have the electoral rolls re-opened, so that those excluded can register before the March 5 election. The Chief Justice, Sir Harry Gibbs, today agreed to allow the matter to go to the Full Court on Wednesday ..." (ABC A1-1300-1).

The role of those challenging was more passive than those on 5DN who had made "a move". On the ABC the four people were to be heard, although they seemed to be already in a subordinate position as signalled in the finished past tense of "excluded". Their other actions which were described as "seeking" were connoted as distinctly supplicatory. Nor did ABC journalists indicate any sense of threat from a mass movement behind these four people as was indicated by the final sentence in the news report:

"Estimates of the number of people disenfranchised by the sudden closure of the rolls have ranged up to 500 thousand ..."

While "sudden closure" connoted a wrong doing on the Government's part, the references by newswriters to "estimates" which "have ranged up to" ... communicated doubt, even scepticism about the accuracy of such a figure. In the event of any such doubt, the establishment position was favoured and its authority was to be protected and endorsed by the "institutional voice" of the ABC.

The function of the story on 5DN was different. It was placed at number 11 on the bulletin. However it was regarded and used as a dramatic high point in the news because it was foreshadowed by a headline within the news bulletin, which preceded a commercial break. This introduction said:

"The Federal election rolls may be re-opened. Details shortly." (5DN A1-1800)

While "may" was the operative word, the commercial pitch of the phrase "Details shortly" and its positioning immediately before a commercial break, were structured to lure the audiences on to partake of the news commodity. Clearly the item was important to the 5DN journalists for its commercial newsworthiness.

After a series of advertisements for Holden cars, Caltex petrol and Singapore Airlines, the item began in full in this relatively restrained way (restrained by comparison with the half-promise of change and action in the headline).

"The Full Bench of the High Court will sit on Wednesday to consider a move by four people to have their names placed on the Commonwealth Electoral roll ... which closed ten days ago." (5DN A1-1800-1)

It is important to note that the first part of the sentence appeared to be a formal neutral statement normally indicated by a falling tone at the end (i.e. after "roll"). This rhythm was undermined by the deliberate pause and the addition of another clause. This served to highlight the shift in tone to a rising tone which questioned the propriety of the issue of closing the rolls, or the propriety of not allowing people time to enrol. Furthermore, the Full Bench was set up in a confrontative way in the image projected by its considering "a move" by four individuals.

The subsequent sentence in the news report elaborated on this sense of challenge by describing graphically how the roll had closed,

"bringing a flood of complaints from people",
a flood suggested a threatening or uncontrollable movement. Later references to people "now challenging their exclusion" with "now" pushing the sense of threat closer and to people "who claimed there wasn't enough notice", stirred up emotions about justice and touched on common criticism of bureaucracies and politicians dealing poorly with people. The reference to "people" connoted a movement of significance, ill-defined but effective in its ambiguity in suggesting a general groundswell of discontent, with which the man in the street could identify.

This overall emphasis of this 5DN story on potential threat to the system by the people, connoted also by the conditional conjunctives "if" and "should" and the modal adjunct "may", was confirmed by the news reporters' internal identification of the story with the story title "CHALLENGE". Notably, the version of the story at 1800 had two semantic changes which suggested mythic significance. The new text added to "complaints from people throughout the nation" and the claim that "there wasn't enough notice" connoting bureaucratic (non)action, was strengthened to "there wasn't sufficient time" and was so placed in an historical limbo.

Other more straightforward examples of the 5DN news discourse fuelling a sense of conflict occurred commonly in reports of interparty conflict. For example:

"Premier JOHN BANNON says the SOUTH AUSTRALIAN wine industry could be hit in the Federal Budget", (5DN C1-1800-2)

"The Federal Government is considering offering a number of concessions, in a bid to head off a party brawl over uranium ..." (5DN D4-8-2)

"The National Party has agreed to a joint Senate ticket with the Liberals ...
The agreement heads-off an expected split between the parties ..." (5DN A1-1800-9)

"Premier Bannon has accused the Liberals of trying to force an early election by frustrating the government ..." (5DN D5-8-2)

The strength of the verbs and "war-like" imagery used in these examples connoted an undignified and opportunist view of the battlefield of party politics and government. Although they do make for dramatically entertaining news broadcasts, and give some understanding of political in-fighting, the cumulative effect of such descriptions might tend to give the audience a rather sceptical view of politicians at work.

These images of divisive and bloody bargaining tended to be limited to the 5DN descriptions of conflicts between the Labor and National/Liberal Parties. By contrast the description of the third major party, the Australian Democrats, tended to reflect more positive images of a modus operandum of propriety and integrity and rational thought. At the same time the position of news items of the Democrats was relatively low in the bulletins, usually half-way through or beyond. As in the case of the major uranium-mining debate, the Democrats' position was detailed well after that of the Liberal and Labor parties. This positioning of Democrat news suggested that the Party was not regarded as being of much consequence. The Democrats were not portrayed as critical to the decision-making process and therefore not particularly newsworthy or vice versa.

The Democrats were portrayed as watchdogs; politely using the correct formal procedures to criticise or complement the decision-making of the major parties. The verbs chosen on both stations to describe Democrat activities were relatively formal suggesting a rational and educated approach. For example,

"The Australian Democrats, in Federal Parliament, are today discussing their attitude to the government's retrospective legislation against tax avoiders," (ABC B2-1200-6)

and

"The National leader of the Australian Democrats ... Senator Don Chipp ... has written to the Governor General ... Sir Ninian Stephen ... about the grounds for the double dissolution ... Senator Chipp says he hopes Sir Ninian will reply to this letter and make the reply public," (5DN A1-1800-12)

and

"The Democrat's leader, Senator Chipp, says ... the government has to be held to account" (ABC C2-7.45-2)

The effect of detailing the context and positions of characters involved gave added dignity to such reports. Accountability of government was stressed in the discourse, and the possibility of using numbers to affect a vote was communicated more in the tone of admonishment than threat, as in:

"The Australian Democrats have warned the Federal Government its bottom-of-the-harbour tax legislation will never be passed by the Senate in its present form." (5DN C4-7-3)

It tended to be left to journalists to underline the potential import of the Democrat vote. For example, in the ABC item that opened with the Democrats "today discussing their attitude" to tax legislation, the newsroom itself was introduced into the item as a new character, in this way:

"Our Canberra Office says the fate of the legislation may effectively rest with the Democrats, after the Opposition yesterday decided to oppose the legislation," (ABC B2-1200-6)

Interestingly the ABC office seemed to have absorbed and perpetuated the non-threatening attitude of the Democrats in applying to them the relatively passive verb "may rest" in contrast to the confrontationist "oppose" used in relation to the Liberal Opposition position. The other interesting choice of vocabulary in the sentence quoted above was the use of "fate", with its connotations of something pre-determined or set apart. This was consistent with a moral theme running through the Democrats' news items, clearly illustrated in the following expressions relating to qualities like honour, trust and propriety (qualities not usually associated with political reporting):

The Democrats "have foreshadowed a parliamentary campaign to force the government to honour its stated policy on uranium mining", (ABC C2-7.45-2)

and

"Senator Haines also wants an end to all party political advertising, until political parties are made to obey the same standard of truth in advertising as sellers of other products," (ABC A3-7.45-11)

and similarly in a South Australian debate on legislation to allow red meat sales on late night shopping:

"Mr. Ian Gilfillan, the Australian Democrat who introduced the bill, said he'd been given an undertaking that the government would support it in the House of Assembly," (ABC D4-7-4)

Whilst the news' portrayal of the Democrats communicated even-handedness, the battle in the main arena was usually conducted with boxing gloves on. This was particularly evident in the Federal election campaign in March 1983 when the then Liberal Prime Minister, Mr. Fraser was forced onto the offensive, and lost to the labor leader, Mr. Hawke, who let the punches fall short of him, fending them off with some witty and memorable repartee. In the honeymoon period of Hawke's first year in office in 1983, news journalists continued to endorse the image of Hawke maintaining a comfortable omnipotent style of rule. The remainder of this chapter explores the reporting of the rise of Hawke to Prime Minister in some detail.

1983 FEDERAL ELECTION COVERAGE

The focus of the news reporting of the election campaign was on a Presidential approach, with the portrayal of the two individual leaders, Hawke and Fraser, taking precedence over the broader party base. This focus of the discourse lent itself to Hawke's success because his skilled rhetoric made for sharp and entertaining news reports. His witty diffusion of traditional Labor bogies such as Labor being in the pocket of the unions and association with communist forces, and his use of the vernacular to undermine the dignity of the Liberal Party leader, made excellent and refreshing news copy. At the same time it reinforced the fond image of Hawke, in the eyes of the press and the public, as a likeable new leader, readily identifiable as "Bob", the man in the street.

The bluntness of the Hawke style in the election campaign particularly suited the 5DN house style. Take these straight-talking opening statements to news items:

"Opposition Leader Bob Hawke has refuted the Prime Minister's claims and ..." (5DN A2-1800-3)

"The Liberal Party won't con anyone by trying to link Bob Hawke with left-wing unions according to ... Gough Whitlam" (5DN A1-1800-10)

The confidence and simplicity of such statements implied a strong sense of Hawke's honesty, strength and credibility. At the same time there was also a noticeable tone of a semi-regal stance in the verbs used, that was seemingly condoned by journalists. For example:

"Federal Opposition leader Bob Hawke has dismissed a claim by the Prime Minister that" (5DN A2-1800-1)

and

"Federal Labor leader Bob Hawke has called for public funding of election campaigns," (5DN A1-1200-4)

The latter story went on to report that

"Mr. Hawke was reacting to the Liberal party's new election advertising ..." (5DN A1-1200-4)

Frequently Hawke was put in this passive position of having been provoked in the reporting, whilst Fraser was portrayed in an active role attacking with verbs of violence and aggression. One such item opened

"Mr. Fraser has again aimed the thrust of his campaigning at what he calls the danger of a Labor government winning office. The Prime Minister told a news conference in Sydney ... Then Mr. Fraser told a rally of thousands of people gathered in Sydney's Martin Place that Australia would be at risk .. if .. what he called a Labor-Union 'Axis' won power on Saturday ..." (ABC A3-1800-1) ... (my emphases)

News journalists suggested antipathy towards the aloof image of Fraser in the piece through the choice of assertive verbs like "aimed" and "told", and through the careful distancing of their own (and by extension our common) understanding from Fraser's remarks with the repeated expression "what he called". In addition the inclusion and positioning of the adverbs "again" and "then" in the discourse implied a sense of exasperation, even impatience with Fraser.

The next sentence of this news item further reinforced a sense of journalistic disapproval with Fraser by juxtaposing the claims of Hawke with this (ABC?) judgment of Hawke's poor chances:

"The ABC's political correspondent, Barrie Cassidy, says Mr. Fraser holds office by eleven seats and if opinion polls taken last weekend were to hold he would lose at least twice that number of seats", (ABC A3-1800-1)

Thus ABC journalists were figures in the fray along with the political opponents so seeming to indicate their own bias. An example from 5DN shows a similar effect.

"The Prime Minister has gone on the offensive for the launching of the Liberal Party's advertising campaign for the Federal Election.

Leigh Hatcher reports Mr. Fraser has turned his attack on the Australian Democrats as well as the Labor Party ..."
(35 second actualite) (5DN A1-7.30-5)

Here the journalist Leigh Hatcher is seen reinforcing the aggressive stance of Fraser by reiterating the battle image itself and underlining it with the conjunctive "as well as" rather than simply saying "and".

The second half of the ABC news item above was allocated to Hawke's position. Statistically there was balance in the reporting therefore, but in terms of the discourse that was not the case. Note the choice of gentle and positive verbs to describe Hawke. These contribute to an image of security that has vaguely biblical connotations of Hawke as Messiah. Ironically the setting is the Press Club.

"The Opposition leader, Mr. Hawke, devoted his day before the electronic black-out to an address at the National Press Club in Canberra. And his final message was that ...

and

"Generally, Mr. Hawke maintained his theme of bringing Australia together after what he called the years of Mr. Fraser's 'divisive fear' tactics," (ABC A3-1800-1)

The use of conjunctives like "and" and "generally" implied positive reinforcement of Hawke's message, particularly in contrast to the association of Fraser with the battle connotations of "tactics."

In another example of the portrayal of Fraser as aggressor and Hawke as the innocent under attack, Fraser's rhetoric was defused skilfully by one sentence strategically placed in the middle of the news item by ABC journalists. This was the full text:

"FRASER CAMPAIGN" ...

"The Prime Minister has attacked Mr. Hawke over remarks he made about republicanism.

Campaigning in the Victorian seat of Gippsland, Mr. Fraser highlighted comments made by Mr. Hawke on A.B.C. television that Australia would be better off as a republic.

However, Mr. Hawke said the issue was not high on labor's list of priorities.

Mr. Fraser said nothing could be more divisive or damaging for Australia.

He said if Labor pushed such an argument, it would find itself up against something bigger than it had ever pursued before.

(Tape begins)

A Labor Party objective to turn Australia into a Republic would tear this country apart. It would jeopardise the very fabric of Australian federation."

(Tape ends)

(ABC A1-7.45-6)

Firstly note that Fraser was not named immediately; he was referred to only by his office. The effect of that use of his title with the strong verb "attacked" perhaps connoted a criticism of the man in high office behaving inappropriately. The item emphasised Fraser's aggression by the use of verbs like "attacked" and "campaigning", "tear" and "jeopardised". It also suggested threat as highlighted by the sentence construction indicated by "if" and the strong image of renting a nation apart in the conclusion. In the midst of such an emotive verbal attack, Hawke's quietly sarcastic statement that the issue "was not high" on the priority list stood calmly and confidently, because it was put without apparent emotion, it was concise and it was highlighted by journalists as a change in direction with the conjunctive "however".

Probably the most memorable verbal debate between Fraser and Hawke in that election campaign was that on sales tax. Fraser said that his government would not introduce such a tax on basic items, if re-

elected. The same structure of discourse as that used above was employed by journalists, with the effect of deflating Fraser and having Hawke win the war of words easily and wittily. Here is the full text of that ABC item.

"SALES TAX - BANKS"

(Headline: "As the lobbying for the election continues, the question of sales tax has taken up much of the leaders' time.")

"The Prime Minister has said his Government will not re-introduce legislation for a sales tax on basic items if re-elected.

His comment came amid a day of exchange over sales tax, savings banks funds and death duties.

The rejection by the Senate of Bills for a two and a half percent sales tax on items such as footwear and clothing had been cited by Mr. Fraser as a ground for an early election.

On the John Laws show on Sydney radio station, 2UE, Mr. Fraser was asked - Following a Labor attack over the sales tax issue - if he would re-introduce the Bills on basic items.

(Tape Begins)

I said quite bluntly no, and this is a smoke screen to hide the fact that yesterday Mr. Hawke yesterday signed power over to militant union leadership.

(Tape Ends)

Mr. Fraser has said previously that if the bills were re-introduced it would be done in a way fully offset by cuts in personal income tax.

The sales tax issue arose today from a Labor newspaper advertisement claiming that the Government planned to tax a wide range of goods at a cost of about 28 dollars a week to average Australian families.

In Melbourne, the Labor Party leader, Mr. Hawke said it was impossible to tell when Mr. Fraser could be believed.

(Tape Begins) Hawke 1

If he did tell the truth to the Governor-General, he's not telling the truth today.

Now I don't mind he can have it either way

He's either lied to the Governor-General or he's lied to the public today.

So ask him which it is.

(Tape Ends)

Mr. Hawke then attacked claims by Mr. Fraser that the ALP might introduce death duties ... and that a Labor Government could legislate to use savings funds in banks to finance its deficit.

(Tape Begins) Hawke 2

The man is getting desperate, isn't he?

We'll not be bringing in death duties.

Ah someone tells me that he was also saying that we were going to rob the savings accounts of the little old ladies.

And that he said that they should take their savings out of banks and

Journo: The savings of the dead.

Hawke: The savings of the dead, and the little old ladies ...

Journo: under the bed.

Hawke: But they can't put them under the bed because that's where the commies are. (Laughter)

(Tape Ends)

Mr. Hawke

The ALP spokesman on the treasury, Mr. Keating, said that he'd been referring to funding the deficit with money from the capital market locked up in the banking system ... money which was not being used for private investment, and which the Commonwealth could borrow."

(ABC A3-1800-1)

The Prime Minister's position was established first: "he has said" "has been cited" "was asked", "said quite bluntly" and "has said previously". ... Then half-way through the item came a simple statement of Hawke's position.

"In Melbourne, the Labor Party leader, Mr. Hawke, said it was impossible to tell when Mr. Fraser could be believed,"

(ABC A2-1800-1)

Next, Hawke bluntly called Fraser a liar, attacking the "claims" (a word implying unreliability) made by Mr. Fraser and said rhetorically (so drawing the audience and journalists into his viewpoint),

"The man is getting desperate, isn't he?"

This was followed by the famous reference to little old ladies not being able to put their savings under the bed "because that's where the

commies are." That line was replayed with recorded laughter on the actualite, provoking laughter also in the news audience because it put up and mocked at the same time, a Liberal myth about Labor party allegiances. Finally, having underlined this piece of wit by attributing it clearly to "Mr. Hawke" at the end of the actualite, the journalists rounded off the item with a detached reference to the ALP spokesman on the treasury, Mr. Keating "who explained the ALP policy on death duties." The effect of the shift of focus in this sentence away from the smart cracking Hawke to Keating as the sombre financial expert, was to signify Hawke as being backed up by a solid team of experts who knew what they were talking about.

5DN reported this debate more crisply and concisely. Without attempting to show both sides or much context of the debate, the item began:

"Federal Opposition leader Bob Hawke has dismissed a claim by the Prime Minister that a Labor Government would reintroduce death duties ..."

The cryptic story title said it all: "MALFUNCTION" (5DN A2-1800-1) and the discourse gave Fraser no recourse at all.

That image of Hawke as a well-respected and natural leader was reinforced by the news reporting of events in the first year of his rule as Prime Minister, following his landslide win in the election. Journalists described Hawke's victories in his party and in parliament with empathy and a sense of celebration. They tended to convey the expectation that it was sufficient for Hawke to utter a command or judgment, and whether or not it followed traditional Labor Party practice, it was expressed in the news positively. The choice of verbs

and images implied consensus of the Labor Party, the country in general and the news media with Hawke's line. For example:

"The Labor Caucus has agreed to a break from Labor tradition," (ABC A4-1200-2)

In another story that day (following the threatening lead story on massive GHM retrenchments) the image of "destiny" set the tone of community and media expectation.

"The 26 men and one woman who'll guide the destiny of the new Hawke Labor government were elected to the Ministry today by the Labor Caucus.

As well, Mr. Hawke has won Caucus approval for ..."
(ABC A4-1800-2)

The eagerness of journalists to endorse Hawke's regime was reflected in the conjunctive "as well". Similarly the use of the adverb "already" with its odd positioning in the following sentence reinforced that ardour for his rule.

".... "The meeting already has confirmed Mr. Hawke as leader,"
(ABC A4-1200-1)

The image of Hawke as calm, secure and strong continued to be implied in the choice of verbs such as in these examples from much later in the year.

"Prime Minister Bob Hawke has defended in Parliament the Caucus decision to" (5DN C2-1800-4);

The Prime Minister "wouldn't submit to what he called the piecemeal demolition of fundamental budget proposals ..."
(ABC C4-1200-7)

Later a headline said clearly that

"Mr. Hawke confident he has the numbers to carry Cabinet's recommendations on uranium" (ABC 1-7.45-1)

although the opening lines of the particular item were more diffident:

"Labor MP's and Senators are meeting in Canberra today to decide what to do about uranium mining," (ABC D1-7.45-1)

News items from the period frequently carried the sense of confidence and expectation that Hawke's line on issues was correct and would prevail. On the issue of licences being granted for uranium export contracts, one of the most controversial issues within the party, the association of a line with Hawke seemed to diffuse any sense of concern or threat. For example, one ABC item on this issue began:

"A group of Hawke's closest supporters in the parliamentary Labor party have agreed to oppose a decision ..." (ABC B4-1800-5)

so conveying an image of "the chosen" around the throne, in a position of invulnerability. This seemed to be confirmed by the conclusion of the item:

"But as one Victorian back bencher said today, now even Mr. Hawke's base has taken a stance," (ABC B4-1800-5)

The use of the conjunction "but" here served to draw attention away from any sense of opposition and lead the audience towards the line of Hawke's base. The further use of "now" and "even" emphasised the importance of a winning line being associated with Hawke. Perhaps it also indicated that on a critical issue, where there was a need for Hawke's ruling style to shift from omnipotent to confrontationist, success was still implied to be guaranteed.

Finally it was noticeable that the verb "expected" was used frequently at this time by news journalists to reinforce a sense of Hawke's success being a fait accompli. When Hawke announced his cabinet, "as expected" three South Australians were amongst them (ABC A4-1800-2). On the uranium issue

"supporters of the Prime Minister believe they have the numbers ...
It's expected Caucus will support" (5DN D1-8-2),

and from Canberra the 5DN journalist reported that

"the Prime Minister - Bob Hawke is expected to carry the day ..." (5DN D1-1200-2)

Thus political news coverage in the period surveyed gave the impression that Hawke represented the winning formula for politics in 1983: he had "the numbers" and could "carry" the responsibilities of government of the country. The eagerness of journalists to present Hawke as a "good guy" and a confident winner, was characteristic of news reporting at that time. Whilst this particularly came readily to 5DN reporters who had long been referring to the Prime Minister as "Bob" Hawke, it was interesting to note that ABC reporters occasionally lapsed into a colloquial style connoting ease with Hawke's leadership.

For example:

"The Prime Minister is taking a break from today's Cabinet meeting to" (ABC B1-1200-7)

and

"Mr. Hawke has dropped a broad hint that" (ABC A4-7-1)

In summary, to extend this last image, it was the case in 1983 that the discourse of news journalists with reference to Hawke's rise to power as Prime Minister hinted that Mr. Hawke's way was the correct way to go in politics for Australia. This inevitably meant that the news media played a significant role at that time in helping to establish that ideological position amongst their audience.

CONCLUSION

The functional and bureaucratic ABC voice presented Australian political news as information that updated the knowledge of a well-informed audience, familiar with the system and its characters. While maintaining a sense of impartiality, this "institutional voice" (defined in Chapter 3 on method) reinforced for its audience a sense of stability in the status quo in a number of ways. For example, frequent reference to politicians' titles and authority and to principles and procedures, conveyed a sense of order being maintained and endorsed the actions of those in power as appropriate. While it was been demonstrated that the voice of news journalists in the coverage of the 1983 Federal election campaign tended to be biased in favour of Hawke and his party, the voice of the ABC in general political reporting was formal and objective.

On the ABC the political system was framed as a self-contained system and therefore essentially closed to challenge from outside; comfortably at a distance from the day to day lives of the general public. Perhaps one effect of such reporting, was that as on-lookers, the audience were encouraged to be in a position that was interested (as distinct from apathetic), but emotionally uninvolved and able to view any political grandstanding with scepticism.

Within the solid structure of Australia's democratic system, ABC viewers were offered a relatively fixed view of the importance of the Federal Government, the lesser importance of the State Government and a virtually non-existent role for Local Government. A regular pattern in the discourse structured the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal/

National Party coalition of that time in polarized positions, with the Australian Democrat Party maintaining a low profile in a well mannered watchdog role.

5DN political reporting was more stylised. For instance, the relationship of the Labor Party and Liberal/National Party was presented in a shallow stereotyped way as one of constant bickering and bargaining. Metaphors of potential and actual political bloodshed tended to feature in the introductory lines of news items, with minimal detail of the context or background in issues being given. The expansion on opening lines with actualites or on-the-spot reports from political journalists, maintained a sense of drama and immediacy that further reinforced for the audience, the focus on the public display of politics, rather than any depth of coverage.

The political arena was brought close to the audience with more parochial reports and an informal style than on the ABC. However, the 5DN portrayal was often a melodramatic one with politicians tending to be represented as heroes or villains. While the audience might have been tantalised by a sense that the system was open to challenge, the system was not seen to be accountable and there was not much information given for example, on how members of the public could go about the process of change or challenge.

5DN political reports therefore pandered to short term audience appetite for drama. The reporting provided some ammunition for political cynics wanting to knock those in authority and reinforced popular myths about most politicians being untrustworthy and every man being in the system for himself.

CHAPTER SIX

NEWS COVERAGE OF INDUSTRIAL STORIES

APPROACH

The analysis of news stories from the industrial arena focuses on images which recur in the reporting. These are conveyed through the use of different voices for each of the parties involved; through a closed system of metaphors; and through an overall moral frame, based on the theme of law and order.

The first section illustrates the linguistic features that create these images.

The second and third sections analyse separately examples of industrial stories from 5DN and the ABC news. It is argued that 5DN stories tend to follow a formula that highlights the drama of industrial conflicts. The ABC employs a more objective style in which key indexical expressions intrude into the text, to direct audience attention towards a particular focus. Different attitudes of the two stations towards what is newsworthy are identified and some conclusions are drawn about the ideological leanings which are structured for respective audiences.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEWS COVERAGE OF INDUSTRIAL STORIES

In quantitative terms the coverage of industrial stories which includes disputes, activities of the A.C.T.U. (Australian Council of Trade Unions), claims and decisions by the Arbitration Commission, was reasonably consistent on the two networks, and across the four survey periods. The table below illustrates this.

Table 7. % Bulletin Times Spent on Industrial Stories

	Period A	Period B	Period C	Period D	Overall Average
5DN	7.5%	6.5%	6%	5.5%	6.37%
ABC	4%	7%	5%	6%	5.5%

(The discrepancy in time spent on Period A can be explained by the fact that an extra six stories covered on 5DN were specifically local; namely industrial action threatened by the South Australian Institute of Teachers (S.A.I.T.) and at John Martins, an Adelaide Department Store.)

The majority of industrial stories on both networks were set in the National arena; for example the Building Industry, Timber Workers, Shearers Union, Airline Pilots Federation, Vehicle Builders Union and Telecom Workers. This gave a sense of a strongly centralised union movement in Australia. Coverage of industrial disputes at a State level featured on both networks; strikes by journalists at The News; by process workers at South Australian Milk Supplies; by a Builders Union at the site of a conservation protest at Adelaide's Aurora Hotel, and the bus and tram strikes by State Transport Authority (S.T.A.)

workers. Strikes affecting city transport in other states such as New South Wales and Victoria were also featured as newsworthy.

The consistent placing of such industrial stories amongst the top three or four in news bulletins reflects the important role that industrial relations play in contemporary Australian society. Interestingly, the time of the survey (1983) was the golden era of the newly established Hawke Federal Government. Because of the direct link between Hawke and the union movement, a considerable amount of stress and publicity was placed on the Hawke Government's idea of industrial peace and the "accord" between employees, workers, unions and the government. A new vocabulary associated with that strategy connoted harmony and constructive rational industrial relations. For example, "consensus", "the spirit of compromise", "agreements", "summits" and "negotiations" were terms which frequently occurred.

However, these reasonably nebulous, though positive terms, were frequently contrasted or displaced by images of conflict and undercurrents of tension in reports from the industrial field. The impression that news reports generally gave, was that many employer groups were like the Building Industry Employers

"braced for a wave of industrial action ... while unions have promised to stall any action." (5DN A3-1200-6)

The audience was similarly "braced" for action by such reporting, with the metaphor "wave" suggesting the rise and fall in activities in the industrial area akin to the climaxes and troughs of drama.

These dramatic qualities of industrial disputes were frequently exploited for their newsworthiness. Whilst "consensus" may have been a

solid reassuring base for the community, reports were more likely to feature "a last minute breakthrough in talks" (ABC C5-1200-7). Like the Pilots Federation and their employer, Ansett, who were "on the brink of reaching an agreement" (5DN A1-1200-14), the news narrators at 5DN, in particular, seemed eager to "engage" in a climax of dramatic tension and draw in the audience with them. (The art of brinkmanship comes from advancing to the very brink of war, but not engaging in it.)

As the audience's attention was focused on the conflicting and action-orientated aspects of industrial relations featured by news reporters, the image of unionists most commonly portrayed was a negative one. They had to fight to get what they wanted, working in opposition to employers, and more than likely not in the immediate interests of the public. They were seen as rarely being satisfied with what they had or had achieved, and therefore could be seen to be motivated by greed and self-interest. In particular, the strong physical verbs chosen to describe the actions of unions connoted their antagonism: they "lifted" or "imposed bans", "threatened action", "issued warnings" and made a "push" for full wage indexation.

By contrast, employers' actions tended to be distanced and neutralized by the use of the passive voice. For example,

"A spokesman for Ansett Airlines said the company had not been advised that the stoppages were for twenty-four hours" (ABC A5-1800-7).

This grammatical "voice" suggested the employer role to be one of innocent bystander responding under provocation. When the active voice was used to describe the employer role, the lexical choice of verbs connoted strength. That strength did not come from aggression, but

rather from restraint, authority, even largesse. For example:

"The Federal Minister of Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr. Willis, has suggested superannuation benefits as an area of further negotiation" (ABC D2-1800-4).

or

"The President of the Arbitration Commission, Sir John Moore, will this morning chair a further round of talks between ..."
(ABC B5-7-3).

The strongest verb associated with employers was "imposed", which connoted a sense of righteous authority and confidence in taking the appropriate action. Such a verb conveyed a closed sense. It lacked the open sense of continuing negotiation in "suggested" and the reference to "further" discussions, in the example above.

A further linguistic characteristic of employer discourse which contributed to a distancing effect, was the nominalisation of verbs with negative connotations. For example, expressions like

"the suppression of sectional wage claims" or

"the rejection of talks",

took away from employers the direct role of actively "suppressing" or "rejecting" claims and talks. It distanced their responsibility from such action, while maintaining a sense of the employers' authority.

By contrast, Government leaders involved in industrial disputes were seen to take a more active or aggressive role, as reflected in the bolder more assertive language applied to them. (Note that it usually was still less raw than the language associated with union action.) For example, a threatening conditional structure was used to convey the role of

"the Prime Minister, Mr. Hawke"
who

"threatened action against the pilots if they hadn't lifted their ban by midnight on Tuesday" (ABC C1-7.45-4).

The effect of using the conditional tense here for Mr. Hawke's position in the same way that it was used often to portray the union position, reflected positively upon Mr. Hawke giving the unions their come-uppance, by using their own tactics against them.

The next example suggests that employers saw the government taking on such a role in relation to the unions.

"Employers have called on the Hawke Government to force the ACTU to adhere to the prices and income accord" (5DN C5-1200-4).

This sentence reflected the power play in several ways. The image of the ACTU being asked to "adhere to" the accord, suggested that there was only one (correct) option available to them: to conform. The tacit judgment was that if the ACTU were to refuse, they would be in the wrong. Secondly, the appropriation of verbs neatly showed a respectable demeanour of employers who "have called on" Hawke's government to take the role of aggressor and "force" the ACTU to submit or obey.

In such ways different quantities and qualities of strength were indicated in the news discourse for each of the parties involved. The effect was to suggest that the method of unions were brash and bullying. On the other hand those of employers were restrained but firm, and that they were able to direct the government to use full force where necessary. Such a picture suggested a propensity for the union movement to lose control and behave irrationally, while the employers adopted a more sophisticated role and stayed firmly in control. For example, while unions might be portrayed as threatening

significant disruption such as the Airline Pilots saying

"strike action by its members will ground Ansett for at least twenty-four hours next Monday and Tuesday", (ABC A5-7.45-6)

employers often would be shown simply and confidently denying this threat of disruption.

"A spokesman for Ansett said last night the stoppages on Monday and Tuesday would have only a minor effect on services" (ABC A5-7.45-6).

Note here the importance of the key indexical expressions the adjectival phrase "at least" and the adverb "only". "At least" connoted a modal function with an expansive sense, an open promise of potential long term disruption. By contrast "only", particularly in association with the adjective "minor", conveyed a concise closed sense of minimal disruption. The former served to alarm the audience, while the latter was reassuring.

Such contrasts of style and intent in the discourse suggested the nature of any initial conflict between unionists and employers was like a preparatory flexing of industrial muscle. In the next stage came the metaphors and images anticipating war in expressions like these:

... "time is running out for a peaceful conclusion"
"rounds of talks" take place (like rounds of ammunition?)
(ABC B5-7.45-12).

The ACTU warned that "any move" against penalty rates would be "opposed" (ABC C5-1800-2). The car unions were "taking action on two fronts" (ABC B2-1200-4), and while the ACTU "decided ... to continue its fight" (5DN C5-1200-4) the Pilots Federation were "fighting the 'super' tax battle" (5DN C5-1800-5).

At this point war appeared inevitable and it seemed to have been provoked by the militant attitude of unionists. The violence in the

texts reached a peak when transport and services were "grounded", wages were "cut", the workforce was "slashed" and the public were "hit by bans". The common use of the expression describing workers "on strike" evoked a particular sense of force, an open sense of universal attack.

Industrial action as such, tended to be viewed negatively in news discourse because it was portrayed as disrupting services and threatening the sense of order and freedom of members of the public. A sense of loss was suggested in the words used to describe the effects of industrial action: services were "affected", "restricted", "closed down" or "grounded". Relating that,

"New South Wales is without train services today, because of a strike by train drivers" (ABC A1-7.45-8),

conveyed a sense of denying members of the public their rights. Other expressions which suggested a tacit sense of reprimand and which were commonly applied in industrial disputes, were terms such as "a stopwork meeting", "a stoppage", "a backlog of work" to be dealt with after a "return to work" and "a refusal to carry out duties".

In a Timber Workers dispute, the workers were described as "angry" and as having "walked off the job" (ABC A1-1300-6). This focused on behaviour rather than political strategies, and connoted the workers' actions as equivalent to those of a sulky, impulsive child, behaving irresponsibly and provocatively. In such a discourse, the pejorative description "industrial trouble" could be substituted readily for "industrial action".

A sense of right and wrong was conveyed often in news reports on industrial action because militant images of the type illustrated above

were framed by references to "agreements", "indexation" and "conditions". These expressions formed a sense of fair and ordered social and political structure established by employers, government and the Arbitration Commission. Within such a framework, the actions of workers on strike could be conveyed not just as an inconvenience, but more on a thematic level as a form of treason or violation of a moral code. For example, in the context of a report in which the Builders Laborers Federation position was described as a "breach" of the "accord" with the Australian Labor Party (5DN A4-1200-19), the word "breach" suggested a breaking or neglect of duty. There were military echoes here as "breach" can also refer to a broken state or gap in fortifications made by artillery.

The sense of right and wrong in industrial reporting was highlighted sometimes by a shift in the discourse into an industrial underworld. For instance, there was the idea of "duty" conveyed by describing how the Builders Union had "promised" to stall action (5DN A3-1200-6). The employers also had behaved in a civil manner, having "called on" and made "offers" from time to time. However it was suggested that the mutual respect or sense of honour that supposedly underlined the system was juxtaposed with force and violence, in that virtually contradictory vocabularies were used. Threat and force were being applied by the union to get the employer to undertake its part in the agreement:

"The Building Workers Industrial Union already is threatening industrial action to force employers to honour the agreement (ABC D2-7.45-2).

Another instance of the suggestion of an industrial underworld

occurred in one description of the National Wages Agreement which equated it with "the deal". Such a clandestine image structured a naive understanding of the factors involved.

"The deal allowed for a pay rise of up to twenty dollars ... in return for industrial peace for two years ... other arrangements might be possible ..." (5DN D2-1200-7).

Occasional statements from Federal and State Liberal Opposition leaders (proponents of free enterprise), tended to exploit discord in industrial relations for their own ends in order to criticise the government. In so doing they sometimes drew images of a mafia style industrial underworld, with the government acting like pimps. For example, State Opposition Leader Mr. Olsen attacked government job creation schemes which required workers to join the relevant union, in terms of the government "paying off the unions" and acting as "recruiting agents for unions" (ABC B5-1800-9). In the equivalent 5DN story, Mr. Olsen was reported as saying that the government was "blackmailing the unemployed" (5DN B5-1200-7). In a further example, Mr. Howard, Federal Opposition Leader, bluntly accused the ACTU of using "bullying tactics" and making an "ultimatum" in its threat of industrial action (ABC C5-1200-9).

Mr. Howard continued by saying that the

"ACTU's threat crudely undermined respect for the accord which was supposed to be a give-and-take understanding, with each party accepting the umpire's (Arbitration Commission) decision" (ABC C5-1200-9).

This juxtaposition was effective in setting up the ACTU and the Arbitration Commission respectively, as dirty and clean systems.

The language used to describe the Commission always had it standing aloof, formal, proper: "chairing a round of talks", "granting" various degrees of indexation, considering "proposals" from various "parties" and holding "private conferences". No party ever threatened the Commission. Instead, it was the keeper of order; it "set down" or "handed down" the conditions and decisions; and handled the logs of claims or records of events in industrial affairs.

Despite Mr. Howard's foregoing deprecating remarks about the ACTU, that body mostly was presented positively in its role as facilitator and for its authoritative control over the unions. However, the image of industrial relations as never far from the old style of battlefield, remained the dominant one in the reporting.

The mix of metaphor of the fatalistic, the just and warlike in the following quotation suggested an ever present capriciousness on the part of the unions. When the ACTU Industrial Officer was asked if there were a chance of renewed industrial action in the building industry, this was his response:

"That's in the lap of the gods. If the employers accept what the ACTU has put today, then it's a matter of us attempting to convince the unions that that is a fair and reasonable package, and if we can do that, well further disputation will be avoided. If not, then I guess it's going to be back to the trenches", (ABC B5-7.45-12).

The following analysis of the news transcripts from both stations suggests that the reality of industrial relations lies more in the trenches than in the lap of the gods.

5DN COVERAGE OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

5DN news reports on industrial disputes tended to follow a formula that highlighted the drama or melodrama of the actions taken by unions. They minimised the complexities of the issues involved and gave little space to the employer viewpoint. The basic formula of such a story was as follows ...

STORY LINE

(IMAGE)

A union threatened industrial action/or a service was disrupted as a result of industrial action.

Flexing of industrial muscle, which immediately established tension.

Unfair actions by employers had angered workers and this had precipitated strike action of some kind.

A declaration of war.

Union spokesmen had their say, usually outlining their tactics, occasionally making a brief explanation of the problem or the extent of the dispute.

Battlecry on the battleground.

When the time was right (when the action had sufficient repercussions) bans would be lifted to allow talks to go ahead.

The ransom.

STORY LINE

(IMAGE)

Conclusion of story - often still a dramatic plateau: services were still disrupted, a reminder of provocation. The serial would continue, so tune in next time for the continuing drama.

State of Siege.

Optional extra:

Occasionally there was a fairly lame employer response suggesting extent of disorder was not great and/or was resolvable.

