



## **ABC Online: Becoming the ABC**

### **Author**

Burns, Maureen

### **Published**

2004

### **Thesis Type**

Thesis (PhD Doctorate)

### **School**

School of Arts, Media and Culture

### **DOI**

[10.25904/1912/439](https://doi.org/10.25904/1912/439)

### **Downloaded from**

<http://hdl.handle.net/10072/365752>

### **Griffith Research Online**

<https://research-repository.griffith.edu.au>

# ABC Online: Becoming the ABC

Maureen Burns

BA (hons 1<sup>st</sup> class) (Communications)

(University of Technology, Sydney)

School of Arts Media and Cultural Studies

Griffith University

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

October 2003

# Synopsis

This thesis combines histories of the implementation of ABC Online (the website of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Australia's largest national Public Service Broadcaster) with the political philosophies of Foucault, and of Deleuze and Guattari.

Following the Deleuzian argument that institutions of enclosure are in crisis because they exist in between diagrams of the disciplinary and control societies, the thesis tests each of the Foucauldian diagrams of discipline, governmentality and control against the ABC as Public Service Broadcaster. It explores issues such as which ABC strategies belong to which diagram, and the ways in which changes in communications technologies altered governing rationales of these diagrams at the ABC. The thesis uses the implementation of ABC Online to explore the idea of the ABC in the late 1990s as operating in between social diagrams.

One way of examining this 'in between-ness' is to use the Public Service Broadcasting *idea* as an instance of arboreal thinking and the internet *idea* as rhizomic. The thesis employs that model to argue that Public Service Broadcasting as it is practised is not

merely an arboreal assemblage, and that actual implementations of the internet are more than merely rhizomic assemblages. The thesis details some of the earliest relations between broadcasting and the internet at the ABC, and describes the relations between rhizomic and arboreal images of the ABC at particular sites and in various discourses. This examination concludes that both ways of imagining the ABC – the arboreal and the rhizomic – have been essential to the success of ABC Online. While the position of the ABC in between social diagrams caused a sense of crisis, ABC Online was in fact successful largely *because* of its position in between social diagrams.

Not only was ABC Online remarkably successful in its first five years, but it was successful in ways which could not be accommodated in such documents as the ABC Charter. The public silences of ABC Online both allowed it to thrive, and conversely supported arboreal stratified ways of defending the ABC. Defences of the ABC that used arboreal thinking as a rhetorical strategy continued to dominate public discussion of the ABC, despite the successes of contrary examples in practice. One such example was the successful implementation of Radio Australia Online at a time when the Mansfield Review sought to limit the scope of the ABC to domestic free-to-air broadcasting.

When some ABC Online practices were publicised in relation to the proposed Telstra deal, the resultant controversy concentrated on the non-commercial/commercial boundary at the ABC. The controversy also highlighted fears that the Online

environment may alter the ethical relations between the ABC and its publics. In particular, the ethical goals of independence and integrity were perceived as being under threat in the World Wide Web environment. These goals were further problematised within the organisation by the demands of interactive subsites. These subsites demonstrated an altered ethical relation between the ABC and its user in the online environment of the control society.

## CONTENTS

<b>Figures</b> .....	x
<b>Acronyms</b> .....	xi
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	xiii
<b>PREFACE</b> .....	<b>XV</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Relations between Images of Thought .....	5
Intra-institutional Relations and Inter-institutional Relations .....	7
Defending the ABC .....	9
The ABC as Tree .....	12
Figure 1: The Arboreal ABC .....	13
The ABC as Rhizome .....	16
Against 'the' Public Sphere .....	18
Humans <i>Using</i> Technology .....	21
Chapter Outline .....	24
<b>CHAPTER 1: NATION, DISCIPLINE, GOVERNMENTALITY, CONTROL</b> .....	<b>30</b>
Arboreal Images of Nation .....	31
The ABC and the Arboreal Nation .....	38
The Nation and Identity .....	40
The ABC as Disciplinary /Broadcasting as Disciplinary .....	42
Figure 2: Television and Radio as Occupied Territories .....	44
The ABC as Governmental .....	48
The ABC as Control .....	56

Molar/Molecular; Rhizomic/Arboreal.....	63
---	----

**CHAPTER 2: REITH AND RHIZOME: THE PSB IDEA MEETS THE**

**INTERNET IDEA .....67**

Introduction .....	67
The Arboreal Image of Public Service Broadcasting .....	68
Defining Public Service /Defining Public Service Broadcasting .....	74
Broadcasting Ecologies .....	87
The ABC and Commercial Interests.....	92
From Welfare State to Enabling State .....	97
ABC: Paternalism and Practice .....	102
Interconnecting Ideas .....	106
The Internet Idea and the ABC.....	106
The Internet Idea and Poststructuralism .....	111
The Internet Idea and Utopianism .....	112
The Internet Idea and Capitalism.....	115
The Internet Idea and the Question of the New .....	119
Conclusion.....	120

**CHAPTER 3: 'A VIRUS FOR ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE'.....122**

Failed Joint Ventures.....	130
Dust Coats and Tweed Jackets .....	132
<i>hot chips</i> – from viewer to user .....	136
<i>On Australia</i> Trial: Knowing the Enemy?.....	139
<i>http://</i> .....	150
1996 Funding Cuts to the ABC Tree.....	154
Disciplinary Gateways and the 'One ABC' Strategy.....	158

Conclusion.....	162
<b>CHAPTER 4: DISCOURSE AND SILENCE .....</b>	<b>164</b>
The ABC Charter: ABC Online .....	169
Figure 3: Excerpt from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act 1983 – The Charter .....	171
The Mansfield Review: Neglecting to Notice ABC Online .....	182
Domestic.....	184
Dissemination and Interaction.....	188
 <b>CHAPTER 5: SOMETHING OF A MYSTERY, SOMETHING OF A PROBLEM: RADIO AUSTRALIA ONLINE .....</b>	 <b>192</b>
The Emergence of International Broadcasting: BBC External Service/World Service.....	194
Radio Australia: Speaking for Ourselves .....	198
Radio Australia as an Awkward Object .....	200
Policy Pulsing.....	207
'World Wide Web, Ha Ha Ha': The Emergence of Radio Australia Online .....	218
Domesticating and Globalising .....	226
 <b>CHAPTER 6: 'COMBINING TWO WHIRLPOOLS': INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE AND THE TELSTRA PROPOSAL .....</b>	 <b>240</b>
From Values to Brand: A History of Content Sales at ABC Online .....	243
Freedom of Information .....	251
The Controversy .....	255
Selling Core Content .....	260
Independence.....	262
I .....	265

Strategic Alliance or Joint Venture?.....	279
The Interim Report .....	283
Conclusion.....	291

**CHAPTER 7: NOSTALGIA FOR THE FUTURE: GOVERNING**

**INTERACTIVITY .....295**

Remembering for the Future .....	297
Remembering Public Service Broadcasting .....	299
Liberty and Security .....	306
Interactivity, Memory and Ethical Exemplars.....	310
Remembering the nation – <i>Frontier</i> .....	311
Imagining the Future, Remembering the ABC – <i>Future Exchange</i> .....	320
Remembering Sport – <i>The Games</i> .....	332
Remembering Territory – The Community Publishing Project.....	338
Figure 5 The Australians Online map.....	339
Conclusion.....	348

**CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION – 'IDENTITY WITHOUT UNIFORMITY' .....350**

Governing Users.....	352
Governing by Guerillas .....	356
Governing Disjunction .....	359
Localism, Globalism, and Cores.....	361
Conceptions of Access .....	362
Interactive Memory .....	364
Of the Molar and Molecular .....	365

**BIBLIOGRAPHY .....369**

## Figures

Figure 1: The Arboreal ABC	13
Figure 2: Television and Radio as Occupied Territories	44
Figure 3: The Charter of the ABC	171
Figure 4: Excerpt from Section 25 of the ABC Act	280-181
Figure 5: The Australians Online Map	340

## Acronyms

AAP	Australian Associated Press
ABA	Australian Broadcasting Authority
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
AFC	Australian Film Commission
AFTRS	Australian Film, Television and Radio School
ANOP	Australian National Opinion Polls
AOL	America Online
ATOM	Australian Teachers of Media
ATVI	Australia Television International
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BNA	Broadcast News Australia
BRU	Broadcasting Research Unit
BSEG	Broadcasting Services Expert Group
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
html	Hypertext Markup Language
IRC	Internet Relay Chat
ISP	Internet Service Provider
IT	Information Technology
msn	Microsoft network

NHK	Nippon Hosa Kyokai
PNN	Parliamentary News Network
RA	Radio Australia
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
SMS	Short Messaging Service
WAP	Wireless Access Protocol

## Acknowledgments

Thanks to The Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy.

Thanks to supervisors past and present: Gay Hawkins, Noel King, Jeanne Martin, Julian Thomas, Tony Bennett, Gillian Swanson, Tom O'Regan and Jason Jacobs.

Thanks to friends and colleagues in academe for their support and encouragement: Carol Ballard, Allan Eedy, Tiziana Ferrero-Regis, Mark Finnane, Trish Fitzsimons, Anne Galligan, Jock Given, Ben Goldsmith, Jenny Hammond, Gay Hawkins, Liz Jacka, Sue Jarvis, Fiona Martin, Karen Perkins, Jane Roscoe, Sue Swinburne, Kitty van Vuuren, Sue Ward, Helen Wilson, and librarians everywhere.

Thanks to those at The Australian Broadcasting Corporation, especially Stephen Rapley, Colin Griffith, Russell Naughton, Andy Lloyd-James, Harry Bardwell, Julianne Schultz, Quentin Dempster, John Millard, Damien Dempsey, Tony Hastings, Rae Allen, Domenic Friuglietti, Adrian Murrell Barker, Michael Dwyer, Claire Byrnes, Ian Vaile, Gillian Ramsay, Tim Potter, Molly Reynolds, Ingrid Spielman, Jo Finlay, Ian Allen, Dave Lane, Melissa O'Brien and Rob Garnsey, and Lea Redfern.

Thanks to Bernard Cohen, Karen Perkins and the extended Fisher family for accommodating me in London.

Thanks to the support group for PhD student mothers, including: Sharon Dawe, Paul Harnett, Hill End Child Care Centre, Sharon Clark, Robyn Coates, West End State School, Mellissa Bone, Emma Felton, Todd and Lindy Levi, and the owners and staff of Avid Reader Bookshop – Fiona Staeger, Kevin Guy, Sean MacKinnon, and Krissie Kneen. Thanks to my family, Marie and Jack Burns, Cathy McDermott, Oliver, Lewis, George and Joan Fisher, and Denise Sharp. Special thanks to my partner Stephen Fisher for his tireless tolerance, commitment and support.

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Maureen Burns

## Preface

During the late 1990s, I was a member of a research group working on a project entitled 'Public Service Broadcasting in Transition' (Jacka et al. 1997). I was also researching the effects of 'new technologies' in libraries. Along with the other members of the Public Service Broadcasting research group, I felt a strong ambivalence towards the ways the ABC was being discussed. I felt a passionate attachment to the ABC, and to the values and ideals with which I associated it. I also found it increasingly difficult to defend ABC television in particular as an example of the ideals that I valued, such as diversity of programming and the provision of content for minorities. Indeed, the diversity of programming on the ABC's radio networks was far less apparent on television. I grew tired of defending the ABC in terms of 'Public Service Broadcasting ideals' such as its non-commercial nature and its universality of appeal (see Chapter 2).

Despite these reservations, when the Coalition government cut funding to the ABC by \$66 million in 1996/97, I felt the need to defend the ABC and, together with the other

members of the research group, I sought different ways to defend this national institution. Our intense focus on the ABC at that time was something we shared with many other Australians. The Mansfield Review of 1997 received more than 11,000 submissions, and there was extensive press at the time surrounding the ABC and its various operations. All of us, academics and press, activists and other friends of the ABC failed to notice ABC Online or to invest it with significance in the public debate. We understood it to be merely a promotional tool for the broadcast areas of the ABC.

In hindsight it seems extraordinary that we did not recognise in ABC Online the potential to address many of the things we found problematic at the ABC (especially in television) – for instance, its declining diversity of programming, its paucity of Australian production, and its minimal modes of address to children and youth and regional viewers. This, then, was the initial motivation of the thesis: how did we all fail to notice this emergent medium at the time? How did it manage to succeed so brilliantly in the context of discourses of crisis surrounding the ABC? How did it remain in the shadows given the harsh spotlight being shone on all other areas of the ABC?

The World Wide Web was very new and, despite my research on new technologies, it had not yet established itself as a familiar and useful tool in my everyday life. I was waiting for it to either prove itself or go the way of other failed technologies. I was certainly not terribly excited by the technobabble and internet hype that accompanied the internet more generally. After all, the internet had been around for a while and was

useful enough for academics, but was not exactly setting my personal everyday world on fire. I valued Public Service Broadcasting as a model of communication for its goals of providing free information and entertainment, on a universal basis. I thought that the net was for nerds, while Public Service Broadcasting – at least in its ideals – was for everybody. But then the World Wide Web made the internet mainstream, and ABC Online sneaked up from behind, and it bit hard. Perhaps the World Wide Web *could* be for everybody too, and perhaps it could be used to disperse Public Service Broadcasting content more widely. Perhaps, given that ABC Online had survived despite the discourses of crisis surrounding the ABC and Public Service Broadcasting, there were lessons to be learnt by the broader ABC from the implementation of ABC Online. It was certainly worth thinking about.

But there seemed no point in thinking about it from the tired and gloomy perspective of 'Public Service Broadcasting ideals', at least in the terms through which such ideals were being defensively mobilised. Instead, it seemed worth starting from the perspective of ABC Online itself, and then working, in a way, 'backwards'. Could ways of thinking about the internet be used to reinvigorate other areas of the ABC, and discourses around it? Such a project would require a theoretical perspective appropriate both to the internet idea and to the Public Service Broadcasting idea. Foucauldian governmental analyses of institutions offered ways of examining disjunctions between policies, wider discursive fields, and fields of action characteristic of the ABC and ABC Online. At the same time, the Deleuzian interpretation of Foucault offered ways of

thinking about the institution as *in between social diagrams*. The Deleuzian/Guattarian ideas of arboreal and rhizomic assemblages, and molar and molecular forces, were also apposite in that they provided a remarkably good 'match' for the Public Service Broadcasting and internet 'ideas' respectively. So I set out to use a Foucauldian and Deleuzian/Guattarian theoretical framework to answer my question: can the understanding of the broader ABC be enhanced by an analysis of the implementation of ABC Online? This in its turn gave rise to a related theoretical question: to what extent can an understanding of ABC Online usefully illuminate the Deleuzian idea about a society of enclosure being replaced by a control society? This thesis is written in the spaces between these two questions: making it both an empirical examination of aspects of ABC Online and a theoretical conversation, which uses ABC Online to think with and against Foucauldian and Deleuzian/Guattarian analytics.

## Introduction

This thesis combines histories of the emergence of ABC Online (the website of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Australia's largest national Public Service Broadcaster) with aspects of the political philosophies of Michel Foucault, and of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. The thesis thus negotiates between the empirical evidence of some ABC practices and the abstraction of aspects of poststructuralist theory.

Any such negotiation is necessarily fraught. Theoretical models can never correspond exactly with institutional histories, but offer instead ways of ordering and understanding the empirical evidence of such histories. The empirical material, on the other hand, complicates and sometimes unravels the theoretical models being used. Though each element does some violence to the other, their combinations can also produce alternative perspectives on familiar objects and concepts.

This thesis began with a question: what was it about ABC Online which enabled it to be so successful in a period of crisis at the ABC? This initial question demanded that two research strategies be mobilised simultaneously. One research strategy was that of

empirical research into the emergence of ABC Online, and this strategy necessitated interviews with staff, examination of documents, and an understanding of the broader social and political contexts of the emergence of ABC Online services. The other strategy required was a theoretical means by which to select, order, interpret and understand this empirical material. These two strategies were interactive, with the process being one where the empirical material suggested particular theoretical approaches, and where theoretical perspectives guided selection and interpretation of the empirical material.

One approach to a study of the implementation of ABC Online would be to ask: in what ways does ABC Online conform to Public Service Broadcasting principles? Such an approach might make a list of such principles and determine whether and when ABC Online practices were in accord with them. This approach, though certainly plausible and useful, seemed unlikely to illuminate what was distinctive or specific about ABC Online in the broader ABC environment. It also risked a descent into tired discussions of the death of broadcasting or the death of Public Service Broadcasting. Perhaps a more appropriate theoretical model was to be found in discourses of 'new media'. But often new media literature valorised 'newness' and technological potential outside actual situated instances of *uses* of new technologies. Such approaches could not accommodate the richness of the ABC as Public Service Broadcaster, and the legacy of that richness to the success of ABC Online.

I sought instead a theoretical model, which could open up the discussion of connections *between* Public Service Broadcasting and uses of the internet. Such a model should not be technologically specific, but must allow space for the examination of particular, situated instances of the implementation of World Wide Web services. The thesis does not attempt to position ABC Online only on a continuum of previous discussions about Public Service Broadcasting, nor as a revolutionary and unsituated technology. It explores the dynamic relations *between* ideas and practices of Public Service Broadcasting and those of the internet.

I propose that poststructuralist political philosophical frameworks offer the greatest possibilities for exploring the significance of ABC Online for the broader ABC. The thesis thus combines empirical material with poststructuralist political philosophy to examine dynamic relations between certain forces at the ABC in the late 1990s. What follows is neither a definitive history of ABC Online nor a definitive critique of poststructuralist political philosophy. Methodologically, it owes more (for instance, its interdisciplinarity and bricolage) to cultural studies than it does to the more linear scientific method. It explores particular combinations, intersections, collisions and disjunctions between aspects of poststructuralist political theory and particular empirical material. It has two complementary aims: to use aspects of poststructuralist political philosophy to explore the successful implementation of ABC Online; and to use empirical material of the implementation of ABC Online to 'ground' elements of poststructuralist political philosophy.

Sometimes the empirical material influences which elements of the theoretical perspective are used, and sometimes the theoretical perspective influences the selection and interpretation of the empirical material. ABC Online is not merely an 'object' to be studied, but also a site at which to explore both elements of poststructuralist political philosophy and changing relations at the ABC (and possibly, by implication, at other Public Service Broadcasters). The thesis explicitly favours areas of empirical evidence which explore the chosen theoretical perspective (for instance, those which demonstrate best the position of the ABC *in between* dichotomies of commercial/non-commercial or national/international) and it is intentionally selective about its use of theoretical perspectives. Foucault's work on sovereignty and Deleuzian nomadism, for instance, are not considered in detail here, because the empirical material did not warrant their use.

Underlying the thesis is a premise that the ways in which the ABC is characterised in various discourses have real consequences for the institution, and that in thinking differently one might create different discourses around the ABC, and consequently perhaps a different ABC. The instance of the successful implementation of ABC Online offered an opportunity to re-think the ways that the ABC could be discussed and understood. Instead of being defeated by a discourse of crisis, which surrounded the ABC in the late 1990s, ABC Online thrived in the first five years of its operation. It thrived in particular sites for differing reasons, and the thesis favours different aspects of theory accordingly. This thesis considers whether ABC Online's success was due in

part to an application of different ways of thinking, and it proposes that an exploration of these ways of thinking might offer debates around the ABC a way out of a discourse of crisis.

The thesis uses a combination of Foucault's governmentality, the Deleuzian interpretation of Foucault's disciplinarity and governmentality, and elements of Deleuzian/Guattarian political philosophy (such as the ideas of the rhizome, of molar and molecular forces, and of critical freedom) as theoretical tools for the study of ABC Online (Foucault, 1988, 1994a; Deleuze, 1988a, 1992; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Following Deleuze, who argued that institutions of enclosure are in crisis because they exist in between diagrams of Foucault's sovereign, disciplinary and control societies (Deleuze, 1992), the thesis tests the diagrams of discipline, government and control against the ABC as Public Service Broadcaster. It concludes that the ABC, despite never having been strictly an institution of enclosure, was in crisis in the late 1990s partly because of its status in between social diagrams, and in between images of thought.

### Relations between Images of Thought

Deleuze and Guattari characterise different ways of thinking as images of thought. They argue that these images of thought usually tend towards either the arboreal (hierarchical, with a core and an outside) or the rhizomic (networked, with each part connecting with each other part). The concepts of the arboreal and the rhizomic are discussed in greater

detail later in this introduction, and also in Chapter 1. If ABC Online's 'image of thought' contributed to its success, then perhaps a recognition and application of that image of thought to the broader ABC could be used to reinvigorate it at a time of crisis.

Elements of poststructuralist theory have had some notable parallels over the past 40 years with the development of computer networks, as has been noted by many writers such as George Landow (1994: 1), Mark Poster (2001: 27), Sherry Turkle (1995: 263) and Nicholas Negroponte (1995: 229). Here I explore some such parallels between the Deleuzian/Guattarian concept of images of thought and the implementation of Online services at the ABC in the late 1990s. The current application of aspects of Deleuze and Guattari's theory might be expressed as a question with two parts: to what degree did ABC Online function according to a rhizomic image of thought; and to what degree did it remember, for its users, a more familiar arboreal image of thought? Here it is important to note that it was not strictly a matter of 'degree' at all, but rather of the dynamic relations between these forces in particular locations at specific times.

When Online services were implemented at the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in the period roughly between 1995 and 2000, aspects of the 'Public Service Broadcasting idea', such as those of unity, nationalism and representation, combined with elements of the 'internet idea', including ideals of globalism, free information and the free market. These ideas seemed to parallel the technologies of broadcasting (providing a service to a large audience via a one-to-many medium) and the internet (a globalised, interactive,

networked, many-to-many communication system) respectively. While broadcasting in general, and Public Service Broadcasting in particular, could thus be characterised as arboreal in its image of thought, the internet could be characterised as rhizomic.

While this theoretical model serves as a useful jumping off point in Chapter 2, the empirical evidence of actual practices such as the implementation of subsites of ABC Online complicates and prevents a mechanistic application of this model. Chapter 2 highlights, for example, that Public Service Broadcasting as it is practised around the world is not purely an arboreal assemblage, despite the universalising and essentialising nature of the Public Service Broadcasting idea. Chapter 3, in testing whether the internet in practice conformed to the rhizomic internet *idea*, describes the bottom-up rhizomic nature of the emergence of ABC Online (the website of the ABC), but also notes the ways in which ABC Online helped to unify the ABC, and to gather ABC content into one 'place'. The thesis explores the dynamic relations between these ways of thinking as they existed in the late 1990s. In doing so, it explores other relations at and with the ABC.

### Intra-institutional Relations and Inter-institutional Relations

ABC broadcasting could not be thought of in the same ways after the advent of ABC Online, and ABC Online was not and could never be thought of as only a mirror, repeat or re-presentation of what Public Service Broadcasting had been. Differences in the

technologies themselves, and in the ways of thinking these technologies, led to changes in practices and discourses of the ABC.

With the implementation of ABC Online, programs and media divisions – which had operated separately – were realigned in the interests of cross-media production (as detailed in Chapter 3). The ABC's ethical relations with the listener/viewer/user were affected both by the technological differences between broadcasting and the internet (as detailed in Chapter 7) and by the need for the ABC to gain access to newer delivery platforms (as detailed in Chapter 6). Uses and benefits of older broadcasting technologies were re-evaluated in the context of newer technologies such as the internet (illustrated by the example of Radio Australia Online in Chapter 5). Relations between ABC practices on the one hand, and policy and legislation on the other, had to be renegotiated (as detailed in Chapters 4 and 6). Relations with other institutions (in the context of co-production and trade in content) also underwent renewed scrutiny (detailed in Chapters 3, 5 and 6). And, possibly most critically to an organisation understood primarily to be national in opposition to both the international and the commercial, understandings of 'national', 'international' and 'global' communications environments were changed (detailed in Chapter 5). The ABC's commercial position was also redefined (detailed in Chapters Three and Six). These transformations took place in a broader context of crisis at the ABC.

## Defending the ABC

Ken Inglis regarded the crisis at the ABC in the early 1990s as the worst of many crises at the ABC since the 1970s (Inglis, 1997). These were financial crises based on political responses to a changed international economy (Barr, 2000: 64). Many public institutions were seen to be in crisis because the government of the time (and the preceding Labor government) favoured policies of industry deregulation and the privatisation of state institutions. The deregulation and/or partial privatisation of state-owned monopolies such as Qantas and Telstra led to a greater profusion of less familiar service providers, a situation which caused considerable disagreement and dissatisfaction, as illustrated by the success of the anti-economic rationalist 'One Nation' political party (Kingston, 1999). The ABC, as national Public Service Broadcaster in crisis, was a site for the playing out of broader trends towards and fears of globalisation of economic and communications flows, and the consequent fragmentation of individuals-as-citizens. In such a period of crisis, defences of the ABC returned again and again to simple and arguably increasingly inadequate dichotomies such as that which defined ABC publics as being made up of citizens rather than consumers.

These defenses of the ABC relied on what Deleuze and Guattari called an arboreal image of thought (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Such thinking relies on two rhetorical strategies. In one of these, the distinction of centre and periphery (trunk and branches, or core and margins) leads to disagreement about what constitutes the 'centre' (or trunk or core) of the object under discussion. In the other, the object is identified by its

differences from its 'other'. The first rhetorical strategy – that of the core/margins distinction – was evident at the ABC across a number of axes. For example, across the axis of program types, news and current affairs were often identified as the 'core', with other program types relegated to the margins (for instance, Section 27 of the *ABC Act*, relating to news services, is the only section of the Act which *requires* the ABC to produce a particular program type). Across the axis of communication technologies, 'broadcasting' defined as radio and television, was identified as the 'core' delivery mechanism, positioning other technologies such as the internet in the margins (as occurred in the Mansfield Review, discussed in Chapter 4).

The second rhetorical strategy – that of defining the ABC by what it was not – was most often used to identify the ABC against its 'others' of the international or the commercial (Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the national/international distinction, while Chapter 6 discusses the non-commercial/commercial distinction).

Because of a long series of budget reductions imposed by consecutive Labor and Liberal Coalition governments, the ABC, and those who supported it, responded defensively. This defensive position led to staunch and repeated reiterations of the Public Service Broadcasting values or principles of the ABC, formulated across familiar axes such as those of non-commercial/commercial and the citizen/consumer. When Quentin Dempster made a submission to the Senate Inquiry into ABC Online, he clearly illustrated this dichotomy. In his submission, Dempster quoted Pierre Juneau as follows:

'should we not be concerned that such extraordinary instruments of communication might be completely dominated by industries catering to audiences not as citizens but as mere consumers to be delivered to the business of advertising?' (Dempster, 2000: 1)

In the later 1990s the axes of these dichotomies were losing their power 'to rouse and rally and mobilise' according to Gay Hawkins, and had instead, 'shifted towards an empty futility, a passivity that is deathlike in its inevitability' (Hawkins, 2000: 1). This was especially so given that practices at the ABC made the nonsensical nature of some of the dichotomies increasingly obvious. The ABC had been engaged in commercial arrangements for some time via outsourcing, co-productions and its shops. It sold programs to and bought programs from commercial networks, and published magazines which contained advertising. The ABC had for a very long time also functioned as an international communicator, via Radio Australia. I argue that the rhetorical strategies of non-commercial/commercial and national/international were becoming less and less useful for defences of the ABC, and even perhaps Public Service Broadcasting more generally, because Public Service Broadcasting practices (in Australia such as the success of the ABC Shops, or the acceptance of sponsorship at the other Public Service Broadcaster, the Special Broadcasting Service or SBS) had largely overtaken them. Perhaps it was time for the ABC to be imagined otherwise.

The advent of ABC Online, with its global reach, revenue-raising potential and challenges to the ways that information should be valued, further necessitated different

defences and imaginings of the ABC. The declining functionality of the arboreal image of the ABC was made more apparent with the emergence of ABC Online.

### The ABC as Tree

There are many examples of the arboreal way of understanding the ABC and some are discussed in later chapters. Here I will give two historical examples only. As early as 1964, in a book by Tasman Fehlberg, the ABC was represented as a tree (see Figure 1). In this illustration, the roots were planning, planning, planning, and the branches were various ABC activities, including the children's hour, studio recitals, serious and light music, sporting, talks, short-wave, women's sessions and concerts. The implication of this illustration was that one could cut off the branches without causing damage, but that destroying the roots (of planning) would destroy the whole organisation. In 1988 Gareth Evans, then Minister for Communications, utilised the same image of thought, though to different ends: to identify and delineate charter and non-charter activities of the ABC; and to recommend funding or not funding accordingly (Department of Transport and Communications, 1988).

While this way of thinking had had obvious applications in managerial terms, such as being a means by which one could determine the allocation of funds, it tended also to elide the radical diversity of programming, technologies and functions of the ABC. It also did not reflect the dynamism of the communications environment. Sometimes by

the time core-setting documents were released, the 'centre' had shifted because of developments in technology, politics or economics.

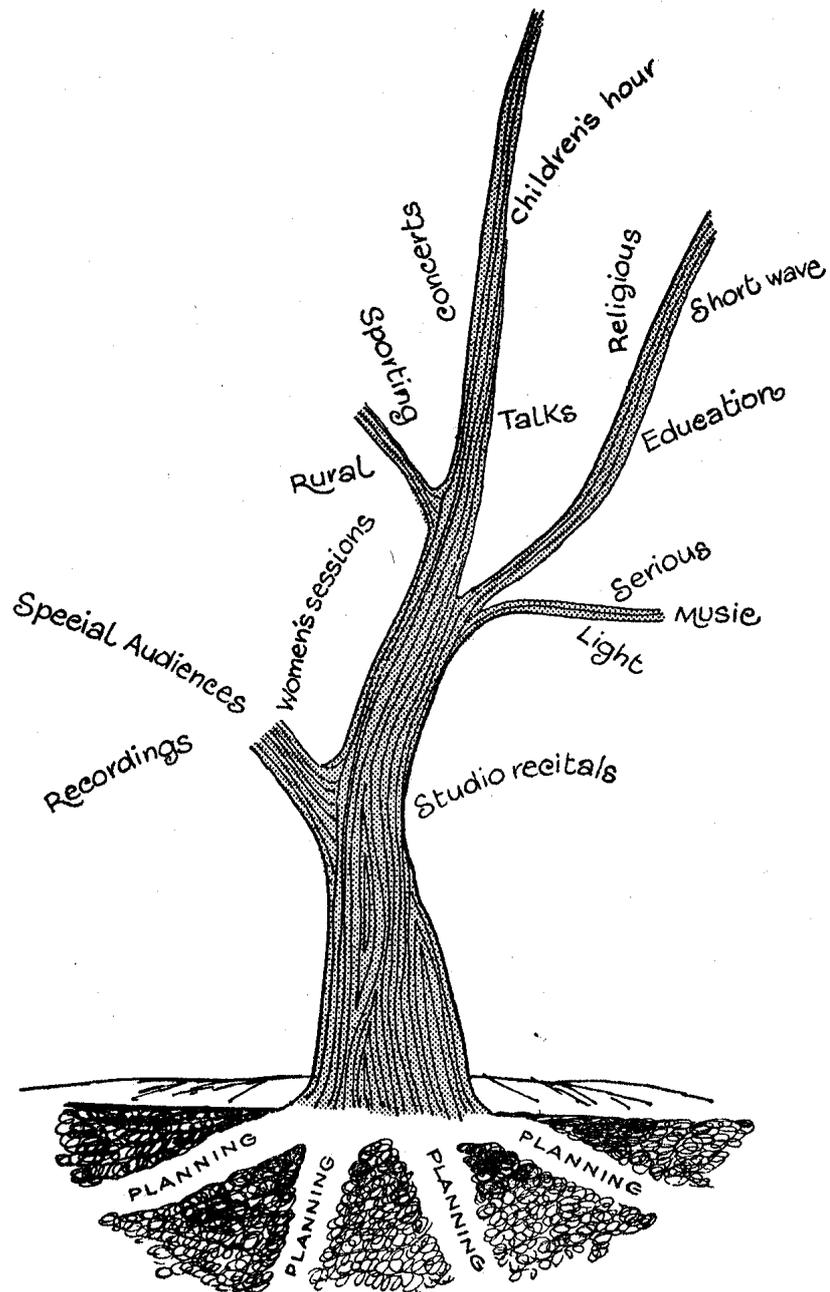


Figure 1: The Arboreal ABC

(Fehlberg, 1964: 55)

An example of this is detailed in Chapter 5, where attempts to limit the scope of ABC activities in the 1997 Mansfield Review to domestic services failed to acknowledge the increasing significance of global communications for national Public Service Broadcasters.

In his article 'Identifying the "Core" Public Service', Richard Mulgan (1998) assesses the impact of such thinking on other public service organisations, pointing out that the strategy relies on assigning non-core or peripheral status to some activities. Richard Mulgan stresses that: 'As is generally recognised, all attempts at *a priori* categorisation of core and non-core functions are either open to justifiable exceptions or else turn into empty tautologies' (1998: 4). Chapter 6 discusses the core/non-core distinction in relation to news services in an online environment. News and current affairs, which had occupied the centre and become the 'core' program type for the ABC, was consequently the most commercially viable program type in the Online environment. In this instance, the strategy of core/non-core distinctions arguably worked *against* its purpose of protecting news from commercial influence.

The strategy of defending the ABC via arboreal thinking also undervalued the very fragmentation and diversity, which was the ABC's greatest strength. At the height of the 1990s crisis when funds to the ABC were being drastically reduced, Democrat Senator Natasha Stott Despoja wrote:

It is diversity that is the ABC's strength in service. The same diversity makes it weak in repelling attack. A disparate collection of supporters have to rally together. Lovers of classical music and heavy metal fans; residents of remote rural communities and inner city dwellers; old and young; left and right; up and down. (Stott Despoja, 1996: 20)

The tendency to defend or understand the ABC via arboreal thinking, seeking to construct a unified ABC by struggling over a centre and identifying the ABC by its 'others', obscured different possibilities and potentials at the ABC. It also prevented adequate discussions of the differing ways in which the ABC governed.

Analyses of such governing functions as governing listeners/viewers/users via pedagogical practices (as detailed in Chapter 7), governing technical competence (as detailed in examples in Chapters 3 and 7), governing through discourses of policy and legislation (as detailed in Chapter 4), or governing according to a particular evaluation of information (as detailed in Chapter 6) were easily neglected when the aim of the discussion was to identify a core program type, or to define the ABC against its other (of commercialism, for instance). Governing citizens is undoubtedly one *goal* of the ABC, but it is not the only one. Practices of governing at the ABC apply different strategies to different ends, as has been noted by Hawkins (2001: 179). Elizabeth Jacka has made a similar point about Public Service Broadcasting more generally: 'like culture, Public Service Broadcasting is not one single thing, but a flexible set of discourses and practices – or as the Foucauldians would describe it, a "cultural

technology" – which has been modified over time and has served different functions at different times' (Jacka, 1997a: 7). Seeking to find the 'core' of the ABC, or to define it against its 'others', often obscures the flexibility and multiplicity of ABC practices.

Instead of applying the core/margin and ABC/other approach to this diversity of governing rationales, this thesis offers some analyses which privilege those aspects of ABC practices that fall between the 'poles' set up by such rhetorical strategies. I explore in more detail the emergence of some problematisations which arose because of the emergence of ABC Online. In other words, I apply governmental analyses to specific events. Some problematisations arose in subsites which operated across the ABC/other distinction – for example in its international (Chapter 5), commercial (Chapter 3) and interactive (Chapter 7) activities. Sometimes problematisations arose via public discussion of ABC practices (as was the case for the Telstra proposal, detailed in Chapter 6).

### The ABC as Rhizome

By surviving and prospering at a time of dire warnings of the death of Public Service Broadcasting (Tracey, 1997) and of broadcasting more generally (as challenged by Given, 1998) under the impact of new technology, ABC Online offered evidence that diversity may not always make the ABC weak in repelling attack. To the contrary, ABC Online's resilience depended upon its decentred, plural nature. ABC Online arose outside the letter of Charter obligations (see Chapter 4), and this prohibited it from

claiming the centre or being defended as a 'core' service. Its resilience relied upon its connections with a multitude of broadcast programs across the ABC. Had ABC Online been constituted as a separate unified Division of the ABC at the outset, it would probably not have been as successful (as discussed in Chapter 3) and it may have proven vulnerable to suggestions of privatisation such as that of ABC Board member Michael Kroger in 1999 (see Chapter 6). Its success against considerable odds calls the very core/margins distinction into question. Between 1995 and 2000, ABC Online could be said to have occupied a technological and discursive space between forgetting and repeating the Public Service Broadcasting idea.

The implementation of ABC Online was a transformative period for the ABC. I contend that it is a period requiring a political ontology such as that provided by Deleuze; according to Paul Patton, this 'provides tools to describe transformative, creative or deterritorialising forces and movements' (Patton, 2000: 9). As discussed further in Chapter 1, for Deleuze and Guattari (1987) it is the relations *between* forces in transformative processes, rather than each force in itself, which are of interest. Such an understanding allows for a nuanced analysis, which acknowledges the complexity of relations at the ABC in the period discussed here. Instead of starting from a perspective which tries to define the core and the other, my approach is interested in the dynamics of ongoing transformation, and in the multitude of governing regimes in which the ABC is implicated.

A poststructuralist theoretical model based on the political philosophies of Foucault and of Deleuze and Guattari is used, therefore, because of its appropriateness to the technological, economic and political environment of the 'object' in question – the emergence of ABC Online. For these reasons, I have chosen the poststructuralist model over the often-used Habermasian model of the public sphere.

### Against 'the' Public Sphere

Initially the public sphere in Habermasian terms was 'not controlled by ... public institutions except through the choice of the consumer to buy or not to buy. It was public by virtue of the ideology of the providers and the rules of discourse' (G. Mulgan, 1991: 250). With the rise of the mass media, Jurgen Habermas argues, the public sphere of discourse was undermined by concentrated ownership, and institutions such as public libraries were then created to make a space insulated from the logic of the marketplace. For Habermas, the public sphere was initially inside the market, and then came to stand in opposition to it (Habermas, 1989:149-174).

The Habermasian model has been criticised on several other grounds. Geoffrey Mulgan criticises it because it ignores the public spheres of classes other than the bourgeoisie (G. Mulgan, 1991: 251). Poster criticises it because it relies on the primacy of talk and the ideal speech situation (Poster, 1990: 78). Jean Lyotard criticises it because of its reliance on consensus through discourse and the narrative of emancipation (Lyotard, 1984: 60, 65). But for John Frow, the Habermasian bourgeois public sphere has an

advantage over other models in that it 'is coextensive with civil society ... and embraces the *public* virtues of commerce' (Frow, 1997: 213). While I agree that the realms of commerce, civil society and the state are coextensive within and across many possible 'publics', I contest the usefulness for the current analysis of the Habermasian concepts of foundationalism, unity and universalism in favour of a more poststructuralist formulation that prioritises difference. Even Nancy Fraser, who quotes Habermas as 'an indispensable resource', uses his work as a jumping off point for a much more pluralist and differentiated analysis. For Fraser, 'arrangements that accommodate contestation among a plurality of competing publics better promote the ideal of participatory parity than does a single, comprehensive, overarching public sphere' (Fraser, 1993: 14). While for Habermas the ultimate goal is unity and consensus (or the stasis of the closed system), in poststructuralist political philosophy publics (particularly in the realm of communications media) are understood as radically and fundamentally plural, contingent and mobile. Further, as Nikolas Rose has argued: 'The thesis, inspired by Jürgen Habermas, that "the state" has increasingly colonised "the lifeworld" is misleading, not least because the very nature and meaning of state and lifeworld were transformed in this process'. (Rose, 1999: 18) Poster has further extended his earlier analysis of Habermas in regard to the internet:

For Habermas, the public sphere is a homogenous space of embodied subjects in symmetrical relations, pursuing consensus through the critique of arguments and the presentation of validity claims. This model, I contend, is systematically denied in the arenas of electronic politics. We are advised then to

abandon Habermas' concept of the public sphere in assessing the internet as a political domain. (Poster, 2001: 181)

For Habermas, mass media are not constitutive of the public sphere and, as has been pointed out by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, the Habermasian theory of communicative action relies on a standpoint outside the effects of globalisation, 'a standpoint of life and truth that could oppose the informational colonisation of being' (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 34).

The Deleuzian concepts of the rhizomic, molar and molecular forces, and multiplicity, as well as Deleuze's interpretation of Foucauldian notions of governmentality and technologies of the self are, unlike the Habermasian model of the public sphere, apposite to an understanding of the decentred, many-to-many, structure of the internet, as it intersects with arboreal understandings of Public Service Broadcasting in an era of globalised communications networks.

The mobilisation of poststructuralist political philosophy as a theoretical framework allows this account to decentre the ABC rather than constructing a centre over which the various networks /genres /programs/policies can struggle. It also allows the account to focus more on the ways that the ABC was continuous with elements often considered to be its 'others', such as the commercial and the international. Such an approach also allows an exploration of some of the different ways that the ABC governs.

The emergence of ABC Online is here understood as many events which began from the bottom up, rather than as a single top-down event. The empirical material therefore includes the stories of those who implemented World Wide Web services 'from the bottom', rather than constructing a linear, hierarchical history based only on the official public rhetorics 'from the top'.

### Humans *Using* Technology

The thesis acknowledges actual human agents as well as technological effects. This method is indebted to both Bruno Latour and to MacGregor Wise. Wise (1997), following Latour (1987), argues that most treatments of technology and social space make the mistake of separating humans from technology, and he uses a Deleuzian episteme to better understand the relations between technology and social space, using various examples such as films, television, museums and debates over United States government communication policies.

This thesis understands 'ABC Online' to be an assemblage of technological and human elements (as these exist as part of the social, including legal, economic and political discourses). The thesis thus recognises the creativity of ABC staff and their interactions with, and uses of, technology. It details some aspects of the implementation of ABC Online in the relations between its human *and* technological components. Technology, though critical in this analysis, is not determining. In this it follows both Deleuze (1992) and Manuel Castells (1996), who have argued that specific technologies are useful

indicators of types of society. In a more specific analysis of the effects of technologies, Jerry Everard has said that the internet, in particular, 'provides us with a powerful externalising metaphor for our own immersion in and constitution by the flows of social intercourse through our language or semiotic system' (Everard, 2000: 46). The ways that ABC Online, as an important part of systems for creating meaning, was implemented and used can perhaps provide such a useful metaphor. In other words, the implementation of ABC Online might contribute to discussions about how governmental institutions facilitate self-actualisation.

The local, specific empirical research into some of the uses made of World Wide Web technologies at ABC Online are perhaps indicative of broader social phenomena, but technologies can only be argued to be indicative of types of society when examined in their connections with situated human agents and in their institutional and legislative relations. The thesis recognises the interplay between the human and the technological in the implementation of ABC Online. In addition, it details some of the constraints and benefits that legislative and ABC policy directives and documents provided for the human implementation of this technology at the ABC.

The empirical material for these histories primarily consists of interviews with staff who worked at ABC Online during the period 1995-2000. Policy documents, press reports and internal organisational documents offer evidence of discursive fields which affected the implementation of ABC Online. The analysis of these documents – documents that

were mostly drafted for broadcasting technologies and practices – helps to establish both how ABC Online might be 'continuous' with ABC broadcasting rhetorical strategies, and how it disrupted them.

The period here under discussion is roughly 1995-2000, 1995 being the year that ABC Online was officially launched and 2000 the year in which the proposed deal with Telstra was terminated, as discussed in Chapter 6. The deal with Telstra represented an end point of the period where ABC Online functioned relatively free of public scrutiny, and thus across the distinctions into which discussions of the ABC had become ossified. It is from a study of the events of this period, I argue, that we might extract lessons for another way of thinking about the ABC, and perhaps Public Service Broadcasting more generally.

In the early 1990s, some program-makers within the ABC hoped to use the internet to address some of the ABC's longest standing inadequacies – services to youth and rural users, centralised operations, and listener/viewer feedback, for instance. They dreamed that perhaps the user could have greater input than the listener/viewer, and perhaps there were even possibilities for democracy, for pluralism and for greater diversity. At the very least, ABC Online might be a relatively cheap and simple way for the ABC to play at being a grown-up digital interactive narrowcaster, while upholding some of the principles and ethics of Public Service Broadcasting.

One of the outcomes of this set of circumstances was the initial implementation of ABC Online as a repetition of some ABC broadcasting categories, values and practices; however, this remembering altered the very 'object' of its memory. The 'collection' of ABC radio, television and World Wide Web material in the one 'space' of ABC Online rendered the pluralism and diversity of that content more obvious, while ABC Online – part of the decentralised, networked web – came to unify the ABC and its 'content'. The period 1995-2000 was one during which the ABC was becoming Online, and Online was becoming the ABC.

## Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 highlights the aspects of the political philosophies of Foucault, and of Deleuze and Guattari, which will be used in the exploration of the emergence of ABC Online. It is tempting to simply characterise the moment when the World Wide Web was implemented as a break with what went before at the ABC. Chapter 1 traces the ways in which elements of the disciplinary, the governmental *and* the control society analyses are applicable to the emergence of ABC Online, and to the broader ABC. It argues, following Deleuze's argument about institutions of civil society in 'Postscript on the Societies of Control' (1992), that the discourse of crisis surrounding the ABC was due to its position *in between these different diagrams*.

Chapter 2 explores the intersections between discourses that circulated around Public Service Broadcasting, and those which circulated around the internet in the late 1990s.

In Chapter 2, 'the Public Service Broadcasting idea' is understood primarily as arboreal and 'the internet idea' is understood primarily as rhizomic. The chapter offers a brief genealogy of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, identifying some of the underlying characteristics of the Reithian Public Service Broadcasting ideal. It also, to a lesser extent, offers a genealogy of the internet idea. It briefly contrasts these *ideas* with details of some actual Public Service Broadcasters and some online developments. It discusses the intersection between the internet idea and the Public Service Broadcasting idea at the ABC when ABC Online was implemented, arguing that it was the combination of these ideas that led to the success of ABC Online. The chapter also argues that elements of the rhizomic were apparent in Public Service Broadcasting *practices*, and that elements of the arboreal were evident in internet *practices*.

Chapter 3 explores the ways that various program-makers within the ABC simultaneously implemented Online; its connections to commercial entities; and how ABC Online functioned in reorganising the institution. The chapter is based on interviews which were conducted specifically for the thesis. The chapter discusses some of the differing ways in which different parts of the ABC were implicated in governing. It also discusses the ways in which ABC Online formed a network of connections across divisions within the organisation, as well as across the public service/commercial divide. The chapter foregrounds the rhizomic nature of the emergence of ABC Online, and recognises that ABC Online was critical to the unifying restructure of the ABC

called 'One ABC' which allowed for cross-media production by breaking down divisions between the media of radio and television.

Using legislative and policy documents, Chapter 4 argues that both public silences and internal organisational statements were productive of ABC Online. In doing so, the chapter takes up an aspect of Foucault's analysis of discourse to examine the Australian manifestation of the Public Service Broadcasting idea as it is documented in the ABC Charter, and as it was applied in the Mansfield Review of 1997. Within governmental institutions, regimes of practices and their governing rationales often differ from those identified in their public rhetorics, as has been demonstrated by Bennett (1995) and discussed by Jacka (2000). Or, as Mitchell Dean has put it:

The critical purchase of an analytics of government often stems from the disjunction between the explicit, calculated and programmatic rationality and the non-subjective intentionality that can be constructed through analysis. (Dean, 1999: 22)

In this chapter, contrasts are drawn between the ways that public documents and internal ABC documents discussed issues such as the potential of ABC Online to reach a global audience and to raise revenue. The chapter also pinpoints some of the ways that the centralist strategy of arboreal thinking limited the potential of ABC Online. The chapter argues that the absence of ABC Online from public policy discourses in its first five years allowed it to thrive, but also made it vulnerable. ABC Online was absent from

press and public policy discourses because it could not be accurately described as either 'core' or margin' on any of the standard dichotomies.

Chapter 5 elaborates ways that the implementation of Radio Australia Online moved the boundaries between national/international /global as these were understood within the ABC, and ways that the dichotomy between old media and new media was undone by the implementation of Radio Australia Online. The chapter is based mainly on interviews with Radio Australia staff. This chapter further demonstrates the inadequacy of centralist thinking at the ABC. Just when international services were being marginalised in policy documents, Radio Australia Online tapped into the trend from (inter)national communications to globalisation in unexpected ways. Having lost much of its short-wave audience, Radio Australia was able to target the elites of affected nations through Radio Australia Online, and was also able to reach a potential lobby group of domestic listeners. The emergence of Radio Australia Online and the consequence that Radio Australia was thenceforth available to a domestic audience saved what had been primarily a short-wave radio service, blurring the boundary between the international and national goals of the ABC.

Chapter 6 details the ways in which the ABC's ethical goals of independence and integrity were called into question by a planned deal with Telstra, Australia's largest telecommunications organisation. The empirical material on which this chapter is based ranges from press articles to ABC staff interviews to Senate Committee hearing

transcripts and Senate Inquiry findings. The proposed deal threatened the integrity of the ABC as governing institution, thus highlighting possible dangers to the ethical relations between the ABC and its publics. Telstra's uncertain political status, and the status of the proposed deal as strategic alliance, led to fears of 'contamination' of the Public Service Broadcasting idea. The chapter argues that such a threat to ABC integrity also threatened the relationship of the ABC with its listeners, viewers and users – a relationship which had been based on a goal of ethical integrity. The chapter details the history and philosophy of online content licensing at the ABC, suggesting that the preferred tactic of information dispersal over exclusivity led to fears about the continuing integrity of the ABC.

Chapter 7 uses some interactive sites to examine the relations between public memory, pedagogical strategies and interactivity that were set in train by the implementation of ABC Online, noting the apparent paradox that this most interactive and 'live' of media was also one with the greatest potential to offer both an archive and a dynamic environment of public memory to the nation. Although ABC Online illustrated the plurality and diversity of ABC programming, practices and governing rationales, it was also used to solidify, to unify, to 'make sense' of a new communications environment – that of the World Wide Web. ABC Online may have been so popular because, via its use, memories of the ABC as Public Service Broadcaster could be mobilised to ward off the dangers of commercialism, uncertainty, unreliable information or too much information.

ABC Online made the diversity and fragmentation of the broader ABC more visible. Conversely, ABC Online had to be articulated to ideas of the unified nation in order to maintain a reputation for integrity, independence and quality that would serve its users in a new environment. Any security that the ABC could offer on the World Wide Web depended on a nostalgic attachment to ideas of 'the nation', of 'Public Service Broadcasting' and of the ABC.

## ***Chapter 1: Nation, Discipline, Governmentality, Control***

This chapter presents the three main aspects of the theoretical framework of the thesis. Firstly, it considers whether the ABC goal of unifying the nation, and the arboreal thinking which underpins such a goal, remain appropriate in a global networked environment. To that end it briefly interrogates a number of arboreal images of the nation, concluding that such arboreal images, though prevalent in discourses surrounding the ABC as national Public Service Broadcaster, are not adequate to an analysis of the various governing rationales of particular ABC practices. Secondly, in an attempt to find alternative ways of thinking about the ABC, the chapter considers the applicability of the diagrams of disciplinarity, governmentality and control to the analysis of the emergence of ABC Online and a consideration of the ABC more generally. I propose that in the late 1990s the ABC was positioned in between these diagrams and that this position contributed to a discourse of crisis surrounding the ABC. An analysis of the implementation of ABC Online, which succeeded despite the discourse of crisis, thus necessitates an understanding of the relative applicability of each diagram to particular ABC Online practices. Thirdly, the chapter introduces the

Deleuzian /Guattarian concepts of molar and molecular flows and rhizomic and arboreal assemblages as useful theoretical tools for understanding the implementation of ABC Online in the context of crisis at the ABC in the late 1990s.

### Arboreal Images of Nation

Images of thought which construct the nation as unified require re-analysis. Many theories of the nation imagine it as being composed of a centre and an other, and as inherently unified. Such imaginings are pertinent here to the ways in which the ABC as national broadcaster is imagined, and a select few such arboreal imaginings of the nation are detailed here.

Of the case of Quebecois nationalists, for instance, Richard Handler writes that the nation is often imagined as a living organism, and that: 'These images of the nation as a living individual – a tree, a friend, a creature with a soul – convey first of all a sense of wholeness and boundedness'. (Handler, 1988: 40) For Ernest Gellner (1983), as well as being recognised by its unifying characteristics, the nation is identified by its differences from its others. For Gellner, the membership of the nation is defined by two factors: the voluntaristic, which recognises shared mutual rights and duties of those *within* the nation, and the cultural, which defines members of a nation *against* their 'others'.

Gellner says of the effect of the latter on individuals: 'It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members.' (1983: 7) For Gellner, then, the nation is defined with a centre of shared mutual rights and duties, and is separated from its others by differences in culture, 'where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating' (Gellner, 1983: 7). For Anthony D. Smith, nations – while relatively recent constructions – are based in much older cultural groups called 'ethnie' – groups which are composed through such common cultural attributes as memory, value, myth and symbolism (Smith, 1986: 30). For Smith, nations are linked 'by the chains of memory, myth and symbol to that widespread and enduring type of community, the *ethnie*, and this is what gives them their unique character and their profound hold over the feelings and imaginations of so many people' (Smith, 1995: 159).

For Hardt and Negri, the modern image of the of nation ' was stabilised by the national identity: a cultural, integrating identity, founded on a biological continuity of blood relations, a spatial continuity of territory, and linguistic commonality' (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 95). Bryan Turner also applies this understanding of a stabilising national identity to the modern state: 'Because the modern state has been typically a national state, citizenship is derived ultimately from membership by birth within an ethnic community, where the entitlement to citizenship is typically inherited from parents.' (Turner, 2001: 11) These images of the nation where the nation is understood as being composed of

commonality and sameness are also applied to the nation-state and to the state more generally. Dean, for example, has argued that:

Despite the complexity of the relations between the institutions that constitute the state, and our growing understanding of how agencies and domains of rule are integrated within the nation-state, *our images of the state generally assume that the state can be addressed as relatively unified actor*, both in the diplomatic and military pursuit of 'geopolitical' interests and in its internal systems of authority. Indeed, social scientific theories of the state assume this unity when they typically seek to discover the source of the state's power, who holds it, and the basis of its legitimacy. Democratic, liberal, pluralist, elitist, Marxist and Feminist theories of the state pose these same questions, however differently they might answer them. (Dean, 1999: 24, my emphasis)

In the above understandings of nation, the idea of commonality, unity or sameness, whether formed through birth and blood relations, or through a shared history and imagination, is crucial to the way of understanding nation. William E. Connolly has traced the etymology of the term 'nation', noting that definitions of *natio* – 'a birth, origin' and 'a breed, a stock, kind, species, race, tribe' – evolved over time to include the idea of a people formed through common history (Connolly, 1999: 73). Connolly argues that this etymology is useful because:

the image of the nation remains closely bound up with the image of race. Sometimes race provides the nation with a putative basis for unity; sometimes it provides the paradigm *form* of unity a

nation is to approximate by other means, say in its language, religion or memories. For a populace united by race was thought to be single rather than multiple, centred and given in its unity rather than pluralised and improvised, bound together fundamentally rather than superficially, and readily recognisable to others through visible signs. (Connolly, 1999: 74, my emphasis)

For Connolly, then, 'the image of the nation', is singular, centred, unified and immediately recognisable through visible signs. Many writers (including Connolly) refer to the significance of shared memories or history as a component of the idea of the unified nation. Renan argues that nations rely on a selective national memory to be. 'For Renan,' says Smith, 'forgetting was as important to the nation as remembering. Selective memory, and a quantity of amnesia, is essential to the survival of nations.' (Smith, 1995: 132) Such forgetfulness, a consequence of imagining the nation or the nation-state as unified, can elide details of difference and even violence in both the past and present. In order to understand the nation as unified, one must forget the multiplicity from which it was formed in the past and of which it is formed in the present. This has particularly profound consequences for a nation like Australia whose unity was and is formed from multiplicity – of race, ethnicity and colonies. Foucault suggests that, rather than understanding the state as unified, we should recognise that the state is but a 'composite reality' and a 'mythicised abstraction' (Foucault, 1994a: 220). Foucault's understanding of the state (or, in this case, the nation) suggests that the way we think the nation is contingent, and therefore that it may be thought otherwise. Instead of being imagined as unified, the nation might be imagined as profoundly and fundamentally plural,

remembering rather than forgetting the difference and violence inherent in the past and present nation. In this understanding, difference and multiplicity are primary, with images of unity being formed afterwards.

The imagining of the nation as unified and the forgetfulness of multiplicity is fundamental to the Public Service Broadcasting idea which, as will be described in Chapter 2, circulates in and around actual Public Service Broadcasters, and privileges goals of unity, wholeness and provision of service via one-way technologies. There are many examples of the imagining of Public Service Broadcasting and the ABC as unified. These are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2, and include the Reithian goal of unifying the nation and maintaining a unified BBC; and the early goals of the ABC to unify the nation and its people, in part by covering territory with stations and signals (Reith, 1924: 218-219, Inglis, 1983: 15). The role of the ABC as a governing institution of the nation changes over time according to political economic and social circumstances, and in the late 1990s the role of the nation-state was undergoing transformations which challenged the goal of unifying the nation. These transformations were in part due to the increasing prevalence of networked global communications systems such as the internet.

In writing about the internet and the nation-state in *Virtual States*, Everard divides the nation into two economies – the goods and services economy and the identity economy – and argues that while the nation-state's role in the goods and services economy may be

diminishing, its role in the identity economy is stronger than ever (Everard, 2000).

Everard argues that: 'States are not merely an economic construct, so no matter how porous the state becomes to economic flows, other functions will not disappear.'

(Everard, 2000: 95) According to Everard, then, the role of the nation-state in the production and exchange of identities remains. The role of the nation (or nation-state) in the formation of identity (especially national identity) is nevertheless undoubtedly affected by the porosity of the nation-state to both economic *and* communication flows.

