

**An Ipswich Case Study:  
How Does Local Broadcast Media value,  
esteem and provide voice to a rapidly changing  
urban centre?**

Doctor of Philosophy

Ashley Paul Jones

Graduate Diploma of Media Production

Master of Arts in Media Production

2016

## ABSTRACT

Radio is part of our everyday life experience in various rooms around the home, in the car and as a portable device. Its impact and connection with the local community was immediate since its inception in Australia in 1923. Radio became directly part of the City of Ipswich in 1935 with the birth of 4IP (Ipswich). Local people were avid consumers of broadcast media and recognised that, in particular, 4IP was something that they could both participate in and consume. It gave people a voice; historically 4IP broadcast local choirs, soloists, produced youth programs and generally reflected the community in which it existed. The radio station moved out of Ipswich and established itself in Brisbane during 1970s. This move resulted in a loss of a voice in the local area through broadcast radio. Similarly, the place, Ipswich City changed dramatically and is confronted with significant population growth and the emergence of an old and new Ipswich that is potentially problematic for the local council to manage. The aim is to provide a sense of localism that was strongly present in the early decades of Ipswich as evidenced by the interactions with 4IP; the identity of the two is remarkable because of their parallel flux.

My thesis will provide a unique insight into the relationship between a community, that community's membership and local radio services. My research is carried out in an applied approach using aspects of critical ethnography, grounded theory and case study. The analysis features a triangulation model of place, people and conduit (radio) developed from the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu where I overlay place and field, people and habitus and conduit (Radio) with practice.

The body of knowledge discovered and recovered in this research identifies a socio-cultural practice in Ipswich and reveals the fundamental human interactions between broadcaster, people and place. This has far reaching implications to inform the radio industry, community development and cities undergoing major growth and transformation.

## CERTIFICATION OF THESIS

I certify that the ideas, results, analyses, and conclusions reported in this thesis are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award, except where otherwise acknowledged.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Student

18/01/2016  
Date

## ENDORSEMENT

  
\_\_\_\_\_

18/01/2016

  
\_\_\_\_\_

18/01/2016

Signature of Supervisor/s

Date

## DEDICATION

To my wife Jan who has supported me on this endeavour.

To my wonderful and supportive family and friends.

**In loving memory of:**

Arnold and Gladys Jones

David and Neta Christensen

Professor Jonathan Dawson - An agent Provocateur and mentor

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere thanks and deep appreciation to my principal supervisor Associate Professor Janet McDonald. No words can adequately express my gratitude for her support, enthusiasm and willingness to go over and above what is expected in her role. Her belief in me and this research was inspiring. Without her input, guidance and genuine support, my dissertation could not have been completed. I also wish to acknowledge and thank my Associate Supervisor, Dr. Rebecca Scollen for her insights and support through this journey.

My thanks also to the Business, Education, Law and Arts Faculty and staff of the University of Southern Queensland who have assisted in a variety of ways to seek to make the pathway to completion as smooth as possible. To my industry colleagues who have supported me in undertaking this necessary body of work, thank you.

My sincere appreciation goes to the number of people who completed the quantitative survey, to those members of the Ipswich community, radio industry and staff of 4IP, QFM, STAR 106.9 and River 949, who participated in interviews. I particularly acknowledge David Greenwood, Sir Frank Moore and Allan Brandt who passionately engaged in this work and gave generously in time and advice. I wish to acknowledge the staff of the University of Southern Queensland library, Ipswich City Council library, Picture Ipswich and the State Library of Queensland.

Sincere thanks to my friends and colleagues who have supported and encouraged over this journey, thank you. Deep gratitude goes to Jillian Blacker who has supported as copy editor and friend, along with Gaynor Baker who has supported throughout and assisted in all of the many practical ways.

Finally, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my wife, Jan and our family who have stood by me and supported my doctoral education. My wife has taken on a huge load of family matters while I have been working through the dissertation. It is appreciated beyond words. My family and close friends have been a tower of strength who have practically and prayerfully supported me to come to this place. I have come to this milestone through my unwavering faith in God, wonderful support network and the deep passion to complete this important work. The best is yet to come!

## Table of Contents

ABSTRACT .....	3
CERTIFICATION OF THESIS .....	4
ENDORSEMENT .....	4
DEDICATION .....	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	6
LIST OF TABLES.....	9
LIST OF FIGURES .....	9
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	5
2.1. Bourdieu – The Theoretical Position.....	9
2.1.1. Habitus .....	12
2.1.2. Field.....	14
2.1.3. Capital.....	16
2.2. The Transformation of Radio: Inception to Current Practice.....	20
2.2.1. Early Radio: Communication and Enterprise .....	20
2.2.2. Australian Radio: Beginnings, Limitations and Innovation.....	22
2.3. Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC).....	27
2.4. Commercial Radio in Australia .....	28
2.5. Radio Networks: Early Format.....	29
2.6. Local Radio: The War Years and Beyond .....	32
2.7. Changing Face of Radio: 1930s and 1940s .....	34
2.8. The 1950s and Beyond: Format.....	37
2.8.1. 1960s and 1970s .....	38
2.8.2. 1980s .....	40
2.9. Broadcast Radio: Current Practice in a Social Context.....	42
2.10. Commercial Radio in Australia.....	43
3. METHODOLOGY .....	52
3.1. Choice of Case Study and Research Bias .....	52
3.2. Research Title and Key Questions.....	54
3.3. Theoretical Lenses and Analytical Approach .....	55
3.4. Data Collection Methods .....	57
3.5. Personal and Focus Group Interviews.....	57
3.6. Quantitative Data.....	61

3.7.	Newspaper, Journal and Documents .....	62
3.8.	Images.....	63
3.9.	Data Storage.....	63
4.	FINDINGS.....	65
4.1.	Johnson Era .....	65
4.1.1.	Birth of 4IP – Introduction of Radio in the Field of Ipswich.....	68
4.1.2.	Selling 4IP.....	82
4.2.	Moore Era .....	84
4.2.1.	Moore 1963 – 1978.....	84
4.2.2.	Broader Social Changes.....	88
4.2.3.	Moore and Radio: Rural to City – Lessons from the Bush.....	90
4.2.4.	Moore and 4IP: The Regional and the City .....	94
4.2.5.	Transition for Radio and City.....	99
4.2.6.	New Phase for 4IP.....	104
4.2.7.	The Management Model: Commercialism and Localism.....	106
4.2.8.	4IP: Programs and Events – the Market and Strategy .....	110
4.2.9.	Advertisers: Local and National.....	115
4.2.10.	Transmission Power.....	118
4.2.11.	4IP: Time to Move on – “Moore” .....	121
4.3.	Radio in South East Queensland.....	124
4.3.1.	River 10 to River 949 .....	124
4.3.2.	River 10 to 4TAB .....	125
4.3.3.	River 10: Never an Ipswich Radio .....	127
4.3.4.	1980s: The Changing Face of Radio .....	130
4.3.5.	4IP Version Two.....	131
4.3.6.	4TAB and the Legacy of 4IP.....	134
4.3.7.	The Gap Years – New Radio Service for Ipswich .....	135
4.3.8.	Social Justice – Cr Paul Tully.....	137
4.3.9.	Radio Ipswich Limited .....	137
4.3.10.	License Bid gets Recognition.....	140
4.3.11.	Game Change by Federal Government .....	143
4.3.12.	License Model Restored .....	144
4.3.13.	FM Radio for Ipswich: Background .....	145
4.3.14.	QFM: An Ipswich FM Radio.....	146

4.3.15.	A STAR Is Born .....	148
4.3.16.	River 94.9FM .....	152
4.3.17.	The Future of Radio .....	160
5.	CONCLUSION.....	170
5.1.	Localism .....	172
5.1.1.	Familiarity.....	173
5.1.2.	Security.....	174
5.1.3.	Reflective .....	175
5.1.4.	Capital Enhancement.....	176
5.1.5.	Liveness .....	176
5.1.6.	Ownership.....	177
5.1.7.	Localism: In Summary .....	178
5.1.8.	People.....	179
5.1.9.	Place .....	179
5.1.10.	Conduit (Radio).....	180
5.2.	Identity.....	185
5.2.1.	Urban Growth in Ipswich.....	188
5.3.	4IP Commercial Radio Exemplar.....	189
5.3.1.	4IP Management and Leadership.....	190
5.3.2.	4IP and Innovation.....	191
5.3.3.	4IP and Localism .....	192
	REFERENCES.....	195
6.	BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	206
7.	APPENDICES .....	1

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Research Respondents .....	58
Table 2: Radio Station Market Share 1960 - 1971.....	108

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Triangulation Model .....	6
Figure 2: Localism present in the field of Ipswich through Radio .....	181
Figure 3: Localism absent in the field of Ipswich through Radio .....	182



# 1. INTRODUCTION

Radio has historically been closely aligned to a geographical place, and the people located in the place access radio for a range of reasons. Overtime there can be a shift in the relationship between radio and the conduit to a local place through the local people. This case study allows me to investigate the phenomenon of live and local radio 4IP within the geographical context of Ipswich, drawing on data from a range of sources. This dissertation is a unique study into the interactions between the players in the field of Ipswich through the conduit of radio.