Potential ceasefire/
battle fatigue (?)

The opening lines of such industrial stories highlighted the action of unions, that is, the consequences of the industrial problem. This aspect of union action was featured in a variety of circumstances: when industrial action was in progress, when it was threatened, when it was anticipated or even when it was averted. For example,

"The Institute of Teachers is now threatening industrial action ... if the State Government does not appoint more teachers" (5DN A4-7-1) ...

or

"Domestic Airline pilots have decided that their nationwide strike next month will be an indefinite one - not just twenty-four hours as originally planned ..." (5DN C5-1800-5)

or

"The New South Wales State Secretary of the Australian Workers Union .. Ernie Ecob .. hasn't ruled out the possibility of further industrial action in the National Shearer's dispute. This is despite a back-to-work vote today in Dubbo." (5DN B1-1800-5)

The simple two-part conditional sentence structures suggested simple cause and effect: unions act thus because employers will not cooperate or they have denied them something. The sentence structure that revolved around the conjunction "if" was particularly ominous, as in the Teachers' example. It was tantamount to blackmail.

Similarly, the apparent black and white explanation of events offered in the next example, relying on the conjunction "because", belied the complexity of negotiations between the several parties involved. It made the process of industrial relations seem more like a game of draughts than of chess. For example,

"Building Unions are predicting industrial action at building sites today - because of the Arbitration Commission's rejection of a new industry award." (5DN D2-1200-7)

Later in that item, it was commented that other arrangements between the parties were possible, but the main impression given through the angle of the report, was to expect industrial action. The cause was that union "members are angered by the Commission's decision": simplistic and emotive.

There was a similar example concerning the airport firefighters, who were involved in a dispute with the Department of Aviation. While the slug of this story, "AIRFIRE FIGHTERS' TALKS", (5DN D2-1200-6) suggested an issue under discussion, the opening lines seized upon the possibility of industrial action with the stress on the auxiliary verb, "could":

"Major airports around Australia could be closed down by the end of the week, if talks under way in Canberra fail to settle a dispute over airport crews."

The threat of closed airports eclipsed the "talks under way". The use

of the place name Canberra, which signified central authority, government and bureaucracy, and the juxtaposition of "Canberra" and "fail" contributed to a sense of workers and government in opposition, and of the democratic process being unable to resolve disputes.

If the essence of the story that came in the second sentence that

"firefighters are opposed to a Department of Aviation proposal to withdraw fire services from some secondary airports,"

were put first, and the possibility of closure action second, the story would have been a different one. To put cause or problem before consequence, essentially would have changed a story of threat into one of information and problem solving. That change could have given listeners more sense of involvement in the issue, rather than immediately alienating them by suggesting public services would be disrupted and that in some indirect way their freedom of movement was under threat.

There was one industrial story reported on 5DN during the survey periods that was notable for the shifts in focus across the bulletins of the day. It was the response by Telecom workers to plans to cut the organization's workforce. (This story was not mentioned on ABC major bulletins on that day.) The three relevant 5DN texts are set out in full:

"TRUNKATED"

"Telecom workers will hold a national stoppage this afternoon - to protest over plans to slash the organisation's workforce.

The stoppage will get underway at two o'clock .. and there'll be no operators for directory assistance .. service difficulties .. or manual trunk or international calls.

Telecom has confirmed its planning to cut two-thousand telephonists positions by MAY 1985." (5DN B4-7-3)

"TELEG"

"More than 200 telegraphists positions will go in SOUTH AUSTRALIA - under plans by TELECOM to streamline its operations.

More than two-thousand positions will be lost nationwide by MAY 1985 ...

Their work will essentially be taken over by a computer system which will save about 45 million dollars a year in staff and other costs.

The TELEPHONE and PHONOGRAM OFFICER'S union has been meeting in MELBOURNE today to consider its response.

It only received details yesterday - but its initial reaction is that the cuts won't be achieved without sackings.

Sydney members of the union will hold a stopwork meeting this afternoon to discuss their reaction to the announcement.

Union Spokeswoman SYLVIA HALL says the new technology could be introduced ... and the jobs saved ... if TELECOM adopts a different attitude to the plan." (5DN B4-1200-18)

"TELEPHONE"

"A nationwide strike by Telecom telephonists has been averted this afternoon .. following a meeting to discuss Telecom's proposed staff cut-backs.

The Federal Council of the AUSTRALIAN Telephone and Phonogram Officers Association met to discuss plans to trim the number of telephonists by more than two-thousand over the next 18 months.

The Council has called for a moratorium on the staff cuts - pending talks next week with the Federal Government.

Association Secretary SYLVIA HALL says a national strike would have been irresponsible, but she says some form of action is necessary." (5DN B4-1800-6)

The Telecom story began along the lines of a formula 5DN industrial strife story, at 7 a.m. (5DN B4-7-3)

"Telecom workers will hold a national stoppage this afternoon - to protest over plans to slash the organization's workforce."

Industrial action therefore seemed inevitable. Some details of the extent of the protest were outlined and Telecom management confirmed its intention to cut the positions; both parties seemed poised in positions of confrontation.

By the major 1200 bulletin, the stopwork meeting in Sydney was buried half-way down, (5DN B4-1200-18). Most of this item was given over to emphasising the extent of the problem:

"More than 200 telegraphists' positions will go in South Australia and possibly 2,000 nationwide by May, 1985"

There was also some explanation of Telecom's intention to "streamline its operations": a computer system will take over those jobs and save \$45 million a year. Finally, a union spokeswoman tackled the subject of the introduction of new technology in an actualite.

However, by the 1800 bulletin, there still had been no industrial action. Meetings and talks had been occurring on and off all day. These had not been regarded as particularly newsworthy and details as to what had been discussed or who had taken part, were not given. The phenomena of "meetings" or "talks" were interesting, because while they seemed to be some sort of industrial panacea, they usually remained nebulous affairs and featured only incidentally in the reporting.

In the 1800 bulletin after mention had been made of this day's meeting and future meetings, a union spokeswoman said that while some

action was necessary, "a national strike would have been irresponsible", and she had a 27-second actualite to talk about job protection. While there was a dramatic trough in the first line of this news item, the journalist squeezed out what drama he could, by placing the crucial verb "averted" as far as he could into the sentence

...
"A nationwide strike by Telecom telephonists has been averted this afternoon ... following a meeting ..." (5DN B4-1800-6).

Ironically it happened that, by default, the audience had the opportunity to learn more of the complexity of the issues involved. More common causes of industrial disputes which were usually outlined in a simple one line reference, seemed to be wage claims, the introduction of the 38-hour week, or the use of non-union labour.

At the time of this survey, many of the causes for disputes in the vehicle industry were planned retrenchments on a substantial scale, yet the reasons for these retrenchments rarely were elucidated. Rather, it was simply the results that were reported; for example, that the multi-national employer would "shed" the jobs. The response of Vehicle Builders to one such announcement was interesting because it showed the union approaching the issue in a calm and constructive way. This was the full text of that item.

"GMH"

"The Vehicle Builders Employees Federation hopes to meet with other car industry unions and the A-C-T-U in Melbourne today to discuss the latest plans by G-M-H to cut its workforce.

The company has announced it will shed 28-hundred jobs over the next three years.

Union President WAYNE BLAIR says he's concerned that the company's plans could involve immediate retrenchments in some areas.

Mr. Blair says he'll be asking the A-C-T-U to arrange an urgent meeting with the Company and Federal and State governments in an effort to save jobs." (5DN B2-6-3)

This story was not portrayed with militant imagery; rather, the union's position was polite and submissive, it "hopes to meet with". Ironically, the story slug was "GMH", seeming to signify that the company had the upper hand. The story seemed not to have been regarded as newsworthy by news journalists because it was not repeated in any major bulletins during the day. As it was, at 6 a.m., the story was sandwiched into a kind of underworld between an item on a casino for Adelaide and an item on a sports reporter's payola (carrying the title "CROOK"). Presumably these two stories offered the drama and entertainment value that was missing from a story on a conciliatory union.

Mostly, the field of industrial relations was reported in terms of a battlefield: the focus being on the action, real or threatened, by unionists. A popular image of the Australian macho militant unionists was promoted in the reporting. Union representatives made up the majority of speakers in industrial items. The employers often were not given the right of reply, or if they were, the item was not balanced in terms of length or prominence. The effect was to build a sense of the employers as detached and faceless: not powerful necessarily, but often connoting some confidence about disruption being minimal or able to be contained.

For example, in the story of a dispute over an airline pilot who was demoted for making an unauthorised low fly pass, the workers of the

Airline Pilots Federation, had the first four paragraphs to relate their grievance, following this formula introduction:

"Ansett Pilots are still threatening industrial action over the demotion of a pilot." (5DN A5-1800-11)

This final paragraph constituted the token response from the employer,

"but Ansett spokesman Tony Hill is confident delays to Sunday flights will be minimal."

and he gave details of Sunday flights in a twenty second actualite (rather like an advertisement).

In other examples the employer sometimes was given no right of reply. Therefore the reporting seemed subjective and emotive. In a particular case of a Busdrivers Union dispute, included in full below, the union spokesman had all the say and, urged on by the news reporter, was seen to sympathise with the public. The union's innocence in the dispute extended to a sense of largesse in the union's having "decided to remove bans" and "promised" that there would be no further strikes. Meanwhile, the silence of the State Transport Authority as employer seemed to connote its guilt. The reporter appeared to reinforce that sense, in his question that fed the answer, "wrongly blamed", to the union official. Note here how the first sentence, in 5DN house style, served to create and sustain the dramatic tension of a bus strike until the last word, "lifted", and how "yesterday's" news of the strike was freshened by adding the action word "snap".

"Union bans, which led to yesterday's snap bus strike in Adelaide - have been lifted.

Bus drivers' union secretary, Alf Boyle, says the union executive decided to remove bans on drivers working on their rostered days off from Monday, so that a case can go to the Industrial Commission for a hearing on the 38 hour week.

Mr. Boyle's promised there'll be no more strikes such as yesterday's over the issue, although he says people stranded during yesterday's stoppage should be blaming the State Transport Authority, not the drivers."

Actualite
(Boyle)

"I feel extremely sorry for the people who were put off the buses yesterday, but I found out today, that they were put off by STA instruction. Our members were told to report to a certain point and empty the buses, and proceed to the depot."

(Reporter)

"So you're saying the bus drivers were wrongly blamed for setting the people off the buses and into the rain?"

(Boyle)

"Most definitely; wrongly blamed." (5DN C4-1800-6)

The regularity with which 5DN coverage of industrial disputes led with the union action and view, did give the impression of the unions having the upper hand. Thus fuelling the popular cliché of, "unions running the country". While this could be interpreted as the 5DN news journalists being sympathetic to the union line and politically to the left of centre, it also could be simply a result of their news style highlighting the drama of disputes.

There was one example of apparent sympathy towards the workers' cause, in the announcement by South Australia's department store, John Martins, that the Company was to bring in a 38-hour week and a wages cut (5DN A3-1200-10). This report reconstructed the drama of the morning and was written to elicit emotion and anger from both workers and audience. Note, that to this end most of the story was structured as an on-the-spot report.

From the first line, that used pauses to emphasise the extent of the cuts,

"John Martins department store in Rundle Mall has imposed a 38-hour week ... and a wages cut ... on its full time sales staff,"

the story stressed the highhanded tactics of the employers.

"Hundreds of staff members were told of the move only minutes before the store opened for business today ..."

A reporter at the scene stressed the result ... how

"shocked and angry sales staff ... 500 of them ... have no choice .. the management by the way is unavailable for comment at present ... hostile ... thin end of the wedge."

The use of this last cliché which reflected the reporter's subjective opinion, seemed to serve through its universality, to cast out and draw in the audience to his viewpoint: sympathy for the underdog and hostility towards a Big Brother employer.

There was no explanation from the company for its actions, and its rationale was obscured further by the reporter's second wave of attack, which referred to existing (but unspecified) general staff discontent with the employer. A final emotive remark, underlined by the use of "even", clinched the story with the possible threat of John Martin's traditional annual Christmas Pageant being discontinued ...

... "there has even been a report that the store has seriously considered abandoning its historic Christmas pageant."

The choice of the verb "abandoning" reinforced a sense of the company as both irresponsible and unfeeling. Although the status of the idea of the pageant as being discontinued was unconfirmed, the text of this item indicated that in the editing, this final idea was stressed. This was indicated by the sub-editors's handwritten changes to the typed text in which the more formal word "report" replaced

"suggestion" and included the adverb "seriously".

This story exemplified, more clearly than most stories, the antagonism felt by workers towards any highhanded actions taken by their employer; yet it would be difficult to argue that here the reporter had made a serious political point. In reality the reporter had constructed a well organised, entertaining, on-the-spot story. The reporter's enthusiasm for the story was evident in the way the reconstructed drama focused on the unexpected (chaos as the workday began) and in the way he touched emotively on popular local chords of the image of John Martins as the family store with its annual Christmas pageant.

As usual, the reporter's role was confined to describing the consequences of the industrial action or change in company policy, rather than on the cause of it or on the issue at stake. What explanations there were of cause and issue usually were defined later in news items, by union spokesmen. Because the focus of coverage of industrial disputes was mostly on the actions of the unions, and because employers seemed to maintain a policy of no comment or minimal comment to the press, union spokesmen usually had the monopoly on defining disputes.

One interesting exception that occurred in a 5DN report illustrated clearly how bias may be established. The example was the reporting of a Storemen and Packers ban on supplies to the Stoney Point Project in South Australia (5DN C2-1200-12). A reporter paraphrased the views of the employers, Stoney Point Operators, Santos, relying on their

definition of the union's claim concerning which union should cover workers on the project. The Union's refusal to appear before the Arbitration Commission to argue the case was referred to twice. The supplies in question were twice referred to as "vital". Although it was mentioned also that the bans had "not yet affected work", the inclusion of "yet" implied that harm would result from the Union's action.

The inclusion of the view of employees that:

"it's unfair that it's been hit by bans" ...

seemed to be shared by the news reporter in this case. Thus it seemed that the employers were innocent victims caught in a war of the union's making, and, apparently caused by the unions bickering amongst themselves over membership.

When the employers were the government, news reporters seemed to have sought interpretations both from the government/employer and union sides. This approach of journalists connoted a sense of readiness by the government to defend government policy and be seen to be accountable to the public. (It also conveyed a sensitivity by the news media to indicate objectivity on its own part.) For example, in the story of concern by the Teachers Union over lack of staff, where the union had first say in the early morning bulletins at 6 a.m. and 7 a.m., a threatening tone was established immediately.

"The Institute of Teachers is now threatening industrial action ... if the State Government does not appoint more teachers" (5DN A4-6-1).

By contrast the same story in the bulletins at 8 a.m. and 1200 began with remarks from the relevant government minister, designed to reassure the public that a firm rational stand would be taken. For

example,

"State Education Minister LYN ARNOLD says the government will not appoint any more teachers to State Schools despite the threat of industrial action by teachers" (5DN A4-8-1).

Similarly, representatives of the State Transport Authority responded quickly to scotch rumours of industrial disruption to its bus and tram services:

"The STA has rejected reports ... that",
 when interestingly
 "it's been reported elsewhere that there will be industrial
 action",
 and finally
 "Bus and Tram Drivers union officials have been unavailable
 for comment" (5DN C3-1200-15).

Mention of government involvement in industrial disputes sometimes came from Opposition Leaders. In such cases the attack on unions was secondary to the attacks on the government; for example, when the State Department of Supply had workers protesting about the non-introduction of the 38-hour week, (5DN A3-1200-12) the State Opposition Leader, Mr. Olsen, highlighted the inconvenience of bans imposed by workers on deliveries. It was pointed out that "Mr. Olsen has revealed" this story, connoting a scandal of a cover up story within a story. The witty pun in the story's slug "BAN/NON" indicated that the crucial point of the story was an attack on State Premier, Mr. Bannon.

In this story, Mr. Olsen created an image of militant unionists by describing, through assertive verbs, how employees have "imposed bans"; of how Departments were "being hampered" and had been "forced" to obtain supplies elsewhere. The cause of the dispute was literally buried in the middle of the report:

Mr. Olsen "says employees (who're seeking a 38-hour week) have imposed bans" ...

In another industrial story featuring Mr. Olsen, when he criticised the State Government policy which required Commonwealth Employment Project workers to join relevant unions, the union issue clearly was secondary. The fierce opening line of the item had the same aggressive tone and opening formula of reports on unions on strike:

"The State Opposition has blasted the Government for forcing unemployed people to join unions ... if they want to take part in job creation schemes" (5DN B5-1200-7).

(This 5DN report gave the second half of the item to an organisation for the unemployed, who rejected Mr. Olsen's claims as "laughable", and so the report ended.)

When the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) representatives were the spokesmen in stories of industrial disputes, their role was portrayed as that of peacemakers, embodying the principle of consensus of the Federal Government's Economic Summit at that time. For example, the ACTU was seen as authoritative and rational in bringing the Builders Laborers Federation into line, when it breached the A.L.P. Prices and Income Policy. ACTU President,

"Mr. Dolan says the BLF doesn't have the support of other unions and shouldn't act independently." (5DN A4-1200-19)

When the ACTU talks on wages began the

"ACTU President, Cliff Dolan, refused to speculate on the decision." (5DN B1-1800-7)

Similarly, at the close of the Congress, a brief item noted:

"Mr. Dolan says a spirit of compromise has characterised the five day Congress." (5DN C5-1800-6)

Mr. Dolan was seen as quite at ease handling an official language

style: for example the pedantic double negative structure in

"there's no reason not to grant the increase" (5DN C5-7-3).

The effect of having ACTU officials reported in a formal, unemotive language style was to establish a sense of their ability to control disputes, and particularly to control unions like the Builders Laborers Federation, who were portrayed as particularly aggressive.

Even when the ACTU was involved in industrial action, the language couching their tactics and moves was relatively restrained. One item opened,

"The ACTU Congress has decided to oppose unrestricted weekend trading and to continue its fight against the abolition of penalty rates."

(The ABC version of this story portrayed the ACTU as more aggressive and; less law abiding, as discussed, page 405 (ABC C5-1800-5).) Thus it seemed in 5DN reports that the ACTU would be accommodated and allowed to fight the good fight, on the tacit assumption that it played within the rules set in consultation with the Hawke Federal government, and maintained a polite demeanour.

During the survey period, the only item which portrayed the ACTU as threatening, was one early morning report on the day that Federal Caucus were to debate their policy on uranium mining at Roxby Downs, South Australia. The bulletin at 8 a.m. led off ..

.... ACTU President "says the union Movement will use industrial action to stop uranium mining, if the Federal ALP Caucus gives the go ahead to Roxby Downs today." (5DN D1-8-1)

While the ACTU was connoted as rebellious, the threat here was not very aggressive, because the expression, "industrial action" was more formal and detached than for example "strike" or "threat" or "order". The

prominence of this item (unreported that day on ABC) may have served to highlight the controversial nature of the day's Caucus debate, which then took over the headlines later in the day. In fact, other major bulletins of the day contained no further references to this ACTU stand.

5DN's reporting on industrial disputes focused overall on the drama and conflict of the stories in which the unions were the chief protagonists and the opposition relatively faceless. The picture drawn tended to focus on effect or consequences of industrial action, namely inconvenience, hostility, disruption of services. Meanwhile the cause of the dispute and the processes of resolution often were clouded. Because of this focus and the minimal role given to employers (other than the government), 5DN industrial stories frequently were a statement of the aggressive role of unions in Australia. This image both constructed and reinforced a popularly held belief in Australia that unions have all the say and run the country.

Whether or not the 5DN newsroom held either a pro-union or anti-union line, the overall effect of their dramatic presentation of industrial disputes, which focused on union militancy for its newsworthiness, was to connote an anti-union line. By contrast the anti-union feeling in some ABC news reports seemed more deliberately structured. The result was that instead of a tendency towards industrial anarchy, ABC reports connoted a more ordered, less threatened industrial system, where other parties had at least as strong a voice as did the unions.

ABC COVERAGE OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Corresponding ABC news reports on industrial disputes presented a more ordered scenario than those on 5DN. On the ABC, while the consequences of industrial action often were sketched initially the time, place and context also were briefly but carefully detailed. Representatives of the parties involved were identified by name, as were their titles in their respective organisations. The views of both parties apparently were reported objectively in a series of statements, with approximately 60% of time attributed to employers and 40% to union voices, on average. Developments of negotiations between parties were detailed and the conclusion usually indicated a time frame or future context for the particular dispute.

As a result, coverage of industrial dispute was much less dramatic (melodramatic) than that on 5DN news reports; rather, the themes of negotiability and effective government control were maintained, where law and order were seen to prevail.

A sense of order was reinforced by the inclusion of industrial news items which noted that threatened strikes had been averted, such as the English Coal Miners' strike, (ABC A4-7.45-22). Albeit briefly, the second sentence concisely explained the issue at the same time as it contained the threat:

"Mining union leaders say their members have voted overwhelmingly against the proposal for a general walk-out in support of Welsh miners protesting at plans to close a colliery."

The inclusion of the adverb "overwhelmingly" seemed to colour the

report slightly in connoting some sense of relief at the aforesaid strike being averted.

The ABC also included stories of industrial negotiations having been successfully concluded and bans lifted, for example, the National Journalists pay rise claim (A4-1200-12); the end of the Timber Workers dispute (A3-1800-9); the return to work by New South Wales Shearers (B1-1300-5); and the lifting of the ban in a Taxation Department dispute (C2-1800-9). Such items informed the audience of the processes involved in solving disputes and of the important role of the Arbitration Commission.

Yet, on ABC news the effects of industrial action, in terms of inconveniencing the public, were emphasised frequently enough to suggest an anti-union line. For example, the story of the State Bus strike (ABC C4-1800-2) began

"A bus strike stranded thousands of commuters, showgoers and shoppers in the rain in Adelaide today."

This immediately was followed by a denial of employer responsibility:

"The State Transport Authority has denied that it provoked today's strike",

and the story concluded that

"If it continues, the bus dispute will hit football fans at the weekend" (editor's emphasis)

Similarly, with the New South Wales train strike, the news report opened with an image of disruption, the effect directly linked by the conjunction "because" to the unionists.

"New South Wales is without train services today because of a strike by train drivers." (ABC A1-7.45-8)

Listeners were told also "It's the second time in recent weeks", before they were told that the cause was cost-cutting proposals by the State Rail Authority. No further details were made available to the audience on this issue but more details followed of the areas inconvenienced. Subsequently there was a reprimand from the Arbitration Commission, which in language reminiscent of the English lord calling off the hounds,

"finally ordered them (unionists) to call off the stoppage."

The report of the end of another rail strike reinforced the sense of the innocence and conscientiousness of the employers and, by implication, the contrasting irresponsibility of the unionists. This item (ABC D3-7.45-16) began with the employers:

"Australian National says it's making every effort to clear up the backlog of freight, held up for the past nine days by the Victorian Railway Signalmen's dispute"

and the item concluded with references to the urgency of freight delivery and to Christmas, with the emotive effect of reinforcing the sense of the inconvenience of the strike to the public and to private enterprise:

"another 800 (freight containers) held up in Melbourne included urgently required goods for Adelaide's Christmas trade."

The Airline Pilots Federation fight against their being taxed on lump sum superannuation payments was introduced with this angle of anticipated inconvenience to the public,

"Domestic airflights will be disrupted in all capital cities next week as pilots hold stop-work meetings to discuss the Federal Government's proposed tax ..." (ABC B5-1300-1)

When the ban was lifted, a report on the following Monday (when

ironically Canberra airport was closed due to fog) emphasised that

"On Friday, the Prime Minister, Mr. Hawke, threatened action against the pilots if they hadn't lifted their ban ... said the government hadn't made any concessions to the pilots ... taxes would stay." (ABC C1-7.45-4)

The story of a State milk strike by the Miscellaneous Workers Union protesting at company staff doing the work of unionists, put the cause of dispute in the second half of the report. The focus was on the power of the employer which was stressed by the hyphenated pauses in the sentence and the view of the public as innocent victims in "suburban homes". The blame was laid directly on the unionists from the first sentence:

"The State's biggest milk processor - Southern Farmers - says milk deliveries to suburban homes tomorrow will be restricted because of a strike by process workers." (ABC A2-1800-2)

The implicit and shared sense of public frustration with unionists on strike as signalled there, was scarcely concealed in the item on a strike by local newspaper printers, over "what they (union) describe as scab labor", (ABC C5-1300-7). This expression neatly distanced the reporter and the management from union interpretations associated with the gutter feel of language like "scab", and at the same time avoided management having to take responsibility for any wrong-doing. The pun in the story slug "NEWS STRIKE" was echoed in the opening line in the use of the word "More"

... "There's more industrial trouble at South Australia's afternoon paper - THE NEWS."

Twice in the item, it was commented that

"printers were refusing to do what they were told."

The inclusion of "so far" in the final sentence,

"So far there has been no statement from News Limited" seemed to pin the reporters' (and audience's) hopes for the resolution of problems and resumption of normal services on management. When the management response came in the evening bulletin, the circularity of the explanation was laughable. The item (ABC C5-1800-9) read

"Adelaide's afternoon newspaper THE NEWS was not published today. The Management says the reason is a strike by printers."

Management definition of the issue which put the blame clearly on the workers was accepted by reporters as the correct and only definition.

News reports on police bans on non-essential duties in New South Wales, in response to the government's intention to set up a Board to control the police force, implicitly criticised police for striking. In particular, the police seemed to be reprimanded by use of the active verb, whereas usually the passive verb was applied to police. Thus they were presented as protagonists.

"The industrial action ... means police are refusing to perform what are viewed as non-essential duties," (ABC D4-7.45-4)

Whether this was the "view" of the police, or their employers, or the journalist, was ambiguous, but the view essentially was critical of the police on strike. In addition, it was noted in the opening lines of the early morning item (ABC D4-7.45-4) that everyday, work at police stations had not been affected "so far". This "so far" was repeated in the midday bulletin, (ABC D4-1200-6) anticipating inconvenience to the public, despite the fact that it also was twice noted that the public was not affected by the bans.

By the midday bulletin, the focus of the story had shifted to

"talks" between the State Police Minister and the Police Association. Three sentences described the lack of progress of the talks, their duration and a possibility of further talks. A fourth sentence suggested, but did not specify, that other issues of police discontent existed. That idea was left clouded (avoided?) and was followed immediately by the reiteration that "so far" the public was little affected. Overall, then, the police dispute was contained in the democratic processes of negotiation and the sense of public threat was minimised.

As well as stressing the disruptive nature of the consequences of industrial action, the ABC appeared to give less emphasis and sympathy to union views and more emphasis to employer views. This was mainly by way of giving prominence to employer spokesmen. Also such spokesmen were presented as smooth and confident operators, at least as reflected in the language style attributed to them by news reporters. In the periods surveyed, the best example of this focus of reporting came in the reports on the multi-national company, General Motors Holden.

Reported discussions in the Arbitration Commission on GMH's future plans to retrench workers, showed the power clearly lay with the employer, from the opening line (of ABC A3-1800-8):

"The Motor Vehicle Manufacturer - General Motors Holdens - declined today to give guarantees to a number of unions on the future employment prospects at the Woodville Plant."

The status of the firm was heralded by the opening phrase "The Motor Vehicle Manufacturer" and underlined by the use of pauses on either side of the name. The use of the genteel verb "declined" suggesting that their opinion was given almost as a favour, tended to give the

company an appearance of omnipotence. This sense was repeated in the last line where the spokesman said,

"GMH was doing all in its power to allay the fears of workers."

A month later in a report, GMH's power was similarly connoted as mighty. There was no mention of the company's "refusal" to co-operate as was usually applied to similar union action. The simple answer "No" simply suggested finality, a refusal to negotiate.

"General Motors Holdens has answered NO, to Union suggestions that a committee be set up to discuss the company's future in Australia" ... (ABC B5-1800-4).

The report continued, that such a committee would

"have the power to impose the union's wishes on the company" and finally

"GMH made it clear",
(employing the voice of authority), that its announcement of retrenchments

"would not and could not be altered" (ABC B5-1800-4).

The voice employed by GMH spokesmen was similar to that used by government spokesmen in news reports: formal, confident and authoritarian.

Interestingly, a report on the approach of the Vehicle Builders Union in a pending industrial dispute employed a similar style, markedly more sophisticated than that used by most unions. For example, in the opening lines, mostly were couched in constructive and conciliatory terms, despite initial imagery of "fronts" suggesting militancy.

"Unions concerned with General Motors Holdens are taking action on two fronts ... meeting to discuss the company's plans ... and trying to get the Prime Minister to organise a summit meeting with the company to ascertain its plans" (ABC B2-1200-4).

The effect of these particular unions speaking the same language as the employers, connoted a sense of the unions employing the same rules and working within the system. This report described the union secretary as requesting the company to meet its "obligation to the retrenched workers", thereby implying a sense of noblesse oblige. The union representative also was shown as respectfully deferring to the government, in the conclusion, where

"the union was waiting for an answer from both the Premier and the Prime Minister, on whether the summit would be held."
(ABC B2-1200-4)

Such strategies may be seen to be conforming in the polite structure of the discourse, as well as in the ordered play of power-brokers, to the conciliatory consensus role much highlighted by the Hawke government. That image featured strongly in a report on the rejection of a wages agreement applied to the Building Unions in the Arbitration Commission (ABC D2-7.45-2). Virtually the only person given a voice in the report was the government representative, the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr. Willis. The report showed him using the institutional voice, gentle but quite firm. On one hand he used positive, encouraging verbs like "urged", "supported", "endorsed", "offered", "maintain" and "explore"; alternatively he "regretted" politely that the unions could not have all that they had requested.

After several introductory sentences in this style, two sentences followed which connoted the past conflict between the government and building unions, and the necessarily pragmatic reality of a trade-off arrangement which was required to resolve open conflict.

"However the government supported the agreement because it offered unique prospects for industrial peace in a previously turbulent industry.

The agreement would have given about 130-thousand building workers pay rises of 15 to 20 dollars in return for two years' industrial peace." (ABC D2-7.45-2)

The conjunctive "however" seemed to indicate the change in the tone of the item, and the judgment of a "previously turbulent industry" served as a reprimand. The second sentence, referring to the agreement, seemed to be a polite way of expressing the central trade-off offered by the government.

While the item went on to report that all parties involved would meet for further discussion the following week, the final two lines allocated to the union movement, seemed to undermine any genuine hope for industrial peace, because they categorically condemned the union.

"The Building Workers Industrial Union already is threatening industrial action to force employers to honour the agreement."

These lines reversed the vocabulary from conciliatory to war-like and aggressive, identifying the union stance as non-compliant. The inclusion of the adverb "already" and the rather awkward placement of it in the sentence, which drew attention to it, connoted news reporters anticipating (another) struggle. As mentioned earlier, the juxtaposition of the concepts of "force" and "honour" was ironical and served to connote a sense of scepticism by reporters with respect to this union playing the game fairly by the rules. Note that the game and rules were by implication laid out by the employers.

As on 5DN news reports the ABC's tendency to portray unions as threatening or destructive did not carry over into its portrayal of the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions). This body was seen as a rational one (perhaps another arm of government?) seeking agreement between unions, employers and the Arbitration Commission. The secretary, Mr. Kelty seems to have been speaking in the formal language of the government and judiciary with such expressions as

"We believe that we have an agreement of merit ..." (ABC B5-1800-5)

However, when the ACTU line was opposed to that of the government, news reports tended to connote the ACTU position as distinctly aggressive and threatening. For example, when at its Congress the ACTU decided to oppose a government proposal to reduce penalty payments, the verbs associated with the ACTU were all very physical: "warned", "oppose", "threatening" and "attack".

"Congress today warned the Federal Government it would oppose any move to reduce penalty payments ... and passed a resolution threatening industrial action if penalty rates came under attack." (ABC C5-1800-5).

The response that immediately followed from the Federal Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr. Willis, was characterised by the use of measured, excessively polite vocabulary like "regrettable", "sympathise" and "prefer". This served to underline the reasoned controlled government approach, by contrast with the hasty, irrational nature of that of the ACTU. Mr. Willis:

"described as regrettable the ACTU resolution warning ... could sympathise ... however we'd prefer that the ACTU hadn't made such eh statements ... be satisfied" (ABC C5-1800-5)

The Federal Opposition also had a voice in this item, using the

opportunity to launch an attack for their own ends. They were seen as meeting force with force, having

"mounted a strong attack against the ACTU's push ... accusing it of trying to bully the Arbitration Commission with threats of industrial action ... union's push was economic madness." (ABC C5-1800-5)

The Opposition's aggression here forced the image of the ACTU back into the union battlefield and the madhouse. This, in conjunction with the government spokesman's genteel criticism, had the effect of connoting a precarious position for the ACTU: dissociated from both sides of the government, aggressive and irrational and substantially penalised for not playing the (language) game of the system.

A further example of the coverage of the ACTU indicated how subordinate its position was/could be in relation to the power exercised by the Federal Government through the Arbitration Commission. The occasion was the hearing of the ACTU Job Protection Test Case at which the ACTU's claim was being endorsed by the Federal Government. The Government and the Commission were presented as the more powerful parties. This sense was established from the opening lines with an assertive statement that,

"The Federal Government has told a full bench of ..." (ABC D3-7.45-13).

Thus it was in contrast with the submissive position of the ACTU which "is seeking".

This was followed by a respectful and detailed denotation of the central government and Commission figures:

"The Advocate for the Government, Doctor Gavin Griffith, Q.C., told the bench, headed by the President of the Commission, Sir John Moore ... " (ABC D3-7.45-13).

The discourse conveyed a sense of close association of these two figures in this sentence and made apparent the ease of their relationship and equality of power. For example, one "told" the bench, where the "bench" was personified by another equally well-titled character. The conclusion of the item connoted the relationship as akin to an old boys' network.

"The Federal Government's renewed support for the ACTU claims followed a hint by Sir John to the ACTU in July that the economy might not be able to afford both the ACTU's National Wage Claim and its Job Protection Claim" ... (ABC D3-7.45-13).

A sense of familiarity was conveyed in this sentence by the reference to the President of the Arbitration Commission as "Sir John" and by the choice of gentle, informal, expressions like "hint" and "might not be able to afford". These lexical choices seemed to belie the authority and formality of the forum in which they were being used.

It was indicated that the Federal Government had followed the "hint": the tacit corollary was that the ACTU should do the same. The ACTU position was connoted as somewhat foiled by the other two powerbrokers; foiled by the system but also by the style of the news item.

The use of a formal discourse frames many ABC industrial reports. It was identified as a language in common of the Federal Government, the Arbitration Commission and multinational companies. It connoted an atmosphere of propriety and fairness in which the statements of these parties assumed a taken-for-granted quality. For example this formal rather euphemistic statement that

"despite current prospects for improved economic activity the labour market would remain subdued for some time" (ABC B3-7.45-13)

put the realities of extensive and long term unemployment safely at a distance.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the industrial news reporting on both networks portrayed a sense of a strong union movement in Australia. Industrial news had a regular prominent place in bulletins, often immediately following political news. This indicated the importance of the state of the industrial scene to the nation's economy and image. It is suggested that such industrial news reports played a pivotal role in conveying the (negative) image of the Australian union movement. The tendency of the reporting to highlight industrial disputes which threatened disruption to services, reinforced the popular myth of unions holding the country to ransom. Unions tended to be portrayed as non-conforming querulous, clumsy in expression and by corollary, clumsy in tactics.

5DN industrial reports in particular, focused on the aggression and militancy of unions, exploiting the potential, and the actual, drama and conflict in such stories, because those aspects made the best headlines for the news service. Similarly the focus on the negative effects on the public of union action, for example buses and trains not running, shortage of milk supplies, constituted a news angle that was of immediate interest to the audience.

The effects of such industrial action were enhanced in the reporting by emotive description from journalists at the scene, and recurrent use of metaphors of battle (muscle, ransoms, siege).

Resultant images of unions tended to suggest irrational and childlike behaviour on their part. The rewriting and updating of the same prominent industrial story across the bulletins of the day maintained a sense of tension in that arena.

This emphasis of 5DN on the effects of industrial action taken by unions, was at the expense of any detailed explanation of the cause of disputes. Given this, it was difficult for the audience to assess the rights and wrongs of industrial issues: comprehension was limited to a simplistic formula along the lines that unions cause trouble.

Industrial disputes reported on the ABC news were differently framed, but still tended to portray unions negatively. They had a fainter identity and power, but were seen to play a destructive role in the system. The definition of events and structures of interpretation were established mostly by employers who thus contained the sense of disorder while pinpointing unions as trouble makers.

The employers' voice was seen to have the qualities of the institutional voice: an assuredness and authority in common with other agents of social control such as the police and judiciary (see Chapter 8 on Crime News). The smooth formality of the employers' language in the incidents described here illustrated a complicity of employers with the Government voice. This voice is elaborated on in the following chapter on Business News.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE COVERAGE OF BUSINESS NEWS

APPROACH

The first third of this chapter looks at minor business stories. The differences in the extent and variety of business stories on the two networks are discussed, in terms of the contribution they make to the tone of the news bulletin. The effect such stories have on building a picture of a nation's economic base is also noted.

The bulk of the chapter looks at major business news stories, which involve multinational companies like Mitsubishi and B.H.P. Detailed analysis shows how the smooth company voice operates.

The role of specialist industrial reporters on each network is described; in particular, their symbiotic relationship with multinational company spokesmen.

COVERAGE OF MINOR BUSINESS NEWS STORIES

In recent years the importance of the stock market as a business index to a section of the radio audience, has been recognized. Consequently adjacent to evening and morning news bulletins, both stations have instituted stock market reports and/or the Dow Jones index. Within the news services proper however, the ABC averaged a more extensive coverage (10.3%) of business stories in the periods surveyed than did 5DN (5%).

On ABC news services, the majority of business items had a place around the middle of the bulletin. Apart from the odd consumer item, (e.g., a faulty gas bottle withdrawn from the market) there was a focus on the viability of medium sized businesses: for example, a decreased profit for the winemakers, Seppelts (ABC A4-7.45-9) and a loss for mining "giant" C.R.A. (ABC A2-1800-2). Shifts in ownership and control were noted as newsworthy: South Australian soft drink maker Woodrooffe Ltd. becoming a publicly listed company (ABC C3-7.45-13); and Myer Emporium selling a store to the South Australian, Emanuel property group (ABC B5-1800-8). One interesting story of media ownership networks related the concern of Victorian Premier Mr. Cain, over the sale of the Melbourne "Age" newspaper, long held by the Syme family, to John Fairfax. The sale was described by Mr. Cain:

"as a sad day for Victorian journalism, saying the paper had maintained a fearless independence and had withstood the close embrace of conglomerate control" (ABC C5-1800-4).