An internet user may identify more strongly with her/his global or international communities of shared interest (gender, sexuality, musical taste) than with her/his co-citizens, for example, and may thus construct an identity which is not so reliant on the primacy of national identity. On parts of the internet where one interacts with other individuals and groups, one's national status can be of less consequence than elsewhere, and selves can be composed and recomposed within some internet networks according to circumstance (Turkle, 1995). These internet networks and selves are characteristic, for Castells and Hardt and Negri, of a shift from identity as primarily based in nationality, to other possible modes of the creation of selves. For Castells (1996), Hardt and Negri (2000), and Connolly (1999), among others, networks and selves have thus become more significant elements of analysis than centres (like monarchs or unified nations) and subjects (or citizens).

In this more Deleuzian formulation, networks and selves are understood as being more contingent, mobile and shallow in their territorial connections (as users on the net), while nations and subjects are understood as being more fixed and stable, with deeper territorial connections (as bodies in a territory). Users on the net more closely resemble individuals in a control society, while bodies in a territory are more disciplinary. An analysis of the emergence of World Wide Web services at the national Public Service Broadcaster offers a site at which to explore some intersections between these two understandings. The Public Service Broadcasting idea, as discussed in Chapter 2, relies more on citizens and centres, while the internet idea relies more on networks and selves.

Castells argues that what he calls the Network Society of the late twentieth (and presumably early twenty-first) century is 'based on the systemic disjunction between the local and the global for most individuals and groups'. Under the conditions of the Network Society, argues Castells, 'civil societies shrink and disarticulate because there is no longer continuity between the logic of power-making in the global network and the logic of association in specific societies and cultures' (Castells: 1997: 10). For Castells, then, the nation becomes less significant as a part of people's identities, in part because communications are more both more global and more fragmented, or local. Raboy takes up this point in relation to Public Service Broadcasting when he argues that 'it is time to start thinking about transnational and global approaches to public media' (Raboy, 2003: 41).

## The ABC and the Arboreal Nation

The primary goal of Public Service Broadcasting has often been understood as one of unifying the nation, by producing well-rounded, well-informed citizens. Rose, for example, has argued that the BBC is part of a system of pedagogic technologies meant to 'bind the inhabitants of a territory into a single polity, a space of regulated freedom' (Rose, 1996: 164). Such spaces of regulated freedom aimed to unify nations through temporal and territorial components, as has been argued by James Donald, who has written that 'the most remarkable thing about the introduction of broadcasting in Britain was the speed and thoroughness with which it realigned the cultural configurations of space and time' (Donald, 1992: 82). He continues: 'John Reith was committed to a vision of the people-nation as one: the 1933 *BBC Yearbook* defined its audience as the "national community". ' (Donald, 1992: 82)

In Australia, according to Glyn Davis (1988), the earliest influence of Reithian Public Service Broadcasting on the ABC was not one of morally uplifting citizens, as has often been argued, but was rather the goal of unifying the nation. Davis wrote of discussions surrounding the implementation of the ABC in 1932 that 'politicians were attracted by an organisation which could communicate and unify, but showed little interest in a Reithian creed stressing uplifting cultural programs. The Australian Parliament wanted a viable national service, not moral improvement.' (Davis, 1988: 18-19) Although this unifying goal is utopian – has never been and never can be realised – it remains a driving force in the operations of and talk about Public Service Broadcasters, including

the ABC. There is probably no one 'national audience', just as there is no singular 'public interest'. Nevertheless, this ideal of the unified nation and the unified audience leads to defences of the broadcaster as unified (as illustrated in the Stott Despoja quote in the Introduction). The national broadcaster is identified, like the nation, in two ways: as opposed to its 'others' (international broadcasters/commercial broadcasters); and by a struggle to occupy the centre, core or essence of the 'Australian Broadcasting Corporation'. Such images of the ABC must forget the multiplicity from which both it and the nation were formed.

The core of the ABC is struggled over by various constituents across various axes (news as the 'core' function, or domestic broadcasting as the 'core' function) and 'others' are imagined for Public Service Broadcasters and their audiences, thus establishing sets of dichotomies. At one level the ABC is called upon to inhabit a pole on these dichotomies in opposition to external 'others' – for example, non-commercial/commercial; public/private; national/local; national/international, or serving citizens/consumers. Thus the ABC would be perceived to be non-commercial, public and national (national in the sense of being opposed to, depending on the case, the local or foreign). Arguments about the appropriateness of advertising, the dangers of co-production for editorial independence and the significance of an 'Australian' point of view are then argued in terms of these dichotomies. The following chapters offer analyses of instances of such arguments, concentrating on whatever falls in between the poles of the dichotomies.

## The Nation and Identity

Because of this construction of the ABC against its others, as unified and with a contestable centre, talk about the ABC often forgets the multiplicity through which both it and the nation were formed. This thesis asks: if the ABC, and the broadcasting nation is imagined and/or defended as single, centred, unified, and continuous, productive of commonality in citizens, and forgetful of multiplicity (as has been suggested of the nation more generally by Connolly 1999: 73-96), what happens when a national Public Service Broadcaster introduces a medium with a 'global' reach which fragments 'audiences'? Surely the governmental rationale of producing a national identity undergoes a profound change?

Castells argues that the central conflict of the late twentieth/early twenty-first centuries (at least in the first world) is one between networks and collective identities, or the net and the self (Castells, 1996: 3). 'In a world of global flows of wealth, power, and images,' writes Castells, 'the search for identity, collective or individual, ascribed or constructed, becomes the fundamental source of social meaning.' (Castells, 1996: 3) Castells notes that in the global era, individuals – confused and puzzled by the pace and extent of change – cling to familiar collective identities for the sake of personal security. If Castells is correct, then the pace and extent of change might lead individuals to cling to the familiarity of national collective identity. The formation of national identity remains as a goal of the ABC, and as a result the ABC is often defined – against its other of commercial broadcasting – as being productive of citizens rather than

consumers. It is a definition, which drives discourses about the relationship of the organisation to its listeners/viewers/users, as has been noted by Jacka:

I have this vision of me sitting in front of *Seinfeld* being interpellated as a consumer (but what if *Seinfeld* was shown on the ABC?) and then switching over to *Foreign Correspondent* and being addressed as a citizen (but what happens when I watch *Sunday*?). It really is nonsense. Most of the time we have a much more complex story to tell than this one, yet at times of strain and public defense of the Public Service Broadcasters these old dichotomies get invoked. They also continue to stalk the pages of both policy-oriented and scholarly work on broadcasting. (Jacka, 2000b: 3)

Despite its nonsensical elements, and despite its invisibility in broadcast (particularly television) output, traces of this *goal* of addressing (or even producing) the well-informed citizen (defined as the other of the consumer) remain motivational within the ABC, and in talk around it, as is demonstrated in later chapters.

Goals and rhetorics such as this were challenged within the ABC during the period of the emergence of ABC Online, necessitating new ways of discussing the ABC. In order to avoid the 'old dichotomies' which Jacka says 'continue to stalk the pages of both policy-oriented and scholarly work on broadcasting' (Jacka, 2000b:3), it is useful to consider ABC Online in the light of political philosophies which challenge such centralist and dichotomous thinking. The following sections of this chapter explore the

Foucauldian/Deleuzian disciplinary, governmental and control society models as possible alternative theoretical tools for such an examination.

### The ABC as Disciplinary /Broadcasting as Disciplinary

Each ABC *Annual Report* begins with a map of Australia on which television and radio stations are marked like occupied territories (see Figure 2). The nation is to be contained and unified via broadcast technologies 'covering' territory with broadcast signals. The temporality of broadcasting itself – via program schedules – offers an ordering of time across territory. Broadcasting had the potential to unify its audience temporally and territorially, and this was understood by those who saw in Public Service Broadcasting a means by which to unify the nation. The unifying (or nation-building) goal of the ABC has remained powerful in the discourses of Public Service Broadcasting from its inception until the present. This is despite the many changes in the ABC itself (from Commission to Corporation, from radio to radio and television, the emergence of the ABC Shops, and changes to levels of outsourcing and co-production of programs, for instance) and to the Australian broadcasting ecology more generally (for instance, the aggregation of commercial television networks, the impact of video recorders, and the advent of pay TV).

Although Australia covers several time zones, and there are several ABC networks, what Paddy Scannell has called the 'dailiness' of broadcasts has the capability to provide an *ordering* (or linearity) in time, a linearity of programming across the nation

(Scannell, 1996: 149-156). The spatially and temporally unifying characteristics of broadcasting itself, particularly when combined with the ideals of Public Service Broadcasting, accord well with the ideal project of the Foucauldian disciplinary society. According to Deleuze in his book on Foucault, the ideal project of the disciplinary society was 'to concentrate, to distribute in space, to order in time; to compose a productive force within the dimension of space-time whose effect will be greater than the sum of its component forces ' (Deleuze, 1992: 3). Broadcasting offered, across a specific territory (or distribution space), rhythms (schedules) which added meaning to component parts (programs) and to the audiences/ viewers. Public Service Broadcasting also strove to construct a 'whole' or well-rounded person through education, information and entertainment.

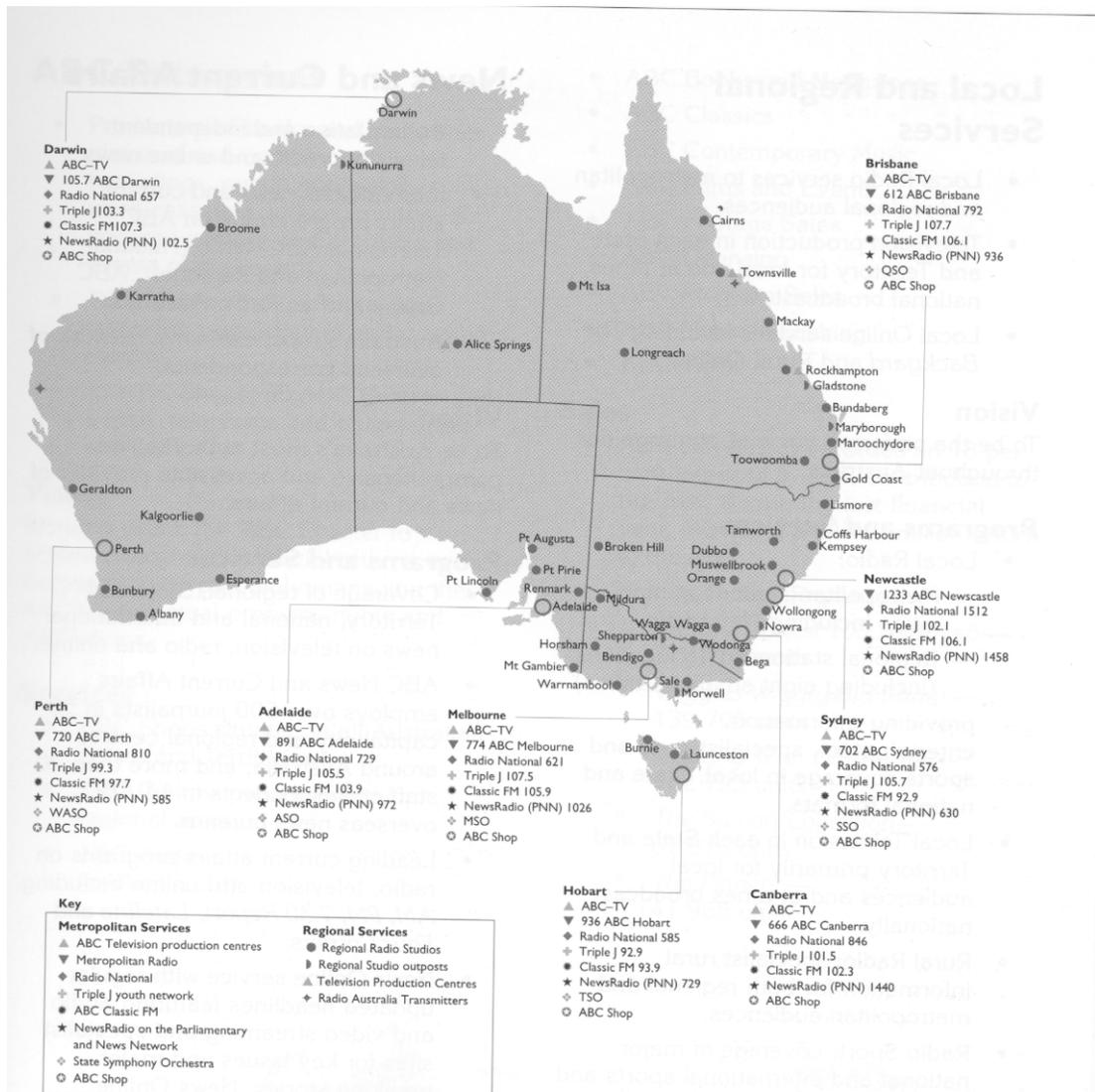


Figure 2: Television and Radio as Occupied Territories

(ABC Annual Report 1999-2000)

But the discipline of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* is not enough to successfully map the transformations of Public Service Broadcasting. Invoking only the Foucault of *Discipline and Punish* will not work for the ABC because it is not, and never has been, a society of enclosure like schools, universities and prisons. It combines a goal of national unity with practices of critical freedom, and its practices of dispersal and access can be privileged over its practices of discipline. The benefits of such public service practices are often cited. Jay Blumler, for instance, in a chapter entitled: 'Public Service Broadcasting before the Commercial Deluge', discusses the 'Public Service Legacy' in Europe, including its comprehensive remit, its generalised mandates, its diversity, pluralism and range, and its cultural roles (Blumler, 1992: 7-12).

Francois Ewald's view of Foucault's disciplinarity accommodates the disciplinary goal of the well-rounded citizen by blurring Foucault's disciplinary and governmental diagrammatics. Ewald contends that Foucault's disciplinarity was not necessarily a society of generalised confinement:

What makes society, as it were, disciplinary is precisely the fact that disciplines do not create partitions. On the contrary, their diffusion, far from dividing or compartmentalising, homogenises social space. The important element in the disciplinary society is the idea of society: the disciplines create the society; they create a sort of common language between all sorts of institutions, making it possible for one to be translated into another. (Ewald, 1992: 170)

Ewald's argument is that the disciplinary machine of the panopticon was diffused throughout society, that the prison 'presented to society a true picture of itself'. Modernity was normative, and disciplines became mechanism rather than blockade. They became, in other words, ways of getting things done or making up people, rather than ways of preventing things from being done, or repressing individual desire. Within the governmental diagram, disciplines came to be understood as productive and enabling, rather than obstructive and enclosing. For Ewald, then:

a disciplinary society ... is characterised not by confinement, even if one continues to use the procedure, but rather by the constitution of a *space*: supple, interchangeable, without segregation, indefinitely redundant and without exterior. (Ewald, 1992: 174)

Discipline, for Ewald, comes to be internalised by individuals in this space through technologies of the self whereby they learn to govern themselves. The process is one well suited to broadcast space – and particularly to a national broadcast space. Listeners/viewers use their relationships to broadcasts and broadcasters as components of a range of materials and techniques through which they produce selves. Broadcast space allows the listener/viewer to construct selves through various techniques, including the ways in which they choose and use broadcast programs. A listener /viewer may be shamed into composting (on the television program *Gardening Australia*), encouraged to exercise and to eat healthy foods (on the radio program *The Health Report*), to practise self-reflection (*The Religion Report* or *Life Matters*) and, most

importantly, be convinced that a crucial aspect of good citizenship is the practice of informing oneself.

In the case of Public Service Broadcasters, a stated goal is the production of an informed citizenry; the possibility that there may be no obvious evidence of this goal in broadcast output, as Jacka has noted, does not nullify its existence *as a goal*. The ABC is still *trying* to make up citizens, to mobilise disciplinary concepts of unifying and territorialising, despite the excess of available (and not necessarily national) communication media from which the individual is now empowered to make him or herself.

The similarities of the (public service) broadcasting project with the disciplinary project should not be allowed to obscure its differences, then, especially as these manifest over time. According to Deleuze, disciplinarity operates on individual bodies, and is a society of enclosure (Deleuze, 1992: 4). While broadcasting may have corporeal effects (particular positions for listening/viewing in particular arrangements of domestic space), it does not operate on individual bodies in comparable ways to those of the disciplinary project as defined by Foucault/Deleuze. Instead, its raw material is the 'self' or form of consciousness. While, in the schools, prisons, and so on of the nineteenth century, one was obliged to participate, and one internalised discipline in the belief that someone was watching, in the case of broadcasting *we* are the viewer/listener, and are also in a position to choose *not* or *what* to watch/listen (to). We are not obliged to use

broadcasting and so, if broadcasting is to be considered as disciplinary at all, it must be considered as another order of the disciplinary, in which we are governed through practices of freedom.

We are not physically gathered together by broadcasting. While commercial broadcasters might hope to deliver as large as possible an audience to their advertisers, and while Public Service Broadcasters may hope to address all citizens, any concept of 'gathering' of audience in either case, though powerful, is symbolic rather than material. The individual is offered choices of program, genre, network, and given the freedom to make his/her self through these choices. If the Public Service Broadcaster governs conduct at all, it governs through and within such practices of freedom.

### The ABC as Governmental

The techniques of broadcasting in general, and Public Service Broadcasting in particular, might better be understood via the concept of the governmental than the disciplinary, then. Foucault said:

My objective for more than twenty-five years has been to sketch out a history of the different ways in our culture that humans develop knowledge about themselves: economics, biology, psychiatry, medicine, and penology. The main point is not to accept this knowledge at face value but to analyse these so-called sciences as very specific 'truth games' related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves.

As a context, we must understand that there are four major types of these 'technologies', each a matrix of practical reason: (1) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification, (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectifying of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (Foucault, 1988: 18)

For Foucault, governmentality was the contact between the last two of these technologies: those of domination and those of the self (Foucault, 1988: 18). Studies of these techniques in particular situations are thus, according to Dean, analyses of the arts of government (Dean, 1999: 9-39). Governmental analyses have been used by writers including Hunter (1988) and Bennett (1995) to examine cultural institutions such as those of literary pedagogy and museums. The primary technologies of governmentality were not those of confinement as in disciplinarity, but are those offering a way of governing which worked to regulate individuals in the interests of the state – or to totalise and individualise. For Foucault, the unique accomplishment of modern Western government was this hybrid between what were otherwise seen as separate modes of

government – that of caring for the flock as individuals on the one hand, and that which relied on a lack of regulation of free citizens on the other hand (Gordon, 1994: xxiv).

According to Hunter, in governmental societies, a uniform development of human qualities became thinkable through 'an administrative apparatus aimed at reshaping the attributes of whole populations, but operationalised through forms of consciousness which permitted individuals to govern themselves' (Hunter, 1988: ix). The governmental method relies on an analysis of various techniques of *savoir* (knowing) which allow the population to be managed, by teaching each individual to govern him or herself. This form of government, according to Foucault, reached its height at the outset of the twentieth century.

While institutions such as schools and museums utilised the disciplinary procedure of confinement by gathering populations and regulating their behaviour in physical spaces, broadcasting had no need to do so, instead constituting a commonality by disseminating programs, while allowing individuals to govern themselves through choices of networks or programs, for instance. All broadcasters, and especially Public Service Broadcasters (with goals along the lines of informing, entertaining and educating), in their national remit can be understood as governmental institutions. In using the output of broadcasters, the listener/viewer practises a freedom of choice – a choice comparable to that which Rose has characterised as a technique of the political rationality of neo-liberalism:

It has become possible to actualise the notion of the actively responsible individual because of the development of new apparatuses that integrate subjects into a moral nexus of identifications and allegiances in which they appear to act out their most personal choices. (Rose, 1996: 58)

Broadcasting allows listeners/viewers to act out their most personal choices, and Public Service Broadcasting in particular does so with goals of educating and informing, as well as entertaining. The ABC offers life-long learning across the arts and sciences. It presents television dramatisations of canonical novels as well as purpose-made drama, and it presents radio and television programs on the arts and sciences, in its drive to produce the well-informed citizen.

Following Jacka (1997a), I use Foucault's concept of governmentality to understand the ABC as a cultural technology – or in other words, a flexible set of discourses and practices through which populations are governed at a distance. Bennett has discussed cultural technologies as being:

a historically specific set of institutionally embedded relations of government in which the forms of thought and conduct of extended populations are targeted for transformation – in part via the extension through the social body of the forms, techniques and regiments of aesthetic and intellectual culture. (Bennett, 1992: 26)

Bennett's description of cultural technologies has obvious application to Public Service Broadcasting, which targets members of nations for transformation by education,

information and entertainment. Recalling Ian Hunter's (1988) governmental history of literary pedagogy, Jacka (1997a:8) suggests that Public Service Broadcasting also operates as an ethical exemplar, working on the ethical incompleteness of its listeners and viewers. Jacka has noted that Public Service Broadcasting 'could be seen as a supplement to or perhaps continuation of the role of literary education in the formation of a citizenry and in its moral supervision'. The ABC strives to form an ethically complete or integrated citizen through its pedagogic practices. In Chapter 6, I contend that one of the ethical goals of the ABC was this goal of integrity or ethical completeness. In considering the best way for the ABC to function in an online environment, ABC staff interpreted the strength of the ABC as being the provision of quality content, rather than the facilitation of other 'services' such as banking or email (see Chapter 6). The goal required ABC staff to operate in a pedagogic relation with their listeners/viewers/users. This requirement meant that staff members had to act as ethical exemplars. Further examples of the ways that this relation was challenged by ABC Online are detailed in Chapter 7.

The totalising /individuating movement of governmentality, as described by Colin Gordon above, is mimicked in the comprehensive/complementary tension within which the ABC operates. The tension is between the ABC as niche broadcaster, individuating its audiences; and as 'mass' broadcaster, serving the whole of (or totalising) the national population. As Mansfield points out, those who think that the ABC should be 'comprehensive' mean different things – that it should include depth and breadth of

programming, access to services, or even 'responsiveness to the needs of smaller audiences less well served by other media outlets' (Mansfield, 1997: 20). In the sense intended here, comprehensiveness means tending to the population 'as a whole' – or the mass audience (totalising), while complementary refers to such programming as complements that produced for the mass audience by commercial networks. A specific individual might use both mass programming and specialist programming, accordingly becoming a part of a larger or smaller population at different times. The combinations of that individual's specific choices 'add up' to an individualising (or even self-fragmenting) experience, however – regardless of whether the broadcaster intended to address a niche or mass/national population. The individual uses the broadcaster as a site at which to practise technologies of the self, and so compose identity. The individual may indeed choose to become the well-informed citizen, and may choose to do so by his or her engagement with specific networks – using the Public Service Broadcaster as exemplary. That person will make choices from other materials as well (choices of food, gardening methods and exercise, for instance).

The broadcaster's relation to the listener/viewer/user relation exemplifies the notions of governmentality and technologies of the self, as Connolly describes these:

Foucault's early accounts of disciplinary society locate sites where institutional techniques and symbolic systems intersect. His later inquests into arts of the self, individually and in concert suggest how we might exert positive effects on ourselves and others at precisely these points. (Connolly, 1999: 153)

It is this later work of Foucault – that of the last two volumes of the *History of Sexuality* and of his lectures on governmentality – which is of greatest value in an analysis of the ABC, and of ABC Online. The ABC is just such a point where institutional techniques and symbolic systems intersect, allowing us to exert positive effects on ourselves and others, and to this extent the ABC requires a governmental analysis. The panopticon of disciplinarity managed visibility, an impossible task in the broadcast environment. As Scannell says:

The management of visibility, in John Thompson's useful phrase, has been thoroughly problematised by modern media (Thompson, 1994: 40). In particular, what can no longer be *managed* are the behaviours of the wider listening and viewing publics. And this is because ... the nature of the relationship between broadcasters and listeners or viewers is unenforced because it is unenforceable. (Scannell, 1996: 76).

As Scannell correctly points out, the panopticon is not an accurate model in the case of broadcasting. Not only is it impossible for the powerful to remain invisible, it is also impossible, in a broadcast environment, for the powerful to 'manage' populations according to strategies of enclosure and confinement. It is the later work of Foucault – that concerning governmentality rather than discipline – which is useful for an analysis of the broadcaster-listener/viewer relation. In an interview with Jeremy Packer, Toby Miller has suggested that governmentality is an attempt 'to transform the population through acting upon it such that the population in consideration gains and develops in ways that are not just about some form of accumulation of benefit to the agent that has

made that transformation' (Packer, 2003: 40). The education, information and entertainment that the ABC offers to its listeners/viewers/users is not of direct benefit to the ABC, nor directly to the state, and to this extent a governmental analysis is pertinent to an examination of the relation between the ABC and its listeners, viewers and users.

But a purely governmental reading will not suffice for the period here under discussion. Traces of disciplinarity and governmentality remain, but 'Foucault never believed and indeed said very precisely that disciplinary societies were not eternal. Moreover, he clearly thought that we were entering a new type of society. To be sure, there are all kinds of things left over from disciplinary societies, and this for years on end. '

(Deleuze, 1988a: 18) The same can be said of governmentality as the dominant social diagram. For Deleuze, the uncertainty created by the intersection of the 'leftover' diagrams of sovereignty and discipline with the emerging diagram of control creates the sense of crisis in institutions of enclosure.

Hardt and Negri, following Deleuze, have applied this Deleuzian discussion to the civil society, which they define as a series of institutions that 'function as passageways that channel flows of social and economic forces, raising them up toward a coherent unity and, flowing back, like an irrigation network, distribute the command of the unity throughout the immanent social field' (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 328). To the degree that Public Service Broadcasters contribute to the production of the well-informed citizen, and the unified nation, as discussed above, they can be understood as institutions which

share the governing rationales of civil society, despite their more direct relations with the state. Hardt, here and elsewhere, argues that the institutions of civil society are withering away and that this withering might be recognised as concomitant with the passage from disciplinary society to a society of control (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 329; Hardt, 1998).

Hardt has also pointed out that 'Foucault insisted ... that ... institutions represent the consolidation or assemblage of the strategies of power ' (Hardt, 1998: 31). The ABC represents a specific consolidation or assemblage of strategies of power. It is an assemblage which is always changing, and which retains elements of past diagrammatics, even while adopting newer ones. Analyses of different parts of the ABC can thus utilise particular elements of each of the disciplinary, governmental and control models of society.

### The ABC as Control

For Deleuze, societies function according to an abstract machine, or what Foucault called a diagram. For Deleuze, this diagram is:

a map, a cartography that is coextensive with the social field. It is an abstract machine. It is defined by its informal functions and matter and in terms of form makes no distinction between content and expression, a discursive formation and a non-discursive formation. It is a machine that is almost blind and

mute, even though it makes others see and speak. (Deleuze, 1988a: 34)

Foucault's panopticon was an abstract machine of the disciplinary – an abstract machine which contained and confined, unifying its bounded population in space and time by the management of visibility. Perhaps broadcasting was the abstract machine of the governmental in the later twentieth century, by its dissemination of information and by its reconstitution of space and time. In such a schema, the internet is the abstract machine of our time, that of the Foucauldian/ Deleuzian Control society. As such, the ways in which it butts up against those elements of the Public Service Broadcasting idea based on unity, centrality and identity should prove instructive, as should the ways that traces of prior abstract machines, such as disciplinarity, remain. The combinations of these two abstract machines are discussed further in Chapter 2.

In 'Postscript on the Societies of Control', Deleuze argued that by the time of its writing, Foucault's disciplinary society was already largely gone. Since World War II, according to Deleuze, we have experienced a crisis in all institutions of enclosure – schools, museums, prisons – because these are being replaced by 'societies of control'<sup>1</sup> which function to modulate rather than individualise. Schools and museums have not ceased to exist, but their preferred techniques of enclosing and confining have been replaced by a preference for techniques of control and dispersal. It is the 'in between' nature of our institutions, according to Deleuze, which causes our sense of crisis (Deleuze, 1992: 5).

The institutions operate in between the governing rationales of the disciplinary and control societies. Geoffrey Mulgan argues that, rather than being understood as information societies, the emerging societies of the industrialised world were better understood as control societies, and that:

Control is neither inherently good nor evil but rather a basic resource of advanced societies that needs to be understood both as to its potential and as to its limits. Like power and reason, it demands neither an excessive love nor an excessive fear. (G. Mulgan, 1991: 8)

For Mulgan, the focus on control involves a move away from power as the dominant political metaphor. Power, as understood in the concept of disciplinary/governmental societies, was physical, energising and mechanical; whereas control includes the principles of feedback, command, strategy and surveillance (G. Mulgan, 1991: 8). While the implementation of ABC Online drew the ABC more obviously into this control society, the ABC always operated with techniques from the disciplinary, governmental and control diagrams – it has been 'in between' in different ways at different times, and it has also been in crisis at least since the 1970s (Inglis, 1997). The replacement of institutions of enclosure by societies of control is apparent in the shift from cultural institutions of enclosure such as museums and schools, through broadcasting, which maintains symbolic goals of unity or containment even while dispersing information, to the internet, which privileges dispersal and fragmentation.

---

<sup>1</sup> This is a term which Deleuze attributes to novelist William Burroughs (see Deleuze 1998: 17).

While Deleuze uses highways to illustrate the differences between discipline and control, one could equally use this trend from cultural buildings as cultural technologies through broadcasting as a cultural technology to the internet (superhighway) as cultural technology to make the same point:

In making highways, for example, you don't enclose people but instead multiply the means of control. I am not saying that this is the highway's exclusive purpose, but that people can drive infinitely and 'freely' without being at all confined yet while still being profoundly controlled. This is our future. (Deleuze, 1998: 18)

Similarly, our uses of media (broadcasting or online) are 'free' and without confinement, yet we are profoundly controlled through practices of freedom. An argument that identifies the internet as the archetypal technique of the society of control and broadcasting as the disciplinary/governmental necessarily oversimplifies the relations between the two because as discussed briefly above, broadcasting already demonstrated strategies of the disciplinary, the governmental *and* the control societies. Such an oversimplification must be tempered by the understanding that one diagrammatic does not exclude the others, but at a specific time and place becomes a more potent force.

According to Hardt, while disciplinary diagrammatics 'functioned primarily in terms of position, fixed points and identities', the diagram of control is 'oriented not toward position and identity but rather toward mobility and anonymity' (Hardt, 1998: 32).

Instead of understanding oneself via nationality, gender, and so on, in the control society identity may be constructed from memberships of multiple communities of shared interests. According to Thomas Dumm, in late modernity:

The values that constitute normality do not depend on the disciplining of individuals but, instead, on the identification and cultivation of common experiences beyond individual religious belief, family bond, or local loyalty. This evocation of common experience is the substance of the political rationality of the late modern era. (Dumm, 1996: 155)

The diagram of control (which, though here exemplified by the internet, is not limited to it) functions, according to Hardt, 'on the basis of the "whatever" – the flexible and mobile performance of contingent identities'. For Hardt, the assemblages and institutions of the control society 'are elaborated primarily through repetition and the production of simulacra' (Hardt, 1998: 32). Broadcasting institutions – in this case, Public Service Broadcasting institutions – demonstrate some of the techniques of the control society. The ABC was and is an institution or assemblage elaborated primarily through repetition (by way of schedules, repeat programs, genre, online presence of broadcast programs) and the production of simulacra, through sound, images and text.

The contingency of the identities the ABC produces through broadcasting is exaggerated by the internet. Users have more to choose from than do listeners/viewers, though a greater number of choices, without adequate criteria and/or techniques to inform selection, does not necessarily equate with greater freedom. As discussed in later

chapters, there is a circular relation between the guidance and freedom offered by the ABC to its listeners, viewers and users. ABC Online is an instance that demonstrates a dissonance between the ideas of national and contingent identities, a moment in between the disciplinary and control or information societies.

Geoffrey Mulgan argues that the shift to an information society ' carries its own economic and political implications' (G. Mulgan, 1991: 12). Information comes to be used more with structures of control, and less as a discrete commodity:

The emphasis shifts from information as a discrete commodity towards flows and systems of communications, and towards the problems of controlling flows. At the same time the political issues of the 'information society' come to be concerned less with access to information (as if it were a resource analogous to housing or energy), than with the distribution of control capacities within a society, and with the availability of competence and time to use control technologies or to participate in decisions. Access to quantities of information becomes less important than the structures within which information becomes meaningful and usable. What turns out to be scarce is the capacity to use information rather than information as such. (G. Mulgan, 1991: 12)

What the broadcast ABC and ABC Online offer is both access to information *and* the capacity to use information, a structure within which information becomes meaningful and usable through the identity (or brand) of the ABC. The shift from broadcasting to Online had the capacity to guide ABC governing rationales away from access and

towards the distribution of control capacities and, as is demonstrated in the following chapters, this tension was played out repeatedly in policy discussions and in practices at the ABC around the emergence of ABC Online. Chapter 5, for instance, details the loss of a significant number of international listeners to Radio Australia. In lieu of providing access to these listeners, Radio Australia Online sought to exert its presence by influencing elites in target nations. In Chapter 6, content licensing is described as a strategy for colonising the net. The ABC sought to sell its content as widely as possible, increasing and ensuring *its* access to channels of distribution. In Chapter 7, an internet developer is quoted deliberating the relative power of ABC staff and users in internet forums.

The ABC can thus be seen to operate as an apparatus of security in the newness, chaos and excess of global communications. Such an apparatus extends a freedom of choice, because the familiarity of the ABC can be used to make sense of the chaos and excess of information. Andrew Barry has argued that communication networks (he was writing primarily of nineteenth century models such as the telegraph here) 'created what Deleuze and Guattari have called a striated space: a space within which movements and flows are regulated in ways which enable authorities to act; a space that is measured, directed and standardised as opposed to nonmetric, rhizomic and acentred (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 474-500)'. Liberal society demanded, in the interests of governing, that citizens *kept themselves* informed.

Institutions and practices which predated the internet, such as the press, the telegraph, and broadcasting, offered materials through which technologies of the self might be practised; such techniques were aimed at producing particular selves, such as the well-informed citizen. The reliance of liberal government on the self-educating practices of citizens was also catered to by ABC broadcasting, and continues into the neo-liberalist era on ABC Online. Through ABC Online, moreover, the user is offered a nostalgic sense of national identity and personal security in the relentless and chaotic flows of information on the World Wide Web.

This thesis uses these diagrams of the disciplinary, governmental and control societies to explore the ways in which various subsites of ABC Online emerged, and by doing so offers the possibility of re-examining the ways that we have defended and imagined Public Service Broadcasting. As well as using ideas from Foucault concerning the disciplinary and governmental, it focuses on relations between what Deleuze has called rhizomic (molecular) and arboreal (molar) forces.

#### Molar/Molecular; Rhizomic/Arboreal

For Deleuze and Guattari there are two kinds of assemblage or (multiplicity) which can be characterised in a number of ways. Extensive molar multiplicities (arboreal) 'embody the principles of organisation found in modern bureaucracies, factories, armies and schools, in other words, in all of the central social mechanisms of power' (Patton, 2000: 43). Such multiplicities divide by differences in degree and the process does not involve

changes in kind. 'Arithmetical number is an example of this kind of multiplicity,' says Patton. 'Numbers are infinitely divisible but the outcome is always numbers of the same kind.' (Patton, 2000: 35) Molecular, intensive multiplicities (rhizomic) are not unifiable and do not divide without changing in nature. Rhizomes 'lack principles of unity or connection such as central axes or invariant elements' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 8).

It is important to note that there are no purely rhizomic or arboreal assemblages; rather, particular assemblages tend toward the molar forces of the arboreal or the molecular forces of the rhizomic. Buchanan makes this point when he writes that 'a stronger tendency towards one or the other of these two poles can always be detected and named – but the truth is the further one pushes in any direction the harder one is pulled the opposite way' (Buchanan, 2000: 119). The abstract machine or diagram of a control society may be more rhizomic, but it will be pulled towards the arboreal. This idea is similar to that of Foucault's agonism, which Graham Burchell characterises as 'the endless task of finding different ways of establishing the play between regulation and openness, between constraint and possible transformation' (Burchell, 2000: 34).

Subsites of ABC Online are not here studied as the 'other' of broadcasting, then, but rather as instances of the ABC's becoming, whereby broadcasting was becoming Online and Online was becoming broadcasting. The following chapters explore how relationships between various elements of the ABC accommodated the emergence of ABC Online, and how requirements of ABC Online accommodated the broadcast ABC

in its diversity. In this it follows Castells and Deleuze, for example, who have similarly used the introduction of technologies as tools for understanding the social. Castells has used 'the information technology revolution' to analyse the 'complexity of new economy, society and culture in the making', arguing for a method which uses neither technological nor policy determinism. For Castells, 'the dilemma of technological determinism is probably a false problem, since technology is society, and society cannot be understood or represented without its tools.' (Castells, 1996: 5) Deleuze has made a related point: 'Types of machines are easily matched with each type of society – not that machines are determining, but because they express those social forms capable of generating them and using them.' (Deleuze, 1992: 6)

When ABC Online emerged, the internet was hailed as the decentred, connected technology par excellence; and the ideas around it during the period under discussion were those of 'free' information, and/or those of the free market, where the internet was to generate new and lucrative business models. As Poster describes this situation:

Beginning in 1994, economic institutions began to explore ways of adapting the Internet to economic transactions. At the same time the other media – newsprint, radio and television – began to run articles that drew attention to the Net. A simultaneous celebration and demonization of the Internet by other media drew public attention to the Net, appealing to and manipulating the hopes and fears of the audience and readers. (Poster, 2001: 44)

By using examples of Public Service Broadcasting practices and ideas intersecting with the internet idea of the time, I consider where ABC Online is continuous with ideas of Public Service Broadcasting, and where it provides evidence of ruptures in the more segmented aspects of the ABC. In so doing I view the ABC from the middle. It is in between free-to-air broadcasting and interactive multichannelling. It is in between governing strategies of disciplinary and control societies. And it is in between the molecular details of specific sites and their implications in more molar, bureaucratic forces. Taking this standpoint may also allow for a different remembering of the ABC, a remembering that is not based on those dichotomies that have limited ways of thinking about the ABC.

## **Chapter 2: Reith and Rhizome: The PSB Idea meets the Internet Idea**

### **Introduction**

This chapter explores the ways in which an arboreal image of Public Service Broadcasting intersected with a rhizomic image of the internet when Online services emerged in the late 1990s. Particular instantiations notwithstanding, the Public Service Broadcasting *idea* is primarily an arboreal image of thought – that is, one based on unified elements, with clearly defined boundaries and parts connected according to a principle of unity (the national identity or the nation). By contrast, the internet *idea* (particular instantiations again notwithstanding) is a primarily rhizomic image of thought which celebrates a network structure with multiple entry and exit points. I have previously stressed that there are no purely arboreal or rhizomic assemblages, and that the molar forces of the arboreal are always in relation with the molecular forces of the rhizomic. In particular instances, one set of forces is dominant over the other. I stress again here that I am discussing the Public Service Broadcasting idea as *primarily* arboreal, and

the internet idea as *primarily* rhizomic. These formulations offer a useful template for understanding the dominant ideas which were circulating when ABC Online services emerged.

The first part of the chapter concentrates on the Public Service Broadcasting idea, and its implications for disciplinary and governmental strategies. The latter part of the chapter offers a brief description of the internet idea. The chapter contrasts the differing utopias of the two ideas and notes the importance of their intersection both for the emergence of ABC Online and for rethinking the ABC.

### The Arboreal Image of Public Service Broadcasting

The Public Service Broadcasting idea maintains that there is a 'public', or even 'publics', to be served, and that these publics share a national identity. As noted by Jacka (1997a), its definition and defence often rely on lists of Public Service Broadcasting principles such as those of the Broadcasting Research Unit (1985):

1. *Universality* of availability;
  2. *Universality* of appeal;
  3. Provision for minorities;
  4. A commitment to the education of *the public*;
  5. *Distance from vested interests*;
  6. That broadcasting be structured to encourage *competition* in programming standards, *not for audiences*,
  7. Freedom for the program maker, and
  8. Fostering of a *public sphere*
- (Broadcasting Research Unit 1985, my emphasis)

At least six of these eight principles rely on an arboreal image of Public Service Broadcasting. The Public Service Broadcaster is defined as being universal in its appeal and availability, and aims to educate 'the public' and foster 'a public sphere'. These principles define Public Service Broadcasters as unifying. In Point 6, Public Service Broadcasting is identified against its other of commercial broadcasting in that it is not to compete for audiences. Point 5 defines it against its others of commercial *and* state interests. Public Service Broadcasting is imagined against its others and as inherently unifying.

Points 3 and 7 can also be perceived in the context of the list as conforming to elements of the arboreal image of Public Service Broadcasting. Point 3 acknowledges the existence of 'minorities' for whom provision must be made, but in the context of this list implies that minorities are something other than 'the public' or universal to which Points 1, 2, 5 and 8 refer. Minorities are not, in this list, understood as *constitutive* of 'the public' but as distinct from it, something other than 'the public' and thus requiring special provision. Thus 'core' ('the public') and marginal ('minorities') audiences are imagined.

The freedom of the program-maker in Point 7 can also be used to demonstrate an aspect of the arboreal image of Public Service Broadcasting.

The arboreal image, as discussed Chapter 1, is one that can be divided by differences in degree without involving changes in kind. The programmer, as a part of the Public Service Broadcaster, is imagined as independent or free from vested interests, in the same way that Public Service Broadcasting is imagined as independent and free from them.

This imagining recalls Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) discussion of the arboreal image of the book. In the introduction to *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari argue that the book is usually linked to the model of the tree 'in that the book has been seen as an organic unit, which is both hermetically sealed, but also as a reflection of the world' (Marks, 1998: 45). In the Public Service Broadcasting idea, the Public Service Broadcaster is imagined as hermetically sealed (independent) and also as a reflection of the cultural nation. According to Scannell, the Reithian idea of Public Service Broadcasting was 'a task of democratic representation on the terrain of culture rather than politics' (Scannell, 1997: 91). The public was to be represented, or reflected, by an independent Public Service Broadcaster on the terrain of culture.

Such an image of Public Service Broadcasting is in turn predicated upon an image of a public (the nation) which is *served* (implying a one-way transaction) through broadcasting (a one-to-many medium). In the

Broadcasting Review Unit example above, ideas of universality, 'the public' and 'the public sphere' take precedence over ideas of multiplicity and modularity. This image of Public Service Broadcasting owes a debt to Lord John Reith, whose imagining of broadcasting relied in its turn on an arboreal image of the nation. Reith imagined that the BBC would broadcast to a national community – would gather the nation, so to speak, into the broadcast space of the BBC. Of the function of broadcasting, Reith wrote:

Broadcasting may help to show that mankind is a unity and that the mighty heritage, material, moral and spiritual, if meant for the good of any, is meant for the good of all, and this is conveyed in its operations. So our desire is that we may send broadcast through the ether, which is universal, the universality of all that is good in whatsoever line we may; and so may receive without let or hindrance, and without encumbrance or care. (Reith, 1924: 218-219)

Reith's image of the public – or nation – was that of a unity whose ethics and morals were to be secured ('without encumbrance or care') by receiving 'all that is good' from the moral exemplar, the Public Service Broadcaster. The goal of a unified public was to be achieved in Public Service Broadcasting by the dispersal of moral and spiritual material through the 'universal' ether. The public was understood to be 'as one' in the ether of broadcasting. But, unlike cultural technologies of enclosure such as schools,

museums or art galleries, broadcasting – using techniques of dispersal rather than enclosure – required a way of governing which acknowledged the freedom (to listen or not, or how programs would be used) of the public. The public must be encouraged to create themselves as cultural citizens.

The Public Service Broadcasting idea can be understood, then, as a strategy for governing the conduct of conduct. It can be understood, in other words, as an idea with governmental aims. The Public Service Broadcaster was to promote social unity by providing all that was good, from which the individual was to create her/himself as cultural citizen. The audience member was to utilise technologies of the self in her engagement with the Public Service Broadcaster. In order to be governed as cultural citizen via broadcasting, the individual must be accorded freedom to govern her/his own conduct. Broadcasting in itself entailed a degree of freedom for the individual, as member of the public, in that it dispersed all that was good through the ether. Morality and ethics were to be internalised by the individual, rather than imposed by techniques of discipline. Dean has discussed the governmental diagram at length, arguing that:

Notions of morality and ethics generally rest on an idea of self-government. They presume some conception of an autonomous person capable of monitoring and regulating various aspects of their own conduct ... government encompasses not only

how we exercise authority over others, or how we govern states and populations, but how we govern ourselves. (Dean, 1999: 12)

In the Public Service Broadcasting idea, the individual is to be governed as a citizen of national culture, with national culture being represented by the Public Service Broadcaster. The idea that Public Service Broadcasting represents cultural citizenship to the nation remains extant in much discussion of Public Service Broadcasting, even in the very late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries when, according to Turner, because of globalisation and the fragmentation of national cultures, it is more difficult to think of cultural citizenship as our ability to have access to, or participation in, reproducing the national culture (Turner, 2001).

In the Public Service Broadcasting idea, the Broadcaster would provide the means by which citizens were to govern themselves on the terrain of culture, with the ultimate aim being a unified nation. The audience member is imagined as ethically incomplete, and in need of ethical exemplars who might 'improve' her/him. My reading of the imagined audience in the Public Service Broadcasting idea differs from that of Ien Ang, whose disciplinary reading characterised the imagined audience of Public Service Broadcasting as a disciplined audience, in need of reform (Ang, 1991: 105). Ang's reading undervalues the practices of freedom inherent in the Public Service Broadcasting idea. While Ang argues that in Public Service Broadcasting

abstract principles are translated into concrete guidelines in order to *discipline* the imagined audience, I contend that the techniques employed are those of freedom. For Ang, the practices and aims are disciplinary, while here the practices are understood as tending more to techniques of the self and the governmental. An examination of the ways that the public is imagined, and how it is to be served, in Public Service Broadcasting will assist an understanding of the differences between these readings.

#### Defining Public Service /Defining Public Service Broadcasting

Trine Syvertsen has argued that it is an old truth that there is no standard definition of the term 'public service' in media research. Having considered more than 30 definitions, Syvertsen concludes that not only did the criteria differ, but some were even contradictory: 'the concept of public service [is] highly elastic, not to say amorphous' (Syvertsen, 1999: 5-6).

The idea of public service is also, of course, historically contingent. In 1981 in Australia, when the conservative government of Malcolm Fraser was in power, and when the organisational structure of the ABC was stifling its productivity, 'The Public Service' came to be understood as a form of bureaucracy that was staid and inefficient. When the Dix Report (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981) criticised the ABC for its Public Service emphasis, it did not refer to the

concept of serving a public, or even creating a public to serve, but to the administrative procedures of the Public Service. This Public Service emphasis was seen to be in opposition to the modern broadcaster role:

The ABC like any publicly funded service, must be seen to fill identifiable community needs, and in this sense it is indeed a 'public service' broadcaster. However, it will be clear from much of what we have said that *the public service emphasis has taken over the organisation and its processes at the expense of the broadcaster role*. This trend must be firmly reversed if the organisation is to engage effectively in the highly competitive activity of modern broadcasting.

For this reason the objective of many of our recommendations is to structure the ABC more like a commercial enterprise, with management systems *more akin to commercial than to Public Service* norms. In addition to the structural and policy changes we have proposed, we believe that there must be a redefinition of the Commission's goals, and a significant improvement in its capacity to plan and meet these goals. (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981: 5.34-5.35, my emphasis)

The Public Service in these sections of the report is opposed both to broadcasting, and to commercial models of organisation. Here the Public

Service is invoked as the example of what not to do in management practice, rather than 'public service' being understood as an ethical guide to practices at the ABC – or for that matter at any broadcaster. Setting up a dichotomy between the Public Service and commercial norms produced particular understandings of Public Service Broadcasting. Whatever Dix's gains may have been in separating the ABC from rules, constraints, procedures and structures of the Public Service that had proven inefficient, this understanding of the Public Service left the ABC open to being defined as the 'other' of 'modern' (presumably commercial) broadcasters. The Public Service as anti-modern and as opposed to commercial practices came to prominence as a way of imagining the ABC as Public Service Broadcaster.

The Dix Report also stated that the ABC should be 'seen to fill identifiable community needs'. The 'community' (presumably the national public or the national audience) and its needs pre-exist the broadcaster in this imagining. The broadcaster need only 'fill' such community needs to exhaust its service to the public. This imagining neglects the role of the ABC in the *production* of selves and populations. It neglects the possibility that the listener/viewer/user individually or as 'community' might use the broadcaster to *make* or actualise needs and/or selves.

For its part, the UK Independent Review Panel found that a definition of Public Service Broadcasting was impossible:

We have not managed anything so ambitious in the six months we have had at our disposal. When we each tried to define Public Service Broadcasting, some very familiar words started to appear – information, education, extension of horizons, impartiality, independence, universal access, inclusivity, service of minorities, lack of commercial motivation, etc., etc. We decided that we may not be able to offer a tight new definition of Public Service Broadcasting, but we nevertheless each felt that we knew it when we saw it. (quoted in Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 1999: 10)

The 'very familiar words' which appear support the idea of a provision of service (rather than an interactive relationship), while the invocation of the 'other' of commercial motivation defines what Public Service Broadcasting is *not*. While public service and commercial motivation are opposed in both the UK panel's and the Dix panel's reports, the opposition means very different things in each. The Dix panel thought that the Public Service emphasis was the problem to which a restructure along commercial principles was the solution; for the UK panel a lack of commercial motivation was in part what defined Public Service Broadcasting. In each

definition, Public Service Broadcasting is imagined as being 'not commercial'.

The creation and defence of universal principles such as those written in the 1980s and 1990s (Broadcasting Research Unit, 1985; McKinsey & Company, 1999: 36) neglects the diversity of Public Service Broadcasting in different places and at different times. By concentrating on the 'sameness' or 'core' principles of Public Service Broadcasters, these principles obscure the multiplicity of Public Service Broadcasters around the world and also obscure the past and present multiplicity of any given Public Service Broadcaster.

During the 1990s documents about Public Service Broadcasting often attempted or used such definitions (e.g. Tracey, 1992: 17-19). The result was that discussions of Public Service Broadcasting were seriously ahistorical, as has been noted by Jacka: 'One is reduced to defending an almost arbitrary list of principles in a situation which more and more seems merely to bypass them.' (Jacka, 1997a: 6) Given that Public Service Broadcasters now must operate in an increasingly global market, particular principles were bypassed. For example, 'the' public and 'a' public sphere, 'universality' of appeal and 'universality' of availability mentioned in the 1985 list of the UK Broadcasting Research Unit are all problematised in an

online environment, which both globalises and fragments populations and selves. The possibility of providing 'universal' access across the nation for broadcasting was much greater than that of providing universal access across the world is for an internet service.

Geoffrey Mulgan (1991) argues that public service in communications consists of two dimensions: an ethos (selfless service, rationality and an abstract idea of the public good); and a set of principles about provision (geographical and social universality and the provision for minorities as well as majorities). What has always been missing, according to Mulgan, is any sense of public control or direct accountability between public servants and their public. The BBC, and Public Service Broadcasting that followed the BBC model, are for Mulgan therefore public in ethos and principles of provision rather than control (Mulgan, 1991: 252). A model of broadcasting that is public in control might more closely resemble community broadcasting or citizens' media, as these have been described by Elinor Rennie (2002) and Kitty van Vuuren (2002). Such an entity would be difficult if not impossible to maintain in a national broadcasting context, and therefore the ways in which a Public Service Broadcaster offers a public service are dependent upon the degree to which its provision of service maintains ethical relations with its listeners, viewers and users at a given time.

The implementation of new technologies alters the ethical relations between the Public Service Broadcaster and the listener, viewer or user. Hardt and Negri have used broadcast networks as characteristic of an oligopolistic network model, and compared this to the democratic network model of the internet:

The oligopolistic network model is characterised by broadcast systems. According to this model, for example in television or radio systems, there is a unique and relatively fixed point of emission, but the points of reception are potentially infinite and territorially indefinite, although developments such as cable television networks fix these paths to a certain extent. The broadcast network is defined by its centralised production, mass distribution, and one-way communication. The entire culture industry – from the distribution of newspapers and books to films and video cassettes – has traditionally operated along this model ... This oligopolistic model is not a rhizome but a tree structure that subordinates all branches to the central root. (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 299)

In television or radio, the signal is emitted from a central television or radio station and dispersed, as is the case with most products of cultural consumption. The internet, by contrast, is emitted from many points to

many points. If the broadcaster's central station (the root) is destroyed, that system collapses (the tree dies). If a server on the internet is destroyed, by contrast, messages are re-routed around that failed server, and the system will continue to function as a network of servers. I must stress at this point that Hardt and Negri are not presenting a transmission model of communication. Such models, which concern the processes of making meaning, are not at issue here for Hardt and Negri. Their purpose is rather to distinguish between the technological capabilities and limitations of the two media. Following Hardt and Negri, I contend that these differing technological structures of broadcasting and the internet are critical to the differences in the Public Service Broadcasting idea and the internet idea.

The Public Service Broadcasting idea, as opposed to its various interpretations in practices around the world, aims towards the construction of commonality of one form or another, but most often shared citizenship rights. Scannell has written:

In my view equal access to for all to a wide and varied range of common informational, entertainment and cultural programs carried on channels that can be received throughout the country must be thought of as an important citizenship right in mass democratic societies. It is a crucial means, perhaps the only means at present, whereby a common culture, common knowledge, and a shared

public life are maintained as a social good equally available to the whole population. That was the basis of public broadcasting as envisaged by John Reith, the much misunderstood first Director-General of the BBC. It is the basis of the present system. It should continue to be so in the future. (Scannell, 1990: 26)

This goal of unity or commonality engenders particular dichotomies into which debates on Public Service Broadcasting become ossified. The axes of such dichotomies limit the questions that can be asked about Public Service Broadcasting. For example, the dichotomy of unity/diversity leads to questions such as whether the broadcaster should serve one national audience, or a series of different audiences; the dichotomy of centre/margin leads to questions such as: what the 'core' programs are. The dichotomy of national/international leads to questions such as: whether the ABC should operate an international service. The dichotomy of non-commercial/commercial leads to particular arguments about co-productions, outsourcing, advertising and sponsorship. The producer/consumer dichotomy leads to questions such as how much the user can be trusted to contribute to talkback or online. There is no doubt that these can sometimes be useful questions, but often the insistence on these axes reproduces the same discussions over and over again. Of course, the answers to all these questions might be 'both', but this answer does not obviate the possibility that a different formulation of Public Service Broadcasting which privileges

modularity over dichotomy may also prove productive. The non-commercial/commercial binary is the one most often relied upon, and extended such that non-commercial comes to equate with quality programs for citizens and the commercial with populist entertainment for consumers.

Instead of using ABC Online to defend one or other side of these established dichotomies, or vice versa (i.e. using sides of the dichotomies to defend ABC Online), in the following chapters I demonstrate that it is what is 'between' the poles of such dichotomies that produces Public Service Broadcasting at any given moment and in specific locations. I use this 'in between' phrase in the Deleuzian sense:

*Between* things does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing to another and back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal movement that sweeps one *and* the other away, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 25)

This is not to argue that the binaries do not exist, that they are 'false', that they are not powerful in their effects, or that this thesis works without or even against them. Nor is it to argue that the Public Service Broadcasting idea is not 'real' or productive. It is to use the dichotomies and the ideas in a different way: understanding that instead of recognising only the molar flow

– that which uses the binaries as absolute limits – there is the possibility of privileging the molecular flow – or that which confounds the binaries.

For Deleuze and Guattari, particular spaces at given times are composed of two forces or flows. One is the molar flow (characterised by Deleuze in the quote above as the banks of the river). The molar force tends to stability, segmentation and limits such as those of centrality and dualisms. The molecular flow (the stream) undoes the molar while being formed by it. Both forces are necessary, productive and coexistent. The intersection of the Public Service Broadcasting idea with the internet idea can be usefully analysed by utilising this notion of molar and molecular forces. The ideas tend to one or other type of force – the Public Service Broadcasting idea to the molar force and the internet idea to the molecular. It must again be stressed that each idea, together with the technological 'era' which it imagines, demonstrates a relationship *between* molecular and molar forces; however in each idea one force is more powerful than the other.

The starting point of this chapter is one which imagines that for the period 1995-2000, ABC Online operated primarily as a molecular flow within the ABC, rupturing aspects of the Public Service Broadcasting idea (the molar), and operating in between its boundaries. This formulation recognises that ABC Online emerged and was implemented within the molar forces of the

Public Service Broadcasting idea. In recognising that ABC Online emerged within the dynamic between the two forces, the thesis acknowledges that both molar and molecular forces existed in the broadcast ABC and that the interactions *between* the forces were productive.

The molar forces of the ABC, and of talk about the ABC, are those which tend to fix the meaning of Public Service Broadcasting as unitary, centralised and to be argued within the boundaries of particular dichotomies. Molecular flows can be understood as the everyday performances which are in excess of the molar (for instance, some of the excesses which led to ABC Online). As detailed in the following chapters, staff members who implemented ABC Online were implicated in the molar of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, working with the stabilising flows; but more significantly also exceeded that molarity in their everyday (or molecular) performances. The implementation of ABC Online, where the internet idea met the Public Service Broadcasting idea, offered a moment of rupture when it was possible to see the pre-existing molecular, rhizomic forces of the ABC more clearly.

Practices of Public Service Broadcasting test elements of the Public Service Broadcasting idea against urgent and contemporary limits, and in between the poles of accepted dichotomies on an everyday basis; in doing so they

offer examples of the molecular and molar dynamic. At certain times, the assemblage will be more molar; at others, it will be more molecular.

Similarly, there are certain times when examinations of one or other type of assemblage within an institution will prove more productive. To use this molar/molecular idea is not to argue that one assemblage is 'good' and the other 'bad'. Instead, it is a way to examine the dynamic relationships between the two. And, as has been noted in Chapter 1, the further one pushes towards one type of assemblage, the harder one is pulled towards the other.

Reith's rhetorics of unity and centrality have guided discussion of Public Service Broadcasters in many countries, including Australia, despite the fact that the Public Service Broadcasting idea is nowhere realised in its pure form. The BBC itself demonstrated considerable diversity and dispersal from very early in its history. Both Ang and Donald have pointed out, for instance, that the BBC's authority as an integrating force was undermined by the fragmented interests of the population soon after World War II, and that the commitment to a unified audience soon yielded to format stations with more specialised audiences for particular styles of music (Ang, 1991: 112; Donald, 1992: 85). The specialisation of programming happened at the BBC long before BBC entered into competition with commercial broadcasters. Neither the practices of the BBC nor those of the ABC support the molar

rhetorics of unity that underpin the Public Service Broadcasting idea. Reith's imagined BBC, like the imagined nation, was a motivating ideal, a utopia that was never realised anywhere. Nevertheless, the molar elements of the Public Service Broadcasting idea which imagined a unified broadcaster (and nation) remain powerful.