In my research I identify Ipswich as the geographical place in which to explore the function of local radio for specific reasons. The city of Ipswich is a working-class town and my birth place. Ipswich was identified by the Governor of the then New South Wales in 1859 as a likely capital city of the new state of Queensland, but it was Brisbane that was given this accolade. This action established an ongoing rivalry that has been identified in the literature as well as induced data for this case study. This research reveals that this fact very much impacts upon the fluctuating identity of Ipswich.

Like broadcast media in Australia, the city of Ipswich has gone through significant changes which commenced in the mid-1970s when a central business district shopping plaza and a new railway station was erected, introducing a new era to the city and its people. The 1990s and early millennium brought the realisation of massive growth in what is now termed the Western Corridor (Ipswich City Council 2010). The growth is challenging the changing urban centre of Ipswich presenting a point of potential separation and introducing a sense of rivalry this time within the city itself as it is defined as 'old' and 'new' Ipswich. I grew up and have a lived experience of Ipswich, and my formative years were spent listening to 4IP which I now understand as being a significant part of Ipswich. Local people expressed affection for the radio station and its connection with the people and place. 4IP was about local interaction, personalities and connection with the community, this was "our station". Radio commenced in Australia in 1923, and it was in 1935 that 4IP commenced transmission. 4IP (the "IP" stands for Ipswich) demonstrated a common practice for radio stations to reflect their community and therefore the main city in

the station call sign (Ahern, 2011, p. 11). The station covered Ipswich and the surrounding shires and local people like Norm Hart and Percy Woods, who were amateur radio enthusiasts, known as HAM operators, began local broadcasts before 4IP was established; such was the desire to have this capacity to communicate. These men established stations on low transmission power to present local talent and provide information that connected with the people, met local needs and gave agency to a city and its people who had stories to share (Buchanan, 2004, p. 6). Local people were avid consumers of broadcast media at this time and recognised that, in particular, 4IP was something that they could both participate in and consume. It gave people a voice; historically 4IP broadcast local choirs, soloists and reflected the community in which it existed (Buchanan, 2004, p. 80). 4IP went on to be a top 40 radio station that broadcast across South East Queensland but maintained its association with Ipswich for the majority of its life. This admiration for 4IP extends to current times, decades since it ceased to broadcast, such was its impact on the community. For radio to make such a lasting impression on a community such as Ipswich and indeed across South East Queensland, Australia it warrants further interrogation.

In the early stages of preparing for the research and undertaking readings of journal articles, newspaper stories of 4IP, and wider literature on radio some early themes emerged that corresponded with my sense of, and the value to, the local community, through the local radio station. I continued to expand the thinking around the value of local radio to its community and began to formulate a triangulation as a way of conceiving how radio is located in a place (Ipswich) and it is home to the local people (Ipswichians), but in some way radio is a linking or a conduit between the two.

This is deeply sociological by nature and transcends the benefits of any communication theory. It is rooted in community wellbeing and required a lens that would assist in “drilling down” to what is happening in the community, over time when radio is present. To my surprise an initial and general search on 4IP rendered very little beyond some basic facts around its genesis, providing a rich location for which to undertake this dissertation project.

Pierre Bourdieu offers this study a theory of practice that illuminates this field of enquiry. It is in “practice” that, according to Bourdieu, I can describe the complex interactions between habitus and field that I believe are visibly at the interface of how Ipswich uses broadcast media (particularly radio) and how changes take place in the community. As social agents, people from all walks of life and aspirations, engage with their day to day experiences (that is, their social and cultural practice) they also experience a sense of value and esteem derived, in part, through radio as it reflects the beliefs and values of the community it serves and belongs to.

This research will recover and discover the cultural practices of Ipswich people. I will also historically view the role of local broadcast media to understand if there are significant shifts in the cultural practice in Ipswich over time.

I am drawing on a combination of methodologies from Case Study, Grounded Theory and Critical Ethnography that will assist me to interrogate the data and to look for the taken for granted. I identify my specific “localised” bias in this research, which rather than it being a deficit, enriches my research affording me the opportunity to be immersed in the work with my participants. I sought to interview a large number of participants who bring a range of perspectives to my case study. The interviews were with individuals and several focus groups as well as a quantitative research survey to provide additional insights into the use of radio in Ipswich and the value it has today. This induced data provides a sense of what is the current thinking by participants around the value of local information and news. In the early stages and throughout this case study the value of radio to a community is profound in terms of its application of localism. This is a term that I held lightly at the outset of the research, but it evolved as a significant contributor to this case study which I believe can have applications beyond this dissertation. Localism and identity are “slippery” terms that I shall address in this dissertation.

This dissertation is therefore a robust interrogation of participant interviews, reviewing of significant newspaper articles, images and other associated documents. In addition I have carried out an exhaustive literature review to provide current thinking and discussion on local radio in a local context and the relationship it has with the local people. I was interested in discovering what difference does radio, as a

conduit for both the sharing of news and community information as much as the recipient of contributions by the community, make to people? My case study makes a significant contribution to knowledge as the findings of this dissertation simply were not in existence until this body of work was undertaken. The conclusion renders key findings that are significant to the case study and I suggest has implications for other wellbeing studies. Observing practice this case study will reveal the habitus and species of capital in play within the field of Ipswich and through a historical interrogation will reveal the following: “How does local broadcast radio value, esteem and provide voice to a rapidly changing urban centre”.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to gain a thorough understanding of how local broadcast radio engages in society, and society in radio practices, I have departed from the traditional pathways of investigating this phenomenon through either communication theory or organisational behaviour and marketing in favour of the consideration of theories around cultural and community development. I believe that Pierre Bourdieu (1930 - 2002), a French sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher, provides relevant *tools* and an overall approach through his *theory of practice* to enable an exploration of local broadcast radio. To be clear, this dissertation is not a Bourdieuan study, rather, it is a case study within a defined geographical setting using Bourdieu's specific theoretical notions of *habitus and capital* expressed in *social, cultural, symbolic or economic capital*, and *field* understood in and through *practice*. I will also explore associated concepts such as *doxa* and *symbolic violence* that have emerged as having greater importance in the research throughout the data gathering stages (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1994; Bourdieu, 2009; Grenfell, 2010; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002; Calhoun, 2002).

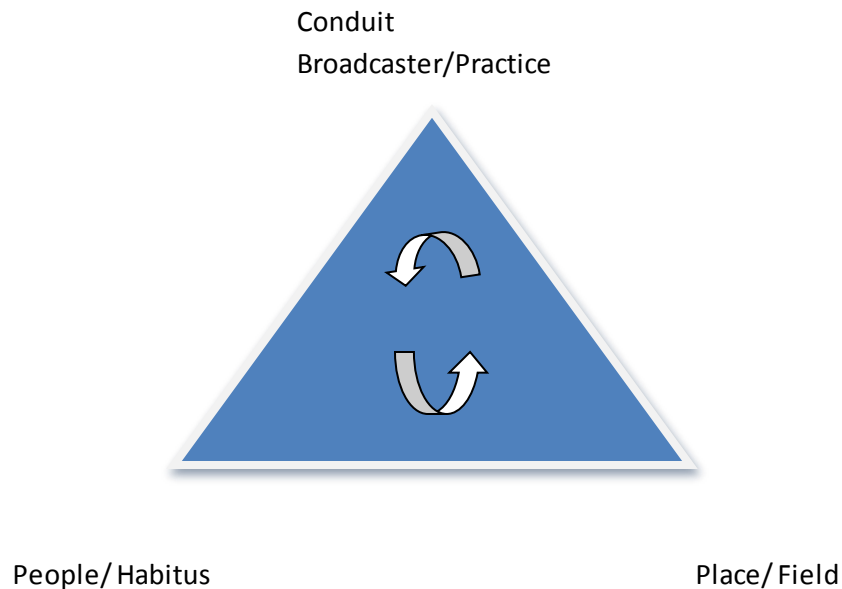
In this literature review, I will firstly define these key concepts of Pierre Bourdieu then provide a context to radio in Australia, as well as its global position, with a focus on local broadcast radio in Australia. Finally, this review will consider and discuss current literature in radio practice expressed in commercial and community organisations and government legislation that determines the level of service and obligation by broadcasters.

Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical position captures the complexities and nuances of human behaviour, expressed individually and operationally within a social context. The notion of his terms *field, habitus, capital* and *practice* provide a theoretical framework, a set of "tools", to the applied research I have undertaken for this dissertation and I will use this framework to scaffold my specific study of radio in society and specifically Ipswich, Queensland.

A basic diagrammatic representation of the framework I am employing in this research appears below (see Figure 1). It will further support the unique nature of this

research in this particular context. It shows the key concepts of this research aligned with the theoretical underpinning as described by Bourdieu.

**Figure 1: Triangulation Model**



The Triangulation Model (see Figure 1) identifies how the transformative social space, which is given meaning by the people who have made Ipswich a place and through local radio, has recognised a commonly held understanding that this conduit is an appropriate mechanism to use to share stories. This is evidenced by the interactions with and for 4IP, but this needs to be explored further to understand fully the role that radio plays as a conduit to connect people and place. I will briefly contextualise these concepts with reference to the triangulation model.

### **Place/Field**

Ipswich is a geographically defined location, constructed from a space identified by dominant explorers and early settlers to be recognised as a place. What people do in place constructs how the field functions and these, in turn, provide the material conditions for the practice and maintenance of habitus. The 40 kilometre corridor between the Queensland's State capital, Brisbane and Ipswich is currently undergoing massive population growth and the development is being carried out under a master planned approach to urban development. Master planning is an approach to land and residential development, adopted by the Queensland Government as a way to establish sustainable residential developments. This means

that these developments concern themselves with residential development but also consider employment, recreational and educational facilities and infrastructure (Government, 2009a). Ipswich is of interest as it typifies both a location with significant history and is also part of an equally significant population explosion. In fact, the area is cited as one of the fastest growing areas in Australia; this field has therefore been significantly changed over the last 20 years, and has transformed and disrupted the habitus of the social agents (both “old” and “new” Ipswich). My assertion will be tested within my research.

### **People/ Habitus**

The collective identity that has been constructed in Ipswich from the early days of settlement to the present day reveals the values that Ipswich people hold and share. It has been a place of close-knit neighbourhoods and social ties. Ipswich people have an understanding of place and of the people in Ipswich. The city is made up of a combination of white and blue collar workers who in the early years of Ipswich predominately found employment locally. As noted prior, the city is undergoing a significant growth in population and this is drawing people into the city from within Australia, as well as from other nations. The beliefs and values that are structured and structuring in Ipswichians as expressed in the field are fully interrogated in my research. The demonstration of the habitus of social agents indicates a desire to share stories and expressions of the talents and abilities within the field of Ipswich.

### **Conduit/ Practice**

Local radio is an important tool; a conduit that links people with their place. Through radio, specifically 4IP, it built the habitus in the social agents as they built habitus in 4IP, in all of its transformative and confirmatory social processes. Ipswich has a long association with radio commencing locally with Percy Wood who was granted a License in 1930. His transmission point was on the water tower at Cribb and Foote, a well-known Ipswich retailer, where he transmitted under the call sign of 4PW. He played records and was adventurous enough to assemble “a group of first class Ipswich artists and put to air a concert of which any radio station would be proud” (Buchanan, 2004, p. 80). 4PK was the station operated by Stan Mackintosh of Woodend, an Ipswich suburb, and another radio enthusiast; Norm Hart had his License granted in 1931. People loved radio and it gained a high level of

interactivity, a characteristic ascribed to the internet, but active well before its invention (Buchanan, 2004, p. 80). 4IP was established as a commercial radio broadcaster in 1935, the conduit of radio in Ipswich had a dynamic existence over time and is interrogated in this case study consistent with Bourdieuan theory.

Localism is a key terminology that may assist in understanding, as it has a connection with how people experience place through the use of local radio as the conduit. Localism is a terminology without a definition but is used loosely in broadcasting policy in Australia as a way of expressing the connection between a broadcaster and its community (Manning, 2009, p. 44-52). Localism is linked to the notion of liveness and localness of content. It is important to discuss liveness as a concept and Auslander, (2008, p. 16) discusses the notion of liveness, states that it provides an intimacy with the audience that is not present when offered as a recorded production. Auslander's work, although based in theatre and television, provides a context for understanding "liveness" in my research. Auslander (2008, p. 16) argues that a live event is real and the realness, in his terms, is based on its authenticity, meaning that the performance is on full display to the audience, unedited and not mediated. In terms of radio, Auslander's position is useful in defining the understanding for my research around the notion of "live". Live, according to Auslander (2008, p. 63), "possesses spontaneity, a sense of community, has presence and has the capacity to gain immediate feedback". These attributes of "live" in theatre are analogous with radio. Auslander (2008, p. 62), talks of liveness in the context of a website that "goes live". The experience of the site being live appears to be linked to its activity and responsiveness. A site is live in the sense it has energy but does not necessarily have a link to place. "Liveness" in the context of a website "going live" has synergy with non-local radio in that it is present, but may not have a sense of connection with its audience at a deeper level; it serves a need (Auslander, 2008, p. 62).

For the purpose of this case study I will use the understanding of localism offered by Prometheus Radio Project, located in Philadelphia, USA. The organisation subscribes to the notion that localism is the fair distribution of broadcast Licenses around the country to groups that are deeply connected to their local community. It is not anti-corporate and is dedicated to providing a voice for the whole community.



The Prometheus Radio Project (2015) argues that government control over local content is welcome but it ought not to be reduced to paperwork and procedure. Localism must be a genuine connection with its local community. Localism is generally understood as devolving the power away from a central control towards the local community that includes radio but also local food, schools and merchants (Betts, 2011; Localism.co, 2011). How and if localism emerges as significant will be the purview of my research. The triangulation model (**Figure 1**) allows me to interrogate my own daily practice to conduct an applied research approach, in order to interrogate what people actually do in place and what methods they apply to engage socially.

The applied approach is paramount to illuminate how available local broadcast media tools might assist local residents of the City of Ipswich to gain a voice and to share talents and skills. The conduit, local radio, for such interactions must reflect and confirm the values held by the storytellers, the people of Ipswich, as this goes to the very cultural heart of the people. Calhoun (2002) argues that “practice” gives insight to the way social affairs are transacted in a society that understands appropriate conduct as a shared value. Practice gives clarity and application of theories to rituals, honouring and esteeming, which in turn strengthens the identification of both field (Ipswich) and habitus (how “Ipswich” is rendered recognisable by people and their actions). The entire research project is underpinned by my own intimate knowledge of my community and will present a detailed inductive analysis of the triangulation between people, place and radio broadcasters (conduit) in Ipswich.

## **Bourdieu – The Theoretical Position**

Bourdieu came to his notion of a *theory of practice* because he undertook empirical research that could not be explained by only the theoretical understanding he used at the time (specifically, structuralism and existentialism). Briefly, these former concepts express foundational understandings of society and the agents within that society (Webb et al, 2002; Calhoun, 2002). Bourdieu’s knowledge drew from both structuralism grounded in anthropology, and existentialism grounded in philosophy (Grenfell, 2010). Structuralism deals with the notions of social rules, behaviours, and rites; while existentialism is about individual choice and decision making

(Calhoun, 2002). In his practice of applying these concepts to what he observed, Bourdieu understood that people were not totally free to make choices, and that rules (of society or societal “rules”) were open to change and re-application (Grenfell, 2010; Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu therefore identified that “reality” or “practice” did not correlate with the existing theory, which gave rise to him identifying that people’s behaviour and actions are dependent upon a range of personal and contextual conditions (Grenfell, 2010, p. 44). Grenfell suggests the way to consider this framework is not in terms of rules or personal choice but as *strategy*. What Bourdieu means when he discusses *strategy* is about a positioning in the social space that comes about from an individual’s complicity of the rules of the game that are implicit in their day to day activities and consciously applied and “rarely realised in practice” (Grenfell, 2010, p. 44). Grenfell (2010, p. 44) suggests that individual agency is demonstrated through “unconscious calculation of profit – albeit symbolic, and a strategic positioning within a social space (structure) to maximise individual holdings with respect to their availability”. Bourdieu is clear throughout his work that individuals are not pre-programmed, rather, they act out from all that history and upbringing determines. Through “playing our role”, we enter into our different *fields*, for example our work, our home life, school and community activities and take our place and play the game according to the mutually constituted rules of the game. It is in that space we act upon our agency that is afforded through the capital we possess, this is strategy. As we embark on this interaction we are displaying *practice*, our visible actions and interactions. The underlying choices that are made constantly in the interactions of day-to-day life in our dynamic social settings are the thoughts that propel us to think and behave as we do. These thoughts beget actions, or applications, that are the foundations of Bourdieu’s working tools, *habitus*, *capital* and *field*. These are pivotal to how I have approached the data gathering and analysis of this research.