Overall the ABC news reports on the business world built up a picture of the economic base of the country. For example, there were

items noting the prices of gold, wool and petrol which related Australia's position in terms of world markets. An item on the price of gold levelling out on a specific trading period concluded:

"Gold has fallen about one hundred dollars an ounce in the past three weeks because of the uncertainty about the future of oil." (ABC A3-7.4505)

When the floor price for Australian wool sold at auction was increased, following devaluation of the dollar, it was explained that:

"The Wool Corporation said the devaluation would make wool cheaper for overseas customers and it expected some increase in demand." (ABC A4-7.45-21)

The detrimental effect on the Australian coal industry of bans by mine-workers and seamen in Britain was also explained (ABC D3-1200-8).

On the local scene the ABC noted new and developing projects in commerce and industry such as the building of more wheat silos at Port Lincoln, submissions on the construction of a rail link from Alice Springs to Darwin thus helping to guarantee the future of Port Pirie's smelters, and the development of the Argyle diamond mine in Western Australia. Such items often included statements of optimism about the economic future, like Premier Burke's comment on the latter item, that Argyle:

"would make a major contribution to the State's economy and would add a new and glamorous dimension to its resource development." (ABC D1-7.45-4)

Additionally the ABC gave short reports about research, assistance available to industry and predicted labour market trends. There were reports on the Bureau of Labour Market Research predicting a falling participation by older Australians in the workforce (ABC D3-1300-5); on the government's move to widen powers of the Australian Industry

Development Corporation (ABC C5-1200-3); and on a survey on consumer confidence from Melbourne's Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research (ABC D3-1800-4). No such items appeared in the 5DN news. The effect of their inclusion in the ABC news was to give that service more of a sense of being an information service, with a leaning towards current affairs and the economy at large.

A notable aspect of ABC business news items was the reference to the Australian economy's rural base. Such detail indicated a well entrenched National news commitment to the rural dimension of the nation. This has always been a characteristic of the ABC which has a well established rural department and rural audience and is in contrast to 5DN's fast city image. (The same is also true of ABC radio and television weather services.) For example, a grim forecast from the Aviation Department on the depressed state of Australia's airline industry added:

"However the Minister said the breaking of the drought should mean a brighter outlook." (ABC D1-7.45-16)

Similarly, a news item on a new economic package to help make the Riverland Cannery at Berri more viable, noted that demand was down:

"and the company's grape crop had been reduced by drought and frost." (ABC B4-1800-7)

Items on the fortunes of the meat industry also noted the rhythms of the land and the seasons. The Samcor Abattoir was to close for eight weeks:

"because of a lack of stock to kill." (ABC D3-1800-7)

and at another time there were to be retrenchments in the meat industry because:

"the heavy rain over the past month is having a serious effect on employment ... farmers were restocking and stock was not coming on the market in the volume expected at this time of the year." (ABC C4-1200-8)

The business items reported on the 5DN news were not concerned with the rural theme and company ownership. They focused more on the rising prices of basic items such as bread, (5DN C4-7-6 and 5DN C4-1200-8), petrol (5DN B2-1200-9 and 5DN B5-7-6), gas (5DN A2-1800-7) and local real estate (5DN D3-1200-8 and 5DN D3-1800-8).

5DN also included occasional items involving the responses of industry to government regulation and taxation: Credit Unions deciding to absorb the State Financial Institutions Tax (5DN D4-1200-11) and the building industry organizations calling for an extension of the withholding tax (5DN C4-7-4). A certain antagonism, or sense of government and business in opposition, sometimes was suggested in these reports. Note the slug, "DOGFIGHT", used to identify the item about the application by East West Airlines to be granted discount fares by the Federal Government. The anger of retail traders at government restrictions on Christmas trading hours was evident in an item which began:

"Retailers have criticised the State Government's refusal to allow extra Saturday shopping hours"

and concluded,

"The State Government will allow suburban and city stores to trade until 9 p.m. on" (5DN D3-1200-9).

The key verbs "criticised", "refused to allow", and "will allow" connoted a negative sense of business in the hands of government acting as a Big Brother figure.

An interesting comparative example of the portrayal by ABC and 5DN of the relationship of government to private enterprise occurred in the story of the Labor government's decision on the ownership of the communications satellite Aussat. Both stations placed the result of the Labor Caucus meeting, which was to reverse an earlier decision and not allow part ownership by major commercial networks, first in their bulletins on that day.

The 5DN Macquarie network initially responded with hostility, employing the language of strikes:

"Private enterprise is to be locked out of control of the domestic satellite system --AUSSAT--"

The report continued in a more restrained style.

"Greg Wilesmith reports the Federal Government has reversed its decision early this year to sell forty-nine per cent of the satellite company to private television interests:

(ACTUALITE)

In a major statement to parliament this afternoon Communications Minister Michael Duffy, formally announced the government's intention not to allow private television interests to have any say in the running of Aussat. Instead Telecom will be invited to buy up 25% of the government's 100% share-holding in the satellite company, Aussat Property Limited.

Earlier today when Mr. Duffy outlined the Cabinet's recommendation on Aussat to the Caucus, there was a back bench move to have Telecom take up all 100% shares in Aussat. This was narrowly defeated.

In other announcements today Mr. Duffy said that cable television" (5DN D2-1800-1)

Note that the emphasis of the report was on the effect of the Caucus decision, not the decision-making process.

The anti-government feeling suggested at the beginning of the item was echoed in the item which followed on immediately. It began:

"The State Government is reviewing yet another of its taxation measures. Premier John Bannon has revealed in Parliament that he's called for an enquiry into Liquor Licence fees, a move

which will increase the price of a bottle of beer by about three cents. The Opposition says the fee increase could force some hotels out of business" (5DN D2-1800-2)

The inclusion of "yet another" in the first sentence had the effect of signalling an agenda of relentless taxation reviews by the government, although, for example, the previous item had not touched on this subject. "Yet" further connoted a generalized sense of the repetitiveness of the story among journalists and by inference, a public feeling of weariness and frustration with the government. The two sentences which followed were structured to associate the Premier with a desire to increase the cost of a much loved consumer commodity and the Liberal Opposition with a concern for small business. The choice of the verbs "revealed" and "force" further reinforced a negative view of the Labor government acting like a Big Brother.

The ABC news item of the same day was structured quite differently and note that the final gloating (?) paragraph was edited out. See the full text included here:

SATELLITE - CAUCUS.

"The Federal Labor Party Caucus meeting in Canberra today narrowly defeated a proposal giving Telecom 100% control of Australia's domestic communications satellite - Aussat. A Federal Cabinet recommendation won the day ... and the government-owned company set up to operate the satellite will be retained as a separate entity.

Who should own and operate the domestic satellite has been one of the more controversial issues in the background of Labor politics since March. By May, Federal Cabinet had announced an in-principle decision to sell off 49% of the satellite to private interests -- the big networks and the like. But clearly that wasn't going to be acceptable to the majority in Caucus. So, yesterday, Cabinet decided Aussat would remain a commercial tax-paying organisation, with Telecom being offered this morning to hand the whole operation to Telecom, and it almost succeeded. In the end the vote was 43 to 40 against.
(Edit)

While major commercial networks won't have party ownership in the satellite, they will have direct access to it through

transponders for national networking. Regional radio and television stations will be looked after. They will be able to extend their services once a supplementary licence scheme is introduced. That means FM radio and second television services and the ABC will be able to extend its services to remote areas through the homestead and community broadcasting satellite service. But the communications minister, Mr. Duffy, said there had been no decision on whether radiated subscription television should be introduced." (ABC D2-1800-1)

Essentially in this report the effect of the decision to effectively limit private enterprise control of Aussat was secondary to the drama of the day's Federal Caucus meeting. The item focused on the drama of the decision-making process: the narrowness of the vote, the controversial status of the issue for the Labor party, the tension, the last minute moves to alter the decision and the final vote. This kind of detail and the unusual inclusion of the cliché in the second paragraph, that a Federal Cabinet recommendation "won the day", seemed to celebrate and endorse the final decision that Aussat be operated by "a government owned company".

This pro-government response by the ABC was not surprising given that the decision meant that the ABC would be able to extend its services to remote areas. This fact however was edited out of the item that went to air, as was a paternalistic reference to the fact that (commercial) "regional radio and television stations will be looked after", but will not have control.

In the interests of apparent political balance, the ABC included four brief sentences in its next item indicating that the Opposition response to the government's decision on Aussat was "both cynical and messy" (ABC D2-1800-2) and that a Liberal Government "would over-turn

the decision and sell 49% of the satellite service to private enterprise." (ABC D2-1800-2). The brevity of this report indicated relative lack of interest in the Liberal position: perhaps a foregone expectation that the positions of the parties would be at opposite poles.

In this ABC item on the Aussat decision, a similar sense of satisfaction at the Federal Cabinet's control was reinforced by its association with authority and rationality. This was in contrast with the tacit sense of mob rule of Caucus, described as changeable and contrary in the reporter's actualite. It was made clear in the discourse that Cabinet remained in charge because they "announced" and "decided" Aussat's operating structure while, to the majority of Caucus:

"But clearly that wasn't going to be acceptable,"
"However there was a last minute move,"
"and it almost succeeded."

A rather patronising editorial sense of Caucus obstruction, even interference with the smooth running of government, was signalled by the two conjunctive adjuncts, "but" and "however". In addition the inclusion of the adverbs "clearly" and "almost", suggested that the Caucus strategy of opposition was one followed as a matter of course.

A certain exasperation with this decision-making process was underlined by the succinctness of the final sentence:

"In the end, the vote was 43 to 40 against."

(Note that as a result of the sentences on the future operating structure of Aussat being edited out, both the beginning and end of the news item kept the focus on the secondary issue of the day's debate.)

Both radio stations included a number of news items on the airline industry in the period under investigation. Some of these were straight information reports. Others were included because of the volatile and sometimes militant nature of Australian air services, and probably also because the travel industry is a barometer, of sorts, of a country's economy. Rises in international air fares were reported factually (5DN A4-1800-10) and (ABC A4-1800-7). 5DN featured at number two on a bulletin, the decision on new cheap air fares by the Independent Air Fares Committee (even though the details were not yet released), (5DN B5-1800-2). The expansion of the South Australian company Lloyd Aviation (5DN B4-1800-2) was also placed at number two. The ABC noted further down its bulletins that Qantas was re-establishing Qantas flights direct from Adelaide to Singapore (ABC C4-7.45-20), and that South Australia's Albatross planes had been grounded by the Aviation Department over a fares dispute, (ABC D5-1200-6 and (ABC D5-1800-12).

ABC news featured "a big loss" by Qantas of thirty four and a half million dollars, which was qualified immediately with a statement of optimism:

"But the airline claims to have turned the corner, and says it's now operating profitably" (ABC D4-1800-2).

More cliches were used by Qantas Chairman, Mr. Jim Leslie, to infuse a sense of confidence in the airline. In effect he seemed to deny the announcement of the massive loss that opened the item. Mr. Leslie talked of how Qantas "had performed better", "we held our own" and "had to keep the airline in shape" and concluded with the wonderfully self evident remark that spelled out a business ethos:

"I think we've done it very well, but we'd still be happier if we made a profit." (ABC D4-1800-2)

The equivalent 5DN item on the "record overall loss" of Qantas was brief and had Mr. Leslie put the blame on "excess capacity, stagnant passenger growth and high fuel costs", (5DN D4-1800-9). None of these were explained and the item was quickly passed over, to be followed by a longer one on a woman being crushed to death by a circus elephant in Melbourne.

The fate of one man in trouble was given more prominence on 5DN when one of Australia's biggest travel companies, Tour World International, "which has offices in all States" went into receivership. While the ABC reported it as a significant national crisis and detailed the position of current customers (ABC B3-12.30-3), 5DN wrote the story with a local focus:

"South Australian representatives of the collapsed Tour World International travel group hope to maintain operations in Adelaide." (5DN B3-1200-6)

The manager of the Adelaide branch was celebrated for his underdog position and his solid work ethos. His branch was "individually owned", "employs nine people" and is "trading profitably". The comment that the Adelaide branch

"fears it could be dragged down by events at Tour World's Melbourne headquarters", (5DN B3-1200-6)

smacked of a parochialism that has a place in the business items on 5DN's news.

COVERAGE OF MAJOR BUSINESS NEWS STORIES

No such parochialism and sentiment was indulged in on either station, however, in the business stories that related to the multi-national car and steel manufacturers. The issues of that time were future retrenchment proposals and company restructuring made necessary by falling company profits. The stories were told from the companies' viewpoints and structured in ways that suggested complicity of both media networks with big business. The voices of these industries were strong and the voices of their employees and their union representatives virtually non-existent.

It was evident in these stories that the companies and the news reporters and, by extension, the news audience, all accepted one underlying assumption: the essential cause-effect scenario of company losses meaning worker retrenchments.

There was evidence of this assumption in the case of the car manufacturer, Mitsubishi Australia, whose spokesman was reported as saying:

"there'll be no retrenchments, despite the company's loss of almost fourteen million dollars ..." (ABC C2-7.45-2)

The conjunction "despite" highlighted the assumed result of a company's losses being taken out on workers, and if the point (extraordinary generosity of Mitsubishi?) were missed first time, it was repeated in the second sentence. The Managing Director said:

"that despite the problems that have beset the car industry, there'll be no lay-offs" and he is "optimistic about the long term prospects for the company."

That last sentence was interesting for the juxtaposition of the company voice signalled by the formal expressions "beset" and "long term prospects", with the colloquial "lay-offs" relating to the workers. A similar confused sense of identity was indicated in the actualite where this managing director, Mr. Graham Spurling, attempted to define his company.

"We're not a big company compared with the big General Motors and Ford here in Australia. We're not even looking to compete in the big stakes as far as market share, as they are, but we've got shareholders who are big, big big. You know Mitsubishi Corporation in Japan and Mitsubishi Motors Corporation in Japan, (both very substantial companies) and I'm optimistic because I know the sort of investment that we're putting in right now for new models in the future."

Here there was part apology for Mitsubishi Australia being "not a big company" and "not even looking to compete in the big stakes". The vague, even confused references to Mitsubishi here and in Japan and the colloquial voice being used in ("we're putting in right now"), along with the company voice ("new models in the future") reflected a relative unsophistication of language and perhaps techniques. This was in contrast with the succinct and smooth utterances of G.M.H. or B.H.P. executives, for example, to be elaborated on below.

Whilst Mitsubishi had established some sense of compassion and identity with the workers in that bulletin item (ABC C2-7.45-2), it was revealed later in the day that they were more canny than they seemed. In fact their workforce had already been reduced by sixty, (ABC C2-1200-6). The strategies used to effect this were couched in polite language that obscured any sense of threat or hostility: forty-five workers "have agreed to transfer" and fourteen workers "have declined a transfer" and "indicated they will accept early retirement ...". One wonders about the fate of the one worker left unaccounted for!

The ABC report was structured sympathetically towards Mitsubishi's interests. The first sentence featured a sense of harmony in the fact that forty-five men had agreed to transfer. The second sentence included a subordinate clause seemingly intended as an aside, but in effect prominently offering the financial justification: that "Mitsubishi -- which has announced a loss of nearly fourteen million dollars ...". It was not until the third sentence, after the economic rationalisation, that the audience learned that fourteen workers have "declined" (refused) the company offer.

Then "our" industrial reporter "takes up the story", an expression which could denote the reporter slipping easily into the place of company spokesman and assisting him in his job. (The use of a specialist reporter in itself conveyed a sense of the news network paying respects to major companies.) He reported that the relevant union official

"says the proposed transfers have been under discussion with Mitsubishi for some weeks"

Democratic processes seem to have occurred to the satisfaction of all. It was not until several sentences later that it was explained that for those workers who agreed to transfer

"This would cost them around thirty-five dollars a week."
(ABC C2-1200-6).

The 5DN news report of that same morning of Mitsubishi's loss (5DN C2-7-5) also portrayed the firm sympathetically, as innocent victim. This was reinforced by the use of the passive voice:

"The current economic recession has been blamed by Mitsubishi Australia for the fourteen million dollar loss it's recorded ..."

The item went on to juggle figures of profit, loss and sales, from comparative years. This echoed the equivocal sense of figures "recorded", being able to be manipulated to particular effect: in this case to justify sympathy for the company, and probably prepare workers for the bad news of loss of jobs to come. The company

"recorded the loss for the first 5 months of 1983 compared with a million dollar profit at the same time last year.

Mitsubishi's spokesman PAT NEVILLE says the firm's sales have fallen severely over the past nine months to their lowest level for 10 years." (5DN C2-7-5).

Once this was established, the second half of the item had a company spokesman making reassuring remarks about Mitsubishi's "plans to get back on its financial feet again".

The same formula was used in news reports when Mitsubishi's operating losses for the previous year were announced: announce a loss, reassure the workers that they are not threatened and blame the loss on the economy. Examples of introductory paragraphs from reports on 5DN and ABC will suffice here.

"Mitsubishi Australia has assured its workers in Adelaide that there'll be no retrenchments despite the company's operating loss last year of more than eleven million dollars this compares with a profit of seventeen point seven million the previous year.

The company says last year's slump in vehicle sales and the high cost of borrowing money ... are to blame." (5DN A5-1800-7).

and

"The Adelaide-based vehicle manufacturer, Mitsubishi Motors Australia, today announced a twelve-million dollar loss for last year. But the company says there will be no retrenchments. Mitsubishi blamed the loss on what it termed extremely difficult trading conditions ..." (ABC A5-1800-3).

The complicity of news journalists with these companies was particularly noticeable in the way that the news reports repeated, rather than translated into real terms, the euphemisms for loss of jobs. Jargon words employed by the company voice were often out of reach of the general public. For example, 5DN news explained that retrenchments were necessary at G.M.H. "to streamline its Australian operations" (5DN A5-1200-11). The same ABC story employed a greater number of euphemisms:

"scaling down the company's operations"
 "winding down of the Woodville plant"
 "reorganisation plan" (ABC A4-1200-9)
 and "massive rationalisation plan" (ABC A5-7.45-1).

The livelihoods of men and women at stake were similarly distanced by a redundancy scheme which "trimmed staff" (ABC D4-1800-2), or made "cuts to the workforce" (ABC A5-7.45-1), or "has to reduce" (ABC A4-1800-1). These tailoring images stressed the neat shape of the company, while avoiding talking about people. This implied a judgment that to be lean was healthy. At other times more convoluted expressions such as there being "little hope of avoiding job losses" were used to avoid a direct statement that people will lose jobs.

One extract of an ABC lead story on planned retrenchments at G.M.H. is quoted at length here for detailed examination. This was presented as an actualite by the industrial reporter.

"Reliable sources in the industry indicated today that G.M.H. has to reduce its overall workforce in Australia by fourteen hundred, from its present high level of seventeen hundred. It will reopen its former successful voluntary early retirement programme, and workers will have until March 31st to take up the offer. If that does not produce the required number, retrenchments will follow. The most vulnerable section under any re-organisation plan by G.M.H. is the Tool Room at Woodville, and according to the unions -- one hundred and seventy jobs, but no workers have been transferred to Elizabeth over the last three weeks. From the proposals to be

outlined tomorrow is expected to come the winding down of the Woodville plant -- with the exception of the automatic transmission division, and the consolidation of Elizabeth."
(ABC A4-1800-1)

A strong sense of order and calm and propriety was established in this G.M.H. scenario mediated by the ABC reporter. Where a "former successful voluntary early retirement programme" was to be re-opened, the adjective "former" gave a sense of something solid being instituted (and therefore validated); "successful" remained unchallenged as the company's judgment; "early retirement" was a euphemism for laying off workers; and "programme" made the process sound ordered. Furthermore, choices and rewards were implied in the next statement that workers have a set time "to take up the offer".

The accuracy of the inclusion of the adjective "voluntary" and the sense of an offering from the company, were immediately contradicted by the next sentence which asserted a sense of an offer that cannot be refused because there is a gun at one's head.

"If that does not produce the required number, retrenchments will follow."

The use of the verb "produce" was important. Although a term usually associated with production of goods, it was being applied to people here. In this way the discourse suggested that the status of workers was equivalent to that of goods produced and packaged by the company. It also helped to convey a sense of workers and being expendable.

Next came the definition of the real "vulnerable" human cost. (Note that the statement was clearly labelled "according to the unions.") The reality was: G.M.H.'s "re-organisation plan" equalled

one hundred and seventy jobs lost. This fact was somewhat buried in the middle of the reporter's piece and he reverted in conclusion to more euphemisms from the company voice like "winding down" and "consolidation".

Another way in which ABC news reports on G.M.H. were structured to the company's advantage was in the complicity of the journalists in reporting unconfirmed or "leaked" stories about planned retrenchments. In telling them, the journalists gained in having broken a story, and the company gained in diminishing the negative force of their plans, in their being anticipated for some days prior to announcement. Best of all, the company could abnegate some responsibility, in not actually announcing or confirming the plans officially themselves until the public had had time to get used to the idea. It was the news reporters who took on this role!

The text of one such lead story (ABC A4-1800-1), which anticipated the announcement by G.M.H. of a "massive retrenchment program tomorrow", is printed below and referred to in detail. (The actualite has already been quoted to make an earlier point.)

(G.M.H. INTRO.)

"The motor vehicle manufacturer -- General Motors Holden -- is expected to announce a massive retrenchment program tomorrow. Our industrial reporter, John Heaver, with the story (Tape Begins) ... 'Reliable sources in the industry indicated today that G.M.H. has to the consolidation of Elizabeth.'

--
John Heaver says that G.M.H. is expected to announce tomorrow a loss of one-hundred and twenty-six million dollars. He says this figure will be put to the meeting of officials of several unions in Melbourne tomorrow by the company's managing director, Mr. Chuck Chapman."

Right from the opening line the authoritative status of the company

was established; with the use of the definite article, the underlining of the company's position (and therefore power) with two distinct pauses and the falling tone of the clause indicating certainty.

"The motor vehicle manufacturer - General Motors Holden - is expected to announce"

The formality of the verb, "announce", immediately asserted authority. The use of "expected" brought a combined sense of the interest or curiosity or expectation, as well as the restraint of an act that was virtually a foregone conclusion. While not being a passive verb, it is effectively indirect, with the result that the action is seen to occur outside the audience's jurisdiction.

The juxtaposition of this announcement with the introduction of the character, "Our industrial reporter ... with the story" seemed to signal the ABC's complicity with the story. This seemed to be reinforced in the next line which established "our" reporter's association with "reliable sources in the industry". The fact that these sources "indicated" this particular story, denoted a structure behind the news gathering process, of the industry working hand in hand with the medium. Whether or not it happened this way, the effect was to make the journalist seem in sympathy with the essence of the story, that "today",

"G.M.H. has to reduce its overall workforce in Australia by fourteen hundred"

This critical presumptive statement went through undisputed as did the substantiated judgment that the current level of employment was "high". The substance of the rest of the report set down how reductions were to be achieved. Consequently, the company was given full voice and the workers and unions no say at all.

Indeed the unions were seen to be virtually complicit (and still voiceless) in the final two sentences of the item. The first of these neatly buried the true centre or cause of the story, that is, substantial loss of profits. Virtually as an aside, the ABC reporter says that

"G.M.H. is expected to announce tomorrow a loss of one-hundred and twenty-six million dollars."

The reporter then said that "this figure" will "be put to" union officials at a meeting. Ironically (deliberately?) "this figure" was that of company loss, rather than the figure of the numbers of men to lose jobs. Thus the unions were seen to be taking on G.M.H.'s trading problems, deflecting attention away from those of the workers. The sense of order and democracy behind the process of putting something to a meeting, and having it put by the managing director of the company, barely belied the fact that the company still dictated all. They were obviously in a safe position to be able to make this gesture.

The final (third) reference to "tomorrow" and the repetition of the phrase that, G.M.H. was "expected to announce", reinforced the structure of the story of unpredicated reality, and the attempt to soften the blow that clearly was to come. It prepared for it and postponed it at the same time. In a duet between the ABC's industrial reporter, John Heaver, and unnamed reliable sources in the industry representing G.M.H., the former really took all the responsibility for statements made, but gained the lead news story. Meanwhile the company remained safely and very conveniently, out of reach: out of reach of unions and audience alike.

The contrived setting up of this particular story on G.M.H.'s planned retrenchments (ABC A4-1800-1) by the news and the company, was evident also in the lesser version played earlier in the day, towards the end of that bulletin. The text is printed here in full.

(G.M.H. DILEMMA)

"G.M.H. will tomorrow release details of its trading results for 1982, and it's expected the company's losses will run into many millions of dollars.

G.M.H. will also put plans to vehicle unions covering a range of options for scaling-down the company's operations at the Woodville plant in South Australia, and at its plant in Brisbane. Among those to address the unions will be the G.M.H. managing director, Mr. Chuck Chapman.

The corporate affairs manager for G.M.H., Mr. John Morrison, would not reveal today if the company was planning retrenchments." (ABC A4-1200-9)

In this version of the story there was no direct involvement by the Industrial reporter. The story instead was a series of facts. It was direct and businesslike. G.M.H. appeared to be laying their cards on the table, in being reported directly:

"G.M.H. will tomorrow release details ..."

"G.M.H. will also put plans ... and address the unions."

The main point of the story was that the details of G.M.H.'s trading results were to be released, and there would be losses. "Also", (indicating almost an afterthought or aside) plans will be put for "scaling down the company's operations": i.e. retrenchments. The managing director was to address the unions, a move which could be seen positively to be giving the unions involvement. The reason for the top manager appearing was not explained but portended a serious matter. The final teasing sentence where he "would not reveal today" ... suggested that the serious matter was to be retrenchments. The seeds were thus sown, but not firmly implanted.

The intention of the slug of this story, "G.M.H. DILEMMA" was interesting for its ambiguity. Was G.M.H. having an internal crisis over trading losses, or was the question whether or not to spell out the planned retrenchments? By the 1800 bulletin discussed previously, the play within the play had become clearer. G.M.H. had obviously "leaked" the retrenchment plan and had no further need to say anything directly. The needs of the news journalists to anticipate stories and the desire of the news-hungry audience to know about events before they happened, had been well played upon by G.M.H. for their own ends.

The same sort of interplay was seen in operation again a week later, when the story of G.M.H.'s "massive rationalisation plan" was structured as a spy thriller.

The full ABC text is printed here.

(G.M.H. PLANS)

"Confidential documents made public last night claim that the financially troubled Australian vehicle manufacturer, General Motors Holden, is considering a massive rationalisation plan. It would involve the loss of up to five-thousand jobs around Australia and a possible merger with a Japanese vehicle manufacturer. The documents were obtained in Adelaide by the ABC Television programme "Nationwide". They were allegedly prepared by senior managers at G.M.H. for the company's managing director, Mr. Chuck Chapman.

The documents provide for the complete closure of the G.M.H. plant at Woodville, in South Australia.

The Fishermen's Bend plant in Melbourne would lose three machine shops and large areas of land would be sold off, and there would be likely cuts to the workforce at the company's plant at Acacia Ridge, outside Brisbane.

According to the documents, G.M.H. officials held talks with the Japanese Nissan company about a possible merger in January this year.

G.M.H. officials would not comment last night on the contents of the documents which the "Nationwide" programme stressed were proposals only.

But the Victorian secretary of the Vehicle Builders' Federation, Mr. Wayne Blair, said he was aware of the documents and described some of their contents as disturbing. Earlier this week, the Minister for Industry and Commerce,

Senator Button, and the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr. Willis, met top G.M.H. officials to try to halt the company's foreshadowed plans to retrench fourteen-hundred workers.

The Ministers left the meeting saying they had little hope of avoiding the job losses, but said they would meet G.M.H. again in the near future." (ABC A5-7.45-1)

The so-called "confidential" nature of these documents made the item highly newsworthy. Again, for G.M.H., the force of the plans was veiled or modified by that very "confidentiality". Right from the beginning of the story it was made clear that G.M.H. did not claim responsibility for the story, and by extension, for any loss of jobs. In the first sentence G.M.H. were still "considering" the plan. However disastrous the effects were to be, the audience was immediately alerted to the ABC's sympathetic identification of G.M.H. as "the financially troubled Australian vehicle manufacturer".

Furthermore, G.M.H. "would not comment": that is, neither confirm nor deny. The press, through the ABC "Nationwide" program, were forced to comply with this opting out of responsibility by G.M.H. in having "stressed" that the contents of the policy document "were proposals only".

The "but" that began the next sentence suggested a change of direction in the item: namely the union view. However, because the report had been framed in terms of the confidentiality of the documents, the union response was lame. It was limited to expressing an awareness of the document and some contents were described rather nebulously as "disturbing".

The Government supposedly had the last word on the story. Two Ministers, complete with full titles, met "top" G.M.H. officials "to try to halt the company's fore-shadowed plans to retrench fourteen-hundred workers". Against this image of suppressed warfare at the corporate-government inter-face, G.M.H. was seen as relentlessly pushing forward. The authority of the government, which "had little hope of avoiding" G.M.H.'s (inevitable) plans, seemed to crumble in the face of the mighty corporate machine. The conclusion was a retreat to a possible second vague sortie in the form of a meeting again "in the near future".

Note that G.M.H.'s "secret", "confidential" proposals by this stage of the item had had an imperceptible shift in status to "fore-shadowed plans" and that the ABC's reporting had been the informal instrument of that foreshadowing with its stories of expected and anticipated announcements. In the meantime, the structured haze that had been created, obscured the real threats referred to in this item, namely:

"the loss of up to five-thousand jobs",
"a possible merger with a Japanese manufacturer",
complete closure of the Woodville G.M.H. plant,
loss of "three machine shops" at Fishermen's Bend,
and "cuts to the workforce" at the Acacia Ridge plant.

By the evening of that same day on the ABC, G.M.H.'s threats of retrenchments and plant closure had been quietly absorbed into the nation's agenda. Although the story was high on the bulletin, at number two, its threat to the livelihood of many workers was contained or deflected by the first three sentences.

"The Prime Minister and the Premiers of Victoria and South Australia did not have time today to discuss the controversy over the future of General Motors Holden in Australia. However, Mr. Hawke said his Government had taken the matter

aboard and his Ministers would have detailed discussions on the issue in the near future.

Earlier, G.M.H. issued a statement saying it would remain a major vehicle manufacturer in this country." (ABC A5-1800-2)

The three sentences respectively tell us: there is no need to worry as the matter is not urgent in the general spectrum of affairs of state; the Government virtually has sanctioned the plans in having colloquially "taken the matter aboard"; and G.M.H. reassures us that the company will still provide jobs for some and will remain an important influence in the economy. The fourth sentence had G.M.H. portrayed safely in a passive stance.

"The company was responding to the disclosure of confidential documents on ABC television last night which detailed"

It also had the ABC squarely taking the guilt for its part in the game of news gathering. Surely checkmate went to G.M.H., in that the one statement G.M.H. made in the day

"said the document was already out of date",

thus cunningly quashing the ABC's potential prize for breaking a story, and undermining its accuracy.

The equivalent story on 5DN (printed below) similarly asserted G.M.H.'s intention to remain in charge of the game of news reporting and of motor vehicle manufacturing, right from the opening sentence.

"General Motors Holden says a policy document released in the media is already out of date.

The firm claims the document was a draft from one of several on-going committees ... and was stolen.

The document reveals G.M.H. is considering a number of options to streamline its Australian operations ... including the possibility of a merger with a major Japanese firm.

It says G.M.H. intends to remain a major car maker in Australia. But the statement says the firm will not comment further on the document.

However, Vehicle Builders Union official, Joe Thomson, says the merger idea ... fits in with what is happening in the car industry world-wide." (5DN A5-1200-11)

(30 seconds of actualite followed.)

The 5DN news appetite for crime, enthusiastically took up the spy-thriller-sabotage angle of the story in having the firm bluntly claim the document

".... was stolen".

No further information on this line presumably being available, the news journalist was forced to return a number of times to reiterate G.M.H.'s lack of responsibility for the "stolen" plan. It was variously "already out of date", "a draft from one of several on-going committees" and "has been modified in many respects and is out of date". To stamp out responsibility, finally, the firm "will not comment further on the document".

The second half of this 5DN story turned to the union view. Although introduced by, "however", suggesting an opposing view, the union official's view was seen as apparently complying. He

"says the merger idea ... fits in with what is happening in the car industry world-wide."

In putting the issue into a world context he shifted responsibility for protecting employees even further away from the company.

The untouchable power of the multinational B.H.P. to make its plans and forge ahead with them regardless of union or government response was made evident in news items in the survey period on B.H.P.'s planned retrenchments. The bluntness of the language was in sharp contrast with the euphemistic rhetoric on G.M.H. reports. For example, 5DN reported

"B.H.P. has announced plans to sack nearly six hundred workers. ... B.H.P. has no alternative" (5DN A5-1800-6).

The ABC report was no more restrained:

"B.H.P. is to proceed with further retrenchments ... B.H.P. is sacking a total of nearly six hundred ... It was now too late to stop the cutbacks taking place" (ABC A5-1800-5).

Where blunt physical verbs like "sack", "proceed", "retrench" and "cutback" were applied to B.H.P., the rhetoric of G.M.H. had used smoother verbs like "merge", "streamline", "modify", "issue statements" and "fit in with". This conveyed rather different approaches of the two companies, perhaps suggesting the direct Australian base of B.H.P., versus a more sophisticated image of G.M.H. where many company decisions were made in America.

The physical imagery continued with the government being almost literally squeezed out. Pictured in supplicatory position, the government had made "a plea" for alternative measures "to allow breathing space" (5DN A5-1800-6). However, the audience was told, "the job cuts will take place" (5DN A5-1800-6). A final sentence in the ABC report ironically portrayed those opposing B.H.P.'s plans, as apparently agreeing:

"B.H.P. confirmed the retrenchments would go ahead after today's meeting in Melbourne between company representatives, Senator Button and Steel Unions" (ABC A5-1800-5).

Another item some months later, on plans by B.H.P. to sack workers (indeed "to shed a further three-hundred-and-fifty workers"), was relayed in the same assertive company voice. The first line which told us that B.H.P.

"won't change plans to further reduce its workforce at Whyalla" (5DN C1-1800-5),

immediately signalled the issue as non-negotiable. The split infinitive served to emphasize the company's aggressive stance in

pushing beyond grammatical and industrial propriety. The remainder of the item conveyed the confidence of the company about achieving its aims and having all the say. Each sentence and the actualite were statements attributed to the General Manager, Mr. Chadban. He showed verbal skill in making negative retrenchments sound like positive achievements. For example

"The job cuts will be achieved by not replacing some employees who leave and by employing fewer apprentices and trainees."
(5DN C1-1800-5)

B.H.P. also featured in the news in the survey period when it was the object of an attempted takeover bid by "Perth businessman" Robert Holmes A'Court. The news (value) of his bid was related with a sense of surprise, and almost impropriety:

;"an unprecedented bid" (ABC C1-1800-1)
;"a move that has startled ... ("shocked" was edited out) ...
Australian business and financial circles" (5DN C1-1800-4).

An underlying critical sense of Holmes A'Court as aggressor and intruder was also evident in the reporting of how the Establishment's feathers were ruffled and how the "villain" had acted in indecent haste and with almost excessive amounts of money.

The conjunctive, "only", was used to effect this in the explanation of how the takeover bid was made by a Holmes A'Court subsidiary

"which itself was taken over by the Bell group only last Friday (ABC C1-1800-1).

In the 5DN report "only" was also used; this time with the effect of subjugating Holmes A'Court's importance when the move was reported to have

"created only mild interest at the Adelaide Stock Exchange ..." (5DN C1-1800-4)

The ABC noted that the offer was

"not a cash offer, unlike several others he'd been involved in"

and how through his moves

"he was able to take significant profits, despite not getting control."

The conjunctives "unlike" and "despite" heralded asides, of a rather sarcastic nature, with respect to Holmes A'Court which really were asides from the reporting of the facts.

Holmes A'Court's straightforward confidence was in contrast to this when he was interviewed on the ABC report. He fielded answers with skill and concluded assertively about his bid:

"It's simple, it's unconditional, it's perfectly serious."

Both stations however gave the Chairman of B.H.P. the final word. With crafted innocence he "warned" on the ABC news that he

"was at a loss to understand their intentions or what they could offer B.H.P. shareholders," (ABC C1-1800-1)

This seemed to imply some underhandedness on the part of Holmes A'Court and reinforced the sense of his being an outsider. A final putdown by the Chairman of B.H.P. cast doubts on the bidder's methodology and at the same time suggested that he would have to respect the existing system:

"Any document legally lodged would be properly handled in due course", (ABC C1-1800-1).

On 5DN a final sentence which had Holmes A'Court relating his view and

"making an unconditional offer for B.H.P. through Wigmores - in which he holds a 62% stake",

was edited out of the story that finally went to air. This substantially changed the ending because it left the Establishment

figure of the company chairman, referred to familiarly as "Sir James", with the last word.

The result of the news report on the takeover bid on both stations was the reaffirmation of the implacable and righteous face of B.H.P., by Australian financial and business circles, by the reporters and by B.H.P. itself.

CONCLUSION

It has been argued here that the extent and variety of the coverage of business stories on the ABC news, structured an important interpretive framework for its audience. It built an optimistic view of the relevance of the rural base and of the fortunes of small business to Australia's economy. Stories selected covered aspects such as profit and loss, change in ownership, new project initiatives and related research, all of which illustrated the workings of the free enterprise system. The business ethic was endorsed to some extent by journalists employing the language of the market place. Audience familiarity with such terms and interest in current business information were inferred in such reporting.

By contrast, 5DN coverage of business stories was limited in extent and variety. 5DN spent half as much time as the ABC news did on this story category. Topics covered tended to be limited to stories of price changes on basic commodities affecting the man in the street (for example bread and petrol); an occasional parochial report on a South Australian firm in trouble; and a theme of small companies being frustrated by the regulations and interference of Big Government.

Detailed analysis of the news of multinational companies which usually featured as headline news, showed how the qualities of the company voice controlled the discourse. Their smooth, formal texture, use of euphemism and tailored imagery were identified in detail to illustrate how that implacable company voice conveyed assuredness, authority and strength. Its ability to state its own terms as

non-negotiable, was shown to be complemented by the inability of reporters, government and union spokesmen to penetrate it. These other players mostly the unions were either silent or complicit. These language games directly reflected the power play. For example, the power of Holmes A'Court was contained by a language game in which he was portrayed as the outsider. By contrast the interests of private enterprise and the multinationals in particular, were portrayed as overriding those of the workers. Insufficient company profits were condoned as justification for large scale retrenchments.