The ways in which the Public Service Broadcasting idea was realised varied according to the broadcaster in question, to its place in its particular governmental ecology, and to its particular interpretation(s) of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, as can be concluded from a brief overview of a few actual Public Service Broadcasters.

### Broadcasting Ecologies

Facets of the Public Service Broadcasting idea are taken up and defended around the world despite the fact, as Ruth Tomaselli writes, that: 'Public broadcasting as we know it internationally, exists nowhere in its pure state.' (Tomaselli, 1989: 6) The ways in which each national broadcast universe is populated depend upon its particular broadcast ecology, as has been pointed out by Jacka (2000: 17). Anthony Smith has stated that the diversity of forms that Public Service Broadcasting has taken across the world were not only due to varying political agendas, but also to territorial and social matters – the size and topography of the country, its proximity to other

national broadcast systems and the need to provide for bilingualism being some criteria for the type of Public Service Broadcasting implemented.

Unity was also to be achieved by different means in different places:

For Canada national broadcasting was a chance to resolve a troubled national unity; but for Lebanon to attempt a single national system in radio would have put paid to any chance of unity. For Nigeria a national system could only exist in the English language, while all its indigenous peoples have to be reached through a multitude of stations using scores of tribal languages.

In both the Soviet Union and in India regionalism of broadcasting was the ideal method, for they could tailor the signals to fit the geographic contours of their internal national and language groups, under supervision of central government. But to reach the Lappish people as a group a broadcast signal has to cross the boundaries of three Scandinavian countries. (Smith, 1998: 40)

As Tomaselli points out, the goal of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was 'to provide a service for each of the linguistically and racially divided groups within South Africa' (Tomaselli, 1989: 29). The South African Broadcasting Corporation relies on commercial sources for most of its annual operating revenue, with 84 per cent of annual income derived from advertising, sponsorships and hiring broadcast facilities and

interest on investments; and 16 per cent from television licence fees. State funding for specific public broadcasting projects might supplement this funding. It broadcasts twenty internal radio stations in eleven languages, plus an external radio services in four languages; six television channels (four free-to-air including Bop TV which has been integrated with the SABC) and two satellite pay channels (SABC 2001/2002: 5). SABC operated as a monopoly until the early 1990s, but since then has competed with commercial and community broadcasting.

In Canada the law states that broadcasting is 'a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty'. It comprises public, private and community elements. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is funded mainly by public funds, with supplementary revenues from commercial advertising on its television networks. It provides four national radio networks, CBC Radio One and CBC Radio Two in English and La Radio de Radio-Canada and La Chaîne culturelle FM in French; two self-supporting specialty cable television services, CBC Newsworld in English and Le Réseau de l'information (RDI) in French which provide news and information programs 24 hours a day, seven days a week; and radio and television services for Canada's North in English, French and eight aboriginal languages. CBC also provides, on behalf of the government of Canada, an international short-wave radio

service, Radio Canada International, which broadcasts in seven languages (CBC, 2003).

The Japanese broadcasting system is a combination of Public Service Broadcasting supported by licence fees, and commercial broadcasting dependent on advertising revenue (Shimizu, 1997: 117). A public corporation was formed from three non-profit radio stations in Japan in 1926, and this corporation had a monopoly on broadcasting until after World War II: 'It was widely considered then that NHK was practically an extension of the ministry of communications and was executing its business in place of the Government.' (Shimizu, 1996: 141) NHK was established under the 1950 *Broadcast Law*. Commercial radio companies started in 1951, and since then Japan has operated under a dual system of broadcasting. NHK operates two nationwide terrestrial television networks, two DBS satellite television channels, three national radio services, and a nationwide teletext service and an overseas short-wave radio service in 22 languages. The *Broadcast Law* forbids advertising on NHK (NHK, 2002: 8).

In Australia, the ABC is funded directly by the state and has no advertising or sponsorship (Australia Television has been an exception periodically). As at June 2003, it runs one television network, six radio networks, an online service and an Enterprises Division which oversees ABC shops in cities all

over Australia. It operates alongside the other Public Service Broadcaster, the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), in a broadcast system that includes commercial free-to-air radio and television stations, as well as community broadcasting, and pay TV. The Australian dual (commercial/public) system has existed 'in embryo form' since 1924 (Davis, 1988: 18). The ABC did not ever have a 'national' period of monopoly, as did the BBC. This, combined with the fact that since 1980 there have been two Public Service Broadcasters in Australia, and that a community sector also exists, makes the criticisms adopted from those of the BBC-as-monopoly or BBC-as-dominant invalid in the case of the ABC. As asserted by Jock Given in relation to the advent of digital media in Australia:

Whatever this revolution, or transformation, is doing, it is not turning a once primarily public broadcasting landscape into a primarily commercial one – Australia's broadcasting has long been dominated by its commercial players. And it is not turning a once-dominant institution – the ABC – into a bit player. The ABC has long had to battle to define its place among other electronic media institutions which attract most of the audience most of the time. (Given, 2002: 22)

## The ABC and Commercial Interests

Given (2002) points out that in Australia the ABC has always operated in a dual system. He also argues against a public service/commercial dichotomy that frequently frames discussions of Public Service Broadcasting more generally. This dichotomy, as well as allowing misunderstandings of particular broadcasting ecologies, can also lead to misunderstandings of governing rationales that might be shared between Public Service Broadcasters and their commercial counterparts. John Hartley points out, for instance, that it is too easy to forget that the alliance of education with government in opposition to commercial media was an invention created in pursuit of governmental control over the formation of cultural citizenship. 'The emblem of the success of this policy,' he argues, 'is the BBC, an agent for educating cultural citizenship so influential in Britain that its ethos of "Public Service Broadcasting" has been imposed by successive governments on its commercial rivals.' (Hartley, 1999: 175)

In Australia there is also a moral flavour to the distinction, an implication that the ABC is somehow morally 'above' commercial concerns. This standpoint assumes that the ABC's highest ideal has always been the public good, as opposed to 'the market'. 'There has long been a sense within the ABC,' writes Trevor Barr, 'of its own importance as a national institution, as a kind of central moral authority in Australian society.' (Barr, 2000: 62)

Even a brief glimpse of the history of the ABC, Australia's first Public Service Broadcaster, puts that assumption to rest. Clement Semmler says of the introduction of the Australian Broadcasting Commission Bill in 1932:

The Bill itself did not give the ABC a monopoly of Australian broadcasting (as the BBC then had in Britain). The fact that the Labor party owned at least one commercial station cut the claws of the Opposition on this point, and in any case ... most of the B-Class stations were controlled by newspaper interests and well established firms such as AWA. The strength of these vested interests was probably the unstated reason why complete nationalisation was regarded as impossible. (Semmler, 1981: 11)

It was also vested interests rather than high-mindedness that prevented sponsorship or advertising on the ABC. A provision in the original bill permitted the ABC to broadcast 'sponsored' programs. The legislators of 1932 argued that sponsorship would create unfair competition to the B-Class stations, and the clause was withdrawn: 'The ABC was prohibited from broadcasting any form of advertisement; it was decreed at the same time that the ABC's right to publish its programs should not be exclusive – a decision which the Labor opposition attributed to the vested interests of newspaper publishers.' (Semmler, 1981: 13) Far from being a decision made from the moral (read 'anti-market') high ground, the decision to ban advertising on the ABC was made for commercial reasons. As Inglis notes:

'in time many would see the ABC's freedom from sponsored programs as part of its nature. It would not have become so if Labor politicians had had their way or if their opponents had been less responsive to commercial interests.' (Inglis 1983: 19) The issue of advertising on ABC was and still is revisited regularly, and has had some surprising advocates. In 1946 the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting suggested sponsorship as a way to supplement licence fees, while in 1948 Ben Chifley (Australia's Labor prime minister from 1945-49) argued that broadcasting would have benefited from sponsorship. In 1955, ABC General Manager Charles Moses advocated the control of all television by the ABC with a sponsored channel paying for an unsponsored one. (Semmler, 1981: 12)

Despite this history, the dichotomy which opposes commercial and public service goals in broadcasting continues to dominate discussion of Public Service Broadcasting. Uses of the dichotomy to demonise the market and to sound the alert of a crisis take two main (and somewhat contradictory) forms: either the attempt to procure a mass audience (as attempted by commercial broadcasters in the pursuit of advertising dollars) will lead to 'lowest common denominator' programming, thus lessening quality; or the fragmentation of audiences into finer and finer grids is an evil of the market (and, for some, of the postmodern moment) which endangers the national brief of the Public Service Broadcaster and Public Service Broadcasting.

The market assumes a contradictory position within this discourse: on the one hand, it is said to be 'evil' because it creates mass audiences; on the other hand it is said to be evil because it creates niche audiences.

To illustrate the first use of this dichotomy, one could recall the outrage in the press when then ABC Managing Director David Hill popularised the programming of the ABC in the late 1980s, or indeed moral panics about ratings chasing more generally (MacPherson, 1987; Williams, 1987; Coorey, 2000). To illustrate the second, one could cite the work of Tracey (1997), who sees the pluralisation of society, and the consequent fragmentation of one public into much smaller tribes as a loss for public broadcasting.

The relentless reiteration of this commercial/public service argument obscures details that may be more productive in an analysis of the ABC, and perhaps (public service) broadcasting more generally. So much time and energy is invested in defending this commercial/non-commercial boundary that significant details are lost. One of these details is that in Australia the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), a Public Service Broadcaster, accepts sponsorship, for instance. Or there is the detail that commercial stations are often required to perform public service functions. In 2000, for example, the UK government's media policy White Paper established a single regulator to

regulate public service requirements of the BBC, Channel 4 and Channel 5, but also the commercial ITV network (Goldsmith et al., 2001: 34). The fact that Public Service Broadcasters such as the ABC have relied on relationships with various commercial bodies is another detail easily elided by using a rhetorical strategy of boundary between market and state. The significance of the market/state (or commercial/non-commercial) boundary as rhetorical strategy is impossible to ignore or erase, but perhaps an examination of more detailed instances of the public broadcasting practices that exist in between may prove instructive.

In Australia, the boundary between the commercials and Public Service Broadcasters also unifies the particular Public Service Broadcaster on one side of the boundary, and commercial stations on the other, with the result that any analysis of both suffers (SBS is, for example, clearly both). Consequently, the listener/viewer/user is misunderstood as either a citizen or a consumer, when she or he cannot truly be identified exclusively as either. Commercial radio stations differ from one another, and they differ from commercial television stations – which also differ from one another, especially given the advent of pay TV. It is similarly unproductive to understand the various functions and activities of particular Public Service Broadcasters, or their listeners/viewers/users, as unified. It is in the intersections *between* goals that the emergence of ABC Online is most

interesting, and to take a position on either side of the dichotomy is to predetermine the limits of possible analysis.

In another example of the commercial/public dichotomy, commentators often attribute the sense of crisis in Public Service Broadcasters to the introduction (or increase in power) of commercial broadcasting (Ang, 1991: 30-31; McKinsey, 1999). One cannot do so for the ABC, whose sense of crisis in the 1990s was also heightened despite the fact that it had always operated in a dual broadcasting system. Nor does the argument hold for all other Public Service Broadcasters. The 1999 McKinsey Report into public broadcasting, completed for the BBC, attributes the crisis in Public Service Broadcasting to the deregulation of broadcasting and the rise of commercial competitors, despite the fact that seven of the 21 Public Service Broadcasters studied had experienced commercial competition since 1983 or earlier (McKinsey, 1999: 12). The BBC has had commercial competition since 1954, Canada since 1922 and Japan since 1950.

### **From Welfare State to Enabling State**

In Australia (and I suspect elsewhere), the crisis of Public Service Broadcasting was an extension of broader changes, such as the trend to globalisation, and changes being made from a particular form of the disciplinary state – the welfare state – to what Rose has termed 'the enabling

state', and what both Geoffrey Mulgan and Deleuze have called the control society (Rose, 1999: 142; Deleuze, 1992). Before considering aspects of the control society that inform and affect the ABC, I here consider the relation of the ABC to the welfare state. In its pursuit of elements of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, the ABC contributes to broader aims of social welfare. In this it can further be considered as an extension of what Hunter has called the apparatus of popular education. Hunter, in his examination of the relation between culture and disciplinarity in the development of literary pedagogy, notes that:

'English' can best be understood as a specialised sector of the apparatus of popular education. This apparatus was not formed on the basis of a compromise between the aesthetic ideal and social necessity. Instead we describe it as emerging in the autonomous sphere of 'social welfare'; a sphere formed when traditional techniques of pastoral surveillance were redeployed in a new machinery of government aimed at the 'moral and physical' well being of whole populations. It was in this domain that popular education could take shape as an apparatus of moral supervision. (Hunter, 1988: viii)

I noted earlier that, for Jacka (1997b), Public Service Broadcasting operated as a continuation of these goals of moral supervision or ethical completeness, a conclusion with which I agree and which I discuss further

in Chapter 6. Hunter refers to such goals as being part of an apparatus of popular education, within the sphere of social welfare. This apparatus aimed to produce social security via the creation of the moral and physical well-being of whole populations. The apparatus of popular education, of which the ABC was arguably a part, was in its turn a component of the Australian welfare state.

The advent of the welfare state in Australia can be dated as early as the provision of pensions for World War I veterans in 1917 (Reynolds, 1996: vii), but according to Anthony McMahon 'the high water mark of the welfare state, the benchmark from which its decline is so often touted, comes from the Democratic Socialist ideology of the Whitlam era, 1972-75' (McMahon, 1996: 12). In Australia, the crisis of the welfare state began in 1974 and continued well into the 1990s (McMahon 1996: 8). Rose has argued that the welfare state was based upon certain universalising notions that were questioned in the latter part of the twentieth century:

Welfare, as we know, was based upon a certain notion of citizenship. The subject was a citizen of a race or nation possessing, by virtue of birth, certain common political, social and economic rights or entitlements – not necessarily legal – which would be secured by the state, in return for each citizen fulfilling certain obligations of responsibility, prudence, self reliance and civic duty. Over the

closing decades of the twentieth century ... this universalising logic was called into question. (Rose, 1999: 254)

The high water mark of the welfare state in Australia was also the high water mark of government funding for the ABC. Since at least the early 1980s, both the Labor and Liberal Coalition parties adopted a neo-liberalist approach which, in its aim to promote an enterprise culture, threatened to weaken both the welfare state (Mendes, 2003: 4) and Public Service Broadcasting (Dempster, 2000a: 15-16).

When ABC Online was imagined and launched, Australia had a Labor government, but for most of the period discussed in this thesis Australia was governed by a Coalition government (of the conservative Liberal and National Parties) under Prime Minister John Howard. The neo-liberalists, whether Labor or Liberal, sought to decrease funding for public institutions such as universities, schools, hospitals and social welfare. While health and education were primary targets, Barr has argued that it was even worse for Public Service Broadcasters: 'In the current re-evaluation of the role of the state and its benefits,' he writes, 'public broadcasting has found itself no longer readily accepted as serving comparable functions such as state education or health care.' In a world with competing claims for diminishing public resources, he continues: 'Britain's BBC, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Japan's Nippon Hosa Kyokai (NHK), Australia's ABC

and the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) have all found themselves faced with severe financial cutbacks from their political masters.' (Barr, 2000: 64)

In a paper presented in 1996 and published in 1997, Jacka states:

The present plight of the ABC is mirrored around the world in the condition of public broadcasters in many other countries. In most countries which have traditionally had a BBC-style Public Service Broadcasting system, the last 10 years [have] seen either major transformations in government broadcasting (e.g. New Zealand), or situations of crisis where the Public Service Broadcasters struggle with shrinking revenues, increased competition, erosion of audience and confusion about their role (eg France, Germany, Netherlands, Canada). (Jacka, 1997b: 23)

In the late twentieth century, the welfare state was in decline, giving way to a more neo-liberalist form of governance which utilised techniques of personal freedom and choice. According to Rose, it is only over the past 25 years that the welfare state rationality of government has entered a crisis in the appearance of counter-discourses that are:

predicated on a different notion of the proper relations between the citizen and his or her community. Across their manifold differences, these critiques of welfare are framed in a vocabulary of individual freedom, personal choice, self fulfillment

and initiative. Citizenship is to be active and individualistic rather than passive and dependent. The political subject is henceforth to be an individual whose citizenship is manifested through the free exercise of personal choice among a variety of options. (Rose, 1996: 165)

Such counter-discourses threatened the unifying, social welfare and social security aspects of the arboreal image of Public Service Broadcasting. In the late 1990s in Australia, arboreal images of Public Service Broadcasting characterised Public Service Broadcasting as: in crisis due to the neo-liberalist governing techniques; non-commercial; unified; and morally superior. Application of elements of the Public Service Broadcasting idea to defences and criticisms of the ABC tended to undervalue the variety and complexity of ABC programming and practices.

#### ABC: Paternalism and Practice

Commentators on either side of the political fence are mistaken in their nostalgia (or disdain) for unified, monolithic, paternalistic and culturally arrogant Public Service Broadcasters. For although some of the rhetoric of Reith and his followers adopted that position, it is impossible to find a pure application of such an approach in the practices of (public service) broadcasters – even at the BBC under Reith (Donald, 1992: 82). The *idea* retains its currency and power, however, and both nostalgic welfare-statism

and neo-conservatism, argues Donald, 'would emphasise the monolithic nature of the BBC, its paternalism and its cultural arrogance.' (Donald, 1992: 133).

There is no doubt that elements of Reith's vision were paternalistic and monolithic. Reith's manifesto for a Public Service Broadcasting system had three parts. The first was to maintain high standards and a unified policy to the whole of the service supplied – 'a cogent advocacy of public service as a cultural, moral and educative force for the improvement of knowledge, taste, and manners'. Secondly, Public Service Broadcasting had immense potential for helping to create an informed citizenry. Thirdly, Reith argued for continued unity of control – for the maintenance of a BBC monopoly in broadcasting in the United Kingdom (Scannell, 1990: 14). As well as stressing unity and centrality, it was a paternalistic system – in the sense described by Raymond Williams as 'an authoritarian system with a conscience':

Where the authoritarian system transmits orders, and the ideas and attitudes which will promote their acceptance, the paternal system transmits values, habits, and tastes which are its own justification as a ruling minority, and which it wishes to extend to the people as a whole. Criticism of such values, habits, and tastes will be seen as at best a kind of rawness and inexperience, at worst a moral insurrection

against a tried and trusted way of life. The controllers of a paternal system see themselves as guardians. Though patient, they must be uncompromising in defence of its central values. (Williams, 1976: 131)

In the Public Service Broadcasting idea, values habits and tastes were to be transmitted to the nation as a whole. This paternalism was soon tempered by practices of Public Service Broadcasting in various countries including the United Kingdom. But as an idea it retained currency in both the defences and critiques of Public Service Broadcasting. In this schema, the Public Service Broadcasters (and those arguing in their defence) are understood as guardians of social unity and security, and in such defences the contingency and historicity of the concept, as well as the diversity of its practices, are sacrificed – perhaps to the disadvantage of the very institutions which the argument tries to defend. Often those who defend or criticise the ABC, or BBC do so in such a way that their own paternalism is strikingly apparent (e.g. see Simper, 2002). Such commentators seem to regard themselves, as well as the ABC, as benign guardians of authority, quality, unity and national identity.

The notions of centrality, unity and authority are distasteful to those who desire to be neither guardian nor guarded on the other hand, and such notions incite sentiments exemplified by MacKenzie Wark (1999), and by

the tongue-in-cheek title of Alan McKee's journal article: 'I don't want to be a citizen (if it means I have to watch the ABC)' (McKee, 2002). But even these reactions to the paternalistic and elite misunderstand the ABC as 'one', and thus elide its plurality. As an example, will McKee be a citizen if he has to listen to a program on one of the six radio networks (say, the youth station JJJ), instead of watching the single free-to-air ABC television network? In Australia, critics such as Wark have written of the ABC as though it is unitary and/or monolithic, and sometimes as though it consists only of ABC television (Wark, 1999; Moore and Wark, 2000; McKee, 2002). Both those who defend and those who criticise the ABC do so in the same terms – terms that universalise rather than particularise. In emphasising these unifying, top-down aspects of Public Service Broadcasting, commentators under-represent the diversity, pluralism and practices of freedom that are evident in its practices. The emphasis on unity and centrality, whether as criticism or as defence, tends to limit the conversations that can be had. The emergence of ABC Online, and this analysis of it using poststructural political philosophy, offers the possibility of privileging the diversity and plurality of Public Service Broadcasting programming and practices. It also recognises the governmental practices of freedom inherent in ABC techniques of the self.

## Interconnecting Ideas

During the period of this study, the Australian Coalition government tried to justify its funding cuts to the ABC by urging Mansfield to limit the scope of the ABC. At the same time, ABC Online was expanding and increasing the scope of ABC functions by combining World Wide Web technologies, extending existing broadcast resources including human expertise, Public Service Broadcasting ethics and broadcast 'content'. The pre-existing plurality and diversity of the broadcast ABC made ABC Online possible in practice. The emergence of ABC Online, and the consequent interconnections between the arboreal Public Service Broadcasting idea and the rhizomic internet idea, thus offered a site at which the broadcast ABC could be re-imagined as a primarily rhizomic rather than arboreal assemblage.

## The Internet Idea and the ABC

Mass media forms including television and radio offer technologies of the self that privilege multiplicity and modularity over identity, sometimes in spite of the unifying goals of their institutions. Listeners and viewers are free to create selves from a variety of options. While disciplinary society was totalising and individuating, the control society modulates, imposing gradations of difference at ever more levels across ever more axes. Instead

of a politics of identity which entails and includes a boundary from 'the other', the modularity and multiplicity of the control society involve a plurality within and across the self. This trend to modularity gathers speed with the proliferation of media outlets, and more especially with the advent of the World Wide Web. The governing logic of the World Wide Web is one where the imagined user exists as an ever-changing intersection of multiple interests and allegiances.

The internet was implemented primarily as a many-to-many medium, and its uses and effects sometimes extended and sometimes differed from those of broadcasting. The internet is, according to Hardt and Negri, 'an indeterminate and potentially unlimited number of interconnected nodes that communicate with no central point of control; all nodes regardless of territorial location connect to all others through a myriad of potential paths and relays'. They continue: 'The same design element that ensures survival, the decentralisation, is also what makes control of the network so difficult. Since no one point in the network is necessary for communication among others, it is difficult for it to regulate or prohibit their communication.' Hardt and Negri recognise the similarities of the internet as democratic model with Deleuzian-Guattarian philosophy, writing: 'This democratic model is what Deleuze and Guattari call a rhizome, a nonhierarchical and noncentred network structure.' (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 299)

There are numerous accounts of the history of the beginnings of the internet via the US military and international academic communities (Everard, 2000; Jordan, 1999: 32), and there is no need to give another account of its early history here. A few timeline points of the World Wide Web are, however, required to help contextualise the date of implementation of ABC Online. In 1992 the World Wide Web was launched, made possible by the development of hypertext markup language (html). In 1993, US President Bill Clinton, US Vice President Al Gore, the United Nations and the World Bank went online. In 1994 commercial users outnumbered academics for the first time, the Vatican went online, and a fee was imposed for use of domain name servers (DNS) (Everard, 2000: 20). The first international World Wide Web conference was held in Geneva in May 1994. Java, a secure programming language that allowed sites that had previously looked very static to be much more dynamic, was launched in May 1995.

Public Service Broadcasters were quite early in their adoption of the World Wide Web. Japan's NHK World Wide Web Service in the early to mid 1990s consisted of transmission schedules and program information about its international service (Radio Japan) in 21 languages. The BBC had an internet presence from 1994, with full internet access to the general public, and a BBC Bulletin Board called 'Auntie'. By early 1995 it also had a quite

detailed World Wide Website. In the United States, the CBS World Wide Web service was launched in February 1995, but had been on the internet for some time with the Prodigy Online Information Service. CNN News copy was available early in 1995 only in direct transcript form via a gopher server, and the American ABC was available only through the private America Online information service. Early in 1995, Canada's CBC was 'experimenting with the distribution of sound files excerpted from CBC Radio Programs' (Rapley, 1995d: 3).

When, in Australia, Southern Cross University commissioned its server in March 1994, it was among the first six or seven hundred servers in the world. The Community Broadcasting Association of Australia (CBA) had a home page on that server, while community radio stations 2NCR (Lismore) and 2BOB (Taree) had a web presence with program policy and schedule information. In April 1995 the first Australian World Wide Web conference was held, and offered 'the first opportunity for the Australian Web Community to come together to share their experiences and to speculate on the future of the web' (Debreceeny, 1995: 11). As detailed in Chapter 3, various program-makers at the ABC had launched websites with commercial service providers by then. ABC Online was officially launched in August 1995.

Everard describes the early internet as 'a technology that was driven by its users, certainly more than any developer or designer' (Everard, 2000: 21). Perhaps because it was driven by users, and perhaps because these users were enthusiasts, there was a refreshing optimism about predictions for this medium, which was 'new' from the 1960s until at least the early 1990s, overlapping with the period of crisis of the welfare state and Public Service Broadcasting in Australia. While crisis and death were being predicted for the traditional institutions of the welfare state, civil society and Public Service Broadcasters, predictions for the internet were optimistic, even utopian (Turkle, 1995; Rheingold, 1993; Negroponte, 1995; Haraway, 1991). While the Public Service Broadcasting idea is usually understood as coming from one man, Lord Reith, and to have imagined the transmission of values habits and tastes, the internet idea had more dispersed beginnings and more plural goals. Enthusiasts wrote of the possibilities for everyone to become a producer, instead of being only a consumer, of media goods; they spoke of worldwide interactions between individuals without government intervention, of freedom of expression, and of greater democracy. They spoke of the possibility to exchange or abandon identities. While the Public Service Broadcasting idea had a longer history than the internet idea and an official 'father' in Reith, the internet idea was comparatively new, and its emergence was far more dispersed.

## The Internet Idea and Poststructuralism

The internet *idea* developed in interactions between theoretical analysis and technological applications. To those familiar with poststructuralist literary and political theory, at least, the internet appeared to be a realisation of such theories as rhizomics, intertextuality and multiplicity. Writing about hypertext, a predecessor to the ways that the World Wide Web is organised, Landow said:

Electronic linking, which provides one of the defining features of hypertext, ... embodies Julia Kristeva's notions of intertextuality, Michel Foucault's conceptions of networks of power, and Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's ideas of Rhizomic, 'nomad thought'. (Landow, 1994: 1)

Poster later similarly noted the similarities between 'new technologies' such as the internet, and the poststructuralist philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari:

These new technologies are objects like none before them in the sense that, especially in the case of the internet, they are thoroughly decentralised. Whereas mechanical machines are inserted into hierarchically organised social systems, obeying and enhancing this type of structure, the internet is ruled by no-one and is open to expansion or addition at anyone's whim as long as its communication protocols are followed. This contrast was anticipated theoretically by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari especially in *A*

*Thousand Plateaus* in which they distinguished between arboreal and rhizomic cultural forms. (Poster, 2001: 27)

Stuart Moulthrop notes that Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus* was of great significance to many writers in the new media field, including Ted Nelson, Bolter and Landow, and this is borne out again and again (Moulthrop, 1993: 304). Turkle argues that internet experiences 'admit multiplicity and flexibility. They acknowledge the constructed nature of reality, self and other.' (Turkle, 1995: 263) Turkle explores the ways in which the internet challenged ideas of identity as singular and fixed – for instance in the Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link (WELL): 'the cybersociety of the WELL is an object- to-think-with for reflecting on the positive aspects of identity as multiplicity' (Turkle, 1995: 258).

### The Internet Idea and Utopianism

As well as paralleling poststructuralist theory, the internet idea offered a utopian vision at odds with the utopia of the Public Service Broadcasting idea of the unified nation of well-informed citizens. Negroponte wrote of the digital age as having four qualities of decentralising, globalising, harmonising and empowering (Negroponte 1995: 229) – qualities that are obviously different from those of the Public Service Broadcasting idea. Howard Rheingold (1993) asserted that new types of community could be formed online, while Donna Haraway considered the hybridity of machine-

human (Haraway, 1991). George Gilder wrote, of convergence: 'the telecomputer will enrich and strengthen democracy and capitalism all around the world ' (Gilder, 1990: 18). And, in one of the silliest examples of overexcitement about the internet, Walter Wriston argued in 1992 that 'we have learned that freedom ... is spread on the global electronic network to people in the far corners of the world who previously had no hope or knowledge of a better way of life' (Wriston, 1992: xiii). There was, as I said above, utopianism at work. In early 1996, John Perry Barlow wrote the Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace, claiming in part that:

Cyberspace consists of transactions, relationships, and thought itself, arrayed like a standing wave in the web of our communications. Ours is a world that is both everywhere and nowhere, but it is not where bodies live.

We are creating a world that all may enter without privilege or prejudice accorded by race, economic power, military force, or station of birth. We are creating a world where anyone, anywhere may express his or her beliefs, no matter how singular, without fear of being coerced into silence or conformity.

Your legal concepts of property, expression, identity, movement, and context do not apply to us. They are based on matter. There is no matter here.

Our identities have no bodies, so, unlike you, we cannot obtain order by physical coercion. We believe that from ethics, enlightened self-interest, and the commonweal, our governance will emerge.

(Barlow, 1996: 2)

The idea of cyberspace as diversified, dispersed, many-voiced, stateless, networked, bodyless, raceless and lawless stood in stark contrast to the Public Service Broadcasting idea of national identity, unity, centrality and education. Both ideas were utopian, and of course neither could ever be realised. Castells wrote that the internet: 'To some extent, was the equivalent of the Maoist tactics of dispersal of guerilla forces around a vast territory to counter an enemy's might with versatility and knowledge of terrain.'

(Castells, 1996: 6). The 'guerilla'-like dynamic of the internet, which was also apparent in various phases of the implementation of ABC Online (see Chapter 8) was rather more like an enactment of Deleuzian thought and the control society than it was like the Public Service Broadcasting idea of unity and continuity, or even Foucault's disciplinarity or governmentality. As further detailed in Chapter 3, its beginnings in several places at once within the ABC, its re-uses of content, its disruption of organisational structure and its network qualities recalled the poststructuralist ideas of rhizomic thought, of intertextuality and dynamic power relations.

Everard argues that, in an analysis of the impact of globalisation and the global spread of the internet, three important threads are: 'The dissaggregation of the unitary state, the process of identity formation', and 'the interaction of these two in maintaining social and economic inequalities' (Everard, 2000: xvii). For Everard, then, rather than producing a democratic utopia, the internet is a technology that maintains pre-existing inequality. The Public Service Broadcasting idea included an understanding of a unitary state and the formation of a national identity as productive of that state. It also entailed an attempt to address particular social (and possibly economic) inequalities (of education, or of market failure of the commercial networks, for instance).

### The Internet Idea and Capitalism

Both Geoffrey Mulgan and Poster have noted that the information society entails a change in capitalism itself. This is not merely that a greater number of people in the workforces of certain nations operate on symbols rather than matter. The changes in capitalism stemmed from the differences in nature between hard goods and soft goods, as pointed out by Barlow:

With physical goods, there is a direct correlation between scarcity and value. Gold is more valuable than wheat, even though you can't eat it. While this is not always the case, the situation with information is usually precisely the reverse. Most soft goods

increase in value as they become more common. Familiarity is an important asset in the world of information. It may often be the case that the best thing you can do to raise demand for your product is to give it away. (Barlow, 1994)

The relation between scarcity and value is crucial to a discussion of the shift from broadcasting to the internet and from the disciplinary to the control society. While the economy of mass media relied on scarcity – whether of page space in a newspaper, or spectrum space, broadcast hours and distribution footprints of broadcasting – the economy of the internet relied, especially in the early years, on excess. Public Service Broadcasters shared with the education sector and long-time Net aficionados a preference for the free, fast exchange of information, and the internet had an obvious technological potential to assist institutions such as the ABC in this goal. But the posts had shifted. In broadcasting, the ABC could be understood as filling a market failure of certain program types. This understanding was harder to sustain in the context of the internet idea, which celebrated the profusion, excess and diversity of internet content.

The internet was understood less and less in the late 1990s as a conduit for the free exchange of information. Instead the emphasis came to be more and more on the mentality of the free 'market'. 'And when capitalism enters the domain of the internet,' says Poster, 'it does so with a vengeance.' (Poster,

2001: 44) The ways that these ideas of free information exchange and the free market intersected at ABC Online are further discussed in Chapter 6 of this thesis in relation to the proposed Telstra /ABC Online deal. Poster has argued that information technology such as the photocopier, the audiocassette, DVD and video enabled the consumer to blur the line between being a consumer and producer of cultural objects. He continues: 'The internet also offers the consumer such a vast domain of information for easy and cheap reproduction that one no longer thinks of Web surfers as consumers.' For Poster, 'Cyberspace means producing culture as you consume it.' (Poster, 2001: 48). Web authors may not be novelists, but they were offered another sort of productive power in the cultural economy. The line of distinction between what was commercial and what was non-commercial was even harder to draw in the internet environment than it had been in the broadcast environment.

The blend of postmodern utopia and free enterprise which was inherent in the internet idea combined with the Public Service Broadcasting idea to form a background against which ABC Online emerged. A March 1995 memo about the Microsoft Trial (further detailed in Chapter 3) said:

Maybe the rebellious streak in me is coming out, but I and many others are concerned that the incredibly democratic and open nature of the Internet is under

threat from governments and businesses with vested interests to protect. (Richardson, 1995: 1)

While a May 1995 update on Multimedia said:

a group of enthusiastic program-makers from across the Corporation have been exploring the possibilities of establishing a presence on the WWW for the ABC or their particular part of the Corporation, and joining the growing number of broadcasters on the web ... One of the fundamentals of the ABC's approach to its on-line services is to see them as an extension of free-to-air services. (Rapley, 1995)

To analyse the impact of the emergence of ABC Online is to trace some intersections between the Public Service Broadcasting idea and the internet idea, because both had to be thought simultaneously in order for ABC Online to emerge. For some staff at the ABC, such as those quoted above, these ways of using the internet to think multiplicity, diversity, hybridity, fragmentation, plurality and even globalism, were escape hatches from the pessimism and tired dichotomies within which the ABC had been thought. Yet, at the same time, staff members were fiercely loyal to aspects of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, and worked to adapt the internet idea as it then existed into a tool for the ABC, a national Public Service Broadcaster. For these staff, the internet offered possibilities to better achieve the Public

Service Broadcasting goals of 'universal' access and education, and to encourage contributions from the public.

### The Internet Idea and the Question of the New

The newness of the internet produced a refreshing utopianism at a time of doom and gloom for Public Service Broadcasters. A danger of analysing the emergence of any new technology, however, is the valorising of the new against its predecessors – a valorising which was inherent in the internet idea at the time ABC Online emerged. As Sean Cubitt notes: 'Apostles of the new media see the internet as a stateless nation, a democracy without MPs, a world in which everyone has an equal voice, and one where differences of skin colour, gender, physical ability or geographical location have no bearing.' (Cubitt, 2001) These 'apostles' engage in what is often a naïve celebration of the new. Poster has noted that the question of the new requires a framework that avoids setting up the new as culmination of the old on the one hand, or as the onset of dystopia on the other. According to Poster:

The conceptual problem is to enable a historical differentiation of old and new without initiating a totalising narrative. Foucault's proposal of a genealogy, taken over from Nietzsche, offers the most satisfactory resolution of the problem because it attempts to see each emergence in relation to a

field of forces and because it configures each in relation to its own systematicity. In this way the new emerges out of the past but also in a disruptive relation to it. (Poster, 2001: 13)

Poster suggests that an analysis of the internet from a genealogical point of view might avoid both 'technophobic demonization' and 'naïve celebration' and allow us to avoid overlooking what is genuinely different about the internet, as well as to also avoid greeting it as an impossible, absolute novelty (Poster, 2001: 13). The preceding discussion of the Public Service Broadcasting idea and the internet idea offers a genealogical viewpoint to the history of ABC Online. In the following chapters I avoid both the technophobic demonisation of the internet and its naïve celebration by noting where ABC Online offered continuities with Public Service Broadcasting practice, and where it produced ruptures in hierarchies and bureaucratic practices.

## Conclusion

The Public Service Broadcasting idea has been implemented in different ways in different places at different times, but has relied on a philosophy of provision of a service to a unified public. This idea has limited the conversations that can be had around actual Public Service Broadcasters, their practices and their possible futures. The implementation of internet

services challenged the Public Service Broadcasting idea of centrality and one-way service provision, and offered the possibility of rethinking (and remembering) Public Service Broadcasting programming and practices as diverse, networked, decentralised and fragmented.

The Public Service Broadcasting idea had ossified into concepts of unity, centrality and unified nationhood which were contested by the many-to-many, rhizomic and supranational network structure of the internet. The internet idea more closely resembled the Deleuzian idea of a molecular multiplicity – which is not unifiable or totalisable. A poststructuralist analysis of the implementation of Online services at a Public Service Broadcaster offers an alternative to the arboreal image of Public Service Broadcasting, and to the rhizomic image of the internet. At the ABC, for instance, the intersection of the Public Service Broadcasting idea with the internet idea demonstrated the rhizomic nature of the broadcast ABC, and also challenged some familiar conceptions of the internet. As already stated, the Public Service Broadcasting idea and the internet idea had to be thought together in order for ABC Online to emerge.

### ***Chapter 3: 'A Virus for Organisational Change'<sup>2</sup>***

This chapter offers some histories of the emergence of Online services at the ABC. These stories, gathered for the most part from interviews with ABC Online staff, present the emergence of ABC Online as decentred and multiple, with different governing rationales motivating different subsites. They are not the only possible narratives of the emergence of ABC Online; nor are they either definitive or comprehensive. Instead my aim is to demonstrate some of the ways that the emergence of online services affected the broadcast ABC, and the ways that the broadcast ABC culture guided the emergence of ABC Online. In Deleuzian terms, this chapter reveals a tension which can be described as a dynamic relation between the molar and molecular forces at the ABC. It maps a constant interaction between forces of stability, wholeness and hierarchy (power for Foucault, or the molar in Deleuzian terms) with those forces that

---

<sup>2</sup> Vaile (1999).

strove towards connections and decentralisation (Foucauldian desire, or the molecular in Deleuzian terms). As noted earlier, these two forces of the molar and molecular are always coexistent, and in dynamic relations, and it is not my intention here to contrast these forces as 'positive' or 'negative'. Rather, the intention is to interrogate whether analyses which privilege multiplicity and diversity may prove more productive than those which privilege 'core' services and struggle to occupy centres.

Independently, program-makers found ways around internal systems to get their programs online, and later staff of the Multimedia Unit blurred program and medium borders (between radio, television and online) to create online subsites and gateways. Commercial/public service boundaries were also made more flexible. Management folded ABC Online into ABC strategic goals via policy and bureaucracy, though not without changing the bureaucracy in the process. At the level of the website as text, initial design mimicked the program segmentations of broadcast programming and later modulated information across multiple axes. ABC Online was becoming the ABC, and the ABC was becoming ABC Online.

The governing rationale which shaped the emergence of each subsite was peculiar to the program site, discipline area or network to which the subsite was affiliated. Because ABC Online had the potential to present content from all radio and television networks and programs, it demonstrated the diversity of 'the' ABC. Paradoxically, ABC Online also provided a 'container' for ABC broadcast content, presenting it in one place so that its diversity was evident in a way that could not be experienced on isolated radio and television networks. Some JJJ listeners, for instance, only realised that 'their' station was part of the ABC when the website came into existence, linking JJJ's subsite to other ABC subsites (Byrnes, 1999).

The following stories offer examples where a Public Service Broadcaster, a producer of national collective identit(ies), came into contact with the rhizomic network logic of the internet. They are specific examples of Public Service Broadcasting idea meeting internet idea, as these ideas were discussed in Chapter 2. They demonstrate that the earliest implementations of World Wide Web services within the ABC were not centralised or linear or stable, nor were they part of the organisation's official strategic objectives. Certain underlying ethics and work practices were remembered, however, and reapplied to the Online environment. Examples of such ethics and practices included a

commitment to maximum access to the ABC, insistence upon editorial independence, experience of tight deadlines and minimal budgets, and a preference for 'content' over 'technology'. This moment of newness and rupture, by highlighting the power of the molecular, casts another light on the pre-internet ABC, offering a possibility that an examination of its diversity, fluidity and lines of flight might be as productive as the more common defences of unity and centrality.

The first ABC websites erupted in a few places almost simultaneously, and without direction from any 'centre' of the institution. The results were complex, with the requirements of the new technology necessitating a restructure of work practices, re-evaluations of ABC output, and the restructure of the organisation. Entities outside ABC 'borders' – for example, msn, and various ISPs – were crucial to the emergence of ABC websites. This was despite the fact that the early ABC Online was able to flourish largely *because* it was represented as non-commercial in public discourses. Almost all attention on the ABC at the time focused on its failed commercial ventures (Lewis, 1995; Commonwealth of Australia, 1995; Ryan and Burge 1995; Ackland, 1994).

These studies of the implementation of ABC Online reveal complex networks of connections within and outside the organisation. And, contrary to the common centre/periphery or core/non-core funding classifications, the earliest sites were not 'core' areas of the ABC – however these might be defined. ABC Online briefly ruptured molar forces at the ABC, but this unravelling was accompanied by a refolding of ABC Online into the institution.

While this chapter stresses the decentralised, under-funded, 'bottom up' nature of the inception of ABC Online, its parasitism on pre-existent ABC programs, its reliance on public service values and its privileging of 'content' over 'technology', it also recognises that it was through this process that the ABC website became part of a larger organisational strategy. It acknowledges that those who implemented ABC Online, the broadcast program-makers, embodied Public Service Broadcasting ethics at the same time that they operated to create lines of flight from the more molar aspects of the organisational structure.

ABC Online began after what might be characterised as a series of confrontations between Public Service Broadcasting and 'new technologies'. By 2000 it had become an institution where these component parts were hardly distinguishable. Its effects were twofold. Firstly it demonstrated the pre-existent

diversity of ABC programming and practices, and secondly it had impacts upon the arboreal understandings and molar forces of the ABC – such as the bureaucratic forces within the organisation. The practices that underpinned the beginnings of the ABC Online site addressed its very limited funds and intensely hostile political environment. ABC Online was articulated to, and therefore could be seen as an adjunct to, free-to-air programming at the ABC, and this protected it from hostile political scrutiny (which focused on overtly commercial ventures) in the early days, allowing it to be a catalyst for organisational change. This embedding of the World Wide Web service into the free-to-air broadcast practices of the ABC came about for a number of reasons, including the suitability of the technology for ABC goals, the failures of some commercial ventures, and the enormous (and sometimes untapped) 'content' and ethics of the existing ABC broadcast networks. While the earliest sites of ABC Online were embedded in programs and informed by Public Service Broadcasting ethics, they also constituted lines of flight from the organisational structure of the ABC.

The World Wide Web offered the ABC an opportunity to decentralise, to regionalise and to increase the size of its publics. The World Wide Web seemed made for Public Service Broadcasters – a means by which the ABC could

cheaply disperse its content even further. As Colin Griffith, then Head of Multimedia at the ABC, wrote in a 1996 article in *Media International Australia*:

There are interesting parallels between the culture of the internet and the traditional values of public broadcasting. Some of the shared values include the free flow of information and ideas, the encouragement of a diversity of viewpoints and the pursuit of access and equity in the delivery of content. (Griffith, 1996: 52)

Griffith here notes some of the rhizomic elements of the Public Service Broadcasting idea as it had been practised at the ABC – its encouragement of a diversity of viewpoints and its pursuit of access and equity. These goals could be met and understood even better in the internet environment:

As a public broadcaster, the ABC has the opportunity to harness and promote the public broadcasting qualities of the web. The Internet will allow the ABC to distribute its material to Australian and international audiences, unimpeded by commercial interests controlling gateways on proprietary systems.

Moreover, the Internet provides an opportunity for the ABC to contribute to the free flow of information and entertainment that is not generated solely for

commercial benefit. The ABC can build on its traditions of addressing audiences as citizens not consumers and support the democratising potential of the internet.  
(Griffith, 1996: 52)

It is interesting to note here that the emphasis in this public rhetoric on ABC Online was that it was 'not commercial'. This stance allowed ABC Online to be uncontroversial for a time, despite the fact that the commercial potential of ABC Online had been recognised within the ABC from its inception, as detailed Chapter 4, and despite the fact that the development of ABC Online had relied on involvements with commercial entities such as msn, as detailed below. ABC Online also benefited indirectly from ABC commercial ventures, such as Broadcast News Australia (BNA), from which News Online was generated. By publicly concentrating on the similarities between values of the Public Service Broadcasting idea and values of the internet idea, despite overt acknowledgement of ABC Online's commercial possibilities in institutional documents, ABC Online avoided the kinds of public scrutiny and hostility that had accompanied other (commercial) ventures into 'new technologies' or delivery systems such as pay TV. Perhaps this strategy of differing attitudes internally and publicly was long-standing, as indicated in an internal ABC memo suggesting that, since the managing directorship of David Hill, there had been a two-pronged strategy within the ABC:

in public, adherence to public broadcasting and the Charter, and rejection of commercialisation and ratings-chasing;

in private, at the level of program-makers, an enormous pressure to chase money from commercial and other sources and to fund a 'more with less' policy, in a drive to improve ratings. (quoted in Rapley, 1995: 1)

In the early 1990s there was a broad government tendency to neo-liberalism (McMahon et al., 1996; Mendes, 2003), combined with an overt hostility to the 'ABC culture', which was understood to be similar to the Public Service or the goals of the welfare society. It seemed highly unlikely that government funds would finance all of the ABC's desired outcomes, and the ABC entered into various commercial ventures to produce revenue. While these commercial ventures were always controversial among those who believed that commercial involvements might contaminate the Public Service Broadcaster, they also became more broadly controversial when their poor financial performances came to light (Simper 1993, 1994, 1994a; Knight, 1994; Korpörral, 1993).

### Failed Joint Ventures

In August 1995, the ABC signed an agreement with Cox Communication and Fairfax to create the ABC's pay TV arm, Australian Information Media (AIM).

A month later, the ABC was not only locked out of pay TV (Westfield, 2000), but other commercial ventures were also failing. Australia Television (an international television service) was being bolstered with extra government funds, having been unable to secure enough sponsorship, and Broadcast News Australia (BNA), the ABC's commercial news wire service, had failed. Opinions varied as to the reasons for these failures. Opinions within the ABC included: that the ABC was not commercially driven enough; that ABC staff were not experienced commercial managers; and that there was strong opposition from competitors (Allen, 1999; Bardwell, 2000a; Johnston, 1999; Lloyd James, 2000). Whatever the reasons, the ABC's entries into and failures in these commercial ventures attracted plenty of media coverage. By contrast, the advent of ABC Online on 14 August 1995 passed with barely a whisper. ABC Online was presented not as a commercial venture, nor even as a technological innovation, but as an extension of broadcast programs, and was therefore not as visible or controversial as the ABC's other 'new media' ventures. The first subsites were mostly promotional of ABC free-to-air programs. In hindsight, it seems that both the press and academic commentators under-estimated the potential of ABC Online – both as a new outlet for ABC content and as a potential revenue-raiser.

Especially in light of the commercial 'new technology' failures of the ABC, extra government funding for another 'new technology' such as multimedia was highly unlikely in the late 1990s. Any ABC multimedia service would therefore have to make do with resources that were already available within the organisation. Trials with CD-ROMs had proven largely unsuccessful financially, and the future of 'multimedia' was uncertain. The first ABC subsites were initiated by internet-savvy program staff who were familiar with and defended the spirit (if not the letter) of the ABC Charter. Their practices were informed by goals such as equity and access which were also elements of the 'internet idea', and to these they brought also the Public Service Broadcasting ethic of editorial independence. The events leading to the implementation of ABC Online, and the implementation itself, unexpectedly highlighted areas of fragmentation and redundancy which existed within the broader ABC, including unproductive divisions between technology staff and program staff, between radio and television divisions, and between particular programs.

### Dust Coats and Tweed Jackets

One of the greatest problems to be overcome in adopting internet technology at the ABC was a traditional division between the technician and the broadcaster in radio production. This division was deeply ingrained in ABC radio work

practices, and took several years (and the implementation of the World Wide Web) to undo. The first significant use of digital technology at the ABC was the design and commissioning of the ABC's Ultimo Building, which was opened in 1991. The building relocated radio staff (who had been spread across the city in various rented sites) into a purpose built location, and was designed with digital rather than analogue equipment. Malcolm Long, then Director of Radio, saw that these facilities offered an opportunity to change work practices in the ABC, where technicians and program operators were divided. According to Long, there was:

a strong view in the ABC in the past that certain type of people dealt with technology and certain other people – the gentlemen broadcasters – and they were almost all gentlemen – didn't. I think that's a view of programming production in broadcasting that needs to be very seriously qualified now. I think there is an interplay between technology and people at all levels of the organisation which makes the old division between the dustcoat and the tweed jacket really quite invalid.  
(quoted in Palfreyman, 1993: 11)

Richard Palfreyman noted that the merging of tweed jacket and dust coat had still not occurred by 1993 and that work practices lagged behind both the new technologies themselves and management strategies for the implementation of

such technologies (Palfreyman, 1993). Similar distinctions remained in the ABC despite the digitalisation of radio production. In 1994 program staff and information technology staff came into conflict over the uses of personal computer networks, email and the internet at the ABC.

In the early 1990s the 'internet community' of program-makers (tweed jackets) at the ABC was largely dependent on the Information Technology (IT) department (dust coats), which was still reluctant even to install a personal computer network. Staff of several programs requested email access, but with no success, because the IT department was not convinced that it could maintain ABC security while providing such a service. Out of sheer frustration, some program staff even took the desperate measure of pretending to be students in order to use the University of Technology, Sydney computer labs across the road.

Some influential people in the IT Department asserted that program-makers should not be allowed access to internet technology, and one senior IT staff member was heard to shout in the corridor after a meeting with program-makers in early 1994: 'they [meaning program-makers] can't have it, this is *our* technology'. This is one instance of the difficulties caused because the ABC

was organised into divisions (or strata) where connections were discouraged, instead of as being organised as networks of interconnections. The Dix restructure, which had divided radio and television into separate divisions, was becoming outdated by the advent of multimedia. Molar forces of stability and segmentation (divisions between dust coats and tweed jackets, or for that matter between television and radio) provided obstacles to the molecular forces of rupture and destabilisation that were made available by the internet.

This difficulty was compounded by a specific accounting system at the ABC, which included cost centres whereby the various ABC departments charged one another for services. While a reliable system for financial accountability was long overdue, there were some unexpected outcomes. The user pays system within the ABC allowed managers, rather than program-makers, to control the production and output of programs. In particular, the IT department was seen to be serving its own agenda by keeping prices for its services high, and thus excluding many program-makers from essential resources such as the internal library service. In this case, the adoption of particular commercial models of management and control worked *against* efficiency within the ABC, considering that broadcast programs were the ABC's main 'business'. According to one staff member, IT became 'a powerful barony' with no responsibility for,

nor interest in, the ABC's program output (Anonymous, 1995). Until Long's desired 'interplay between technology and people at all levels of the organisation' was achieved, program-makers had to work around, rather than with, the IT Department, and some staff opened accounts with external Internet Service Providers to create websites for their programs. In this way they worked to further the ABC goal of maximum access, but against the hierarchical bureaucratic segmented structures of the ABC. Some experiments were undertaken at the ABC in CD-ROM production, and though these proved too expensive to produce, they gave some staff, such as television producer Ian Allen, experience with cross-media production, and encouraged them to experiment with the internet. Allen worked in the Science unit, and one of the earliest television programs to produce a website was a show he produced, called *hot chips*.

#### *hot chips* – from viewer to user

The ABC screened a successful television series, *hot chips*, about computers and the internet in 1994, and a second series was made in 1995. The purpose of the series was to introduce computers and the internet to a mainstream television audience. In this it could be argued that the ABC was providing, as has been briefly alluded to in Chapter 2, what Geoffrey Mulgan has identified

as the scarce, and therefore valuable, resource of the information society – 'the capacity to use information rather than information as such' (G. Mulgan, 1991: 12). Television viewers were coaxed on to the new medium via the old one. Allen recognised that a show about the internet needed a website, and he was aware of the reluctance of IT to put the ABC online. On Allen's suggestion, series producer Joanne Finlay opened an internet account with a commercial Internet Service Provider, Pegasus, and put *hot chips* online in May 1995. Shortly after the site appeared, Brian Ridgeway from children's program *Behind the News* (BTN) in Adelaide rang Allen to say that BTN also had a website – on another Internet Service Provider, OzEmail (Allen, 1999; Potter, 1999). This website had been online since March 1995 (Rapley, 1995). A few program-makers had found ways around the division between IT and program-makers. It was also apparent that particular areas of the ABC, at least, were engaged in a process of providing knowledge through which listeners/viewers could 'graduate' from broadcasting to the internet, thus recreating themselves as internet users.

The promotional pages for *hot chips*, which went up two weeks before the first episode of the 1995 television series was broadcast, had also attracted the attention of others within the ABC who had been independently producing their

own pages on Internet Service Providers – including science television series *Quantum* and Sydney-based youth radio station *JJJ*. The earliest program sites had begun as a way around institutional structures, rather than from the top of a hierarchy or the centre of the organisation. The *hot chips* website was very successful, scoring 20,000 hits in the first week, and generating a huge volume of emails. It is easy to forget in hindsight that in 1994-95 websites were not as ubiquitous as they have since become – attached to and advertised by every organisation and media product: 'When our final series finished in August 1995, the world still possessed only a handful of TV shows with websites.' (Allen, 1999; *hot chips*) These early sites, including *hot chips* which were developed by program-makers, demonstrated that the ABC could exploit (or at least promote) broadcast content on the newer medium and that relations with commercial entities such as ISPs may be necessary initially in order to redraw boundaries between the 'dust coats' and the 'tweed jackets'. The core/margin distinction was under threat across several axes – that of new media/old media; commercial/public service; and internal distinctions such as radio/television and technician/broadcaster. The realisation that several programs were online despite the internal barriers led to interaction between these programs and their makers as well, which contributed to the later establishment of the Multimedia

Unit, as detailed below. Another instance where a venture with a commercial entity was critical was the *On Australia* project, discussed below.

### *On Australia* Trial: Knowing the Enemy?

'On Australia' was a joint venture by Microsoft Australia and Telstra Corporation Ltd 'to provide access to global online information services' (ABC, 1995d). It was to be part of a proprietary 'walled community' on the internet, and users would gain access to it by paying a subscription fee. The ABC was not itself a partner in the joint venture, but was approached to provide content. *On Australia* was proposed to the ABC in late 1994 as a non-exclusive outlet for Radio National content for a test period of six months while the full network proposal was worked out for launch with Windows '95 later in the year. At around the same time (late 1994), Radio National employees met with IT staff to set parameters for a Radio National Information Technology Plan (Rapley, 1999). This plan proposed a dedicated ABC Online service. Staff of Radio National were asked for their views on the confidential *On Australia* proposal in an email of January 1995. As at 18 January 1995, the trial was yet to be supported at higher levels in the ABC, but had Peter Manning's (then General Manager, Radio National) support. Peter Manning approached Radio National Broadcaster Stephen Rapley to manage the development of the project. In this

capacity, Rapley met non-ABC web users and designers, and analysed the possibilities of online services for the ABC.

A policy paper prepared for the February 1995 Board meeting recommended that the Board note both the investigation (with the IT Department) of establishing a dedicated ABC online service, and the participation of Radio National in the *On Australia* trial. The policy paper noted that:

ABC staff are already connected to the Internet using commercial operators. They are using the Internet as an electronic mail system, as a research tool for accessing information and as a marketing/publicity tool for reaching target audiences ... Triple J are connected. The number of email messages they receive equals the combined number of phone and mail inquiries. (Griffith and Rapley, 1995: 4)

Thus there was evidence that the Online service was well used. Listener/viewer feedback on programs was valued within the ABC, as was demonstrated by various policy documents and most particularly by the television program *Backchat* where viewers' letters about ABC programming were read and replied to on national television. The potential of the World Wide Web to increase interaction between the program-makers and their audiences was therefore seen as beneficial to the ABC. Other issues raised in the policy paper included: the

authority of the ABC to provide services; editorial policies; quality and standard of service; resource implications; charging policies; management; copyright; and industrial relations. The policy paper recommended that:

The suggested strategy for the ABC's involvement with Internet information services is that the Corporation develop the capability to provide its own online information service to the Internet. Such a service would allow all ABC divisions to provide information and other services. A comprehensive Board paper outlining options will be presented to the March Board meeting. Subject to Board approval, it is possible that an ABC service could be established before the end of 1995.

The advantage to the ABC of providing its own Internet information service is that the Corporation will have complete editorial and management control over the presentation of eventual charging policies for information and services. (Griffith and Rapley, 1995: 7)

As early as January 1995, then, the policy implications of an internet service included commercial considerations. Moreover, 'editorial and management control' was desirable 'over the presentation of charging policies' rather than

purely for the sake of 'Public Service Broadcasting principles'. These hopes for revenue generation were not made public, however.

An internal memo which discussed the Board's possible strategy for taking the ABC on to the internet concluded with the concern that the 'On Australia' trial with MSN would have 'the same smell as pay' (Anonymous, 1995). It was a comment that referred to the failure of the earlier ABC pay TV venture, and highlighted the threat to ABC control over distribution mechanisms.

Nevertheless, on 24 February 1995, Radio National provided a media release giving details of the *On Australia* trial, quoting Peter Manning: 'Radio National is strongly committed to exploring opportunities for increased access to its programs through new technologies. This project allows us to make our programs available to a wider audience in a different form, while still preserving our editorial independence.' (ABC, 1995b) Staff expressed a number of reservations about the agreement, including: 'whether the ABC would remain a public service free-to-air broadcaster, or would provide a range of user pays services; how the ABC would maintain equity while expanding into the new services; and whether it was appropriate for the ABC to enter into commercial/co-production agreements which amounted to a Public Service Broadcaster subsidising private profit' (ABC, 1995a: 2).