This framework, therefore, is highly useful in understanding the practice of local radio and the local community that affects it. Radio, in many cases, developed as a specifically local voice for a geographically defined community, catering to communities of interest and generating community within that space. Over time and across the globe, the general trend of “localness” has diminished from content-generated delivery from a local radio station site to being reduced to a relay station

that transmits a network program with inserted local advertisements and local on-air talent removed. This is a significant departure from the original intention of local radio, the wireless. The *tools* provided through this theoretical approach will provide understanding around how local radio is viewed by the individual, (objectively as a group and subjectively by the individual), the collective community specific to Ipswich, Queensland and whether or not it continues to meet the needs and or expectations of the local agents.

Bourdieu seeks to reconcile, through the notion of habitus, the *objective* and internalised (*subjective*) structures and achieves this through the formation of his *theory of practice*. He argues that all social structures albeit objective or subjective in nature, are firstly homologous or “constituted by the same socially defining principles” (Grenfell, 2010, p. 45-46; Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu posits that because all structures are socially defined, it is possible through the analysis of the structural relations of both the social world and the individual agents embedded through an organisation to explore the thoughts and practices of how individuals mutually constitute each other (Bourdieu, 1990; Grenfell, 2010, p. 46). In relation to the objective and subjective perspectives, Bourdieu (1977, p. 3) states “a focus on either one simply overlooks the significance of the other in constituting a particular interpretation of the social world”. In the context of my research, radio, as a device to receive content, is in one sense objectified as listeners hear the announcer’s voice, other sounds and music through subjective engagement. Calling a talkback line, entering a competition and listening to the objectified is quickly converted to being a subjective experience through the perceptions, meaning making, informed by the listener’s history, thoughts and values. The objective and subjective are simultaneously reflexive and understood in this way (Grenfell, 2010). This is grounded in the notion of relational interaction, as I have identified in the former radio example, where the individual agent hears and engages with the radio station of choice and is therefore a valid member in the *field* of radio listeners. The relationship, then, between *habitus*, *field* and *capital* further assists an understanding of Bourdieu’s *logic of practice* in the field of radio. “Practices are thus not simply the result of one’s habitus but rather of relations between one’s habitus and one’s current circumstances” (Grenfell, 201, p. 52). The *field* has its own internal logic as does *habitus*, and each shapes and informs the other. In this case study, the field of

Ipswich will be considered in relation to 4IP, the local radio station and through practice as described by participants in my research will reveal the dynamics at play in this specific time. To achieve this I cannot consider *habitus*, *field* and *practice* in isolation because that is at odds with Bourdieu and would not be helpful or authentic to this overview of the key concepts. Therefore, I will weave each of these *tools* and the focus of this research, radio, together; remaining true to the logic of this theoretical position.

### 2.1.1. Habitus

For the purposes of this research, I understand that Bourdieu's theoretical framework aims to transcend the dichotomies of the objective and subjective, (sometimes also referred to as the inner and outer social world), through the notion of habitus by reconciling agency (the individual) and structure (social). Habitus links the past, present and future of the agent and the social world (Grenfell, 2010, p. 51-53). To further assist in the understanding of the concept of habitus, it is defined by Bourdieu as the system of:

...durable, transposable dispositions, structured, structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organising action of a conductor (Bourdieu, 1993a, p.87).

The attributes assigned to habitus include people's actions, feelings, thoughts, and values; our habitus contains our personal history, but Bourdieu stresses that these are not fixed but rather constantly and dynamically being developed and re-created. As humans are relational, our history is not all of our making; it is informed by any other phenomena such as class, gender, ethnicity, occupation, geographical location, family, and education. It is this constant process of *structuring* our present and future, not a random activity but a "systematically ordered" *structure* that "comprise a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.53). Bourdieu clarifies this concept of disposition, which bring together structure and tendency by identifying that "it expresses first the result of an

organising action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination (Bourdieu, 1977). Dispositions (that is, the way I act) or tendencies are durable, transposable (in respect to the fact that they are capable of being active in a variety of social arenas), and not immutable. As a way of understanding this, I have considered that habitus is the embodiment of what we experience and accept as the “way things are”; our dispositions are an expression or performance of the individual agents unobservable habitus, made manifest through our dispositions in practice. Through existence, habitus is structured but it is also *generative* in terms of practice or action as well as beliefs, perceptions and feelings, in accordance with its own structure (Grenfell, 2010, p. 51). Habitus are generative principles of “distinct and distinctive practices” in regard to what an individual does and how he goes about the action is different to how another carries out the same functions, such as eating food. What food and how a worker eats food will be distinctly different than what his boss eats, (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 8). In terms of radio, it might be what radio station a tradesperson might listen to and, in particular, how he or she relates to it in practice. Habitus is significant in social reproduction by generating and regulating these practices.

Habitus does not exist in a vacuum; as I have argued the individual’s future is not fixed but determined by our past and worked upon by other phenomenon (Bourdieu, 1977). Individual or community practices (actions) are the result of what Bourdieu calls “an unconscious relationship” (Bourdieu, 1993a, p.76) between a habitus and a field (Grenfell, 2010 p. 50). Each person has their own history in all its diversity, but we act in social settings or fields; it is the relationship between the structure of habitus and that of our current circumstance, our place in the field that gives rise to practices (Bourdieu, 1993a). As Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992, p. 127) state, “On one side it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus....On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world”. I noted earlier that Bourdieu suggests that (in practice) human agency is not based on rules or personal choice but of strategy; how we *play the game*. In the concept of a game, *strategy* is where the agents seek to improve their position in the field through the use of strategic choices, as the field is a competitive space (Grenfell, 2010, p. 68) Bourdieu used the metaphor

for the *field* as a *game*; similar to a soccer match based on his own practice. The image of the field can belie the realities of the field experience, (according to the observer's habitus), so Bourdieu specifically used the French word 'le champ', meaning an area of land, a battle field, and a field of knowledge (Greenfield, 2010, p. 68) to most accurately describe attributes of the field. It is not necessarily a placid place, rather it is referred to as a *field of struggles* (Grenfell, 2010, p. 54); social agents come to the field with their own beliefs and values and have no comprehensive understanding of the perceptions that other agents might bring to the *game* (Calhoun, 2002). There is a requirement for improvisation while the agent embraces the *game* based on his or her position in the field. Grenfell (2010, p. 54) states agents "learn the tempo, rhythms and the unwritten rules of the game through time and experience," and in this process gain a *feel for the game*. I will, of course, explore other key elements of the field and expand in these concepts throughout the other chapters in this dissertation, but it is important at this stage to note that the social field has regularities and these relate directly to the practical logic (habitus) of social agents. Understanding these regularities is to understand practice. What Bourdieu means when he discusses the *feel for the game* is habitus, in fact he argues that habitus is "the social game embodied and turned into a second nature" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127).