The role of specialist industrial news reporters in the news-gathering process was demonstrated in these major business stories. They were seen to be used as mediators, necessarily complying with the sophisticated voice of company spokesman. In the case of a major "leaked" or unconfirmed story, used by companies for their own ends, the news reporters were seen to be directed in a play within a play. While the importance of a symbiotic relationship between the news gatherers and the public relations machines of large companies was evident, the fact was that firms like G.M.H. could exploit this relationship to their own advantage.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE COVERAGE OF CRIME NEWS

APPROACH

The first section briefly reviews the recent literature on crime news reporting in relation to which aspects of crime are selected by newsrooms as newsworthy and how crime stories can be organised in terms of theme to create the context of crime waves. Then the focus moves to the inferential structures of crime news stories as modern morality plays.

The second section defines the role of crime news on the two networks in quantitative and qualitative terms in the overall context of news bulletins. The common themes of crime stories are described with examples, using the categories designated by Katz (1987).

The third section analyses the language of crime news stories from each network in a comparative format. While the discourses of the two stations are stylistically different and intended for different markets, it is shown that each is one-dimensional in its own way.

In the case of ABC reporting of crime news, the one dimension is created by the strict primary definition of events by the police and the judiciary.

In the case of 5DN reporting, the one dimension is a melodramatic one. The tendency is towards a cinematic depiction of crime, illustrating the link between the genres of crime fiction writing and crime news reporting.

SECTION 1. REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE ON CRIME NEWS REPORTING.

There are a number of academic discourses in existence specifically relating to crime news reporting, including Graber, Hall, Fishman, Cohen and Young and Katz.¹ Graber's research suggests that while crime news frequently is negative and disturbing, audiences find it spontaneously involving and tend to have a greater recall of the details of crime news than they do of other hard news such as politics and industrial relations.

The reasons for this public interest in crime news have been summarised and discussed by Cohen. He argues that the interest is not particularly utilitarian, in terms of the public gaining a practical knowledge that accurately (statistically) reflects the reality of such events in the world. Analysis has shown that the content of crime news differs widely from patterns available in official statistics. For instance, violent crimes such as murder and rape, were significantly over-represented in contrast with white collar crimes and common serious crimes like larcenies and burglaries.

Other recurrent patterns observed in crime news were an emphasis on reporting assaults on people more frequently than assaults on property, and more focus on criminals than on victims of crime. The majority of crime news reported focused on the stages of the criminal justice process before conviction and there was minimal follow up on punishment. These patterns indicated which aspects of crime were judged newsworthy by journalists. Selections of items on such bases

would seem to suggest a reading of events which would disconcert rather than reassure the audience.

Katz argues that this process of selection of crime events as news provokes doubt about threats to public safety rather than resolves the sense of threat promoted by such news. However that serves as a challenge to the audience to react against the face of uncertainty. This is consistent with his hypothesis that crime news is of interest to the public because of its place in daily moral routine. Crime news calls into question the moral boundaries that are recurrently defined by adults in everyday modern life.

Crime news sustains the individual's conviction that he has a moral sensibility, rather than indifference, and stimulates him to reflect upon his future behaviour and moral challenges.

"Crime news is of widespread interest because it speaks dramatically to issues that are of direct relevance to readers' existential challenges ..."²

A complementary focus to this research into what makes crime news, is the recent research that analyses crime news in a sociological and ideological framework. For example, Hall et al³ inserts politics and history into the discourse about mugging crimes reported in the press in England in 1972-73. A major influence on the work of Hall and the Birmingham School has been Gramsci's idea of hegemony, whereby the ruling class can exercise the kind of power which wins and shapes consent and structures agendas in such a way as to appear natural.

Similar studies have documented the way in which news organisations select and organise crime stories in terms of themes, to create the context of crime waves. It has been shown that those organisations can use their power to create events as news to augment, modify or deny a burgeoning crime wave. For example, Cohen's study⁴ shows how an official reaction of moral panic to the behaviour of deviant groups (in this instance, English mods and rockers) was structured. It was mediated by a particular belief system, which in turn generated a set of beliefs which rationalised the control methods used.

Another related aspect of research into crime news is the role the media can play in triggering off events of a similar nature, or stimulating imitative or competitive forms of behaviour.

It was not within the scope of this research to identify such incidents; nor was it possible to identify any groupings of crime news on a thematic basis that could provide the context of a local crime wave. However from the crime news scripts collected from the research period from the two radio networks, it was possible to identify a recurrent referential structure. While there was not necessarily an intentional bias by newsmakers evident in the shape of those stories, there was evidence of

"a process of simplification and interpretation which structures the meaning given to the story around its original news value."⁵

Essentially that shape was equivalent to a modern morality play in which there is little doubt which side would win. The reporting was relatively one-dimensional: in dramatising crime events as news, the

forces of good and evil were clearly polarised. As Hall said, crime is news

"because its treatment evokes threats to us, but also reaffirms, the consensual morality of the society: a modern morality play takes place before us in which the 'devil' is both symbolically and physically cast out from the society by its guardians - the police and the judiciary."⁶

Hall stresses how, in that one dimension, the agents of social control, namely the police and the courts, have the role of "primary definers". They establish the initial definition and framework of interpretation which any other participants must use as their starting point. The police and the courts represent the forces of good, set up to contain the forces of evil and darkness. Their statements become the dominant interpretative paradigms. Criminals and the accused, rarely have a right of reply or an opportunity to offer an alternative definition. Consequently the role of the primary definer(s) is institutionalised readily by the news media.

Crimes which are selected as newsworthy are those which seem to interrupt the unchanging consensual calm. They equate roughly to a definition of what is (un)acceptable. In that context, the actions taken by the police and the courts, appointed as guardians of public morality and order, symbolise a reassertion of the values of society and the limits of its tolerance. Hall argues that as a result of this definitive role of the agents of social control, crime is pushed "to the terrain of the pragmatic" ...⁷ The question becomes, given that there is a problem, what can we do about it?

Rather different perspectives of the problem are portrayed by the crime news discourses of the two radio networks which are analysed in the next section. Ultimately however, neither perspective requires the audience to take any action of its own.

SECTION 2. DEFINITION OF CRIME NEWS ON 5DN AND ABC.

Crime news played a more significant role on the news bulletins of 5DN than those of the ABC. 5DN crime stories were featured higher on the bulletins and were written to emphasise drama and sensation. Consequently they helped to create the popular tone of that news service. By contrast, ABC coverage was restrained, even stolid. Usually it was structured from the angle of the police or the courts rather than focusing as 5DN did on the criminal and his actions.

In quantitative terms, 5DN news bulletins committed half as much time again to crime stories as did the ABC. On average 9.75% of 5DN bulletins were crime stories, compared with an average of 6.75% on ABC bulletins. Across the four survey periods, crime stories constituted 7%, 6%, 10% and 16% on 5DN and 9.5%, 9%, 5% and 3.5% on the ABC respectively. The lack of consistency in these figures across the bulletins and between the two networks, suggests that the selection of crime stories for a news bulletin tended to be related less to the number of stories available and more to different judgments about the newsworthiness of particular crime stories by the two networks.

Those different judgments also were reflected in the comparative positioning of crime stories within the bulletins. While there was no regular position for such news on either station in the way that there was for political or industrial news, for example, crime stories mostly were relegated to the second half of the ABC news. By contrast they occurred throughout the 5DN news and were highlighted among headlines. The position of individual stories seemed to be related to the dramatic

rhythms of particular bulletins: in the case of 5DN, crime stories tended to be dramatic highlights, whereas on the ABC they were structured more often as dramatic plateau or low points.

The fact that crime stories on the two networks were scattered across the bulletin would seem to validate Katz's theory that crime stories are unpredictable and not as structured as other stories. He suggests that not having them confined to the same place in the bulletin everyday, transfers a measure of responsibility to the listener to organise the place of crime in his life. In this sense, the positioning of crime news is a microcosm of life: one never knows when or from whence such a moral dilemma or threat will appear.

There are no official statistics on the type or number of crimes reported during this survey period to compare with the crime reported on the two stations. However, analysis of the top crime stories on the news, supports the findings of other research in the area that violence has a special status as news value. As Hall says

"Any crime can be lifted into news visibility if violence becomes associated with it, since violence is perhaps the supreme example of the news value negative consequence ... the use of violence marks the distinction between those who are fundamentally of society and those who are outside it. It is co-terminous with the boundary of 'society' itself."⁸

Other recurrent patterns in previous research also were confirmed by this particular investigation: namely that the focus of crime news is on assaults on people, rather than on property, and on criminals rather than on victims.

Crime stories placed among the top three stories of news bulletins on 5DN featured violent acts on people. Examples were the story of the murdered Hobart woman whose butchered parts were discovered in a sewer (5DN C5-1200-2); the release of the name of the man who had sexually assaulted and murdered Adelaide teenager, Richard Kelvin (5DN D1-1200-1); the stabbing of a youth in an Adelaide amusement centre (5DN C2-1800-1); and the capture of ex-policeman, Colin Creed wanted for murder, rape and armed robbery (5DN C4-7-2, C4-1200-2 and again at C4-1800-3).

Other main crime stories on 5DN featured the threat of violence to the general public, such as an attempted hijack of a TAA aircraft in Melbourne (5DN A1-7-3 and A1-1200-2), and an extortionist threatening to blow up a Queensland railway (5DN C2-1200-1). The TAA hijack story however was placed second to a police raid on an extensive marijuana plantation in South Australia (5DN A1-8-1 and A1-1200-1). This raid story was possibly more newsworthy because it was local, and reporters were able to report from the scene. It also was a story complete in itself, of a successful raid and capture of criminals, in contrast to the unsuccessful hijack attempt.

The ABC reported these stories further down its respective bulletins. The attempted TAA hijack (ABC A1-7.45-1) was the only story to be rated in a position higher than story four on any bulletin.

Of these main stories which were newsworthy for the viciousness or audacity of the crime, the only one which was referred to again at a later date was the Richard Kelvin murder story. Why? The hijack, the

stabbing, and the extortion attempt were single incidents. The report of the murdered Hobart woman essentially had only domestic significance when it was discovered that the murderer was the estranged husband.

The capture of the ex-policeman was the finale of a long running story which had guaranteed appeal because it was from the type of "man bites dog" story. The central contradiction of Creed being "a rogue ex-policeman" (5DN C4-7-3) had captured the public imagination: he had become "one of Australia's most wanted fugitives" (ABC C4-7-8) in real and narrative terms. The news value of the story was that it dramatised exceptions to presumed patterns about crime, and expectations associated with legitimate job status. This was underlined by the fact that the ABC item on Creed's capture referred to this contradiction in its last line

..."Neighbours said the man they knew as Michael J. Kennedy was friendly, but quiet and sometimes played loud classical music at night" (ABC C4-7-8).

However, the Richard Kelvin story of the Adelaide teenager who was abducted, sexually abused and then murdered, was referred to and updated several times during the survey period, as was the case of Louise Bell, an Adelaide child who had befallen a similar fate. The fact that these two stories had elements in common and that there had been a series of similar murders in Adelaide over a number of years has been drawn to the attention of the public by the local media. When linked together, these stories conveyed a theme of moral panic about sexual perverts who kidnap, abuse and murder young people. This phenomenon of the linked theme can only be noted here, as the evidence

to support the construction of a moral panic is not available within the survey period.

The other criminal story which has captured public imagination and polarised the community in its views of innocence and guilt, is the Lindy Chamberlain case of the mother charged with murdering her baby daughter at a campsite at Ayers Rock, despite her claim that the child was taken by a wild dog (dingo). There was one item on this case in the survey which is analysed at the end of this chapter.

The significance of the few crime stories like these which spark substantial public controversy and moral panic, is that they threaten the community's collective identity. They question the essential beliefs that hold society together: such as the bond of mother and child, the protection and innocence of children and the safety of individuals in the local environment.

These crime stories fit into a category of stories that Katz distinguishes as instructing the audience about the nature and limits of personal competence and sensibility. The foregoing examples portray criminals who are exceptionally daring or exceptionally insensitive. Katz also places the most numerous single type of crime in this first category: accounts of ingenious, vicious and audacious crimes. The bulk of such stories in the research comprised common serious crimes such as escaped prisoners, car bombs, police car chases and armed bandits. Except for one international reference to the use of the electric chair in U.S.A., 50% of crime news was local in origin, 50% from other states of Australia.

These stories of common crime rarely warranted more than one appearance on the news on either network. They carried different names and places and details each time, but were fairly interchangeable. As news, they marked the transgressions of normative boundaries, and indicated the consequences: that the system would not tolerate such stepping out of line. The fact that many crime stories were surveyed in a routine manner, particularly on the ABC, reflected the idea that crime in our society is accepted as a routine part of life. As Hall points out,

"Crime is understood as a permanent and recurrent phenomenon, and hence much of it is surveyed by the media in an equally routinised manner."⁹

A second category of crime stories identified by Katz were those which addressed the moral integrity of the community and suggested the existence of vast uncontrolled anti-social forces such as organised crime. This type of story is rare in Australia, but the murder of MacKay in Griffith, New South Wales by an Italian underworld figure, for his public opposition to the local marijuana trade would be an example here. There was a minor reference to the case in the survey period (analysed below), which reflected the fact that the case remained unsolved seven years later. Presumably this exacerbated a sense of community threat in dealing with an unknown force.

Katz argues that such organised crime can be seen as a contemporary metaphor for evil. It

"implicitly tap(s) folk ideas about the vulnerability of collective identity, suggesting that the crime threatens to rip society in some essential part or symbolises the presence in the community of forces so malevolent as to threaten the metaphorical social content."¹⁰

The third category of crime news which Katz identifies conveyed general messages about moral character and fed those into political dimensions. These stories were newsworthy not as a source of information about crime, but as a morally charged message about other issues. One instance in the survey would be the story analysed below of a knife attack by a number of Vietnamese on a youth in an Adelaide amusement centre.

The survey period has no examples of Katz's fourth category of white collar crime, such as politicians taking bribes; here the status of the person rather than the structure of the crime accounts for the newsworthiness. However, there were two similar 5DN stories, each of which was placed at third position on the respective bulletins, thus indicating high news value. They related to the world of sport, and while that was not strictly white collar crime, it could be considered its equivalent on 5DN, as a station which placed sport and sports commentators highly. In one instance, three men were charged with illegal starting-price bookmaking, after police raids on their premises (5DN C1-1200-3). In the other case, it was reported that a Sydney television personality had been charged by the fraud squad for taking bribes from sports organisations who wanted media coverage (5DN B2-8-3). In both cases, the news angle was corruption in the world of sport: an image of abuse and cheating in a forum that normally was respected and valued for its fair competition. The respective story slugs "BOOKIES BOOKED" and "PAYOLA", seemed to confirm this.

The four categories of crime stories that Katz identifies depict a number of recurrent themes, each calling into question a moral boundary

defined and redefined by adults in everyday life. The categories have been useful in sorting through crime news data. They show why, while the majority of stories were routine and interchangeable, certain stories have been featured on news bulletins as newsworthy and linked thematically by newsreporters who select the stories.

The common dimension or essential structure of crime news stories was that of a modern morality play in which the forces of good overcame the forces of evil. The telling of that story was highly dramatised on 5DN, and relayed more bureaucratically on ABC, but the essential scenario remained the same.

SECTION 3. DETAILED COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CRIME NEWS ON ABC AND 5DN

The discourses of crime stories on the two stations were markedly different. 5DN tended to exploit these stories for their sensation and action. It emphasised the drama by frequently using a style of action replay. By contrast, the action was already over in the equivalent ABC stories so that a sense of threat no longer existed. For example, 5DN newsmen revelled in the story "HOSTAGE DRAMA", which began:

"An armed bandit has been shot dead by Sydney police during an attempted hold-up." (5DN D4-7-4)

Thus the news "camera" focused on the scene of the crime and the audience was verbally beckoned to come closer, to hear the details. The use of the pluperfect tense in "has been shot", rather than the simple past "was shot", conveyed a sense that the drama, indeed the body, was still warm. The item relayed the action chronologically, shot for shot. This is the full text.

"HOSTAGE DRAMA" (5DN D4-7-4)
 "An armed bandit has been shot dead by Sydney police during an attempted hold-up.
 The gunman had taken hostage several staff from a Greek newspaper, but one ... the paper's editor managed to escape and alert police.
 The gunman was armed with a shotgun and a knife ... and it was when he tried to escape that he opened fire on police ... wounding a highway patrolman in the leg.
 The police then returned fire ... hitting the man in the chest.
 It's not known why the man tried to hold up the newspaper, as no money was kept on the premises."

A melodramatic sense of cops and robbers was established through the choice of vocabulary, such as "bandit", "hostage", "escape", "opened fire" and "highway patrolman", and also the details of the weapons involved. The active role of the police as protagonists was

connoted in the first sentence where the "bandit" was shot dead by them. This was modified by the subsequent explanation that the gunman hurt one of the policeman first and they then returned fire, so the police were seen to behave appropriately, in the line of duty. However, the initial reference to an armed "bandit" connoted a strong immediate sense of illegality that set the incident firmly in the context of a cinematic shoot-out and identified the criminal more with the world of fiction than with the real world.

By contrast right from the beginning, the ABC version of the story was defined from the context of the law.

"DEAD GUNMAN" (ABC D4-1200-7)
 "A full police and coronial inquiry will be held into the fatal shooting of a man in the inner Sydney suburb of Marrickville last night.
 The man, identified as Edward Anthony Burgin, aged 46, was shot by police after he held up a Greek newspaper office.
 TAPE BEGINS
 Police said Burgin armed with a shotgun bailed up the staff at the Cosmos newspaper in Marrickville about 8.30. The editor, Mr. George Tserdanis, managed to escape and called police. Two highway patrol constables, Brian Brett and Steven Johnson, received minor injuries when they were fired on by Burgin who'd taken one of the staff hostage. Both officers fired back when the hostage was released and Burgin was hit in the chest by one bullet and killed. Police say a domestic involvement between the gunman's wife and one of the staff members may have led to the attack, however, Mr. Tserdanis, has said none of the staff knew the man.
 This is Brian Bigg in Sydney."

The setting of the ABC report was substantially different from that of 5DN, because the former was selected to be used at midday rather than on the morning bulletin. By that time the focus had shifted from the dead body at the scene to the "full police and coronial inquiry", to be held. The ABC text was therefore different dramatically and thematically: by 1200 the wheels of justice were seen and were heard to be turning, and order had been restored.

It was a common difference between the reports of the two stations that the ABC would run the same story on a later bulletin, presumably while the facts of the story were independently checked for accuracy. In the interim, the focus had usually shifted from the scene of the crime to that of the justice system and so defused any sense of public threat.

However on 5DN the anonymous characters in the drama were loosely identified or caricatured as goodies and baddies by the time of the midday bulletin, the main character of the gunman was able to be identified by name and age. The effect of this and the naming of the victim who had escaped, and also the naming of the two policemen, gave the story a sense of formality. Additionally, stopping the flow of the text to insert the names of the characters considerably slowed down the rhythm of the story, compared with the racey pace of the 5DN version.

In the officially defined ABC version there was none of the enthusiasm for vicarious drama that had been expressed by the 5DN newsroom. Nor was there any aggression associated with the police role. They were portrayed as acting defensively and in the line of duty. They shot together so that no one knew who actually killed the gunman. Drawing attention to this fact in the report and the choosing to use the word "officers" at this point, stressed that they were absolved from personal responsibility. They were shown to be acting as moral guardians of society.

While both stories essentially were structured chronologically, the distinct choices of formal and informal language laid out comparatively

in the chart below, show how the two newsrooms coloured the stories differently.

	ABC	5DN
	"a man"	"an armed bandit"
	"fatal shooting" (nominalization)	"shot dead" (active verb)
editor -	"called police"	"alerted police"
police -	"received minor injuries" (passive case)	"wound(ing) in the leg" (active case)
police -	"officer"	"highway patrolman"

The conclusion of the ABC version of the story contained, but did not feature, a dramatic edge, in suggesting a possible motive related to a "domestic involvement" between the gunman's wife and someone at the scene of the hold-up. 5DN in its morning bulletin could offer no motive and the conclusion rather faded away. (Had they re-run the story at noon, it would have been interesting to see what prominence 5DN might have given to this possible motive.)

The difference between the official ABC style and the graphic 5DN style was similarly illustrated, by a comparison of their versions of the story of a murdered Hobart woman whose finger was discovered in the local sewer. 5DN put the story second on their bulletin and highlighted the drama in progress in these opening lines.

"Police in Hobart are searching the city's sewerage system for the remains of an American mother of two. Rex Haw reports police divers are also searching the Derwent River for the torso of the murdered woman." (5DN C5-1200-2)

The gore of the body in pieces and the image of the police searching the sewers, were reiterated in detail in the reporter's actualite which described a plumber searching the victim's house drains. The human interest angle was emphasised by the identification of the woman as an "American mother of two", connoting curiosity value (?) as a foreigner and sympathy and innocence in her care-providing role.

The relevance of the woman being a mother in this case, also was linked to an explanation that she was estranged from her husband and to the allusion to custody arrangements. She was last seen alive

"when her estranged husband called to pick up the couple's two children." (ABC C5-1200-11)

The possible significance of this detail to the story and the inclusion of the facts that her husband was a CSIRO scientist and the person who had reported her missing the same day the finger was found, were not formally linked. Tacitly the effect of these facts being put before us, set down in adjoining sentences, signalled a whodunit story between the lines ... The scientist husband who saw her last, probably had the skill and instruments to dismember her and a motive in an estranged marriage of perhaps wanting to keep the children? (Subsequently he was charged with the woman's murder.)

In the meantime the news discourse was structured to stir the audience's imagination and involve listeners in the story, like a television soap opera. This effect was created by the titillating detail, the initial focus on the search that set the audience thinking about where the other pieces of the body might be. The use of the present continuous tense of the verb "searching" suggested both the

immediacy and continuing value of the drama. The use of an on-the-spot reporter drew the audience to the spot too.

The contemporaneous ABC story, placed near the end of its bulletin, kept the audience at a respectful distance. From the beginning, the story was defined by the choice of formal bureaucratic verbs such as "investigating" and "identified", as being in the hands of police detectives, within the parameters of official procedures.

"Detectives in Hobart are investigating the discovery of a woman's finger in a city sewerage outlet. They identified the finger as belonging to the right hand of Mrs....." (ABC C5-1200-11)

There was perhaps a small concession to indulging audience speculation in the doubt as to who was responsible for the crime, signalled by the inclusion of the auxiliary verb "did" in this sentence where it was grammatically redundant.

"The police did say they held grave fears for Mrs. Thompson's safety." (ABC C5-1200-11)

The victim, however, retained her dignity in having a proper name and so being a real person, rather than having an anonymous television style character. She was not simply reduced to bits of a body freely available to the public imagination. Nor, in this ABC version, were the police described as getting their hands soiled with sewage or blood. Formalities of procedure and language prevailed, so maintaining the propriety of "the case". The resultant theme was that the audience was reassured that the police had control of events and of their definition, in contrast to the 5DN version, that provoked audience speculation about a bizarre killer roaming free among us.

There was a consistent trend in 5DN reporting to portray the police as taking an active role in crime news. For example, a story of a police raid on a marijuana plantation began:

"Police will today start digging up thousands of Indian hemp plants seized in a major drugs raid." (5DN A1-8-1)

In other police news, of a high-speed car chase, the audience heard how the "police have arrested", the "police car spotted" and "patrol cars took up the chase" (5DN A1-6-3). Similarly in the story of an abortive search by police divers of the Murray River for the remains of anti-drugs campaigner Donald Mackay who had been missing for six years, 5DN highlighted what action there was with a graphic sketch of divers

"in the freezing waters ... forced to feel their way along the bottom of the river." (5DN B5-1800-4)

Although this was a non-event in itself, it was newsworthy for the perennial value of the particular case, the fact that it was unresolved and that the body was still missing.

The effect of such references was to draw the police in as live characters in the stories, thus lifting them out of a bureaucratic law-enforcing role, into the cops and robbers scenario of popular television drama.

In comparative ABC reports, the police role was more restrained: an effect created by use of the passive case, for example

"A crop of marijuana ... was seized by police" (ABC A1-7-4)],

and by the use of bureaucratic terms such as

"Police apprehended three youths this morning after a high-speed chase." (ABC A1-7-17)

The ABC version of the MacKay search story added the background details 5DN left out: namely, the location, technical problems, scope of the search, and reason for taking up the search at this time and place. In other words, the ABC's emphasis was on information and context. Action was played down. A description of the day's search by one of the police team, failed to raise any sense of drama and surely would ensure that he would never get a job in the 5DN newsroom.

"Ah they had a late start this morning by um having to reconnoitre the other search spots that they've got to do. They were taken around by local police to show them the most likely spots that fitted what they needed and ah most of the time, a lot of the time this morning was taken up doing that."
(ABC B5-1800-6)

The verbal hedges underlined above were interesting here because they saved the reporter's "face" by showing how the police spokesman was relatively inarticulate. In terms of the argument being put forward here, the actualite also provided an example of the relative impenetrability of official discourse/definition.

However on ABC news the police played a major role in defining and containing crime stories with a theme of general threat to law and order. They were promoted in such texts as the guardians of public safety. The ease with which they assumed this actual and symbolic role, was related largely to the way in which ABC news journalists endorsed the police definition of events through the style in which they structured such stories.

For instance, this was evident in the story of an extortionist who threatened to blow up a railway in Queensland unless he was paid a

ransom of one million dollars. The ABC news discourse was structured to inform the audience of events, but simultaneously to reassure them that the threat to public safety was being minimised. The facts were set down in the following order:

- a threat sent on a tape recording
- police chief tells a news conference
- massive check of railways begun by police
- police say they will not try to meet the demands
(ABC C2-1200-4)

While the extortionist's threat was the initial focus of the story, the police response made up the majority of the item. They defined the situation directly and had that definition endorsed by journalists at a news conference. Their subsequent activities reflected a reassuring picture to the audience of police confidently controlling the situation, taking precautions to protect the public, and suggesting that the threat was not really serious.

(Interestingly, the following item (ABC C2-1200-5) reported briefly on a derailment of carriages on the Melbourne Express Train. The effect of having adjoining items on the same theme of railways, highlighted the extortionist's threat in terms of a real accident juxtaposed with the threat of something worse).

The extortionist story on 5DN was exploited for its full dramatic potential. This was despite references to police statements that "they're convinced there's no immediate danger to the Queensland people" and that the demand was "impossible" (5DN C2-1200-4). The opening sentence established immediate dramatic tension.

"Queensland police are on full alert as they await the next development in an extortion threat against the State's railways". (5DN C2-1200-4)

This sentence also put the audience on full "alert", with the promise of "the next development", virtually saying, keep tuned in for more exciting episodes! The choice of the preposition "against" in the description of the man "against" the State system, had the effect of reinforcing the sense of antagonism, thus sowing the seeds of a good drama.

The inclusion at the end of this story of an excerpt from the extortionist's tape to police, allegedly played "in the hope that the extortionist may be identified", was of such poor quality that most of the words were indistinguishable. Its inclusion, however, reinforced the general melodramatic qualities of the discourse and beckoned the audience to listen more closely. As such it enhanced the value of the item as entertainment, as distinct from information.

An addendum to this item recalled in some detail a similar drama: "threats were made against another government instrumentality - the national airline carrier TAA", seven months previously. This threat which "sparked Australia's biggest peace time security alert", subsequently was declared a hoax by police. The incident was referred to in the news text as an "episode", itself a reference to a narrative serial form. There would seem to be little justification to include a detailed reference to a parallel "news" item that was seven months old, except as an additional dramatic device to underline the current threat through a thematic link. The inclusion in that item of a sentence like this one that

"The threat sparked Australia's biggest peace-time security alert"

would seem to be evidence of the intent of the newsmakers to inflame the sense of sensation in the extortionist's story.

"Old" news like this is usually exploited for orientating or for ideological purposes, but this example does neither. It would appear to be too far in the past to be posed as evidence of a crime wave of this type, or as an imitative response. The irony of the inclusion of the reference to a previous airline hijack attempt, was that that attempt had been unsuccessful. By association, this suggested that the current incident also may have been a hoax, somewhat minimising the dramatic tension.

There were more sinister implications to be drawn from the subtle differences in the respective ABC and 5DN versions of a knife attack on a youth in an Adelaide amusement parlour. This crime was newsworthy as a local story, in contrast with the extortionist in Queensland. Although the stabbing fell into the category of a common serious violent crime, the moral inferences of the stabbing story were more far-reaching than the fairly exceptional behaviour of the Queensland extortionist demanding one million dollars from the government.

The story of the extortionist essentially was melodramatic. Both networks conveyed a sense that the extortionist's behaviour was exceptional and as one "madman" against the system, he had no real chance of threatening the community. By contrast, in the stabbing story, in quite different ways, the two networks conveyed a strong sense of the forces of social control operating in our community. The ABC discourse endorsed and reinforced the voice of those with money and

power. The 5DN discourse provoked and reinforced a sense of antagonism towards Vietnamese in the community.

The ABC version briefly outlined the violent incident and contained any sense of immediate threat. This was achieved by placing the story mid way in the bulletin, and by opening the story with the two youths who were attacked having been "admitted to the Royal Adelaide Hospital following a knife attack" ... (ABC C2-1800-5). This opening conveyed to the audience the fact that the attack was over and the sense that the victims were now absorbed, "admitted" into the bureaucratic hospital system. The next line reinforced this sense by describing the "condition" of the youths as "serious" and "satisfactory".

Only three lines were spent on the attackers, "about fifteen Vietnamese youths", ("police were told"), and how they "fled". Their role was therefore curbed and the threat of the weapons on the scene ("believed to have been used in the attack") was contained by the explanation that "police have taken possession of them." Thus the police were seen to have defused any public threat, and the way was left open for another party to draw a moral lesson or commentary from the play.

The second half of the item shifted direction to look to the future. It sought the views of the Hindley Street Traders' Association, and in doing so, the ABC newsroom could be seen to be structuring the moral dimensions of the story and endorsing the Establishment viewpoint. The Association represented the formal, entrenched and monied interests. Their voice was heard in contrast to

the silence of the anonymous youths involved in the incident, whom it could be implied, again by contrast, were randomly organised and non-productive. The organised force of the Traders and their connections with Government, were conveyed by this extract from their articulate spokesman.

"The cause of the problem we believe is that we don't believe the loitering law has enough teeth in it ... so that the people who cause these sorts of problems ... get rid of them from areas like Hindley Street.'
Hindley Street Trader, Mr. Frank Sebastyan." (ABC C2-1800-5)

The force of the Traders was illustrated by their expression "we believe", in contrast with the ill-defined description of the youths as "the people who cause these sorts of problems". This suggested an we/them dichotomy of the powerful and powerless, extended through the expression of a possible resolution that they simply could "get rid of them". The Traders were portrayed as unofficial agents of social control, working alongside the police and the law. As such, they not only endorsed a strict law and order response to the violent incident, but were also given the occasion by news journalists to define whom should have power and opportunity in our society.

The definition of the incident in the 5DN version of the story was constructed from a different quarter. It was an emotive and partly inarticulate action replay directed by the on-the-spot reporter. The story was featured at the top of the news bulletin. Labelled internally with the succinct slug "STAB", the report went straight to the point of the story. Maximum action and vividness were conveyed from the opening lines:

"A 19-year-old man is undergoing emergency surgery in the Royal Adelaide Hospital to remove a carving knife embedded in

his back after a brawl in a Hindley Street amusement centre. MURRAY NICHOLL reports he's one of two young men injured in a fight with a gang of VIETNAMESE. Eyewitnesses say the two were attacked by a gang of about a dozen in the snackbar area in the front of the Tilt Amusement Centre. Tilt is closed to the public while detectives investigate the fight. The two injured men were taken to the Royal Adelaide Hospital, the 19-year-old man with a knife still embedded in his back." (5DN C2-1800-1)

This story was referred to earlier in this Chapter, as an illustration of a crime story from Katz's third category of moralised political conflict. His point about such a story is that it was not simply a source of information, but that it feeds the dimensions of moral character into political conflict. In this particular case the context of the story was quickly established as being in the realms of the jungle by its description as a "brawl" and later a "fight", that focused on a number of "Vietnamese". The blunt reference to race was not even modified by saying "Vietnamese youths", for example. (That emphasis was cued additionally to the newsreader by the news editor, through the underlining of "dozen" of them and the block type distinguishing the word "VIETNAMESE" from the rest of the written text.)

Moral judgments were stressed in the reporting through the repetition of the brutal detail of the knife in the back; the reference to the centre being closed to the public as a result of the incident; and the emphasis on the (cowardly) unfairness of a number of men setting upon two others. The description of the two parties as "a gang of Vietnamese" suggested a substantial organised threat, as against "two young men", connoting innocence. This dichotomy of guilt and innocence, wrong and right was black and white.

On a metaphorical level there were crude ironies in the facts that the violence constituted Vietnamese people stabbing, presumably Australian youths, in the back, and that this occurred in an amusement parlour!

Katz points out that in these stories of moralised political conflicts, the general messages about moral character were important for audiences who may be predisposed in opposition to the target group. This may be the feeling towards (perhaps idle) Vietnamese among lower middle-class Australians in the 5DN audience.

"For them the offenders may now be pointed out to be, not only politically undesirable or substantially wrong-headed, but so beyond the boundaries of respectable moral sensibilities as not to merit a hearing for their political claims: 'They are really (basically, essentially, after all the niceties of debate are said and done) bad people, nothing but criminals'".¹¹

The moral message about right and wrong, good and evil in the incident, was further drawn out in this item by a lengthy on-the-spot actualite where the reporter interviewed two eye-witnesses, who were employees of the amusement centre. While they were relatively inarticulate in comparison with the Hindley Street Trader who spoke in the ABC version, the interviewees did have the status of being employed in contrast, one might infer, to the gang of Vietnamese.

This actualite added nothing substantial to the facts of the story read by the newsreader. However, it added substantially to the atmosphere of the item. It was structured as an action replay of the scene, which was heightened by the background noise of amusement machines: shots being fired continuously, evoking a theme of (gang)

warfare. This theme echoed through the interviews in which the reporter tended to put words into the mouths of the eye-witnesses. In the text of the first interview, one of the staff, Dana McLaughlin was urged to reconstruct the scene and repeat the graphic details of the knifing.

Dana - "I was sweeping the floor in the middle of the snack bar area

Reporter - Down in front of the place?

Dana - Yeah, Yeah, when I saw a lot of Vietnamese boys move from this area to the front door. I saw one of them pick up an ashtray and I went to call the police. When I came back, there were knives flying everywhere.

Reporter - There was a fight going? And knives?

Dana - Knives. Big machetes. There was no doubt about that.

Reporter - Big machetes?

Dana - Yeah, machetes!

Reporter - Sounds like they had a pitch battle there?

Dana - Yeah. Anyway, by the time I came back from ringing the police, one of the blokes had been stabbed. He had a great big knife sticking out his back.

Reporter - What? It was still sticking in there?

Dana - Yeah! Still, still. They took him away with it still sticking in him, to the hospital, with a knife in his back."

The second interview served more directly as editorial comment on the incident, conveyed through the comments of another witness Henry Kwasis, about the unfairness of one man against twelve protagonists.

Reporter - "Another employee, Henry Kwasis was also working in the snack bar. He says the 19 year old was also badly cut about the hands, as he tried to fend off the knife attack.

Henry - He'll probably lose three fingers also you know ...

Reporter - His hand was cut too?

Henry - Yeah you know.

Reporter - Must have been some fight?

Henry - Yeah. Well when he got knifed there was only one bloke - and there was 12 blokes you know - you don't have much fight out of that you know - you get stabbed and you can't do anything after that you know ...

Reporter - Detectives have also taken possession of a machete, a knife and a club left behind by gang members when they ran from the centre.

Murray Nichol, Macquarie National News." (5DN C2-1800-1)

The final lines from the reporter listed the weapons supposedly left by the "gang". Additionally, the reference to their running from the scene would seem to indict them and suggest both guilt and cowardice in this news item, before there has been any investigation by the law. The final image which the newsman gave, was of the gang still at large on the streets. This served to further reinforce the news sense of the immediacy of the story, and also to raise public hackles and provoke a sense of threat on a local and a political level.

It has been suggested in the research literature that the majority of crime stories selected for the news are set in the stages of the

criminal process before conviction and punishment, and that the effect of this is to provoke a general sense of threat to the community, rather than reassure the audience that law and order are being maintained. The analysis of examples up to this point supported this in the case of 5DN. However, it has been argued that in the case of the ABC the opposite was true. The strong primary definition of events by the police consistently diffused or minimised any sense of threat.

It is of interest to look therefore at examples of crime reports set at the stage of conviction and punishment to see whether the 5DN reports continued to be more provocative.

Consistent with other crime news, stories of court reports were treated objectively or bureaucratically by the ABC. They featured the language and procedures of the courts as symbols of justice, which were beyond question. This was a typical example of the opening of one such item:

"A man, aged 28, will appear in the Adelaide Magistrates Court today charged with the hijack of ..." (ABC A1-7.45-1)

The verb "will appear" in the simple future tense suggested certainty: this event would occur in the proper logical way. The subject of this sentence would not obstruct this course. In "appearing", his actions seemed to be directed from elsewhere, beyond his control, going through the play of the courtroom procedure. As "a man", he was anonymous, separated even from the one identifying feature of his age by the punctuation.

Compare that disembodied effect of the discourse connoting the "criminal" as being complicit or powerless, with the more aggressive identity suggested by the 5DN introduction to this same story:

"A 28 year old man faces the Melbourne Magistrates Court this morning charged over ..." (5DN A1-8-4)

The effect of describing the criminal as a "28 year old man" created some momentum of identity for the character. This was enhanced by the use of the present tense verb "faces" suggesting that he was active or responsible in his own defence. "Faces" also implied a sense of the man confronting the legal system. One further difference from the ABC report was the choice of the more open preposition in "charged over" on 5DN, whereas the ABC "charged with" conveyed a sense of direct responsibility for a specific wrong doing.

These small variations in the choice of vocabulary indicated how different definitions were established of the criminal within the court system. In the bureaucratic ABC version, the accused lacked identity and power and was seen to comply with the system. The same man, according to the 5DN news, was seen to be actively confronting the system, able to express his part in the process in some small way.

The order of facts, strategic use of subordinate clauses and preference for passive rather than active verbs, were as important as choice of vocabulary in structuring different versions of the same story. Those aspects were highlighted in the analysis, below, of the court reporting on the case of a man accused of making hoax phone calls to police about the missing Adelaide teenager Richard Kelvin. The comparison was interesting because the 5DN version was unusually

restrained in tone and so closer to the usual ABC style. Although the comparable sentence structures were virtually identical, the minor variations of syntax resulted in contrary inferences about the guilt of the accused. The two texts are presented in full here, followed by a sentence by sentence chart comparison.