A rural program-maker, while congratulating Radio National on taking the initiative to get the ABC online, sounded a note of warning:

Given the nature of *On Australia* ... a joint venture between Australia's biggest telecommunications conglomerate, and the world's largest software provider, many internet users see them as the greatest threat of all to the future of the Internet as a cheap, non-political universal resource.

Now as it happens, the ABC is also perceived as a 'cheap non-political universal resource for the Australian population, and I'd hate to see that image tarnished by the perception that we're 'getting into bed' with the wrong people.

I suspect that the RN listenership would contain a solid number of people (academics, divergent thinkers, and iconoclasts) who would agree with my concerns.  
(Richardson, 1995)

In undated notes from around that time, another staff member wrote: 'TCI, the main programming and financial backer of Australis Television, Australia's major pay TV operator, has recently purchased 20% of the Microsoft Network

in the US. TCI's media philosophy is widely acknowledged to be completely at odds with any public broadcasting ethos.' (Rapley, 1995a) Despite the perceived possible dangers, knowing about the Microsoft Network would certainly be no disadvantage, and the ABC had to keep up with these developments or risk being left behind. At a time when ABC funds were being reduced dramatically, the commercial trial was an opportunity for research and development, if nothing else.

The demise of the trial was not due to principles that opposed commercial involvements, but rather to the failure of the service to attract a substantial number of users. In other words, it failed for commercial rather than ethical reasons. Despite Microsoft's predictions of a huge audience for its service, in the year that Radio National participated, Radio National received only seven emails from *On Australia* users, most of which were from other 'forum' owners. In 1999 Rapley noted the irony of the title 'forum' which implied a level of interactivity, which *On Australia* definitely did not have: 'In retrospect it looks like a shopping mall where there were no shoppers, just a few shopkeepers chatting amongst themselves.' (Rapley, 1998: 1) The participation in the *On Australia* trial was a very valuable part of ABC Online prehistory nonetheless. Radio National became a part of the first ABC Online site largely due to its

involvement in the trial, as all the transcripts that had been produced for it were able to be easily used for the ABC website:

the production process was simply to have the transcript edited in Word, run a macro to convert the body of the transcript into html and paste that into a template by hand (!) and publish that on the web. Then I would take a copy of the proofed Word document and apply a different template for the MSN pages which were uploaded on a separate PC. The publishing process was simple and in the case of the web has been substantially simplified, so that most labour is focussed on maintaining editorial quality. (Rapley, 1998: 2)

As well as showing the value of minimising technological difficulties of posting information on the web, the trial also proved that commercial interests valued Radio National content – and at a time when ratings were being chased, commercial interest was highly valued, especially for a low-rating radio network such as the intellectual talk station Radio National. The trial had also included research of other websites, research that was used in the formation of the Multimedia Unit, and later ABC Online. Rapley had particularly taken note of the sites where pre-existing content resources had been re-versioned for Online sites, and his research, combined with the experiences of those who had posted program sites, indicated that this would be the best strategy for the

ABC's online service. This cross-media approach meant that, instead of a Multimedia Unit being established to provide yet another division in the ABC, such a unit should provide a facilitating role so that program-makers across the organisation were connected directly instead of via the hierarchy where they only communicated 'upwards' or 'downwards'.

On 30 June 1995, several stakeholders in possible 'New Technologies' services, including Colin Griffith (then in Corporate and Policy), Ian Allen, Stephen Rapley and Peter Manning (Radio National), Brian Ridgeway (BTN) and Rob Garnsey (IT), met to discuss the development of a multimedia presence for the ABC. The Multimedia Unit began operation the next day, with Peter Manning appointed as head of ABC Multimedia. Brian Johns, then Managing Director, asked the Board for \$1 million (Martin and Seccombe, 1996), but the allocated budget for the first year was \$750,000. With this, the Multimedia Unit was to coordinate the various other sites that were operating in the ABC, and conduct research into other possible 'new technologies' for the ABC. By comparison the establishment costs for the BBC web service, which operated as a separate unit, were £200 million, with £100 million per year running costs (Docherty, 2003).

Rapley's research for the *On Australia* trial had convinced him that integration of broadcast production areas was crucial to the success of an ABC Online site. Although Johns is quoted as saying about that period at the ABC: 'The whole atmosphere, in the Board and all round the ABC, was "We're tired, and we don't want to do more with less" ' (Martin and Seccombe, 1996), the Multimedia Unit had to do just that. The difficulty was how to provide content to the Online service without taking resources from broadcasting. The solution, which Rapley had learnt during the *On Australia* trial, was to fully utilise existing content, taking whatever was available from existing work practices and 're-versioning' it for the website. The ABC server (under control of the IT department) hosted the site, while the Multimedia Unit took on a coordinating function. Staff on each program remained responsible for producing their program's site. New media was being invented through reversioning the old – broadcasting was thus a condition of the new medium.

Problems between the Multimedia Unit and program-makers, and between the Multimedia Unit and the IT Department, persisted however. By early 1996 infrastructure upgrades were needed for the ABC Online server, and Colin Griffith, by now head of the Multimedia Unit, researched the possibility of outsourcing the server for ABC Online. His research revealed, however, that

outsourced servers would not be any cheaper, and may not even be better from a 'customer service' point of view. By the time this research was completed, relations between the Multimedia Unit and the IT Department had improved, partly because certain hostile IT staff had left; and ABC Online remained on the ABC server, a decision which later proved to be particularly beneficial for the proposed 'One ABC' restructure (ABC, 1996a).

In order to make the arrangement of program-makers as web authors work, software programs were developed by the IT department, which allowed the creation of web pages to become part of the production processes of the various (then mostly radio) programs (Garnsey, 1999). As program scripts were typed, for instance, they were automatically translated into html for the website. Staff came to see the website as an extension of their free-to-air broadcast production work at the ABC, not as a separate task for an organisation in competition with it, as BNA, pay TV and ATV were sometimes regarded. (In the case of BNA, for instance, staff objected to the fact that news items could be available to the commercial service before being available free-to-air.) The ABC websites initially categorised users according to the 'old media' of radio or television programs, but this did not deter the ABC from conducting some rather innovative cross-media experiments.

When ABC Online was launched on 14 August 1995, only two subsites were posted: Radio National and youth radio station JJJ. The sites that other programs had initiated remained on separate servers at first. The *ABC Annual Report* said of the official sites:

Radio National provided transcripts of the 8.30 a.m. reports such as *The Media Report* and *The Law Report*, as well as some *Background Briefing* programs, with *Click On!* and the religious programs distributing program details by Internet email. On a trial basis, Radio National also provided identical material to the *On Australia* subscription based on-line service from September to February.

Styles varied according to the nature of the site, the Radio National site adopted a text intensive style for the health, media and law reports while Triple J featured 'zine' style coverage of music, films and youth culture. Each site was designed for its particular group of users, and usually by program-makers.

Triple J's innovative site incorporated programming information and studio samples of contemporary

Australian music. Samples from the Unearthed project were added. (ABC *Annual Report 1995-1996*: 27, 49)

More and more broadcast programs developed websites, and their styles varied considerably according to the program and the aesthetics of those who posted the sites. Many ABC programs had dedicated followers, who transferred their loyalty to the online sites of their programs. Because it was program-makers (rather than technicians, for instance, or specially hired 'multimedia' producers) who ran the sites, programs grew into the web, and the web grew into the programs. Each was becoming the other, with the broadcast programs soon becoming promotional for the websites as well as other way around. The practice also created innovation in multiple use of content across media, as the example of *http://* discussed below, demonstrates.

*http://*

After Radio National and JJJ, the television science program *Quantum* was the next site on ABC Online, followed by *http://*, which could be cited as the first 'convergence' between the internet and television – and video recorders. The *http://* website was posted before the television show was broadcast on 4 April 1996, to promote the program. Both on the website and immediately before the television show screened, viewers were advised to record the program in order to capture some of the text from the web pages. During the telecast, parts of the

show could be seen as static or noise. When these were later replayed and paused on video, viewers could read pages of text from the *http://* website.

There were approximately eight 'frames' of video shot for each page of words. So, with television camera speed at 25 'frames' per second, in five seconds, 15 pages of words could be shown. Originally four frames per page were made, but viewers advised that at this speed it was impossible to move even slowly through the frames on their video recorders, so each page was shot for double the original time. The flash frames were signaled by a 3-2-1 countdown to make them easier to spot during playback. This production process was developed solely so that television viewers with no internet access could still get some of the information available on the ABC Online web page. As a national broadcaster, the ABC aimed to offer its services to as many people as possible. This goal, in combination with the need to maximise available content, necessitated an innovative cross-media approach. The *http://* site received emails that sometimes incorporated story ideas to later be used in the television program, and a computerised voice on the television program read out emails from users. There was a level of 'convergence' of viewer with user, as well as between the technologies.

In a premonition of its later interactive websites, the ABC in this instance educated its public in the use of the internet, and also responded to input from users. This early TV show/internet site is a fascinating instance of an attempt to bridge the gap between the internet-challenged and the internet user, as well as the gap between broadcasting technologies and the internet. ABC program staff, accustomed to audience interaction via talkback and letters, were well prepared to adopt interactive media. Additionally, the Public Service Broadcaster's goal of educating publics was useful in the transition. *http: //* was a trial convergence between the World Wide Web, television, radio and the video recorder – not to mention the qwerty keyboard, the telephone line, the educational ethic of Public Service Broadcasting and radio program *Click On!*, which also had a website – to which the *http: //* site was linked.

*Click On!* was a radio program of 'a weekly tour of the sites and sounds of the Internet', broadcast on Radio National from February to December 1996. *Click On!* covered issues such as education on the net, third world communications, politics online, remote medicine, Australia's digital future, net radio, privacy, and cybercafes. The producers regarded access, regulation, and privacy as the most significant issues for the program. *Click On!* had a listserv facility to which listeners could subscribe to receive regular email postings about what

was coming up on the program, as well as the collected links and other details of internet resources mentioned on the show. Listeners could comment about the show and the net on this listserv, which was still active 2.5 years after the radio program ended.

As well as demonstrating the productivity of cross-media production, *Hot chips*, and *http: //* are examples of ways in which the Public Service Broadcasting ideals of education, access and equity persisted in the development of ABC Online. A goal that the programs shared was to introduce 'mainstream' ABC audiences/viewers to the internet, while also using broadcast programs about the internet to appeal to early adopters of the internet. *hot chips* and *http: //* preceded (and arguably provided models for) the Board decision of 1996 that the ABC would use multimedia to add value to existing activities and to pursue the new medium's creative opportunities. In doing so these programs redrew boundaries between what had been strictly differentiated empires of media (radio and television) and between programs. In addition, the cross-media lessons that were learnt via *hot chips*, *http: //* and *Click On!* informed later decisions to organise the ABC Online site into content 'gateways'. Gateways reorganised ABC content, which had until that point been presented on the website only according to its broadcast program title, under disciplinary

or demographic categories such as science, youth, children and the arts. The user no longer needed to know the name of a television or radio program to find information on a particular topic, but could locate all the relevant ABC material via these gateways. The user who wanted to find information about a specific episode of a particular program could still do so via that program's site, but might also check the appropriate gateway for related information.

The establishment of the Multimedia Unit and the implementation of ABC Online encouraged a more rhizomic structure for the ABC by creating dynamic connections between parts of the organisation which had previously been divided, by redrawing (or removing) media or program boundaries, by decentring operations, and by exploiting commercial relations. These changes were implemented in the context of, and perhaps even partially as a response to, a hostile federal government that continued to reduce ABC funds.

### 1996 Funding Cuts to the ABC Tree

Late in April 1996, Senator Richard Alston announced that the ABC would suffer a 2 per cent cut, as would other government departments. At the ABC this 'one-off' cut represented \$10 million in 1996/97. This cut would be followed by a \$55 million cut in the 1997/1998 financial year. On 31 May 1996

Johns announced a \$13.5 million budget shortfall, necessitating the loss of 300 jobs over twelve months.

Discussions of the reduced funds often strayed into arboreal metaphors, with debates over what constituted the 'trunk' of the ABC, and which 'branches' could be removed. Jon Casimir was alone, however, in extending this metaphor to ABC Online, when he wrote in the *Sydney Morning Herald* that it was the wrong time to cut ABC funding:

And not only because of the effects it will have on existing TV and radio services, but also because it will undoubtedly stunt the growth of the ABC's Net arm. *It will prune the tree at precisely the time it should be really starting to bloom.*

The clampdown on the ABC might very well stop what could and should have been a sea change at the broadcaster, a realisation that it has the same kind of responsibility to the Net that it has to television and radio. (Casimir, 1996, my emphasis)

Casimir began by outlining the ABC Charter, and highlighting some of the ABC editorial policies and codes of practice, such as 'to provide programs that contribute to a sense of national identity' and:

to transmit to countries outside Australia programs of news, current affairs, entertainment and cultural enrichment that will encourage awareness of Australia and an international understanding of Australian attitudes on world affairs; and enable Australian citizens living or travelling outside Australia to obtain information about Australian affairs and Australian attitudes on world affairs'. (Casimir, 1996)

He continued: 'Slap me with a haddock if I'm wrong, but isn't the Net the perfect medium to achieve those ends?' (Casimir, 1996) Casimir was right, although he missed the point that the embedding of the web service into the programs themselves prevented its easy removal as a 'branch'. It would be a mistake to regard it as any part of a tree at all, as it operated in a non-linear manner. While remaining a part of 'the' ABC, ABC Online was an organism based on another image of thought.

What was not obvious to Casimir, or other commentators of the time, was the extent to which the Multimedia Unit reconstructed organisational connections, briefly challenging the arboreal way of thinking the ABC. Brian Johns later claimed the ABC Online was 'not a limb that could be severed' – and indeed it could hardly be understood as a limb at all (Rollins, 1999). Ian Vaile (then

Head of Education at Multimedia) described Online as 'a virus for organisational change'. It could similarly have been described as a line of flight from the rhizome of ABC programs, or a rupture of the stratified bureaucracy of the ABC. The separate empires of radio and television that had developed in the ABC since the Dix Report of 1981 were fortresses of resistance and defensiveness. Radio staff envied the huge budgets of television shows while television staff suspected that radio was where the real intellectual work was done at the ABC (Lloyd James, 2000). There were further divisions where programs (or stations) protected their budgets and therefore their 'content'.

Recently, for example, *PM's* presenter, Monica Attard, said in the early edition that listeners could hear the full edition at 6.00 p.m. on ABC Radio. She was inundated with Emails from both Radio Metropolitan and Radio National managers saying there is now no such thing as ABC Radio, only separate stations. This philosophy is especially rampant in the Metropolitan and Regional Stations, which increasingly see themselves as ratings-driven, commercially oriented stand-alones. (Rapley, 1995a)

While the diversity of networks, programs and media would prove to be a huge content resource and therefore an advantage for the ABC on the World Wide Web, the compilation of a website which was officially that of 'the' ABC

necessitated the best use of available resources, and this eventually necessitated greater cooperation between various divisions and programs.

### Disciplinary Gateways and the 'One ABC' Strategy

As well as integrating the IT department with program staff, and embedding itself into programs, the Multimedia Unit further reconnected the radio and television divisions when it established content 'gateways'. *the lab* was the first gateway to go into production. It was made possible by a grant from the federal government under its Science and Technology Program, and so when the funding cuts struck the ABC, *the lab* was buffered. The project gathered content from across the ABCs many radio and television programs to produce one gateway site that linked all ABC material on science matters. By this means, a user who sought science information need not access the website via broadcast program names, but could do so by interest – in this case, science. The cross-media lessons had been well learnt, and by 1999 *the lab* began to produce web specific content as well as re-versioning broadcast material. Other gateways soon followed, and as well as a tendency to undo the television/radio divide, their decentralisation (News was based in Brisbane, Rural in Perth, Education in Adelaide, Arts in Melbourne and Science in Sydney, for instance) addressed criticism that the broadcaster was Sydney-centric, or at best Sydney-

and-Melbourne-centric. ABC Online was beginning to be used strategically to address some of the perceived failings of the ABC.

Initially, individual web developers had had a sense of autonomy in getting their sites online and there were very few rules about 'standardisation' of sites. This encouraged a commitment to the projects, and a diversity of views which would otherwise have been unachievable. For a time the lack of standardisation was allowed and even encouraged. It is all too tempting to see all this development as entirely random and bottom up, however. Rumour has it that while radio stations believed that their local site 'just happened' to go online, Brian Johns was determined that cities with newspapers online were the first to have their local ABC radio station online too. So it was not only in the 'output areas' of radio and television that ABC Online was enmeshed; it became indivisible from the policy of the ABC under Johns. As Vaile, then Education Producer, Multimedia Unit, put it:

I have to say that Brian Johns ... he's been a bit of a visionary in this and he's seen the fact that One ABC as an idea makes sense. And it was ridiculous the way it had been – the way it was devolving in the past. So any MD worth their salt would have come to a similar conclusion; but Johns had the foresight to see that this little baby thing called Multimedia could be a really

powerful agent of making that work back when nobody else did. When it was just a laughable small little toy thing. And ... he met a lot of opposition ... and now he's been proved right. (Vaile, 1999)

In what seems counterintuitive, then, the ability of ABC Online to work across media, its ability to use and re-use large amounts of ABC content, to decentralise or even fragment production, and its archival possibilities, made ABC Online the perfect tool for 'unifying' the bureaucratic organisational structure of the ABC. 'One ABC' became Johns' policy for restructuring the ABC in the face of massive funding cuts (ABC, 1996a). And, while the policy operated at a management level, ABC Online made it palpable in staff work practices. On the first anniversary of ABC Online, in August 1996, Johns talked about 'One ABC' even though the policy was not to be released until the following December:

A key element of re-shaping is the idea of One ABC. Let me explain what I mean by One ABC. I believe that organisations with a strong identity will survive, and indeed prosper in the competitive multi-channel environment. The ABC has a strong identity. People know what it stands for, and they appreciate its values. One ABC involves structural change, closer working relationships between the existing media divisions. An overall emphasis on the whole, rather than its individual

parts. This is an opportunity to give new life to federalism – decentralisation, devolution. (Johns, 1996)

While the more rhizomic structure of ABC Online had deterritorialised the bureaucracy of the ABC briefly, it was now to be used to re-unify that bureaucracy. Its rhetoric in this instance was not one of unifying the nation, however, but of unifying the organisation and giving it a clearer distinction from its others – an identity. In December 1996, Johns released the *One ABC* policy proper. The policy aimed to save \$27 million by 'ending duplication, cutting back in non-program areas throughout the ABC, and by making our internal production more competitive' (Johns, 1996b). Instead of the old divisions, there would be four program-oriented functions: Regional Services; National Networks; News and Current Affairs; and Program Creation. There would be three support functions: Finance and Business Services; Human Resources; and Technology Strategy and Development.

Under 'One ABC', Multimedia was to be one of the National Networks along with Triple J, Radio National, Classic FM, PNN, Radio Australia and Australia Television. The restructure decreased opportunities for entrenched cultural resistance from the pre-existent radio and TV empires. Multimedia could now operate on a symbolically – though certainly not financially – equal footing, albeit as another 'National Network'.

## Conclusion

The earliest websites at the ABC began as lines of flight from the strata and segmentarity of the ABC organisational structure, while maintaining particular ethics of Public Service Broadcasting such as education and access.

Conversely, the earliest websites maintained broadcast program categories, imagining the user as listener to a particular radio program, or viewer of a particular television show. By showing many of the ABC's programs/networks all in one place, ABC Online demonstrated the diversity that had existed in the broadcast ABC. The provision of gateways later modulated the provision of information – which could now be obtained via program categories, disciplinary categories or genre categories. Instead of information being available by only one pathway, the interconnections via multiple axes (medium, discipline, genre, etc) meant that information on the site was not as contained and did not imagine its users as (even potentially) 'whole'. The user was now imagined as modulated and multiple rather than individual.

The implementation of online displayed a continual interaction between what Deleuze and Guattari call the molar and the molecular, the arboreal and the

rhizomic. Rather than ABC Online either merely continuing Public Service Broadcasting as it had been practised by the ABC prior to Online inception, or completely undoing the bureaucratic stratifications which had existed, ABC Online operated as a site at which the tensions between the two could be played out anew. One unexpected consequence of the implementation of ABC Online was its role in creating a more unified organisational structure while simultaneously displaying the diversity of ABC broadcast programming.

What is also demonstrated by the implementation of ABC Online is its connections with the commercial sphere, whether through the trial of 'On Australia', the re-use of BNA staff and services or merely the necessity of using commercial ISPs in order to get the ABC on to the Web. The implementation of ABC Online demonstrated that diversity and multiplicity, fragmentation, repetition and connectedness were strengths of the ABC which had for too long been submerged in defences using ideas of unity and centralism. During the period 1995-2000, ABC Online remained almost invisible in public policy and legislative documents, despite its success, despite its role in reorganising the institution and despite the documents internal to the ABC which recognised its potential from the beginning. Chapter 4 discusses the relative power of silence and discourse in policy documents around the ABC.

## ***Chapter 4: Discourse and Silence***

Although many internal organisational ABC documents discussed, in considerable detail, the importance of ABC Online to the ABC's future, such documents did not circulate outside the ABC, and did so in only a limited way within the ABC (Allen, 1999; Griffith, 1999; Rapley, 1999; Lloyd James, 2000). ABC Online remained marginalised and almost completely silent in more widely circulating policy documents in the period 1995-2000. Whether by accident or design, the silence of ABC Online in public policy served the ABC well for its first five years, allowing both for ABC Online to become very successful, and for the 'One ABC' policy to be implemented, as detailed in Chapter 3. ABC Online remained in the shadows of public discussion, legislation and public policy, yet its impact on the institution and culture of the ABC was remarkable.

This chapter analyses the ABC Charter and the Mansfield Review in detail, and contrasts the absence of ABC Online in these *public* documents with its presence in some *internal* ABC documents such as memos and Board Reports. It demonstrates how ABC Online was imagined outside the arboreal ways in which the ABC was being publicly debated. ABC Online was emerging and experimental, and it was also excluded from the very documents by which the 'core' was judged. Hence it was not possible for ABC Online to struggle to occupy the centre or core of the ABC. At a time when funds were being reduced dramatically and political attention was hostile, it may have been unwise to emphasise the successes of a 'non-core' activity. If ABC Online had been too visible in public policy documents, a hostile government might have asked: 'Why is the ABC actively promoting a non-core activity when our goal is to limit public service functions and funds? (Off with its head!)

Given that this was a period of crisis for the ABC, when defences had to be mounted against threatened and real funding reductions, this silence is remarkable. ABC Online had an enormous capacity to attract more listeners/viewers to the ABC, especially as the earliest subsites of ABC Online were attached to broadcast programs. Requests for information to ABC Online increased in the 1996/97 financial year from approximately 125,000 to 600,000

per week, and ABC Online won the Best Media Website Award in 1997. ABC Online was crucial to the implementation of the 'One ABC' restructuring. Program and multimedia staff were well aware of the potential (including commercial potential) of ABC Online, and they communicated this potential to the Managing Director and to the Board. Why then, was this awareness not communicated through the press or through public policy documents? The silence can only have been strategic. In what ways, then, could the silences and discourses surrounding ABC Online be seen both to reinforce and to undermine the power of the ABC and ABC Online?

ABC Online did not fit the ways of thinking that had characterised much of the *public* talk about the ABC in the broadcasting era. The Public Service Broadcasting idea, which relied on a one-to-many communication, may have silenced ABC Online in public policy documents. As previously discussed, this way of discussing the ABC relies on a centralist philosophy, underpinned by specific dichotomies such as core/margin, national/international and national/commercial. The ABC, in this configuration, is identified by its other (commercial or international), and as having a core over which various constituents struggle. It was difficult to position the emerging, experimental and (as will be demonstrated later in the chapter) 'non-charter' ABC Online as a

core of the ABC. ABC Online also demonstrated affiliations with the commercial and international 'others' of the national broadcaster, potentially unsettling these boundaries at a time of crisis for the ABC. The attitude expressed in public to ABC Online by the ABC seemed to be one where the broadcaster would 'wait and see' what the internet would bring, and what the World Wide Web would bring.

ABC Online was an awkward object for the ABC – one that did not quite fit its particular interpretation of Public Service Broadcasting idea (as expressed in the Charter, for instance). The public silences of ABC Online, contrasted with its plentiful statements in internal discourses, might be usefully analysed in light of what Foucault has said of discourses (and silences) in general:

Discourse is not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power, it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (Foucault, 1978: 100-101)

The silences surrounding ABC Online in the public documents of the ABC did not render it powerless. The silences both produced ABC Online and rendered it fragile. ABC Online was fragile because it could not be defended as a 'core' service of the ABC. As detailed below, it was excluded by the specificity of the Charter. Nevertheless it was realising elements of the spirit of the charter, such as the requirement for the ABC to educate, entertain and inform. Similarly, although ABC Online was largely elided in Mansfield's review (1997a), it was addressing the very issues that Mansfield had been appointed to address – issues such as children's, youth and rural access to the ABC. These public silences and organisational discourses operated both as instruments and effects of power.

## The ABC Charter: ABC Online

Section 6 of the ABC Act is its Charter, which describes the functions of the Corporation (see Figure 3). The Charter operates as a legitimising document for the activities of the ABC – whenever one defends an ABC activity as 'central' or 'core', one invokes the ABC Charter. 'Charter and non-charter functions' for the ABC is the equivalent of 'core and non core business' for private enterprise. The Charter is used both publicly and internally as a way to defend and evaluate ABC practices. The ABC Charter, a part of the *ABC Act* (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1983) was written in response to the Dix Report which, as mentioned earlier, considered that the 'Public Service emphasis' of the ABC had overwhelmed its role as a modern broadcaster (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981: 5.34, 5.35). Dix had recommended that the ABC be organised more along the lines of a commercial enterprise. Prior to the implementation of the *ABC Act*, the national Public Service Broadcaster, then known as The Australian Broadcasting *Commission*, was part of the larger Australian Public Service. The main legislative function of the *ABC Act* was to position the national broadcaster as a Corporation, thus releasing it from some of the bureaucratic requirements of the *Public Service Act*.

AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION ACT 1983 - SECT 6

Charter of the Corporation

(1) The functions of the Corporation are:

(a) to provide within Australia innovative and comprehensive broadcasting services of a high standard as part of the Australian broadcasting system consisting of national, commercial and public sectors and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, to provide:

(i) broadcasting programs that contribute to a sense of national identity and inform and entertain, and reflect the cultural diversity of, the Australian community; and

(ii) broadcasting programs of an educational nature;

(b) to transmit to countries outside Australia broadcasting programs of news, current affairs, entertainment and cultural enrichment that will:

(i) encourage awareness of Australia and an international understanding of Australian attitudes on world affairs; and

(ii) enable Australian citizens living or travelling outside Australia to obtain information about Australian affairs and Australian attitudes on world affairs; and

(c) to encourage and promote the musical, dramatic and other performing arts in Australia.

(2) In the provision by the Corporation of its broadcasting services within Australia:

(a) the Corporation shall take account of:

(i) the broadcasting services provided by the commercial and public sectors of the Australian broadcasting system;

(ii) the standards from time to time determined by the Australian Broadcasting Authority in respect of broadcasting services;

(iii) the responsibility of the Corporation as the provider of an independent national broadcasting service to provide a balance between broadcasting programs of wide appeal and specialized broadcasting programs;

(iv) the multicultural character of the Australian community; and

(v) in connection with the provision of broadcasting programs of an educational nature—the responsibilities of the States in relation to education; and

(b) the Corporation shall take all such measures, being measures consistent with the obligations of the Corporation under paragraph (a), as, in the opinion of the Board, will be conducive to the full development by the Corporation of suitable broadcasting programs.

(3) The functions of the Corporation under subsection (1) and the duties imposed on the Corporation under subsection (2) constitute the Charter of the Corporation.

(4) Nothing in this section shall be taken to impose on the Corporation a duty that is enforceable by

proceedings in a court.

---

Figure 3: Excerpt from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act  
1983 – The Charter

Despite its provenance in a report which wanted to lessen the 'Public Service' emphasis of the broadcaster and make it more like a commercial enterprise, the ABC Charter is the part of the *ABC Act* most often used by staff and others to test the 'public broadcast-ness' or ABC-ness' of particular projects or methods *against* their 'other' of commercial broadcasting. The *ABC Act* (including the Charter) became law in 1983, well before the ubiquity of the World Wide Web could even be predicted. A close reading of it reveals that it arguably excludes the possibility of a service such as ABC Online as a core function of the ABC. One cannot and could not technically defend ABC Online on the basis of the Charter. One could not quote the ABC Charter in defence of ABC Online as a core service.

During the period 1995-2000, although program-makers who were net enthusiasts were well aware of how effectively the internet could be utilised to serve their publics, to provide more material to their existing listeners/viewers

and to attract new listeners/viewers/users, their duties as program producers were determined by a Charter which could be seen to effectively prohibit the use of internet services other than as promotional tools. On this basis, one might have expected staff to argue that the rapidity and extent of technological change in the early 1990s demanded a rewrite of the Charter; but political and economic circumstances were such that this was not politic. Hostile Labor and Coalition governments were most unlikely to support legislative change which allowed for more ABC services. From the point of view of ABC policy staff at the time, allowing any change to the Charter might leave other aspects of it vulnerable to attack (Anonymous, 2000). It is for this reason that the ABC submissions to the Senate Environment, Recreation, Communications and the Arts Inquiry into ABC Material Online did not recommend Charter changes to accommodate ABC Online (ABC, 2000, 2000a). If ABC program-makers were to use the internet to further their own public service goals in the period 1995-2000, they had to operate in excess of the existing Charter, rather than try to change it.

Because ABC Online is not a broadcasting service (defined as radio or television), and consequently does not make programs, ABC Online is excluded from sections 6(1) and 6(2) (a) of the Charter. ABC Online also operates

outside or across the sectoral relationship of national, commercial and public (meaning community) broadcasters. Even the technologies of ABC Online which most closely resemble broadcasting services – those of video and audio streaming – were specifically excluded from (Minister for Communications and the Arts) Senator Alston's definition of broadcasting (Burke, 2000). According to the *ABC Act*, a 'broadcasting service' cannot be 'a service that makes programs available on demand on a point-to-point basis, including a dial-up service' (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1983: 3). While it is obvious that the Charter was not drafted specifically to exclude internet services from 6(1), it clearly does so, as Online utilises a two-way technology that is transmitted via a dial-up service. Further, ABC Online does not make programs (which the *ABC Act* defines as radio or television programs). As discussed by Raymond Williams, radio and television are linear or sequential media (Williams, 1974: 87). Programs, unlike most ABC Online content in the period 1995-2000, must be consumed across a specific time frame that is part of the flow of a schedule. 'Program' implies a pre-determined sequence of one entertainment following another, a relation to content that ABC Online did not often share. The ABC Charter, drafted for broadcast media, does not address the potentials of an interactive non-linear media environment. ABC Online is not a broadcast service, and does not make programs, and so it could not strictly

be understood or defended as a core activity of the ABC as defined by the Charter.

ABC Online is awkward in other ways in the Charter, too. As discussed in Chapter 1, the ABC is a governmental institution with a goal of unifying the nation. One definition of national within the charter defines it by its 'other' of international. Clearly an online service cannot be identified as exclusive of the international. ABC Online does not 'cover' a limited geographic footprint as radio and television do, but is available wherever there is the infrastructure and equipment for it to be received. As will be discussed further in Chapter 6, there cannot sensibly be two separate goals for national and international users in an Online environment, in the ways that were assumed for broadcast listeners/viewers in the ABC Charter. Content intended for the 'national' user is just as accessible to the 'international' user, and vice versa. A user in London or Texas or Istanbul who connects to ABC Online can see the same material as will the user in Canberra or Sydney, Guyra or Murrurundi. This point is of particular significance for Radio Australia Online, as discussed in Chapter 5.

A second Charter definition identifies the national as a broadcasting *sector* alongside the public (community) and commercial sectors. Unlike ABC

broadcasting services, however, ABC Online does not operate in an environment composed of strictly separated national, commercial and community sectors. ABC Online operates instead in the domain-structured environment of the World Wide Web. One part of the ABC Online site (the *ABC shop*) is commercial, while other parts resemble more interactive community sites (forums, the community publishing trial *Australians Online*). ABC Online exceeds the Charter's definitions of 'the national', whether in opposition to the international or as a sector alongside those of community and commercial sectors.

This, then, was the problem. ABC Online was not a broadcasting service and so could not be defended as a 'core' or 'central' service of the ABC according to the Charter. It was not the trunk or roots of the ABC. Its silence in public policy documents is therefore not so surprising at a time when the ABC was expected to limit its activities, and perhaps its silence even allowed it to thrive for a time in public policy limbo. It could not be defended as a core service, but a defence of it as ancillary might also prove problematic at a time when profitable state institutions were liable to be privatised, and after commercial ventures such as pay TV, and BNA had failed.

Because ABC Online is not a broadcasting service, it is not covered by sections 6(1) or 6(2)a of the Charter. The most generous interpretation of 6(2)(b) would be that all ABC Online pages are conducive to the development of suitable ABC broadcasting programs. Much web-specific material was neither promotional of other ABC services, nor communication which could be delivered by other means. ABC Online could not be categorised as 'core', but neither was its significance merely 'ancillary' or marginal, as would be inferred by categorising it under section 6(2)(b). To defend or identify ABC Online as an ancillary service would give it the same status as that of the Enterprises Division, which runs ABC Shops and provides the ABC marketing service. Taking such a position, particularly in any formal (legal) defence, ran the risk of too closely limiting the potential of ABC Online to that of being only a promotional and marketing tool.

The core/margin distinction itself, as demonstrated by the application in the Charter, does not serve ABC Online. Neither do the dichotomies that usually define what it is for the broadcaster to be 'national'. ABC Online could not be defined as 'national' in opposition to 'commercial'. ABC Online was an awkward object that defied categorisation within the terms provided by the Charter.

Organisational documents told another story, and used the *ABC Act* more broadly. As mentioned above, the likelihood of changing the ABC Charter to incorporate ABC Online was very slim. Internet enthusiasts at the ABC who wanted to harness the World Wide Web for their own programs would have to seek justifications for their activities outside the Charter, and elsewhere in the Act. In an Issues paper in January 1995, Colin Griffith and Stephen Rapley argued that the authority of the ABC to provide Online services was covered under section 29.1 of the *ABC Act* – which deals with the 'Publication of journals etc, and making etc of sound recordings'. Griffith and Rapley justified ABC Online as an electronic *publishing* service (Griffith and Rapley, 1995: 5). section 29.1 allows the Corporation to 'compile, prepare, issue, circulate and distribute literary material (including the program schedules of broadcasting services provided by the Corporation and other persons)'. It also allows the Corporation to 'make, promote, circulate and distribute ... any article or thing bearing a mark that is associated with' ABC programs, concerts or entertainments'.

Section 29 of the Act also allows the ABC to charge for the material mentioned in 29(1), 'with a view to raising as much net revenue as is practicable, having

regard to the proper performance of its functions and to the matter or activity concerned' (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1983: 29(2)). By justifying ABC Online as an electronic publishing service, Griffith and Rapley were leaving the way open for ABC Online to be used for raising revenue, as they say more explicitly later in the paper (Griffith and Rapley, 1995: 6). Griffith and Rapley's policy paper of 1995 also says:

The provision of ABC information on-line would enhance the service to our audience. An ABC online service would be able to provide information about the corporation, its programs and other products and services. It would extend the life and access of ABC programs and services, as well as the reach of our program *marketing* and publicity efforts. It would also enable greater audience interaction with the corporation. An on-line presence for the corporation would also enhance the *international* profile of the ABC and its output. (Griffith and Rapley, 1995: 4, my emphasis)

ABC Online was presented in the issues paper primarily as a way to further the Public Service Broadcasting aims of the ABC, though these aims were not necessarily seen as being in conflict with revenue generation, or an international profile. If revenue could be earned while ABC goals of access to information entertainment and education were being met and while

international users gained greater access to ABC services, all the better. If it had been possible to justify ABC Online via the Charter as a core service, its relations to revenue generation would have been more circumscribed. As it was, ABC Online was positioned in between the core of broadcasting services, with their nationalist goals, and the ancillary services of Enterprises Division, with its commercial goals. ABC Online also fell in between the national/international dichotomy, as is discussed in relation to Radio Australia in Chapter 5. The awkwardness of ABC Online, its in between status on the dichotomies through which the ABC had long been defined, perhaps led to its absence in official policy documents.

Colin Griffith, as Head of Multimedia, recalled that: 'Even at the time of Mansfield, an Internet service wasn't on the horizon in policy terms at the ABC.' (Griffith, 1999) Prior to the preparation of the ABC Submission to the Mansfield Review, the Multimedia Unit presented a detailed Issues Paper on its activities to the Board of the ABC. Yet very little of this information was included in the ABC Submission to the Mansfield Review (Griffith, 1999), which relied on the centre/margin distinction of the ABC Charter instead. Despite organisational documents that illustrated the potential of the ABC to be

more than merely an ancillary service, the ABC Submission to the Mansfield Review stated that:

The Charter has been more than adequate in allowing the ABC Board and management to even further 'strengthen the ABC's effectiveness' in areas the Board determines ... The ABC believes its Charter to be a wholly appropriate statement of direction for the ABC now, and into the future. (ABC 1996: 13)

The ABC Submission argued that the Charter was adequate, even though the Charter relegated ABC Online to the margins, a fact of which it was impossible to be unaware, given the extensive discussions and documents about ABC Online (including the Issues Paper mentioned above) circulating within the ABC. While not overtly stating the legislative position of ABC Online as ancillary, the Submission repeatedly placed sections on ABC Online adjacent to material about the ancillary services of Enterprises, rather than near material about the core services of radio or television (ABC, 1996: 1, 10, 50, 114,132). While the Submission refers to ABC Online on a number of occasions, it does not identify the potential of ABC Online to respond to the Terms of Reference of the Mansfield Review.

The Mansfield Review's misunderstanding of the potential of ABC Online (detailed below) is at least partially due to the ABC Submission. It is as though policy staff had decided that ABC Online would be best placed outside the purview of a review that sought to refine the scope of ABC services. ABC Online's silence in the submission is deafening. For instance, a section dealing with the 'One ABC' policy lists in detail the ways that television, radio and concerts will be reshaped, and then says: 'areas of activity such as Enterprises and Multimedia, while also being assessed, have been deemed to be in a period of consolidation, rather than requiring reshaping' (ABC, 1996: 10). Nothing is said about the importance of ABC Online to the overall reshaping of the ABC in the 'One ABC' policy.

In hindsight, it seems obvious that ABC Online had the potential to achieve more with less, as was required by the fourth Term of Reference of the Mansfield Review; and to provide services to the groups specified in Term 3 (independent accurate, impartial and comprehensive news and current affairs, high quality information and entertainment services which contribute to a sense of national identity, and services to rural and remote communities, children, and other significant groups not well served by other broadcasting services). ABC Online had already been working on improved access for youth, rural and child

audiences (as well as international audiences) by the time the Submission to the Review was released in September 1996. In August 1996, a Corporate Plan Report within the ABC had listed 'new and enhanced sites' including *Bush Telegraph*, *Education* and *Australia Television*, while at the relaunch of ABC Online in August 1996, web developers from sites including *Triple J* and *Radio Australia* extolled the benefits of their websites to listeners/viewers/users (Multimedia Unit of the ABC, 1996a).

#### The Mansfield Review: Neglecting to Notice ABC Online

The Mansfield Review was announced in July 1996, and its terms of reference sought a more focused role for the ABC by refining the scope of its activities (Mansfield, 1997: 48). The review was announced soon after the 16 July budget reductions, which were in two parts: an ongoing 2 per cent reduction to the ABC's 1996/97 budget, and a further \$55 million in 1997/98. The Mansfield Review was called to 'review ABC activities in line with the new funding levels' (ABC, 1996: 19).

When Mansfield released his report in 1997, he characterised the ABC as a fusty old-fashioned organisation. The report says:

The ABC does not have the feel of a modern, dynamic organisation. Its lack of willingness to embrace new ideas is inconsistent with its role as a creative organisation and will ultimately retard its creative capacity if attitudes do not change. (Mansfield, 1997: 37)

Mansfield did not recognise the significance of ABC Online to the 'creative capacity' of the ABC, and the Mansfield Review said little about ABC Online. Instead, in seeking a more 'focused' role, Mansfield referred to the Charter, which as detailed above excluded ABC Online. In the summary Mansfield said 'The core business of the ABC should be *domestic free-to-air broadcasting*' (Mansfield, 1997: 5). Fiona Martin has analysed in detail some of the flaws in Mansfield's approach to multimedia – that he did not acknowledge the ABC's exploratory role in the emerging media environment, that he did not understand that ABC Online had a significant role in training broadcast staff in interactive technologies, and that he neglected to notice ABC Online's revenue-raising possibilities (Martin, 1999: 109-113). To her list I would add that Mansfield misunderstood the importance of: international (or global) communication, the potential for interactive experimentation and the possibilities for Online to redress some of the ABC's more neglected users. All of these misunderstandings were due to the reliance on an imagining of the ABC as

having a core of domestic, free-to-air broadcasting. As outlined below, each component of this 'core' or primary function excluded Online.

### Domestic

Mansfield misrecognised the potential of ABC Online to offer an enhanced international (or possibly global or supranational) service. The report said: 'The ABC should be released from the requirement to operate international broadcasting services and be permitted to direct the resulting savings to its core business of *domestic* broadcasting' (Mansfield, 1997: 6). It is remarkable that in discussing the ABC's international role, Mansfield does not mention ABC Online at all, despite the obviously international or global nature of the World Wide Web, ABC Online having been in existence for over a year, and the fact that Radio Australia and Australia Television operated successful websites at the time of the Review – sites which might have offered cost savings while reaching more international listeners/viewers/users.

This failure to recognise the potential for international use of Online is especially interesting in hindsight – and in light of the ways that Radio Australia Online came to address an international audience which was being lost to other media, as detailed in Chapter 5. Subsequent developments, such as

the recommitment to funding Radio Australia in 2000 (Garran, 2000) and the mid-2001 allocation of \$75 million over five years to the ABC to revive the twice-failed Australia Television Service (Gilchrist and Elliot, 2001; Day, 2001) are further evidence that Mansfield's thinking on the significance of international audiences/viewers/users, though based on the core/margin distinctions of the Charter, was misguided.

The idea that the ABC was (or should be) centred around domestic services misunderstood the communications environment, as well as the potential and actual reach of ABC Online. The centrality of the territorial nation (as enshrined in the Charter) had been bypassed to some degree by communication technologies which ignored national boundaries, and in focusing on the 'core' services of broadcasting (defined as radio and television services), Mansfield was blinded to other communication possibilities, including ABC Online. Claiming the centre for free-to-air may have limited the discussions that could be had about ABC Online's capacity for revenue generation (see Chapter 3, Burns, 1997; Westfield, 2000). This issue deserved public discussion and debate to a level comparable to that which it had received within the ABC. The focus on free-to-air elided a range of possibilities for Online, and for the ABC. As early as 1995, Peter Manning had realised that the World Wide Web might

offer subscription services to different 'levels' of user such as students at school, businesses and to individual home computers (Manning, 1995). The focus on a centre which excluded such possibilities because they were not free-to-air was short-sighted in the context of the increasing delivery requirements and decreasing public funds for the ABC. Instead of using ABC Online to reimagine the role of the ABC in an information age, the Mansfield Report ignored it almost entirely.

Mansfield's focus on a core of domestic free-to-air broadcasting also obscured the ways in which Online might address deficiencies in services to particular users including youth and children, and rural users (Mansfield, 1997: 25-26). Mansfield recommended 'that a revised ABC charter emphasises the importance of providing services to regional Australia and the need for ABC services generally to reflect Australia's regional and cultural diversity' (Mansfield, 1997: 25). Limiting the Charter to domestic free-to-air broadcasting could in fact prevent – or at least lessen – the possibilities for the ABC to provide services to, or reflect the regional and cultural diversity of, the nation if it led to a misrecognition of the significance of ABC Online. Several Online projects had demonstrated what Online could do for rural users (*Heywire, Rural Diary, Bush Telegraph*). Brian Johns' plans for regional radio stations (though published

shortly after the Review) further demonstrated the possibilities, as he detailed in a piece entitled 'A Brave New World Beckons for the National Broadcaster':

The ABC's plan is to harness digital technology to deliver program services that were not previously cost effective – especially services to regional Australia and in specialist areas such as education. ... A key element of the ABC's strategy for migration into the digital era will be to enrich its coverage of regional Australia, using resources in almost 50 radio locations across the country to also generate content for television and online services. It will use small digital cameras, digital studio facilities and ISDN links to the capital cities, giving unprecedented 'vision' as well as 'voice' to the community. (Johns, 1997: 13)

Mansfield's recommendations 7 and 8 argue that the ABC should prioritise children and youth, while again ignoring the evidence that Online was an actual and potential example of doing just that. The *Triple J* site had been online for some time when Mansfield's report was released, and the popularity of the JJJ radio station with listeners in the youth demographic was well known, as was the tendency for web users generally to be in the younger demographic. The website based on ABC children's radio program *BTN* had had an online presence on Ozemail since March 1995, and was one of the earliest subsites to be incorporated into ABC Online – again before the Mansfield Review.

## Dissemination and Interaction

Perhaps Mansfield understood ABC Online *as* broadcasting because, despite his insistence on domestic free-to-air, he also wrote:

I consider that the ABC should explore ways of disseminating information more widely and become more focused on the need to interact with its audience.

And (at last!):

The ABC's online service is a good start in this direction and the specialist broadcasting areas of the ABC lend themselves well to this additional channel of distribution. (Mansfield, 1997: 23)

The contradiction between this detail of Mansfield's recommendations, and his broader recommendation of limiting the ABC to domestic free-to-air broadcasting, is striking. While the Mansfield Report could go so far as to recognise ABC Online as an 'additional channel of distribution', it could not extend as far as considering it as part of the solution to the problems presented by the Government.

Mansfield's recommendations were short-sighted and out of kilter with communications trends of the time, the practices of ABC Online staff and the

successes of ABC Online, but were not as harsh as many expected (Davis, 1997). Mansfield recommended a budget for domestic services of \$500 million, and suggested that if the ABC chose, it could close Radio Australia and keep the resultant savings of \$20 million. He recommended that sponsorship and advertising continue to be prohibited on domestic free-to-air radio and television. The report was criticised for its lack of vision, for its recommendations for outsourcing and for its severe treatment of Radio Australia (Steel, 1997a, Hodge 1997, Funston, 1997).

Mansfield stated that:

During the Review I regularly explained my approach by suggesting my task was to determine what the Australian public views as the 'trunk and roots of the ABC tree' with the intention of ensuring that nobody could cut it down. (Mansfield, 1997: 19)

The insistence on a core and margin (or trunk and branches) approach did not serve the ABC well in the Mansfield Review because it obscured the possibilities and potentials of ABC Online to address the very problems that the Review sought to address. ABC Online could not be understood only as a limb, because it was implicated in the very domestic free-to-air services that were the primary function (or trunk and roots) according to Mansfield. But because the

ABC Charter itself denied its very existence, ABC Online could not be understood as the trunk or roots either. ABC Online was sending out runners that might have made the ABC safer than it was with only branches, a trunk and roots. ABC Online substantially increased the number of its users (from 140,000 page accesses per week in 1996 to more than three million by 2000), was crucial in the restructuring of the ABC, and was implicated in the very practices and outputs of the domestic free-to-air broadcast programs. In the Charter, and in public policy documents however, it was silent and silenced.

This silence afforded ABC Online an opportunity to thrive in between the poles of international/national, and commercial/public, and even news/other program types into which the discussions of the ABC had long been ossified. Perhaps instead of imagining the ABC as tree-like structure, then, it is more accurate and productive to use the implementation of ABC Online to rethink the ABC as rhizomic. For Deleuze and Guattari:

Every rhizome contains lines of segmentarity according to which it is stratified, territorialised, organised, signified, attributed, etc., as well as lines of deterritorialisation down which it constantly flees. There is a rupture in the rhizome whenever segmentary lines explode into a line of flight, but the line of flight is

part of the rhizome. These lines always tie back to one another. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 9)

ABC Online was continuous with the Public Service Broadcasting idea as realised at the ABC, and also ruptured some of the segmented notions of the Public Service Broadcasting idea such as those of the centre/margins, national/international, news/other program types and public/commercial. ABC Online for a time operated as a line of flight from, as well as being a part of, the rhizome ABC. The silence surrounding it in public discourse allowed it to thrive, but also deferred particular discussions about the place of the ABC in the information age or control society. The viability of such distinctions as national/global (and national/commercial) in the era of the internet was questioned, despite their problematisation in the cases of Radio Australia Online, as detailed in Chapter 5, and of the proposed Telstra deal, as discussed in Chapter 6. Instead, the familiar dichotomies were mobilised yet again in each case.

## ***Chapter 5: Something of a Mystery, Something of a Problem: Radio Australia Online***

This chapter details the emergence of Radio Australia Online as a subsite of ABC Online. In doing so it examines the altered understandings of 'national', 'international' and 'global' accompanying the emergence of World Wide Web services, and teases out the relationships among the Public Service Broadcasting idea, the international and the internet idea. It highlights the significance of molecular, local forces (such as the individual working circumstances of an individual) to the implementation of a global service, and it discusses ways that relations between 'old' and 'new' media are implicated in particular governing rationales. This history of the implementation of World Wide Web services for Radio Australia challenges aspects of the internet idea, such as its global nature, and its refusal of national boundaries, as well as challenging the Public Service Broadcasting idea of the national defined as that which is 'not international'.

The chapter begins by contextualising the implementation of Radio Australia Online historically, briefly detailing the early history of Radio Australia, including that of the service on which it was modelled, the BBC World Service. The second section – based on policy documents and press reports – details a more recent history of Radio Australia, including the various molar forces such as relations with foreign policy – which preceded the implementation of Radio Australia Online. The third section – based on interviews with Radio Australia Online staff – considers the emergence of Radio Australia Online. It details some of the more molecular forces, such as the personal experience of one staff member, which affected the emergence of Radio Australia Online and secondly discusses the (often counter-intuitive) results of the intersection between the internet idea, and the 'national' focus of the Public Service Broadcasting idea. The implementation of Radio Australia Online arguably saved a short-wave international radio broadcaster. Radio Australia, the international radio service of the ABC, was largely based on a BBC model, as detailed below.

## The Emergence of International Broadcasting: BBC External Service/World Service

The first BBC short-wave transmission, on 11 November 1927, was an experimental outside broadcast of the Armistice Day Cenotaph Service. Gerard Mansell has described this choice of subject matter as 'a reflection of the strong belief in the binding power of the shared experience of great national events which pervaded BBC thinking at the time, and which was to inspire much subsequent empire broadcasting' (Mansell, 1982: 9). Short-wave broadcasting was intended to unite the Empire, just as broadcasting had been intended to unite the nation. Like all governmental goals, this one was utopian and impossible to achieve in full, but it was productive nonetheless. The BBC Empire Service proper began in 1932 to broadcast to Australia and New Zealand. Later that year, in the first Christmas broadcast from the monarch, King George V said:

Through one of the marvels of modern science I am enabled this Christmas day to speak to all my peoples throughout the empire ... I speak now from my home and from my heart to you all, to men and women so cut off by the snows and the deserts or the seas that only voices out of the air can reach them. (Walker, 1982: 5)

Short-wave radio was intended to cover territory and unite the subjects of the British Empire, through the power of the sovereign. Although there are traces of the diagram of sovereign power in the desire to 'speak to all my peoples', that diagram and its goals were tempered by a governing rationale which aimed to produce selves who *chose* to be loyal. The unifying goal of the BBC was extended to the colonies, and was to be operationalised through specific practices of freedom for listeners based on practices of truth-telling by the broadcasters. Listeners in the dominions were free to *choose* to be united in their empire. For Reith, argues Barry:

The internal cohesion of the national and international community could only be achieved through free and active participation. In this context, the function of the BBC's World Service was to advance the cause of freedom and liberty not through propaganda, but by simply *telling the truth*, thus making it possible for individuals to judge for themselves. (Barry, 2000: 131)

Technical properties of short-wave also contributed to BBC practices of accuracy and objectivity. In 1932 it was assumed within the BBC that it was possible to beam short-wave material exclusively to specific regions of the world, and that only the intended listeners would hear them. In the event, short-wave leaked into unintended areas, with Western Australia, for example, better

able to hear the service intended for India than that intended for Australia. This technical property of short-wave supported Reith's principle that the BBC should not function only to produce propaganda. 'Whatever regional emphasis was placed on any particular program,' concluded Mansell, 'it could never be at the expense of overall consistency since it had to assumed that it was likely to be heard almost anywhere.' (Mansell, 1982: 24) The method was one of truth-telling in the cause of generating trust in the BBC (and, by association, Britain).

This method was not as well favoured by some other nations who operated world services. Julian Hale has identified four models for international broadcasting: Nazi, communist, 'Voices of America' and the BBC model (Hodge, 1995: 4). Of these, the BBC model is the one which most loudly proclaims its truth-telling strategy, despite the fact that the BBC had close ties with foreign policy. Errol Hodge has noted that during war time it gained a reputation for telling both good and bad news, but that it 'was careful never to tell *all* the bad news' (Hodge, 1995: 4). By the time the Empire service began in 1932, the Russians were broadcasting in foreign languages, and soon afterwards the German Nazis and Italian Fascists were using short-wave as a propaganda tool (Walker, 1982: 6). These services did not maintain any independence from government foreign affairs programs. Despite some opposition, Reith insisted

that BBC foreign language broadcasts should have the same independence from government that its other services enjoyed. Mansell quotes Reith as having written:

The effect of the news service carried out by the BBC in any language would be based on telling the truth. Prestige depended on truthful and comprehensive broadcasts. People should feel that because they have heard a statement on the British wireless it was correct; and conversely that if it was not included in the British broadcasts it was incorrect. (Mansell, 1982: 50-51)

The BBC's first foreign language service was in Arabic on 3 January 1938 – this service was in competition with and a direct challenge to the Arabic service broadcast from Italy, which had begun in 1935. The first BBC bulletin in Arabic included a report of the execution by British authorities of a Palestinian Arab found guilty of carrying a gun. This report caused some consternation at the Foreign Office, but demonstrated internationally the BBC policy of truth-telling (Mansell, 1982: 53). This policy positioned the service as being more allied to BBC principles than to foreign affairs goals, but it was not until after the war, when the number of foreign languages broadcast by BBC short-wave had increased to 45, that the External Services were included in the BBC Charter. The BBC Charter and Licence of 1946 stated that the Corporation

should broadcast abroad in the languages and for the number of hours laid down by the government (Walker, 1982: 14). Radio Australia, by contrast, was to wait 44 years for its inclusion in the ABC Charter, and even then its relationship to the government departments of foreign affairs was the topic of relentless policy debate.

### Radio Australia: Speaking for Ourselves

In 1939 Prime Minister Robert Menzies told listeners to the first short-wave broadcast on the station then called 'Australia Calling' that, given the false claims that were made about Australia and the whole British Empire on the propaganda stations of other countries, 'the time has come to speak for ourselves' (quoted in Hodge, 1995: 8). 'Ourselves' at the time were both British and Australian, and 'we' often spoke through the Department of Information, rather than as an independent ABC on the British model. Radio Australia, so named after the war, was transferred to the wartime Commonwealth Department of Information in 1941 at which time it was moved to Melbourne because the head office of the Department of Information was there. Control of the service was handed back to the ABC in 1942, but then returned to the Department of Information in 1944. In April 1950 control of Radio Australia was granted to the ABC by a Cabinet minute. However, the first liaison officer

at the ABC, appointed from the Department of External Affairs, believed that his role was to 'add to the news, to censor the news, and to update the news from External Affairs sources'. For its part the Menzies government during its second term (1949-1966) increasingly saw Radio Australia during the 1950s as a weapon in the Cold War (Hodge, 1995: 42-44; Commonwealth of Australia, 1997: 2.10). The continual renegotiations of the relationship between Radio Australia and government rendered it an awkward object for the ABC.

The truth was to be told, but it was a truth understood from a national perspective. Unlike the audiences for the rest of the ABC, those of Radio Australia were largely non-Australian. Listeners were to learn to have a relationship to Australia as 'others', rather than choosing 'Australian-ness' as a part of their own identities. During World War II and at the height of the Cold War, Radio Australia operated on the American model whereby foreign policy determined the content of broadcasts, but usually in times of peace – particularly after the early 1970s – the broadcaster adopted the BBC model.

In effect, the tension between foreign policy and Public Service Broadcasting in the international sphere has remained problematic for the ABC and governments since the inception of Radio Australia, as is illustrated by its

legislative and policy status. Prior to the Dix Report of 1981, Radio Australia operated without legislative protection, undertaken by the ABC 'under gentlemanly agreements with government' (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981: 1). Radio Australia did not figure in legislation until the *Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act* of 1983, and even after that point it remained marginal, an awkward object for the ABC as national Public Service Broadcaster.