### **2.1.2. Field**

In this research project I will be interrogating in broader terms the field of radio in Australia as a way of contextualising 4IP into the wider field of radio. The two fields to be subject to more rigorous interrogation are: the field of Ipswich, to understand 4IP in its geographic place and the second is the field of radio in South East Queensland which positions 4IP and Ipswich in another field. This provides a framework of various agents, such as: government officers, policy makers, lead agencies of commercial or community radio, the board and committees of the public broadcasters, management, copyright authorities, record industry representatives, on-air presenters, program and music directors, sales people, copywriters, production staff, listeners, subscribers and supporters (in the case of community radio). Each agent takes their place in the game; the game being how local broadcast radio values, esteems and provides voice to its geographic community. Each position on the field has a level of power associated with it. The power can be used to confirm or

transform particular values and rules that are ascribed to the game and in and on that field given legitimacy through capital. For this particular study it is important to acknowledge *doxa*, which is essentially an unwritten set of rules of the game internalised by those who possess specific capital and are in a dominant position. Through this position of dominance these *rules of the game* (Grenfell, 2010) are shared and reproduced by those who function with this level of dominance. While those who are subordinate will accept, according to his theory, what appears to be recognised and commonly held beliefs or opinions. *Doxa* is imbedded in the field and to that extent becomes part of the landscape and therefore accepted as part of the rules; it takes on an appearance as legitimate, an unquestioned and invisible set of social norms. In a field the *doxa* “takes the form of a misrecognised unconditional allegiance to the ‘rules of the game’ on the part of social agents with a similar habitus (Bourdieu in Greenfield, 2010, p. 122)

The development of radio, as an industry, that has transitioned and morphed into different styles of broadcasting, in some cases profoundly different to that which was initially held in high regard by the audience, arguably is an example of *doxa* and the *orthodoxy*. (Bourdieu in Greenfield, 2010, p. 122-123). Bourdieu utilised the term *orthodoxy* in relation to the way in which *doxa* became an arbitrary, taken for granted rule, a rule without question. “*Orthodoxy* refers to a situation where the arbitrariness of *doxa* is recognised but accepted in practice. The *rules of the game* are known and played accordingly” (Bourdieu in Greenfield, 2010, p. 122-123). Bourdieu also proposes an alternate view being heterodoxy, which is a set of beliefs and values that challenge the unquestioned rules that seem to be so *common sense*. This gives rise to the possibility of competing beliefs in *practice* which are explored in this research.

As individual agents take their place in the field, relating to the regularities within the field and to their own habitus, from this, practice can be ascertained. Furthermore, Bourdieu states that looking upon the game is different to being in the game. He takes this concept further by stating that there are significant differences between having a theoretical view of social practice compared to practical view to gain a practical understanding of social practice; he therefore offers habitus as a concept that overcomes this dualism. Habitus causes players to think relationally and Bourdieu emphasises that it is relations *between* rather than *either/or* (Grenfell, 2010,

p. 54-55). As radio developed its relationships in the field of Ipswich, it continued to *play the game* in relation to the other players (agents) and what they may offer as a new perspective on radio and its place in the field/community. The field of radio and how it plays the game in its various social contexts or structures provides a rich understanding of its place in a society and how society has its place in radio.

For my research I will use the sports metaphors as provided by Bourdieu to describe his notion of field as they are relevant in assisting me to bring connections between the practice, local radio in Ipswich, and the theoretical framework. Social fields and cultural fields are also within other fields of power, are where locals *play the game* and take their place in the *game*, according to our dispositions (habitus) (Maton, 2010). When humans practising “in” the field feel *at home* that constitutes what Bourdieu calls being a “*fish in water*” and this occurs when the relationship between habitus and the position in the field are operating with matching logic (Maton, 2010). It is only when the logic of habitus and field do **not** align, or are a mismatch that individuals or communities might find themselves as a “*fish out of water*”. If this occurs, Bourdieu defines field as:

a network or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents of institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

### **2.1.3. Capital**

Bourdieu is concerned with the ways in which society reproduces itself and he observed that the dominant classes retained their position in society (Moore, 2010). He determined that class domination was not explainable through economics alone, rather through the various forms of capital, based on the notion that capital, in all its forms, has power within social life (Moore, 2010). Agents use capital to *play the game* in the field; *rules of game* are influenced by *capital* and vary according to the field. In fact Bourdieu states that “a *capital* does not exist and function except in relation to a *field*” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In a radio context, radio station ownership and nationalised commercial radio services bring large amounts of



economic capital to the game, yet can provide less in cultural capital. Local, regional and rural radio stations have less economic capital than a metropolitan or radio network, but trades heavily in cultural and social capital. Knowing this means the agents understand, usually not consciously, how to *play the game* and what the stakes are in the game to continue to be in the game and to win at the game (Calhoun, 2002). For Bourdieu, economic capital is self-interested and is a transparent exchange without any intrinsic value. Bourdieu argues that while not all capital is economic, the other forms can translate into an economic value; an economic capital can support the other forms of capital. The value placed on any or all of the capital is a social construct employed by the agent or agents in the field or fields of their engagement (Grenfell, 2010) Bourdieu talks about capital expressed in three ways, these being *economic, cultural, social*, and symbolic.

Economic capital is by definition based on a monetary exchange and based around individual wealth. It can be traded to boost other forms of capital as they to economic capital. Cultural capital includes education, qualifications, cultural tastes, knowledge, skills, trophies and awards. Where economic capital is “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights; cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications” (Bourdieu in Richardson, 1986, p. 243). Cultural capital can also be *embodied* in the form of dispositions (*habitus*), and, as already defined, be in the *objectified* position such as books, instruments, pictures and so on. (Bourdieu in Richardson, 1986, p. 243). In the context of my research, the number of awards, ratings, prestige of the on-air presenters and their associated iconic items such as a gold microphone, a specific type and brand of car are representations of the cultural and economic *capital* in radio stations. The on-air presenters trade with the representations of success and position within the radio station, for example the breakfast announcer or highly acclaimed morning show presenter using the capital to invest into the position in the field.

Bourdieu defines social capital as, “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition,” or

membership in a group (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). The group membership provides each of the members “with backing of the collectively-owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (Bourdieu in Richardson, 1986, p. 249). Social capital, in the Bourdieuan sense, is ascribed to the middle and upper classes and is defined by the old adage, “it’s not what you know, it’s who you know” (Gauntlett, 2011, p. 63-70). The media more generally has worked on developing social capital over decades. Radio stations have owners who have the credibility in the economic and social arena to hold onto the capital that will allow them to be dominant in the field of radio and across associated fields. Those who own the radio stations take seats on boards that determine the whole industry’s operation, such as Commercial Radio Australia, which in turn relates to government and policy-making. These relationships are often forged over time and are reproducible across several fields (Bourdieu in Richardson, 1986, p. 6).

Symbolic *capital* functions in any or all of the other three expressions of capital. It is a significant form of capital as it pertains to elements such as prestige, honour, resources, and attention or recognition (Calhoun, 2003). Wacquant defines *symbolic capital* as that which is “not perceived as such” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 171). Symbolic capital therefore is present and co-exists with other forms of capital and yet holds their own value. In the context of my research a metropolitan radio station or a network of radio stations as a brand may be perceived as holding more value than a single radio station in far west Queensland. Those who hold significant amounts of *symbolic capital*, giving the agent/s power over those with less *symbolic capital*, can bring this power or *form of capital* to alter actions or practice in a field (Grenfell, 2010). The intrinsic value of these embodied attributes renders agents as *disinterested*, in a monetary sense as opposed to *interested*, meaning based on the monetary value, this refers to how agents act in a game to maximise the profit, based on the investment in the game. There is always an investment that is made in the *field* without it being deterministic as the metaphor might infer (Grenfell, 2010; Bourdieu, 1990).

If the agent is in a dominant position in the *field*, such as a large commercial radio network across Australia, it can easily and without effort enforce actions that will keep smaller players out of the *field*. This domination is referred to as *symbolic*

*violence* where agents only need to “let the system they dominate take its own course in order to exercise their domination”. It is evident in racial, domestic violence and gender issues (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 190). Like physical violence, it inflicts a type of pain and submissiveness from the other non-dominant agents in the field, while it confirms the domination of those who set the rules. It has the power to make those who are subjected to *symbolic violence* submissive in the field because the dominance is perceived as the “natural order of things”, or the way it is (Webb, 2002, p. 25). Bourdieu understands this as “misrecognition” by the non-dominant group as it is a “form of forgetting” that agents are complicit within (Bourdieu, 2000; Grenfell, 2010, p. 200).