"KELVIN HOAXER" (ABC C5-1200-6)
 "A man who misled police on several occasions about the disappearance of the NORTH ADELAIDE youth, Richard KELVIN, was sentenced today to nine-months jail.

Michael Andrew GIBBONS, 23, unemployed, of KELVIN Avenue, CLARENCE PARK, was ordered to serve at least five-months before becoming eligible for parole.

GIBBONS pleaded guilty in the Adelaide Magistrates Court to creating a false belief that he knew the whereabouts of KELVIN, in June.

The magistrate, Mr. Lyn MYERS, also ordered GIBBONS to repay about 5-thousand-800 dollars as the cost of the police investigation brought about by his hoax telephone calls.

More from court reporter, Peter GIFFORD.

TAPE BEGINS

'Mr. Myers said he could only speculate at the emotional cost to Mr. and Mrs. Kelvin of what Gibbons had done. It was a cruel crime involving the emotions of parents who at the time held terrible fears for the safety of their son. Richard Kelvin's body was found a few weeks later and the murder remains unsolved. The magistrate said the sense of outrage to the community over Gibbons' actions was strong and there were few mitigating factors. Gibbons had previous convictions which had not served as a warning to him and while medical reports indicated psychiatric problems these were not as serious as he'd made out. They were in part a form of malingering. The sentence had to carry a strong element of deterrents and in the circumstances there was no reason to suspend it.' Peter Gifford, ABC News ...

Counsel for GIBBONS later lodged an appeal with the Supreme Court Registry office.

However, MR. MYERS refused to grant Gibbons bail pending the hearing of the appeal.

Mr. Myers said there was a possibility Gibbons might reoffend, and at the very least he was a public nuisance.

For his own safety he should remain in custody."

"APPEAL

(5DN C5-1200-8)

"A man who's been sentenced to nine months jail for giving police false information about the disappearance of Richard Kelvin is appealing against the severity of the sentence.

Tim Sauer has the details

'The move comes despite comments from Magistrate Lyn Myers, that the man 23-year old Michael Andrew Gibbons should face jail. Magistrate Myers said Gibbons had committed a cruel crime which involved the emotions of parents facing the loss of a loved one. Mr. Myers said Gibbons was a pathetic character who recognised the need for psychiatric help. He said he considered the outrage to the community over Gibbons' actions would be strong.

Gibbons pleaded guilty to creating a false belief and that he made a series of phone calls to police on what he claimed were leads on the disappearance of 15-year old boy Richard Kelvin. His non-parole period was set at 5 months and he'd been given two years to repay police more than \$5,800 in investigation costs.

The appeal can be lodged any time within the next 7 days.

Tim Sauer, Macquarie National News.'"

ABC

"A man who misled police on several occasions about the disappearance of ..."

"misled" - direct action by the accused, past tense showing a completed action, suggests a straightforward wrongdoing; (he's assumed guilty already)

"Michael Andrew Gibbons, 23, unemployed"

accused is young and can't get a job

"was sentenced today to 9 months jail"

past tense, passive verb - the matter is finished and out of accused's hands. Connotes a sense of let the punishment fit the crime.

accused "was ordered to serve",

past tense, passive verb again suggests his powerlessness

"pleaded guilty"

admitted his guilt ...
"pleaded" - legal term which also suggests his subordinate position

"more from court reporter Peter GIFFORD"

"more" - implies the actualite which follows, will reinforce the case above.
"court reporter" - a specialist interpretation to endorse the definition above.

5DN

"A man who's been sentenced to 9 months jail for giving Adelaide police false information about the disappearance" of ...

"has been sentenced" - passive past perfect conveys a sense of something still continuing (doubt?), also something's been done by the system to the accused
"for giving ... (false) information" - Is there some possibility that the man was trying to help?

"23 year old Michael Andrew Gibbons"

accused is a young man ..

"is appealing against the severity of the sentence."

Verb - present tense suggests the matter remains open so there is still hope, and the accused can still take action on his own.
"against" - connotes one man in opposition to the system.
"severity" - technically appropriate expression, which also happens to connote an emotive judgment.
(sympathetic)

"Tim Sauer has the details"

One of our news team will tell you the story details - he "has" the product the audience wants.

Actualité

ABC

stresses harm caused by the accused - a moral dressing down, endorsing public outrage which justifies an official position of no mercy.

(Addendum to report)

"later lodged an appeal"

"however"

magistrate "refused to grant Gibbons bail"

"possibility Gibbons might reoffend .. a public nuisance" ... "for his own safety"

seen to be going through the legal process

modal adjunct indicates no hope held for the appeal

powerbroker denies accused any freedom/rights

final two sentences reiterate moral stance of court and deny the accused any responsibility for himself so rendering him totally powerless.

Actualité

5DN

"move came despite" magistrate's remarks

"pathetic character"

details of charge

"appeal can be lodged any time within the next 7 days."

accused is taking action of his own with "despite" underlining the heavy odds of challenging the court's power.

magistrate dresses down accused and anticipates public outrage.

putting these details at the end rather than the beginning, perhaps diminishes the extent of the crime.

conclusion remains open to an appeal by the accused when it suits him in the next week.

This detailed comparison of reports from the two networks (identified as such with the specific references to specialist reporters "Tim Sauer, Macquarie National News" and "Peter Gifford, ABC News") illustrates the different effects of the two discourses. The ABC version was presented from the point of view of the law as a straightforward, virtually closed case. The ABC reporter endorsed the definition of the magistrate by references like "Mr. Myers said", and "The Magistrate said". The reporter condemned the accused to the passive position, grammatically, when he "was ordered to serve" and "was sentenced ... to". Elsewhere he was in the actively subordinate position of having "pleaded guilty".

5DN presented a story that was more open to possibilities or negotiation. It suggested some sympathy for the accused and indicated options that he could take up, to challenge the system. The listener to the commercial version might well have been moved to question whether the law had not been too severe.

Once again the story title slugs confirmed the respective closed and open intent of the two stories. The ABC slug "KELVIN HOAXER" stated that the accused was a wrongdoer in a criminal act that horrified the public, while the 5DN slug "APPEAL" highlighted the fact that an individual can fight for his rights.

A more extreme example of the differentiation of the definitions of the power play in a court case, can be shown in the court story of a suppression order placed on the name of the man accused of the abduction and murder of an Adelaide child, Louise Bell. The ABC

version of this story endorsed the court's definition of the matter. Its internal story title (slug) was labelled technically, "SUPPRESSION CONTINUES" (ABC D4-1300-3) and it used the legal language of the institution of the court like, "released for publication", "ordered an interim suppression", "body of opinion" and "pending an appeal". These specialised expressions denoted the authority, and a certain impenetrability, of the legal system that was invested in the "Supreme Court Judge". In this particular case the judge had the power either to suppress or to release for publication the name of the accused. Ironically, while the name was suppressed to protect the accused, that meant that the accused had no power or identity with which to define or to defend his position to the news audience.

Alternatively, the cinematic 5DN version immediately focused attention on the accused man, directing audience attention and sympathy towards his position as victim. The portrayal began graphically:

"The man charged with the abduction and murder of 10-year-old Louise Bell has been so badly beaten up that his solicitor has been unable to take instructions from him". (5DN D4-1200-2)

The story continued that this necessarily nameless man would be "in hospital for at least a week after being bashed in his cell". The scene then shifted, with the conjunction "meantime", acting like a cue to switch from camera one to camera two, to the scene outside the court. Here, an on-the-spot reporter summarised the evidently less newsworthy details of the story; details of Court procedures relating to the suppression order.

Perhaps the incident that was the focus of the 5DN story could be extended metaphorically to describe the story structure. That is, it

was a "beat up", to use a journalist's cliché. Whether or not it was the intention of journalists to construct a story which inferred sympathy for the victim up against the system, that was the effect of the human interest angle. The internal story slug "CRIM" suggested a fondness for the accused as a low-life character, and/or a recognition of the newsworthy kernel of the story.

It seems appropriate that the final example of crime news analysed here is a reference to the story of the Lindy Chamberlain case. Chamberlain was convicted of the murder of her baby daughter at Ayers Rock in 1981, despite her defence that the child was taken by a dingo. The story has become one of the most popular and controversial in contemporary Australia. (At the time of writing this in mid-1987, the case had been in and out of the country's courts for six years, and public opinion on the guilt or innocence of Mrs. Chamberlain was still heavily divided.)

There were many aspects to the story that have contributed to its becoming part of the common discussion, the folklore, the jokes of Australians. The original story of a baby being taken by a dingo was extraordinary. The relatively unconventional religious beliefs of the family, and associated unusual names for their children (for example, did the baby's name of Azaria mean "sacrifice"?) caused much surmise about the possible intent of the "crime". Numerous forensic experts and others were called and offered contradictory opinions about the available evidence. At the heart of the case however, was a very threatening question about the bond of mother and child, and whether or not a mother could murder her child. The mythic significance of that

possibility created enormous public interest and controversy and opinions polarised the Australian community.

This particular item on the case, which was not placed as highly newsworthy by either network, focused on that central question about the bond of mother and child, related questions about their need for each other and an individual's view versus the views of experts. All these moral dimensions underlined this report on the decision which was made by the government, representing the community at large.

The government's decision was endorsed by the ABC news-journalists who framed their story in the arena of politicians and experts.

"LINDY REFUSED"

(ABC B3-1800-6)

"An application by Lindy Chamberlain to be reunited with her baby daughter in the Darwin Prison, has been refused. The Territory's Community Development Minister, Mr. Tuxworth, said expert opinion was that there was no medical necessity for the child to be with its mother at this time.

Mr. Tuxworth said he had been advised, also, that the placement of the child in prison with its mother was not considered to be in the best interests of the child. He said that given the length of Mrs. Chamberlain's sentence, it was inevitable the child would again be exposed to separation trauma when she was taken from her mother.

The baby girl, Kahlia, is currently in the care of her father, Pastor Michael Chamberlain, in New South Wales. Mrs. Chamberlain was convicted of the murder of her daughter Azaria, at Ayers Rock, in 1981 by a Supreme Court Jury in Darwin, last October."

This part of the Chamberlain story was conveyed as closed by the report. The story slug "LINDY REFUSED" clearly indicated that the newsroom endorsed that decision although the reference to "Lindy" indicated the familiarity of this public figure. The first and final

sentences framed a sense of closure. The use of the perfect past, "has been refused" in the first sentence allowed no room for question. The simple reference to the fact that "Mrs. Chamberlain was convicted of the murder" in the final sentence, was strategically placed as a reminder to the audience of the woman's guilt and unsuitability to be a mother.

Responsibility for the decision not to allow mother and new child to be reunited in prison lay with the government, yet it was not identified with them in the report until the second sentence. Even then, the politician who made the announcement, Mr. Tuxworth, was shielded by his authoritative title as "The Territory's Community Development Minister". That association with authority in itself seemed to validate the decision. Meanwhile Tuxworth's personal (and political) responsibility was further distanced from the decision by the immediate reference to "expert opinion", in conjunction with the use of the passive voice in "he had been advised". Additionally, the use of social work jargon "separation trauma" to describe the emotions of mother and child, avoided getting close to the heart of the matter.

By contrast, the Northern Territory Government was directly indicted for its decision, by the 5DN newsroom in their first sentence of the text printed in full here.

(5DN B3-1200-19)

"The Northern Territory Government has refused an application by convicted murderess Lindy Chamberlain to be reunited with her baby daughter, Kahlia.

Chamberlain resumed a life sentence at Darwin's Berrimah jail last month.

She unsuccessfully appealed to the Federal Court against her conviction for the murder of her nine-week-old daughter Azaria at Ayers Rock in August, 1980.

Kahlia, Chamberlain's fourth child, was born shortly before the mother was freed on bail from Berrimah jail last year to await the outcome of the appeal.

The baby, now six months old, is living with Chamberlain's husband, Michael, and the couple's sons, Aiden and Reagen, at the Seventh Day Adventist College at Cooranbong near Newcastle.

Northern Territory Community Development Minister, Ian Tuxworth, said the Government has been advised there's no medical reason for Mrs. Chamberlain to be reunited with the child."

The role of the government as directors of the action and definers of right and wrong framed this version of the story in the first and last sentences, like the bars of a prison. Inside that, was the human story of Lindy Chamberlain the Mother, who had appealed to be reunited with her child. The reference to Chamberlain as "convicted murderess" conveyed an almost fond sense of her as a notorious figure, like a character from a popular television drama. Possibly the feminine signification "murderess" conveyed some softness about her that wouldn't be conveyed by "murderer". The rest of the report focused on a sympathetic or appealing picture of Chamberlain as a mother with a family: the subject of each sentence was "Chamberlain", "She", "Kahlia", "The baby".

This 5DN discourse, which took the human interest angle, had the effect of giving a humane interpretation of the event of an unsuccessful appeal to the legal system. It tacitly solicited public sympathy for Chamberlain the mother, as a victim of a (heartless?)

system and perhaps inferred that the legal system should be less rigid in its decision making.

This was in contrast to the closed, objective sense conveyed by the ABC discourse which endorsed the status quo and its guardians in terms of the legal system, the government and experts.

That 5DN report could be interpreted, by corollary, as a criticism of the rigid nature of that legal system. However it is more realistic to take a pragmatic view, which is probably what the 5DN newsroom does, and surmise that there was no intentionally ideological stand being taken here. Rather, it was another example of the (unintended) side-effect of the focus of the 5DN newsroom on the human interest angle of crime stories: a reflection of a tacit network decision about those particular values having paramount value in terms of the newsworthiness that sells networks.

CONCLUSION

Crime news played an important part in conveying the popular, entertaining tone of the 5DN News bulletin. It constituted nearly 10% of time on an average bulletin and particularly sensational crimes appeared among top items in bulletins. The dramatic potential of individual items of crime news was exploited, so that crime news stories usually were high dramatic points in the overall rhythm of the bulletin.

The dramatisation of 5DN crime news illustrated the links of that reporting with the genre of crime fiction reporting. A variety of techniques were used to effect a cinematic depiction of crime events. On-the-spot reporters reconstructed the scene or used witnesses to structure an action replay. There were shifts from one scene to another within an item: for example from the studio, to the courtroom, to the news conference. The initial focus of stories often was on the graphic details. An emphasis on present continuous verb tenses, conveyed a sense that the action/search was still continuing. Also the choice of imagery and vocabulary from crime fiction, like "bandit", "high speed car chase" and "police highwayman", conveyed stereotypes of police and criminals as goodies and baddies.

Above all, the focus on the human interest angle of crime stories, even in the court room context, elicited attitudes of sympathy, confrontation, frustration and victimisation for individuals facing the legal system. This and the cinematic depiction of crime events, drew the audience into the stories, as good fiction does. It titillated the

audience with vivid entertaining stories, some sense of challenging the system, and provoked some sense of excitement about the "action" and drama of the world outside.

Crime stories tended to be reported in a similar style each time with minimal details of context, but maximum sense of action and immediacy. This made the stories interchangeable to some extent. It also conveyed a sense of crime as a routine and ephemeral event in life. This, and the one-dimensional tendency towards melodrama and caricatures, meant that the audience could get vicarious pleasure from the reporting without feeling any real sense of threat: thus crime news equated with fiction.

On ABC news bulletins crime news generally was designated as not very newsworthy. It was relegated to lowly positions in bulletins, and individual items tended to function as low dramatic points in relation to the rhythm of the whole bulletin.

ABC crime news reports were prosaic in style. They relied substantially on definitions of events being framed by police and by representatives of the judiciary. These definitions were endorsed by news journalists, who tended to restrict the description of events to the vocabulary of bureaucratic and legal procedures: for example "officers", "apprehended", "pending an opinion". A formal ordered sense was conveyed of details of names, places and context which prevailed over any graphic details.

Any sense of general threat to the law and order of the community was contained by the tendency to set crime news in the past. This was achieved by use of past complete tenses and use of the passive voice to distance the action from the subject and the audience. The distancing of events in place also was brought about by a pattern of running ABC crime stories in later bulletins than 5DN did, by which time the focus of the item usually had shifted from the scene of the crime to the scene of justice, for example a court hearing on bail.

The result of this style of discourse on crime was that the ABC audience was reassured about their security. They were encouraged by hearing continual examples set before them in closed format, to put faith in the police and the courts who were portrayed as guardians of public safety. Criminals on the other hand were portrayed somewhat anonymously. Although they might be named, they were given little other identity or active role in defining events.

In this way the primary definition of events by law-enforcing agents constructed a one dimensional view of crime events. While criminal activity was shown to have a certain routine status, the audience could listen with a sanguine expectation that that criminal world was contained in a realm beyond them.

In summary, each network showed most crime as a routine occurrence in our community, although on 5DN the routine was somewhat akin to the (familiar) melodrama of movies. A recurrent structure was conveyed of daily crime stories on one-dimensional modern morality plays that

dramatised the forces of good and evil. The assumption was that the audience identified with the winner who was a "goodie".

Those stories defined a boundary of what was (un)acceptable. They draw attention to violent crimes against people and to reiterate Hall's reference here, illustrated how violence

"marks the distinction between those who are fundamentally of society and those who are outside of it. It is co-terminous with the boundary of 'society' itself."¹²

In the majority of cases of crime news that distinction was reasonably obvious. The answer to the question what do you do about it, was either leave it to the law enforcement agencies (ABC), or treat it like fiction (5DN). The harder questions to answer were identified in the occasional more complex reports. In the case of the Vietnamese gang who stabbed a youth in a local amusement centre, the potential racist threat which that incident raised required additional commentary. Thus the audience was given the benefit of a chorus: bystanders on 5DN and the Traders' Association views on the ABC. In cases like the perversity inflicted on teenagers like Richard Kelvin and 10 year old Louise Bell who were sexually abused and murdered, or exceptional stories like Lindy Chamberlain possibly murdering her baby, the potential threats to the community's collective belief system were so devastating and challenging that questions about the cases continued to be asked. Any new information on them continues to be rated as newsworthy by newsrooms and by the public.

CHAPTER EIGHT - FOOTNOTES

1. Graber, D. (1980)
Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., Roberts, B.
(1978)
Cohen, S., and Young, J. (1981)
Fishman, M. (1981)
Katz, J. (1987).
2. Katz, J. (1987) p68.
3. Hall, S. et al (1978).
4. Cohen, S. (1972).
5. Cohen, S. (1972) p46.
6. Hall, S. (1978) p66.
7. *ibid.*, p69.
8. Hall, S. et al (1978) p67-68.
9. *ibid.*, p67.
10. *ibid.*, 052.
11. Katz, J. (1987) p54.
12. Hall, S. et al (1978) p67-68.

CHAPTER NINE

THE COVERAGE OF SPORTS NEWS

APPROACH

News items on Sport are usually signalled in the discourse as being different in content and style; offering a view of a world that is more stable and comprehensive than that of harder political and industrial news. These points are discussed in the general introduction, along with some explanation of the relative importance of sports news to the overall tone of the two news services.

Most of the discussion analyses representative items from the two stations, taking each station separately. In both cases the compressed nature of sports reports reflects a strong sense of tough commercial values being promoted by the world of sport. This is reinforced on the ABC by metaphors of corporate management and on 5DN by metaphors of belligerence and success.

A final discrete section on the coverage of the America's Cup Yacht race illustrates how images of territorial aggression have corollaries on a political level. It is demonstrated that facts are organized to cater for a parochial Australian audience.

INTRODUCTION

Sport is one of the most important public rituals in Australian life, with a mass following. As such it is a medium which is actively cultivated by media and it is a market which attracts corporate sponsorship. Both Commercial and ABC networks spend large amounts of time covering sports events in regular programming. As media networks (for example, the Packer network) have become more heavily involved in sponsorship of sport, the media's presentation and packaging of sport has also become increasingly sophisticated. There has been a shift away from covering traditional and amateur sports, to a wider variety of highly professional American styled events or spectacles.

This shift has been reflected in news discourses on sports items. More commercial values are being expounded and affirmed by the Australian sports loving public. They are moving away from traditional values such as, effort, self-discipline, honour and achievement, towards aggression, dominance, ruthlessness and the importance of conquering. Sport's heroes are adopting a character akin to that of movie stars or media personalities, at the direction of corporate bodies. Consequently the audience's role is becoming more passive. Sport as it is reported is not so much a dramatic representation of reality, but a diversion from it.

At the same time, sports news still offers a sense of catharsis. For its followers, it is still a knowable world where the rules are mostly understood, identities known and results relatively straightforward. The world of sport is for many a more readily comprehensible

and less threatening one than that portrayed in the majority of political and industrial news.

In the periods surveyed it was common practice on both stations to mark sports news as a shift in the direction of the bulletin, for instance with an introductory phrase such as "In football ...", or "Turning to sports news ...". Sometimes on 5DN a separate voice was used for reading sports items: for example, "Here's Mark Robinson with sport ...". Such signals signified that the news content and style was moving into a different gear. The news that followed was to be viewed and judged differently from the rest of the bulletin. It was an indication to various parts of the audience that depending on individual preferences, they should listen less or more attentively to this section.

General criteria for newsworthiness of sports items were different from those of "hard" industrial, political, economic or even crime news. Sports items largely covered the sports played by males and those with the largest mass audiences: football (Australian Rules), cricket, horse-racing, or those sports which involved extreme effort such as marathon running. Information was conveyed about the latest competition results, or changes that may have affected results, such as an injury or suspension of a good player or a change in a club's management such as a new coach. In this context the following examples of stories constituted sports news: a virus afflicting South Australia's Sheffield Shield Cricket captain; the return of a local Formula-One driver to motor racing; wrangles between interstate football clubs over transfers of players; and the betting on a

favourite race horse for the Caulfield Cup. Such items would mostly have failed to rate as newsworthy in conventional terms, unless they were perhaps accepted into the category of "soft" human interest stories.

Interestingly, there were occasions on both news services when contrasting items were juxtaposed with "safe" sports stories, with the effect of enhancing a moral message. That is, if an item with a theme of threat to physical or moral well-being followed a series of ordered sports stories, the seriousness of that particular item was reinforced by contrast with the preceding item. For instance, the judgment of journalist and audience on a leading Sydney bookmaker, Bob Blann, who was disqualified for accepting bets off-course (5DN D2-1200-18), was all the more severe for the story having followed immediately after an item celebrating an injured 62-year old marathon runner, Cliff Young, determinedly starting a race against considerable odds (5DN D2-1200-15), and the prestigious sale of a "top galloper" racehorse (5DN D2-1200-17). On another bulletin, an item about the warning by State Health Minister, John Cornwall, about "an alarming growth in the abuse of prescription narcotics in South Australia" (5DN D1-1200-21), seemed all the more dire following as it did a story of "the man who holds the record for the fastest marathon." (5DN D1-1200-20).

Finally, in an example from the ABC news, the moral judgment in an item beginning,

"Victoria's chief police surgeon, Doctor Peter Bush, says it should be an offence to drive with any alcohol in the blood"

and concluding, that

"even in small quantities it (alcohol) can impair a person's ability to drive," (ABC C3-7.45-17)

was made all the more effective by the item having followed three items which celebrated the feats of various top footballers.

These items on a negative moral theme served, in turn, to re-assert in the audience's mind a belief in the positive and therapeutic aspects of sport, perhaps even setting it up as a ready solution to the ills of the world.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO NETWORKS

The average percentage of news time given to sport on 5DN was 10.37%. In general, these sports items were presented as a dramatic peak in the bulletin. In particular, in the evenings the 1800 5DN bulletin shared its time slot with a popular talkback programme on sports compered by Ken Cunningham (K.G.), thus reinforcing the place of sports news in that hour.

ABC news coverage of sport (4.75% of bulletin time on average) was considerably less. ABC sports items were consistently put towards the end of the bulletin and were presented as a dramatic plateau or conversely as a trough. (In the evening the programmes surrounding the ABC major news tended to be current affairs). The small percentage of sports news and its low positioning in the bulletin indicated that sport was not considered to be particularly newsworthy on this network. However, ABC radio has always given substantial airtime to separate specific programmes on sport. In the ABC's early days, BBC administrators observed that sports reporting was thought to be

"Australia's most characteristic feature".¹ It was believed that "sporting programmes could make the national stations more popular".²

The popular role of sport seemed to have a critical role to play on 5DN in establishing the tone of its news service. As a subjective measure of 5DN's success, when the raw material for this research was being collected from the station, it was observed that the station's reception area was frequently visited by racing punters coming in offering or seeking tips, or football fans sporting their club's colours. Many wanted to speak to 5DN's well known sporting journalists like Ken Cunningham.

In terms of more objective measures, the major midday news bulletin on 5DN consistently placed a block of sports items, often as many as five or six, about half-way through the bulletin of 20-26 items, and before world political news. At the time of this survey, 5DN was the major South Australian radio station to broadcast direct horse race calls from around Australia. In the midday news it was common for one or two race calls to interrupt the bulletin and thus be featured like major stories. For example, in the half-hour of the midday bulletin on day B2, there were 29 news items which took up 20.5 minutes of which 8 items were about sport. The other 10 minutes out of 30 minutes set aside for the news bulletin consisted of three breaks. There was a break for commercials between item three, about a PLO campaigner being bugged, and item four, on an attempted murder at Mildura. There were races and commercials, between items 13 and 14 on the Adelaide Casino Act, and a fitness test for Australian cricket captain. There were further races and commercials between item 20 (the end of a block of 8

items on sport) and item 21, where British Prime Minister Thatcher "warned of a danger to savings if a Socialist Labour government is voted in at next month's general election" ... Thus the British Prime Minister had to wait, as did all the news audience, for the race call to be taken down the line from Melbourne. (The juxtaposition of two "gambling" items was probably quite ironical!)

SPORTS NEWS ON 5DN

The importance to 5DN of having lively sports items to give a popular flavour to its news bulletin was evident in the relatively colloquial house style used in writing up such news. Sports journalists often entered with enthusiasm into such events, stirring loyalties and rivalries with their wording; endorsing Australian competitors and creating and perpetuating near-legendary status for a small group of excellent sportsmen who had a recurring place in the news. The news reader often emphasised the enthusiasm written into the text for the battles on the sports field, with a change in the tone and rhythm of his voice towards an informal, even fond tone in his delivery.

The most straightforward reports of competition results were often enlivened by the use of the odd colloquial expression: for example, the inclusion of the word "tough" in the following factual report on the Stockholm Open Tennis competition:

"Sweden's Mats Wilander will meet Thomas Smid of Czechoslovakia in tomorrow's final of the Stockholm Open. In the semi-finals, Smid defeated American Peter Fleming in a tough three-set match, while Wilander beat Vitas Gerulaitors of the U.S. in straight sets." (5DN D1-1200-19)

Aside from "tough", the interest of the item was on "defeated" and "beat" which were reinforced by their assonance and the identification of players with their country. Given the likely unfamiliarity of most of the radio news audience with particular foreign players' names, a ready interpretation of the item might have translated as the Americans were beaten by the Czechs, who will now face the Swedes.

The compressed nature of sports items like this one tended to highlight a sense of aggression and even violence. The metaphors of violence and battle and references to "tests", "opponents" and "tactics" abounded in 5DN Sports items, along with references to preparatory moves such as setting up (opposing) positions. For example, in golf:

"Bob Shearer is set to tackle the P.G.A. title" (5DN D1-1200-18);

in horse racing, one horse has been "installed" favourite, and with his "arch rival",

"Both horses are being aimed at the Caulfield Cup" (5DN C5-1200-16);

in tennis,

"Jimmy Connors and Ivan Lendl have been eliminated from the French Open" (5DN B3-1200-4);

and in swimming, Australian swimmers

"took out their section to inflict the first defeat on the United States ..." (5DN B3-1200-16).

Meanwhile

"The Australian Youth Soccer Team will get its first taste of the battle field against Mexico," (5DN B3-1200-17);

in car racing, Alan Jones "will take the wheel," (5DN D1-8-7); and in football,

"as the Malcolm Blight clearance wrangle continues, a number of other South Australian players are fighting similar battles, and another player is to become involved in V.F.L., S.A.N.F.L. disputes," (5DN A4-1200-15).

It is important to note that the initials in this last example were not explained. Audience familiarity with the institutionalised codes of sport was assumed. The effect was to reinforce a sense of sportsmen and audience being part of a common public world.

The sense of aggression denoted in such sports reports was reinforced by the conciseness of items and resultant emphasis on results. Whether the reason for brevity in sports items were to enable a variety of sports to be covered, or because the items were not considered of sufficient general interest to be expanded, or because they were unimportant, the effect of this brevity was clear. Attention was focused on performance of excellence. Distinct lines were drawn between success and failure and the individual champion was often featured rather than the team effort or the role of other competitors.

This effect was enhanced by the tendency of 5DN to colour an item, even in a fleeting way, such as including the word "tough" in the factual report of a tennis match referred to above. Whether intentional or not the effect, the blurring of the distinction between objective and subjective judgments, sometimes fostered a sense of prejudice in the reporting.

For example, this occurred in the following item about the poor performance of the touring English cricket team. The story carried the journalist's slug "POM-CRICKETERS" where the colloquialism "POM" denoted a derogatory sense of the English, popularly associated by many Australians with the negative idea of "whinger". This idea was clearly the theme of the item, in which these two sentences introduced a taped insert of captain Willis assessing the tour.

"English Cricket Captain Bob Willis continues to blame the rebel tour of South Africa for his team's poor performance on the recent tour of Australia and New Zealand.

Speaking on his arrival back in England Willis said the South African tour robbed England of many seasoned and professional players ...". (5DN A3-1200-21)

In this example the journalist created interest by suggesting a picture of the English team having been "robbed", rather than simply having been defeated. In so doing, through his choice of this particular indirect quote from Willis' speech and the use of emotive language like "blame", "rebel", "poor", "robbed" and "professional", the journalist denoted an editorial bias against South Africa, in sympathy with Willis' line. In addition, the brevity of the item forced the audience to think only in terms of this one explanation, that the English loss was directly attributable to the South African tour. Thus, this subjective and bitter explanation was in a position to attain the status of fact, particularly because the audience would be accustomed to relatively straightforward reports on sports results. (This would be in contrast to, say, a news item on the war in Iran or a conflict in Parliament, where there would be a tacit framework of understanding that the truth was more complex and not explained so easily.)

Such blatant political innuendo and indulgence in emotive language in this item was not common in reporting on cricket on 5DN, however. Usually it was a more relaxed discourse where longer, more dignified rhythms seemed to reflect the slower pace of the game so distinguished from the majority of other sports. Behind the reporting there is also a tradition of famous gently-spoken English cricket commentators and a strong imperial³ sense of it being a gentleman's game.

The following two sentence introduction to an item on a match in Perth showed this, in focusing on the open endedness of the match as it "goes into the last day's play." Any sense of competition or war was

displaced by the near certainty of a drawn result and the possibility of rain, ambivalently accepted.

"The Pakistan-Western Australia cricket match seems certain to end in a draw, with rain forecast for later today in Perth.

Harvey Deegan reports Pakistan go into the last day's play at 3 for 92 with Javed Miandad on six, and Zaheer Abbas on twenty, a lead of thirty-three overall." (5DN D1-1200-16)

The news item formed a dramatic plateau in the rhythm of the news bulletin, as did the following example, quoted in full.

"Cricket ..., and South Australia will meet Tasmania in a semi-final of the McDonald's Cup - following yesterday's round of one-day matches.

New South Wales will meet title-holders Western Australia in the other semi.

South Australia came second behind W.A. in their group ... while Tasmania just pipped New South Wales in the other division.

Meanwhile, PAKISTAN is in a slightly shaky position in the match against Western Australia in Perth ... with one day to go.

The tourists resume today at three for nine-two ... just thirty three runs ahead.

The first session will decide whether the home side can force a win." (5DN D1-8-8)

The verbs here denoted a restrained middle class discourse, more reminiscent of a board meeting than the battleground of other sports. For example, one team would "meet" with another in the ordered structure of a "round", or "division", or "session". The expression that Tasmania "just pipped" New South Wales, seemed to come from an aristocratic club. Politeness of form and language prevailed, with the worst threat to order being Pakistan in "a slightly shaky position." Even this was redeemable as there was "one day to go". The reference to Pakistan as "tourists" denoted a friendly acceptance of the foreign

team, in contrast with the references in the former item to the English "rebel" tour of South Africa. The final sentence referring to the positive possibility of "whether" (not the 50/50 chance of whether or not) the "home side can force a win", rang a somewhat discordant note in seeming to shift away from the polite tone of the rest of the item to one that was seriously competitive or threatening. The parochialism of "the home side" echoed the earlier reference to the fact that was put rather circuitously: "South Australia came second behind W.A. in their group" ... This was not the same in effect as saying that South Australia lost, or that Western Australia won.

The 5DN sports news audience evidently had a substantial appetite for news of winners. The importance of being in a position to conquer was, frequently referred to. An item on an imminent marathon race opened with a celebration of the race favourite:

"The man who holds the record for the world's fastest marathon ..." (5DN C1-1200-20).

Another item on runner Ron Grant began with a description of him as:

"the Brisbane man attempting to break a number of world records" ...

and closed with the reinforcing comment that

"Grant has already set several world records", (5DN C5-1200-19)

Similarly, in sailing news, whilst the yacht Shockwave was "yet to be beaten," it was reported that it "has again taken line honours", (5DN A4-1200-16). The reference to honours was another military allusion.

The inclusion by the news journalist of adverbs "again" and "already" in the sentences above, (my emphases) stressed the

underlying theme in sports news of achieving and maintaining a winning performance. The same idea was denoted by the placing of "after that" in the following, two-sentence, story on golfer Bob Shearer.

"Victorian golfer BOB SHEARER is set to tackle the P.G.A. title at WARRNAMBOOL next week after his two stroke win in the Australian P.G.A. championship at Royal Melbourne over the weekend.

After that, Shearer says he'll take a break before heading for the professional circuit in the United States." (5DN D1-1200-18)

Shearer was newsworthy because he recently had had a win and also because he would be a major character in another competition coming up. "After that" signalled the journalist's endorsement of his plan to "take a break", as though he had provided sufficient news to be able to afford a lull in his story. At the same time, tacitly the journalist was promising new dramatic peaks to the news audience following the serial of this sportsman, when Shearer moved later into a different up-market "professional" American scene.

The need of sports journalists to have a group of consistently good achievers to provide continuing copy and ready audience identification has created legendary status for some sportsmen. Some of that uncritical intoxication with the victor was evident in the last item on golfer Bob Shearer. It was evident also in items about ailing sports stars, as in the following stories on cricketer David Hookes and golfer Jack Newton.

The former text read as follows:

"South AUSTRALIAN CRICKET CAPTAIN DAVID HOOKES is in hospital suffering from a mystery illness.

HOOKES was admitted this morning before becoming ill late last week.

He'll undergo a number of tests to determine the nature of his illness.

Hookes was forced to withdraw from his club match on SATURDAY and then from yesterday's McDONALDs CUP MATCH". (5DN D1-1200-15)

The reference to Hookes' virus as "mystery", reinforced by another reference to tests "to determine the nature of his illness", suggested that it would have to be something out of the ordinary to upset this man. In other words he is no ordinary man! The conclusion that he "was forced to withdraw" from one match, "and then" another match, was not linked directly with the "mystery virus". The two sets of facts however seemed to be placed in the discourse to justify one another; set there to redeem or to protect Hookes' reputation as a media sports star.

The intention of the item to maintain a sense of this man's invulnerability was confirmed by the journalist's slug for the item: "HOOKES ONLY TEST".

Whilst David Hookes made the news for being admitted to hospital, golfer Jack Newton made the news because he possibly was to be released from hospital, after a lengthy stay recovering from a serious accident. The accident was unrelated to his golf, although it spelled the end of his golfing career. This was the story:

"Injured golfer ... Jack Newton ... could be out of hospital in Sydney within two weeks.

The golfer's been in hospital since walking into a rotating plane propeller nine weeks ago - losing his right arm and eye and sustaining severe abdominal injuries.

His father, Jack Newton, Senior, says everyone's excited at the thought of his son being discharged." (5DN -1200-17)

There are two interesting aspects of this item, (aside from the unfortunate, "I'd give my right arm to be as good as him at golf"). One was the sense of pushing a champion to the limit: almost pushing him out of hospital to indicate a miraculous recovery period, to make news. The second was the free use of the father's comment. When the father said "everyone's excited" he was probably referring to family, friends and hospital staff involved. The news journalist put the statement, "everyone's excited" forward as a generalized one, thus including the news audience and seeming to give the event of the man being discharged from hospital, an almost cosmic significance.

Whilst Jack Newton remained newsworthy for the short term as a former champion fighting a battle of survival, no such generosity was extended by newsmen to the losers. The metaphor of survival of the fittest dominated. Those who were unfit, injured, suspended or just not good enough, were ruthlessly dispensed with in a line. For example,

"Tim Paech and Andrew Downes have failed again to prove their fitness and have not been included in the squad."

... while the Roosters "had to omit Mick Armfield and Jamie Mason because of injury," (5DN C5-1200-14)

These facts (and players) were overridden by the emphasis of the news which began this particular item:

"North Adelaide has regained its captain JOHN RILEY ..." (5DN C5-1200-14)

or the following item which began parochially,

"Over the border, North Melbourne have retained every available member of their teams," (5DN C5-1200-15)

This sense of regaining and retaining men and positions to ensure

maximum strength and force of competitors and thus the best product, recurred frequently in news of team sports like football. The tightness of having the right (winning) formula for the game, and for the news, was reflected in the compressed structure of the discourse. For instance, in the second sentence of the item on North Melbourne football, this sense was created by the strong verbs "lost" and "replaced" and was underlined by the repeated use of "only" (my emphasis):

"The only changes to the NORTH team which lost to HAWTHORN last weekend were through injuries to KELLY and FURY, while ESSENDON replaced only the suspended RON ANDREWS." (5DN C5-1200-15)

The effect of such discourses on sports news was to create a sense of control and order that offered a relative stability that was not possible in most other news. The news audience could be reassured that strength and order prevailed in a sports microcosm, where the competitors and the rules of the game were knowable. This was expressed in the previous item on North Adelaide regaining its captain:

"That's the good news for the Rooster." (5DN C5-1200-14)

Vicariously, that was good news for the audience to experience also.

By implication, the audience should/could have well taken note of the methods of the sports world, to apply to their own. At the same time, they should have been aware of how the values of that world were changing and how the game was not all about achievement and honour. Perhaps a football coach should have the last word, despite his attempts to abuse the English language. His very attempts to do so, highlight in the discourse how the traditional values of "promise" of

"commitment" and giving of one's "best" have been pushed past their meaningful limits to "all-out commitment" and "extreme-best". These values were set against a background of "months of wrangling" between the corporate bodies of the leagues.