### Radio Australia as an Awkward Object

Like ABC Online, Radio Australia was an awkward object for the ABC. It was neither strictly national nor international, and it held an uncertain status in between its Public Service Broadcasting and foreign affairs functions. These differing functions necessitated different governmental rationales, making its status within the ABC structure unclear. The Dix Report described this latter awkwardness as a problem of defining the service:

The need to separate Radio Australia from the domestic media groups of radio and television was recognised by the McKinsey and Company consultants. In their 1973 report on the use of ABC resources ... The McKinsey team argued for a breakup of ABC resources on *product* rather than *functional* lines. As an essentially different 'product', Radio Australia was to be grouped with other

services of the ABC such as concerts, publicity, advisory committees, etc. which did not easily sit with the ABC's main products, radio and television. (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981: 16.23)

Because the Public Service Broadcasting idea relied on a definition of 'national' as 'not international' or 'not foreign', and because those who funded the service (Australians) could not, for the most part, hear the service, Radio Australia remained marginalised even after its inclusion in the Charter in 1983. Radio Australia, like other international services, operated as the voice *of* the nation, a space where 'we' might speak to 'them'. A staff submission to Dix asserted that:

Radio Australia is not another radio facility provided for Australians. It is the voice of Australia overseas and the means by which we as a people are judged by countless millions throughout the world. It has a national responsibility, internationally. The emphasis should not be on *radio* but on *Australia*. (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981: 16.22, original emphasis)

The tensions of the national responsibility, undertaken internationally, and those surrounding its national role generally, were further problematised by the emergence of Radio Australia Online. In an online communications

environment, which was potentially global rather than international, the domestic/international separation was untenable. Until the emergence of Radio Australia Online, Radio Australia was almost exclusively an 'external' service. In the words of an ABC submission to the Dix Report, Radio Australia was 'a service few Australians know, and fewer still have heard' (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981: 16.3). The submission continued:

because ours is not a country in which short-wave radio listening is widely popular, there is a tendency even among those who are aware of Radio Australia's existence, not to prize it highly. While this is understandable, the Commission takes the opportunity to redress that tendency and to acquaint the Committee with an arm of its activity that has substantial achievement to its credit. And which, particularly in times of international turbulence, can assume very considerable national significance. (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981: 16.3)

Radio Australia remained outside the 'core' of the ABC both before the Dix Report recommendations, and even after Radio Australia's inclusion in the Charter in 1983. The Mansfield Report of 1997, as detailed later in this chapter, further marginalised it. Funding issues had long positioned international

broadcasting outside the 'core' of domestic radio and television services. As the

Dix Report put it:

Radio Australia, like most broadcasting organisations directing their output at audiences the greater part of which have no relationship with the broadcaster's funding, serves purposes of policy. In many cases of overseas broadcasting such purposes of policy mean government or party propaganda. Australia's overseas radio service, like that of the BBC on which it has been modeled, is built on a much wider concept of policy. This concept assumes that the broadcaster which is seen to be independent of the particular views and concerns of the sectional groups or the government itself will be the most credible and effective. Although this seems like the definition of a free medium of information in the domestic context of liberal democratic systems, this independence cannot mean, however, that the overseas broadcasting body can operate with indifference to Australian objectives and purposes in the international environment. Its accountability is to the Australian public which funds it, not to a diffuse international one. These characteristics and the nature of its audience set Radio Australia apart from the domestic services of the national broadcasting organisation. (Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1981: 16.5)

Because of its accountability to the Australian public, Radio Australia was articulated to the Public Service Broadcasting idea and its goals of unified and centralised nations, as these are defended by various apparatuses of security. Such apparatuses vary according to the times, and particularly in relation to times of peace or war. Price wrote in 1997 that the history of Public Service Broadcasting in particular 'cannot truthfully be separated from the history of propaganda and the building of national identities'. Of broadcasting generally, he continues: 'Radio had its foundations during the First War, and came of age during the Second.' Monroe Price reminds us that television also bears the mark of a similar history in that it emerged and thrived during the exact period of the Cold War, and continues:

While the profound ties between the state and broadcasting systems were rarely fully acknowledged, the world context provided justification enough for an active and constructive – and explicitly articulated – public broadcasting system. That has now changed. The rhetoric permitted during a time of war, hot or cold, is not available at the present. The language of patriotism, of nation building, establishes a constitutional need for cohesion. (Price, 1997: 21)

This need for cohesion requires different apparatuses of security. During the time frame of this thesis, a space of relative peace perhaps encouraged

complacency about the significance of international broadcasting as an apparatus of security, and led to the reduction of funds to Radio Australia. Radio Australia's funding was restored at a time when national security was once again threatened (albeit by non-nation based terrorism more than by other nations). Threats of such terrorism provoked a return to familiar apparatuses of security to confront an unfamiliar threat. Recent 'matters of international turbulence', such as September 11, the second war in Iraq and political instability in the Pacific, which must have affected the governmental re-evaluation of Radio Australia since 2001 are outside the scope of this thesis, however, which concentrates instead on the actual effects of Radio Australia Online on Radio Australia and vice versa until 2000. Strategies of terrorism – decentralised, state-less and nation-less – have recently troubled the idea of the nation as singular military force. Nations, unable to operate in the decentred marginal space of the terrorist organisation, fought alongside and against other nations instead, reinvoking nationalist sentiments.

For Price as quoted above, in times of war the nation is unified more by looking outwards – against the other, while in times of peace, the nation is unified by concentration on security within, or cohesion. Both strategies rely on

apparatuses of security, which Foucault has described as the essential technical means of governmentality. Foucault described governmentality as:

the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy and as its essential technical means apparatuses of *security*.

(Foucault, 1994: 218-19, my emphasis)

Foucault was here referring to institutions such as armies and intelligence agencies – but if we extrapolate via his later work on the psych disciplines and technologies of the self we can also apply these ideas of apparatuses of security to the functions of the ABC. The ABC is an institution which targets population and uses political economy in the distribution of knowledge; its ‘traditional’ technical means – broadcasting – confers a security of national identity through its ordering of temporal and spatial relations. Radio Australia operated to extend the apparatus of security to the international sphere, reinforcing the ‘Australian-ness’ of Australia to other nations through practices of freedom and truth-telling. Historically, policy debates surrounding Radio Australia pulsed between its independence from and indispensability to government foreign affairs aims, as is illustrated by the following history of relevant policy.

## Policy Pulsing

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade stated to the Dix Committee in 1981 that the independence of Radio Australia from governments was more important than the occasional irritation it caused to International Affairs (Hodge, 1995: 150). The Dix Report recommended that Radio Australia should have its own budget and be included in the Charter, and it suggested that a body comprising representatives of the ABC, the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Resources and the Department of Communications should act as an advisory committee on the Overseas Service (Inglis, 1983: 432). The Revill Review of 1989 found that Radio Australia services should continue as part of the ABC, and that Radio Australia should see itself as an international communicator rather than a short-wave broadcaster alone. The Revill Review stressed that the independence of Radio Australia from the Department of Foreign Affairs was crucial. The Revill Report had received a submission from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade supporting such independence, and in 1991 Gareth Evans, then Foreign Affairs Minister, also endorsed this view (Hodge, 1995: 151). Dr Rod Tiffen, who had facilitated the Revill review, revisited Radio Australia in 1995, and concluded in the *Radio Australia Review 1994/95* that developments in communication technologies were not enough

reason to discount the significance of short-wave services, because many of the newer technologies would only be available in metropolitan regions (ABC, 1995a). By the time of Tiffen's second report, Radio Australia had suffered disproportionate reductions to its budget relative to other ABC functions. It had also had re-establishment expenses related to its move to new premises at Southbank in Melbourne.

The 1995 *Review of the Status and Funding of the ABC's International Broadcasting Services* considered Radio Australia and Australia Television International, and recommended that Radio Australia 'develop further its role as an international communicator and exploit alternative means of delivery to target regions' (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1995b: 36). As it transpired, the recommendation to see itself as an international communicator rather than only as a short-wave broadcaster was realised at Radio Australia more because of the necessities of decreased resources, including the closure of transmitters, than by any redundancy of short-wave as a technology. But even when alternative means were extensively and innovatively used at Radio Australia, its flexibility and success as an international communicator went largely unnoticed within Australia.

Even the newspaper columnist who was and is arguably the best informed about the ABC, Errol Simper, was unaware of the extent and diversity of operations of Radio Australia. In 1996 Simper wrote a piece claiming that Radio Australia had 'stuck, stubbornly, to short-wave' and that Radio Australia needed 'an objective, authoritative study' (Simper, 1996). Derek White, then General Manager of Radio Australia, replied in a letter to *The Australian* in November 1996 that Radio Australia was 'carried by satellite throughout Asia and the Pacific [and] ... is on cable radio in Japan'. Radio Australia, he wrote, 'is widely rebroadcast in the Pacific; and is carried by satellite for two hours a day across Europe and North America where it is rebroadcast by AM/FM and cable services'. Not only that, said White, but 'Radio Australia output is rebroadcast in China, Hong Kong, Cambodia and India while we provide segments from Australia for Thai FM stations'. In response to Simper's suggestion that there should be an inquiry into Radio Australia, White reminded Simper that Radio Australia had been reviewed by 'a federal parliamentary committee, a Commonwealth interdepartmental committee, and an independent consultant, all in the last two years'. He continued: 'The Mansfield Review of the ABC, will no doubt also include Radio Australia in its consideration.' (White, 1996) Although Radio Australia was relentlessly discussed in policy discourse, its successes as an international communicator in an era of global

communications technologies was ignored, largely because Australians did not use the service. Before the emergence of Radio Australia Online, Radio Australia was discussed only in terms of its short-wave radio services, and its relations to foreign affairs functions.

One week before the release of the report of the Mansfield review in January 1997, there was a leak to the press of the possible closure of Radio Australia. In February 1997, Derek White was directed by the ABC Board not to discuss Radio Australia with the media (Simper and Le Grand, 1997). In that same month (February 1997), and despite the recommendations of the Mansfield review, the ABC Board deferred closing Radio Australia, effectively alerting the government to the fact that if it wanted the service closed it would have to close it itself.

Mansfield had asked the Department of Foreign Affairs in September 1996 whether it would take over Radio Australia and it had refused (Wright, 1996). In his final report, released in January 1997, Mansfield recommended that the ABC should no longer be required to broadcast outside Australia, but should continue to do so if it chose, and that savings from the closure of Radio Australia could be applied to the savings target of the whole organisation.

Mansfield recommended that 'the principal function of the ABC should be defined as broadcasting for general reception *within Australia*' (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997: 41-42, my emphasis) thus marginalising Radio Australia and ignoring the burgeoning international (or global) nature of the communications environment.

Senator Richard Alston, then Minister for Communications and the Arts, backed the Mansfield recommendation to release the ABC from operating international services, while then opposition leader Kim Beazley argued that closing the service would send the wrong message to the region. Beazley is quoted as saying that, 'combined with all the other messages that have been sent to the (Asia-Pacific) region recently, it'd be yet another suggestion that Australia was hauling up the drawbridge' (Short, 1997). Radio Australia received more than 4,000 responses (letter, email, fax and telephone) to Mansfield's recommendations between 24 January and 17 April 1997, the large majority of the correspondents pleading that Radio Australia not be shut down (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997: 5.26-5.29).

Mansfield's recommendation to close Radio Australia is understandable given his terms of reference, the limited availability of Radio Australia's programs to

audiences in Australia at that time, and the mismatch of governing rationales between those of the national public service and those of Radio Australia. The fact that Radio Australia was produced from Melbourne, rather than head office in Sydney, added to its marginalisation. As pointed out by Mr P. Barnett to the 1997 report *The Role and Future of Radio Australia and Australia Television*:

RA was very often out of sight, out of mind; something of a mystery, something of a problem. Senior management in Sydney has not always appreciated the culture, the capacity and the potential of RA. I might say an exception was Ken Myer. He was an internationalist and a visionary. He also came from Melbourne. On the other hand, one ABC Managing Director was still referring to Radio Australia as 'Radio National' one year after taking office. (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997: Government Report Number 3, 1)

In May 1997, ABC staff protested the possible closure of Radio Australia at the Melbourne boardroom. They wore black and 'scattered thousands of letters from listeners along corridors to the board room' (Davies, 1997). Business interests lobbied the ACT Chief Minister Kate Carnell not to shut down Radio Australia and she urged the federal government to save Radio Australia because 'you really can't expect Australia to be doing business in places like China when China has no knowledge of us' (quoted in Nicholson, 1997). Foreign leaders

(including Papua New Guinea Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan and Nobel Peace Prize Winner Jose Ramos Horta) directly appealed to Australia's Foreign Minister Alexander Downer.

The brevity of Mansfield's comments about Radio Australia, the Pauline Hanson phenomenon and the outcry against the closure of Radio Australia added to unease about the performance of Australia Television. This led to the instigation of yet another inquiry – *The Role and Future of Radio Australia and Australia Television* (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997). The two services – international television and international radio – were quite different, not least because Australia Television was much more expensive and so required advertising to support its budget. Nevertheless, the two were examined in the same inquiry. Australia Television had received a substantial amount of negative press and political attention, in part due to its sponsorship and advertising (Davies, 1994; Meredith, 1994; Lecky, 1995) and now Radio Australia was to be considered alongside it. The inquiry received 2,211 written submissions, all but three of which recommended the retention of Radio Australia and Australia Television in their existing forms.

Before the findings of the Review were released, however, the federal Cabinet accepted an Expenditure Review Committee proposal on 22 April to reduce the Radio Australia budget by two-thirds, and staff by at least half. Two of the three transmitter sites, including the Cox Peninsula transmitters near Darwin, which allowed Radio Australia to broadcast to millions of people in Asia, were to be closed (Greene and Martin, 1997). To fund what was left of Radio Australia, the Department of Foreign Affairs provided \$4 million for short-wave, and \$3.2 million was to be provided from the Communications portfolio. The ABC provided a further \$1.3 million, bringing Radio Australia's budget to \$8.5 million. Before the reductions, Radio Australia had operated on \$13.5 million, plus transmission costs. *The Canberra Times* noted on April 24 1997 that Radio Australia's function was one of international relations, and that:

it doesn't have a particularly high profile domestically, but that is precisely because it is not a domestic service. The ABC would probably get as many letters bewailing the loss of a favourite breakfast broadcaster as it would about the fate of Radio Australia. But the truncation of the service will be seen abroad as a very serious matter indeed and will be seen to say something fundamental about Australia's attitude to the region. (*Canberra Times*, 1997)

Radio Australia may not have been the subject of letters from many Australians, but an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on the same day as the *Canberra Times* article quoted above noted that Radio Australia had received 7,000 letters in the past few weeks from 'anxious Indonesian listeners'. The same article claimed that regular listeners to Radio Australia included Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan, Cambodian King Norodom Sihanouk and former Papua New Guinea Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan. The article also detailed the services which would cease, and their audience sizes, as follows:

Indonesia: 8.6 million, China, 4.1 million, Indian sub-continent: 2.8 million, Vietnam: 860,000, Philippines: 131,000, Thailand, 171,000, Malaysia, 9,000. Short-wave services to continue were Papua New Guinea: 1.2 million, Fiji 58,500; Solomon Islands: 55,500; and Pacific Nations (Kiribati, New Caledonia, Tonga, Western Samoa, Vanuatu and French Polynesia) 560,000. (Greene and Martin 1997)

The report of the review, *The Role and Future of Radio Australia and Australia Television* was released on 5 May 1997. It criticised Mansfield for his recommendations regarding Radio Australia:

The Committee believes that, if Mr Mansfield had considered that the ABC's international broadcasting services were outside his terms of reference, he should have recommended that the Government establish a separate review to examine their future. His half-hearted attempt to justify his position on international broadcasting did nothing to enhance the credibility of his findings and recommendations in this area.

(Commonwealth of Australia, 1997: 41.4)

*The Role and Future of Radio Australia and Australia Television* recommended that the short-wave service to the South Pacific and Papua New Guinea be maintained and that in the remaining countries services should be based on attempts to reach decision makers in those countries. The report also recommended that the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade should consider providing some funding, and that the government should further consider establishing Radio Australia under funding arrangements separate from the ABC.

This brief history of policy debates surrounding Radio Australia demonstrates its continual governmental problematisation. The organisation's governmental function was neither purely Public Service Broadcasting nor purely foreign affairs, and this in between status placed Radio Australia in perpetual crisis. It

was also regarded as a non-core activity, especially by Mansfield and Alston, despite its inclusion since 1983 in the ABC Charter. This made it vulnerable to political agendas to refocus and downsize the ABC. Throughout the policy problematisations, the severe funding reductions and the inaudibility of Radio Australia to listeners in Australia, Radio Australia continued to address its international audiences via different combinations of short-wave radio, rebroadcast, cable, satellite and, most relevantly to this discussion, on the Web pages of Radio Australia Online.

In a clear example of the power of molecular forces, the individual circumstances of one ABC program-maker influenced relations of the ABC at organisational and international levels. Combinations of such disparate elements as a worker's compensation claim, a multimedia secondment and the Masters' degree of this individual staff member combined to enable Radio Australia Online to ameliorate the losses caused by funding reductions, and to enable Radio Australia to argue that it should occupy a more 'central' position within the ABC. Connections forged with other networks by the subsite enabled Radio Australia to be more embedded in domestic services and in particular to further the educational and informational goals of the ABC, especially internationally. In cases where Radio Australia co-produced with universities,

this was of financial significance, as this was a time when universities were increasingly relying on fees paid by international students.

The emergence of Radio Australia Online illustrates again the molecular forces identified in Chapter 3, where individual program-makers worked in excess of the bureaucratic structure of the ABC to initiate websites for their broadcast programs. This allowed ABC Online to function as a line of flight of the rhizomic practices of the ABC while also functioning to unite disparate sections of the ABC organisation.

'World Wide Web, Ha Ha Ha': The Emergence of Radio Australia Online  
Russell Naughton, for a time the online developer of Radio Australia Online, believes that the subsite Radio Australia Online indirectly saved Radio Australia by creating an awareness for the service among domestic listeners, who were then in a position to lobby for the service (Naughton, 2000).  
Naughton, whose health deteriorated in late 1993 as a result of overwork and pressures at the ABC (in part around planning the new Southbank building), was granted worker's compensation including sick leave, during which he studied for a Masters' degree. One component of the degree was the

construction of an interactive online radio broadcast system for Radio Australia (Naughton, 2000).

In September 1995, Naughton was well enough to return to work and applied for an advertised secondment to the ABC Multimedia Unit. He was accepted, along with Peter Manning (later appointed Head of Multimedia) and another staff member. At the end of their three-month secondment, the staff toured Apple and Macromedia in the United States and talked about future directions of multimedia, which at that stage meant mostly CD ROM. Naughton had his Masters' website experience behind him, however, and he and his colleagues had also completed a web-building course at RMIT during their secondment, so their sights were set on the potential of the internet rather than on the much hyped possibilities of CD-ROM.

By the time Naughton returned from the United States, he was even more convinced that online was the future for ABC Multimedia. He made a proposal to set up a dedicated Radio Australia website as a part of the terms of his worker's compensation package. At first the idea was seen as irrelevant for a service which was primarily short-wave and his proposal was refused.

Naughton said of this period:

So the ABC had to give me another job which didn't involve staff; didn't have to do rosters, didn't have to go to meetings – they just had to give me a job. And in similar cases, people have been offered a gardening position, you know, so I said 'there's this thing called the World Wide Web and the Internet and I think that there's a real – we've got a little website going but I think we could do a special one for Radio Australia – you know, taking into account all the languages', and it was just 'No, no, no', and various letters basically saying 'look, we don't think there's any future for either you, or the Internet, with Radio Australia' ... and at that stage we still had everything – things were looking pretty good. You would know, this was before Mansfield, we still had transmitters in Carnarvon, in Darwin, at Shepparton ... It was pre-web really, well not pre-web, but it was pretty early times. (Naughton, 2000)

The ABC rehabilitation coordinator, Naughton's doctor and some of his colleagues lobbied, however, and the ABC eventually accepted the proposal as a way to redeploy Naughton. In February 1996 Naughton was appointed as Radio Australia Internet Coordinator. 'So I was given an office upstairs and an old computer and they decided ' "we'll leave the crazy man alone" – you know – "World Wide Web, ha ha ha." ' (Naughton, 2000) Naughton's prototype website, based on his Masters' degree site, became a real service for Radio

Australia in May 1996, and in December 1996 Naughton's Masters' degree was upgraded to a Doctorate largely on the basis of that website:

The original idea of my thesis was to create a future of what radio might be. It really posed some questions – it said – 'is there going to BE a radio – is there room for radio in a world where we've got all singing all dancing colour TV, all that '... Is anybody actually going to listen to radio in the next century, and if they do, what might it be like – in a program sense and in a mechanical sense, so you start looking at things like datacasting – I went into all that aspect – and I was actually going to make a prototype on CD – and then when I came back on board I thought well what we could do is, I could do two things at once. I could create Radio Australia as this new radio station that will be demand – it will have audio, eventually video, you'll be able to write letters to it, they can write back, news bulletins in any language – you'd be able to listen wherever you wanted – it sort of started to fit the picture, and the only thing that held us back was that the technology was still evolving – so when we started I thought, gee, when are we ever going to have audio on this radio station? And of course that came along, and a whole lot of other stuff. (Naughton, 2000)

What Naughton was describing here was the moment in between the old media of radio, in particular short-wave radio, and converged digital services. It was a time when the future of digital television and datacasting was full of potential, where no one was sure of the directions that such technologies (or their regulation) would take. What guided staff at the ABC, and in particular Naughton at Radio Australia, were the governing rationales or ethics of their 'old media'. Elements of the Public Service Broadcasting idea had been inherited from the broader ABC, and from the BBC's external services. Short-wave radio had supplied independent radio to the region, sometimes in English and sometimes in local languages, and the service was very important to its listeners – particularly those from regimes without a free press. Irrespective of the funding reductions and political strife surrounding the ABC as a whole, and Radio Australia in particular, staff at Radio Australia were committed to the provision of this service, and Naughton in particular saw a role for the internet in doing so.

When Naughton attended the first-year anniversary of ABC Online in Sydney in August 1996, he stayed on for a few days to ask the IT staff, in particular Simon Goldschmidt, how to put non-English news live on to the Radio Australia web page. Naughton said of the experience:

I'm pretty sure that we were the first in the world to go live with non-Roman script languages. Most of the other short-wave services were doing what we did at the start – simply putting up graphic images, and you know type it up, word processor, scan it, put it up on the web, but we were actually running live, and more than that, we were actually doing 'on the fly' translation ... Simon was able to write this program that takes the raw content of one Chinese language, breaks it down into code, and then translates it back into two languages and automatically publishes it and creates web pages – we also did it with Vietnamese and French, Tok Pisin, and Bahasa Indonesian. (Naughton, 2000)

From 18 February 1997, Radio Australia Online provided an electronic digest of Australian news in Chinese. While the demand for this service came initially from South East Asia, Radio Australia staff hoped that the service would also reach a small but significant number of people in China – for instance scientists and trade officials, who had internet access (Lawrence, 1997). It is worth noting that this period – from when Naughton approached IT staff (August 1996) until Chinese news digests were posted regularly in February 1997 – roughly coincides with the period between Mansfield's approach to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade to take over Radio Australia in September 1996, and

the ABC Board's decision in February 1997 not to close Radio Australia. Of that period, Naughton said:

I'd go so far as to say that, were we not a fully developed web service by then, my feeling is that Radio Australia mightn't have survived. I honestly feel that I had a major part in saving it because it was so successful – it proved successful. Short-wave success is very hard to measure – many of the people that you're broadcasting to are barely able to read and write – they're on battery portables in the middle of jungles – it really is that – they're very hard to track – whereas with the internet – I don't care if it's an embassy or a school in Beijing, we know they're there. (Naughton, 2000)

Naughton argues that it was the ability of Radio Australia Online both to attract *identifiable* international listeners, and to attract domestic users/listeners who were then able to lobby for the radio network that saved Radio Australia from closure. The story of the effects of Radio Australia Online on Radio Australia – or vice versa – challenges that aspect of the internet idea that predicted that 'new' technologies, such as the internet, would replace 'old' technologies, such as short-wave radio broadcasting. Unequal access to communications technologies around the world ensured that short-wave radio remained a significant means of communication, and international short-wave services

maintained, and in some cases increased, their significance in the late 1990s while World Wide Web services were developing in some parts of the world. In Australia, although government funding was reduced markedly to Radio Australia in the 1990s, it was restored almost to its pre-Mansfield level by 2003 in recognition of the usefulness of Radio Australia to foreign affairs at a time of renewed security concerns and perceived need to influence public opinion in neighbouring states. According to Naughton, a web service in effect saved an international short-wave broadcast service (Naughton, 2000).

Radio Australia was the first ABC site to go online with audio streaming. It did so for the Hong Kong handover on 1 July 1997. Naughton recalls that, when a 24-hour stream subsequently became available, he suggested that:

if we've got one stream out of the ABC the best program was Radio Australia – because – its got a mixture of Sport, it's got your *AM*, your *PM*, it's got stuff from the rural areas, it's got music in it, it's got lots of Radio National – it's a composite program anyway – all we've got to do is put a plug in the wall – well that was the first streaming audio. (Naughton, 2000)

By the week ending 16 November 1998, the ABC's two streaming media servers fulfilled a total of 105,333 requests for audio; and Radio Australia –

which had recorded 39,448 requests – was by far the most often requested service, with JJJ second at 14,532 requests (Multimedia Unit of the ABC, November 1998). By the end of June 1998 the page accesses on the Radio Australia Online site had risen to approximately 250,000 per month from approximately 4,000 per month two years earlier (Naughton, 2000, *ABC Annual Report 1997*: 37).

### Domesticating and Globalising

Radio Australia Online began during a period of political hostility and severe economic constraints to its host Radio Australia, and to the broader ABC. Added to those difficulties was the fact that very few Australian residents were aware of Radio Australia's existence. According to Naughton, the attitude within the ABC and within government to Radio Australia audiences prior to Online had been:

You're talking to people who don't vote, 'they' [the listeners] don't care about us, 'they' don't pay taxes, etc etc. Well what with the internet, we were able to really prove that 40% of our internet audience were inside Australia. So for the first time in forty years of Radio Australia, we were in fact an Australian radio station as much as we were an international radio station. That by the technology, we now satisfy the Charter more than

we ever did before. Up until then to hear Radio Australia in Australia was almost accidental. It was because technology was just not good enough to stop it leaking back into Australia. In short-wave antenna you've got 99% of your power out the front of the aerial and there's this thing called the back lobe – and people would get these funny, odd – signals. (Naughton, 2000)

Before the advent of Radio Australia Online, the Radio Australia audience was perceived as exotic and 'other'; it couldn't be counted, and it exerted very little political power over the fortunes of Radio Australia. The history of Radio Australia Online challenges the aspect of the internet idea which predicted that the internet would trend user groups away from the geopolitically unified (perhaps national) audiences of broadcasting to more fragmented though potentially global groups of users. Radio Australian Online was a subsite that created a domestic, Australian audience for an 'old media' service that had previously mainly been 'international'.

Even in the late 1990s Radio Australia was still sometimes equated with imperialist short-wave broadcasting, despite its innovations in service delivery and its domestic audiences. Traces of its imperialist prehistory at the BBC haunted its later incarnations, as demonstrated by this quote from a 1997 newspaper article:

It needs to be accepted that Radio Australia was part of our equipment from imperial days. In this post-colonial, post-imperial period it is time it was jettisoned.

International short-wave broadcasting is intentionally intrusive politically, and not without elements of presumed cultural superiority. And even with the aid of miniaturised, digital receivers, the technology has been overtaken. (Campbell/Krygsman, 1997)

This argument, as well as being mistaken about the technologies used by Radio Australia, incorrectly made certain assumptions about Radio Australia listeners. An international broadcaster could be important for a variety of ends, not all of them imperialist. International tourism or trade opportunities might be promoted, for instance. In 1997, Derek White, then Head of Radio Australia, noted that while overall short-wave listening had declined, it had increased considerably in the United States, which he interpreted as the US audience seeking unbiased international news (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997: 5.12). Radio Australia Online also helped to reveal that there were international short-wave users/listeners in first world areas – the United States, Canada and Europe. Given that these listeners/users were not conceived as 'others' in the same ways as were the Asia Pacific listeners, their existence necessitated a different imagining of international listeners/users. Radio Australia Online was

not only a voice to those perceived as our cultural 'others', but also an alternate voice for those whose countries dominated world communications.

An email to Radio Australia in 1997 confirmed that view, at least for one listener in New Orleans:

I listen to Radio Australia every night of the week. You might say I am 'addicted'. Australia has a warm place in my heart solely because of the programs I am able to receive on my short-wave radio. I have learned so much about your vast and exciting country and its people. Also, Radio Australia gives us news of the region we never read or hear about in the United States. I feel much more informed. That can only be an asset for the region. (Sewell, 2000)

In 2000, Radio Australia programs were distributed in Europe and North America through an international organisation based in London called the World Radio Network. According to Hastings, programs were distributed in 2000 to approximately a hundred local stations and cable networks in Europe and North America. (Hastings, 2000). From the perspective of Europe and North America, Radio Australia provided an alternative voice to first world, as well as third world, listeners and users, and in this it superseded its colonialist/imperialist prehistory. This was a first world voice of the south,

rather than the north, which was able – due to proximity – to offer specialist Asia-Pacific information. A Radio Australia Online site on East Timor in September 1999, for example, attracted an audience which was 60 per cent North American (Hastings, 2000).

Campbell and Krygsman were also mistaken in thinking that short-wave radio was a 'technology which had been overtaken' – that it was irrelevant in an era of global communications technologies such as the internet. Although the internet was being hailed in some quarters as the medium for everybody, *The Role and Future of Radio Australia and Australia Television* report of 1997 had found that:

By the early 1990s, short-wave technology had eclipsed all other mass media with its ability to traverse broad land masses and oceans, to be received by listeners in palaces and city boardrooms down to village schools using cheap radio handsets. With over a hundred countries engaged in information broadcasting, it was a medium that could reach all people and all markets uncensored. (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997: 2.6)

And, while in many countries only the elite had access to the internet, 'everyone can afford a small short-wave receiver which these days can be operated by a

clock-like windup mechanism, thus dispensing with batteries', as has been noted by Quentin Dempster (2000a: 259). Even if short-wave use *was* declining in some areas, this was not necessarily a reason to abandon international services such as Radio Australia. Former Chairman of the ABC, Mark Armstrong, argued that closing Radio Australia because of the decline in short-wave audiences was like abolishing the post office because telegrams are outmoded (Armstrong, 1997). Radio Australia had become, *as had been recommended in two reports*, an international communicator rather than only a short-wave broadcaster, and it had utilised the website as one means by which to do so.

The Radio Australia Online site emerged in time to recreate audiences/ users for the international radio service – but these were not the same audiences/ users as the ones that had been lost to funding reductions. In the environment of shrinking funds, Radio Australia chose to target decision-makers in countries to which short-wave services had been lost. Radio Australia had to do so as cheaply as possible, and Radio Australia Online was the answer. Tony Hastings (Program Director Radio Australia) highlighted that internet access varied considerably in various parts of Asia, with the differences in rates of access in

Hong Kong and Papua New Guinea being an extreme example. Hastings continued:

Nevertheless through both our English language and our material in Indonesian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Khmer and Pidgin, we've actually built up an audience that we wouldn't otherwise have by using that material.  
(Hastings, 2000)

In all languages, Radio Australia content included news and current affairs, educational material, some English language lessons targeted at specific groups, and various types of feature material on the arts. Elites had always been a target of Radio Australia, said Hastings, because of their power to influence their nations:

Radio Australia has always tried to have an impact on decision-makers in the region, and clearly decision-makers are the sort of people who have access to this sort of technology. And even in countries where the uptake of the Internet is very low in absolute terms – for example in Indonesia – we're discovering that people at the top of that society are nevertheless accessing our material. (Hastings, 2000)

Contrary to the early myth of the internet that hailed it as a medium to which everyone could have equal access, and which would render national boundaries

permeable, the implementation of Radio Australia Online expressly targeted the *elites* of other *nations*. Radio Australia Online was forced for a time to reinforce some existing hierarchies and even to lose its traditionally non-elite listeners.

On the day of the Hong Kong handover, 1 July 1997, the day of the first audio streaming of ABC Online, the Cox transmitter (which served parts of Asia, including Indonesia) was closed. Radio Australia sought other delivery mechanisms 'with strong support from Radio National and ABC Multimedia' (*ABC Annual Report 1996/1997*: 37). Satellite relays were adopted, particularly in the Pacific, but also in a couple of locations in Asia (notably in Indonesia post-Soeharto); weekly programs such as educational or magazine type programs were sent to stations on CD; and eventually MP3 technology was implemented for distribution of material to Taiwan (Mitchell, 2000). In a reverse of the usual practices of reversioning content, some local stations in Asia and the Pacific had agreements to use internet material on air as scripts. In this instance, instead of radio material being reversioned for the internet, internet material was being reversioned for radio.

Because Radio Australia Online was hosted on the broader ABC Online site, as coordinated by the Multimedia Unit, duplication of material was minimised, and greater use could be made of the interconnections between various sections of the ABC site. At the BBC, by contrast, duplication was common between BBC Online, BBC news, BBC Education and the BBC World Service, each of which ran its own internet division (Docherty, 2003). The historical decision to locate Radio Australia within the ABC had benefits for listeners/users, who could easily link to all ABC Online content from the Radio Australia Online site.

In another example of online services as a virus for organisational change, Radio Australia Online significantly altered the status of Radio Australia within the ABC structure. Radio Australia's expertise in international program-making, particularly in News and Education came to the fore in online 'co-productions' between news and Radio Australia Online. An example was the online reporting of the Fijian coup in May 2000 – where News Online and Radio Australia News Online collaborated to enhance the online news service offered. While Radio Australia Online offered its experience in reporting to an international audience, News Online offered its web templates, which allowed

fast turnaround of stories. Such collaborations allowed a rethink of Radio Australia's place within the organisation. As Tony Hastings reported:

So we're not this isolated part of the ABC that talks only to people outside. We actually work with other networks in the ABC. We provide information that's pretty much essential to them – so we're well and truly integrated and not just pushed off to one side. (Hastings, 2000)

As well as finding a domestic audience and extending its audiences in Europe and North America, Radio Australia Online integrated Radio Australia into the broader ABC, allowing for collaborative Radio Australia/ Radio National; Radio/Internet; ABC/non ABC co-productions. Radio Australia Online also initiated contact between the ABC and non-ABC governmental institutions, co-producing radio and online sites with the Education gateway *Learn Online* and Monash University. One of these co-productions – *Money, Markets and the Economy* – was initiated by Radio Australia and presented to Monash as an extension of the use of academics in Open Learning programs. Monash provided academic expertise and some cash to hire in the online producers and developers, while Radio Australia provided expertise and facilities. The result was a thirteen-part radio series and two websites – *Money, Markets and the Economy* and *In the Pipeline*. *In the Pipeline* won an ATOM (Australian

Teachers of Media) award in early May 2000. By August 1999, Colin Griffith, by then Network Manager, Multimedia Unit, relocated to Melbourne, in part because of a production accord which had been negotiated with the Victorian Cinemedia, and in part to address allegations of Sydney-centrism which had prompted a Parliamentary inquiry into the effects of government-funded national broadcasting on Victoria (Parliament of Victoria Economic Development Committee, 1999). This meant that the Multimedia Unit, and the co-productions it was involved with through the Cinemedia Accord, were physically located alongside Radio Australia, accentuating and supporting trends to Online co-productions.

Radio Australia Online had effects which would have seemed counterintuitive to the apostles of the internet. Its value as a reference source illustrated that the World Wide Web was not only about dynamism and interactivity but also served as an archive and an environment of public memory. Despite *Money, Markets and the Economy* having had two 'runs' as a radio series on domestic radio and two on Radio Australia, the site still received a substantial number of 'accesses' eighteen months after its creation (Hastings, 2000), and was still available online in 2003. The World Wide Web operated in this instance as a

sort of reference library or archive, and the ABC reached more users than would otherwise have been possible for the same outlay of resources.

The non-linearity of 'programming' is a strength of the World Wide Web that is maximised at ABC Online, where material is gathered, as was mentioned in Chapter 3, into 'gateways' – science information on *the lab*, Arts and Culture on *the Space* and so on. In 2000, Hastings said of plans for the Asia Pacific Gateway:

If we can get the resources to do it we want that site to be more than just a news site, we want it to be a site that includes educational information, we want it to be a site that includes information on the arts, we want it to be a sort of a reference site; we're building up a database on the South Pacific; effectively an Online encyclopaedia on the site. So it will be more than just a normal rolling news site. It will have all sorts of layers and depth to it than can provide information for a whole range of people, particularly students who have an interest in that part of the world – you know for example students who might be studying Indonesian or Chinese.

They can already access our material with both text and audio; so Australian students who are studying those languages as a group have a resource there which we'd

like to market to them – and bringing that sort of material into the gateway site makes it readily accessible – we're just waiting to see if we can actually get the dough to do it. (Hastings, 2000)

Hastings hoped that the gateway might also offer links to other sites in the Asia Pacific, share content with such sites, co-produce with such sites, or sell specific content (e.g. 'foreign' language programming) to large portals.

Although Hastings' vision was not entirely realised, the gateway came into existence in March 2001. Its focus is on news, although there are links to Asia/Pacific stories from other parts of ABC Online, interactive sections and links to external sites about Asia and the Pacific. The *2000-2001 ABC Annual Report* said of the gateway: 'The site brings together content from all ABC sources relating to Australia's immediate region and includes selected Radio Australia content in regional languages.' (ABC 2001: 57) The educational aspect as it was envisioned by Hastings is not yet apparent (at April 2003) except insofar as the gateway offers links to other educational sites within the ABC.

This is a story where a website created a domestic audience, thereby increasing the lobbying power of an international radio station – one where an 'unknowable' international audience made way for a measurable population of

decision-making internet users. The use of new technologies made one part of the organisation more visible and intrinsic to the broader organisation. The internet idea – that the internet would globalise and democratise, that the internet was intrinsically dynamic and interactive – was challenged in this instance. Molar forces on the Public Service Broadcasting idea, based on a core and margins approach, had argued that the ABC should strive only for a domestic radio and television audience, and that 'the nation' or the domestic audience was the future of Public Service Broadcasting. The intersection of the Public Service Broadcasting idea with the internet idea at Radio Australia Online challenged aspects of both those ideas.

Instead of mapping a direct trajectory from the disciplinary strategies of power – physical, energising and mechanical – to the principles of feedback, command, strategy, and surveillance, in its trajectory from the BBC era of imperialism to World Wide Web era of the information society, the story of Radio Australia (Online) maps a complex set of dynamics between arboreal and rhizomic assemblages, where trace memories of even the sovereign society remained, alongside those of the disciplinary and control societies.

## **Chapter 6: 'Combining Two Whirlpools'<sup>3</sup>: Integrity, Independence and the Telstra Proposal**

This chapter uses the public controversy surrounding a proposed deal between Telstra (Australia's largest telecommunications organisation) and ABC Online to consider the applicability of the ABC's ethical goals of independence and integrity to the World Wide Web environment. The Telstra /ABC Online controversy demonstrated some of the ways in which the ABC operated in between the Public Service Broadcasting idea and the internet idea in the late 1990s. The controversy also demonstrated that the ABC functioned in between social diagrams of the governmental and control societies. The merging of the governing functions of a Public Service Broadcaster (to facilitate the creation of ethically complete citizens by providing ethical exemplars) and a telecommunications organisation (to facilitate person-to-person interactions)

---

<sup>3</sup> Bardwell (2000a).

threatened to alter the ethical relations between the ABC and its listeners, viewers and users. The chapter revisits earlier concerns of the disjunctions between discourses and silences surrounding ABC Online, concluding that the publicity of the proposed Telstra deal eventually positioned ABC Online on the marginal pole of the core and margins dichotomy, rather than instigating a re-evaluation of such dichotomies.

The first part of the chapter recounts a history of content sales agreements at ABC Online, exploring the ways that information was revalued at the ABC in the World Wide Web environment. This revaluation had implications for the relations between the ABC and its users, in that the ABC was to get 'nodes all over the net' (Bardwell, 2000a), rather than being centralised on ABC networks as had been the case in broadcasting. In this imagining, the user would encounter the ABC everywhere, as a dispersed decentralised entity rather than as a centralised institution distinct from its 'others'.

The chapter then details the controversy that surrounded the Telstra proposal after it was leaked to the press. The controversy is here used as the framework for a discussion of the risks and potentials that the information society more generally posed to the governing rationales of the ABC, particularly to its

ethical goal of integrity. The proposal threatened the integrity of the ABC itself, and as a consequence highlighted threats to the ethical goal of integrity that the ABC held for its publics.

The integrity of the ABC itself was threatened in three ways by the Telstra proposal: technologically, commercially and institutionally. Firstly the proposal exemplified technological convergence between broadcasting and telecommunications. Secondly, it challenged the non-commercial/commercial dichotomy of the Public Service Broadcasting idea. Telstra, which had once been a fully owned government enterprise, had been recently part-privatised, and this problematised the proposal for those who believed in the non-commercial/commercial distinction of the Public Service Broadcasting idea. The Telstra/ABC Online proposal was an instance of convergence between the 'commercial' and the 'non-commercial', as well as between broadcast and telecommunications technologies. Thirdly, the proposed deal threatened ABC institutional integrity, causing uneasiness about the convergence of two governmental institutions with disparate reputations and identities and different ethical relations with their users.

The Telstra proposal was in four parts: a non-exclusive content licensing arrangement, an exclusive co-production arrangement; the repurposing of ABC content for wireless internet, broadband and narrowband, and possibly interactive television; and shared Research and Development (Commonwealth of Australia, 2000: 18). The controversy in the press focused quite narrowly on the content licensing aspect and the consequent dangers that this might pose to ABC editorial independence, despite the fact that many content sales agreements had been negotiated prior to this proposal.

#### From Values to Brand: A History of Content Sales at ABC Online

In order to attract and retain users in the late 1990s, commercial portals sought to provide quality content, which they were not usually able to create for themselves. By late 1998, portals such as Yahoo!, Excite and America Online (AOL) sought to complement their primarily service-based (email, shopping) sites by pursuing deals with major Australian content providers. The ABC was one of only a few major Australian content sites at the time (others were AAP and Fairfax), and ABC content was particularly desirable because Public Service Broadcasters were still recognised for maintaining the best news-gathering services in the world. As had been predicted by Peter Manning in 1995, some of the 'fundamental values' of the ABC became highly saleable in

the World Wide Web environment. Manning had listed such values of the ABC as its independence and associated accrued credibility, its aim for quality in the marketplace; its accuracy, relevance and comprehensiveness as a provider of information; its trustworthiness; and its commitment to education and educational values (Manning, 1995: 2). In the context of the chaos of the World Wide Web – its largely uncatalogued excess – values of independence, reliability, credibility, trustworthiness, accuracy, relevance and comprehensiveness were seen as a commercially viable 'brand'. From the point of view of the commercial portals, such a brand offered a criterion by which users might 'choose' their portal over others. ABC Online, which carried its role of ethical exemplar on to the World Wide Web, thus offered a familiar and secure introduction to the superhighway.

The potential of exploiting the ABC brand of reliability, credibility, trustworthiness and education had been carefully considered within the ABC – by the Multimedia Unit and by the Board – for some time, as was noted in Chapter 4. The number of commercial approaches to ABC Online increased in the late 1990s, as evidenced by the monthly reports of the Multimedia Unit of the ABC (Multimedia Unit of the ABC, 1997-2000). In October 1998, representatives of the ABC Multimedia Unit met with AOL's Content Director

(Brett Wane) and discussed content licensing possibilities. Multimedia Unit Monthly Reports over the following months (which were presented to the Board before each month's meeting) documented considerable commercial interest in ABC Online, including proposals from Oracle, Telstra, Yahoo! and AOL (Multimedia Unit of the ABC, November 1998, December 1998, January 1999). Through ABC Online arrangements, the Multimedia Unit of the ABC struggled to redefine relations between content, revenue generation and public interests in a way that made sense for a Public Service Broadcaster operating in the information (or control) society.

ABC Online content arrangements were mentioned in the press as early as November 1998, when the *Sun-Herald* newspaper announced that the ABC had 'given free rights' to net service provider Yahoo!. Yahoo!'s Australian and New Zealand Marketing Director Nancie Pageau confirmed that Yahoo! had been dealing with the ABC for at least a month, but she also said that the ABC had been reluctant to release details (Dasey, 1998). Paul Williams, then Head of ABC News and Current Affairs, acknowledged in a newspaper article that the ABC had made some of its news and current affairs available to third-party service providers on a trial basis, and said that stringent conditions had been put on the use of the service. No advertising content could be placed alongside

ABC editorial content, third parties were not allowed to edit or alter ABC news content, and direct links had to be provided back to the ABC site. Content was offered on a non-exclusive basis. Because it was a trial, the ABC did not take payment, and would not do so until the 'ABC is satisfied its editorial independence and responsibilities will not be adversely affected by such arrangements' (Shelley-Jones and Bulbeck, 1998). These early press reports, unlike the later reports around the Telstra proposal, stressed the continuity of Public Service Broadcasting values in the content licensing arrangements.

Commercial approaches to the ABC Multimedia Unit, and Michael Kroger's February 1999 suggestion that the ABC should sell 49 per cent of ABC Online to raise \$250 million (McGregor, 1999), prompted the Multimedia Unit to prepare a discussion paper – *The ABC Online Dividend* – for the March 1999 Board meeting (ABC, 1999). This paper recommended that the ABC should continue to operate ABC Online and should establish a new unit (the Business Development Unit) within Enterprises Division to coordinate the licensing of content and related e-commerce activities. The Business Development Unit coordinated sales of content from radio, television and online sources in an increasingly deregulated, competitive communications environment. It was a model of commercialisation which differed markedly from Kroger's

privatisation model in that it primarily sought to sell 'off-the-shelf' already-made content to other providers. The ABC as Public Service Broadcaster retained complete editorial control. Such control was not assured by the Kroger proposal. Kroger's privatisation proposal was regarded by most ABC Board members, by Managing Director Johns and by members of the Multimedia Unit (Bardwell, 2000a; Garnsey, 1999; Vaile, 1999) as a knee-jerk reaction to dotcom hype, rather than as a viable option for ABC Online. Journalist Stewart Fist perhaps best expressed the position:

Kroger has valued the ABC Online unit at \$500 million (49 per cent can be sold for \$250 million), but unfortunately this has nothing to do with reality. It's merely his reflection of the American Nasdaq share-market hype of Amazon and Yahoo!, and he's derived local figures from parallels he sees with Kerry Packer's Ninemsn float. Every intelligent person on the planet believes these share prices are ridiculous. I presume Kroger is content for governments to exploit share-market gullibility. (Fist, 1999)

The Business Development Unit, by contrast, had been established in recognition that the ABC must raise revenue, and that the ABC must gain access to new delivery systems. 'The ABC doesn't want to go into more joint ventures,' said Harry Bardwell (General Manager, Media Business) 'It doesn't

want to be forming 49 per cent minority holdings and hiving off bits of the organisation – particularly if those bits are the big potential growth areas.' (Bardwell, 2000a) The idea was instead to raise revenue from these potential growth areas, and also to gain access to new delivery systems. Brian Johns' vision for the future of the ABC (forged partly from lessons learnt from the difficulties of pay TV, BNA and Australia Television) was that the ABC should ensure that its online content was available as widely as possible and that the resulting revenue could be made to supplement government funding. According to Bardwell, the ABC at the time was 'being strangled' by its dependence on government funding and thus required other sources of revenue (Bardwell, 2000a). Johns' understanding of the new environment, forged by his year on the Broadband Services Expert Group (BSEG) had convinced him that the best way to realise both goals in the online environment was to sell content as widely as possible. Griffith agreed, describing the World Wide Web environment at the time as follows:

I think what's really interesting is that no portals are dominant – or dominant to the same extent (as in other media). If you look at audience shares on the net – the most dominant site might get 50% audience reach – it's really interesting to look at reach figures on the web – and even the figures reflected in the States – AOL, Yahoo! at best might reach 50% of the online audience

in a month. So you – even the biggest sites are not reaching 50% of your available audience. So the idea is that even if we build up Online as the biggest portal and it's the best, we might at best reach 50% – so it's in a way better to be on many many portals and then you increase your range of – your potential audience reach – and then from there – plus also links. So it's a balance of being on a range of sites plus your own site. (Griffith, 2000)

There are two issues of comparison here. Firstly, in the free-to-air broadcast environment, limited spectrum meant that listeners/viewers choices were also limited. Secondly, in free-to-air broadcasting, markets had 'settled' into a pattern where the dominant players were apparent. On the internet, by contrast, there was an excess of information and almost anyone with access could be a producer of content. Portals were still struggling for control of the new medium, and if major players were going to emerge, they had not yet done so. A decision by the ABC to choose to provide content only on its own site, or only on one other site, may be suicidal in a fast changing market. The ABC needed to be 'future-proofed' against being completely marginalised when and if major players established themselves. In light of this understanding, guidelines were drafted for non-exclusive content sales to commercial portals,

and the ABC Board approved these guidelines. In Harry Bardwell's view, the benefit of this strategy to the ABC was:

To be able to put our package out in branded syndication ... so that if you're using Yahoo! Or MSN, it's – you're still using ABC. And if you require them to include a link back to the ABC's site you draw people back to the ABC site, so you're constantly using the net for its own purposes. You're using the strength of the net to strengthen your service. Putting nodes of your service all over the net – as widely as possible.

(Bardwell, 2000a)

In this view, in order to get nodes all over the net, the ABC required access to new delivery platforms as they appeared. Telstra controlled the delivery systems via which other internet service providers operated, and was a major supplier of broadband. If the ABC was to be a major Australian content provider, occupying virtual territory on the World Wide Web as intended and eventually having access to broadband, then an ongoing relationship with Telstra as the delivery mechanism would be very important, and should be pursued according to Johns and the Business Development Unit. The strategy was to provide content licensing packages to portals, and to form more complex alliances with Telcos. According to Bardwell: 'The best potential alliances are Telstra, and other telcos, because they are the ones that own the distribution

mechanisms. You can provide branded content to these groups and work closely with them on a non-exclusive basis.' (Bardwell, 2000a) There are two elements here – content sales, akin to buying something 'off-the-shelf' (like a video or audio cassette), which was to be done with portals *and* telcos – and 'working closely' in alliances – with telcos only. The first element, that of content sales, hinged on an understanding of the internet as a market which did not value exclusivity.

### Freedom of Information

A particular valuation of information informed the ABC decision to sell content. It was based on a philosophy which had been much rehearsed in internet theoretical and activist circles (e.g. Poster, 2001: 43; Barlow, 1994), but also had some resonance with those aspects of the Public Service Broadcasting idea that sought to disperse information as widely as possible.

While scarcity is usually an indicator of value, according to this philosophy, information gains in value the more broadly it is dispersed, particularly on the internet. The commercial environment of broadcasting (as well as newspapers, film and video, and television for that matter) had relied on the philosophy of scarcity and exclusivity, with television channels for instance competing for

exclusivity in an environment of scarcity. ABC policy staff and management had concluded that in the World Wide Web environment, to the contrary, selling or dispersing ABC content *non-exclusively* and as widely as possible would make ABC content simultaneously more available and no less valuable.

Although this idea of information was continuous to a degree with Public Service Broadcasting ideals such as universality of access (Broadcasting Research Unit, 1985), it was not the only position held in the ABC with regard to content sales. Some staff regarded this philosophy as no more than a smokescreen for the commercialisation of the ABC. For instance, John Millard wrote:

Any suggestion that because it is the internet the editorial policies governing independence, commercial influence or editorial integrity ought to be viewed differently from those policies applying to ABC radio and TV, is either journalistically naïve or editorially irresponsible. Yet those on the ABC Board, Management or News Department, by their actions, appear to have adopted such a view.

The internet is merely a delivery mechanism. So when it comes to the important matters of independence, advertising, commercial influence or editorial integrity,

it is the news service and the editorial content that are corruptible, not the delivery method. So all the proper editorial rules that apply to news on television apply as readily to news on the internet. (Millard, 2000)

Andy Lloyd James (then Head of National Networks), while not opposed to non-exclusive content sales in principle, argued that subscription was probably the more viable long term option, both economically and ethically:

I can't believe that exclusivity isn't going to have an enormous value. And if it's true that only some 'commercial' sites will really make money there are only two other pathways that are available – sponsorship or subscription ... I just can't see non-exclusivity going on forever, because unless I'm dead wrong the economics of it don't make sense. (Lloyd James, 2000)

Lloyd James advocated a model of revenue raising where a 'top' level of Online content would be available to everyone, and that 'deeper' levels would be accessed by subscription:

Again you come back to the issue of exclusivity. I guess what you'd be deciding there is whether you'd be likely to do better out of licensing or – I mean if you look at the way people buy magazines, if you look at the way they're already using Pay Television – I suspect that (and this is nothing more than a hunch) that they don't

mind that kind of relationship for a specific return. And they don't have to be very large figures – people will be subscribing to be part of the ABC's deep science service, or its deep arts service – they'll get the top bit for free. They don't need to be large figures to start making a difference to the ABC ... With all the areas of specialist content we've got, it has huge implications. And almost all of them sooner or later you can connect back to the news and current affairs service. The generalist user still has access to the top level ... At least that's a direct relationship between viewers and the ABC. It doesn't involve advertising, it doesn't involve sponsorship, it doesn't involve editorial interference. (Lloyd James, 2000)

Such an approach would require that the subscription levels of content would remain exclusive to the ABC website. However, Managing Director Brian Johns and ABC policy staff, including Julianne Schultz (General Manager, Corporate Strategy and Communications) and Harry Bardwell, regarded the online world as one where dispersal mattered more than exclusivity, and it was their view which guided the content sales aspect of the Telstra negotiations. Schultz was explicit about this both in an interview with me (Schultz, 2000) and at Senate Estimates Hearings where she said: 'one of the key things that has been shaping this whole licensing approach is a recognition that in this online environment the premium which was once placed on exclusivity in the media

market place has virtually gone away. No one at this stage is prepared to pay for exclusivity of access to content.' (Commonwealth of Australia, 2000: 74)

The ABC negotiators' strategy was that ABC content (particularly News content, for all of which the ABC owned full rights) should be sold non-exclusively to all the major searchable directories, and remain available to ABC Online users. The extra power of the external servers would also enable ABC Online to meet heightened demand, especially for its news services during peak times. This policy of colonising or occupying the web – of 'covering virtual territory' – envisioned an ABC presence via its content licences all over the World Wide Web, sometimes drawing users back to ABC Online. It was this content licensing aspect of the Telstra deal, and the consequent danger to editorial independence, which were most fervently taken up by the press.

### The Controversy

Details of the Telstra proposal were leaked to the press before the deal was finalised, spoiling ABC intentions about how and when to publicise the details. On 5 February 5 2000, the Australian press reported that ABC Online had almost finalised a deal with Telstra for \$67.5 million over five years. As well as the provision for non-exclusive content sales, the deal provided for exclusive

co-production arrangements, exclusive repurposing of ABC content for Telstra wireless internet services, and shared Research and Development arrangements between Telstra and ABC Online.

The newspaper articles of 5 February 2000 focused on the ways that such a commercial arrangement might affect the editorial independence of ABC news, rather than on any of the unique (and more exclusive) alliance elements of this particular deal. Anne Davies' article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported concerns that the proposed deal would compromise ABC independence from commercial influence (Davies, 2000). Krista Hughes' article for Australian Associated Press quoted Stephen Smith as saying that 'the ABC would not have to seek commercial funding if it was properly resourced' (Hughes, 2000). Simper, in a characteristic piece, asserted that the deal was largely driven by Brian Johns, and implied that the secrecy of the deal was suspicious. Simper noted similarities to the failed pay TV deal of 1995, and reported that 'a range of senior managers' had 'severe misgivings' (Simper, 2000). An article in *The Age* mentioned that the deal was 'four pronged', but nevertheless went on to focus on the possibility of advertising being posted around ABC content (Wood, 2000).

Reports over the next few days remained focused on the possible relationship between advertising and news in the proposal. The significance of the advertising clause was overstated in the press, however, according to Bardwell (2000a) and Schultz (2000), who were its key ABC negotiators. There were at the time several business models for the licensing of content, none of which had been substantially tested in the market. In one model, content was sold for a share of advertising revenue; in another there was a minimum guarantee against advertising revenue, with the content provider receiving a share of advertising revenue over and above that minimum guarantee. Or, said Bardwell:

you can do what we did because we don' t have advertising on the pages carrying our material. We charge a minimum licence fee of so many thousand dollars per month, and a page view rate. So every time someone opens a page with one of our stories we obtain a page view fee from the publisher. If the page view fees exceed the monthly rate, then we get paid extra above it. ... Reuters has had a good look at our model and said that if they were selling in this country they would be happy to use it. (Bardwell, 2000a)

Because online business models were not fully established, and in order to 'future-proof' the ABC should their model prove unprofitable, a clause was considered in the Telstra proposal whereby the ABC Board, after two years,

could reconsider its chosen model in this arrangement. If the minimum guarantee/page per view model had not adequately compensated the ABC for its content, the Board could decide at that time to allow advertising alongside ABC content and to receive revenue from such advertising. The proposal did not *require* that advertising be placed alongside ABC content, even after the two-year period, but offered the ABC Board the option of reconsidering the business model after two years, with advertising revenue then becoming a possibility. And, as was argued by Bardwell and Schultz, advertising which appeared on third-party websites was probably no more dangerous to editorial independence than advertising which appeared on commercial television networks during an ABC-produced program, such as when the ABC-produced *Mother and Son* was rebroadcast on the commercial Ten Network with advertisements (Bardwell, 2000a; Schultz 2000).

Almost all the furore about the Telstra deal focused on the possibility that selling news would compromise ABC editorial independence, whether because of advertising or simply because it was a commercial agreement (AAP, 2000; M2 Communications, 2000; Crawford 2000). Smith wrote in *The Australian*: 'The great danger of the proposed arrangement with Telstra is that commercialisation colours and compromises the independent news gathering

process of the national broadcaster.' (Smith, 2000) An article in *The Australian* on 9 February began: 'The question of whether the ABC would be right to sell its news and current affairs programs to Telstra goes to the heart of the debate over the role of public broadcasting.' (*The Australian*, 2000) Despite an occasional acknowledgment that 'The Corporation has sold its news service to third parties for years' (*The Australian*, 2000), the press continued to inject reports of the deal with fear and dread of the dangers of selling content, particularly news content, and most particularly of selling it and then having it tainted by advertising. Craig Johnstone of the *Courier-Mail* was an exception to the pessimistic view about sales of content:

the proposed deal, the subject of much debate around the ABC board table, has been met with the inevitable outcry about dangers to the broadcaster's editorial independence. How this terrible threat to the ABC's purity would happen no one has bothered to explain ... All Labor's Communications spokesperson Stephen Smith could come up with at the weekend was to mutter darkly about the 'thin edge of the wedge'. (Johnstone, 2000)

Like other commentators, however, Johnstone neglected to discuss the other aspects of the deal – those that were unique to the Telstra arrangement. On 10 February 2000, representatives of Telstra and of the ABC appeared at Senate

Estimates Hearings, and were quizzed about the Telstra proposal. John Rolland (Director of Online Services of Telstra) outlined the 'four key planks' of the ABC Online/Telstra deal, and when Stephen Smith of the Labor Party released a twelve-page draft of the Telstra /ABC Online deal on 14 February, he acknowledged that: 'if it was simply an off-the-shelf content deal no-one would turn their head about it, but it's not' (AAP Information Services, 2000a). This acknowledgment that the issues surrounding the Telstra proposal were greater than simply the dangers to editorial independence of news was rare during the controversy, and would be overshadowed again and again because particular ways of thinking about the ABC predestined the discussion to being a panic about the 'core' of news being contaminated by the 'other' of commercialism or advertising.