For my research this concept is significant because radio has great potential as a field, to have agents, players of the game, who carry a significant amount of symbolic capital. Yet, it can be misrecognised by the listeners as normal, acceptable in terms of types of content, nationalised programming rather than geographically orientated and generated content. Local radio is an example of how those oppressed by the *symbolic* and other *forms of capital* have brought their capital to the fore and established another competing field of radio. As it is with all of Bourdieu’s work, each element of the *theory of practice* is best defined as a *set of tools* which are interrelated and interdependent. So to take any element of capital in isolation is to oppose the approach. As I have identified, each form of capital takes time to accumulate skills, knowledge, and so on, therefore demonstrating both the objective and subjective nature of capital and the way in which agents engage and interact. But it is not a level playing field and each individual has a portfolio of capital. Capital is the energy, the strategy, that develops the field over time.

Radio as an industry, a source of entertainment, education, information, news, talk-back and music seeks to meet many needs. The industry in Australia has changed dramatically over time, for example, the move from locally based, geographically defined radio stations with local announcers to being not much more than a relay station as they carry a national program with local advertising signifying geographic connection, along with a local station jingle. I believe that the impact of radio on society is not considered in research and my case study is designed to fill this gap in knowledge. The changes across radio as an industry in Australia are often relegated

to being dismissed as a trait of a dynamic operation, that it is “*just the way it is*”, or “*progress*”. Literature shows that the questions of audience connection and satisfaction with their local radio station, and what agents believe about the way radio values them, is not addressed, rather interest is around the economic stability of the industry, potentially part of a demonstration of the capital that those in the dominant position are happy to espouse. This research explores, through the interrogation of how Ipswich radio is structured, who are the players in the game and is it the game we thought we were playing. The heterodoxical recognition of the “possibility of competing beliefs” is at the heart of my research (Grenfell, 2010). History, as that which is structured, shows an interesting historical journey for radio as an emerging medium, and this will be explored in the following section.

## **The Transformation of Radio: Inception to Current Practice**

### **2.1.4. Early Radio: Communication and Enterprise**

Radio commenced as the “wireless” and “was born from the convergence of many inventions and technologies” (Mac, 2005, p. 1-2; Ahern, 2011, p. 1). It is important to understand the field of radio and radio “in the field” of Ipswich. This section will provide an insight into the rules of the game of radio and the key players who are generally listeners, advertisers, radio station staff and community members as it changed over time commencing in 1935 to present day.

The start of wired communication began in the USA on May 24, 1844 which was the culmination of great experimentation and research. The first message by telegraph consisted of four words, ‘What Hath God Wrought’, and was transmitted by Professor Samuel Morse over 40 miles of line between Baltimore and Washington” (Carey, 1992, p. 16). Queensland, Australia established a telegraph line between Brisbane and Ipswich in 1860, the first for the State. By 1880 Queensland had established a robust mail service that included 159 telegraph stations in operation; the telegraph line network covered just over 5,888 miles (Smout, 1959, p. 175). The single path communication of Morse Code used in telegraphic communication was expanded upon with the development of the telephone in 1876 with the first

telephone exchange in Queensland built in Brisbane in 1880 (Smout, 1959, p. 175). By 1901, the year of the Australian Federation, communication channels had developed to the point of being an efficient communication device. With Federation came a change in control, as the administration of these services moved from State to Commonwealth control (Smout, 1959, p. 175).

Like many other Western countries, radio broadcasting both in Australia developed through the dedication of young enthusiasts who became devotees to the burgeoning science of wireless telegraph (Geeves, 1993). Early developers of this technology saw great possibilities for Australia in terms of tackling Australia's geographic isolation both within the nation and to communicate with other nations. Before radio was understood in terms of a tool for information, entertainment and news, it was seen as a vital tool in protecting the nation through the establishing of two wireless telegraph stations, one in Sydney to cover the Pacific Ocean, the other in Perth to protect our western coast (Geeves, 1993, p. 6-7). Marconi, a British wireless communications organisation, played a significant role in maritime communication in Australia. Ernest Thomas Fisk, the company's technical manager was promoted to Managing Director and came to Australia in 1910 as a ship's operator and, in 1911 returned to represent Marconi in Australia (Geeves, 1993; Ahern, 2011, p. 3).

At the time of World War I, Morse Code was still being used, via wireless technology rather than the wired service. The war meant that all scientific skills were deployed for the war effort thus slowing commercial enterprise, but it did mean many Australians gained tremendous knowledge and skill development during their war service. The skills and knowledge came back to Australia to play a vital role in the development in the future of radio (Geeves, 1993, p. 7). British company Marconi and German based Telefunken were the two major players in the early development of wireless telegraph at this time. The two companies merged to form Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) Ltd (AWA), and in this structure established a training school, the Marconi School of Wireless in Sydney, to continue educating and training technicians and operators (Geeves, 1993; Mac, 2005).

AWA trialled wireless telephony in 1919, successfully transmitting a short distance in Sydney city. This was to start a range of experiments, some more successful than

others, for wireless telephony communication. Visionary men specifically Fisk and Sarnoff, who were also on staff at Marconi, recognised the potential of this emerging technology well beyond the applications in current use. Sarnoff had a vision of what he called the “radio music box” making it a household device to hear music. Fisk introduced the notion of news and the ability for people to do business and be entertained; both men had an international view and they were instrumental in seeing their vision become reality across the globe (Geeves, 1993, p. 14-15; Mac, 2005).

### **2.1.5. Australian Radio: Beginnings, Limitations and Innovation**

The 1920s began a tremendous growth in the development of radio in several countries around the world with Australia actively involved in the process. The very first commercial radio broadcast in the world, according to Geeves (1993), emanated from radio station KDKA East Pittsburgh on November 2 1920. The first radio commercial broadcast was 10 minutes in duration and heard on WEAJ in New York City, August 28, 1922 (Geeves, 1993, p. 15; Mackay, 1957, p. 18-19).

Australian development in wireless telephony continued by AWA and with a number of amateur enthusiasts exploring this technology as a very popular past time. There were 37 amateur radio clubs established in New South Wales in 1923. The operators of these clubs were known as HAM operators; a term that was used colloquially to describe their experimental use of radio. Amateur radio enthusiasts (HAM operators) continue today working on shortwave radio frequency allocated by the Australian government (Cassel, 2007). There are accounts of amateur broadcasts as early as 1920 and these predominantly young men were attributed with having “birthed” radio in Australia as they advanced wireless telegraph to telephony (Geeves, 1993; Mackay, 1957). Radio in the United States and United Kingdom greatly influenced aspirants for Australian broadcasting, who were reliant upon the trends and models established there (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 337). Both government and the business sector were aware that the HAM amateur model could become a commercial success. Fisk was highly aware of the lack of regulation in the United States model and was himself recognised as an “agitator” for Australia to have an improved system (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 338).

AWA developed and manufactured radio communication equipment for radio stations and the devices to conduct radio services under Fisk's leadership (Ahern, 2011, p. 4). AWA continued to provide various transmissions to demonstrate this technology through 1920 and 1921 in Melbourne and Sydney (Mackay, 1957, p. 18-19). Fisk returned to England to coax the British Government to consider policy around future broadcasting while Lionel Hooke, General Manager of AWA in Melbourne, publically announced AWA's intention to broadcast "vocal and instrumental music throughout the Commonwealth (Geeves, 1993, p. 16-17). According to Geeves (1993), AWA took the responsibility for policy consideration on behalf of the amateur radio operators and dealers who "were not sufficiently influential... had no cohesive organisation capable of lobbying". AWA submitted its first proposal for systematic broadcasting with a view of presenting a radio concert in all states of Australia (Geeves, 1993). The social implication of broadcast radio was not yet fully appreciated by the Australian Government of the day; they were described by Geeves (1993) as "ad hoc" in their response to radio and they "tended to solve problems as they arose" by compromise which was "designed to placate the most vocal petitioner". When AWA made application in November 1922 for permission to undertake a service in all states, the door was open for a number of other intending broadcasters to enter the field (Geeves, 1993; Mackay, 1957). Geeves (1993) stated the AWA "quietly retired to the wings" allowing others to enter into the debate and declare their interests in broadcasting. A national conference was called on May 24, 1923 by the Federal Government to investigate a broadcasting service structure. Interested parties were invited to attend and meet with the Postmaster-General who had indicated that "the government would introduce regulations permitting a broadcast service if the parties could agree on a single scheme" (Mackay, 1957, p. 18-20). Although AWA was not the single voice in the race to broadcast, Ernest Fisk was back from England to attend the conference. He provided information about the American (multi-station) and British (single station) systems which informed the conference about international trends (Geeves, 1993; Mackay, 1957). It was reported that Fisk "effectively hypnotised the delegates with the persuasiveness of his ideas" (Jones, 1995, p. 15). It was from here that the "sealed-set scheme" was unanimously agreed upon. The conference outcome meant that stations were financially maintained by the subscriptions paid to receive only the radio station or stations the user applied for. The radio receiver was "sealed" by the

Postmaster-General's Department so that the set allegedly could not be interfered with and only receive the subscribed station/s (Mackay, 1957, p. 19-20). The subscriber paid their subscription to the radio station, to support production costs, and in addition paid the government a License fee per annum for either receiving a single radio station or a higher cost flat fee for multiple radio stations (Mackay, 1957, p. 19-21; Ahern, 2011, p. 4). With the "sealed set system" put in place by the Australian government, Australian radio stations sought to be on air soon after.