"State coach BOB HAMMOND has promised an all-out commitment in the match against VICTORIA at Football Park today.

The interstate clash follows months of wrangling between the South Australian and Victorian leagues. However HAMMOND says that's not been an issue with the players - who've been concentrating on playing their 'extreme-best' today." (5DN B1-1200-6)

ABC SPORTS NEWS REPORTING

First impressions of ABC sports news items were that they were more pedestrian in style than those on 5DN. Often the ABC reports were very brief, simply detailing results of a competition and the names of people involved. For example, a report on motor racing stated:

"The Monaco Grand Prix has been won by Keke Rosberg of Finland, driving a Williams.

Nelson Piquet, of Brazil, was second in a Brabham and Frenchman, Alain Prost was third in a Renault." (ABC B1-7.45-12)

With similar apparent disinterest, despite the rather facetious story's title slug "NONPAREIL", the news audience was told these facts about a boxing competition:

"South Australia has a new boxing champion.

James Jurgens, aged 16, of the Para Hills Amateur Boxing Club, has won a gold medal at the Australian Junior Boxing Championships in Queensland.

Jurgens won the junior light-middle weight division knocking out his opponent in the third round.

The titles were held at Coolangatta." (ABC B1-7.45-11)

The dry objective style of this report, reinforced by the falling tone at the conclusion of each sentence, displayed scarcely any enthusiasm for a "new boxing champion." The item formed a distinct dramatic trough in the bulletin, particularly when it was followed by an item on how "Britain is having one of its wettest springs on record"! (ABC B1-7.45-12)

While there was a tendency for many sports items on the ABC to be

written in this prosaic style, there was also a noticeable sense of satisfaction conveyed about winning local performances. An assumption of supremacy was connoted in the closed falling tone of opening lines like:

"South Australia defeated Victoria at Football Park today. Here's how ABC Commentator Jerry Harrison described the end of the match." (ABC B1-1800-4)

This story's title slug "VICS BEATEN", confirmed the newsmen's parochial attitude and reinforced the idea that the victory was one on a State political level as much as a sporting one.

Interestingly, when the following item had to relay a defeat when

"Victorian stayer AMERANT won the Adelaide Cup at Morphettville today" ... (ABC B1-1800-5),

the emphasis written into the text at its conclusion, attempted to redeem the defeat of local horses with this comment:

"As John O'Neill said, it was very close" (ABC B1-1800-5).

Note that the newsreader, repeats the comment of John O'Neill the on-the-spot reporter, as if to say, two of us can't be wrong?

Likewise with 5DN sports reporting the ABC focus on results in sports reporting meant that the importance of winning, as distinct from striving or participating, was connoted as paramount. A vanquished hero was no longer newsworthy. Witness the fate of American tennis star, Jimmy Connors, in the story with the sarcastic title from the newsroom "POOR JIMMY".

"The top seed in the French Open Championship, Jimmy Connors has been eliminated in a quarter final by an unseeded Frenchman. Connors went down in three sets to ..." (ABC B3-7.45-5)

Connors was not only destroyed by the force of the verb "eliminated",

he was further humiliated in the discourse by having his former title paraded before him and the reference to a formerly unplaced "Frenchman", mocking him from the other end of the sentence.

The precarious position of individual well known sportsmen in the scheme of things which was identified usually as a corporate one, was highlighted in news items about the selection of players for a team. For example:

"North Adelaide has lost Jamie MASON and Mick ARMFIELD through injuries for its first semi-final match against Sturt tomorrow. But captain John Riley returns to the side after an injury. Sturt has named ...

West Adelaide ... has named a squad of ..." (ABC C5-7.45-9)

The destiny of individuals was thus set out here with critical clarity. If a player were not chosen, he was "lost". The faceless men behind the team with the job of "naming" players, were seen to have the power.

Even in a straightforward item listing the players and positions for a South Australian cricket team, it was made quite evident in the text by the use of a separate clause marked out with pauses, that the power behind the scene lay with a corporate structure as in:

"The team for Sri-Lanka ... announced by the Australian Cricket Board today ... also includes ..." (ABC A3-1800-10)

An item on the selection policy for footballers in Victoria (titled "VFL WORRIED" by South Australian reporters) showed the importance of management decisions quite clearly. It began:

"The Victorian Football League directors last night decided to change the selection procedures for interstate matches, ..." (ABC B4-7.45-9)

The corporate structure connoted by the term "directors", reinforced by

the driving sense of control and the desire to have the most successful product, was illustrated in the lines that followed:

"The decision follows Victoria's thrashing at the hands of SOUTH AUSTRALIA three weeks ago.

The VFL Chairman of Selectors, Mr. Ian RIDLEY, said last night that the change was an effort to make everyone understand that Victoria was all out to win interstate matches." (ABC B4-7.45-9)

The essential commercialism of sport and increased need to package players, teams and matches in sporting competitions was evident in the discourses about the fortunes of some well known individual sportsman. For example, it sharpened the apparent poignancy of the title of the following story, "KERNAHAN STAYS". This was the full text:

"Glenelg ruckman Stephen KERNAHAN has signed a new contract with the Club and will remain with Glenelg at least for next year.

KERNAHAN -- who polled the most votes in this year's Magarey Medal count but was ineligible for the award because he'd been suspended during the year -- had been sought by the Victorian club CARLTON." (ABC C5-7.45-10)

The variety of references and angles in this brief report illuminated a shift of values in sport. The second sentence referred to the old measure of value, the Magarey Medal, subtitled the medal for the best and fairest player of the year. Kernahan's ineligibility for the medal because he had been suspended during the year, told that he had been involved in playing in an unsportsmanlike way. Presumably he had not maintained the traditional ideals of self-discipline and fair play. The essence of the story as indexed by the title, was that Kernahan was to stay with his club, but this was not for old-fashioned loyalty. Nor was it necessarily for long, being only "at least for next year." That "loyalty" had its price.

The fact that the player had signed a "contract" connoted a background story of corporate wheeling and dealing, lawyers and negotiations, offers and counter offers. The fact that it was a "new contract" signalled that negotiations had taken place to reassess the player's worth to the club in a highly commercialised field. The conclusion that he "had been sought by the Victorian club CARLTON" served to show the way in which Kernahan's value had been enhanced in the market place, where bargaining over the use of the player had superseded any thoughts of home loyalty.

A brief subsequent sports item on the same bulletin announced that a person called Hayden Bunton was to coach the West Australian football club Subiaco. Audience knowledge of Bunton's reputation as a player and coach was assumed, as was his value therefore. The very brevity of the item connoted a sense of loyalties and traditions being secondary to commercial redevelopment.

The item, "BUNTON COACH", simply said this:

"The WEST AUSTRALIAN football club SUBIACO has appointed HAYDEN BUNTON coach for the next five years.

BUNTON coached South Australia for several years until last year and is now living in South Australia." (ABC C3-7.45-15)

Although there seemed an odd twinge of Bunton the man almost defecting from his home place in the second sentence, there was no doubt from the structure of the first sentence that the West Australian club was in charge and would be the master of the coach whom it had "appointed". Such were the commercial realities.

Similarly, the fate of Norwood football player Neville Roberts was connoted in the discourse as being in the hands of the corporate club body in this item. "ROCKY RETURNS" was the story title.

"In football, NORWOOD'S Neville Roberts leaves hospital today after minor surgery to his left knee but he won't play this Saturday against Glenelg.

NORWOOD'S football director, Mr. Wally MILLER, says he's confident ROBERTS will play in the qualifying or elimination finals the following week-end.

ROBERTS complained of soreness in the knee on Sunday, after he kicked ten goals against CENTRALS in the previous day." (ABC C3-7.45-14)

The opening phrase "In football," indicated that the story to follow should not be judged by conventional criteria of newsworthiness, in which context it would seem trivial and uninteresting ... A man who was a footballer had a sore knee after playing a good game on the weekend, and, subsequently had minor surgery to the knee. Five days later he was ready to leave hospital on this particular day and would probably play football again the week after next, but not next week.

Neville Roberts was not an ordinary man however; nor was he his own man. He was owned by men who controlled Norwood Football Club as in "Norwood's Neville Roberts," then simply as "Roberts". By extension, if he were "Norwood's" he also belonged to all the public who cared to refer, however casually, to Norwood Football Club as "our team" or even "my team". Roberts' actions and performance were reported upon in as far as his physical condition: he "complained of soreness" and he "kicked ten goals" and today he "leaves hospital".

After he had complained and had surgery and recovered, it was unclear in the reporting who had decided that he would not play

football. However, Mr. Miller was reported as saying that Roberts would play the following week: "he's confident Roberts will play." The identification of Mr. Wally Miller as "Norwood's football director" reinforced the sense of the player not being in charge of his own destiny or decision making. The director image also denoted the film world: this idea was made more pointed by the journalist's slug, "ROCKY RETURNS" referring to the player's public nickname and status, and punning on the American film of "Rocky", the hard-hitting boxer hero who was always getting knocked down and then getting up again. The concluding sentence that explained Roberts' "sore knee" (understatement?) after kicking an excellent score of ten goals, reinforced that sense of the hero prepared to suffer, to score for the crowd.

The focus of the item stressed the importance of performance. The good news that the man was leaving hospital after surgery and recovering within three days, was almost cancelled out by the conjunction "but" in the first sentence, indicating some sense of failure in that "he won't play this Saturday". This use of "but" and the connecting rhythm between the opposing clauses "he won't play" with he "will play" the "following weekend", was the kernel of the news item. The individual's well-being and own feelings were of peripheral importance. No details of the surgery were given so the medical interest was solely in terms of whether or not surgery would instantly solve the problem of losing a good player from a game. Thus the needs of the club were seen to be predominant in the discourse.

Another ABC report stood out for its suggestion of a darker conspiratorial level of management in the world of football. It was

signalled by the rather startling metaphor, "a cloak of secrecy". The story immediately preceding a big interstate match was tagged by newsmen as "FOOTBALL PREVIEW". Ironically it was really a story of the absence or withholding of information.

"South Australia's football selectors have imposed a cloak of secrecy over the side to play VICTORIA at Football Park this afternoon.

They won't be naming the State side until just before the match. And they are not releasing the results of this morning's fitness test on key forward Rocky Roberts and centre-line player Bruce Abernathy." (ABC B1-1200-5)

The cloak of secrecy would have tantalized the football audience which usually thrives on exposure of details of team make-up, fitness tests and prediction of results. The withholding of such, presumably was a measure to gain any last minute advantage from not revealing the winning product to the opposition, Victoria. The selectors, the men behind the game, played the role of protagonists and "won't be naming" and "are not releasing" details. With hands thus bound, the newsmen collaborated with the selectors and were forced to substitute the sensationalist angle of the cloak image for information. The net result served to heighten the dramatic tension by exploiting the parochial rivalry between South Australia and Victoria and to increase the value of the packaged product, i.e. the game about to be played.

ABC sports journalists often conveyed a sense of territorial aggression in reporting sports items where Australian performers were pitted against those from other nations. Corollaries on a political level seemed to be assumed in the discourse. That tendency has been exacerbated subsequently by the America's Cup competition in 1983 between Australia and America.

Often the theme in reporting of international sports items was one of Australia reaching out or striving to break into an international scene. The news reports connoted that such attempts were not undertaken gently. Note the aggression signalled in the following examples:

"Golf ... A number of Australians are within striking distance of the leaders after the first round of the U.S. Open ..."
(ABC B5-1200-11)

"Cricket ... Australia now has a chance of reaching the semi-finals of the Prudential World Cup Series, after beating Zimbabwe ..."

(This same item concluded with this "political" assessment:)

"Australia now stands equal with India in its group of World Cup Competitors ..."
(ABC B5-7-7)

"And in soccer", this report focused firmly on the expectation of victory:

"Australia's captain in the World Youth Cup, Tom McCulloch, has been passed fit to play in today's match against South Korea in Mexico.

Australia need only draw today's game to qualify for the quarter finals."
(ABC B4-7.45-12)

The introductory phrase, "Australia's captain in the World Youth Cup" which stressed Australian supremacy and confidence, was reinforced by the use of the conjunctive "only" in the second sentence, where "Australia need only draw", again conveyed a sense of Australian effortlessness.

By midday that particular match was over and Australia had lost. The next news report began bluntly:

"The Australian Youth Soccer Team has been beaten two-one by South Korea in Mexico."
(ABC B4-1200-9)

However, the report went on looking forward, surmising positively that:

"The Australians now must wait on the result of" ...
another game and if that went a certain way, then Australia would have another chance.

Fortunately, marathon-runner Robert de Castella brought home a victory. This increased his market value and subsequently he has become widely associated with numerous commercial products. Note that he was firmly ensconced in the possessive form when the audience learnt that:

"Australia's Robert de Castella has won the marathon at the first World Athletics Championship at Helsinki ..."

If there were any doubt about the position of this individual, relative to the nation's benefit, it was clearly connoted in the conclusion that he did it for Australia.

"de Castella completed the 42.2 kilometres ... to give Australia its first medal of the Championships," (ABC C1-7-5)

The victory of de Castella was reduced to a winning formula in its expression in the next news bulletin. It was explained that:

"The 26-year-old biophysicist from Canberra, came home a powerful winner," (ABC C1-7.45-5).

Youth + Australian = win

(The exuberance of the journalist verged on tautology)

The idea of a winning formula of youth and Australianness was stressed similarly in an item on tennis, where these characteristics were picked out in the introductory phrase, and the results were given in the second sentence:

"18-year old Australian player, Pat Cash, has scored a second-round win over the world's number nine player, Vitas Gerulaitis in the London grass court championships. Cash won five-seven, six-three, six-three ..." (ABC B4-7.45-10)

The neat sense of a formula, created by the rhythm of the expression of the results here connoted an assured ease about the Australian product.

Finally in this section on ABC sports reporting, I noted a different rhythm for horse racing, a sport which the ABC covered more sporadically than 5DN did. The particular example came from Adelaide Cup day, a public holiday for South Australia, centred around a horse race. The discourse was interesting for its contrast with the brief, tightly structured texts analysed up to this point. It reflected more of the earthy or traditional values of the public ritual of sport: the conditions, the atmosphere, preparations, hard work and the special language common to that sport and its followers. Given the relative lack of the "hard news" on such a day, the setting of the scene of this horse race was given an unusual amount of prominence and space in the news of that morning. This was the full text.

"CUP PREVIEW"

"Weather fine ... the track either slow or dead.

That's the outlook for the running of the ADELAIDE Cup at twenty to three this afternoon.

Racegoers began arriving at MORPHETVILLE at half-past-seven for the South Australian Jockey Club's main event of the year.

Club spokesmen, Mr. KEVIN SATTLER spoke with Penny Clark.

Tape begins

Sattler Report

I think we'll draw close to 30-thousand a day, and that'll be an ideal crowd and a fitting one for an Adelaide Cup, because it's one of the best and best balanced fields we've had in an Adelaide Cup for twenty years.

Q. What do the early morning gallops promise?

A. Well the early morning gallop, the gallops took place on the middle grass, not on the course proper where the meeting'll be today. The going there was dead and many of the cup candidates strode down, they weren't about to make fast time, and Think Past The Baton was one of the most impressive workers, he worked over 200-metres in fourteen, but, no they're for easily leisurely work and all the trainers declared them spot-on for today's big events so, hopefully 20 runners in the cup, we've got four scratchings so it'll be a maximum field of 20 and a great day's racing.

Tape Ends.

MR. SATTLER tips veteran stayer MAGISTRATE -- twice winner of the PERTH Cup -- to win," (ABC B1-1200-4)

This text was interesting for its enthusiastic mixture of superlatives to describe the event, (such as, "main event of the year", "ideal crowd and a fitting one", "best balanced fields"); terminology from the racing world, ("the outlook for the running", "the gallops", "middle grass", "scratchings", "course proper"); and stock colloquialisms from the racing commentator, (like "the going", "they weren't about to make fast time" and "veteran stayer"). Such a mixture of language styles normally would be regarded as undisciplined in ABC news broadcasts. However it was made more acceptable by the question and answer format of the item, which allowed the Jockey Club spokesman free rein to launch into a response in the run-on monotone that typifies Australian race-calling. After all, he was answering a question about the "promise" of the day.

That sense of promise traditionally has been the basis of extensive public interest in sport and sports news. Traditionally, sport has been identified with a good challenge, and striving for achievement based on skill, self-discipline, team spirit and some luck. However

often these qualities did not feature in the examination of many of the discourses of sports items. The indications were rather that the values of competitive sport have shifted away from the traditional liberal ones to a more violent and aggressive ethos that puts winning above all else.

Most sports news discourses conveyed a hardness of style, reflecting sport as a tightly packaged commercial spectacle. Images of territorial aggression recurred regularly and seemed to have a basis also on a political level. The following discussion of the portrayal of parts of the America's Cup Yacht race (1983), which fell within the survey period, illustrates this.

THE AMERICA'S CUP COVERAGE

The America's Cup race series and the Cup prize have become symbols or metaphors for political jealousy between Australia and the United States. However the jockeying for positions and quarrels about decisions left the battle of the 1983 Cup without the elements of heroism that Jason and the Argonauts had in attaining the Golden Fleece. For Australia particularly, the race became a crusade to make a statement to the world about its independent identity. The news coverage of the series of races for the Cup, fuelled a sense of Australian patriotism and jingoism. As is illustrated in the following pages, the role of the news reporters covering the event contributed to this in that their slanting of news discourses seemed, consciously or otherwise, to be biased.

The extremely high news value of the story showed that the race was not merely a sports story. Its coverage tended to eclipse or be equivalent to other political news on major bulletins; for example, the story led bulletins, 5DN C5-8-1 and ABC C5-1200-1. Also Cup reports often featured relatively lengthy and descriptive live reports from the scene at Newport in the United States, with the effect that listeners were able to participate directly in the drama serial.

The facts of the items used in illustration here were, that during the night (Australian time), the American yacht Liberty won the second race, defeating rival yacht Australia Two by one minute thirty-three seconds. Australia Two subsequently lodged a protest over an incident in the race which occurred about half-way through, at which point

Australia Two had lost the lead. An international jury set up to decide such protests was to hear evidence that night and a lay-day would follow.

The following pages analyse some aspects of the reports of the day immediately following this race, focusing on the Australian bias in the reporting, albeit more restrained on ABC than on 5DN.

Firstly, it was evident that journalists from both stations were reluctant to say outright that the American boat had won the race. Rather they wrote that "The race went to the American defender" (ABC C5-1800-6), or it "crossed the finish line more than a minute clear of Australia Two", (5DN C5-8-1). Instead the emphasis of the news focused on the issue of Australia's protest and sense of having been wronged. The 5DN morning report (5DN C5-8-1) began:

"Australia Two is protesting over the result of today's second race in the America's Cup.

The American yacht crossed the finish line more than a minute clear of Australia Two in another exciting race." ...

The news emphasis at the midday bulletin anticipated an Australian win in the protest hearing. It began:

"The Australia Two syndicate believes it will win its protest over today's second America's Cup race ... won by Liberty." (5DN C5-1200-7)

The ABC report had the same emphasis, but was more circumspect about the result.

"Australia Two has lodged a protest against Liberty's provisional win in the second America's Cup race this morning ..." (ABC C5-1200-1)

During the day, reports on both stations hastened to detail the technical and tactical problems Australia Two had experienced during the race. Also they focused on thinly veiled accusations of American lack of fair play in the "alleged incident in which Liberty tacked too close to the Australian yacht" ... (5DN C5-8-1). Many sentences in the reporting were constructed around conjunctions which connoted Australian resourcefulness on one hand and qualified the American victory on the other. Here are some examples:

"Australia Two set up an early lead but (5DN C5-8-1)

"The Perth yacht lost the race by one minute after leading for
... outstanding (Australian) performance - following another gear breakage ... (5DN C5-1200-7)

"Australia Two had led Liberty for more than half the race despite a severe problem with her mainsail ...
After the incident ... Liberty went on to cross the finish ...
in front ...", (ABC C5-1800-1)

"The crimson hulled American defender came across Australia Two's bow and tacked right in front of the Australian challenger" (ABC C5-1200-1)

This last example was like a red-rag to a bull, and the inclusion of "crimson hulled" seemed to echo such a metaphor. Not only were the Australian crew and syndicate angered, but the Australian audiences also were being inflamed by the reporting. Liberty, (ironically named?), seemed to be symbolically encroaching on Australia's freedom. The idea that the Americans were not competing fairly was echoed in the oddly colloquial and childlike verb used to describe this: as the ABC reported several times that day, "Liberty snatched the lead."

There was a shift of metaphors from the bull-ring to the courts when the Australian Syndicate Chairman, Alan Bond, then put "the case" for Australia Two, and Australia. The ungrammatical aspects of his

statement of defence possibly lent credence to his role as the plaintive plaintiff for the case of his yacht and country being victimized by the Americans:

"We had a man at the bow at the time of the incident. Ah we called for Liberty and they heard us quite clear because we were only six inches from them and that we displayed the protest flag immediately," (ABC C5-1200-1)

(The status of Mr. Bond has changed substantially since the 1983 Cup, when his association with Australia's final victory made him a national hero. His ocker image as the spokesman of the people, has been upgraded by the media into one of solid high-flying financier with whom the Prime Minister and multinationals negotiate. Bond's star role in the media now is based on his nationalistic image, as established in the Cup series.)

"The incident", as Bond referred to it, contained the element of conflict, which is the basis of good drama and therefore constituted very newsworthy material. However it was played up by ABC and 5DN news journalists to the extent that it overshadowed the American victory. As such it seemed an example of slanting the news to give Australian people what they wanted to hear, rather than an objective report. This Australian bias was exacerbated by the lack of information on the Americans' view of "the incident" and by the token reference to their victory in the last sentence of the ABC news item. Note even there the elliptical choice of words. Liberty did not win the race:

She "went on to cross the finish one minute and thirty-three seconds in front" (ABC C5-1200-1)

Another notable aspect of the reporting on the America's Cup was

the attempt to demystify the technical terms of yachting, so demonstrating radio's potential for popular education. The effect was to give Australian listeners some basis on which to identify and understand the relatively elitist sport of yacht racing, even to become a nation of instant experts, and certainly to get them to feel sympathetic to the problems of the Australian yachting crew. For example, when the ABC report referred to a problem with the mainsail, it included this layman's explanation:

"The headboard which attaches the sail to the top of the mast broke and the main could not be set properly" (ABC C5-1200-1)

Similarly, the 5DN report explained that after the headboard snapped, it partly tore the mainsail

"and meant the important sail could not be fully raised to the top of the mast" (5DN C5-1200-7)

In the latter report this technical problem was offset with comments both preceding and following it. They commended the crew for "an outstanding performance" and pointed out

"That Australia Two was able to remain competitive for much of the race, was a tribute to the skill of the crew."

Again the importance of being Australian, resilient and competitive was stressed in the reporting.

At the end of this day (C5), news of the America's Cup was placed further down the bulletin because there was no development on the news early in the day. There was a dramatic trough because the following day there was to be no racing, and the international jury investigating the protest by Australia Two was not to meet for several hours. Nevertheless the 5DN item tantalized the audience with a suggestion of results:

"The result of the protest after the second race of the America's cup will not be known until tomorrow," (5DN C5-1800-10)

The story needed to be kept alive in the public imagination because it was to be continued and an audience had been established. Therefore the reports on the major evening news bulletins reiterated the technical problems of the Australian boat, and praised the Australian crew for doing well under difficult circumstances. Elements of Australian antagonism towards the American victory were still evident. For example, the 5DN report continued:

"Liberty won again today - but Australia Two claims that the U.S. yacht crossed her path unfairly during a tacking duel", (5DN C5-1800-10)

The use of "again" connoted a sense of boredom with repetition of American victory, effectively denying its news interest. This was reinforced by the use of "but" which directed audience attention towards an alternative rather contradictory angle of interest, namely unfair American tactics. The metaphors of the "duel" and "crossing her path" connoted that the battle would be continued, both by the yachting crews and the news journalists.

The simultaneous ABC news item gave its attention to "the incident", repeating that Liberty "snatched the lead" and "infringed the international rules". It also gave Mr. Bond a chance to protest Australia's innocence once more. The conclusion perhaps showed some sense of irritation at the childish nature of the squabbling as felt by news journalists over disputes in the America's Cup story, with the inclusion of the word "another".

"The two yachts are to have the day off from racing, but there's another dispute over which of them first asked for the lay day." (ABC C5-1800-6)

It may have reflected the relative disinterest of journalists in a news story that was no longer "new" news, but was a recognition of the fact that the story was a serial and thus had to be kept fuelled. This one irritated response was inconsistent however with all the others of that day on the America's Cup second race, where newsmakers scarcely concealed their jingoism.

For the Australian audience, this America's Cup story was an ultimate sports story. It had the elements of a dramatic serial. It could feature larger than life personalities like Australian self-made millionaire Alan Bond and American skipper Dennis Connor on a world stage of supposed glamour. Above all, in a safe apolitical context, Australians could go to war and seriously threaten American domination. These events of the 1983 America's Cup Challenge have since been made into an Australia movie.

CONCLUSION

The reporting of sports news was important because sport is one of the most important public rituals in Australian life. Images of healthy, striving, competitive sportsmen have been one basis of the mythology of this nation. Sport has celebrated individual (mostly male) freedom, offered advancement for those who work hard and offered the keys of cities to those who win.

The framework of sports news echoed these sentiments of belief and promise. For instance, the shift towards a colloquial style of reporting, which allowed for more interaction of sports reporters/personalities with the audience, suggested a mutual warmth or fondness in this arena. The use of initials (like SANFL and VFL) conveyed a sense of audience familiarity with the institutionalised codes of the world of sport and confirmed mutual confidence in a world that was comprehensible. Additionally, the tendency of both networks to follow sports items with a story with a strong moral theme, for instance a warning about abusing the body with alcohol or drugs, reinforced a sense of the positive values of sport.

However, close textual analysis of the messages of sports reporting tended to tell a contradictory story; one that expounded harsh commercial values rather than expansive traditional values. The compressed nature of reports, created by their brevity and emphasis on results, focused attention on the importance of conquering. Audiences were directed towards adulation of winners, while losers and the unfit promptly became unnewsworthy.

The images of sport conveyed in 5DN news reports were of toughness and survival of the fittest. Individual performers were pictured hurling themselves as in war against outside competition rather than striving against themselves. This effect was achieved in several ways. The choices of adjectives and verbs were aggressive: for instance "tough", "arch rival", "force", "inflict", "wrangle" and "tackle". Such choices often conveyed the theme of parochialism in interstate or overseas arenas. Other choices of verb such as "include", "omit", "regain" and "retain" made it clear that the individual competitor's position was precarious and relied heavily on performance. This was reinforced further in that the structure of reports often reflected that of a formula: To be young, fit and Australian is to be a winner.

These sentiments were reinforced by the ready use by journalists of what have been described in the Theory of Chapter 3 as modal adjuncts. The interpolation of expressions like "already", "again", "yet" and "after that", tended to convey and reinforce a sense of anticipation by journalists. The winners in sport who provided the bulk of copy for news stories would continue to perform as champions and re-appear in the news, as in a serial.

The style of ABC sports items was more pedestrian, but the reporting still stressed the sense of supremacy of local winners and condemned losers to anonymity. The language and images used, depicted a prominent corporate structure of clubs directing events and bargaining over players, who were described as commodities rather than people. The position of individuals in this system was precarious; yet

when sportsmen became winners they were attributed a larger-than-life quality akin to that of movie stars. Examples were marathon runners like the aging heroic Cliff Young and Robert de Castella, a younger more sophisticated performer who has become involved in endorsing various Australian consumer products on television since his success.

The ultimate example of marketing a product, that is, building the image of a nation, was the coverage of the 1983 America's Cup yacht race on the news. This race was portrayed as a political metaphor; a battle of supremacy between America and Australia, a chance for Australia to show her strength and sophistication.

Reports of the race in progress eclipsed political stories on news bulletins. The orientation of reports and construction of sentences highlighted Australian effort and protest. Conjunctions like "if", "but" and "despite" were used to qualify the American victory. The jingoism of reporters on both networks illustrated an intent to tell Australian audiences what they wanted to hear.

Explanations of yachting terms were included in the news discourses to explain what had previously been an elitist sport to a new mass audience. This was evidence of the importance of a new product in the sports market and also the importance of that competition between America and Australia in mythical terms.

CHAPTER NINE - FOOTNOTES

1. Sir John Reith, Director-General of the BBC in 1932, quoted by Inglis, K.S., This Is The ABC, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1983, p35.
2. Inglis, K.S. (1983) p36.
3. Interestingly K.S. Inglis, (1983) p36 noted the importance of cricket relays from the BBC to the ABC as "national" and "imperial" ... "When the Commissioners wrote in their first Annual Report of the characteristics of Australian society which broadcasters had to take into account, they mentioned in successive phrases 'the keen national interest in sport' and 'our position as part of the British Empire and British race'".

CONCLUSION

This thesis examines the genre of radio news texts from two perspectives: quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis. Scope still remains for other types of investigation, such as studies which are more linguistically based and which explores further the intonational aspects of radio news.

While the methodology developed in this research was not specifically designed to meet the major limitation of the recent UNESCO study of foreign news coverage¹, it goes a considerable way towards doing so. Major participants in that study have identified a need to balance the results of its formal quantitative analysis with deeper qualitative analysis. The scanty qualitative analysis in the UNESCO study suggested that the divergence of results of quantitative and qualitative analysis needed to be resolved, particularly in terms of its effect on audiences of news media. It was indicated by one of UNESCO'S major researchers that,

"The rhetorical teeth need to be sharpened. Central notions like balance and distortion need to be clarified."²

Quantitative analysis can be readily applied to identify recurring events in news bulletins: aspects of reality which lend themselves to convenient measurement. It can be applied to very large amounts of material, as in a study of the breadth of the UNESCO research. However quantitative analysis of such data does not necessarily produce results, which are particularly useful in our understanding of the reality of events conveyed through news bulletins.

In this research, conventional content analysis was applied firstly to the sample of 800 news bulletins from two radio news networks. The results fairly quickly established a perspective on the selection of events for news items. As with the UNESCO study, this form of analysis seemed to draw out the similarities of the two services. For example, the method demonstrated relative consistency between the two services in the percentages of time allocated to World, National and State events and to various story categories.

Differences between the two services started to become evident in the analysis of the ordering of story categories within bulletins. That analysis showed that story categories were used regularly in a preferred order, such that it was possible to predict a recurrence in bulletin profiles. The same narratives were seen to be repeated in a "natural" bulletin rhythm. Also it was evident that,

"To put it paradoxically, the event must become a 'story' before it can become a communicative event."³

This preferred order provided elements of a structure of interpretation of the world: it conveyed moral judgments and political orientations. The ordering was the basis of the ritual nature of the news. In routinising the unexpected and framing events in a structured and coherent way, each network established an ideological framework for the news it was supposedly conveying as objective fact.

These different frames on the world of news, structured by the selection and ordering of items on the two networks, were confirmed and elaborated by the results of the discourse analysis of the text, which

looked in more subtle and complex ways at the composition of items. It explicated the deeper sense of the meaning of the message which straddled the narrative.

Discourse analysis operates from the premise that language is not a neutral instrument conveying reality. Rather, discourse constitutes organised meaning already prefigured and determined by cultural processes. The approach of discourse analysis centres on the production and articulation of messages within specific signifying systems, the rules of which tend to be taken for granted.

The important role of metaphors in particular was demonstrated, for the way they imposed a coherent structure on audience perceptions of life, highlighting certain elements and down playing others. As Lakoff and Johnson put it:

"Metaphorical imagination is a crucial skill in creating rapport and in communicating the nature of unshared experience. The skill consists, in large measure, of the ability to bend your world view and adjust the way you categorise your experience."⁴

In this way the discourses of news services construct the social and political consciousness of the audience. The ideological frame of each news network sampled was shown to assume and to reinforce different perspectives of the world for its respective audience. Those orientations reflected the historical identity and intent of each service as described in Chapter Two.

News discourses analysed from the ABC service conveyed a strong sense of responsibility for providing national information in an

impartial and balanced manner. The service offered a cultural index for a well socialised and educated audience, who had a sense of duty to be informed and to operate a good working knowledge of current affairs.

The overall sense of that news was an interpretation of a world that was self-contained. It was kept at a distance, from which audience and journalists alike could observe with objectivity and interest. (Its direction was therefore akin to Brecht's "epic theatre"⁵ where the listener's intellectual activity is stimulated.) The listener was reassured that he had some share in that knowledge which is power. At the same time, the endorsement by the ABC service of institutional points of view meant that the service was an agent of social control and cohesion. Its terms were defined at the level of discourse as unchallengeable. As such, it offered a closed reading of events and issues that placed them in an (historical) context and reinforced the status quo.

Discourse analysis of 5DN news texts confirmed the Macquarie network emphasis on interesting news (interesting to the majority of people) as distinct from important news. The audience was offered immediate rewards for listening: bread and circuses and the enjoyment of vicarious experiences without threat or danger. That is, news as entertainment which, like Brecht's "dramatic theatre"⁶, draws the listener into the events on stage. It offered motions, hypnotising him and exhausting his mental activity. Such a service was hard for the audience to distance itself from and so be aware of the covert ideology or message-making in the narrative.

The essence of the 5DN service was epitomised in the news advertising slogan of the time, which promised:

"YOU'LL BE THE FIRST TO KNOW.

If ever it did happen.

Bob Byrne would make sure you're the first to know

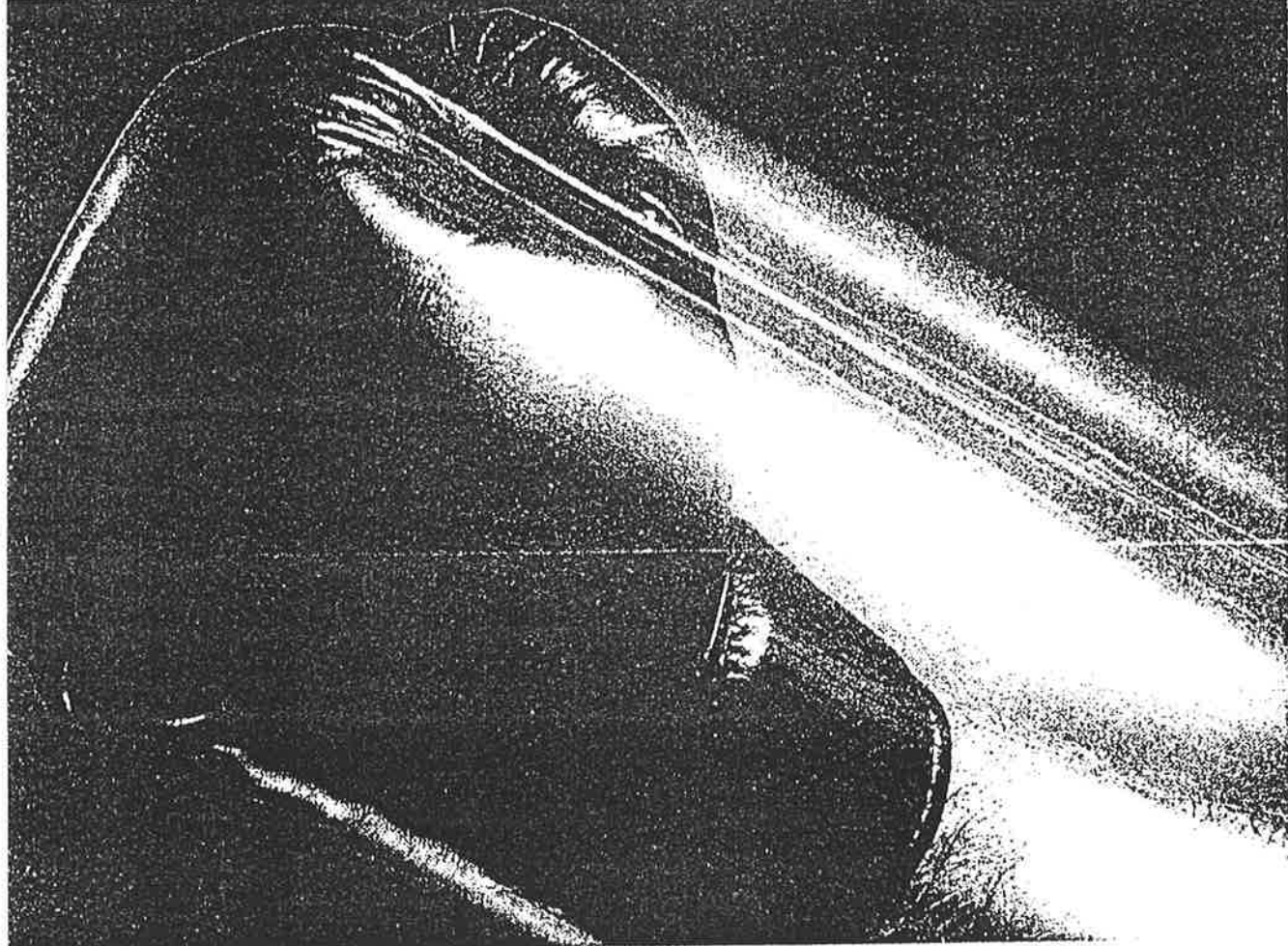
When Adelaide needs to know".⁷

The service was up-to-date, and it centred around events of concern to Adelaide. More importantly, nothing ever really happened that mattered, but the commercial lured regular and potential listeners by fuelling the basic need of man to know that when something does happen, he won't be caught out.

Relatively aggressive commercial judgments about newsworthiness were necessary in the 5DN Macquarie network. This reality was conveyed forcefully in the poster headed "Round 3 By A Knockout!". It appeared following the announcement of the results of the mid-year ratings survey at the time of this research and was widely circulated at the station. The success of the station's approach was indicated by sections of its audience joining in the celebrations. Personal congratulations were conveyed by those who visited the station at that time bearing gifts of cake, beer and champagne. (Let them eat cake?!)

Qualitative discourse analysis indicated that the style of each news service was at least as important as the content. There was a strong co-variation of news style with audience prestige. Thus the voice and the subsequent tone of each news service was an integral part of reaffirming the ideological position of respective audiences.

ROUND 3 BY A KNOCKOUT!



It wins its 3rd Adelaide Radio Survey in a row.

No.1 All people 10+ Monday to Sunday

No.1 All people 25+ Monday to Sunday

No.1 Housewives Monday to Sunday

No.1 Housewives Monday to Friday

No.2 All people 25 - 54 Monday to Friday

Weekdays

No.1 9 a.m. - Midday, Jeremy Cordeaux

No.1 4 p.m. - 7 p.m., Ken Cunningham

No.1 7 p.m. - Midnight, Trevor Ford

No.2 5.30 a.m. - 9 a.m., Bob Byrne

Average Audiences McNair Anderson Radio Survey No. 3, Adelaide 1983.