### Selling Core Content

The ABC could only sell content for which it owned all rights, and that meant primarily news, which, as a 'core' program type, had been protected to date from co-production or outsourcing. According to Bardwell in 2000:

News is our biggest growth area in terms of content sales – at this point it's mostly just news. ... The vast majority of what we produce inside the ABC is news and current affairs, because the majority of the other

content is commissioned - most of our dramas and documentaries, for example, are made by outside companies ... Certainly we don't own the rights to a lot of that material. A lot of the stuff that we're making for the online site is material which is derived from programs which were originally made for ABC radio or television. It is reasonably simple to extend the rights to cover the ABC online service for our own purposes – such as using music or excerpts of other people's material used in the programs, for example, but it is much more complex and expensive to then sell that content as your own to third parties. Also, our Public Broadcasting remit ends there. So unless you're actually making it and owning it, you can't actually sell it and the thing that we overwhelmingly own, that is most organised, that is on a continuing basis and so in, is news. (Bardwell, 2000a)

The categorisation of news as an essential (or core) public service genre, and hence its protection from outsourcing and co-production, thus enabled it to be the most viable and valuable product for the ABC in the World Wide Web. In the broadcast environment, news had been protected from co-production and outsourcing involvements by its 'core' status, and the ABC therefore wholly owned its news content. Commentators on the Telstra deal seized upon the sales of Online news services as an attack on the 'core program' of news.

Because part of the ABC's role was that of informing citizens, news had been defined as the 'core' program type. Such a definition allowed for the marginalised program types to slip from ABC control, with the result that the ABC was less viable as a commercial content provider. There are two ways to think about the effects of the core/margins distinction in this example. Firstly had other program types not been marginalised, and as a consequence not been outsourced and co-produced, the ABC would have had more content to sell online in the early 1990s. Conversely one might say that, had news not been a core service, it too would have been outsourced and co-produced, and therefore the ABC would have had nothing to sell online. Either way, the core/margins distinction did not in the end protect the boundary between the ABC and the commercial. The two dichotomies worked against one another. In this example, the communications environment had bypassed the core/margins and ABC/other way of thinking the ABC. The Telstra controversy, and the attendant focus on news, reignited fears for ABC independence.

## Independence

Smith called for an inquiry into the Telstra deal and other such deals in the interests of ABC editorial independence. His call for an inquiry was in turn

argued, both by Brian Johns and Senator Richard Alston, to be an attack on ABC independence (Gilchrist, 2000). 'Independence' had emerged as the ground on which the battle would be fought – with all sides arguing that ABC independence (from its 'other', however constituted) was what they sought to protect. Smith argued that he was protecting the ABC from commercial dependence, while Johns and Alston argued that they were defending ABC independence from Smith's political interference.

The Australian Senate instigated an inquiry into ABC Online on 17 February 2000, and the inquiry was advertised in all national and capital city newspapers on 25 February. The inquiry was to investigate the ABC's existing and future online deals, and whether legislation should be altered to maintain and protect the ABC presence on the internet. Pending the inquiry, the ABC Board approved the continuing negotiation of the Telstra deal. The Terms of Reference of the Inquiry were in three parts. The first two dealt with existing and proposed commercial arrangements for production, supply or distribution of ABC Online material including, but not limited to, mechanisms for ensuring ABC editorial control and *independence*. These parts of the inquiry led to the Interim Report that is further discussed later in this chapter. The third part of the inquiry was to be into whether legislation needed to change in order to

accommodate effective provision of an *independent* innovative and comprehensive online service.

Again the focus was on independence. Of independence, the Charter says that in the provision by the Corporation of its broadcasting services within Australia the Corporation shall take account of: 'the responsibility of the Corporation as the provider of an *independent* national broadcasting service to provide a balance between broadcasting programs of wide appeal and specialized broadcasting programs' (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1983: 6). Section 27 of the *ABC Act*, which relates specifically to the broadcasting of News Services, is the only other place where 'independence' appears outside the phrase 'independence and integrity' in the *ABC Act*. It says: 'The Corporation shall develop and maintain an *independent* service for the broadcasting of news and information by the Corporation pursuant to this section' (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1983: 27). It was the editorial independence of the ABC news service, as protected by section 27, which was highlighted in the controversy and subsequent Inquiry around the Telstra proposal.

Other aspects of the proposed deal received far less attention, despite their broader implications for the ethical relation of the ABC to its users. Content

sales and the possibility of advertising were seen as threatening the editorial independence of ABC news services. But this threat to independence does not explain fully the controversy over the Telstra proposal, given that previous similar content sales agreements had not attracted such controversy. The unique aspects of this deal were those which involved 'working closely with telcos' (Bardwell, 2000a). These aspects of the deal (an exclusive co-production arrangement; the repurposing of ABC content for wireless internet, broadband and narrowband, and possibly interactive television; and shared Research and Development) threatened the independence *and integrity* of the ABC.

### Independence and Integrity

As mentioned earlier, the integrity of the ABC itself was threatened in three ways by the Telstra proposal: technologically, commercially and institutionally. All three aspects were intertwined. The potential merging of telecommunications with broadcasting, of a part-privatised organisation with the ABC, and of governing rationales all affected the ways that the proposal was received and commented upon in the press. In particular, a controversy surrounding Telstra's part privatisation aroused fears for the public service status of the ABC.

One reason that the Telstra proposal was so controversial was that Telstra's political position at the time was uncertain. Harry Bardwell (ABC General Manager Business Development Unit) said of the proposal:

A lot of criticism of the deal was to do with the positioning of Telstra vis-a-vis the Government. There is a huge fight occurring at the moment as to who should own Telstra. Primarily the left wing of the Labor Party versus the Right Wing of the Liberal Party – and then the National Party, which is almost with the left wing of the Labor Party – so there's a very complicated fight going on about the provision of telecommunications in this country. And we aligned ourselves with Telstra and got caught in their vortex as well as our own – there was a combining of two whirlpools, and that was why it took on a momentum larger than its reality. (Bardwell, 2000a)

The ABC's integrity as a governmental institution was seen to be under threat, as was its independence from commercial interests. Telstra, once a monopoly, had been open to commercial competitors under a re-regulated system since the introduction of new common and mobile carriers Optus and Vodaphone under the Hawke-Keating governments of 1983-1996. Privatisation came later, under the Howard Coalition government. The float of one-third of Telstra shares was listed on the Stock Exchange in September 1997, and in June 1999 the Senate

approved the sale of a further 16.6 per cent. By the time the ABC Online/Telstra proposal was leaked to the press, 49.9 per cent of Telstra was privately owned. Barr has canvassed the chief arguments for and against privatisation, and concluded that 'privatisation may be smart politics, and popular among its select shareholders, but is not necessarily good long-term policy in the national interest.' He also argued that: 'Privatisation fundamentally changes the locus of power in Australian telecommunications.' (Barr, 2000: 110-112) In the contexts of privatisations of public amenities such as the Commonwealth Bank (30 per cent in 1991 a further 19.9 per cent in 1993 and the remaining 50.1 per cent in 1996) and Qantas (in 1995) the proposed deal with Telstra generated undercurrents of fear about the ongoing status of the ABC as a wholly publicly owned institution, and fears about neo-liberalism or economic rationalism more generally. The Telstra deal caused such an uproar because it publicly threatened the non-commercial /commercial dichotomy of the public service broadcasting idea, and because it threatened the ABC's integrity as a governmental institution. This threat to ABC integrity had implications for its ethical relation to its listeners, viewers and users.

The proposed deal was presented, in cases both for and against, as significant to the moral or ethical relation of the ABC to its listeners, viewers and users. In

the case *for* the deal, Bardwell argued that Telstra and the ABC had almost identical mandates to serve the nation:

Both the ABC and Telstra are obliged by the government to provide Australia wide services wherever possible. ... In New Media, as it currently stands, other new media companies are under no obligation to provide any particular Australian service. They're completely deregulated. The only obligation and regulation is with companies who are in the business but predate 'New Media'. The only two of those in this area are Telstra and the ABC. So Telstra and the ABC come together, to try to create something that still fulfils their Charter obligations. I mean – Ninemsn is to a certain extent Australian owned – it is a joint venture as it is largely owned by MSN. Everybody else is nearly totally owned by Americans – Yahoo!, AOL. We are fighting to get Australian content on to Australian services. Yes, Telstra at some point may have 25% ownership by some external company. It will still have far more regulation and obligation than Yahoo! has, which has no obligation whatsoever. (Bardwell, 2000a)

Bardwell argued that part of the governmental functions of both the ABC and Telstra was the construction of national identity. Rather than fearing the loss of independence that a 'merging' of the governing rationales of the 'Arts

Department' and the 'Engineering Department' would cause, Bardwell feared the disintegration and dissolution of the Australian identity in the globalised newer media environment. In his view, such an identity should be protected by regulation equivalent to the universal service obligations of Telstra, or the Australian Content provisions of broadcasting (Bardwell, 2000a).

Commentators who argued *against* the deal also implied that it would affect the ethical relationship between the ABC and its publics. Media commentator Stewart Fist's article about the deal, published on 29 February 2000, was titled 'ABC Deal a Moral Minefield'. 'When a choice needs to be made between integrity and reducing output or abandoning expansion plans,' Fist asserted, 'some ABC managers and staff opt for a little bit of prostitution on the side, hoping the public and the more puritanical journalists won't notice.' (Fist, 2000) A *Sydney Morning Herald* article worried about the ABC 'getting into bed with' Telstra (Robinson, 2000). Johns' article about the matter, where he argued that the ABC must sell content to survive, was titled: 'Virgin or Jezebel, She's Still Our Aunty' (Johns, 2000). In that article, Johns focused on the content sales aspect of the deal. Of the \$67.5 million fee, he wrote:

In accepting that fee, the public should understand that the ABC will not be seduced by it. We will not trade our independence. We will not betray our trust with our

audiences. We would be foolish to move even the slightest way in that direction because we are valued because of our independence and integrity. (Johns, 2000)

Johns described the value of the ABC to its listeners/viewers/users as pertaining to the ethical relations of 'independence and integrity'. ABC Online's value, like that of the ABC itself, was in its own wholeness as a governmental institution, the wholeness of the nation, and also the whole person. Speaking of ABC Online, Johns said: 'The value is in the totality of the ABC – the overall texture and mix of programming services which gives a very Australian expression to the needs of the "whole" person.' (Johns, 1996: 4)

In its relations with the listener/viewer/user, the ethical telos towards which the ABC strove was one of integrity, or ethical completeness. Integrity is defined as 'entireness, wholeness, the unimpaired state of anything, uprightness, honesty, purity' (Kirkpatrick, 1983: 654). 'Integrity' is comprised, then, both of moral (honesty, purity) and spatial (entireness, wholeness) components.

Etymologically, the word is from the Latin for 'entire', and has come to mean a firm adherence to a code of especially moral or artistic values, or incorruptibility, an unimpaired condition or soundness, and the quality or state of completeness. The concepts of entireness and ethical uprightness are equated

in the word 'integrity' just as they are in the phrase 'ethical completeness'. But the Public Service Broadcasting goal of creating ethically complete individuals was complicated by the World Wide Web environment.

In the newer World Wide Web environment of the late 1990s, each individual was fragmented by ever greater choices, and users were perhaps more accurately understood as multiplicities than as the anybodies-as-somebodies who were addressed in broadcasting (Scannell, 1996: 13). Broadcast audiences had been free to choose between commercial or ABC, genre, timeslot and network, Radio or Television, Triple J or Radio National, news or game show. Listener/viewer selves were regulated in time by program schedules, even on pay TV. On the World Wide Web, where time operated differently, it became a lot harder to draw the lines. The user was spoilt for choice, and was dealing with hybrids: she might be on Ozemail reading ABC news; timeslots were slippery, and she might even be confused about which medium she was using. How useful was a telos of integrity to the ABC for ever finer audience profiles in an environment of inadequate government funding and converged governmental institutions and media? Could the ABC even aim to produce the ethically complete citizen who was once imagined?

In the information society, the listener/viewer/user is defined by ever finer grids of demography – territory, genre, discipline, gender, ethnic background and price points, and can send email through her broadcaster's website across a phone line. There is not much differentiation between information. There is not much differentiation between the post, the phone, the broadcaster and the web. There is not much to distinguish one governmental institution from another, nor much to distinguish when one is a citizen and when one is a consumer.

Elements of the Telstra /ABC Online controversy – such as the moral/ethical tone of the press reports – demonstrated fears of convergence, fears of those things defined as the opposite of integrity – such as impairment, dishonesty, impurity and fragmentation. Was the ABC (and its audience) dis-integrating in the World Wide Web? Would it further dis-integrate in convergence? Was the ABC in crisis because of its status in between social diagrams? Was the uproar about the proposed Telstra deal illustrative of wider fears of the rise of the control society?

As well as threatening to tar the ABC with the same brush that had marred the public perception of Telstra, the leaking of the proposal to the press publicly exposed some possible impacts of the intersection of the internet idea with the Public Service Broadcasting idea. The intersection was bound to change the

ways that the ABC operated to shape behaviour, or in other words to function as a governmental institution. By 'getting into bed' with Telstra, the ABC (our 'Aunty') was seen to be losing the purity or virginity of 'her' Public Service Broadcasting identity, losing 'her' ability to be trusted, her ability to provide security for the listener/viewer/user in a chaotic world of excess and dispersal. She would be selling her integrity, and by extension 'ours' as her nieces and nephews.

While almost all critiques of the proposal *mentioned* integrity, there was little discussion of what a threat to integrity might entail, and why it should be feared. What was at stake online for the ethical relation with the audience was a shift from the ABC being an institution with a goal of integrity to being one which merged, borderless, into the Online landscape. ABC content was spilling everywhere. The ABC could no longer show itself to be integrated, nor could it 'contain'. We could view ABC content on a number of portals either under its own URL (as with Ozemail) or under the commercial portal URL (as with Yahoo!). We could unknowingly slip from the security of Auntie's grasp into the nether world of other spaces. We might end up at a Monash University site and not know it unless we checked the URL; we might have slipped over to Telstra's Adelaide Festival site if we were not careful to be 'sticky' (the

buzzword for portal loyalty). And all this before the proposed Telstra deal.

What was happening to the borders of our national institutions?

The proposed Telstra deal could have been a site at which the applicability of ethical goals of independence and integrity in an online environment might be debated. Instead, discussions of the Telstra proposal turned again and again to the familiar dichotomies of the Public Service Broadcasting idea. According to the Charter, ABC Online was not a 'core' service, and so assessments of the Telstra/ABC Online deal could not use the Charter to defend it. This did not, however, prevent a return to the core and margins approach. And the commercial and the global continued to be set up as the 'other' against which Public Service Broadcasting must be both identified and defended. A phrase was borrowed from the *ABC Act* to mount critiques of the Telstra deal along arboreal lines. The phrase was 'independence and integrity'.

In the discussion of the Telstra proposal, the terms of the recurring phrase 'independence and integrity' were often used as though they were interchangeable, and nowhere was there an explanation of what ABC integrity might be. Independence was well discussed, usually with regard to the content sales aspect of the deal. The other aspects of the proposal (co-productions,

repurposing of ABC content for Wireless Access Protocol (WAP) or Short Messaging Service (SMS) devices, and the sharing of Research and Development by Telstra and ABC Online) attracted little attention, despite their implications for the integrity of the ABC and, by extension, to the ABC's ethical goal of ethical completeness, or integrity, for its users.

Once again, as was the case with the Charter (as described in Chapter 4) changes in practices at the ABC had bypassed its official discourses and familiar defences. With regard to the Telstra proposal, the ABC's ethical goal of integrity could not specifically be defended by the Act. Instead, defences relied on the phrase 'independence and integrity' as general concepts – akin to motherhood statements. During the controversy, the phrase was often used to refer to the ethical relation of the ABC to its users, but where the phrase appears in the Act it does so with regard to the Corporation itself, rather than in regard to the relations between the ABC and its listeners/viewers/users.

The phrase 'independence and integrity' appears twice in the *ABC Act* – in subsection 8(b) and in subsection 25(4). 'It is the duty of the Board,' reads subsection 8(b), 'to maintain the *independence and integrity* of the Corporation.' (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1983) It defines the ABC according

to ABC wholeness (integrity) and its boundaries from its others (independence). Just as the defence of ABC independence (as discussed above in relation to section 27) was problematised by the sale of news content, however, the defence of the ABC as whole and bounded was problematised by the contingencies of the information age, such as pay TV, international television, co-productions and outsourcing. This difficulty is reflected in section 25 of the *ABC Act*.

Section 25 (see Figure 4) relates to the general powers of the ABC. In subsection 25(4) the Corporation is prevented from accepting services facilities or gifts 'where it is likely that the *independence or integrity* of the corporation will be affected'. Subsection 25(5), however, *overrides* the significance of 'independence and integrity' in cases such as those of subscription TV, subscription radio, international television, co-productions and outsourcing (Commonwealth Government of Australia, 1983). In other words, 'independence and integrity' in section 25 refers only to fully ABC funded free-to-air broadcasting. Other technological and economic arrangements are specifically excluded.

This Section of the Act recognises differences between the 'independence and integrity' of fully funded free-to-air domestic broadcasting and other delivery mechanisms and services. The section does not specifically exclude *or* include online services from a requirement for 'independence and integrity'. Further, though the section refers to arrangements with bona fide producers of various kinds, it does not refer to arrangements (of co-production, for instance) with telecommunications providers. Here online services and any arrangements into which the ABC might enter with telcos to provide such services occupied a position in between the letter and the spirit of the Act. There was nothing in the *detail* of the section that could be used to defend ABC 'integrity and independence' against the perceived threats of the ABC Online/Telstra proposal. Instead, a general argument of 'independence and integrity' was mobilised to save the ABC from being contaminated by Telstra.

(4) Subject to subsection (5), the Corporation does not have power:

- (a) to accept the performance of any service, or the provision of any facility, for the Corporation; or
- (b) to accept any gift, devise or bequest to the Corporation, whether offered or made unconditionally or subject to conditions;

where it is likely that the independence or integrity of the Corporation would be affected.

- (5) Nothing in subsection (3) or (4) precludes the Corporation from:
- (a) accepting the performance of services, the provision of facilities or the payment of moneys by or on behalf of the Commonwealth, a State or a Territory or an authority of the Commonwealth, of a State or of a Territory; or
  - (b) entering into an agreement or arrangement with:
    - (i) a *bona fide* producer of:
      - (A) broadcasting programs;
      - (B) cinematograph films or sound recordings; or
      - (C) public concerts or other public entertainments; or
    - (ii) a *bona fide* publisher of any literary material, in relation to the sharing of any expense or risk associated with the production, distribution, sale or presentation of any such program, film, recording, concert, entertainment or literary material; or
  - (c) providing, or entering into an agreement or arrangement with another person for providing, subscription television broadcasting services within the meaning of the *Broadcasting Services Act 1992*; or
  - (d) providing, or entering into an agreement with another person for providing:
    - (i) subscription radio broadcasting services; or
    - (ii) subscription radio narrowcasting services; or
    - (iii) subscription television narrowcasting services; or
    - (iv) open narrowcasting radio services; or
    - (v) open narrowcasting television services;within the meaning of the *Broadcasting Services Act 1992*; or
  - (e) accepting any payment or other consideration for or in relation to any announcement, program or other matter provided by the Corporation's international television service and its

associated audio channels outside Australia.

Figure 4 – Excerpt from Section 25 of the Australian Broadcasting  
Corporation Act 1983

(Commonwealth Government of Australia 1983)

The *spirit* rather than the *letter* of the Act's phrase 'independence and integrity' was mobilised in defences of ABC institutional integrity, and in defences of its ethical goal of producing the ethically complete citizen.

The Telstra proposal, which in effect would merge aspects of the institutional cultures of the ABC and Telstra, threatened the ethical relation between the ABC and its listener/viewer/user to a degree that was not the case for previous content sales arrangements. Telstra's political position and its part privatisation threatened to contaminate the ABC's wholeness, and therefore its ethical goal of integrity. It was not the content sales aspects of the deal which posed this threat, but the aspects which represented a strategic alliance.

**Strategic Alliance or Joint Venture?**

There were those within the ABC who recognised the threats posed by the alliance aspects of the Telstra proposal to the ABC's ethical goal of integrity, or

the production of ethically complete citizens. These people recalled previous attempted ABC joint ventures, such as that of pay TV. In a submission to the Inquiry into ABC Online (Interim Report) Quentin Dempster, then from ABC current affairs program *The 7.30 Report*, identified a likely shift in the ABC relation to the user under the proposed agreement:

Because it is a strategic alliance ... it involves the ABC in a fully commercial business plan with another operator and delivery system. This arrangement will cause us all sorts of trouble with Optus, and with any other player. I am basing this on my bitter experience being on the Board of the ABC as we did a deal with Fairfax and Cox Communications on Pay TV ... That provokes commercial rivalries. *Everybody's attitude to the ABC changes because of that ...* I do not think this is the direction in which we should go. (Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2000: 24, my emphasis)

If the ABC's ethical relation to its publics was at least partly about integrity, then 'a fully commercial business plan with another operator and delivery system' was bound to challenge that relation. It was not just about where users could find content – or the spatial aspect of ABC integrity – but also about the complexities of merging organisational cultures, and the inability of the ABC in this context to create the ethically complete or integrated citizen – or the moral

aspect of ABC integrity. The merging of governmental institutions such as Telstra and the ABC was perhaps even more dangerous to ABC integrity than the very 'joint ventures' which Johns had sought to avoid. This was especially the case in the exclusive (co-production and Research and Development) aspects of the Telstra deal. Of the exclusivity of the co-production and research and development aspects of the deal, Bardwell said:

Having that exclusivity allows Telstra to provide the ABC with software that we would otherwise not be able to get hold of. That we would have to buy. So if we wanted to create an interactive game show, for instance, or an online coverage of the Sydney-Hobart yacht race, and they had satellite linking software that would allow you to do chat with people in the middle of the ocean, that's what they would contribute to that co-production. But that would be exclusively Telstra software. If you made it non-exclusive they wouldn't provide it to you because they would be losing control of their new technology. (Bardwell, 2000a)

In prior ABC Online co-productions, there was a significant level of negotiation around the project before a commitment to co-produce was made. Only after a number of discussions about the raw idea did the contracting process begin. Projects were sometimes abandoned well before contracting – for instance, a proposed CD-ROM project between the Bureau of Statistics and ABC Online

was abandoned at an early stage of negotiations when ABC Multimedia staff realised that the Bureau of Statistics' institutional culture, rightly based upon scrupulously protecting confidentiality, entailed far slower lead times than were feasible for Online. Despite each partner being valued by the other – the ABC wanting the large data sets and the Bureau of Statistics wanting ABC skills in multimedia, they each had different ideas of what the finished product would look like and how long it could take to produce it. The project did not violate any of the ABC's editorial guidelines, but the potential partners had different projects in mind and different institutional cultures to work within (Vaile, 1999: 10). The Telstra proposal did not allow for such mismatches, demanding a minimum level of co-production for each of the five years of the agreement. Though this aspect of the deal was potentially a greater threat to ABC independence and integrity than the content sales component, it was the combination of all four elements in one arrangement that posed the greatest threat. This threat was referred to occasionally in the press reports, as mentioned above, but it was not until the Senate's Interim Report was released that such threats were articulated in detail, and even then it was only the Democrat Senators who did so. The other sections of the Interim Report merely rearticulated familiar political positions with regard to the ABC.

## The Interim Report

As mentioned above, the publication of details of the Telstra proposal was followed by calls for a Senate report into the ABC's existing and future online deals. The resulting Interim Report of the Senate Inquiry into ABC Online was published in April 2000 in three sections: an Australian Labor Party (ALP) Senators' report; A Democrats' report; and a Government report.

The ALP report stressed that it was the government's funding cuts that had forced the ABC into deals such as this one in the first place. The government Senators, to the contrary, were fully supportive of the proposal as it stood, accusing the Labor and Democrat Senators of interference in ABC independence. Their conclusion read:

This inquiry is a demonstration that Labor and the Democrats are quite willing to intrude on the independence of the ABC when it suits them.

The ABC must be allowed to participate in the online environment without the fear of constant interference from politicians trying to manage the day-to-day activities of the Corporation. (Tierney and Lightfoot, 2000: 59)

It is worth noting here that these were Senators of the same conservative government that had reduced ABC funds by \$66 million. These funding reductions were not, apparently, 'political interference', whereas an inquiry into online services was deemed to be so. Elements of the deal affecting ABC integrity were not highlighted, and instead the government report returned to the issue of ABC *independence* from political interference. In his article about the Interim Report, Errol Simper regarded the government Senators' Report as 'characterised by naïvète and public broadcasting neglect' (Simper, 2000a). The Interim Report, based largely on the ABC Online/Telstra proposal, became another venue for restating familiar government and Labor Party positions, rather than a site at which ethical goals of integrity and independence could be reconsidered in the control or information society.

The Democrats' report recognised the ways in which the breadth of the deal threatened ABC goals of independence and integrity, but sought to position ABC Online in the core or centre of the ABC, rather than recognising that it was the in between nature of ABC online which had led to its outstanding success. The Democrats' report noted concerns that the sale of online content could have 'implications for the preservation of the ABC's fundamental values of independence and integrity'. 'There were concerns,' the Democrats continued,

'about the ABC's editorial independence, its policy on advertising, and about the secrecy which surrounded many of the agreements for the sale of online content' (Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2000: 1.1).

The focus of the Democrats' report was on the *breadth* of the proposed agreement, on the merging of the ABC's and Telstra's organisational cultures – in short, on the ABC's integrity. The report stated that Democrat concerns included:

That the agreement with Telstra, through its combination of a whole series of discrete and far-reaching commercial arrangements into a single agreement, could contravene the spirit of the ABC's Act, constrain the ABC's strategic flexibility as the online environment develops, create an overall environment in which the danger of editorial compromise is greater, and expose the ABC to potential litigation should the expectations of Telstra not be met.

The Australian Democrats share the mystification of many witnesses as to why such a disparate series of elements have been combined into an agreement whose central component, as the ABC explains, is the sale of online content. The Australian Democrats agree that the very wide scope of this proposed agreement potentially

exacerbates an atmosphere in which editorial values could be put under pressure. (Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2000: 1.5, 1.103)

The Democrats made ten recommendations, including that the ABC consider separate agreements with Telstra regarding sale of online content, that co-productions be negotiated on a case-by-case basis, that references to future advertising revenues be removed, that references to research and development cooperation be removed, and that the privacy of ABC and Telstra users must be assured. They sought a position for ABC Online at the core of the ABC:

The Australian Democrats commend the ABC for its foresight and skill in establishing and developing ABC Online, and strongly support its maintenance as a *core* ABC activity. In such a context, the Australian Democrats have no wish to see inappropriate constraints imposed the ABC's freedom of action in developing a strong presence in the evolving convergent environment. However this freedom needs to be balanced by attention to the ABC's Charter and *core* responsibilities as a respected public broadcaster and institution, in which its editorial *integrity and independence*, and the values of its brand, are preserved. In framing its recommendations, the Australian Democrats thus suggest to the Board a course that seeks to preserve the ABC's freedom of action and to balance

this against the need to ensure that the ABC's integrity is protected under new commercial arrangements. (Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2000: 1.114, my emphasis)

The Democrats wanted ABC Online to be recognised as a 'core' activity and for its integrity to be protected. They did not question the validity of core/margins distinction itself, or the ethical goal of integrity in the information society, despite the ways in which these had been problematised by the Telstra proposal.

The controversy surrounding the Telstra proposal eventually folded ABC Online into molar discourses of the ABC, rather than allowing the molecular of the broader ABC to be revalued via the successes of ABC Online. Online was being defended as a core despite its continued absence from the Charter and the inappropriateness of such a defence to the rhizomic structure of Online. As I have noted earlier defending ABC Online as 'core' undervalued its shallow, networked, rhizomic structure, while placing it on the margins undervalued its significance to the ABC. ABC Online had succeeded because of its position in between the core and margins dichotomy, and in that it may have held lessons for the remainder of the ABC. Instead, it was appropriated into the molar of the ABC, with the choice being only whether it was to be understood as 'core' or

'margin'. At the Senate hearings at which Online's arrangements had been discussed, Brian Johns had said:

Online is at the heart and core of the activities of the ABC ... we are utilising some 800 journalists throughout the country to provide material for Online. We are using our specialist program-makers to produce material for Online. We are using our radio networks to produce material for Online. We are doing that as an integrated activity. It is part of our One ABC strategy. (Commonwealth of Australia, 2000: 28)

After the Interim Report was released, negotiations between Telstra and ABC Online continued under the leadership of the new Managing Director Jonathon Shier, who had taken over from Brian Johns on 17 March. In May 2000 an ABC Multimedia staff member hinted that the Telstra proposal had been hurried so that it could be Brian Johns' swansong and that as a result it was very flawed (Anonymous, 2000a). Peter Wilmouth reported in *The Age* on 1 June that the Board had reservations about the deal, particularly about its five-year term, given the speed of change in new technologies. A Telstra spokesman was quoted in the article as saying: 'The whole question of independence has been absolutely paramount from the very beginning of discussions. We are absolutely aware the ABC needs to maintain its editorial independence.' (Wilmouth, 2000)

The collapse of the proposal was not due to ethical concerns, however, be they independence or integrity. Negotiations for the ABC Online/Telstra deal ceased on 9 June 2000. According to Stuart Gray, Communications Manager for Telstra, 'the negotiations [had] been going on for eight months and just two days ago ABC sought to significantly change the terms of that agreement'. Gray continued: 'We couldn't reach agreement over those changes and so parties decided to withdraw from negotiations.' (ABC, 2000b) Shier and the team from the ABC had suggested changes which, according to Gray, 'significantly reduced and undermined the commercial viability of delivering the content over Telstra platforms' (ABC, 2000b). For his part, Jonathon Shier said: 'The obligations that would have been imposed on the ABC by Telstra, the cost of servicing the deal, and the fact that it did not sufficiently recognise the value of the ABC's breadth of content were, in the end, the critical issues for the ABC.' (ABC, 2000c) According to the official lines from both Telstra and the ABC, negotiations were cancelled for commercial rather than ethical reasons. The third part of the inquiry, into whether legislation at the ABC should be changed to accommodate the Online environment, was still outstanding when the Telstra/ABC Online deal was terminated.

When part c) of the Terms of Reference of the Senate Inquiry into ABC Online was conducted in August 2000, the ABC submission stated: 'The issue which prompted the Senate Inquiry is no longer extant.' (ABC, 2000d) However the submission acknowledged that the ABC would negotiate other agreements in future. ABC legal advice asserted that the ABC had the power under section 25(1) of the *ABC Act* to establish and maintain the internet site. Section 25(1) gives the ABC 'power to do all things necessary or convenient to be done for or in connection with the performance of its functions.' (ABC, 2000a) In other words, the ABC would not – at that stage anyway – argue for changes to the Charter to accommodate ABC Online as a 'core' function of the ABC, and instead ABC Online would continue to be understood (in the legislation at least) as a marginal service. There was no discussion of the possibility that the dichotomy itself should be rethought in light of ABC Online's success.

The ABC submission argued that if changes were to be made to the ABC Charter, minor amendments could be made to include online services by inserting a new section 27(a) to allow the ABC to datacast and to 'communicate to the public otherwise than as provided in this Act', and by changing certain definitions in the interpretations section of the *ABC Act* to include datacasting and other electronic transmissions, and to define 'public' as meaning within or

outside Australia (ABC, 2000a). The submission further argued that such amendments were not urgent, and could be deferred until other amendments as suggested in relation to datacasting and digital television needed to be made (ABC, August 2000). In other words, ABC Online should operate in the shadows of the ABC, despite its brief illumination by the proposed Telstra Agreement, and despite its success in a period of crisis at the ABC.

## Conclusion

The leaking of details of the proposed Telstra/ABC Online deal highlighted particular ethical goals of the ABC and provided a basis for discussions about such ethical goals in the online environment, and with respect to the broader information society. Boundaries which had been clear for broadcasting were blurred, calling the ethical goals of independence and integrity and the core/margins distinction into question. The merging of broadcasting with communications technologies and of public service broadcasting goals with commercial goals threatened the ABC's ethical goals of independence and integrity. If the ABC sold content, perhaps its editorial independence would be threatened, as would its integrity if ABC content was to be available all over the net, or if the ABC formed a strategic alliance with Telstra.

The ethical goal of 'independence' was favoured as the ground on which the controversy would be fought because this was the familiar way to argue – with news as a core program, against the other of commercialism (in this case advertising) – and because the legislation could be more easily mobilised to justify this argument. Although 'independence' was usually understood to mean independence from commercial interference, the controversy also raised issues of independence from political interference.

The ABC's ethical goal of integrity in its relationships with its listeners/viewers/users was probably at greater risk from the alliance aspects of the Telstra deal than was the goal of editorial independence in danger from the content sales aspects, but overall it was the breadth of the agreement which was its greatest flaw.

The controversy around the Telstra proposal highlighted problems of the core/margins way of thinking at the ABC, when the very 'core' public service program type – that of news – became the most viable product for the ABC to sell, potentially risking the 'core' value of editorial independence. The commercial/public service dichotomy was complicated and problematised in

the online environment by pre-existing core/non-core programming distinctions.

The Democrat section of the Interim Report recognised the risks involved in a strategic alliance between Telstra and ABC Online. It nevertheless recommended that ABC Online be folded back into the core /margins dichotomy into which discussions of the ABC had become ossified. After the deal collapsed under the weight of commercial rather than ethical considerations, the ABC Submission to the third part of the Inquiry opted for a strategy whereby ABC Online would occupy a marginal position.

The ABC's ethical goal of integrity was of particular significance in the controversy surrounding the proposed ABC Online/Telstra deal. Fears of convergence and of the control society were articulated via the controversy around the disclosure of this deal, demonstrating yet again that institutions of the civil society were in crisis because they were caught in between strategies of the disciplinary (enclosure and confinement, wholeness and 'others') and control (dispersal, modulation and contingency) societies.

As demonstrated by the ABC Online/Telstra controversy, the ABC as a topic of public debate arouses strong emotions. The next chapter explores whether these strong emotions might be the product of a yearning for an imagined past of secure national identity. Chapter 7 also discusses the ways in which the ABC's governmental role of constructing public memory through particular pedagogic practices was problematised in an online environment.

## ***Chapter 7: Nostalgia for the Future: Governing Interactivity***

All of this beauty of old times is an effect of and not a reason for nostalgia. I know very well that it is our own invention. But it's quite good to have this kind of nostalgia, just as it's good to have a good relationship with your own childhood if you have children. It's a good thing to have nostalgia toward some periods on the condition that it's a way to have a thoughtful and positive relation to your own present. But if nostalgia is a reason to be aggressive and uncomprehending towards the present, it has to be excluded. (Foucault, 1988: 12).

This chapter argues that nostalgia for an arboreal image of the ABC is often used as a reason to be aggressive and uncomprehending towards the present, and that a nostalgia for more rhizomic elements of the ABC might allow for a more thoughtful and positive relation to the present and the future. The chapter

uses three examples of early online interactive sites to remember rhizomic elements of the broader ABC.

The chapter first raises issues such as the governmental relations of the ABC to its listeners, viewers and users, and the nostalgic attachment of many Australians to the ABC. It then uses the outcomes of this discussion to examine the development of three interactive online sites *Frontier*, *Future Exchange* and *The Games* and the experimental Community Publishing Project. These projects problematised some ABC governing rationales and technologies of the self, such as the ABC's position as ethical exemplar, and its goals of producing a national identity and whole, well informed citizens. Because interactive fora offered opportunities for users to challenge and disagree with experts, the ABC's role of ethical exemplar was problematised. Guest books offered the opportunity for users to communicate without exemplary intervention, and so these further problematised the exemplary relation. The limit case of the Community Publishing Project imagined an ABC Online site from which the ABC was very nearly removed altogether as ethical exemplar.

## Remembering for the Future

The emergence of ABC Online between 1995 and 2000 was based on attempts to imagine a possible future for the ABC and for Public Service Broadcasting in a multichannelled, digital and interactive environment. These attempts remembered both the molecular forces at work within the ABC, and the more molar aspects of the national broadcaster.

A nostalgic longing for the past can remember a past that never was – perhaps a past remembered via images of the unified nation, 'an' Australian identity, and a Public Service Broadcaster which was not in crisis. Such nostalgia can guide relations to the present and imaginings of the future. One could be nostalgic for a pure, unified, independent, non-commercial ABC. As I have demonstrated, such a nostalgia produces particular discourses and imaginings of the ABC in particular and of Public Service Broadcasting in general. One could instead be nostalgic for the more rhizomic elements of the ABC, for those aspects which confounded the binaries, where ABC programming and practices demonstrated various positions in between accepted dichotomies. In this chapter, I attempt the latter by recognising specific instances where implementations of interactive sites allowed for a problematisation of ABC dichotomies. This chapter

advocates a remembering of the ABC that privileges a rhizomic image of the ABC.

By the late 1990s, images of a unified and unifying ABC were becoming unproductive, or even destructive, for imagining the ABC in a fast changing media environment. Nostalgia for a past imagined in arboreal terms had constructed an ABC with a coherent national audience and a national identity united by what Jacka termed a 'secure and predictable diet' of programming. Jacka has criticised this type of nostalgia as unproductive for Public Service Broadcasting:

I do know that the nostalgic harking back to an earlier time when PSB provided a secure and predictable diet for a coherent national audience is fruitless. (Jacka, 2000: 18)

This chapter argues that a different nostalgia for the ABC could instead be used to imagine a possible future. Using the success of ABC Online as a model of how to remember the ABC, we might choose to remember the ABC as dispersed and plural, even rhizomic. Rather than being nostalgic for a unified past or future, we might instead be nostalgic for the diversity, plurality and *in between nature* of ABC practices and programming. Case studies of the

implementation of interactive online sites offer a number of instances where this can be explored.

Interactive sites such as *Frontier*, *Future Exchange* and the Community Publishing Project are examples where ABC Online imagined a possible future for the ABC in a more interactive media environment by remembering particular relations between the ABC and its publics. The analysis of these implementations reveals that these were sites of nostalgia both for a future of the ABC and for some of its past practices.

### Remembering Public Service Broadcasting

In considering the ABC's role as a national Public Service Broadcaster, Jacka has suggested that:

A study needs to be done not on the future of Public Service Broadcasting but on the intense attachment to it among the intellectual class. There is also intense attachment to it among so-called 'ordinary people', as the 11,000 odd submissions to the Mansfield Inquiry demonstrated ... One line of inquiry might be to see what other deeply held values this attachment stands in for, and whether Public Service Broadcasting (it is no

accident it is called 'Aunty') symbolises all that is secure and dependable from a former age. (Jacka, 2000b)

This attachment can be further demonstrated by the fact that '82 per cent of Australians believe the ABC does a good job of being distinctively Australian and contributing to Australia's identity' (ABC, 2003a). Perhaps we might imagine a future ABC by studying why Australians are so attached to the ABC as a contributor to national identity. Surely the intense attachment that Jacka describes is nostalgia, a homesickness, a sentimental longing for an imagined past – perhaps that of 'national identity'. This past is, as mentioned in both Jacka's quotes above, imagined as 'secure', which the *Chambers Dictionary* defines as the state of being 'without care or anxiety; confident: over-confident: free from danger: safe: assured: affording safety: stable: firmly fixed' (Kirkpatrick, 1983: 1172). If we do indeed use nostalgia for the ABC and ABC Online to keep us safe, stable and free from danger, what are the dangers? Are they the dangers of chaos? Uncertainty? Instability? Commercialism? Globalism? Dispersal and fragmentation? The net? Does the continuity of a Public Service Broadcasting institution afford safe harbour from postmodernity itself?

In bringing what was familiar from a former age – Public Service Broadcasting – into the newer information society of the World Wide Web, ABC Online

perhaps offered a sense of security to its users in an unfamiliar environment.

This sense of security perhaps helps to explain why ABC Online was so successful in the late 1990s. At ABC Online the user could remember her/his secure ethical relationship to the broadcast ABC.

Broadcasting, as a familiar assemblage of technologies and practices in the late 1990s, offered specific securities. Scannell contends that broadcasting offers structures of care with which we unify the world: 'the care structures of broadcasting suggest that through them the world returns for us in its wholeness' (Scannell, 1996: 172). The care structures of the ABC more specifically offered to return the *nation* (and by extension national identity) to us in its wholeness. The promise of broadcasting – that all citizens could take part in the same event at the same time – served the imagined nation well. But ABC Online could not offer us the 'wholeness' of broadcasting, however much it 'unified' the ABC in other ways.

Instead of offering the wholeness and security of broadcasting, however, ABC Online provided a dynamic space of public memory of the ABC and of/for the nation. The World Wide Web does not and cannot even pretend to return the world to us in the wholeness of a national perspective on a major event. Instead,

it offers a fragmented world of dynamic memory to fragmented selves. It offers a world always incomplete, always in the processes of construction, always unmaking and remaking selves. In such an environment perhaps there is a temptation to become even more nostalgic for the familiarity and sense of security offered by a broadcast ABC with ethical goals of independence and integrity.

In remembering broadcasting, ABC Online clearly demonstrated the simultaneity of past, present and future technologies. ABC Online both remembered older technologies and imagined new ones such as interactive digital television. ABC Online was also, like ABC broadcasting before it, a site of public memory, where 'the nation' could be constructed and reconstructed through memory. According to Wise:

The public past is a sense of tradition and collective memory: it is nomadic and rhizomic. The public past is crucial in constructing contemporary social identity ... therefore how a public imagines its past relations with technology ... will have an impact on how it treats its present technology ... even if these technologies seem superficially different from each other. (Wise, 1997: 96)

The points that Wise makes here are useful in a number of ways to the following discussion of the implementation of interactive sites at ABC Online. Firstly, the ABC and ABC Online are productive of public memory or understandings of the (national) public past. Individuals remember the nation and its past via many sources, a significant one of which is Public Service Broadcasting. Such understandings of the public past as are gleaned from these sources are crucial in understanding contemporary social identity. The ways in which the past of the nation is 'remembered' on television and radio, for example, have consequences for the collective memory of the nation, and hence to contemporary social identity. Further to the Wise quote, our relations with the ABC as broadcaster of collective memory affect how we will treat the ABC as a website of collective memory – we might regard it as credible, authentic and reliable, for example. ABC Online demonstrated some of the ways that Public Service Broadcasting could be productively remembered on the World Wide Web, despite the differences between broadcasting and the internet, and despite the differences between the Public Service Broadcasting idea and the internet idea. ABC Online also highlighted the significance of the ABC in facilitating techniques of the self. It demonstrated the function of the ABC as an environment (that is, a dynamic space of reconstruction) of public memory at the end of the twentieth century.

The broad general problem of the end of the twentieth century, or *fin de siecle* according to Caulderon and Lauserna, was 'how to combine new technologies and collective memory ... passion and reason?' (quoted in Castells, 1996: 23). This was the very question that faced the ABC when ABC Online was emerging. How would the nation use online services to remember with passion and reason? What could and how would the ABC, national Public Service Broadcaster, become at a time when 'national'; 'public' and 'broadcaster' were all negotiable terms? What could be produced in between ABC broadcasting of the twentieth century, and the promises of digital interactive technologies of the twenty-first? How could the ABC combine its governmental function of producing public memory with newer and more interactive technologies?

This chapter argues that the relation between the ABC and its listeners/viewers/users is one where a balance must always be renegotiated between the encouragement of critical freedom and the provision of a sense of security by the ABC as ethical exemplar. It further argues that this tension was problematised (and not for the first time) by the advent of interactive websites. The ABC listener/viewer/user was given the liberty of critical freedom to make a self, to use ABC programs and sites as she or he saw fit. Simultaneously, the

ABC provided the security of exemplars which could guide the user to use his/her liberty responsibly – to make informed choices. Rose has argued that in Public Service Broadcasting, 'private individuals were educated in the fact that they must be educated by experts in order to responsibly assume their freedom within the context of society' (Rose, 1999: 82). This function remained for the ABC in its Online practices, but the ways in which this governing rationale was applied varied. Practices of guiding and limiting overlapped with those of enabling, facilitating and encouraging. Practices were based both on the facilitation of liberty (of free speech, or critical freedom for instance) and the production of a sense of security (the ABC as ethical exemplar). This relation between liberty and security was crucial to the implementation of ABC Online interactive sites.

As is described below, interactive subsites of ABC Online functioned to construct and reconstruct dynamic spaces of public memory. Users were at liberty to create and recreate their personal memories, their selves, using the material provided. The production of memory is closely bound to the creation of selves. Deleuze has claimed for instance that 'memory is the real name of the relation to oneself, or the affect on self by self.' (Deleuze, 1988a: 107). The effect on self by self (or 'the conduct of conduct') is what Foucault referred to as

technologies of the self, so Deleuze thus claimed that memory is the real name for technologies of the self. Through our memories, we make and remake selves. The environment of memory created by ABC Online was, in these terms, a technology of the self facilitated by the ABC. Interactive sites offered opportunities both for ongoing self-actualisation, and for the construction of a site of public memory.

### Liberty and Security

The ABC facilitates memory-production by the formation of individuals in whom 'liberty is registered ... as an indispensable element of governmental rationality itself' (Foucault, 1976:19-20). Users must be given both the freedom to choose (liberty), and faith in the reliability and accuracy of the information through which they make their choices (security). Dean (1999: 116) has noted that for Foucault there was a circular relation between liberty and security such that regulation guided individuals and groups to use their liberty responsibly and that this responsible liberty underpinned the security of the population and the state. In the broadcast environment, ABC listeners/viewers are at liberty to construct their own listening/viewing ecology from the available choices, regulated by the security of the ABC as ethical exemplar. In the Online environment, practices which rely on the ABC's role as ethical exemplar can

further provide a sense of security in an environment less familiar than that of broadcasting. The ABC serves a governmental function of providing a space of cultural security.

While security is most often understood in military terms, this is not the only governmental regime of security, as has been noted by Everard:

Modern States provide not only military security but also the environment for other forms of security. This is partly through providing the framework in which economic activity takes place, and through supplying safety-net services to the domestic polity in the event that the market fails to provide. (Everard, 2000: 95)

The ABC, at the very least when understood as the provider of that which the commercial networks do not provide (the ABC as 'complementary' broadcaster), offers a level of national cultural security and, as I have argued above, it does so using governmental practices of freedom. ABC Online, in contributing to the freedom of the well-informed citizen, provides a sense of security based on the user's pre-existent understanding of her/his relation with the broadcast ABC. Users value the familiarity and security of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, whether on the broadcast media or on the World Wide Web. The sense of security offered by the ABC 'brand' helps users to

make sense of the chaotic excess of the World Wide Web. In providing this sense of security and offering a space for the practices of critical freedom, the ABC and ABC Online function as a governmental institution. 'To be secure is now understood by governmental authorities,' says Dumm, 'to be the first freedom, that is, the freedom from which all other freedoms flow and are made possible.' (Dumm, 1996: 127)

The foregoing theorisation suggests a useful way in which to approach the questions that the implementation of interactive sites at ABC Online posed. *Frontier, Future Exchange* and *The Games*, as detailed below, remembered the broadcast media, and also the ABC roles of ethical exemplar and facilitator of self-actualisation through practices of critical freedom. The user was required to remember aspects of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, and was expected to remember and reconsider his/her ethical relations with the broadcast ABC.

In examining a select few interactive projects, this chapter examines the problematisation of this relation between liberty and security at the ABC, showing that the relation tends more towards security in some instances, and more towards liberty in others. It also revisits some of the concerns of previous chapters – in particular, those of the forgetfulness of the unified nation and the

role of the ABC as ethical exemplar. The interactive fora *Frontier*, *The Games* and *Future Exchange* are particularly telling exemplifications of the facilitation of critical freedom in relation to the past, present and future, while the Community Publishing Project exemplifies the challenge to the ABC's role as ethical exemplar posed by the many-to-many technology of the internet.

The advent of ABC Online problematised the relationship of the ABC to its imagined publics. It did so in part by altering practices of memory or self-actualisation through various forms of interactivity that negotiated the liberty-security relation. The ABC maintained its privileged position as ethical exemplar to varying degrees on different sites. In some types of interactivity at ABC Online, users 'interacted' with a piece of software only – like the games on the Children's *Playground* site; or the *Backyard Birds* site where one can identify a bird one has seen. In those sites the ABC role of ethical exemplar remained largely unchanged. At the *ABC Shop Online* users could engage in e-commerce. Other interactive sites operated as notice boards – for instance, the *Rural Event Diary* would accept entries of upcoming agricultural events. Guest Books and interactive forums, however, allowed listeners, viewers and users to

produce dynamic sites of public memory, though usually still within the security of some form of the exemplary relationship.

### Interactivity, Memory and Ethical Exemplars

The implementation of interactive sites at ABC Online problematised the ABC's role of ethical exemplar. The development of interactive sites routinely involved staff in discussions such as the degree to which they and the ABC should be a teacher, an editor, a gatekeeper, an exemplar, a librarian, a gallery, a publisher and a business. In developing a site, how significant would the voice of the expert be? What were the ethics of moderation? What role would the producer have in the production of knowledges or the selection of national memories and the consequent production of national identity? Where would the ABC or the national 'voice' be heard in all this? In what ways would online repeat, and in what ways alter, Public Service Broadcasting principles and practices? These questions became particularly urgent with the first Online forum, *Frontier Online* – which was presented along with the three-part documentary television series *Frontier* in early 1997.

## Remembering the nation – *Frontier*

The *Frontier* website is of special interest here in that – like the program to which it related – it specifically addressed issues of nation and memory, as well as remembering other media such as the book and television. In this way it recalls the discussion of the unified nation in Chapter 1, which stressed the importance of a forgetfulness of past and present violence to the image of the unified nation. It also recalls Connolly's argument, mentioned in Chapter 1, that the image of the nation remains closely bound up with the image of race (Connolly, 1999: 74). Henry Reynolds' history book on which the *Frontier* television series and website were based documented the wars between white invaders and Aboriginal people. Before its publication, history had it that Aboriginal people gave up their land without a fight (Reynolds, 1996). The book, and then three episodes of a television series, documented the fierce territorial wars of that period, rewriting what had been a history of 'settlement' into one of 'invasion'.

At ABC Online, 24 hours after the screening of each television episode, there was a live online chat. A panel of experts included Henry Reynolds and Professor Marcia Langton (who at that time was the Director of the Centre for Indigenous Natural and Cultural Resource Management at the Northern

Territory University). The public could ask (moderated) questions of these experts and make comments.

The *Frontier Online* web chats were a world first. Instead of using IRC (Internet Relay Chat), the ABC used html-based software developed by a contractor. The benefits of html over IRC for the ABC were that it allowed greater access – anyone with any browser was able to enter without plug-ins – and meant that the chat was not ephemeral but designed to be automatically self-archiving. After *Frontier*, it was obvious that many users had understood 'chat' to mean IRC, so the ABC changed the name of their events to 'forums'. Forums were most often attached to a radio or television program, allowing for continued discussion of a topic which had been raised there. Radio and television links promoted the sites to greater user numbers than would be possible for sites without broadcasting resources.

The topic of the *Frontier* website was a critical history about origin, birth and race – an enforced remembering of events which had been forgotten in order to construct the nation as unified. The website aimed to contribute to reconciliation by recounting and discussing 'White Australia's Forgotten War'. The home page reads: 'The vision of *Frontier Online* is to harness the

connectiveness [sic] of the internet to provide a place where Australians can be a part of the national reconciliation process.' ([www.abc.net.au/frontier/](http://www.abc.net.au/frontier/)) The site functioned as a dynamic environment of public memory, where understandings of the public past were used, in the terms of the Wise quote above, 'to construct contemporary social identity' (Wise, 1997: 96). On this site, public memory was negotiated in between the exemplary one-to-many interaction of the Public Service Broadcasting idea and the many-to-many networked interaction of the internet idea. In this it recalls John Bodnar's discussion of public memory. Bodnar has suggested that 'public memory emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions' (Bodnar, 1993: 7). He also offers a more detailed definition:

Public memory is a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past and its present, and by implication, its future. It is fashioned ideally in the public sphere in which various parts of the social structure exchange views. The major focus of this communicative and cognitive process is not the past, however, but serious matters in the present such as the nature of power and the question of loyalty to both official and vernacular cultures. Public memory speaks primarily about the structure of power in society because that power is always in question in a world of polarities and contradictions and because cultural

understanding is always grounded in the material structure of society itself. Memory adds perspectives and authenticity to the views articulated in this exchange; defenders of official and vernacular interests are selectively retrieved from the past to perform similar functions in the present. (Bodnar, 1993: 76)

Both *Frontier* the television series and *Frontier* the Web forum were designed to help the public 'understand both its past and present, and by implication, its future'. They existed very much in the public arena, and the Web forum enabled 'parts of the social structure' to exchange views. In turn, the major thrust was not the past but serious contemporary matters of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations. Here 'public memory' was being explicitly interrogated in terms of 'the structure of power' in Australian society. Here too, memory 'adds perspectives and authenticity to the views articulated in this exchange' while 'defenders of official and vernacular interests' were 'selectively retrieved from the past' in the documentary series 'to perform similar functions in the present'. On the *Frontier* forum, the interactivity and accessibility of the technology enabled an easier and faster intersection between the vernacular and the official. In exchanges about beliefs and ideas about the past, serious matters in the present, 'such as the nature of power and the question of loyalty to both official and vernacular cultures', were discussed (Bodnar, 1993: 76).

The live panels and forum topics were: Treaties; Personal Responsibility; and Reconciliation. A CD-ROM set and an educational package for teachers were available, as were videos. So while the television series was ephemeral, memories remained in a variety of formats including the website. Because the Web forum was designed to be automatically self-archiving, users can (still) go back to read what happened on the site. The interactive forum allowed users to interact almost instantly with the ABC as exemplar, and the experts presented as exemplars, thus creating and recreating an environment of public memory.

Users of the forum were invited to 'ask questions' of the expert panel rather than to contribute to a discussion. Users did challenge the experts, however, particularly in the ongoing guestbook (still active as at November 2002). This allowed for comment that was not as directed or guided by the experts. This part of the site thus challenged the role of the ABC as ethical exemplar. The following contribution, posted two years after the series was first screened, was certainly not in sympathy with the views of the experts, nor of the stated aims of the site. It sparked a heated debate and signalled the degree to which matters of the present were at issue:

reconciliation? you have to be kidding? if the so called  
stolen generation hadn't been taken from their familys  
these children would have gone the same way as their

perants, NO WHERE, The indiginus people of this country don't realise how lucky they are, government handouts, being paid redicules prices for their so called art, I've see four year old produce more comperset art, what a joke, handed grants for their dance troops, getting commission houses that they distroy in a matter of months, And yes I have seen this, it's unfortunate that these proud people have ended up the way they have, theres no disputing that they are easally lead into drinking, this I've seen first hand too, but to ask the people to say sorry for something That's happened over the past 200 + years, FORGET IT! You'll never hear a Sorry from me because I didn't do anything to be sorry for as far as the aboriginal comunitty is concerned [sic] ('Merksy', 2002)

This contribution provoked a string of passionate responses, and demonstrated that engagement with the website was not always passive adherence to the views of the chosen experts. The guestbook offered a space for the expression of diverse views, including those that challenged the views of the ABC and its experts as ethical exemplars. As an environment of public memory, the guest book illustrated an ongoing dynamic of diverse opinions which one would be unlikely to perceive in radio or television. The guestbook exchanges, concerning race and national identity, were between users without the explicit

intervention of the broadcaster or chosen experts, and they illustrated the violence and discord of the present as graphically as those of the past.

On the *Frontier* site, in an environment of public memory, shared memories were challenged once by the television series, then further by the Forum, and individual members of the public added comment to an ongoing storehouse of national-memory-under-construction via the guest book. Users were guided to the website via the familiarity of the broadcast ABC, which they already trusted to complicate ideas of the unity of the nation. The website used governmental technologies to reveal 'national' memory (and hence identity) as fragmented, dynamic, ever changing and multiple. It also recalled elements which had been 'forgotten' in the past and present images of a unified nation. In the guest book the more generous 'word limits' offered space for a more diverse archive of a national mood than possible with, say, radio talkback, where responses between viewers/listeners must be more strictly edited (for example by the switchboard selection process) due to time constraints. A contribution from November 2002 reads:

While 'Frontiers' helps to undo many aspects of the 'story against' the original owners of this land, I find that I have to fight against broader narratives that are embedded in the language we use to discuss

reconciliation. Firstly, the word 'reconciliation' gives the idea of returning to a past harmony between the many peoples in this land and the incoming 'light pinky browns' – the debate should be about 'conciliation' if anything.

We continue to talk about the 'settlers' – for the most part, the 'light pinky browns' were 'unsettlers'. I feel uncomfortable (sic) about the generic terms for tying down the original inhabitants (aboriginal, indigenous, blacks, etc.). The light, pinky browns' gravitation to wanting to use an easy single term is not too far from wanting to 'sum up' and dismiss the complexity and diversity of earlier existences.