2SB was the first radio station to broadcast in Australia on November 23, 1923 (Barrett, 1958, p. 655-656; Mackay, 1957, p. 20). 2SB, later known as 2BL, was owned by Broadcasters (Sydney) Ltd. The owners of 2SB were radio receiver retailers so they kept their subscription fee particularly low with the expectation of covering operational expenses through sales of radio receivers (Mackay, 1957, p. 20-21). The four stations that were licensed in 1923 and 1924 were 2SB, 2FC, 3AR and 6WF, all functioning under the "sealed set system". The revenue received was enough to keep one radio station operational, so other measures had to be employed. Each of the four radio stations were eventually permitted to broadcast certain announcements; such as a segment is "presented by a particular business", no commercials as we know them were permitted (Mackay, 1957, p. 22). This very rudimentary form of advertising was nothing more than a supplement to their dire financial situation (Mackay, 1957, p. 20-21; Geeves, 1993). Radio stations operating under the "sealed set system" were losing considerable money as it was established as a "ticket box for listeners-in" and sales were slow. The "sealed set system" attracted only 1400 listeners Licensed between August 1923 and June 1924; the irony was that many obtained a cost effective crystal set and could listen to any station they wished without paying a fee. There was a strong culture of inventiveness and creativity buoyed by the newspapers and magazines that gave clear instruction on how to build your own crystal set to receive radio (Johnson, 1988, p. 12-15; Mackay, 1957, p. 20-22).

Some owners of traditional manufactured radio receivers were skilled with the capital to tweak the set thus bypassing the fee; anecdotally it is thought to have been a significant number (Mackay, 1957, p. 20 -21). In addition there were 5000 applications seeking exemption from the restrictive "sealed set system" by



individuals who claimed to be “experimenters and desired to listen to any station without restriction”, therefore, listeners were essentially boycotting the “sealed set” scheme with preference for self-selection of their radio station (Mackay, 1957, p. 21; Mac, 2005, p. 2-3; Ahern, 2011, p. 4). People were enthralled by the medium of radio but the “sealed set system” meant a higher cost to the consumer, a basic set could be built for a fraction of the License fee meaning that the physical radio receiver was cheaper than obtaining radio content from a radio station. This was a very restrictive, expensive experience of radio because of Australian government policy (Johnson, 1988, p. 12-13).

Australians in the 1920s attended live theatre and were beginning to experience the “pictures” (motion picture), which was based on individual choice and wages. Change in the way Australians obtained radio was inevitable as listeners wanted radio stations to offer further access and choice of content. The Australian government held a conference to review the structure. The chairman of the *Sealed Set Conference* claimed that the system was “creating an army of illicit listeners. We are making thieves of our own young people,” (Geeves, 1993, p. 34). The “sealed set system” was short lived, lasting only 10 months (between August 1, 1923 and June 30, 1924) before it was abandoned and the creation of two new categories of stations was implemented on July 17, 1924 (Mackay, 1957, p. 21). The first category which was to be funded by listeners’ License fee payments, and could also carry limited paid advertising, was named as an A-class station. The second was to be funded through advertising revenue; this was named a B-class station (Robertson, 1983, p. 382; Mackay, 1957, p. 21-22, Ahern, 2011, p. 5; Mac, 2005, p. 2-3). However, the controlling device of a subscription or License fee to the government remained. This License Fee was a charge for radio and over time for both radio and television until it was abolished in Australia during the 1970s (Mac, 2005, p. 3). Radio began to flourish under this simplified system and content production expanded to include children’s programs, plays, sports and news (Barrett, 1958, p. 656).

An American broadcasting expert, H.A. Highstone, visited Australia at this time and printed his observations about the Australian radio system in a San Francisco periodical, where he stated:

Australian radio laws and regulations are not stable. Changes take place frequently, some regulations are strictly enforced, others are not... radio broadcasting as it is at present in Australia, has proved a dismal failure, as have the laws governing its operation,” (Griffen-Foley, 2010 p. 338).

Players, (radio stations) populated the “field of radio” gaining a “feel for the game,” while the “rules of the game” were forming as they practiced and established the field of radio. Radio was born in flux, and as this study will show, flux remains a constant in the study of radio broadcasting in Australia.

The ongoing struggle to provide a robust, equitable radio service continued, mainly around the A Class radio stations. The License fee structure was barely funding these radio stations in the densely populated metropolitan areas; the smaller regional areas struggled. To this end a Royal Commission was established in 1927 to review wireless broadcasting across Australia in terms of policy and practices as well as the development and utilisation of the services (Mackay, 1957). According to Mackay (1957) the commission made no substantial changes to the administration, staying with the model established with the Postmaster-General’s Department. It did consider issues dealing with the distribution of revenue from the License fees, the “location, power and frequency and operating conditions of broadcast stations” and the removal of advertising from A Class stations (Mackay, 1957; Geeves, 1993). The Prime Minister held a number of further conferences to take these recommendations to the licensees and in particular to focus on A Class stations seeking a consensus on pooling the License fees and establishing an equitable structure to support all stations. Consensus could not be reached so the Federal Government announced that they would acquire all of the A Class stations. The Government now owned and operated the technical equipment and contracted program content, which was owned by Greater Union Theatres, Fuller’s Theatres and J Albert and Sons, music publishers (Ahern, 2011, p. 6; Mac, 2005, p. 3). The Federal Government took ownership of the A-class stations between July 1929 and December 1930. This was the beginning of a national broadcasting service known as The Australian Broadcasting Company (ABC). The aim, according to the Postmaster-General’s Department, was to establish a national broadcasting service where one organisational structure was established to cater for programs in all states. This allowed the B Class stations to continue without change as they were mostly

located in capital cities and catered for a specific audience (Mackay, 1957). The game of radio in Australia was dynamic and, regardless of continuing governmental control, negotiated a strategy to be financially viable and relevant. Given the model for the ABC was already established with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), this move by Government to create a national broadcaster was no surprise (Griffen-Foley, 2010, p. 337).

### **2.1.6. Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC)**

The ABC modelled itself heavily on the BBC approach, being authoritarian and distant from the audience. Later, in 1936, the ABC adopted a friendlier and more engaged on-air presentation similar to that used by commercial radio (Johnson, 1988, p. 121). Radio, in general, reflected the class structures of Australian society in respect to commercial radio being perceived as for the common man, and the ABC aimed at catering for the more discerning listener, the social elite with classical music and more culturally refined discussion (Johnson, 1988, p. 155-157). These changes signalled the departure from A and B class stations to a national (public broadcaster) and commercial radio stations. The 1930s saw a significant expansion in radio across Australia due to these structural changes (Ahern, 2011, p. 6; Mac, 2005, p. 3). The establishment of a national broadcaster meant that radio could move from capital cities to country areas which were neglected until this time (Mackay, 1957). All radio stations, including the ABC, adopted their locality into their name e.g. 4BU – Bundaberg, 4IP – Ipswich. Some radio stations used the name of the first proprietor e.g. 4GR – Gold Radio Toowoomba and part of the Golden West and Darling Downs, named after Ted Gold. The ABC with 4QR – Queensland Radio and 4QG – Queensland Government used essentially the same naming protocol but adapted to adhere to the ABC Charter and physical area covered (Ahern, 2011, p. 5). The radio stations adopted call signs that linked to their state of origin at Federation (1901). At this time, the defence service came under federal control and the nation was divided up into numbered districts, starting at 2, New South Wales, because of the potential confusion with alpha code, specifically I or L (Ahern, 2011, p. 4). “New South Wales was the second military district, Victoria third, Queensland fourth and so on. This method of identifying the states was carried on by the radio authorities and is now also used in Australia’s postcode system” (Ahern, 2011, p. 4-5).