5DN 972

When Adelaide Needs to Know

The ABC broadcaster maintained the role of guardian of the standard language and social prestige. The voice was smooth, detached and authoritative. The journalists, as dramatists, maintained pervasive control of news scripts. Individual texts were presented as microcosms of the whole bulletin, which had the feeling of a well made play that offered definition, perspective and resolution.

The texture was solid and homogenous, the reporting functional and formal. The focus was consistently on hard news, with details of context and cause provided. Relatively uniform weight was attributed to various pieces of information which made up a story. The ordering of facts and items in bulletins reflected a dramatic rhythm, but the high points were not extreme. The inclusion of a number of dramatically neutral stories of information added a sense of overall gravity.

The construction of a balanced approach brought about by these aspects of house style was reinforced by the extensive role played by the anchor newsreader. He delivered news in a slower, more measured manner, and was less frequently interrupted by actualites than on 5DN. His word conveyed rationality and reassured the audience that law and order were being maintained by those in authority through the "litany of power".⁸

The racey style and presentation of the 5DN news service offered a sharp contrast to the ABC. The typical 5DN bulletin was presented like an open sandwich, with a solid bread and butter base of political and industrial news as leading items. Considerable interest focused on the

filling of soft news of crime and sport, with a final garnish of a human interest story or two to conclude the day's fare. The freshness of the product was maintained by rewriting and updating stories which were used for more than one bulletin. Drama was enhanced by a variety of devices, such as a live crossover to reporters at the scene of a news event and interviews there with spokesmen and witnesses, in the manner of action replays. Emphasis was placed on home-grown products: provincialism was a common theme of reports selected for prominence.

A sense of interaction between the newsreaders as narrators, and the audience, was established by the choice of a relatively informal style of expression, frequent use of actualites and the identification of a variety of reporters as personalities. This relationship of newsmakers to audience, and the tendency to stress the sensational aspects of news, had the effect - probably unintended - of creating a sense of the outcomes of news events as negotiable to some extent. This made an oppositional reading possible at times.

The main impression conveyed by the 5DN style was of colour and movement: a kaleidoscope of episodic pictures and interchangeable characters. It was a version of reality akin to kitchen sink drama.

Such "naturalness" has been criticised by researchers for economising understanding and intelligence, and offering conspicuous effects and action without substance. Certainly the discourse analysis undertaken here has suggested that the 5DN news tended to present the world in an a-historical and a-theoretical frame, with a limited sense of causality and a strong sense of the ephemeral qualities of news

events. The depth of understanding offered to (and expected by?) the ABC audience was more extensive.

At the end of the day, when the audiences had partaken of the daily ritual of radio news, been exposed to the narratives of crises, scandals, disasters, deaths, injustice and the like, what was their response?

Did they feel like the communications researcher, Lazarsfeld, in 1941?

... "Today we live in an environment where sky scrapers shoot up and elevateds disappear overnight; where news comes like shock every few hours; where continually new news programs keep us from ever finding out the details of previous news; and where nature is something we drive past in our car, perceiving a few quickly changing flashes which turn the majesty of a mountain range into the impression of a motion picture. Might it not be that we do not build up experiences in the same way it was possible to do decades ago."⁹

It is certain that our knowledge of the world relayed through radio news is constructed for us in many subtle and pervasive ways. In Brecht's terms,¹⁰ radio news is closer to being an instrument of pure distribution than television news, in that word and image are separated. Yet the point reiterated throughout this research is that language is not a neutral instrument and that the pictures being drawn for audiences in the discourse are ideologically orientated. Many latent meanings brought to bear on the outside world that are mediated through radio news have been highlighted. It is contended that,

"tone, moral judgment and political orientations from the wider ideological frame of each media system and areas, are as, if not more, important in the construction of social consciousness than the total amount of news coverage."¹¹

The application of qualitative discourse analysis reveals that, despite the sharp contrast between the style and approach of ABC and 5DN, the pictures which are framed by the two tend nevertheless to be one-dimensional. On the ABC news, the newsmakers, while seeming impartial, speak in the dimension of the institutional voice. The 5DN dimension relates more to a quickly sketched cinematic portrayal of the world. Each service in its own way serves to reassure its audience that nothing has happened which requires them to take action. Essentially the ritual is designed to contain the uneasiness or restlessness referred to by Lazarsfeld, and identified by Lippman in an appropriate metaphor:

"The press is no substitute for institutions. It is like the beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision."¹²

On each network there is no doubt, however, that news journalists, imbued with house style and given the responsibility of being gatekeepers, are the directors in the studio who control the beam of that searchlight. We, the audience, are like the prisoners in Plato's cave, who see the reflections on the wall cast by people who live in the world of light. By recognising that we are seeing only reflections, however, we can at least then try to understand what the world of light is really like.

CONCLUSION - FOOTNOTES

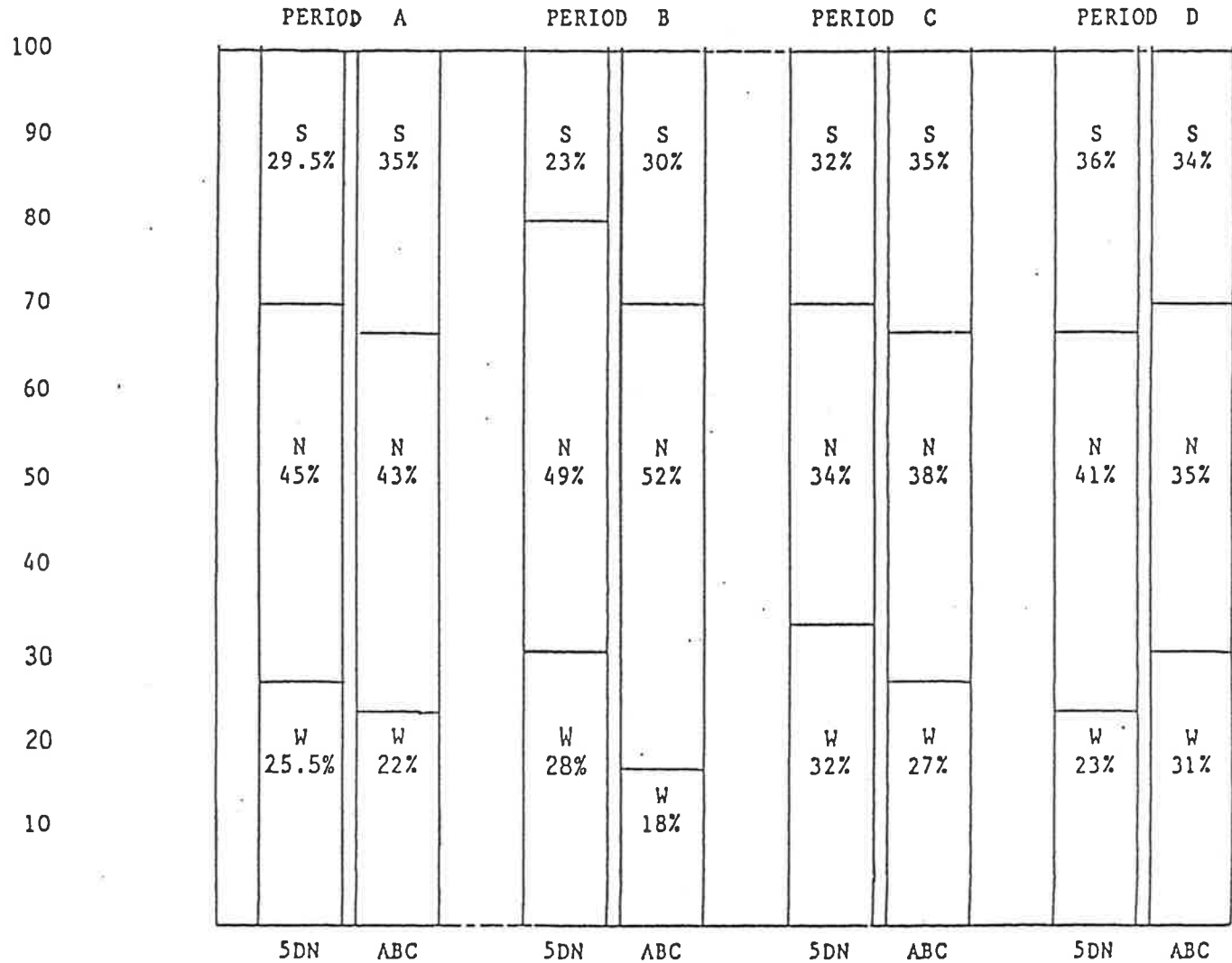
1. International Commission For The Study of Communication Problems (MacBride Commission, UNESCO) Many Voices: One World Kogan Paul, London, 1980.
2. Screberny-Mohommadi, A. (1984) p129.
3. Hall, S. (1980) p129.
4. Ibid., p231.
5. Brecht, B. (1979-80) p27.
6. Ibid., p25.
7. 5DN newspaper commercial in The Advertiser 12-6-84.
8. Lerman, C. (1983).
9. Lazarsfeld, P.F. (1941) p12.
10. Brecht, B. (1979-80) p27.
11. Screberny-Mohommadi, A. (1984) p180.
12. Lippman, W. (1922) p364.

PROPORTIONS OF WORLD, NATIONAL AND STATE NEWS

Relative % bulletin time spent on World / National / State items over 5 day Periods, for ABC & 5DN, for Periods A, B, C & D.

APPENDIX A

% of Bulletin Time



Comparison of relation % time - ABC and 5DN over a 5 Day Period.

465

Period A:		WORLD	NATIONAL	STATE
5DN	7 a.m.	29	45	26
ABC	7 a.m.	-	-	-
		Not available		
5DN	8 a.m.	41	37	22
ABC	7.45 a.m.	32.5	35	32.5
5DN	1200	26	49	25
ABC	1300 (Note - not 1200)	27	35	38
5DN	1800	6	53	41
ABC	1800	7	59	34
Averages for PERIOD A: Over 5 days and over whole day.				
5DN		25.5	45	29.5
ABC		22	43	35
Period B:		WORLD	NATIONAL	STATE
5DN	7 a.m.	42	42	16
ABC	7 a.m.	-	-	-
		Not available		
5DN	8 a.m.	31	48	21
ABC	7.45 a.m.	27	41	32
5DN	1200	29	45	26
ABC	1200	25	47	28
5DN	1800	4	60	36
ABC	1800	6	66	28
Averages for PERIOD B: Over 5 days and over whole day.				
5DN		28	49	23
ABC		18	52	30
Period C:		WORLD	NATIONAL	STATE
5DN	7 a.m.	31	39	30
ABC	7 a.m.	32	30	37
5DN	8 a.m.	42.5	31.5	26
ABC	7.45 a.m.	35	31	34
5DN	1200	31	35	34
ABC	1200	30	35	35
5DN	1800	12	34	45
ABC	1800	10.5	54	35.5
Averages for PERIOD C: Over 5 days and over whole day.				
5DN		32	34	32
ABC		27	38	35

(continued)

<u>Period D:</u>		<u>WORLD</u>	<u>NATIONAL</u>	<u>STATE</u>
5DN	7 a.m.	27	31	42
ABC	7 a.m.	37	33	30
5DN	8 a.m.	28	47	25
ABC	7:45 a.m.	36	33	31
5DN	1200	25.5	44	30.5
ABC	1200	32	37	31
5DN	1800	12	46	42
ABC	1800	20	37	43
Averages for PERIOD D: Over 5 days and over whole day.				
5DN		23	41	36
ABC		31	35	34

APPENDIX B

Opening and Closing News Items.

Samples of news texts referred to in Chapter 2 Section 4.2 are reproduced here verbatim, including spelling errors. They are in the following order.

5DN Openers

ABC Openers

5DN Closers

ABC Closers

5DN A4 - 8 - 1

State Education Minister Lyn Arnold says the government will not appoint any more teachers to state schools despite the threat of industrial action by teachers.

The Teachers Institute says it wants up to 120 extra teachers because of two thousand extra enrolments in high schools this year.

But Mr. Arnold says overall enrolments in the state are down three thousand and he doesn't see the need for more teachers.....

* 30 second insert (Mr. Arnold)

The Institute of Teachers is now threatening industrial action ... if the State Government doesn't appoint more teachers.

PAUL ROBERTS reports:

* 45 second insert

5DN A4 - 6 - 1

The Institute of Teachers is now threatening industrial action ... if the State Government does not appoint more teachers.

The Institute says between 90 and 120 extra teachers are needed to cope with two-thousand unexpected enrolments in South Australian High schools.

Institute President Leonie Ebert says more than 40 primary and high schools have been affected ... because of shuffling of teachers to deal with the problem.

She says Education Minister Lyn Arnold today is expected to make an announcement on the issue ... and if it's not sympathetic ... then teachers may take industrial action:

* 30 second insert

Mr. Arnold previously has said the Government would not be able to provide extra teachers ... because it had already saved 231 positions facing the axe if the Liberals had retained office.

The situation has also been worsened ... because of the blow-out in the State budget deficit ... which could be a record 130 to 140-million dollars.

Some of Australia's top sportsmen and women have joined in the Liberal Party's election campaign ... but it's not known whether they've done so voluntarily.

The first of a new series of Liberal television commercials ... which went to air last night ... features shots of cricketers, Greg Chappell and Geoff Lawson, golfer, Graham Marsh, and swimming star, Tracy Wickham, among others, interspersed with messages from the Prime Minister.

The commercial also features, Colleen Hewitt, singing the Liberal theme song ... We're Not Waiting For The World.

The party is not saying whether sports stars appearing in the commercial are voluntarily supporting the government.

5DN . A1 - 8 . . - 4

A 28-year-old Brisbane man faces the Melbourne Magistrates court this morning charged over yesterday's attempted hijacking of a TAA jet airliner.

Dennis O'Kane reports Federal police have charged the man with threatening violence and endangering the safety of an aircraft:

* 25 second insert

5DN - C3 - 8 . . - 1

Police have confirmed two officers did not intervene when a protestor at Roxby Downs was attacked by a mine worker yesterday.

The protestor suffered severe facial injuries when repeatedly punched in the face - after his car was rammed by a company vehicle.

Two policemen on guard at a security point did not intervene.

Police spokesman Graham Lough says the two officers could not go to the protestor's aid ... as they would have disobeyed orders:

* 30 second insert

The Australian Democrats and the Liberal Party have defended their decision to force the deferral of the Maralinga Land Rights Bill.

The Opposition parties used their numbers in the Upper House of State Parliament to defer a vote until March next year.

Premier Bannon has accused the Liberals of trying to frustrate the Government into calling a snap election - but says he won't hold an early poll.

Although the Democrats supported deferrment of a vote on a Bill - they will support it in March.

Spokesman for the Yalata Aborigines ... Gary Hiskey ... says he's appalled by the Bill's deferrment.

Mr. Hiskey says the politicians have acted in a disgraceful manner which will be very hard for the Aboriginal people to accept.

* 28 second insert

A 19-year-old man is undergoing emergency surgery in the Royal Adelaide Hospital to remove a carving knife imbedded in his back after a brawl in a Hindley Street amusement centre.

Murray Nicoll reports he's one of two young men injured in a fight with a gang of Vietnamese.

* 35 second insert

The State Government has called on Canberra to provide more aid for farmers ... in the wake of last week's bushfires.

Agriculture Minister Brian Chatterton says the Commonwealth should extend its offer of finance for fencing.

Currently ... the offer covers fencing bordering roads and railway lines.

But Mr. Chatterton says it should be extended to help farmers put-up internal fencing and fences between properties.

5DN C5 - 1200 - 1

Two young boys ... who've been missing since Sunday in some of the most rugged country in the Northern Territory ... have been found by searchers ... dead.

Murray Nicholl has the details.

* 80 second insert

5DN A3 - 8 - 1

Tropical Cyclone Elinore has moved closer to the North Queensland coast.

Destructive winds are expected to hit an area between Bown and McKay this afternoon.

Stev Palmer reports the cyclone warning centre has issued a third top priority warning for the Townsville to Saint Lawrence Strip.

* 25 second insert

Queensland police are on full alert as they await the next development in an extortion threat against the state's railways.

A man calling himself Joseph McIlroy has sent a tape to Railway Commissioner Doug Mendoza making a number of demands, including one for a large sum of money, believed to be a million dollars.

He's threatened to damage a section of track or a rail bridge unless the demands are met.

Police say they've taken all precautions to ensure the safety of rail travellers and they say they're convinced there's no immediate danger to the Queensland public.

Detective Superintendent Ben Robertson of the Brisbane CIB says the full extent of the extortionist's demands can't be made public at present.

* 30 second insert

However Police have released an excerpt of the tape containing the extortion threat, in the hope that the extortionist may be indentified...

* 45 second insert

Australia's domestic airline schedules for next week have had to be altered because of a series of rolling stoppages by pilots.

The pilots have called the strikes and plan a national publicity campaign to persuade the Commonwealth to change its proposed tax on lump sum superannuation payments.

Ansett spokesman ... Tony Hill ... says the airline has rescheduled flights around the strikes so none will be cancelled.

* 35 second insert

5DN · A5 - 1200 - 1

General Motors Holden says a policy document released in the media ... is already out of date.

The firm claims the document was a draft from one of several on-going committees ... and was stolen.

The document reveals GMH is considering a number of options to streamline its Australian operations ... including the possibility of a merger with a major Japanese firm.

GMH has released a statement saying the document has been modified in many respects ... and is out of date.

It says GMH intends to remain a major car maker in Australia.

But the statement says the firm will not comment further on the document.

However, Vehicle Builders Union official Joe Thomson says the merger idea ... fits in with what is happening in the car industry world-wide.

* 30 second insert

A leading employers spokesman has indicated his opposition to any wage rise this year.

Victorian Employers spokesman, Alan Jones, has made the comment as the ACTU begins wages talks in Sydney.

The union body is expected to argue for a minimal wage rise of between three and four per cent at a national wage case to be held sometime after the wages pause ends.

But Mr. Jones says its almost impossible for the economy to sustain any wage rise at the moment.

* 20 second insert

Former Labor Government Minister Clide Cameron has warned the ALP that a Labor Government is bound to uphold policy decided at its national conference.

The warning comes as Labor MP's prepare for today's caucus debate on uranium, which will vote on a Cabinet recommendation to give the go ahead to Roxby Downs, as well as to grant two new export licences to existing uranium mines, and to launch a six month enquiry into the Uranium industry.

Mr. Cameron ... who's opposed to uranium mining ... says Cabinet and Caucus are under a moral obligation to uphold their pledge to carry out party platforms ... part of which says no new export licences should be granted ...

* 40 second insert

The Drugs Royal Commissioner, Mr. Justice Stewart, says police corruption uncovered by his inquiry is the tip of an ice-berg ... and not a case of a few rotten apples.

Mr. Justice Stewart's 900 page report was tabled in the Senate overnight.

It contains major recommendations on virtually every aspect of police investigations into drug trafficking, and organised crime, and into methods of dealing with police corruption.

The Royal Commissioner recommends that the New South Wales and Victorian Ombudsmen be given the power to carry out independent investigations into allegations against police.

Mr. Justice Stewart has also suggested a special national police unit be set-up to "root-out corruption."

One of his specific recommendations is for police regulations to be changed to prohibit officers accepting gifts.

* 28 second insert

Deputy Prime Minister ... Lionel Bowen ... is expected to be reprimanded today in Federal Cabinet over remarks he made on the future of Kampuchea.

Leigh Hatcher reports the Government's been stunned by the outspokenness of another senior Minister after Mr. Bowen's suggestion that Australia and Japan should send a peace-keeping force to Kampuchea.

* 35 second insert

Procedural matters will dominate the first day of the Sydney Royal Commission into the Four Corners allegations.

John Stanley reports the principal figures in the enquiry are not expected to attend today's hearing.

* 30 second insert

ABC A3 - 7 : - 1

The outflow of capital from Australia continued yesterday ... with money market analysts estimating that transactions involving as much as 200-million dollars were completed.

The analysts say the total withdrawal from local investment since Thursday might amount to 700-million dollars.

Merchant bankers say the market is unstable and appears to be anticipating a devaluation of up to 10 per cent ... whichever party wins Saturday's election.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Anthony, said yesterday that 500-million dollars had been taken out of the country on Friday because of the prospect of a Labor Government.

ABC A3 - 7.45 - 1

The Stewart Royal Commission was set up by the Federal and several State Governments and gathered evidence on the Mr. Asia syndicate for 20-months before presenting its 900-page report yesterday. More than 100-recommendations were made.

Apart from calling for widespread changes to law enforcement, Mr. Justice Stewart found there had been leaks from the now disbanded Narcotics Bureau to the syndicate, and reputable financial institutions and stockbrokers had been used to transfer syndicate money.

He recommended action against two Sydney solicitors and a company manager.

Senator Evans said last night that with the agreement of New South Wales and Victoria, a committee of officials of the three governments would be set up to co-ordinate follow-up action.

ABC - A3 - 1300 - 1

Share prices have soared on Wall Street again with the market reaching new peaks.

The A.B.C.'s representative in New York reports that the Dow Jones industrial average - the traditional stock market indicator - surged more than 18 points to close at nearly 11-hundred-and-31.

That's close to ten points and above the old record set just last Thursday.

The average share put on 59 cents in value.

Wall Street experts say investors are just showing their optimism about the American economy and demonstrating a recovery of confidence about international oil prices.

The experts say investors increasingly believe that the fall in oil prices will be sufficient to encourage increased business activity without endangering American oil companies or banks with loans to oil exporting countries.

The opposition leader, Mr. Hawke, has had a half-hour meeting in Melbourne with senior Executives of B.H.P.

Mr. Hawke was accompanied by Mr. Chris Hurford, who had considerable contact with the company in his former capacity as opposition spokesman on industry and commerce.

Mr. Hurford now holds the shadow education portfolio.

B.H.P.'s representatives at the meeting included its managing director and chief executive, Mr. Brian Loton.

The substance of today's talks isn't known, but Labor has committed itself to provide protection to the Australian steel industry.

Mr. Hawke has given B.H.P. an undertaking that a Labor government would guarantee local producers a market share of 85-per cent.

The prospect of a price war between oil-producing nations is beginning to hit international markets.

The spot price for oil has already weakened in major buying centres, and sterling has dropped sharply in currency trading, as the international standard price for oil comes under greater threat.

Reports from the Middle East say Persian Gulf countries are considering dropping their prices by up to seven dollars a barrel, following cuts announced over the past few days by Britain, Norway and Nigeria.

Algeria has asked for an emergency conference of OPEC member nations.

A spokesman for the Algerian oil ministry is quoted as saying the conference is needed to CONFRONT a serious deterioration of the world oil market.

Oman's foreign minister says Persian Gulf Oil ministers will meet in the next two days to work out a joint selling strategy.

ABC A1 - 7.45 - 1

A man, aged 28, will appear in the Melbourne Magistrate's Court today, charged in connection with the hijack of a T.A.A. airbus yesterday.

The man who gave a Queensland address, was charged with theft and violence to exercise control of an aircraft ... and also with endangering an aircraft.

The man told police he was a former Queensland university student.

The charges followed an incident yesterday involving a T.A.A. flight from Perth to Melbourne.

Police alleged that a man holding a small package which he said was a bomb demanded that the plane be flown to Tasmania's Franklin River area.

Police at Melbourne Airport boarded the plane after the passengers and crew had left through an emergency chute ... and arrested a man.

The package turned out to be harmless.

The British government says it has received no request for the extradition of former drug ring leader Terence Clark, now serving a life sentence for murder in Britain.

Clark's extradition has been recommended by the Stewart Royal Commission so that Clark can face five further charges of murder.

The British Home Office said overnight that it would be unusual for a man serving a life sentence to be extradited during his term of imprisonment.

But Australia would have to make the first move through diplomatic channels.

The Queensland government's seven Liberal ministers met this morning and took their first step towards resigning their commissions in line with their Party's request last night.

The Ministers met from about half past seven in the office of their former leader, Doctor Edwards with the Liberal president, Doctor Herron attending.

Doctor Edwards said later discussions were held this morning with the Premier to finalise arrangements for the orderly resignation of the Ministers later this week.

He said there were proprieties and courtesies to be observed before the Ministers left office.

The ABC's state political reporter says the resignation of the ministers is now expected on Thursday at the weekly meeting of the Executive Council.

The decision to resign was taken by the Party Executive last night after the Premier, and National Party Leader, Mr. Bjelke Petersen refused to have the new liberal leader, Mr. White, serve as Deputy Premier.

The Queensland Government's seven liberal ministers met this morning and took their first step towards resigning their commissions in line with their party's request last night.

The Ministers met from about half past seven in the office of their former leader, Doctor Edwards and later attended the regular cabinet meeting.

The decision to resign was taken by the party executive last night after the premier, and national party leader, Mr. Bjelke Petersen refused to have the new liberal leader, Mr. White, serve as deputy premier.

More from Lindsay Marshall.

In a statement released this morning the former liberal leader Doctor Edwards who's still deputy premier and treasurer said discussions had been held with the premier, Mr. Bjelke Petersen, to finalise arrangements for the orderly resignation of liberal ministers later this week. Doctor Edwards said there were certain proprieties and courtesies to be observed before the ministers left office. As liberal ministers arrived at the executive building in Brisbane for the cabinet meeting they would not comment on whether they would resign. They're now expected to stand down at the weekly meeting of the executive council on Thursday. The liberal party president, Doctor John Herron attended a precabinet meeting of liberal ministers in Doctor Edwards office. Afterwards he explained the purpose of the meeting....

The Federal Attorney General says there's an obvious need for a shake-up of Australia's law enforcement agencies, following the release of the report of the Stewart Royal Commission into drug trafficking. However no action is likely for three months at least.

Senator Evans said last night that relevant government departments had been directed to study the report and forward recommendations within three months. The government would not be making a detailed response to the report until the budget session of parliament, starting in August.

Senator Evans said however the fact that the Mr. Asia drug syndicate had been allowed to flourish for so long had clearly demonstrated the need for major renovation of Australia's law enforcement capacity.

The Stewart Royal Commission found that the Mr. Asia ring, headed by Terrence John Clark had been worth as much as 96 million dollars while it was operating during the late seventies.

Mr. Justice Stewart strongly criticised law enforcement agencies, saying there was strong evidence that some officers were not infrequently guilty of corrupt conduct and criminal offences while ostensibly doing their duty.

He said there were allegations that police had planted evidence, and withheld drugs and money from the courts for their own use. He was satisfied such action had taken place and would continue.

ABC A1 - 1800 - 8

South Australian police estimate that the street value of the week-end marijuana haul at Parilla is between eight and nine million dollars.

It is one of the biggest marijuana discoveries in the state's history and as Rick Teague reports a big contingent of police have spent today piling up the three thousand mature plants.

Following the raid on the weekend more than two thousand mature marijuana plants were discovered growing in sandy soil among about 2 hectares of Malliluca bushes. Police are alleging another one thousand plants were found in a makeshift camp already dried and packaged. Starforce and drug squad personnel have spent most of today cleaning up the site. Some of the marijuana will be transported to Adelaide but the majority of it will be burnt on site some time tomorrow. This is Rick Teague reporting from Parilla.

Six people have appeared in Courts in Adelaide and Lameroo on charges arising from the raid.

ABC A2 - 1800 - 12

The mining giant C.R.A. has reported a loss of 13-point-six-million dollars for last year and has blamed the result on interest rates and the dramatic fall in metal prices last year.

It's the first ever loss recorded by C.R.A. for the full year since the company came under its present structure almost 20-years ago.

The previous year C.R.A. reported a profit of 33-point-one-million dollars.

C.R.A. was hit badly by declining prices for commodities and actually recorded a loss of 51-point-six-million dollars for the year on its lead, silver, zinc and copper activities.

More than two hundred people protesting against the American M.X. missile have been arrested in Washington during a sit in under the dome of congress.

The protest was organised by a Pentecostal religious group, opposing President Reagan's plans to deploy the new missiles.

Richard Palfreyman reports ...

The demonstration coincided with a debate and vote in the house later this week on administration plans to go ahead with the building and deployment of the M.X. missile. Capitol police were kept busy leading out protestors who took over the area under the capitol rotunda in a demonstration similar to many of the anti-war protests during the 1960's. Instead of handcuffing those

arrested, police used strips of plastic to tie their hands behind their backs. All left the capitol peacefully once arrested. A few hours later, President Reagan entertained 60 congressmen at the White House for a dinner and an evening convincing them that their votes will be vital later this week. Democrat opponents of the M.X. deployment concede that the White House now appears to have the numbers necessary to win this week's house vote.

ABC B3 - 7.45 - 17

On the New South Wales north coast, the Hastings Municipal Council has stepped into a dispute between the Port MacQuarie Kennel Club and local footballers who claim they can't use their oval after dog shows.

The A.B.C.'s Kempsey office says the Port MacQuarie Kennel Club has denied the claims of footballers and other sporting groups who told the council that after the 1982 dog show there were so many dog droppings the oval couldn't be used for a month.

The Kennel Club says the allegations are unfair and untrue and droppings are always cleaned up.

The council, however, has now asked the Kennel Club to find another venue.

ABC B5 - 7.45 - 16

Inventions to save water, extract gold ore, breed fish and make horse riding safer, are among those being backed by the federal government for further development.

The Minister for Science and Technology, Mr. Jones, has announced grants totalling nearly 33-thousand dollars to eight inventors to enable them to carry out more work on their inventions.

The largest grant, of nearly ten thousand dollars, goes on two Canberra men, Mr. Arnold Barker and Mr. Martin Rayner, for a device to concentrte mineral ores which could open up old mines.

ABC - C3 - 1200 - 10

There were four-thousand-and-45 abortions notified in South Australia last year, fifty-one fewer than the year before.

The annual report on abortion, tabled in State Parliament, says a trend towards a marginal reduction in the percentage of abortions among teenagers has continued for a second year.

Sixty-one per cent of women who had abortions last year were single, as in the previous year.

The report shows that 32-abortions were carried out on girls under fifteen.

ABC B4 - 1200 - 11

An Englishman who set off in 1980 to row a boat across the Pacific from San Francisco to Australia -- Peter Bird -- is expected to arrive in Cairns on Sunday.

ABC - B4 - 1200 - 11 (continued)

This morning, he spoke to his mother in Sydney by radio telephone, from a spot about two hundred miles off the Queensland Coast, North of Cooktown.

490

He said he was fit and well but a bit cold, after being at sea for two hundred and ninety days.

A welcoming party is on its way to Cairns to meet Bird, when he arrives.

Bird plans to market a film of his nine-thousand mile journey, using footage from the ten cameras he carried on board his twelve metre boat.

ABC - B4 - 1300 - 10

A jury in the Los Angeles superior court has convicted the cancer therapist Milan Brych of grand theft and practising medicine without a licence.

Brych, who claimed he could cure cancer, had previously worked in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.

He has been allowed 200 thousand dollars bail until he appears for sentence on July the sixth.

ABC C3 - 7.45 - 18

The Federal Government is to form a new authority designed to improve health and prevent accidents in the workplace.

The Federal Minister for Health, Doctor Blewett, said in Sydney yesterday that draft legislation for a national occupational health and safety commission should be finalised within weeks.

Doctor Blewett said it was the first time that an Australian Government had demonstrated such support for occupational health, adding that there were no complete national statistics on the number of people killed or injured in factories each year.

In fact it's been said, and I think rightly, that we've got better statistics about death and disease amongst animals in abbaters than we have on death and injury in the factories in this country. Nevertheless, we do know that the industrial accident injury bill is almost certainly greater than the bill we pay for national defence which this year is four and a half billion dollars.

An opposition senator has accused a government M.P. of a gross abuse of taxpayers' money because the M.P. ran up a bill of ten-thousand dollars for telegrams in one day.

Senator Baden Teague told the senate yesterday that a Labor backbencher, Mr. Gordon Bilney, of South Australia, spent more than eight-thousand dollars a few weeks ago on 104 identical telegrams to Labor colleagues criticising the Prime Minister, Mr. Hawke.

Later the same day, Senator Teague said Mr. Bilney sent another 104-telegrams reversing his earlier message, and admitting his comments might have been somewhat hasty.

In reply, the leader of the government in the senate, Senator Button, said Mr. Bilney had believed he was sending telexes, not telegrams. Senator Button said politicians should exercise their privileges with care.

Outside Parliament, Mr. Bilney said the telegrams had been sent about six weeks ago in connection with the resignation of the former Special Minister of State, Mr. Young.

ABC C5 - 1800 - 8

A man was given a nine-months gaol sentence today for making telephone calls to police in June, claiming he knew the whereabouts of the missing North Adelaide teenager, Richard Kelvin.

Michael Andrew Gibbons, 23, unemployed of Kelvin Avenue, Clarence Park, was ordered to serve at least five-months before becoming eligible for parole.

He pleaded guilty to creating a false belief. He was also ordered to pay about five-thousand-800-dollars, as the cost of the police investigation brought about by his hoax telephone calls.

Counsel for Gibbons later lodged an appeal with the Supreme Court, but the magistrate who sentenced him, Mr. Lyn Myers, refused him bail pending the appeal.

Mr. Myers said Gibbons had previous convictions and might offend again.

At the very least he was a public nuisance and should stay in custody for his own safety.

BHP has been forced to revise its plan to take over the coal mining giant, Utah International, because of difficulties in finding partners for a consortium.

Last night, B.H.P. announced it would lift its own stake in the consortium to 40 per cent and that Utah International's parent company, General Electric, would retain a 20 to 25 per cent interest in Utah's Mines.

B.H.P. had previously announced it would take a share of between 25 and 30 per cent.

A spokesman for B.H.P. said the problems of finding partners for the consortium had forced the change.

The take-over bid for Utah International, launched in January was for all of the company's mining assets in Queensland.

The bid was two-thousand-four-hundred-million dollars, the largest corporate take-over offer ever in Australia.

For its revised share of 40 per cent, B.H.P. will have to find capital of about 960-million dollars - up by 240-million dollars.

The company's spokesman said the new arrangement was satisfactory and the take-over agreement was still expected to be completed by next April.

A leading sex educationist claims there'll be a spate of unwanted teenage pregnancies throughout Australia in the coming weeks.

The Executive officer of the Federation of Family Planning Associations, Ms. Wendy McCarthy, said the end of the school year was the worst time for unplanned pregnancies among teenagers.

Ms McCarthy said adolescents had finished exams, had less supervision, went to end-of-school-year parties and drank alcohol.

She blamed poor sex education in Australia for what she called the disaster of unplanned pregnancies, saying present instruction was too timid and too late.

A full police and coronial inquiry will be held into the fatal shooting of a man in the inner Sydney suburb of Marrickville last night. 495

The man, identified as Edward Anthony Burgin, aged 46, was shot by police after he held up a Greek newspaper office.

Police said Burgin armed with a shotgun bailed up the staff at the Cosmos Newspaper in Marrickville about 8.30. The editor, Mr. George Tserdanis, managed to escape and called police. Two highway patrol constables, Brian Brett and Steven Johnson, received minor injuries when they were fired on by Burgin who'd taken one of the staff hostage. Both officers fired back when the hostage was released and Burgin was hit in the chest by one bullet and killed. Police say a domestic involvement between the gunman's wife and one of the staff members may have led to the attack, however, Mr. Tserdanis, has said none of the staff knew the man. This is Brian Bigg in Sydney.

The Speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr. Macrae, said today that Adelaide's Parliament House was one of the most primitive buildings housing a Parliament in Australia.

The Labor Member for Ascot Park, Mr. Trainer, had referred to the plaster cracking on the columns around the chamber of the House of Assembly.

Mr. Macrae replied that while MP's elsewhere in Australia were accommodated in splendour, South Australia's Parliamentarians were occupying what he termed the bark hut.

There are a number of items, on which expenditure could be very usefully made, in Parliament House because we are now occupying one of the most primitive parliament houses in the Commonwealth of Australia, so my hope that in the years to come when expenditure hopefully becomes a little easier to grab hold of, we will be able to get some of the facilities that our more lucky Bretheren in Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane and of course the great Taj Mahal to come in Canberra, have or will enjoy. And of course I haven't forgotten Perth, so really in qualitative terms and in comparable terms we tend to live in the bark hut while everybody else lives in splendor.

5DN C5 - 1200 - 8

A man who's been sentenced to nine months jail for giving Adelaide police false information about the disappearance of Richard Kelvin is appealing against the severity of the sentence.

Tim Sauer has the details.

* 45 second insert

5DN A5 - 1200 - 23

Nazi leader Adolf Hitler and Air Marshal Hermann Goering have finally and belatedly been struck off the lists of honor in the West German town of Aachen.

Town councillors say the decision aims to show future generations that citizens have distanced themselves from all attacks on law and rights.

5DN C3 - 1200 - 26

In Italy ... three newborn babies are to spend their first three-years-of-life, behind the bars of a maximum security prison.

Bill Scott reports from Rome the babies were born this week to women serving life jail terms for terrorism....

* 37 second insert

5DN D1 - 8 - 8

Cricket ... and South Australia will meet Tasmania in a semi-final of the MacDonald's Cup - following yesterday's round of one-day matches.

New South Wales will meet title-holders Western Australia in the other semi.

South Australia came second behind WA in their group ... while Tasmania just pipped New South Wales in the other division.

Meanwhile, Pakistan is in a slightly shaky position in the match against Western Australia in Perth ... with one day to go.

The tourists resume today at 3 for 92 ... just 33 runs ahead.

The first session will decide whether the home wide can force a win.

5DN - D4 - 1200 - 27

Radio-active seaweed has been washed ashore close to a nuclear power-station in the north of Britain.

John McElvride reports from London and the Department of Environment has been forced to close beaches in the area:

* 34 second insert

5DN - C5 - 1200 - 28

A US study says people are absorbing a large number of cancer-causing substances in their everyday diet.

Some of the foods pinpointed include a slice of toast ... coffee ... fatty foods ... and bruised potatoes and celery.

The latest issue of Science Magazine says the carcinogens (or cancer triggers) are naturally-occurring in a wide range of food.

It points-out that despite this ... life expectancy in the United States continues to rise.

The magazine says burned and browned materials from cooking - such as toast - are potential cancer causers.

It lists black pepper ... edible mushrooms ... and moldy and contaminated food as the most potent problem.

5DN C5 - 1200 - 27

A Canadian-born Yoga Organisation leader has fallen foul of East German authorities by making a 'peace-flight' in a powered glider over the Berlin wall.

Wellington Long reports from Bonn ...

* 43 second insert

5DN D2 - 1200 - 28

State Opposition Leader ... John Olsen ... is celebrating the first anniversary of his election to leadership.