I can't proudly use the term 'Australian' as the word, though emotive, covers the past eradications, lies, denials and subjugations. I look forward to a day when we can set up a new name for this country that can symbolise a fair agreement between the pinky browns and the different skin colours who first inhabited the land. (Tulloch, 2002)

*Frontier* was a site where serious matters about the structure of power in the present were aired via a revisiting of the past. This example of the environment of public memory is located at an intersection between the 'expert'

broadcaster/guest and the opinion of the 'ordinary' Australian, and its aim was to make Australians a part of the reconciliation process via the many-to-many structure of the internet. Thus the website functioned to achieve certain governmental aims, continuing the rhizomic practices of ABC broadcast *programs* as opposed to the arboreal discourses of the organisational *structure*.

'An analysis of government,' wrote Dean, 'views practices of government in their complex and variable relations to the different ways that "truth" is produced in social, cultural and political practices.' (Dean, 1999: 18) The *Frontier* television series and subsite as practices of government challenged existing historical narratives of the nation and experimented with ways other than one-to-many or top-down procedures for producing truth and selves. As Public Service Broadcaster, the ABC functioned to produce truth in cultural practices of broadcast, debate, discussion and argument, altering the balance between liberty and security which had been offered to broadcast audiences.

This intersection of the internet idea with the Public Service Broadcasting idea was directed and managed, but only to a point. Governance entailed the facilitation of practices of freedom. The *Frontier* site continued to be used long after the screening of the television series, providing a place for the exchange of

ideas about reconciliation in Australia, a topic chosen by the ABC. The ABC chose the agenda of the forums, and which experts would speak, creating a sort of chicane on the information superhighway. ABC Online was a place where the internet idea met the Public Service Broadcasting idea, and interactivity was guided and directed by ABC governing rationales using practices of freedom. It was a space in which the idea of a singular unified national memory (and hence nation) was challenged, and where the role of ABC staff as ethical exemplars was problematised.

#### Imagining the Future, Remembering the ABC – *Future Exchange*

While the *Frontier* television series and subsite revisited the past to discuss power relations in the present and to imagine the future, the *Future Exchange* project remembered techniques from the past – the town meeting and radio programs – to educate its public about technologies of the future. Dean has suggested that the key starting point of an analytics of government is the identification and examination of specific situations in which the activity of governing comes into question (Dean, 1999: 27). The *Future Exchange* site is one such situation. Like the *Frontier* site, *Future Exchange* questioned the ABC's role as ethical exemplar, raising issues of the relations between the ABC and its listeners viewers and users. The *Future Exchange* site also

problematised the governmental goal of independence at ABC Online, in this case from its non-commercial others.

ABC Online developed co-production projects with other educational /memory institutions (many of them, interestingly, cultural institutions of enclosure), such as universities, art galleries and government departments (Byrnes, 1999). Each of these co-productions was negotiated on a case by case basis (Byrnes; 1999, Vaile, 1999). One such co-production was *Future Exchange*. Again, the relation between the broadcaster and the interactive user was problematic in construction of the site. For Michael Dwyer, one of the two main developers of the site, the discussion within the ABC turned on the question: to what extent do we want to put power into the hands of our audience? Dwyer continues:

Do we really want to know what they think – do we really trust them to think at all? It's all very comfortable when you've got all the control – when you make the programs and they listen to them – but when you've got a situation where they're actively contributing to what's going on – one of the things we talked about was a model where the ABC's role is just starting off discussions and then basically handing over to the audience to keep the discussions going. To what extent are we going to give people control over discussion?

Dwyer expresses here the disjunction between the hierarchical top-down interaction of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, and the more lateral networked interaction of the internet idea. This disjunction was highlighted at the ABC when interactive Online sites were being developed, and it not only questioned the relation between the ABC and its publics, but also provoked a mildly defensive response to the questions it raised. Dwyer continues:

The assumption is that the reason we've got jobs here is that we're reasonably good at it. There's a whole bunch of detritus floating around the world and we have the skills to recognise the interesting stuff in it, and to package it in such a way that it's even more interesting. To create programs that engage with people on an intellectual, emotional, entertainment on all levels. Whereas when you throw everything open to the public – is the public actually going to say anything interesting? Are we going to be deluged by hundreds of posts which are just dull? And how arrogant is that?  
(Dwyer, 1999)

Jacka has argued that the role of the Public Service Broadcaster is to 'extend that kind of training which is given in schools via a literary pedagogy into later life by continuing to train the taste of the population – the "listening and viewing public", after the end of school' (Jacka, 1997a: 10). Dwyer's concerns echo a speech given by James Darling, a chairman of the ABC in the 1960s:

whose is the right to determine the proportions and standards which will be in the best interests of the community? ... In practice our success in satisfaction of such ideals will depend on all those men and women, at different levels and in different sections, who make up the personnel of the organisation, in *their* quality, in *their* capacity for judgement and in *their* good taste.  
(quoted in Jacka, 1997a: 10)

Dwyer's concerns about the role of ABC staff as ethical exemplars, and part of the historical provenance of that role for ABC staff, are demonstrated by the above quotes. The interactivity of the site problematised a position that had been supported both by the one-to-many technologies of broadcasting and by the goal of a unified nation or audience. The aim of the site was not merely to teach people to use new technologies, but to facilitate the self-production of *the informed citizen*:

If you read the computer stuff in the newspapers, the bulk of the stuff is about how there is a new Pentium chip out which is faster than the previous chip which was released six months ago – or you know, here are some tips on how to do this or that – Just not very interesting. And I think people haven't been encouraged to think critically and creatively about what an information society might be like – and we've been trying to do that ... people are encouraged to be

uncritical consumers of stuff in contemporary Western Society, and not encouraged to think critically about the world around them. The way the world is, is not natural, and it's not the only way. (Dwyer, 1999)

The intention then, both in broadcasting and the World Wide Web, was to activate critical freedom in those members of the public who interacted in one way or another with the project. Dwyer had hoped that the town meetings, radio programs and website would have a deep impact on people's lives, but the experience taught him otherwise:

The most surprising thing was that I don't think there is a large bunch of people out there who are going 'gee whiz' anymore. I guess when you're sitting in a broadcasting organisation it's pretty easy to lose touch with what people out there are actually thinking ... People sitting in large buildings like the one we're sitting in at the moment – we don't have that great an idea of what's going on in people's suburban lives.

These are interesting topics, and you can have interesting discussions about them. But for the average person, leading an average kind of life, it's just another part of life. State Transit gets new trains, they get a new pot plant, they use email at work. It's just not a revolution in people's daily lives. (Dwyer, 1999)

So for Dwyer, at least, the interactivity of the *Future Exchange* project encouraged a re-evaluation of the role of the ABC broadcaster, or Web developer, as an ethical exemplar. Users' responses were more immediate, and were in fact a part of the program production process, in ways that differed from the previous media of broadcasting. The Dwyer experience also gives the lie to much of the internet hype of the time, which presented the internet as revolutionary and life-changing. Instead, Dwyer felt that the impact of the World Wide Web was as life-changing as buying a new potplant.

*Future Exchange* both problematised ethical relations with the listener/viewer/user, and deflated elements of internet hype familiarising and mainstreaming the internet. It also problematised ethical relations within the ABC, and the relations of the ABC with the National Office of the Information Economy (NOIE – an agency in the federal Department for Communications, Information Technology and the Arts) with which the project was co-produced. Both institutions existed as governmental institutions to provide perpetual training to members of the Australian public. According to Ian Vaile, the project arose from a set of mutual interests between the ABC and NOIE:

When we had been speaking with NOIE about a few other things that we'd done for them or with them like Online Australia Year and so on and they came to us

and said that they were quite interested in some other collaboration and what would we suggest that might advance their agenda? Which is basically an awareness raising program but did what was called the information economy from their point of view – and is the whole sort of digital realm from our point of view. So our interests converged there and that offered us the option of actually getting some money to pay for doing this sort of thing. (Vaile, 1999)

NOIE wanted to collaborate with the ABC because of the ABC's national trimedia platform. A sense of security was afforded by familiar radio technologies, and by the 'national' status and coverage of ABC radio networks. NOIE was trying to reach people who were not yet internet literate, as well as those who were, so their educative agenda would best be served via town meetings and national radio, backed up by a website, as was explained by Ian Vaile:

They clearly decided that they wanted something to be national, no point having a limited distribution, and they wanted something which would reach a very broad cross section of people, so I can see that ABC radio would be extremely attractive to them because Radio National is a national network, but in addition to that we could spin things off to appear on local radio segments, and Newsradio, Radio Australia, so there was – for

relatively little input they were getting a really broad scattering of material across – and the strategy that we adopted right from the start was not to actually make radio programs, although we made four web forums, but it's been more of a bit of a roadshow about digital matters. (Vaile, 1999)

Two staff were employed for the NOIE /ABC Online co-production. They were required by the terms of the NOIE contract to encourage interest in matters of the information economy within the ABC. This point of the arrangement was carefully managed so as to adhere to the editorial guidelines of the ABC, while providing a maximum amount of content for the website:

The two people who are hired on for *Future Exchange* – as it became known – travelled around and they spent a lot of time travelling around and they visited every program in Radio National and quite a few of the other programs in the other networks; like local radio and Triple J, just talking to the producers about the sort of issues and ideas program ideas that they might be able to pursue which dealt with material in an information economy sort of realm.

And that meant – there's always a bit of negotiation there because producers don't want to be told what to produce – and they'd tell us to rack off as soon as we

approached them and said 'we've got this great program idea'. 'Why don't you do a program on ... ' so there was a delicate diplomatic – an internal diplomatic thing to go to these program-makers and broach the possibility that why don't you have a look at these subjects, it's an incredibly interesting thing to do your program about and, yes – we're being paid by NOIE to say this to you. (Vaile, 1999)

The co-production thus problematised certain ethics of radio production at the ABC, particularly that of independence from other government institutions. Radio producers who chose to be involved were told that they could produce the programs that they wanted to produce at their own program's cost and in their own program time. These programs were given a web presence on the *Future Exchange* website.

The co-production required the ABC to deliver four live public forums in town halls around the nation in September and October 1999. The topics of interest were chosen by the ABC, and centred on the subject of 'the information economy'. From the four forums, four radio programs for Sunday specials on Radio National were made, and the transcripts of the radio programs formed part of a purpose-built website. The ABC retained editorial control of all elements. The ABC and NOIE sought to educate the nation in internet literacy

and,, as noted in the Dwyer quotes above, to do so in such a way that the listeners and users would think critically about 'the information society'. The listener/viewer was thus understood as technically incompetent and/or ethically incomplete and was encouraged, via practices of critical freedom using the ABC, to rectify this incompetence and this incompleteness.

In gesturing towards twenty-first century interactive digital technologies, the *Future Exchange* site also remembered the broadcast ABC, providing links to related ABC sites, a sidebar of relevant breaking news stories from other parts of the ABC (news of the Napster court cases, for example) and publishing an archive of related ABC stories ('The hottest new executive toy is the miniature calculator' from radio program *PM* in 1979, for example). The *Future Exchange* site itself was archived on ABC Online (Vaile, 1999; Dwyer, 1999). The recollection and representation of older ABC broadcast material demonstrated the wealth of memory at the ABC about communication technologies. It also contextualised the internet's 'newness' in the past 'newness' of other technologies (such as the calculator).

In its encouragement of critical freedom, the site also hosted a number of internet forums (attached to radio programs), notably the 'Media Responsibility'

forum which attracted more than a thousand participants when it was open for a week in late November 1999. Here is one exchange, between an ABC broadcaster and a member of the public, regarding internet regulation:

From: Richard Aedy (panellist) 25/11/99 9: 52: 11  
Subject: re: Internet and regulation post id: 878  
Aldis

I find your faith that diversity evolves naturally on the web touching. To extend the Darwinian analogy, there are some pretty big ambush predators out there ... and they are going to dominate. Where we might differ more meaningfully is whether that matters. I think it does.

As to where you stand on the ABC, it's not a perfect institution (and I should know), but it's an important one. If you think it really ought to disappear, perhaps we should just agree to differ

From: Aldis Ozols 25/11/99 10: 06: 19  
Subject: re: Internet and regulation post id: 880

... I get the impression you haven't studied biology very deeply. Take a look at a natural rainforest or littoral

zone sometime, and try to tell me one species "dominates". In the real world, the big companies are under siege from a horde of smaller, smarter competitors.

[as to the ABC] ... I'm not dedicated to its destruction, but I'm indifferent to its survival.

[www.abc.net.au/future/media.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/future/media.htm).

The role of the ABC, as ethical exemplar or otherwise, was open to criticism. The *Future Exchange* site guided the user into the future of internet use, through the much older technologies of the town hall meeting, and multiple uses of ABC radio and television materials. The project imagined a future relation with the user such that the ABC's role as exemplar was problematised. Deleuze argued that, at the end of the twentieth century, crises were apparent in all institutions of the disciplinary societies because we were in between one type of society (disciplinary) and another (control). He further argued that in the control society, '*perpetual training* tends to replace *the school*' (Deleuze, 1992: 7). Parts of the ABC, even before the implementation of ABC Online, operated via pedagogic rationales of informing and educating – in other words, with aims of perpetual training. ABC Online continued this rationale, in the case of *Future Exchange* training people to use the internet but also encouraging them

to think about it critically. In the forum exchange above, this critical thinking extended to the ABC itself. To this degree the website, but also the broadcast programs and town meetings on which it was based, functioned as elements of the control society.

*Future Exchange* offered an alternative understanding of the ABC as an environment of public memory. As well as presenting the views of experts (the official in Bodnar's formulation), the site offered spaces for vernacular contributions to the site, whether in town meetings or on web forums. *Future Exchange* also used ABC Online to remember stories from the broader ABC, some of them otherwise long forgotten, and to reposition and reactivate them in a dynamic environment of public memory – a memory, in this case, of the broadcast ABC, and of older 'new' technologies. The site is itself archived on ABC Online.

### Remembering Sport – *The Games*

The two examples above demonstrate that at the ABC there are many ways of remembering. Even the Post Office Box number of the ABC (9994) remembers. It is Australian cricketer Don Bradman's batting average of 99.94. While the ABC operates as a governmental institution to provide 'unifying' national

memories such as 'The Don', it is also one of the most potent sources for reminding us of things we have forgotten in the quest for a unified 'national', and of complicating those memories to include ever larger numbers of others. ABC Online remembered this complicating function from the broadcast ABC.

Early in 2000, when the Australian Prime Minister John Howard was refusing to apologise on behalf of non-indigenous Australia for injustices done to indigenous Australians, and when the hype about the upcoming Olympics in Sydney was inescapable, the ABC screened a mock documentary TV series called *The Games*. *The Games* satirised the bureaucracy of the Sydney Olympics, and played with the relations between the television and Online ABC and its viewers and users. The scripts for each television episode were 'leaked' to *The Games* website before the television show was screened, so ardent user/viewers could get a 'scoop' on ardent viewers. In one episode an actor (also named John Howard), after eulogising about the advantages of Australia including the fact that Australia has the longest coastline in the world, apologised to indigenous Australians. The responses to this speech on *The Games* website were amazingly supportive and impassioned. One even compared the speech to Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech. Here is another response:

John Howard's apology to the Aboriginal people, that was posted on your site, exhibits a depth of insight, foresight, and feeling that is wholly unexpected when one bears in mind the vapid appellation of your commentator. But while your Mr Howard appears to exhibit the promise of embracing 'the whole vision thing' with much more gusto than his lesser namesake, he does however share the latter's habit of getting the details wrong: Canada boasts the world's longest coastline. (Lostsole, 1999)

Authority was not always entirely vested in the Public Service Broadcaster, but could be gently mocked. *The Games* website often satirically encouraged the viewer/user to 'bat on', encouraging an irreverent attitude to the ABC and to the jingoism which accompanied the upcoming Sydney Olympics. The television program and site, like the *Frontier* site, also revisited the past to discuss serious issues of race in the present. Unlike the scripts for the television programs, which for copyright reasons were removed from the website after each TV program was aired, the apology speech remains on the archived website, with a preamble offering the copyright to 'any other John Howard who might like to use it'.

*The Games* (TV series and Online site) unravelled almost as quickly as it was woven the more prevalent Olympic yarn of a unified nation. At *The Games*

website, the ABC and its viewer/users acknowledged forgetfulness of the present in the present. The apology acknowledged a national forgetfulness of the past and present of race relations, and the show and site more generally created alternate 'memories' of the follies of bureaucracy. This is only one example of the construction of memory as dynamic on the ABC site, which hosts more than 500,000 individual Web pages (ABC, 2002).

The profusion of environments of memory on ABC Online illustrates the problematic nature of the unifying goal of the Public Service Broadcasting idea. It also made more explicit the pre-existing profusion of environments of memory in the ABC broadcast environment. As environments of public memory produce an ever-greater profusion of communities of shared interests on the Web the commonality of national memory becomes more and more elusive. It becomes increasingly impossible to, in Renan's words, 'share the glories of the past, and a common will in the present; to have done great deeds together, and to desire to do more – these are the essential conditions of a people's being' (Renan, 1996: 52). Connolly takes this point further when he writes:

when you fold intraterritorial struggles of the past into a three dimensional map – made up of longitude, latitude and time – the violences upon which the current image

of the nation is grounded become more visible. If you scrap that temporal dimension and reduce it to two spatial dimensions, that violence is more readily forgotten. (Connolly, 1999: 81)

The ability of these interactive sites to remember both the violence from which the nation was created, and also the violence of the present, functioned to challenge the image of the nation as unified. The multiple environments of memory on ABC Online, and the problematisation of the relations with the ABC's publics, also challenged the image of the ABC as unified or unifying, by demonstrating the component of critical freedom that was inherent in ABC broadcasting.

The cases of *Frontier* and *The Games* demonstrate that the relations of the ABC to its listeners, viewers and users are based on a circular relation between practices of critical freedom and the ABC as ethical exemplar. Users chose to engage or not, chose the level of engagement, and determined for themselves the degree to which their engagement would be self-transforming. The ABC, as demonstrated by these examples from ABC Online, offers a space of critical freedom. Patton defines this freedom as a part of the Deleuzian ethic:

Critical freedom differs from the standard liberal concepts of positive and negative freedom by its focus

upon the conditions of change or transformation in the subject, and by its indifference to the individual or collective nature of the subject. By contrast, traditional liberal approaches tended to take as given the individual subject and to define freedom in terms of the capacity to act without hindrance in the pursuit of one's ends or in terms of the capacity to satisfy one's most significant desires. (Patton, 2000: 83)

The ABC, in its role as an environment of public memory, offers spaces for the practice of critical freedom, where listeners/viewers/users create and recreate selves, and parts of selves, as well as communities of various sizes around various issues and interests. Patton writes:

'Liberal political philosophy, now takes note of this dimension of freedom, insisting that freedom must include not just the individual's capacity to act without interference and in accordance with his or her fundamental values, but also the capacity critically to evaluate and revisit those values. (Patton, 2000: 84)

Tully confirms this estimation, arguing that 'it is critical freedom to 'question in thought and challenge in practice one's inherited cultural ways' (Tully, 1995: 202). Practices of critical freedom can be understood as ongoing technologies of the self, whereby one uses one's experiences and available resources (television, radio, online, books, etc.) to continually recreate oneself and one's

memory – to practise 'lifelong learning'. The degree to which one can utilise critical freedom at a given site is reliant on the degree and nature of interaction within the relation, and to the degree to which the ABC functions as ethical exemplar in any given site. The Community Publishing Project was an example where the ABC, in an attempt to produce an environment of public memory, tested the very limits of its role as ethical exemplar.

### Remembering Territory – The Community Publishing Project

Edward Said has argued that there has been an increasing interest in the overlap between geography and memory (Said, 2000: 175). At the ABC between 1995 and 2000, the relations between memory and geography were in most rapid change around ABC Online. ABC Online remembered the need to cover a (national) territory, to 'unify' a (national) population, to connect outposts, for instance in its Community Publishing Project, as detailed below, or on the *Backyard* site, where users clicked on to their part of the map of Australia to receive geographically locally relevant content (see Figure 5). It imagined the future with its educative programs and sites about the internet – *hot chips*, *http* and *Future Exchange*. And it re-examined, and re-remembered the nation's geography and memory – its territory, its past and its present – with sites such as *Frontier*, *The Games* and The Community Publishing Project.



Figure 5 The Australians Online map

ABC Online staff recognised the potential of the World Wide Web for increased user interaction. They also remembered the significance of a more traditional pedagogy to their public service aims, as was implied in the Dwyer quote above. Tracey puts this rather well when he suggests that:

A key assumption behind Public Service Broadcasting, only rarely made explicit, is that broadcasting entails

*important moral and intellectual questions* and ambitions that are separate from any technological or financial considerations. Take away those questions and ambitions and one prepares the ground for that famous 'vast wasteland'. (Tracey, 1997: 16, my emphasis)

With the advent of Online, the important moral and intellectual questions that surrounded relations between the ABC and its listeners, viewers and users were asked anew. For instance, the practices of critical freedom that underpinned ABC technologies of the self could be tested further online than they could in any previous technological environment. How was the national Public Service Broadcaster to produce public memory and whole selves and ethically complete citizens in an excessive medium with insistent backchannels? Should it simply provide an open space for unmoderated posts by constituents, thus mimicking Internet Service Providers, or portals based on service provision rather than the purer content provision as described by Bardwell in the previous chapter? An experimental site that aimed to maximise the potential for user contributions at ABC Online serves here as a limit case in pedagogic relations between ABC Online and its users.

According to Andy Lloyd James (then head of National Networks), the Community Publishing idea occurred to him in 1988. It was sparked by the

BBC Doomsday project of the late 1980s. In that project a videodisk was to be recorded by every school in England with information about their region, with a view to providing a historical record of the country (Lloyd James, 2000). At the ABC, the idea developed to become an ongoing site for users around the country to publish their own material. The site would be divided into geographical communities and would offer an ongoing memorial record of the nation.

In the May 1997 budget, the federal government allocated \$1 billion for projects of national significance which would help to celebrate the Centenary of Federation in 2001. The funds were intended to support projects that would build something useful for the future after 2001, rather than merely building monuments. In a project to unite the contributions of users around the nation, the ABC proposed a community publishing site. Vaile recounts that:

We had long been looking to work out some way of extending the possibility of ABC Online to get involved in some sort of community publishing – some way of getting communities to reflect themselves without the mediation of broadcasters as such – to enable people to talk about themselves in their own spaces – and to provide the infra-structure which would stack together into a national network rather than the Broome local site

which is disconnected from the Gippsland local site  
which is disconnected from the Rockhampton local site.  
So we were very interested ... So that the project we  
would pitch for would be one which, come 2001, we  
would have this network of online communities  
established using the ABC regional radio stations as an  
anchor point across the whole country ... But also  
trying to let communities get access to some of the  
benefits that flow from that sort of community or that  
sort of high level of online activity without necessarily  
having to take the sort of financial risks that go with it.  
So we were aiming to get some millions of dollars out  
of the Centenary of Federation. (Vaile, 1999)

In yet another version of the national and the covering of territory, the project would 'collect' the stories of the geographical nation into one national memory site. Broome, Gippsland, and Rockhampton could be 'united'. Applications for Centenary of Federation funding were rejected; but a pilot program was set up in Gippsland nevertheless. According to Dave Lane, later producer on the project:

The organisational principle of it was that the ABC contribution to it would be the publishing tools and the concept and the um the actual network would be served by the ABC's servers – some deal would be done with a telco of some sort – who would also contribute the

capacity and also possibly further development of the tools and the sites and so forth, and then these community support groups would be firmly established as incorporated associations and then once that was done, and the network was up and running and things were going along then the ABC was to step back and let it go its own way. That was the original concept of how it would work. (Lane, 2000)

A pilot was published for the Gippsland region early in 1999, but there were concerns within the ABC about the appropriateness of the project for the Public Service Broadcaster. The site was available from the ABC Online site, but was not highlighted on the home page, and was not officially part of ABC Online. When Lane was recruited on to the project shortly after the publication of the Gippsland pilot in April 1999, the community group that had been envisioned was not yet firmly established, but was instead an 'Interim Steering Group'. Lane acknowledged the difficulties that he and developer Melissa O'Brien faced in setting up the project:

We had a look at it, and I thought that it was a great idea that the ABC was going to build this thing up and hand it over to people – great idea. But we had a quick reconnoiter of the structural and political realities – both costing wise and the nature of ABC structures, the commitment of ABC staff to its Charter and editorial

principles. There was a fair bit of reaction when we started to tell people in the Division where this would play out – in Local and Regional Services – a big reaction from Regional Managers about something that had the ABC badging and of course without editorial control on the part of ABC staff ... They said: 'this isn't what the ABC should be on about. We like the idea, like the idea of people contributing stories, but the ABC must maintain editorial control over it while there's ABC badging on it'. (Lane, 2000)

According to Melissa O'Brien, regional managers were also concerned that contributions from the general public would not maintain the quality they felt should be associated with the ABC brand (O'Brien, 2000). O'Brien and Lane set about structuring the project to make it more viable within the ABC, and to make it more sustainable from the point of view of the community.

When Lane and O'Brien restructured the project they set it up nationally, so that users could click onto a map of Australia at the area where they lived. Lane and O'Brien also redesigned the moderation process:

The moderation process we devised was, a level of self-moderation: people are asked to read through the rules of the site, and understand those before signing on for the first time. And that involves just giving a name and

postcode, and a phone number so we can contact them if we need to, and an email if they have an email. Then once they've done that they have they have a private space where they can build their stories. (O'Brien, 2000)

The private space was one where users would write and edit their stories before publishing them on to the site. Once they submitted, having checked boxes to acknowledge that they had read the rules of the site and that the story complied and that the user owned copyright, their story went into a moderation queue.

The moderation procedure continued, as described by Lane:

What happens then, is that generates an email to all the moderators that that alerts them that there's a story to be moderated – these moderators are people from the community like the people on our committee ... and one of them goes into the system and has a look. If they think it's fine they approve it, and it goes into an email queue to Melissa or I and one of us gives it the once over to ensure that it complies with the rules of the ABC editorial guidelines, and if it's cool we publish it. (Lane, 2000)

Moderators were not required to edit, spell check, change grammar or 'do anything to change the flavour or the nature of the story the person has submitted' (O'Brien, 2000). Concerns that had been raised by the regional managers about 'quality' of material were overridden by the goal of allowing the

users to speak for themselves, without intervention from the broadcaster. In this instance, the ABC as ethical exemplar was removed from the process.

Templates were provided, and the site was organised according to the geographical nation; other than that, contributors were left to publish whatever was acceptable to their community moderators and to copyright law.

This site did not officially become part of ABC Online, in part because of a lack of funds for a national rollout but also because the ABC server would not be capable of handling the amount of traffic which could potentially be generated (Rapley, 2002). The pilot site remains archived, but is no longer active.

([www.abc.net.au/australiansonline/about/default.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/australiansonline/about/default.htm)).

This was a project that imagined the ABC as a facilitator of communication between citizens and it almost removed the ABC from the communication loop.

The site encouraged residents to contribute to a 'national' site of memory – in this case national was understood in a geographical sense, with contributors grouped according to their geographical region and 'unified' by the map of Australia.

The planned Community Publishing site offered individual identity spaces for contributors, as well as offering an environment of national collective memory. Part of the site guided users in its use, but apart from that users only remembered whatever relation they had previously held with the ABC, so the role of perpetual trainer was not as clearly in evidence in this project. The Community Publishing site did not come to fruition. It could be reached from the ABC site, but was not hosted directly on that site. Those interactive sites that were a part of ABC online maintained to a greater or lesser degree the relation of the ABC to its publics as an ethical exemplar, and the ABC role of perpetual trainer. Even at *The Shop*, where users could purchase ABC products online, the product one bought (a video or magazine of an ABC gardening program, or a toy or video of a BBC series about the solar system or dinosaurs for example) embodied the exemplary function.

The history of the Community Publishing Project raised broader questions about the role of the ABC in facilitating and producing public memory and selves in the highly interactive user-user environment of the internet. The Community Publishing Project did not offer the security of the ABC-as-exemplar and so, had it come to fruition, could have further problematised the

liberty-security (critical freedom/exemplar) balance of the ABC's interactions with its users.

## Conclusion

In remembering Public Service Broadcasting, the interactive sites remembered elements of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, such as those of the ABC as ethical exemplar and as a site for the production of the well-informed citizen and the unified nation. Such memories offered ABC users familiarity and a sense of security in the globalised and fragmenting 'free' environment of the World Wide Web. The interactive sites also made explicit the pre-existing roles of the ABC in promoting multiplicity and diversity.

More significantly, the sites remembered the ABC practice of offering spaces for critical freedom, for a diversity of opinion and for the encouragement of debate on issues of power relations. An analysis of these sites also demonstrates that the ABC indeed governed differently in different sites, especially in this case in the ways that it functioned as an environment of public memory or perpetual training in the control society. As asserted by Bodnar above, we use the past to understand the present, and at ABC Online the user is able to use the

familiarity of her/his relationship with ABC broadcasting to reshape the present of the World Wide Web.

My analysis of ABC Online, too, is in that vein: what Foucault has called a 'history of the present' (Foucault, 1985: 31). Hutton's gloss of Foucault's celebrated remark is worth citing here. Hutton sees Foucault as arguing that 'Past experiences ... do not shape us irrevocably, as Freud believed. Rather, we continually reshape our past creations to conform to our present creative needs.' (Hutton, 1988: 137) Using ABC Online as a model, the past of Public Service Broadcasting can similarly be reshaped to conform to present creative needs. If it is based upon the success of ABC Online practices, such a reshaping is likely to be more nostalgic for the difference and diversity of Public Service Broadcasting's programming and practices, and of its capacities for forming networks and creating selves, than for its goals of producing ethically complete selves and a unified nations. ABC Online allows us to remember aspects of the ABC that formed rhizomic rather than arboreal assemblages.

## ***Chapter 8: Conclusion – 'Identity without Uniformity'*<sup>4</sup>**

The preceding chapters used aspects of Foucault's, and Deleuze and Guattari's political philosophies to examine instances of the implementation of ABC Online. I have argued that an arboreal imagining or remembering of the ABC via policy discourses and institutional structure has proved unproductive, and that instead we might remember the ABC as primarily rhizomic, via its relations with its listeners, viewers and users. In the previous chapters I used specific instances of the implementation of ABC Online to consider how the programming and practices of the ABC might be remembered and reimagined as primarily a rhizomic rather than arboreal assemblage. Such an imagining must not, however, ignore the significance of molar forces to the successful implementation of ABC Online. ABC Online succeeded largely because it

---

<sup>4</sup> Byrnes (1999)

functioned in between the governmental and control diagrams, in the very position which caused the sense of crisis surrounding the ABC.

The arboreal imagining of the ABC as documented in legislative and policy documents was challenged in previous chapters by their analyses of the implementation of ABC Online, which foregrounded pre-existing elements of the broadcast ABC's plurality, diversity and molecular forces. Instances of the implementation of ABC Online were used to discuss the ABC in ways that were in between such familiar dichotomies as commercial/non-commercial and national/international. The previous chapters, particularly Chapters 4, 5 and 6, offered instances where the core/margins approach proved unproductive for the ABC. These chapters demonstrated that an arboreal image of thought misrepresented not only ABC Online, but also the pre-existing ABC.

The foregoing analyses of these instances intentionally privileged molecular forces, but did not ignore the significance of molar forces in the discourses and institutional structure of the ABC. Instead I argued that it was the relations *between* these forces that were dynamic and productive for the ABC in the late 1990s. Rather than presenting ABC Online as purely molecular or rhizomic, and the pre-existing ABC as purely arboreal, the thesis examined the relations

between these forces during instances of the implementation of ABC Online. ABC Online did not represent a complete rupture in ABC practices, nor was it merely a continuation of what had gone before. From the foregoing analyses I conclude that the implementation of ABC Online should be understood as offering a line of flight from the pre-existing *rhizome* ABC. The foregoing analysis of the earliest years of ABC Online offers a way to remember the ABC as a primarily rhizomic assemblage, contrasting this way of remembering with the more familiar nostalgic longing for a unified, unifying monolithic national public service broadcaster.

### Governing Users

In October 1999, the Creative Director of ABC Online, Claire Byrnes, discussed with me the need for ABC Online to grow by design:

I think that we all know, having been here since the beginning, that it's really grown by accident not by design and now, Colin's very convinced that we now move by design – that the whole network gets its act together and we really think about why we're doing what we're doing instead of just mucking around and doing it. I mean we've got to still muck around and do it, but to really look at the whole front page and all the associated pages that go with that and then, beyond all

that the gateways, and the networks – how do we create an ABC Online with an identity without creating uniformity. (Byrnes, 1999)

Byrnes stressed the need for users to be aware, when they were in one gateway or subsite, that the gateway or subsite was part of a bigger entity – that there may be other material of interest in other subsites or gateways of ABC Online, and that ABC Online itself was part of something bigger where the user may find television or radio programs of interest too. The subsequent redevelopment of the site created pathways that users might take to get to the material they wanted, so that appropriate entry points and pathways were available. Some users – what Byrnes called 'generalist' users – were understood to enter via the front page, specialist users might enter via their discipline gateway, while those users who were looking for material specific to a radio or television program could enter via the radio or television gateways. The user was imagined as being constituted as modular, with specific ways of using ABC Online materials and technologies at different times and for different purposes, rather than only as 'citizen', or 'youth', or 'classical music buff' or 'news junkie'. The same person could sometimes be a generalist, sometimes a specialist, sometimes a member of a demographic group –such as 'youth'. Byrnes' goal was to add some coherence to the site without diminishing the distinctiveness of any one area.

It was important both to encourage users to utilise all parts of the site, and for them to recognise these as ABC Online. The issues were those of combining branding and identity, on the one hand, with layers of access according to user practices, on the other. The question was not then one of abandoning unity or identity altogether, but of deciding what form the unity of the site should take, and how identity would be imagined in the redevelopment of the site. These questions recalled the Deleuzian concept of multiplicity. This was a concept through which Deleuze sought to cease treating the multiple as 'a numerical fragment of a lost Unity or Totality or as the organic element of a Unity or Totality yet to come, and instead distinguish between different types of multiplicity' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 32) The idea is to consider the multiple as *preceding* whatever unity and totality is formed *from* it. Thus, in the present case, the arboreal image of the ABC (and the nation) should be understood as always being formed from pre-existing multiplicity and difference. In this formulation, identity (of individual, institution, or nation) is understood as being formed from pre-existing multiplicity, rather than the other way around. According to Patton:

Deleuze never claimed to abandon or overthrow the concepts of identity, sameness, the One, etc. Rather he was concerned with the question of how identity is

constituted and what forms it takes. The real question is not whether or not there is unity but what form this takes ... In particular, the question to which [Deleuze] returns over and over again is the problem of how to conceive of a form of identity or unity which is not identical to itself. (Patton, 2000: 29)

This question is akin to the problem Byrnes described as how to achieve identity without uniformity on the ABC Online website. This problem guided the redevelopment of ABC Online in the ways that the site and its users were imagined. Users were to make and remake themselves in interaction on various levels with the multiplicity of the governmental institution that was the ABC. Users were encouraged to make and remake themselves in interaction with dynamic techniques of public memory. They were also 'unified' and 'identified' as being attached in some way to the bigger entity of the ABC. At the same time, in the broader World Wide Web environment, as was demonstrated in Chapter 6, companies sought to keep users within their own portals, to make them 'sticky', by offering ranges of services and quality content. This too was a goal of the redevelopment of the ABC Online site. To hark back to the Deleuzian highway mentioned in Chapter 1, the user, while surfing infinitely and freely, was being more and more profoundly controlled – albeit through governmental techniques of critical freedom.

While one could construct a story of the implementation of ABC Online as one huge rupture between broadcasting and the internet – where broadcasting is unified, stable and secure (i.e. part of the society of enclosure); and the internet is fragmented, dynamic and unstable (part of the society of control) – it does not withstand scrutiny. ABC Online was both an offshoot of some prior ABC practices and categories *and* a rupture of others. It was introduced as a continuation of existing services rather than as an alternative service, and it adopted a commitment to 'One ABC', to 'the nation' and to 'public service'.

### Governing by Guerillas

ABC Online erupted from internal divisions of the ABC, appearing in several places at once, initially without management or policy directive. It began from the bottom up, rather than from the top down, and this bottom-up direction came to be used by management in the restructure of the organisation.

Managing Director Brian Johns, having been associated with the Broadcasting Services Expert Group (BSEG), accommodated these ruptures and understood the potential of ABC Online to restructure the organisation at the staff level.

Johns harnessed the bottom-up nature of ABC Online, using it to implement his 'One ABC' policies at the level of quotidian staff practices. Lloyd James described the way that Online affected intra-organisational relations as follows:

Online was the cement in the middle. Radio perfectly naturally talks to Online, television perfectly naturally talks to Online; and my feeling was that if you really let Online run as fast as it could, that radio would do more and more with it; that television would do more with it; and that would be the meeting point. And slowly slowly you'd start to get that mix. And in fact now three years later – towards the end of last year I went to a conference of the radio and television and online science groups; all together – and I think it's fair to say that by then the majority feeling in the room was that these people themselves had brought themselves to the notion of full cross-media production and wanted – and were trying to think about how they could form themselves into one unit to deliver in all of the media. It was fantastic. I mean it would have been perfectly possible to mandate it three years ago; and all you would have had was trench warfare; defensive positions being set up left right and centre – but to keep the rhetoric running, to let Colin and the Online people thunder ahead down the middle just open everyone's mind up – and now in large part – bureaucratically it might be quite hard to structure – but in large part I don't think it's hard to sell the idea. (Lloyd James, 2000)

Though Lloyd James describes ABC online as 'cement', he also recognises its status 'in the middle', and its dynamic properties of letting the Online people

'thunder down the middle'. This description recalls again the Deleuzian definition of being between things, as was quoted in an earlier chapter. ABC Online functioned as a transversal movement in between radio and television, a stream between the banks of broadcasting that swept – to quote Deleuze again – 'one *and* the other away, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 25). ABC Online swept radio and television along with it as it picked up speed in the middle. Lloyd James' analysis is also reminiscent of Deleuzian concepts such as those of the rhizomic and arboreal when he recalls that:

If Online hadn't been run as a guerilla operation rather than as a sort of large structured bureaucratic lump; I don't think it would have happened either because people would have seen online – were it a division of its own – people would have seen it as being something which had budgets for itself; they wouldn't have wanted to share their own meagre dollars with it. As it was they sort of zipped around the place genuinely like a bunch of guerillas, and enticed this that and the other; constructed software so that program-makers could easily use online software actually making their own programs – very cleverly done– not by me – I was very happy to enable it and to encourage it – but this was very much very bright group of comparatively young people. (Lloyd James, 2000)

The ABC could not have afforded a separate Multimedia Division, and such a proposal would have met with considerable internal resistance. ABC Online offered a way of reconceptualising the ABC – offering another image of thought of what already existed – difference and diversity – instead of the more familiar image of thought of the ABC as an arboreal 'unified bureaucratic lump'. Lloyd James continues:

It was a conceptual restructure. The organisational restructure had happened. But for the program-makers and for a lot of the bureaucrats in the place the conceptual stuff didn't come with the restructure. It happened – it had to be delivered by experience. (Lloyd James, 2000)

The preceding chapters used two strategies to rethink the ABC as something other than a 'large structured bureaucratic lump'. They used empirical materials surrounding the implementation of Online in combination with aspects of poststructuralist political philosophy to remember and reimagine the ABC as a cultural technology.

### Governing Disjunction

A combination of aspects of the political philosophical positions of Foucault, and of Deleuze and Guattari offered a framework which acknowledged the

rhizomic structure of the internet while also offering tools for the analysis of molar forces of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, and of bureaucratic ABC practices. The ABC continued to operate with aspects of the social diagrams of disciplinary and governmental social diagrams even while being drawn into the control society via the internet. The preceding chapters demonstrated that strategies from each social diagram intersected in different ways at different sites around the 'newness' of ABC Online.

As Poster has argued: 'The new is "just like" the old in the sense of its relative or historical construction with its own coherence, but it is also different from old in the sense that it contains different potentials for freedom and domination.' (Poster, 2001: 13) At the ABC, the moment of newness of ABC Online offered an opportunity to reassess governing rationales at the ABC. The technologies of radio, television *and* the World Wide Web affected governing rationales, as did molar forces such as the bureaucratic and legislative structure, differing program and content types, and different imaginings of listeners, viewers and users. Various combinations of such forces ensured a multitude of disjunctions between policies, wider discursive fields, and fields of action at the ABC in the late 1990s. Discourses of the ABC varied considerably between those that circulated within the organisation, those that circulated around it and those that

emanated from it into the wider world. While internal documents were opened about the possibilities for ABC Online, arguing for example that *both* public service ideals and revenue-raising were possible, public policy documents and the press insisted on defending the non-commercial/commercial boundary, the national/international boundary, and differences between broadcasting and telecommunications models of access.

### Localism, Globalism, and Cores

As was mentioned in the Introduction, Raboy has remarked on the necessity of considering Public Service Broadcasting from a local and global, rather than national, perspective (Raboy, 2003: 46). The preceding chapters have used specific and *local* examples, or microhistories, of the implementation of a global technology at a national Public Service Broadcaster. As detailed in Chapter 5, at Radio Australia Online the *local* effects of institutional politics and the life circumstances of a particular worker were enmeshed with a service that was potentially *global*. The analysis of Radio Australia Online in between the global forces of telecommunications technologies and the local microhistory of a particular worker problematised the 'national' perspectives of discourses of Public Service Broadcasting. Reiterating the *core* of the ABC as 'domestic' (national) did not serve Radio Australia, or indeed other areas of the ABC,

during the Mansfield Review. Such definitions elided the significance of global communications technologies *and* the significance of molecular forces such as the creativity of specific workers. While Mansfield was defining the *core* of the ABC as domestic free-to-air, effectively excluding Radio Australia and Online services, local and global forces intersected to implement a highly successful global service for the ABC. As well as operating in between the disciplinary and the control societies, ABC Online functioned in between the telecommunications model of access and the broadcasting model of access.

### Conceptions of Access

The existence of ABC Online called the ABC governing rationale of 'access' into question, by melding broadcasting and telecommunications technologies, and hence their predominant models of access. As has been pointed out by Raboy, 'access' can be understood from the points of view of both the receiver and the producer. 'The new context of technological convergence between established communication forms,' argues Raboy, 'demands that we develop a new conception of access.' (Raboy, 2003: 50). For Raboy, the telecommunications model of access emphasises the sender's capacity to use the means of communication to get one's messages out, whereas in the broadcasting realm 'access' usually means the ability to receive the signal. Governing access

at ABC Online meant both. In designing ABC Online sites, staff aimed to reach as many users as possible. Websites were designed without too many features that might prevent users with older hardware and software from using them, and the ABC guided and educated non-users into the new medium through television and radio programs such as *http://, hot chips* and *Click On!* (see Chapter 2) and via town meetings (see Chapter 7). The ABC thus maintained its commitment to the *broadcast* model of access while moving into the telecommunications environment. Strategies of content licensing and allegiances with telcos were intended to give ABC Online access to all platforms, especially broadband (see Chapter 6). The telecommunications model of ABC Online also challenged the broadcast model of exclusivity (of content) and scarcity (of spectrum). In the online environment, scarcity did not represent the same limitation as it had in broadcasting, as discussed by Raboy:

In today's information environment, scarcity is no longer the problem, the problem is access. Today's policy issues must address the problems raised by information abundance and the need to be sure that this cornucopia of information is meaningfully accessible to citizens and not only packaged as marketable commodities of targeted to elites. (Raboy, 2003: 50)

In the case of the proposed Telstra deal, the convergence of the two meanings of access posed a threat to the dearly held goal of integrity for the ABC, as well as to the more publicised one of independence. Models of access were thus implicated in changes to governing rationales, and hence in the ABC's facilitation of techniques of the self, which Deleuze has called memory.

### Interactive Memory

ABC Online, in offering various levels of interactivity, governed memory and altered techniques of memory from those used by broadcasting. In doing so, it encouraged practices of freedom in the context of the control society.

Conversely nostalgic relations to past technologies tempted users to imagine a whole, pure, unified ABC and by extension a whole, pure, unified nation which they were perhaps mourning in the era in between broadcasting and interactive digital services. The role of the ABC to encourage critical freedom did not begin or cease with the implementation of ABC Online and the production of ABC users, though its modes were altered by changing relations between memory and geography. Where once discourses of the ABC offered an illusory 'wholeness' of the nation through linear national programming, ABC Online made a virtue of fragmentation across communities of shared interest (including that of geography). At ABC Online we could not even imagine sharing or

remembering an event in time with the whole imagined nation. The management of excess and profusion replaced defences of a symbolic unified national. Our relations to the self – as regards how we knew, what we remembered, and how we constructed ourselves as national cultural subjects – were redefined in the Online environment of which ABC Online was a part in the early 1990s.

#### Of the Molar and Molecular

During the period 1995-2000 when World Wide Web services were emerging at the ABC, molar forces of bureaucracy, government funding, globalisation and nationalism were in tension with molecular forces of fragmentation, networking and the life circumstances of individual staff members. For a time, the emergence of ABC Online unsettled certain ways of thinking and performing the governmental functions of the ABC. Although there were also reterritorialisations, 2000 did not represent a return to the status quo, or even to a different stasis. Molar and molecular forces continued to exert forces upon one another at the ABC. The thesis has mapped some of these relations over a particular time period at the ABC, a time when the newness of the World Wide Web allowed it to function as a line of flight from the rhizome ABC. Such a

map, with a perspective from the present of Online services, encourages a different perspective from which to remember the pre-online ABC.

This research used a few instances of the emergence of Online services to pose some questions: What are the relations between the ways we think Public Service Broadcasting and the ways we think the World Wide Web? Do the conceptual collisions created by the implementation of ABC Online have anything to tell us about multiplicity, identity, memory and nation? Can analyses of World Wide Websites offer us an alternative to the profound nostalgia through which we often think Public Service Broadcasters? Or should this nostalgia be used to remember Public Service Broadcasters differently?

At the same time that many proclaimed the death of broadcasting and of Public Service Broadcasting, ABC Online thrived from very humble beginnings. The evidence of the preceding chapters suggests that discussions of the broader ABC may be enriched by an alternate way of understanding the extraordinary success of the first five years of ABC Online. Instead of approaching an analysis of ABC Online via Public Service Broadcasting principles, this thesis set out to rethink the 'problem' of Public Service Broadcasting via the experience of the implementation of ABC Online. In doing so it mobilised a

poststructuralist perspective appropriate to the technological structure of the internet. By using ABC Online as a site for reimagining Public Service Broadcasting, the thesis proposed an understanding of Public Service Broadcasting via poststructuralist logics such as those of localism, specificity and pluralism. Privileging such Public Service Broadcasting qualities as diversity of programming, localism, pluralism of audiences and specificity over goals of unity and centrality may strengthen the future of the ABC. The analyses of the relations between the Public Service Broadcasting idea and the internet idea suggested that the familiar form of unity used to imagine the nation in the Public Service Broadcasting idea do not serve as well in the information society, and that perhaps new forms of unity which recognise the primacy of multiplicity should be considered.

The instances of emergence and implementation of ABC Online described in the preceding chapters demonstrated productive disjunctions between policies, discursive fields and fields of action. Disjunctions of governing rationales were also apparent between different sites. Instead of seeking to measure ABC Online against principles of the Public Service Broadcasting idea, the thesis demonstrated the contingency, historicity and multiplicity of the emergence of ABC Online. Connolly has suggested that both the arboreal image of the

democratic nation and the network image of the democratic state encounter risks, and he wagers that 'significant shifts in the late-modern experience of time, space and identity mean that the former risks are now more severe than the latter' (Connolly, 2000: 95).

Following Connolly, I argue that there are considerable risks in continuing to privilege the arboreal image of the ABC, or Public Service Broadcasting more generally, and that analyses and defences of the ABC should instead acknowledge the productive tensions in between policies, discursive fields and fields of action in specific practices at particular times. Such a method offers an escape from the discourses of crisis around the ABC, and perhaps the model for an alternative image of the ABC as a cultural technology in between the disciplinary and control societies.

## ***Bibliography***

- Ackland, Richard 1994, 'The ABC and Conflicts of Interest' *Sydney Morning Herald* 11 October  
The Guide 3
- Allen, Ian (Executive Producer, *the lab*) 1999, Interview with Maureen Burns 25 March
- Anderson, Benedict 1983, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* London and New York: Verso
- Ang, Ien 1991, *Desperately Seeking the Audience* London and New York: Routledge
- Anonymous 1995, 'Questions On-line about Board Strategy' memo provided to Maureen Burns from staff files
- Anonymous 2000, Personal correspondence of policy staff member with Maureen Burns via email
- Anonymous 2000a, interview with Maureen Burns, Melbourne 25 May
- ANOP Research Services Pty Ltd 1990, *Community Attitudes to the ABC's Role, Image and Position* Crows Nest NSW
- Armstrong, Mark 1997, 'Aunty has International Obligations' *The Australian* 5 February, 13
- Armstrong, Timothy J. 1992, *Michel Foucault: Philosopher* London: Harvester Wheatsheaf
- Arnold, Matthew 1971, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* edited by Ian Gregor Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.
- Atkinson, Dave 1997, 'Public Service Television in the Age of Competition' In D. Atkinson and M. Raboy (eds) *Public Service Broadcasting: the Challenge of the 21st Century* Paris: Lanham, MD UNESCO, 19-74
- Atkinson, Dave, and Marc Raboy (eds) 1997, *Public Service Broadcasting: The Challenges of the 21st Century* Paris: Lanham, MD UNESCO
- Australian Associated Press (AAP) 1999, 'Federal Government Defends Part Privatisation of ABC

Online' 10 February

Australian Associated Press (AAP) 2000, 'ABC Could Reap Ad Revenue from Proposed \$67 m Telstra Deal' 6 February

Australian Associated Press (AAP) 2000a, 'Telstra Gets Exclusivity Rights in ABC Deal – Smith' 14 February 16.47

Australian Broadcasting Authority 1996, *Investigation into the Content of On-line Services* Report to the Minister for Communications and the Arts, Australian Broadcasting Association (ABA), Sydney

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1985, *ABC Achievements and the Implementation of Dix, 1983-1985*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1985a, *The Role of a National Broadcaster in Contemporary Australia*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1988, *History and Development of the ABC*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1989, *Radio Australia Review* (The Revill Review)

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1989a, *ABC Corporate Plan 1990*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1990-2002 , *ABC Annual Reports*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1992, *Sixty Years of the ABC: Celebrating the ABC's 60th Anniversary*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1995, *Codes of Practice*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1995a, *Editorial Policies*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1995b, *Radio Australia Review 1994/1995*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1995c, Media Release 24 February

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1995d, Staff Memo 19 May

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1996, 'Submission: Review of the Role and Functions of the ABC' September

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1996a *One ABC* Policy Document, December

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1997, *ABC Multimedia Implementation of the New ABC Structure* Policy document 5 February

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1997a, 'ABC Technology Appointment' ABC Media Release 12 August

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1997b *Public Broadcasting in the Information Economy Digital Technology Strategy Consultation Document*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1999, *Online Access Statistics*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1999a, *Policy Paper: The ABC Online Dividend*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 1999b, 'Proposed Partial Sale of ABC Online' Interview with ABC Board member Michael Kroger and Managing Director Brian Johnson *The World Today* 2BL 10 February

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2000, Submission to the Senate Environment, Recreation, Communications and the Arts Inquiry into ABC Material Online (first submission) May

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2000a Submission to the Senate Environment, Recreation, Communications and the Arts Inquiry into ABC Material Online (second submission) August

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2000b, 'Telstra Bid for ABC News Service Breaks Down' *The World Today* 9 June 9 12.52. Transcript available at [www.abc.net.au/worldtoday](http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday)

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2000c, 'Termination of Negotiations with Telstra' 9 June [mediarelease@yourabc.net.au](mailto:mediarelease@yourabc.net.au)

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2002 'ABC Online – a Short History' [www.abc.net.au/about](http://www.abc.net.au/about)

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2003, *ABC Service Commitment* abc.net.au Accessed 6 March

Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2003a 'Australians believe ABC well managed and valuable – Newspoll' ABC Media Release 9 September

Australian Broadcasting Corporation Corporate Relations Department 1988, *Tough Options: Funding and the Future of the ABC*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Research 1995, *ABC 2000: 2000 and Beyond – the Australian Population*

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1992, *Attendance at Selected Cultural Venues*

- Australian Film, Television and Radio School 1981, *Parliamentary Debates on Establishing the Australian Broadcasting Commission: A Precis of the Hansard Debates on the introduction of the Australian Broadcasting Commission Act 1932* Sydney: AFTRS
- Australian, The* 2000, 'Sending the Wrong Signal to Asia Again' Letters to the Editor 6 June, 14
- Australian, The* 1995, 12 June, 3,11
- Australian, The* 2000, 'Public Owed Say in Future of Their ABC' 9 February, 12
- Australian, The* 2000a, 'Sending the Wrong Signal to Asia Again', Letters to the Editor 6 June, 14.
- Bardwell, Harry 2000 (General Manager, Media Business), 'ABC Supply of Content' Briefing paper prepared 31/1/2000
- Bardwell, Harry 2000a (General Manager, Media Business), Interview with Maureen Burns 14 June
- Barlow, John Perry 1994 'Selling Wine Without Bottles' available at [www.eff.org/Publications/John\\_Perry\\_Barlow/HTML/idea\\_economy\\_article.html](http://www.eff.org/Publications/John_Perry_Barlow/HTML/idea_economy_article.html)
- Barlow, John Perry 1996 'A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace' 9 February available at [www.eff.org/Publications/John\\_Perry\\_Barlow/barlow\\_0296.declaration](http://www.eff.org/Publications/John_Perry_Barlow/barlow_0296.declaration)
- Barney, Darin 2000, *Prometheus Wired: the Hope for Democracy in the Age of Network Technology* Sydney: UNSW Press
- Barr, Trevor 2000, *newmedia.com.au The Changing Face of Australia's Media and Communications* Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Barry, Andrew 2000, 'Lines of Communication and Spaces of Rule' in Barry, et al. (eds) 2000, *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government* London: University College 123-142
- Barry, Andrew, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose (eds) 2000, *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government* London: University College
- Ben-Amos, Dan and Liliane Weissberg (eds) 1999, *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity* Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press
- Benedikt, Michael (ed) 1991, *Cyberspace: First Steps* Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press
- Bennett, Tony 1992, 'Putting Policy into Cultural Studies' in L.Grossberg, C. Nelson, & P. Treichler (eds) *Cultural Studies* New York: Routledge 23-37

- Bennett, Tony 1995, *Birth of the Museum* London: Routledge
- Benson, Susan Porter, Stephen Brier and Roy Rosenweig (eds) 1986, *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- Bergson, Henri 1991, *Matter and Memory* trans by Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer New York: Zone Books
- Berk, E. and J. Devlin 1991 (eds), *Hypertext/Hypermedia Handbook* New York: Intertext Publications McGraw Hill
- Bhaba, Homi K. (ed.) 1999, *Nation and Narration* London and New York: Routledge
- Blumler, J.G. 1992 (ed.), *Television and the Public Interest: Vulnerable Values in West European Broadcasting* London: Sage Publications
- Bodnar, John 1993, 'Public Memory in an American City: Commemoration in Cleveland' in John Gillis (ed) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 75-89
- Bolter, Jay David and Richard Grusin 1999, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press
- Born, Georgina 2002, 'Reflexivity and Ambivalence: Culture, Creativity and Government in the BBC' *Cultural Values*, vol. 6, nos 1& 2, 65-90
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1984, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* trans by Richard Nice Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1993, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* New York: Columbia University Press
- Bourguet, Marie Noelle, Lucette Valensi and Nathan Wachtel 1986, *Between Memory and History* Special issue of *History and Anthropology* vol. 2 New York: Harwood Academic Publishers
- Bourne, Senator Vicki 1998, 'Federal Budget: ABC Done Over Again' News Release 13 May
- Bowden, Tony 1999, 'Australian Television News: Statement by ABC Manager – Northern Territory' Media Release 4 June
- Bowman, David 1996, 'Ambushed by the Razor Gang – Why is the Howard Government so offended by the ABC?' *24 Hours* August, 54-55
- Boyer, M. Christine 1996, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural*

*Entertainments* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press

Braith, Jack Z., Jeremy Packer and Cameron McCarthy (eds) 2003, *Foucault, Cultural Studies, and Governmentality* Albany: State University of New York Press

Brand, Stewart 1988, *The Media Lab: Inventing the Future at MIT* New York: Penguin Books

Brenchley, Fred 1999, 'New Auntie in the Offing' *The Bulletin* 16 November, 21-22

Brewster, Deborah 1996, What Price our ABC? *The Australian* 6 August, 17

Briggs, Asa 1961, *The Birth of Broadcasting* London: Oxford University Press

Briggs, Asa and Peter Burke 2002, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* Cambridge: Polity Press

British Broadcasting Corporation 1996, *Extending Choice in the Digital Age* July

Broadcasting Research Unit 1985, *The Public Service Idea in British Broadcasting* London: BRU

Buchanan, Ian 2000, *Deleuzism: a Metacommentary* Durham: Duke University Press

Buchanan, Rachel 1995, 'Caught in the Net' *The Age* 29 July, 1

Bullard, Dave 2000, 'Dragnet Top 10' *Herald Sun* 20 December, 2

Burchell Graham 2000, 'Liberal Government and Technologies of the Self' in Barry et al. (eds) 2000, *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government* London: University College London 19-36

Bureau of Transport and Communications Economics 1994, *Delivery Technologies in the New Communications World*

Burke, Finola 1998, 'The ABC of Digital TV' *Australian Financial Review* 6 March, 32

Burke, Finola 2000, 'Internet Streamers Escape Television Licensing Rules' *Weekend Australian* 22-23 July, 2

Burns, Maureen 1997, 'From Dix to Mansfield: 15 Years of Policy' in Elizabeth Jacka, Helen Wilson, Gay Hawkins and Maureen Burns *Australian Public Broadcasting in Transition: 1986-1996. Working Papers* Brisbane: Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy

Burton, Tom 1992a, 'PM Opens Pay TV Door to the ABC' *Sydney Morning Herald* 13 October, 1

- Burton, Tom 1992b, 'ABC Balks at Pay TV Plan' *Sydney Morning Herald* 5 November, 2
- Byrnes, Clare 1999 (Creative Director, ABC Online), Interview with Maureen Burns 7 October
- Calcutt, Andrew 1999, *White Noise : An A-Z of the Contradictions in Cyberculture* New York: Macmillan Press.
- Calliau, Robert 1995, 'A Little History of the World Wide Web, from 1945 to 1995' available at [www.w3.org/History.html](http://www.w3.org/History.html) Accessed 23 June 2000
- Campbell, Duncan, and Sturt Krygsman 1997, 'It's Time to Dump the Voice of the Past' *The Australian* 28 January, 13
- Canberra Times, The* 1997, 'It's a Sad Day for Radio Australia' 24 April, 1
- Carruthers, M.J. 1990, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature No 10 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Carter, Paul 1987, *The Road to Botany Bay :An Essay in Spatial History* London: Faber
- Casey, Edward 1987, *Remembering* Indiana: Bloomington
- Casimir Jon 1996 'ABC Has A Duty to be on the Net ' *Sydney Morning Herald* 24 September, 8
- Castells, Manuel 1996, *The Rise of the Network Society* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Castells, Manuel 1997, *The Power of Identity* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Castells, Manuel 2000, *End of Millennium* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Cauchi, Stephen 2001, 'Radio National Back From the Wilderness' *The Canberra Times* 15 May, 2
- CBC 2003, Website [http://cbc.radio-canada.ca/htmen/fast\\_facts.htm](http://cbc.radio-canada.ca/htmen/fast_facts.htm) accessed 14 Mar 2003
- Chadwick, Paul 1996, 'Right on Target – Arguments for Maintaining the ABC in Public Ownership' *Eureka Street* vol. 6, no. 5, June, 11
- Charlton, Peter 2000 'Bitter Legacy' *The Courier Mail* 11 March, 31
- Colebrook, Claire 2002, *Gilles Deleuze* London and New York: Routledge
- Collins, Richard 1990, *Television: Policy and Culture* London: Unwin Hyman
- Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission 1981, *The ABC in Review:*

*National Broadcasting in the 1980s. Report by the Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Commission Sydney, May ('The Dix Report')*

Common Cause 1997, 'Your Master's Voice' *Wired* August 45-48, 164-165

Commonwealth Government of Australia 1983, *Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act* 1983

Commonwealth Government of Australia 1988, *Broadcasting Legislation Amendment Act* 1988

Commonwealth Government of Australia 1992, *Broadcasting Services Act* 1992

Commonwealth Government of Australia 1994, *Creative Nation* Commonwealth Cultural Policy Statement October 1994, Canberra: Department of Communication and the Arts

Commonwealth Government of Australia 1995, *Innovation Statement* Presented at the National Trade and Investment Outlook Conference in Melbourne

Commonwealth Government of Australia 1995a, *Report on Regulation of Computer On-Line Services Part 2* Senate Select Committee on Community Standards Relevant to the Supply of Services Utilising Electronic Technologies November

Commonwealth Government of Australia 1995b, *Review of the Status and Funding of the ABC's International Broadcasting Services*

Commonwealth of Australia 1991, *Australia as an Information Society: Grasping New Paradigms. Report of the House of Representatives Standing Committee for Long Term Strategies* Canberra AGPS

Commonwealth of Australia 1995, *Our ABC: Report of the Senate Select Committee on ABC Management and Operations* March Canberra: Senate Printing Unit

Commonwealth of Australia 1997, Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee 1997, *The Role and Future of Radio Australia and Australia Television*

Commonwealth of Australia 1999, *Inquiry into ABC On-Line (Interim Report)* Senate Environment, Communications, Information Technology and the Arts References Committee

Commonwealth of Australia 2000, Senate Environment, Communications, Information Technology and the Arts consideration of additional estimates 10 February Canberra

Communications Law Centre (NSW) 1997, *Reforming the ABC – Key Extracts from the Submission to the Mansfield Review of the ABC* Australian Options, no. 8, February, 10-16

Communications Law Centre 1991, 'The ABC and Pay TV' *Communications Update* no. 70

September, 1-2

Connerton, P. 1989, *How Societies Remember* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Connolly, William E. 1995, *The Ethos of Pluralisation* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Connolly, William E. 1999, *Why I am Not a Secularist* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Coorey, Phillip 2000, 'Don't Mind the Quality, Just Look at the Ratings' *Adelaide Advertiser* 21 December, 18

Cosic, Miriam 1996, 'McDonald Takes the Lead' *The Australian* 13-14 July, 19, 22

Counihan, Michael Stanley 1981, *The Construction of Australian Broadcasting: Aspects of Radio in Australia in the 1920s* Masters Thesis Monash University

Craik, Jennifer, and Glyn Davis 1992, 'Why Pay TV? The ABC in the 1990s' *Media Information Australia* no. 66, November, 36-42

Crawford, Kate 2000 'ABC Deal Cash for No Comment' *Sydney Morning Herald* 8 February, 8

Creedy, Steve 1997 'Aunty Casts Net to Catch Up with PC Generation' *The Australian* 12 August, 33

Cubitt, Sean 2001, 'Future Media : Media Futures' Inaugural Lecture given at the University of Waikato, 17 May available at: <http://130.217.159.224/%7Eseanc/seanwriting/inaugural.html>

Cunningham, Stuart 1992, *Framing Culture: Criticism and Policy in Australia* Sydney: Allen & Unwin

Cunningham, Stuart and Toby Miller with David Rowe 1994, *Contemporary Australian Television* Sydney: UNSW Press

Cunningham, Stuart and Elizabeth Jacka 1996, *Australian Television and International Mediascapes* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press

Cunningham, Stuart and John Sinclair (eds), *Floating Lives: The Media and Asian Diasporas: Negotiating Cultural Identity Through Media* Queensland: University of Queensland Press

Cunningham, Stuart and Terry Flew 1997, 'Media Futures' in S. Cunningham and G. Turner (eds) *The Media in Australia: Industries, Texts, Audiences* 2nd edn Sydney: Allen & Unwin 395-440

Darian-Smith, Kate and Paula Hamilton 1994, *Memory and History in 20th Century Australia* Melbourne: Oxford University Press

- Dasey, Daniel 1998, 'ABC's News for No Net profit' *Sun-Herald* 15 November, 9
- Davies, Anne 1994, 'Asian Service Costs Double' *Sydney Morning Herald* 21 September, 6
- Davies, Anne 1994a, 'Hill Rejects Need for Inquiry into ABC' *Sydney Morning Herald* 22 Sept, 4
- Davies, Anne 1994b, 'Exit Hill – the Man' *Sydney Morning Herald News Review* 5 November, 24
- Davies, Anne 1996, 'Crucial ABC Meeting to Determine Future' *Sydney Morning Herald* 7 December, 3
- Davies, Anne 1997, 'Asian Service Safe as ABC Ups the Ante' *Sydney Morning Herald* 1 May, 9
- Davies, Anne 2000, 'ABC-Telstra News Link' *Sydney Morning Herald* 5 February, 1
- Davies, Anne and Mark Robinson 2000, 'Internet to Share Top Billing at ABC' 2 June, 8
- Davis, Glyn 1988, *Breaking Up the ABC* Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Davis, Glyn 1997, 'The Mansfield Vision for the ABC' *Media International Australia* no. 84, May, 81-86
- Davison, Graeme 1993, *The Unforgiving Minute: How Australia Learned to Tell the Time* Melbourne: Oxford University Press
- Dawson, Jonathon 1987, *The ABC as a Cultural Institution* Media Workshop, Griffith University, Brisbane
- Dawson, Jonathon 1991, 'The Empire Strikes Back: Managerialism in the New ABC' *Culture and Policy* vol. 3 no. 2, 65-75
- Day, Mark 2001, 'Quality Critical for ABC in Asia' *The Australian* 28 June, 4
- De Certeau Michel 1988, *The Writing of History* trans T. Conley New York: Columbia University Press
- De Kerckhove, Derrick 1997, *The Skin of Culture: Investigating the New Electronic Reality* London: Kogan Page
- De Landa, Manuel 1999, 'Deleuze, Diagrams, and the Open-Ended Becoming' in Elizabeth Grosz, (ed.) *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 29-41

- Dean, Mitchell 1999, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* London: Sage Publications
- Debreceeny, Roger and Allan Ellis 1995 *AusWeb95, Innovation and Diversity: the World Wide Web in Australia, Proceedings of AusWeb95, the First Australian World Wide Web Conference*, Ballina NSW, 30 April-2 May, Lismore: Norsesearch Limited
- Deleuze, Gilles 1988, *Bergsonism* trans H. Tomlinson and B. Habberjam New York: Zone Books
- Deleuze, Gilles 1988a, *Foucault* trans Sean Hand Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Deleuze, Gilles 1992, 'Postscript on the Societies of Control' *October* no. 59 Winter, MIT Press, 3-7
- Deleuze, Gilles 1992a, 'What is a *Dispositif*?' in Timothy J. Armstrong (ed.) *Michel Foucault Philosopher* London: Harvester Wheatsheaf 159-165
- Deleuze, Gilles 1994, *Difference and Repetition* trans by Paul Patton London: Athlone Press
- Deleuze, Gilles 1995, *Negotiations 1972-1990* trans by Martin Joughin New York: Columbia University Press
- Deleuze, Gilles 1998, 'Having an Idea in Cinema' in Eleanor Kaufman, and Jon Heller (eds) *Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy and Culture* Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 14-22
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Claire Pannet 1987, *Dialogues* Trans by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam London: Athlone Press
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari 1987, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* trans B. Massumi Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Dempsey, Damien (Online Producer Radio Australia) 2000, interview with Maureen Burns 25 May
- Dempster, Quentin 2000, Submission to the Senate Inquiry into ABC Online 10 March
- Dempster, Quentin 2000a, *Death Struggle: How Political Malice and Boardroom Powerplays are Killing the ABC* Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport 1999, *The Future Funding of the BBC*. Report of the Independent Review Panel London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport
- Department of Transport and Communications 1988, *Review of National Broadcasting Policy: Discussion Papers – Australian Broadcasting Corporation* February

- Derrida, Jacques 1978, *Writing and Difference* London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Derrida, Jacques 1996, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* Chicago: Chicago University Press
- Docherty, David 2003, 'The BBC's Not Very PC Success' *The Guardian* 17 February available at <http://media.guardian.co.uk/mediaguardian/story/0,7558,896875,00.html>
- Docker, John 1994, *Postmodernism and Popular Culture: A Cultural History* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press
- Dodd, Andrew 2000, 'Advertising her NZ Credentials' *The Australian* 29 June-5 July Media, 8-9
- Donald, James 1992, *Sentimental Education: Schooling, Popular Culture and the Regulation of Liberty* London, New York: Verso
- Draaisma Douwe 2000, *Metaphors of Memory: A History of Ideas about the Mind* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Dumm, Thomas L. 1996, *Michel Foucault and the Politics of Freedom* Thousand Oaks, London: Sage Publications
- Dunn, Anne 1997, 'The Role of ABC Radio in the Creation of Citizenship Models' *Culture and Policy* vol. 8 no. 2, 91-103
- Dwyer, Michael (Online Producer) 1999, Interview with Maureen Burns 7 October
- Evans, Gareth 1987, Minister for Transport and Communications, Senator Gareth Evans QC, *Quality Programming in Australian Broadcasting* Media Statement 31 August
- Evans, Gareth, 1988, Guaranteeing the ABC's Future, Address to the ABC Friday Club, Sydney, 26 February
- Evans, Michael 1997, 'Johns Outlines ABC TV Cuts' *Sydney Morning Herald* 20 May, 6
- Everard, Jerry 2000, *Virtual States: The Internet and the Boundaries of the Nation-State* London and New York: Routledge
- Ewald, Francois 1992, 'A Power Without an Exterior' in Timothy J. Armstrong (ed.) *Michel Foucault Philosopher* London: Harvester Wheatsheaf 169-175
- Factor, June 1997, 'The Long Running Serial Called the ABC' *Arena Magazine* (Fitzroy Victoria) no. 28, March/April, 40-41
- Fara, Patricia and Karalyn Patterson (eds) 1998, *Memory* New York: Cambridge University Press

- Farrant, Darrin 1998, 'Netting News' *The Age Green Guide*, 1 July, 6
- Fehlberg, Tasman 1964, *The Australian Broadcasting Commission– A National Service* Melbourne: Longman, Green and Co
- Fentress, James and Chris Wickham 1992, *Social Memory* Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Ferguson, Adele 1999, 'ABC Sale Finds Some Sponsors' *Business Review Weekly* 8 March, 28
- Fist, Stewart 1999, 'Cashing up on Credibility' *The Australian* 23 February, 60
- Fist, Stewart 2000, 'ABC Deal a Moral Minefield' *The Australian* 29 February, 60
- Foreshew Jennifer 2000, 'Baroque Site Shows ABC Know the Score' *The Australian* 24 October, 33
- Foucault, Michel 1973, *The Order of Things An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* London: Vintage Books
- Foucault, Michel 1976, 'Lecture, College de France 5 April. Quoted in Colin Gordon, 1991, 'Governmental Rationality, an Introduction' in Burchell, Graham, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 19-20
- Foucault, Michel 1976a, *What is an Author?* in J.Harrari (ed.) *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-structural Criticism* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 141-160
- Foucault, Michel 1977, 'Michel Foucault: Interview' *Edinburgh '77 Magazine* 2, 20-25
- Foucault, Michel 1978, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* trans Robert Hurley. London: Random House
- Foucault, Michel 1981, 'The Order of Discourse' in Robert Young (ed.) *Untying the Text: A Poststructuralist Reader* Boston: RKP 48-78
- Foucault, Michel 1984, 'On the Genealogy of Ethics: an Overview of Work in Progress' in Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader* New York: Pantheon, 340-372
- Foucault, Michel 1985, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans Alan Sheridan, New York: Penguin Books
- Foucault, Michel 1986, 'Of Other Spaces' *Diacritics* Spring, 22-27
- Foucault, Michel 1988, 'Technologies of the Self' in Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton (eds) *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* Amherst: University of

Massachusetts Press, 16-49

Foucault, Michel 1988a, *The Care of the Self: The History of Sexuality Vol 3* trans R. Hurley New York: Vintage

Foucault, Michel 1988b 'The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom: An Interview with Michel Foucault on January 20, 1984, trans J.D. Gauthier, in James Bernauer and D. Rasmussen, (eds) *The Final Foucault* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1-20

Foucault, Michel 1990, *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality, Vol 2* trans Robert Hurley New York: Vintage

Foucault, Michel 1994, *Power: the Essential Works 3* edited by James D. Faubion, trans Robert Hurley and others, London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press

Foucault, Michel 1994a, 'Governmentality', in Michel Foucault, *Power: the Essential Works 3* edited by James D. Faubion, trans Robert Hurley and others, London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 201-222

Foucault, Michel 1997, 'Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth' *The Essential Works 1954-1984, 1 Ethics* New York: The New Press

Foucault, Michel, 1987, 'Preface' in Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* London: Athlone Press, xi-xxiv

Fox, P. 1992 'Memory, the Museum and the Postcolonial World' *Meanjin* vol. 51, no. 2, 308-18

Fraser, Morag and Joseph O'Reilly 1996 (eds), *Save Our ABC: The Case for Maintaining Australia's National Broadcaster* Melbourne: Hyland House with Friends of the ABC

Fraser, Nancy 1993, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy' in Bruce Robbins (ed), *The Phantom Public Sphere* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1-32

Freeman, M. 1993, *Rewriting the Self: History, Memory, Narrative* London: Routledge

Frow, John 1988, 'Some Versions of Foucault' *Meanjin* vol. 47, no. 1: 144-56; vol. 47, no. 2: 353-65

Frow, John 1995, *Cultural Studies and Cultural Value* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Frow, John 1997, 'Class, Education, Culture' *Culture and Policy* vol. 8 no.1, 73-88

Funkenstein, A. 1989, 'Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness' *History and Memory* vol. 1 Spring-Summer, 5-26

- Funston, Andrew 1997, 'The ABC and Citizenship' *Overland* no. 147, Winter, 59-62
- Garnham, Nicholas 1983, 'Concepts of Culture – Public Policy and the Cultural Industries' in Anne Grant and Jim McGuigan (eds) *Studying Culture: An Introductory Reader* Melbourne: Edward Arnold, 54-61
- Garnham, Nicholas 2000, *Emancipation, the Media, and Modernity: Arguments about the Media and Social Theory* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Garnsey, Rob (Head of Technology, ABC Online) 1999, Interview with Maureen Burns 26 March
- Garran, Robert 2000, 'Asia Radio Signal a Third of 1997 Level' *The Australian* 10 August, 2
- Gauntlett, David 2000, *Web.Studies: Rewiring Media Studies for the Digital Age* New York: Oxford University Press
- Gellner, Ernest, 1983, *Nations and Nationalism* Oxford: Cornell University Press
- Giddens, Anthony 1991, *Modernity and Self Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Giddens, Anthony 2000, *The Third Way and its Critics* Cambridge: Polity Press
- Gilchrist, Michelle 2000, 'Alston, Johns in Harmony About Net' *The Australian* 15 February, 3
- Gilchrist, Michelle 2000, 'ABC Fires Warning Shot' *The Australian* 25 May, 1
- Gilchrist, Michelle and Errol Simper 2000, 'Religious War in the Airwaves' *Weekend Australian* 3-4 June, 1
- Gilchrist, Michelle and Geoff Elliot 2001, '\$75m gets ABC Back into Asia' *The Australian* 21 June, 1
- Gilder, George 1990, *Life After Television* Knoxville, TN: Whittle Direct Books
- Gillis, John 1992, 'Remembering Memory: A Challenge for Public Historians in a Post National Era' *The Public Historian* vol. 14 no. 4 fall, 92
- Gillis, John 1993, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Giroux, H. (ed) 1991, *Postmodernism, Feminism and Cultural Politics: Redrawing Educational Boundaries* Albany: State University of New York Press

- Given, Jock 1998, *The Death of Broadcasting? Media's Digital Future* Sydney: UNSW Press
- Given, Jock 2002 , 'A Digital Agenda' *Southern Review: Public Service Broadcasting: Digital Spaces, Public Places* vol. 35, no. 1, 21-41
- Given, Jock 2003, *Turning off the Television: Broadcasting's Uncertain Future* Sydney: UNSW Press
- Goldsmith, Ben, Julian Thomas, Tom O'Regan and Stuart Cunningham 2001, *The Future for Local Content? Options for Emerging Technologies* Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Authority
- Goodchild, Philip 1996, *Deleuze and Guattari: An Introduction to the Politics of Desire* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications
- Goodwin, Peter 1997, 'Has the BBC Found the Digital Solution?' *Media Information Australia* no 83, February, 24-29
- Gordon, Colin 1991, 'Governmental Rationality: An Introduction' in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1-52
- Gordon, Colin 1994, 'Introduction', in Michel Foucault, *Power: the Essential Works 3* edited by James D. Faubion, trans Robert Hurley and others, London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, xi-xli
- Greene, Gervase, and Louise Martin 1997, 'Radio Australia Guttled in Funding Compromise' *The Age* 23 April, 1
- Gregor, Ian 1971, 'Introduction' in Arnold, Matthew 1971 *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Social and Political Criticism* Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, xiii-xxx
- Griffith, Colin (Corporate Policy and Planning) and Stephen Rapley (ABC Radio) 1995, *Policy Paper: Internet: Online Services* prepared 31 January Approved by Peter Lidbetter, Deputy Managing Director
- Griffith, Colin 1996, 'The ABC and Multimedia: A New Media Form' *Media International Australia* no. 81, August, 49-53
- Griffith, Colin 1999, (Network Manager, ABC Online) Interviews with Maureen Burns 26 March, 13 May
- Griffith, Colin 2000, Interview with Maureen Burns 25 May
- Grosz, Elizabeth 1999, *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory and Futures*. Ithaca and London:

Cornell University Press

Guattari, Felix 1995, *Chaosmosis: an Ethico-Aesthetic Paradigm* trans Paul Bains and Julian Pefanis, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press

Guilliatt, Richard 1996, 'Blueprint for a Shrinking ABC' *Sydney Morning Herald* 7 December, 34-35

Habermas, Jurgen 1989, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* trans T. Burger Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press

Hacking, Ian 1992, 'Self Improvement' in David Couzens Hoy (ed.) *Foucault: A Critical Reader* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 235-240

Hacking, Ian 1995, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personalities and the Sciences of Memory* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Halbwachs, M. 1992, *On Collective Memory* trans Lewis A. Croser Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Hamilton, P. 1990, 'Inventing the Self: Oral History as Autobiography' *Hecate* vol. 16, nos 1/2, 128-133

Handler, Richard 1988, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press

Haraway, Donna 1991, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* New York: Routledge,

Harding, Richard 1979, *Outside Interference: The Politics of Australian Broadcasting* Melbourne: Sun Books

Harding, Richard 1985, 'Australia, Broadcasting in the Political Battle' in R. Kuhn (ed.) *The Politics of Broadcasting* London: Croom Helm, 233-263

Hardt, Michael 1998, 'The Withering of Civil Society' in Eleanor Kaufman, and Kevin Jon Heller (eds) *Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy, and Culture* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 23-59

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri 2000, *Empire* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press

Harley, Ross (ed.) 1993, *New Media Technologies* Sydney: AFTRS and AFC

- Harpold, T. 1991, 'The Contingencies of the Hypertext Link' *Writing on the Edge* vol. 2, no. 2, 126-37
- Harrari, J. (ed) 1979, *Textual Strategies* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press
- Hartley, John 1992, *Tele-ology* London: Routledge
- Hartley, John 1996, *Popular Reality: Journalism, Modernity, Popular Culture* London: Arnold
- Hartley, John 1999, *Uses of Television* London and New York: Routledge
- Hartley, John, 1992a, *The Politics of Pictures: The Creation of the Public in the Age of Popular Media* London and New York: Routledge
- Hastings, Tony (Program Director Radio Australia) 2000, Interview with Maureen Burns 25 May
- Hawkins, 2000, 'Lifestyle TV: The ABC and Rhetorics of Choice' paper presented at the *Ethics, Events, Entertainment* conference, Ballina, July
- Hawkins, Gay 1993 *From Nimbin to Mardi Gras : Constructing Community Arts* Sydney: Allen Unwin
- Hawkins, Gay 1994, 'Writing on the Edge of History: Documenting Cultural Institutions' *Media Information Australia* no. 73 August, 35-38
- Hawkins, Gay 2001, 'The ABC and Rhetorics of Choice' in Tony Bennett and David Carter *Culture in Australia* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 176-192
- Hawley, Janet 1996, 'Station to Station: ABC Regional Radio is a Cultural Lifeline for Australians in the Bush' *Sydney Morning Herald Good Weekend* 14 December, 52-57, 59, 61
- Healy, Chris 1997, *From the Ruins of Colonialism: History as Social Memory* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hegel G.W.F. 1956, *The Philosophy of History* trans J. Sibree New York: Dover
- Heidegger, M. 1962 , *Being and Time* trans John Macquarie and Edward Robinson New York and London: Harper and Row
- Heidegger, M. 1977, 'The Question Concerning Technology' in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* trans W.Lovitt New York: Harper and Row, 3-35
- Hill, David 1995, 'David Hill Writes About His Experiences as Managing Director of the ABC' *Practising Manager* vol. 15, no. 2, April, 27-30

- Hill, David 1996, 'Your Shrinking ABC' *The Weekend Australian* 14-15 December, 23
- Hill, Robin 1994, 'Has the ABC lost the Plot?' *The Bulletin* (Sydney) 7 June, 28-31
- Hill, Robin 1995, 'Not as Easy as ABC: Wanted, Genius with the Hide of a Rhino' *The Bulletin* (Sydney) 7 February, 32-33
- Hinde, Suellen 2001, 'Asia Radio Service Resumes' *Northern Territorian* 2 June, 6
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger (eds) 1983, *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hodge, Errol 1995, *Radio Wars: Truth, Propaganda and the Struggle for Radio Australia*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press
- Hodge, Errol 1997, 'Your ABC: Opting out of the Information Age?' *Search* (Sydney) vol.28 no. 2 March, 62-64
- Hodge, Errol 1997a, 'International Broadcasting: The Reluctant ABC' *Media International Australia* no. 84 May, 87-90
- Hooper-Green, Eileen 1990, 'The Space of the Museum' *Continuum* vol. 3 no. 1, 58
- Hubble, Ava 1996, 'Hanson an ABC Ally' 5 December, 38
- Hughes, Krista 2000, 'ABC and Telstra Negotiating \$67 m Content Deal' Australian Associated Press 5 February
- Hunter, Ian 1988, *Culture and Government: The Emergence of Literary Education* Basingstoke: Macmillan
- Hunter, Ian 1991, 'Governing Culture' *Media Information Australia* no. 54 February, 40-42
- Hutton, Patrick 1988, 'Collective Memory and Collective Mentalities: The Halbwachs-Aries Connection' *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 15, Summer, 2
- Huysen, Andreas 1995, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* New York: Routledge
- Illich, I. and B. Sanders 1988, *The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind* San Francisco: North Point Press
- Indyk and Webby (eds) 1991, *Memory* Special edition of *Southerly* vol. 51 no.3

Inglis, Ken 1983, *This is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press

Inglis, Ken 1997, 'ABC Shock Crisis Threat' *Media International Australia* no 83 February, 5-10

Innis, Harold 1991, *The Bias of Communication* Toronto, Buffalo and London: Toronto University Press

Jacka, Elizabeth 1997, 'The ABC: Change is Coming' *Reportage* (Australian Centre for Independent Journalism) no. 7, Summer, 14-15

Jacka, Elizabeth 1997a, 'Genealogies of Television: Public Service Broadcasting and Governmentality. Paper presented to the *40 Years of Television Conference 12/13 April 1996* National Centre for Australian Studies Monash University. Printed in Jacka et al 1997 *Australian Public Service Broadcasting in Transition: 1986-1996. Working papers*, Brisbane: Australian Research Council and Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy

Jacka, Elizabeth 1997b 'Public Service Broadcasting in Transition: The View from Europe' in Elizabeth Jacka, Elizabeth, Helen Wilson, Gay Hawkins and Maureen Burns 1997, *Australian Public Service Broadcasting in Transition: 1986-1996. Working Papers*, Brisbane: Australian Research Council and Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy

Jacka, Elizabeth 2000, "'Good Democracy": The Role of Public Service Broadcasting' paper presented at the *Rethinking Public Media in a Transnational Era Conference* New York University January, 11-14

Jacka, Elizabeth 2000a, 'Public Service TV: An Endangered Species? In Graeme Turner and Stuart Cunningham (eds) *The Australian TV Book* Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 52-68

Jacka, Elizabeth 2000b, 'Is ABC Online a Public Service?' Paper presented at *Television: Past, Present and Futures* conference University of Queensland 1-3 December

Jacka, Elizabeth, and Lesley Johnson 1998, 'Australia' in Anthony Smith (ed) 1998, *Television: An International History* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 208-222

Jacka, Elizabeth, Helen Wilson, Gay Hawkins and Maureen Burns 1997, *Australian Public Service Broadcasting in Transition: 1986-1996. Working Papers*, Brisbane: Australian Research Council and Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy

Jakubowicz, Karol 2003, 'We Know it When We See it? Public Service Broadcasting: Definitions, Descriptions and Policy Dilemmas' December 2000 meeting of Team 2, 'Changing Media, Changing Europe' Research Programme of the European Science Foundation. available at [www.lboro.ac.uk/research/changing.media/K.J.-Paper.html](http://www.lboro.ac.uk/research/changing.media/K.J.-Paper.html) Accessed 5 February 2003.

- James, William 1977, *A Pluralistic Universe* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press
- Jameson, Frederic 1991, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* Durham: Duke University Press
- Johns Brian 2000, 'Virgin or Jezebel She's Still our Aunty' *Sydney Morning Herald* 11 February, 15
- Johns, Brian 1996 , 'First Anniversary – ABC Online' Speech 14 August
- Johns, Brian 1996a, *Speech by ABC Managing Director at the Association for Mass Communication Research* Sunday 18 August
- Johns, Brian 1996b, 'A Defining Moment for the ABC' Media Release 9 December
- Johns, Brian 1997, 'A Brave New World Beckons for the National Broadcaster' *The Australian* 12 December, 13
- Johns, Brian 1999, 'Content Will be King' *Australian Financial Review* 8 April, 10
- Johns, Brian 1999a, Productivity Commission Review into the *Broadcasting Services Act* Introductory Statement by Brian Johns, ABC Managing Director 7 June
- Johnson, Carol 2000, *Governing Change: Keating to Howard* Brisbane: University of Queensland Press
- Johnson, Lesley 1988, *The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio* London: Routledge
- Johnson, R. with G. Dawson 1982, 'Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method' in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies *Making Histories* London, 205-52
- Johnston, Bob 1999, Interview with Maureen Burns 21 April
- Johnstone, Craig 2000, 'Other Dangers Lurk for Aunty' *Courier-Mail* 7 February, 13
- Jones, Paul 1997, 'The Public Media in Review – ABC the Last Bastion' *Arena Magazine* no. 28, March/April, 40-41
- Jones, Ross 1997, 'Does Australia Really Need the ABC?' *Agenda* vol. 4, no. 2, 252-258
- Jones, Steven G. (ed.) 1998, *Cybersociety 2.0: Revisiting Computer-Mediated Communication and Community* Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications

- Jordan, Tim 1999, *Cyberpower* London and New York: Routledge
- Kaes, Anton 1990, 'History and Film: Public Memory in the Age of Electronic Dissemination' vol. 2, no. 1 Fall, 111-124
- Kaufman, Eleanor and Kevin Jon Heller (eds) 1998 *Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy, and Culture* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Keating, Paul 1995, 'Exports From a Creative Nation' *Media Information Australia* no. 76 May, 4-6
- Kelly, K. 1994, *Out of Control: The New Biology of Machines* London: The Fourth Estate
- Kern, Stephen 1983, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press
- Kingston, Margo 1999, *Off the Rails: the Pauline Hanson Trip* Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Kirkpatrick, E.M. (ed.) 1983 *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* Edinburgh: W & R Chambers
- Knight, Alan 1994, 'ABC in Orbit – On the ABC's Asia TV Venture, Australian Television International' *Arena Magazine* no. 10 April, /May, 5-7
- Korporral, Glenda 1993, 'The ABC Pay TV Play' *Australian Financial Review* 16 July, 16
- Koselleck, Reinhart 1990, *Futures Past* Cambridge: MIT Press
- Koval, Ramona 2000, 'Voice to Asia is not the Nation's', *Weekend Australian*, 10-11 June, 25
- Krugler, David F. 2000, *Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953* Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press
- Lacey, A.R. 1993, *Bergson* London and New York: Routledge
- Landow, George P. (ed), 1994, *Hyper/text/theory* London: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Landow, George P. 1991, *Hypertext: The Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology* Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press
- Lane, Dave 2000 (Online Developer, Community Publishing Site) Interview with Maureen Burns 24 May
- Lane, Terry 1987, 'The ABC – and Beyond' *Australian Society* September, 21

- Lanham, R.A. 1993, *The Electronic Word: Democracy, Technology and the Arts*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Latour, Bruno 1987, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press
- Latour, Bruno 1993, *We Have Never Been Modern* trans Catherine Porter New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf
- Lawrence, Mark 1997, 'Aunty's On-line with China' *The Age* 18 February, 5
- Le Goff Jacques 1992, *History and Memory* trans S. Rendall and E. Claman New York: Columbia University Press
- Lecky, Sue 1995, 'Murdoch and Packer Snub ABC Pay TV News' *Sydney Morning Herald* 10 August, 5
- Leonard, Peter 1997, *Postmodern Welfare: Reconstructing an Emancipatory Project* London: Sage Publications
- Lewis, Steve 1995, 'Quality, Content: The Mantra of Brian Johns', *Australian Financial Review* 15 December, 23
- Lewis, Steve 1998, 'The Deteriorating Relationship Between the ABC and the Howard Government' *Australian Financial Review* 27 May, 19
- Liberal/National Party, *Better Communications* (Policy Document for 1996 election)
- Lloyd James, Andrew 2000, Interview with Maureen Burns 16 June
- Lostsole 1999, [www.abc.net.au/cgi-bin/questlist/guestbook](http://www.abc.net.au/cgi-bin/questlist/guestbook). Accessed 24 October 1999
- Lowe, Donald M. 1982, *History of Bourgeois Perception* Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Lowe, Gregory Ferrell and Taisto Hujanen (eds) 2003, *Broadcasting and Convergence: New Articulations of the Public Service Remit* Sweden: Nordicom
- Lowe, Sue 1995, 'On-Line in More Ways than One' *Sydney Morning Herald* 22 August, 37
- Lowenthal, David 1985, *The Past is a Foreign Country* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lukacs, John 1968, *The Remembered Past* New York: Harper and Row
- Lyotard, Jean Francois 1984, *The Postmodern Condition* trans G. Bennington and B. Massumi

- Manchester: Manchester University Press
- M2 Communications Ltd 2000, 'No Advertising on ABC News Sites' 7 February
- Mackriell, Keith 1996, 'Redefining the ABC – and its Charter' *IPA Review* vol. 49 no. 2, 9-14
- Macpherson, Deirdre 1987, 'Aunty's on the Game' *Sydney Morning Herald* 3 August, 6
- Manktelow Nicole 1998, 'Website Wins on the Night – The Cyber Campaign' *The Australian* 5 October, 11
- Manktelow Nicole 1998a, 'ABC Leads the Pack in Net News Race' *Australian* 24 March, 45
- Manning, Peter 1995, Memo 20 September
- Mansell, Gerard 1982, *Let Truth Be Told: 50 Years of BBC External Broadcasting* London: Weidenfield and Nicolson
- Mansfield, Bob 1997, Commonwealth of Australia, *The Challenge of a Better ABC* Australian Government Publishing Service
- Mansfield, Bob 1997, *Reviewing the ABC* Address to the Sydney Institute, 22 February *Sydney Papers* vol. 9 no. 1 Summer, 114-125
- Marjoribanks, Timothy 2000, *News Corporation, Technology and the Workplace: Global Strategies, Local Change* London and New York: Cambridge University Press
- Marks, John 1998, *Gilles Deleuze: Vitalism and Multiplicity* London: Pluto Press
- Marsh, Ian 1995, 'The 1994 Mardi Gras Telecast: Conflicting Minorities and the Judgement of Public Interests – Analysis of Some 5000 Protest Letters Received by the ABC' *Australian Journal of Political Science* vol. 30, no. 3, November, 545-560
- Marshall, P. David, Susan Luckman and Sean Smith 1998, 'Promotional Desires: Popular Media's Presence on the Internet' *Media Information Australia/Culture and Policy* no. 86 February, 63-76
- Martin, Fiona 1999, 'Pulling Together the ABC: the Role of ABC Online' *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy* vol. 93, 103-117
- Martin, Lauren 1999, 'Aunty's New Man Raises Suspicion' *Sydney Morning Herald News Review* 12 November, 39
- Martin, Lauren and Mike Secombe 1996, 'Blood and Gore Hill' *Sydney Morning Herald* 13 February, 35

- Martin, Luther H., Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton (eds) 1988, *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press
- Marvin, Carolyn 1988, *When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking About Communication in the Late Nineteenth Century* New York and Oxford : Oxford University Press
- McCarthy, Wendy 1991, 'Life After Aunty: Interview with Wendy McCarthy after her Unsuccessful Bid for the Chair of the ABC' by Kitty Eggerking *Australian Left Review* no. 133 October, 40-41
- McCarthy, Wendy 1998, 'Monday Viewpoint: The ABC of Impartially Covering Both Sides' *Sydney Morning Herald* 8 June, 13
- McConkey, James 1996, *The Anatomy of Memory: An Anthology* New York: Oxford University Press
- McDonald, Donald 2000, 'Aunty Can't Afford to Go Out Much' *The Australian* 15 June, 15
- McGarrity, Ian 1991, 'ABC, Important Role in Pay TV in Australia' *COMBROAD* September, 33-37
- McGregor, Richard 1999, 'Net Profits in Private Aunty Online: Lib' *The Australian* 10 February, 1
- McKee, Alan 2002, 'I Don't Want to be a Citizen (if it Means I Have to Watch the ABC)' *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy* no.103, 14-23
- McKinsey and Company 1999, *Public Service Broadcasting Around the World*. London: McKinsey & Company
- McMahon, Anthony, Jane Thomson and Christopher Williams 1996, *Understanding the Australian Welfare State: Key Documents and Themes* Melbourne: Macmillan Education Australia Pty Ltd
- McQuail, D. 1994, *Mass Communications Theory: An Introduction* 3rd edn London: Sage Publications
- McQuire, Scott 1997, *Crossing the Digital Threshold* Brisbane: Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy
- McQuire, Scott 1998, *Visions of Modernity: Representation, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Camera* London: Sage Publications
- Mellencamp, Patricia (ed.) 1990, *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism* Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Mendes, Phillip 2003, *Australia's Welfare Wars: The Players, the Politics, and the Ideologies*

Sydney: UNSW Press

Meredith, Helen 1994, 'The Trials of Australia Television' *Australian Financial Review* 4 November, 29

'Merksy', 2002 [merksy@wn.com.au](mailto:merksy@wn.com.au) Visit Time 04: 47: 32 24 Oct, 1999 EST

Middleton, David and Derek Edwards 1990, *Collective Remembering* London: Sage

Millard, John 2000, 'The ABC's Reputation Put at Risk' *The Sydney Morning Herald* 8 February, 15

Miller, George, 1963, 'Information and Memory' *Scientific American* August, 42-46

Miller, Toby 1998, *Technologies of Truth: Cultural Citizenship and the Popular Media* Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press

Mitchell, Selina 2000, 'Radio Australia Rides MP3 back to Asia', *The Australian IT* 30 May, 37.

Mitchell, William 1997, *City of Bits: Space, Place and the Infobahn* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press

Moore, F.C.T. 1996, *Bergson: Thinking Backwards* New York: Cambridge University Press

Moore, Tony and McKenzie Wark 2000, 'It's Back to ABC for Aunty' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 June, 19

Morris, Meaghan, and Paul Patton (eds) 1979, *Michel Foucault: Power, Truth, Strategy* Sydney: Feral Press

Morse, Margaret 1990, 'An Ontology of Everyday Distraction: The Freeway, the Mall, and Television' in Patricia Mellencamp (ed) *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism* Bloomington: Indiana University Press 193-221

Moulthrop, Stuart 1992, 'Inform and Rhetoric: A Hypertextual Experiment' *Writing on the Edge* vol. 4, no. 1, 103-27

Moulthrop, Stuart 1993, 'Rhizome and Resistance: Hypertext and the Dreams of a New Culture' in George Landow (ed.) *Hyper/Text/Theory* Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 299-319

Mulgan, Geoffrey 1991, *Communication and Control: Networks and the New Economies of Communication* New York and London: The Guildford Press

Mulgan, Richard 1998, 'Identifying the "Core" Public Service' *Canberra Bulletin of Public*

*Administration* no. 87, 1-7

Multimedia Unit of the ABC 1996, 'Issues Paper for March Board Meeting 1996' Unpublished document

Multimedia Unit of the ABC 1996a, 'Corporate Plan Report Multimedia: Report for Quarter Ending 16 August 1996' Confidential report

Multimedia Unit of the ABC, 1997-1999, *Multimedia Unit Monthly Reports to ABC Board*

Murray, Jacqui 1994, 'The Institutional Origins of ABC Censorship in the 1930s' *Australian Journalism Review* vol.16 no. 2 July/December, 125-131

National Commission of Audit 1996, *Report to the Commonwealth Government 1996* Canberra: AGPS

Naughton, Russell (Online Developer, Radio Australia) 2000, interview with Maureen Burns 25 May.

Naughton, Russell 1995, *Adventures in Cybersound* [www.cinemia.net/SFSV-RMIT-Annex/rnaughton/phd6000\\_aic.html](http://www.cinemia.net/SFSV-RMIT-Annex/rnaughton/phd6000_aic.html)

Negroponte, Nicholas 1995, *Being Digital* New York: Knopf

Neisser, Ulrich 1982, *Memory Observed* San Francisco: W.H. Freedman

Neuman, W. Russell 1993, *The Future of the Mass Audience* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

NHK 2002, *Annual Report 2001-2002*

Nicholson Brendan 1997, 'Carnell Warns Against Radio Australia Cut' *The Canberra Times* 28 January, 1

Nicholson, John 1995, 'And Now a Word From ... Advertising on and Sponsorship of the ABC' *Melbournian* vol. 10, no. 8, July /August, 29-30

Niewenhuizen, John/ABC 1997, *Asleep at the Wheel: Australia on the Superhighway* Sydney: ABC Books

Nora, Pierre 1989, 'Between Memory and History': Les Lieux de Mémoire' Special issue of *Representations* no. 26, Spring, 7-25

Nora, Pierre 1996-1998, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* Under the direction of

- Pierre Nora; English language edition edited and with a foreword by Lawrence D. Kritzman; trans Arthur Goldhammer New York: Columbia Press
- Nurick, J 1987, *Mandate to Govern* Perth: Australian Institute for Public Policy
- O'Farrell (ed.) 1997, *Foucault, The Legacy* Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology
- Oliver, Robin 1997, 'Cut and Thrust' *Sydney Morning Herald The Guide*, e 4-5
- O'Neill, O. 1990, 'Practices of Toleration' in J. Lichtenburg (ed.) *Democracy and the Mass Media* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 155-184
- Ong, Walter 1971, *Rhetoric, Romance and Technology* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- Ong, Walter 1977, *Interfaces of the Word* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- Ong, Walter 1982, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologising of the Word* London: Methuen
- O'Regan, Tom 1993, *Australian Television Culture* Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Owen, Bruce M. 1999, *The Internet Challenge to Television* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press
- Packer, Jeremy 2003, 'Mapping the Intersections of Foucault and Cultural Studies: An Interview with Lawrence Grossberg and Toby Miller, October 2000' in Jack Z. Braitch, Jeremy Packer and Cameron McCarthy (eds) 2003, *Foucault, Cultural Studies, and Governmentality* Albany: State University of New York Press, 23-46
- Palfreyman, Richard 1993, 'The Ultimo Lab: ABC Journalism and the New Technologies' *Media Information Australia* no. 70, November, 101-111
- Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2000, Senate Environment, Communications, Information Technology and the Arts References Committee Inquiry into ABC On-line (Interim Report)
- Parliament of Victoria Economic Development Committee 1999, *Report into the Effects of Government Funded National Broadcasting on Victoria* May
- Patton Paul 2000, *Deleuze and the Political* London and New York: Routledge
- Petersen, Neville 1989, 'Public Service Broadcasting Under Scrutiny' *Media Information Australia* no. 54 November, 88-90
- Petersen, Neville 1993, *News Not Views: The ABC, the Press, & Politics 1932-1947* Sydney: Hale

and Iremonger

Pool, Ithiel de Sola 1963, *Technologies of Freedom* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press

Poster, Mark 1990, *The Mode of Information: Poststructuralism and Social Context* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press

Poster, Mark 1995, *The Second Media Age* Cambridge UK: Polity Press

Poster, Mark 2001, *What's the Matter with the Internet?* Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press

Potter, Tim (ABC Adelaide) 1999, Phone interview with Maureen Burns 30 November

Price, Monroe E. 1997, 'The Global Weakening of Public Service Broadcasting' *Media International Australia* no. 83 February, 18-23

Raboy, Marc (ed) 1996, *Public Broadcasting in the 21st Century* Luton: John Libbey Media/University of Luton

Raboy, Marc 2003, 'Rethinking Broadcasting Policy in a Global Media Environment' in Gregory Ferrell Lowe and Taisto Hujanen (eds) 2003, *Broadcasting and Convergence: New Articulations of the Public Service Remit* Sweden: Nordicom, 41-56

Radio National Staff Committee of the ABC 1995, Memo to Mark Armstrong and Brian Johns 19 May

Rajchman, John 2000, *The Deleuze Connections* Cambridge, Mass: Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Rapley Stephen (Network Editor, ABC Online) 1999, Interviews with Maureen Burns 25 March, 14 May

Rapley Stephen 1995, Notes of meeting 9 February

Rapley Stephen 1995a, 'A Few Notes for the New Managing Director' Undated (probably late March /early April, as Johns started 17 March 1995)

Rapley Stephen 1998, 'Forefront' *Wavelength* 4-5 April Australian Broadcasting Corporation

Rapley Stephen 1999, Email correspondence with Maureen Burns 26 November

Rapley, Stephen 1995c, 'ABC and Multimedia Update for Phillip Ulman' 25 May

- Rapley, Stephen 1995d, 'Broadcasters on the Internet' From personal files of Stephen Rapley
- Rapley, Stephen 2002, Telephone conversation with Maureen Burns 5 March
- Reid, Robert H 1997, *Architects of the Web: 1,000 Days that Built the Future of Business* New York: Wiley
- Reith, Lord John Charles Walsman, 1924 *Broadcast Over Britain* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International 1981
- Renan, Ernest 1996, 'What is a Nation?' in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny *Becoming National* New York: Oxford University Press, 42-56
- Rennie, Elinor 2002, 'The Other Road to Media Citizenship' *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy* no. 103, May, 7-13
- Reynolds, Henry 1996, *Frontier: Aborigines, Settlers and Land* Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Reynolds, Margaret 1996, 'Preface' in Anthony McMahon, Jane Thomson and Christopher Williams 1996, *Understanding the Australian Welfare State: Key Documents and Themes* Melbourne: Macmillan Education Australia Pty Ltd, iii-ix
- Rheingold, Howard 1993, *The Virtual Community* London: Addison-Wesley
- Richardson, Alan 1995 (Rural staff member, ABC, WA) 'RN and Internet' Internal memo dated 2 March
- Ricoeur, P. 1984, *Time and Narrative* trans K. McLaughlin and D. Pellauer vol. 1 Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Robbins, Bruce (ed.) 1993, *The Phantom Public Sphere* London and Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis
- Robinson, Harry 2000, 'From Butterfly Collars to the Net' *Sydney Morning Herald* 10 February, 11
- Roediger, Henry L. 1980, 'Memory Metaphors in Cognitive Psychology' *Memory and Cognition* vol. 8, no. 3, 231-46
- Rollins, Adrian 1999 'ABC Sale Plan Fuels Bitter Debate Over Digital Future' *The Age* 11 February, 6
- Rose, Nikolas 1990, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* London and New York: Routledge

- Rose, Nikolas 1992, 'Towards a Critical Sociology of Freedom' An Inaugural Lecture given by Professor Nikolas Rose on 5 May New Cross London: Goldsmiths College University of London
- Rose, Nikolas 1996, *Inventing Ourselves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood* Cambridge Mass: Cambridge University Press
- Rose, Nikolas 1996a 'The Death of the Social? Re-figuring the Territory of Government' *Economy and Society* vol. 25, no. 3, 327-356
- Rose, Nikolas 1999, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* Cambridge and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press
- Ross, B.M. 1991, *Remembering the Personal Past: Descriptions of Autobiographical Memory* New York: Oxford University Press
- Ryan, Colleen and Glenn Burge 1995, 'The Betrayal: How Kerry and Rupert Tied Up Our TV', *Sydney Morning Herald* 9 December, 1
- Said, Edward 2000, 'Invention, Memory and Place' *Critical Inquiry* vol.26 no. 2, 175-179
- Salter, David 2000, Letter to the Editor *Sydney Morning Herald* 3 July, 20
- Samuel, Raphael 1994, *Theatres of Memory* London: Verso
- Scannell, Paddy 1996, *Radio, Television and Modern Life: A Phenomenological Approach* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Scannell, Paddy 1997, 'Britain: Public Service Broadcasting, from National Culture to Multiculturalism' In D. Atkinson and M. Raboy (eds.) *Public Service Broadcasting: The Challenge of the Twenty-first Century*. Paris: Lanham, MD UNESCO, 91-94
- Scannell, Paddy 1990, 'Public Service Broadcasting: The History of a Concept' in Andrew Goodwin and Gary Whannel (eds) 1990 *Understanding Television* London: Routledge, 11-29
- Scannell, Paddy, and D. Cardiff 1991, *Social History of British Broadcasting: Serving the Nation 1923-1939* Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Schacter, Daniel 1996, *Searching for Memory: The Brain, the Mind, and the Past* New York: Basic Books
- Schnapp, Alain 1996, *The Discovery of the Past: The Origins of Archaeology* London: British Museum Press
- Schudson, Michael 1999, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* London: Harvard

University Press

Schultz, Julianne 2000, Interview with Maureen Burns, 16 June

Searle, Samantha 1995, 'Our ABC?: The 1994 Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras Parade Broadcast' *Media International Australia*, no. 78, November, 13-19

Seaton, Jean (ed.) 1998, *Politics and the Media: Harlots and Prerogatives at the Turn of the Millennium* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Semmler, Clement 1981, *The ABC – Aunt Sally and the Sacred Cow* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press

Sennett Richard 1977, *The Fall of Public Man* London: Faber

Sewell, Carole 2000, New Orleans, LA, at [www.cinemedia.net/SFSV-RMIT-Annex/rnaughton/phd4797.html](http://www.cinemedia.net/SFSV-RMIT-Annex/rnaughton/phd4797.html)) viewed 23 June 2000

Shelley-Jones Kate and Pip Bulbeck 1998, 'ABC Says Online Trial Isn't a Commercial Venture' *Media Day* 18 November

Shimizu, Shinichi 1996, 'Japan: Public Broadcasting as a National Project' in D. Atkinson and M. Raboy (eds) *Public Service Broadcasting: the Challenge of the Twenty-first Century* Paris: Lanham, MD UNESCO, 115-118

Short, John 1997, 'Retain Radio Australia, Says Beazley' *The Australian* 25 January, 12

Simper, Errol 1993, 'Changing the Channel: Reorganisation of the ABC to Bring Subscription, Sponsored, and Orthodox News and Current Affairs Under the Same Umbrella' *The Australian* 6-7 February, 21

Simper, Errol 1994, 'Fight for the ABC's Future: the David Hill Led ABC is Under Attack Over Plans to Revamp its Flagship News and Current Affairs Programs' *The Australian* 10-11 September, 27

Simper, Errol 1994a, 'The ABC of Sponsorship' *The Australian* 12 December, 9

Simper, Errol 1995, 'ABC Chief of the Old School – Obituary for Sir Talbot Duckmanton' *The Australian* 15 June, 12

Simper, Errol 1995a, 'Johns Wins Top Job at ABC' *The Australian* 9 February, 1

Simper, Errol 1996, 'Short Shrift for our Short-wavers?' *The Australian* 16 November, 60

- Simper, Errol 1996a, 'Battle over the ABC' *The Australian* 20-21 July, 28
- Simper, Errol 1996b, 'Brian Johns: His Mission Impossible' *The Australian* 16-17 Mar, 25
- Simper, Errol 1996c, 'Truth Teller's Bitter Reward – ABC Whistle Blower still Paying the Price' *The Australian* 30 July, 13
- Simper, Errol 1997, 'The Mansfield Manifesto – Arriving at the Recommendations in Mansfield, Bob. The Challenge of a Better ABC' *The Weekend Australian* 25-26 January, 23-24
- Simper, Errol 1998, 'ABC of Muzzling' *The Australian* 30-31 May, 23
- Simper, Errol 1999, 'Aunty Signals Seven Asia News on Brink' *The Australian* 25 May, 1
- Simper, Errol 1999a, 'ATV had a Role Beyond the Commercial' *The Australian* 17 June Media, 4
- Simper, Errol 2000, 'Telstra in Secret ABC Talks' *The Australian* 5 February, 1
- Simper, Errol 2000a, 'Telstra Deal Ripe for a Re-evaluation' *The Australian* 20 April Media 1
- Simper, Errol and Chip Le Grand 1997, 'ABC Gags Radio Australia Manager' 1 February, 8
- Smith, Anthony (ed.) 1998, *Television An International History* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Smith, Anthony D. 1991, *National Identity* London: Penguin
- Smith, Anthony D. 1995, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* Cambridge, Mass: Polity Press
- Smith, Stephen 2000, 'Telstra Link Caused by Starvation Diet' *The Australian* 8 February, 13
- Snyder Ilana 1996, *Hypertext: The Electronic Labyrinth* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press
- Solomon Paul R. (ed.) 1989, *Memory: Interdisciplinary Approaches* New York: Springer-Verlag
- South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) *Annual Report, 2000-2001*  
[www.sabc.co.za/2002annual\\_report/index.htm](http://www.sabc.co.za/2002annual_report/index.htm)
- Spielman, Ingrid 2000 (Online Developer) Interview with Maureen Burns 14 June
- Steel, Alex 1997, 'Aunty's New Fitness Regime: the Mansfield Prescription for Long Life and Happiness for the ABC, *Media and Arts Law Review* vol. 2, no. 1, March, 3-15

- Steel, Alex 1997a, 'Meadows or Minefields?: Underneath the Surface of the Mansfield Report' *Media International Australia* no. 84 May, 74-79
- Steiner, Julie 1994, , General Manager, ABC Enterprises, interview by Jock Given *Communications Update* no. 103, September, 18-20
- Stevenson Nick (ed.) 2001, *Culture & Citizenship* London: Sage Publications
- Stott Despoja, Natasha 1996, 'Generation J' in Morag Fraser, and Joseph O'Reilly (eds), *Save Our ABC: The Case for Maintaining Australia's National Broadcaster*, 20-24
- Syvetsen, Trine 1999, 'The Many Uses of the "Public Service" Concept' *NORDICOM Review*, vol. 20, no. 1, 5-12
- Tapscott, Don 1996, *The Digital Economy: Promise and Peril in the Age of Networked Intelligence* New York: McGraw Hill
- Taylor, Charles 1989, *Sources of the Self* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press
- Thomas, Abigail 2000, Interview with Maureen Burns 16 June
- Thomas, Alan 1980, *Broadcast and Be Damned: The ABC's First Two Decades* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press
- Thompson, J.B. 1994 'Social Theory and the Media' in D. Crowley and D. Mitchell (eds) *Communication Theory Today* Cambridge: Polity Press, 27-49
- Tierney, Senator J. and Senator R. Lightfoot 2000, 'Government Senators' Report' Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2000 Senate Environment, Communications, Information Technology and the Arts References Committee Inquiry into ABC On-line (Interim Report), 56-59
- Tofts, Darren and Murray McKeich 1997, *Memory Trade: A Prehistory of Cyberculture* Sydney: Interface
- Tomaselli, Ruth 1989, 'Public Service Broadcasting in the Age of Information Capitalism' *Communicare* vol. 8 no.2, 27-37
- Toulmin, Stephen and Jane Goodfield 1965, *The Discovery of Time* New York: Harper and Row
- Tracey, Michael 1992, 'Our Better Angels: The Condition of Public Service Broadcasting' *Media International Australia* no. 66, 16-27
- Tracey, Michael 1997, *The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting* Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Tucker, Brian 1997, 'The Incurable ABC: Political Bias in the ABC' *Institute of Public Affairs Review* vol. 49 no. 4, July, 6-7
- Tulloch Allan 2002, Visit Time 18: 57: 35 05 Oct, 2002 EST [www.abc.net.au/frontier/](http://www.abc.net.au/frontier/)
- Tully, James 1995, *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Tulving, E. 1983, *Elements of Episodic Memory* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Turkle, Sherry 1995, *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet* New York : Simon & Schuster
- Turner, Bryan 2001, 'Outline of a General Theory of Cultural Citizenship' in Nick Stevenson (ed.) *Culture and Citizenship* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 11-32
- Ulmer, Gregory 1989, *Teletheory: Grammatology in the Age of Video* London: Routledge
- Ulmer, Gregory 1994 , 'The Miranda Warnings: An Experiment in Hyperhretoric' in George Landow, George (ed), *Hype/Text/Theory* Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 345-378
- Vaile, Ian 1999, Interview with Maureen Burns 7 October
- van Veen, Ernie 1996, 'Ansett, ABC are Winners' *The Canberra Times* 7 October
- van Vuuren, Kitty 2002, 'Beyond the Studio: A Case Study of Community Radio and Social Capital' *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy* no. 103, May, 7-13
- Wachtel, Nathan 1986, Introduction to: *Between Memory and History* special issue (edited by Marie Noëlle Bourget, Lucette Valensi and Nathan Wachtel) of *History and Anthropology* vol. 2, 207-224
- Walker, Andrew 1982, *Voice for the World: The World of the BBC External Services* London: BBC External Services
- Wallis, B. (ed.) 1987, *Blasted Allegories: an Anthology of Contemporary Artists' Writings* New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art and Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press
- Wark, MacKenzie 1999, Presentation to the Adelaide Festival of Ideas, as reported by Paul Lloyd, *Adelaide Advertiser*, 12 July, 7
- Weizenbaum, J. 1976, *Computer Power and Human Reason: From Judgement to Calculation* New York: W.H. Freeman

- Westfield Mark 2000, *The Gatekeepers; The Global Media Battle to Control Australia's Pay TV* Sydney: Pluto Press in Association with Comerford and Miller
- White, Derek 1996, Letter to the Editor *The Australian* 20 November, 14
- Williams Graham 1987, 'Trivia in, Culture Out at New ABC' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 June, 1
- Williams, Raymond 1974, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* London: Fontana
- Williams, Raymond, 1976, *Communications* Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Williams, Robin 1996, *Normal Service Won't be Resumed: The Future of Public Broadcasting* Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Williams, Robin 1997, 'Give the ABC Some Real Vision' *Sydney Morning Herald* 7 March, 15
- Wilmouth, Peter 2000, 'Doubts Put ABC-Telstra Deal on Shaky Ground' *The Age* 1 June, 3
- Wilson, Helen (ed.) 1989, *Australian Communications and the Public Sphere* Melbourne: Macmillan
- Wise, J. MacGregor 1997, *Exploring Technology and Social Space* Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage
- Wood, Leonie 2000, 'ABC Denies Advertising Sell-out in Telstra Deal' *The Age* 10 February, 1
- Woolley, B. 1992, *Virtual Worlds: A Journey in Hype and Hyperreality* Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Wright, Tony 1996, 'Political Role Seen for ABC's Foreign Service' *Sydney Morning Herald* 24 September, 3
- Wriston, Walter 1992, *The Twilight of Sovereignty* New York: Macmillan
- Yates, Frances 1969, *The Art of Memory* Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Young, Iris Marion 1990, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* Princeton: Princeton University Press