Political observers say his leadership has brought a noticeable change in the style of the Liberal Party in this State ...

Mr. Olsen himself concedes he's made some changes ... and they're changes that not all of his colleagues are comfortable with.

But he says they're changes for the better ... and they'll help win government.

* 55 second insert

5DN - C5 - 1800 - 11

The Adelaide public has voiced support for the speaker in the State's House of Assembly ... Terry McRae ... who's criticised the attitude of most MP's.

Mr. McRae told the house yesterday that only two MP's would receive top marks from him for their attitude.

He said personal denegration has crept into parliamentary proceedings and added that the public expects some reasonable sort of standard.

Tim Sauer went into the street to get people's reactions.

* 50 second insert

5DN - D2 - 1800 - 12

Federal Employment and Industrial Relations Minister ... Ralph Willis ... says it's possible unemployment will increase to eleven-and-a-half per cent by early next year.

Mr. Willis says the Treasury forecast of eight-hundred thousand unemployed in January and February will probably prove correct.

Unemployment usually peaks in January and February because of the influx of school leavers on the job market. 501

However Mr. Willis says the rate will improve if growth is maintained.

* 25 second insert

Students in all South Australian schools will have access to a new national library cataloguing service from next year.

State Education Minister ... Lyn Arnold ... has approved the 21-thousand dollar fee for the Education Department to join the Australian Schools Catalogue Information Service.

Mr. Arnold says the service will give all students and teachers access to a national catalogue, listing every publication which is available in Australia's ten thousand schools.

Mr. Arnold says the system will be a great time saver and benefit to students.

* 29 second insert

5DN and ABC Bulletin Profiles for Breakfast, 1200 and 1800 Bulletins for periods A, B, C, & D.

These tables show the patterns in the order of items analysed by story categories.

- A - Politics/Government
- B - Government economy
- C - Union arena and industrial dispute
- D - Business, industry, consumer affairs
- E - Foreign news (usually political)
- F - Crime
- G - Justice system (inc. Royal Commissions)
- H - Accidents & natural disasters
- I - Sport
- J - Human interests
- K - Social interest
- L - Nuclear

They form the basis for remarks made in the discussion on recurring bulletin profiles. (Where there are apparent deviations from the standard pattern, some explanation may be given.) For example in A2 breakfast bulletins, where political stories occur in the middle, rather than the beginning of the bulletin, it is indicated that those stories are of a special political kind, i.e. about election politicking, rather than about new government legislation. Other examples include A3 7 a.m. item 6. E(H) indicating about an accident, rather than politics, and at A3 8 a.m. item 5, (A) indicates a social issue being explored in the government arena, whereas Ad 8 a.m. item 6, A(K) indicates a government statement of policy on a social issue (in this case, an issue of conservation).

PERIOD A 5DN BREAKFAST BULLETINS

A1 7am

- 1. A
- 2. A
- 3. F
- 4. F
- 5. F
- 6. H
- 7. E
- 8. I
- 9. I

A2 7am

- 1. A
- 2. H
- 3. H
- 4. H
- 5. A) Election
- 6. A) Build
- 7. E) Up
- 8. E
- 9. E
- 10. E
- 11. I

A3 7am

- 1. H
- 2. H
- 3. A
- 4. C
- 5. E
- 6. E (H)
- 7. A) Election
- 8. A) Build
- 9. A) Up
- 10. I
- 11. I
- 12. I

A4 7am

- 1. C
- 2. G
- 3. H
- 4. H
- 5. D/K
- 6. A) State
- 7. A) level
- 8. E
- 9. E
- 10. I

A5 7am

- 1. A
- 2. C
- 3. E
- 4. G
- 5. E
- 6. E
- 7. C
- 8. F
- 9. I
- 10. I

A1 8am

- 1. F
- 2. A
- 3. A
- 4. F
- 5. H
- 6. E
- 7. E
- 8. I
- 9. I
- 10. I
- 11. I
- 12. J

A2 8am

- 1. A
- 2. A
- 3. H
- 4. A) Election
- 5. A) build
- 6. A) up
- 7. K
- 8. E
- 9. E
- 10. E
- 11. E
- 12. I

A3 8am

- 1. H
- 2. H
- 3. A/H
- 4. C
- 5. K (A)
- 6. A (K)
- 7. E
- 8. E
- 9. E
- 10. E
- 11. I

A4 8am

- 1. C
- 2. G
- 3. F
- 4. H
- 5. A
- 6. E
- 7. E
- 8. E
- 9. E
- 10. I

A5 8am

- 1. A
- 2. A
- 3. C
- 4. C
- 5. G
- 6. E
- 7. E
- 8. E
- 9. I
- 10. I
- 11. I
- 12. I

PERIOD B 5DN BREAKFAST BULLETINS

B1 7am

1. A
2. G
3. H
4. C
5. E
6. E
7. H

B2 7am

1. A
2. A
3. A
4. K (poll)
5. F
6. F
7. H
8. E
9. E
10. I

B3 7am

1. G
2. G
3. I
4. E
5. E
6. A) State
7. A) level
8. I

B4 7am

1. E (L)
2. A
3. C
4. J
5. A (state)
6. D (ABC)
7. D
8. E
9. E
10. E

B5 7am

1. A
2. A
3. A
4. A
5. F
6. F
7. F
8. E
9. I
10. J

B1 8am

1. A
2. C
3. E
4. E
5. J
6. J

B2 8am

1. A
2. A
3. E
4. H
5. K
6. H
7. E
8. E
9. E
10. I

B3 8am

1. G
2. G
3. A
4. A
5. E
6. A (State)
7. E
8. I

B4 8am

1. A
2. E
3. D (ABC)
4. C
5. E
6. E
7. K
8. I
9. E
10. E

B5 8am

1. A
2. A
3. A
4. A
5. F
6. E
7. I
8. I

PERIOD C 5DN BREAKFAST BULLETINS

C1 7am

1. A
2. A
3. C
4. A/D
5. E
6. I
7. I
8. I
9. I
10. I
11. I

C2 7am

1. A/B
2. F
3. A
4. A
5. D
6. D
7. E
8. E
9. J
10. I
11. I

C3 7am

1. L
2. A
3. A
4. D
5. E
6. E
7. E
8. E
9. E
10. I
11. I

C4 7am

1. E(Korean Airliner)
2. F
3. A
4. A
5. L
6. D
7. I
8. I

C5 7am

1. I(America's Cup)
2. A
3. C
4. A
5. A
6. A
7. F
8. E

C1 8am

1. A
2. A
3. A
4. C
5. A/D
6. E
7. I
8. I

C2 8am

1. F
2. A
3. A/B
4. D
5. G
6. G
7. G
8. I

C3 8am

1. L
2. L
3. A
4. A
5. E
6. E
7. E
8. I

C4 8am

1. E) (Korean
2. E) (Airlines)
3. F
4. A
5. A
6. H
7. E
8. E
9. I

C5 8am

1. I
2. A
3. A
4. G
5. E
6. E
7. E
8. I

PERIOD D 5DN BREAKFAST BULLETINS

D1 7am

1. A
2. H
3. G
4. G
5. G
6. G
7. E

D2 7am

1. E (L)
2. L
3. A)
4. A) State
5. A
6. F
7. A (inquiry)
8. J

D3 7am

1. E/A (Hawke at
2. E/A CHOGM)
3. C
4. A
5. A
6. E
7. E
8. E
9. I

D4 7am

1. A
2. C
3. A/F (ASIS)
4. E
5. A (State)
6. F
7. F
8. I

D5 7am

1. A
2. G
3. A
4. F
5. E
6. I

D1 8am

1. 1\A/C
2. F
3. F
4. K
5. E
6. E
7. I
8. I

D2 8am

1. A
2. E
3. A
4. C
5. F
6. F
7. J

D3 8am

1. E/A
2. G
3. C
4. K
5. E
6. E
7. E
8. I

D4 8am

1. A
2. A
3. A
4. A/F (ASIS)
5. A (State)
6. K
7. F

D5 8am

1. A
2. A
3. G
4. F
5. E
6. E
7. I

PERIOD A 5DN MIDDAY BULLETINS

A1 1200

Headlines (1. F
(2. F
(3. A

- 1. F
- 2. F
- 3. A
- 4. A
- 5. A
- 6. K
- 7. A
- 8. H
- Commercials
- 9. H
- 10. F
- 11. G
- 12. K
- 13. K
- 14. C
- Commercials
- 15. E
- 16. E
- 17. E
- 18. E
- 19. E
- 20. J
- 21. A

A2 1200

Headlines (1. F
(14. A/C
(8. F

- 1. F
- 2. A
- 3. A
- 4. H
- 5. K
- 6. K
- 7. A
- 8. F
- Commercials
- 9. F
- 10. A
- 11. A
- 12. A
- 13. A
- 14. A/C
- 15. A
- 16. K
- 7. K
- Commercials
- 18. F
- 19. J
- 20. E
- 21. E
- 22. E
- 23. E

A3 1200

Headlines (1. A
(10. C
(15&16. H

- 1. A
- 2. A
- 3. A
- 4. A
- 5. A
- 6. C
- Commercials
- 7. A
- 8. A
- 9. A
- 10. C
- 11. A
- 12. C
- 13. A
- 14. A
- Commercials
- 15. H
- 16. H
- 17. H
- 18. H
- 19. J
- 20. I
- 21. I
- 22. I
- 23. I
- 24. I
- Races
- 25. C
- 26. F
- 27. C
- 28. E
- 29. E
- 30. E
- 31. E
- 32. E/J
- Commercials
- 33. E/B

A4 1200

Headlines (1. A
(3. A
(4. K

- 1. A
- 2. A
- 3. A
- 4. K
- 5. D
- 6. K
- 7. K
- Commercials
- 8. K
- 9. F
- 10. C
- 11. H
- Commercials
- 12. C
- 13. J
- 14. H
- 15. I
- 16. I
- 17. I
- 18. E/J
- 19. C
- 20. E
- 21. E
- 22. E
- 23. E
- 24. E
- Races
- 25. J

A5 1200

Headlines (1. D
(3. J
(8. A

- 1. D (-C) GMH
- 2. A
- 3. J
- 4. A
- 5. A
- 6. A
- 7. A
- Commercials
- 8. A
- 9. K
- 10. G
- 11. C
- 12. D
- 13. K
- Commercials
- 14. J
- 15. J
- 16. F (B)
- 17. E
- 18. E
- 19. E
- 20. E
- 21. E
- 22. E
- 23. E/J

PERIOD B 5DN MIDDAY BULLETINS

B1 1200

No Headlines

- 1. A
- 2. G
- 3. H
- 4. C
- 5. E/F
- 6. I
- 7. J

NOTE:

Unusually short
bulletin as this
was a public
holiday and
therefore treated
more like a week-
end news service.

B2 1200

Headlines (3. H
(1. A
(9. D

- 1. A
- 2. G
- 3. H
- 4. F
- Commercials
- 5. F
- 6. F
- 7. D
- 8. B
- 9. D
- 10. F
- 11. F
- 12. A/K
- 13. D
- 14. I
- 15. I
- 16. I
- 17. I
- 18. I
- 19. I
- 20. I
- 21. I
- Commercials
- 22. E
- 23. E
- 24. E
- 25. E
- 26. E
- 27. E
- 28. E/J
- 29. J

B3 1200

Headlines (1. G
(2. G

- 1. G
- 2. G
- 3. G
- Commercials
- 4. G
- 5. A
- 6. D
- 7. A/D
- 8. K
- 9. A/K
- 10. A/K
- 11. A/K
- 12. K
- Commercials
- 13. I
- 14. I
- 15. I
- 16. I
- 17. I
- 18. I
- 19. F
- 20. K
- 21. K

B4 1200

Headlines (2. K
(1. G
(3. E/F

- 1. G
- 2. K
- 3. E/F
- Commercials
- 4. K
- 5. A/K
- 6. D/G
- 7. K
- 8. F
- 9. I
- 10. I
- 11. I
- 12. I
- 13. I
- 14. I
- Commercials
- 15. D
- 16. G
- 17. J
- 18. D/C
- 19. E
- 20. E
- 21. E
- 22. E/L
- 23. F

B5 1200

Headlines (1. G
(2. F

- 1. G
- 2. F
- 3. F
- 4. A/B
- 5. A
- 6. G
- 7. A/C
- 8. F
- 9. C
- Commercials
- 10. A/K
- 11. E/J
- 12. I
- 13. I
- 14. I
- 15. I
- 16. I
- Commercials
- 17. E
- 18. E
- 19. E
- 20. E
- 21. E

PERIOD C 5DN MIDDAY BULLETINS

C1 1200

Headlines (1. K
 (4. D
 (7. F

1. K
2. K/L
3. I
Commercials
4. D
5. A
6. G
7. F
8. C
9. B
10. F
11. F
Commercials
12. I
13. I
14. I
15. I
16. F
17. K
18. E
19. E
20. E
21. J
22. J

C2 1200

Headlines (1. F
 (3. H
 (4. B

1. F
2. F
3. H
4. B
5. A
Commercials
6. D
7. F
8. L
Races & Commercials
9. H
10. F
11. E
12. C
13. C
14. H
15. H
Commercials
16. I
17. I
18. I
19. I
20. I
21. I
22. I
23. I
24. A
25. E
26. E/J
27. E
28. E

C3 1200

Headlines (1. J
 (18. E
 (7. I

1. J
2. L
3. A
4. E
Commercials
5. K
6. F
7. I
8. I
9. I
Commercials
10. G
11. K
12. F
13. K
14. A/J
15. C
Commercials
16. D
17. E
18. E
19. H
20. E
21. E

C4 1200

Headlines (1. K
 (2. G
 (11. K

1. K
2. G
3. G
4. A
5. A/D
6. H
Commercials
7. J
8. D
9. A
10. J
Commercials
11. K
12. F
Commercials
13. I
14. I
15. I
16. I
17. E
18. E
19. E
20. E
21. K

C5 1200

Headlines (1. H
 (3. C
 (8. F

1. H
2. F
3. C
4. C
5. D
6. D
Commercials
7. I
8. F
9. D/K
10. F
11. C
12. H
Commercials
13. I
14. I
15. I
16. I
17. I
18. I
19. I
20. I
Commercials
21. J
22. D
23. E
24. E
25. E/L
26. E/L
267. E
28. E/K

PERIOD D 5DN MIDDAY BULLETINS

D1 1200

Headlines (1. F
(2. A(L)
(11. K

- 1. F
- 2. A (L)
- 3. A
- 4. F
- Commercials
- 5. C
- 6. A
- 7. D
- 8. A
- 9. C
- 10. K
- Commercials
- 11. K
- 12. K
- 13. A
- 14. I
- 15. I
- 16. I
- 17. I
- 18. I
- 19. I
- 20. I
- Commercials
- 21. K
- 22. E
- 23. E
- 24. E
- 25. E
- 26. E
- 27. E/J

D2 1200

Headlines (1. A/B
(5. L
(6. C

- 1. A/B
- 2. A
- 3. C
- 4. A/D
- 5. L
- Commercials
- 6. C
- 7. C
- 8. C
- 9. C
- 10. F
- 11. K
- Commercials
- 12. I
- 13. I
- 14. I
- 15. I
- 16. I
- 17. I
- 18. I
- 19. I
- Commercials
- 20. A
- 21. J
- 22. D
- 23. J
- Commercials
- 24. E
- 25. E
- 26. E/L
- 27. E
- 28. A/J

D3 1200

Headlines (1. A
(2. A
(8. D

- 1. A
- 2. A
- 3. A
- 4. C
- Commercials
- 5. E/L
- 6. E
- 7. A
- 8. D
- 9. D
- 10. G
- 11. J
- Commercials
- 12. A
- 13. I/J
- 14. J
- 15. E
- 16. E
- 17. E
- 18. E

D4 1200

Headlines (1. A
(2. F
(3. D/A

- 1. A
- 2. F
- 3. D/A
- 4. K
- Commercials
- 5. A (L)
- 6. D
- 7. H
- 8. A/K
- 9. A/K
- 10. D
- 11. D/A
- Commercials
- 12. A
- 13. H
- 14. C
- 15. K/A
- 16. I
- 17. I
- 18. I
- 19. I
- 20. E
- 21. E
- Races
- 22. E
- 23. E
- 24. E
- 25. E
- 26. E/K
- 27. E/L

D5 1200

Headlines (1. A/B
(5. E
(3. I

- 1. A/B
- 2. F
- 3. I
- 4. G
- 5. E
- 6. G/K
- Commercials
- 7. F
- 8. A (L)
- 9. H
- 10. E
- 11. E
- 12. K
- 13. A (L)
- 14. L
- 15. E/L
- 16. H
- 17. E
- 18. E
- 19. E
- 20. E
- Commercials
- 21. F
- 22. H
- 23. E
- 24. I
- 25. I

PERIOD A 5DN EVENING BULLETINS

<u>A1 1800</u>	<u>A2 1800</u>	<u>A3 1800</u>	<u>A4 1800</u>	<u>A5 1800</u>
1. H	1. A	1. H	1. K	1. A/H
2. H	2. A	2. H	2. D	2. H
3. H	3. A	3. H	3. D	3. H
4. A	4. A	4. H	4. D	4. A
5. A	5. F	5. H	5. D	5. A
6. A	6. C	6. H	6. C	6. D
7. A	7. D	Commercials	7. C/A	7. D
8. A	8. I	7. A	Commercials	8. A
9. A	Commercials	8. A	8. A	9. G
10. A	9. H	9. A	9. A	10. E
Commercials	10. H)	10. I	10. D	11. C
11. A	11. H)		11. E	12. G
12. A	12. H)		12. E	13. J
13. C	13. H)		13. H	
14. C	14. F		14. D	
15. K	15. K		15. J	
16. A/J	16. I			
17. F				

Note: Heavy emphasis on political stories (A) and (H) in A1, A2 and A3 is explained by build up to Federal Elections and serious flooding in South Australia at that time.

PERIOD B 5DN EVENING BULLETINS

B1 1800

1. G
2. A
3. H
4. A
5. C
Commercials
6. K
7. C
8. D
9. C
10. I
11. I
12. I

B2 1800

1. A
2. J/G
3. A
4. K
Commercials
5. C
6. A
7. L
8. L
9. K/A
10. A
11. A
12. K

B3 1800

1. G
2. A
3. A
4. G/J
5. G
6. C
7. F
8. G
9. K
10. K

B4 1800

1. D
2. D
3. G
4. K
Commercials
5. K
6. C
7. A
8. F
9. F
10. A
11. I

B5 1800

1. C
2. D
3. D
4. F
5. C
6. C
7. G
8. B
9. H
10. E
11. G
Commercials
12. C
13. A/K
14. K
15. E
16. K
17. J

PERIOD C 5DN EVENING BULLETINS

<u>C1 1800</u>	<u>C2 1800</u>	<u>C3 1800</u>	<u>C4 1800</u>	<u>C5 1800</u>
1. A/B	1. F	1. A/B	1. D	1. K
2. A/B	2. A/B	2. K/A	2. A	2. D
3. A/B	3. F	3. A	3. F	3. G
Commercials	4. A	4. A	4. F	4. C
4. D	5. A	5. A	5. F/J	5. C
5. D	6. G	6. A	Commercials	6. C
6. A	7. A	7. A	6. C	7. F
7. F	8. K	8. E	7. H	8. J
8. F	9. H	9. E	8. H	9. A (K)
9. I	10. J	10. I	9. C	10. I
10. I		11. J	10. E	11. J
			11. E	
			12. I	

PERIOD D 5DN EVENING BULLETINS

D1 1800

1. A
2. A
3. A
4. A
5. K
6. A
7. A
8. F
9. F
10. C
11. E
12. J

D2 1800

1. A
2. A
3. L
4. L
5. E/L
6. H
7. A
8. F
9. E
10. E
11. A
12. K

D3 1800

1. E/L
2. A
3. D
4. D
5. F
6. K/L
7. D
8. D
9. H
10. K
11. D
12. E
13. E
14. E
15. I

D4 1800

1. A
2. F
3. G
4. F
- Commercials
5. A
6. A
7. K
8. A
9. D
10. J
11. I

D5 1800

1. I
2. A/B
3. F
4. K
5. L
6. A
- Commercials
7. F
8. J
9. I

PERIOD A ABC BREAKFAST BULLETIN PROFILE

A1 7.45am

1. E
2. E
3. H (W)
4. F
5. F
6. A
7. A
8. C
9. J
10. I
11. A
12. D
13. C
14. H
15. A
16. H
17. F

A2 7.45am

1. A
2. D
3. E
4. H
5. H
6. F
7. K
8. E
9. E
10. D
11. A
12. H
13. K
14. D
15. E
16. E
17. H

A3 7.45am

1. B
2. H (W)
3. H
4. H
5. D
6. E
7. D
8. F (W)
9. K
10. A
11. A
12. G
13. C (W)
14. D (W)
15. E
16. E
17. E
18. F
19. H
20. E
21. F (W)

A4 7.45am

1. A
2. D
3. A
4. B
5. H
6. E
7. H
8. H
9. D
10. E
11. E
12. H
13. E
14. E
15. D/K
16. I/K
17. K
18. K
19. I
20. D
21. D
22. C (W)

A5 7.45am

1. D
2. H
3. A
4. A
5. I
6. C
7. K
8. H
9. D
10. D
11. D
12. E
13. L
14. F
15. E
16. E
17. D
18. D

PERIOD B ABC BREAKFAST BULLETIN PROFILE

B1 7.45am

1. A/E
2. A
3. G
4. B
5. H
6. H
7. E
8. E/L
9. A
10. I
11. I
12. I
13. I
14. K (W)
15. H
16. K
17. C

B2 7.45am

1. E
2. E
3. K
4. G
5. G
6. H/A
7. G
8. D
9. K
10. E
11. H
12. K
13. A
14. K
15. G
16. K
17. H
18. H

B3 7.45am

1. G
2. G
3. K
4. K
5. D
6. J (W)
7. E
8. E/A
9. G
10. G
11. G
12. G
13. F
14. I
15. I
16. A/E
17. J

B4 7.45am

1. A/L
2. E
3. J
4. K
5. E
6. E
7. E
8. K
9. I
10. I
11. I
12. I
13. F
14. A/K
15. D
16. D

B5 7.45am

1. E
2. G
3. C
4. F
5. E/B
6. D
7. I
8. A
9. E/K
10. K
11. F
12. D
13. A
14. H
15. E
16. K

PERIOD C ABC BREAKFAST BULLETIN PROFILE

C1 7.45am

1. A
2. G
3. E
4. C
5. I
6. E
7. D
8. H
9. K
10. J (W)
11. K/L
12. J
13. E
14. E
15. E
16. E
17. E

C2 7.45am

1. A/L
2. D
3. E
4. B
5. A
6. A
7. A/L
8. A
9. K
10. I
11. G
12. E
13. D
14. J (W)

C3 7.45am

1. E
2. E
3. D
4. A
5. K/L
6. D
7. I
8. K
9. K
10. E
11. A
12. K
13. D
14. I
15. I
16. I
17. K
18. K

C4 7.45am

1. E
2. D
3. H
4. E
5. E
6. D
7. B
8. G
9. K
10. K
11. F
12. E
13. I
14. H
15. K
16. C
17. D
18. D
19. J
20. D

C5 7.45am

1. I
2. E
3. E
4. D
5. E/A
6. D
7. D/G
8. G
9. I
10. I
11. H
12. G
13. E
14. E
15. A
16. E

PERIOD D ABC BREAKFAST BULLETIN PROFILE

D1 7.45am

1. A/L
2. E
3. H
4. D
5. D
6. E/A
7. E
8. E
9. E
10. E
11. E
12. H
13. K
14. A
15. F
16. E
17. E

D2 7.45am

1. E/L
2. D/A
3. B
4. K
5. K
6. A/L
7. E
8. E/A
9. K
10. K
11. K
12. D

D3 7.45am

1. E/A
2. E/A
3. G
4. E
5. I
6. K
7. A
8. K
9. F
10. E
11. E
12. E
13. K
14. K
15. K
16. C
17. K

D4 7.45am

1. A/L
2. A
3. D
4. C
5. D
6. D/A
7. D
8. K
9. F/A
10. C (W)
11. E
12. K
13. F
14. G (W)
15. F (W)
16. I
17. A/E

D5 7.45am

1. G
2. E
3. A
4. K
5. E
6. E/L
7. E
8. I
9. I

PERIOD A ABC LUNCHTIME BULLETIN PROFILE

A1 1200

1. A
2. A
3. F
4. F
5. F
6. C
7. D
8. F
9. I
10. F
11. K
12. C
13. A
14. E
15. K
16. J

A2 1200

1. E
2. A
3. A
4. F
5. K
6. A
7. J
8. H
9. H
10. E
11. E
12. H (W)
13. J/D
14. J

A3 1200A

1. D (W)
2. H
3. H
4. C (W)
5. G
6. A (W)
7. J (W)
8. J (W)
9. E
10. F
11. F (W)

A4 1200

1. A
2. A
3. A
4. E
5. H
6. A
7. B
8. D
9. H (W)
10. E
11. E
12. C
13. H

A5 1200

1. D
2. A/E
3. B
4. E
5. A
6. H
7. K
8. K
9. E
10. G

A1 1300

1.)
2.)
3.)
4.) Identical
5.) to 1200
6.) with story
7.)
8.)
9.)
10.)
11.)
12.)

A2 1300

1. E
2. A
3. D/A
4. A
5. F
6. K
7. H
8. A/J
9. H
10. H
11. H
12. H
13. E

A3 1300A

1.)
2.)
3.)
4.) Identical
5.) to 1200
6.)
7.)
8.)
9.)
10.)
11.)

A5 1300

1. A
2. A/E
3. A
4. E
5. G
6. H
7. K
8. K

PERIOD B ABC LUNCHTIME BULLETIN PROFILE

B1 1200

1. G
2. A/E
3. H
4. I
5. I
6. A
7. A
8. E
9. C
10. D

B2 1200

1. G
2. D
3. H
4. D
5. G
6. A
7. A
8. E
9. A
10. F
11. F

B3 1230

1. G
2. G
3. D
4. F
5. H
6. I
7. E
8. E

B4 1200

1. K (ABC)
2. A
3. A/K
4. F
5. G
6. G
7. D
8. D
9. I
10. I
11. I/D
12. J

B5 1200

1. E/L
2. A/E
3. A
4. D
5. G
6. K/C
7. F
8. I
9. E
10. G
11. I

B1 1300

1. G
2. C
3. A
4. H
5. C
6. I
7. I
8. E
9. E
10. D

B2 1300

1. A
2. G
3. D
4. G
5. H
6. E
7. E
8. D
9. D
10. F

B3 1300

1. G
2. G
3. D
4. F
5. H
6. I
7. H
8. D

B4 1300

1. K (ABC)
2. G
3. A/K
4. A
5. A
6. F
7. I
8. I
9. I
10. F (W)

B5 1300

1. C
2. C
3. E/L
4. A/E
5. E
6. G
7. D
8. H
9. F (W)

PERIOD C ABC LUNCHTIME BULLETIN PROFILE

C1 1200

1. A
2. E
3. C
4. K
5. K
6. F
7. K
8. E
9. J
10. K (ABC)
11. I
12. H

C2 1200

1. B
2. A
3. E
4. F
5. H
6. D
7. E
8. J (W)
9. I

C3 1200

1. E
2. E
3. E
4. K/L
5. A/L
6. A
7. K
8. I
9. K
10. K

C4 1200

1. E
2. E
3. E
4. E
5. A
6. K
7. A
8. C
9. H
10. K

C5 1200

1. I
2. H
3. D/A
4. D
5. G/D
6. G
7. C
8. J
9. C/A
10. E
11. F

C1 1300

1. A
2. E
3. E
4. K
5. K
6. C
7. K
8. F
9. C

C2 1300

1. B
2. A
3. E
4. F
5. H
6. D
7. C
8. E
9. E
10. J
11. I

C3 1300

C4 1300

1. E
2. E
3. E
4. A
5. A
6. K
7. A
8. C
9. H
10. K

C5 1300

1. I
2. H
3. D/A
4. D
5. G
6. G/D
7. C
8. J
9. J
10. A
11. F

C2 1300 Not Available.

PERIOD D ABC LUNCHTIME BULLETIN PROFILE

D1 1200

1. A/L
2. D
3. F
4. E
5. J
6. D
7. E
8. E/L
9. E
10. E/K

D2 1200

1. L
2. E/L
3. D
4. A
5. B
6. K
7. E
8. I

D3 1200

1. E
2. E/L
3. K
4. E
5. E
6. E/J
7. D
8. E
9. D
10. B

D4 1200

1. F/A
2. A/L
3. E
4. F
5. K
6. C
7. F

D5 1230

1. B
2. E
3. F/A
4. A
5. I
6. D
7. D
8. J
9. E/L
10. K/L

D1 1300

1. A/L
2. D
3. F
4. E
5. J
6. A
7. E
8. L
9. K
10. E/L
11. E

D2 1300

1. L
2. E/L
3. D
4. A
5. E
6. A
7. K
8. I

D3 1300

1. E/L
2. E
3. D
4. K
5. K
6. G
7. D
8. B
9. E/J
10. E/L

D4 1300

1. F/A
2. F
3. D
4. A
5. F
6. E
7. H

PERIOD A ABC EVENING BULLETIN PROFILE

A1 1800

1. H
2. A
3. A
4. A
5. A
6. F
7. A
8. F

A2 1800

1. A
2. C
3. F
4. D
5. D
6. E
7. H
8. F
9. A
10. H
11. H
12. D

A3 1800

1. A
2. H
3. H
4. H
5. K
6. D
7. H
8. D
9. C
10. I

A4 1800

1. D
2. A
3. A
4. A/K
5. A
6. A
7. D
8. E
9. J (W)
10. H

A5 1800

1. H
2. D/A
3. D
4. D
5. D
6. A/E
7. C
8. C
9. K

PERIOD B ABC EVENING BULLETIN PROFILE

B1 1800

1. G
2. A/E
3. A
4. I
5. I
6. K
7. D
8. H

B2 1800

1. A
2. A
3. K
4. K
5. G
6. D
7. H
8. K
9. F
10. D
11. E/L

B3 1800

1. G
2. G
3. G
4. A
5. G
6. G
7. A/B
8. K

B4 1800

1. K (ABC)
2. K (ABC)
3. G
4. H/D
5. A
6. E
7. G
8. E

B5 1800

1. G
2. C
3. C
4. C
5. F
6. F
7. F
8. D
9. A/D

PERIOD C ABC EVENING BULLETIN PROFILE

C1 1800

1. D
2. A
3. G
4. F
5. K
6. G

C2 1800

1. A
2. A
3. B
4. A/D
5. F
6. A
7. C
8. D/J
9. A
10. H
11. F
12. E/L
13. I

C3 1800

1. A
2. K/L
3. K/L
4. D
5. D/B
6. K
7. A
8. G
9. E

C4 1800

1. A
2. C
3. A
4. E
5. G
6. D
7. J
8. A
9. H

C5 1800

1. D/B
2. C
3. D
4. F
5. E
6. I
7. C
8. G

PERIOD D ABC EVENING BULLETIN PROFILE

D1 1800

1. A/L
2. A
3. H/K
4. E
5. E
6. F

D2 1800

1. A
2. L
3. E/L
4. D
5. D
6. K

D3 1800

1. E/L
2. K
3. E
4. D
5. G
6. K
7. D
8. K
9. K

D4 1800

1. F/A
2. D
3. K/A
4. K
5. K

D5 1800

1. B
2. B
3. G
4. C/G
5. E
6. E
7. I
8. I
9. I
10. E
11. D
12. D

Analysis of Story Categories

- Comparison of ABC against itself across 4 periods
- Comparison of 5DN against itself across 4 periods
- Comparison of ABC and 5DN for each of the 4 periods.

	ABC - Period A	ABC - Period B		ABC - Period C	ABC - Period D	
Gov. politics and leg.	25%	14.5%	Gov. politics	Politics	18.5%	Politics/leg./gov.
		2%	Economy	Gov. economy	2.5%	
		7%	Industrial	Industrial action	5%	Gov. economy
Gov. economy	2%	9%	Business	Business/industry	10.5%	6%
Industrial	4%					10%
		19%	Foreign	Foreign	22%	Business
Business sector	12%					27%
Foreign	15%	9%	Crime	Human interest	3.5%	Foreign
				Crime	5%	
Crime	9.5%	17%	Justice system	Justice system	7.5%	3.5%
				Accidents/nat. disasters	3.5%	5%
Accidents/nat. disasters	17%	5%	Accidents etc.	Nuclear	4.5%	6.5%
Nuclear	0.5%	2.5%	Nuclear			
Softer issues	8.5%	7%	Softer issues	Softer issues	12%	10.5%
				Sport	5.5%	4%
Human interest	5%	8%	Sport			
Sport	1.5%					

	SDN - Period A	SDN - Period B		SDN - Period C	SDN - Period D	
Gov. leg./ politics (incl. Fed. elec. campaign)	30%	17%	Gov./politics	18%	27.5%	Politics/ legal gov. affairs
Gov. economy	2%	2.5%	Gov. economy	4%		Gov. economy
Industrial (dispute ACTU)	7.5%	6.5%	Industrial	6%	2.5%	Industrial
Business sector	4.5%	4%	Business	7%	5.5%	Business
Foreign	16%	18%	Foreign Affairs	14%	5%	Business
Crime	7%	6%	Crime	10%	17.5%	Foreign
Justice system	3%	20%	Justice system	4%	16%	Crime
Accidents/nat. disasters (inc. floods & bush fires)	9.5%	2%	Accidents/ Nat. disas.	4%	3%	Justice system Accident/ nat. disas.
Nuclear	0.5%	1.5%	Nuclear	5%	2%	Nuclear
Softer issues	9%	10.5%	Softer issues	10%	5%	Welfare based issue
Human interest	5%	1%	Human interest	2%	6.5%	Human int.
Sport	6%	11%	Sport	16%	1%	Sport

A PERIOD

ABC - Period A

5DN - Period A

Gov. politics and leg.	25%	30%	Gov. leg./politics (inc. Fed. election campaign)
Gov. economy	2%	2%	Gov. economy
Industrial	4%	7.5%	Industrial (disputes and ACTU)
Business sector	12%	4.5%	Business sector
Foreign	15%	16%	Foreign
Crime	9.5%	7%	Crime
		3%	Justice system
Accidents/nat. disasters	17%	9.5%	Accidents/nat. disasters (inc. floods & bushfires)
Nuclear	0.5%	0.5%	Nuclear
Softer issues	8.5%	9%	Softer issues (welfare)
Human interest	5%	5%	Human interest
Sport	1.5%	6%	Sport

B PERIOD

5DN - Period B

ABC - Period B

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Gov./politics	17%	14.5%	Gov. politics
Gov. economy	2.5%	2%	Economy
Industrial	6.5%	7%	Industrial
Business	4%	9%	Business
Foreign Affairs	18%	19%	Foreign
Crime	6%	9%	Crime
Justice system	20%	17%	Justice system
Accidents/Nat. disas.	2%	5%	Accidents etc.
Nuclear	1.5%	2.5%	Nuclear
Softer issues	10.5%	7%	Softer issues
Human interest	1%	8%	Sport
Sport	11%		

C PERIOD

ABC - Period C

5DN - Period C

Politics	18.5%	18%	Gov./Leg. politics
Gov. economy	2.5%	4%	Gov. economy
Industrial action	5%	6%	Industrial (disputes)
Business/ industry	10.5%	7%	Business sector
Foreign	22%	14%	Foreign
Human interest	3.5%	10%	Crime
Crime	5%	4%	Justice system
Justice system	7.5%	4%	Accidents/nat. disas.
Accidents/nat. disas.	3.5%	5%	Nuclear
Nuclear	4.5%	10%	Softer issues
Softer issues	12%	2%	Human interest
Sport	5.5%	16%	Sport

D PERIOD

5DN - Period D

ABC - Period D

Politics/leg./ government affairs	27.5%	25%	Politics/leg./ government affairs
Gov. economy	2.5%	1.5%	Gov. economy
Industrial	5.5%	6%	Industrial
Business	5%	10%	Business
Foreign	17.5%	27%	Foreign
Crime	16%	3.5%	Crime
Justice system	3%	5%	Justice system
Accidents/nat. disas.	2%	1%	Accidents/nat. disas.
Nuclear	5%	6.5%	Nuclear
Welfare based issues conservation	6.5%	10.5%	Softer - welfare issues conservation
Human interest	1%	4%	Sport
Sport	8.5%		

Period A

(Monday 14th February, Tuesday 22nd February, Wednesday 2nd March, Thursday 10th March, Friday 18th March and Saturday 26th March.)

S.A. and Victorian bushfires.

S.A. floods.

Queensland and Western Australian cyclones.

Fiji cyclones.

Federal election.

New A.L.P. Caucus chosen.

GMH and BHP talks and plans for retrenchments.

Royal Commission on Vietnam Veterans.

Royal Tour of Australia.

Pope's visit to Central America.

Sharon's resignation in Beirut.

Malta hijack.

Nkomo forced to flee Zimbabwe.

Period B

(Monday 16th May, Tuesday 24th May, Wednesday 1st June, Thursday 9th June, Friday 17th June and Saturday 25th June.)

State and Federal Parliament sitting.

Tasmanian dam issue in High Court.

ALP decision on uranium mining.

ACTU response to uranium decision.

Introduction of Medicare.

New ABC Board Hope,

Stewart and Street Royal Commissions.

British election.
 Arafat forced out of Beirut.
 Pope's visit to Poland.
 South Africa condemns guerillas to death.
 USA missiles arrive in Britain.
 USA proposals for START talks in Geneva.
 Richard Kelvin murder trial.
 Shearers' strike.
 (Monday 16th May - Adelaide Cup Day).

Period C

(Monday 15th August, Tuesday 23rd August, Wednesday 31st August,
 Thursday 8th September, Friday 16th September, Saturday 24th
 September.)
 State and Federal Parliament sitting.
 Crisis in Queensland coalition.
 Federal Budget.
 Hope Royal Commission.
 U.S.S.R. - Korean airliner shot down.
 Opposition Leader Aquino shot down in Philippines.
 Roxby anti-nuclear blockade.
 Aboriginal rights challenged at Roxby and in S.A. Museum.

Period D

(Monday 7th November, Tuesday 15th November, Wednesday 23rd
 November, Thursday 1st December, Friday 9th December, Saturday
 17th December.)
 State and Federal Parliament sitting.

Assets Test.

N.T. election.

S.A. - debate over demolition of Aurora Hotel.

ASIS - Sheraton Hotel raid.

Pine Gap demonstrations.

CHOGM conference.

West German decision on nuclear missiles.

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