### **2.1.7. Commercial Radio in Australia**

Radio, as a broadcast medium, became an agent of change, as it now offered entertainment and information; and radio devices were considered “consumer durables” that took pride of place in the home where ‘electricity is king’ (Potts, 1989, p. 16). The ABC national network and the growing number of commercial or B class radio stations were flourishing in acceptance by the public. As the radio receiver became part of the household furniture it also became a sign of radio as an accepted medium for distributing information, entertainment and news (Mackay, 1953, p. 18-19 & Geeves, 1993, p. 64-65). In this era was the development of electrical appliances to make the housewife’s life easy: “Advertising for radio sets depicted the technology as straight-forward and totally accessible – housewives smiled as they switched on the wireless”, this was in contrast to the more complex apparatus that were built by enthusiasts and have become more refined and accepted over time (Potts, 1989, p. 16-17). Increase in the sales of electrical items was also a boon for radio as it became the place to advertise such new and exciting devices. It was the era, as Potts (1989, p. 18) identified, of the “model housewife, the model kitchen, the model radio receiver”, and all programming came courtesy of a retailer. According to Johnson (1988) the housewife, through radio, could lose the drudgery of undertaking the day to day tasks and enjoy “brighter house-work”. The new era brought with it a changing set of rules where the players in radio equipment development found themselves in specific positions in the field. Radio experimenters (Amateur HAM operators) were sent to the sidelines as they had essentially served their purpose in the field, while the manufacturers of the stylish radio receivers were elevated to a prominent position. It was a changing game with preference to the commercial manufacturers. The pioneers of wireless, the amateur operator (HAM), who had undertaken the ground work to establish broadcast radio were now barely in the game as their transmissions were interfering with radio broadcasts and they were relegated to operate outside scheduled broadcast hours (Potts, 1989, p. 18). The 1930s saw a number of countries with robust broadcasting services, in Australia, 13 new commercial stations were in operation and by the following year 15 commercial stations were established, it was a period of consolidation and a time when radio stations were acquiring other radio stations to create loose networks (Ahern, 2011, p. 6; Griffen-Foley, 2010, p. 340). Radio services were fluid in terms of hours of operation and format (programming). At this time “format” was not part

of radio programming; it was driven by the personal taste of the radio presenter. Radio was confronted by the commercial realities for survival, stations needed to find points of difference to meet audience needs and remain viable (Mackay, 1957). Most stations functioned with the on-air presenter typically presenting his (and rarely her) program including their favourite music (Mac, 2005, p. 6-8). It is estimated that 600 stations were operating across the globe in 1925 which doubled by 1935 (Ahern, 2011, p. 6). During this time Australian radio stations began to develop their own programs, unique to the geographical location (Griffen-Foley, 2010, p. 341). Commercial radio stations in Australia were growing through the 1930s and 1940s with a clear understanding that they had to financially stand on their own without any government support. The tension between satisfying the audience, the advertiser, and keeping sufficient funds coming in to cover costs was an imperative for station management. They were very aware that people had the freedom to tune from station to station as they desired (Mackay, 1957, p. 110-111). Malcolm Long, contributor in the book *Making Radio* (2006) commented on targeting the audience, which he claims was a

... fairly straightforward business.... Listeners were Catholic or Protestant; their tastes were middle or working class; their sports were rugby league or union, Aussie Rules, tennis or cricket; their politics was Liberal or Labor ...and they drank the beer of their State capital, this was not a café society (Mac, 2005, p. 5).

#### **2.1.8. Radio Networks: Early Format**

John Dunne, 2SM studio manager and announcer took a tour in the mid-1930s around the United States and then to the UK and Europe. He claimed American programs were “the best in the world” and was impressed by their “slick timing” (Griffen-Foley, 2010, p. 341). He returned to introduce the Australian Amateur Hour, the program was modelled on a similar program from the United States. Dunne was “intent on convincing Australian advertisers to sponsor talent quests on a grand scale,” he achieved this in 1936. The Australian Amateur Hour was sponsored by Lever Brothers from its inception in 1940 (Griffen-Foley, 2010, p. 341; Potts, 1989, p. 35) and had a national distribution, which ran for 19 Years. The Australian Amateur Hour was an early example of local interactive radio giving the audience direct involvement in the program “The winner of each show was determined solely

by listeners' telephoned or postal votes" (Potts, 1989, p. 85). This strategy was considered to be successful because the fundamental concept was around "Australians, entertaining Australians" with the underlying emphasis on "the discovery of raw, unrefined talent, found often in the most obscure parts of the country" as the program travelled around Australia (Potts, 1989, p. 85-86). This and other similar types of programs showed innovation and sought to gain participation from all Australians. It is an early example of localism present in current radio station's programming, and definitely a hallmark of early radio (1920s to 1950s).

The Australian Amateur Hour is one example of a successful national radio program that benefited from being part of an emerging radio network (outside of the ABC). The notion of a network in the 1930s and 1940s was significantly different to the current model which was more a loosely arranged cluster of radio stations that used their combined strength for buying programs and gaining advertisers, but remained autonomous. There was an uneasy symbiotic relationship between the large advertising agencies, J. Walter Thompson and George Patterson and the commercial networks; including: Commonwealth Broadcasting Network the Major Network and Macquarie Broadcasting Network. These relationships became prominent in the Australian radio industry because the advertising agencies had the shows and the stars of the show (radio personalities), along with the sponsors, while the radio station could provide access to an audience (Jones, 1995; Potts, 1989, p. P74-75; Griffen-Foley, 2010, p. 343). The advertising agencies created what was commonly known as the advertisers' network. Thompson and Patterson worked in collaboration with their well-established brands such as Lever and Colgate Palmolive. The 'network' gave the agencies dominance in the field and went directly to radio stations bypassing the established networks. The federal government watched carefully in fear of a monopoly being established (Potts, 1989). The Commonwealth Network ceased in 1941 and it is claimed that it "never really operated as a network and it is doubtful if it ever signed a single nation-wide contract. It was to all intents and purposes radio station 2UW", so it had a life away from the notion of networking (Mackay, 1957, p. 152-153). The formation of the Macquarie Broadcasting Network was established specifically to reduce the dominance of advertising agencies and was an attempt to return control of programming to the radio stations rather than be imposed upon by the wishes of advertisers, specifically, supporting those radio

stations that did not gain the benefits of the agencies attention (Johnson, 1988, p. 158-159). Regulatory restrictions ensured that the ownership of Australian radio stations did not end up as a duopoly between the agencies and Macquarie Broadcasting Network as was evidenced in the United States with NBC and CBS therefore privileging radio stations over others (Griffen-Foley, 2010, p. 343). Local radio stations remained local, and managers agreed to air productions on their radio station across Australia. Radio station managers in cities and towns across Australia knew that these national programs were popular and could not be produced by a single station. The “networks” also assisted in sharing the cost of either using a landline (telephone line), which was very expensive in Australia or transcription (recording) of a program as was employed in the US and UK radio. The Australian structure for networks was “loose and shifting alliances, based on programming and advertising opportunities rather than shared ownership” (Griffen-Foley, 2010, p. 344-345). Radio stations were free to mix and match programs with different “networks” to suit their audience. Hence the Australian model for networking in the late 1930s and 1940s was based on individual radio stations forming groups, with the purpose of selling national brand products into local radio stations in the form of programs. However, the network is “the servant and not the master of the stations”, this model kept the individual station free to decide what was good for their audience and maintain independence and remain local (Mackay, 1957, p. 146-147). The Macquarie Broadcast Network slogan at the time was “Make Australia your Market – Use the Macquarie Network” (Johnson, 1988, p. 158). The challenge of remaining a local radio station and being the ‘master’ of its own destiny created tension between the “networks” and the radio station. The blatant advertising of grand productions offered through the agencies included the show name, being a household brand, to regular mentions and placed advertisements throughout the program. Potts (1989, p. 75-76) states that listeners were aware of the branding and “knew that these glamorous radio productions were mounted and presented by major advertisers, but the programs were never perceived as merely glorified ads serving the purposes of their sponsors”. The local audience was being treated to nationally and internationally recognised “stars” from theatre and, in some cases film. These “stars” and programs, associated with well-known brands used in the home, gave a familiarity to the program. The programs were lavish and highly entertaining, as the family gathered around the radio to listen (Potts, 1989, p. 76). The authenticity of

local radio was in place as live and local content was still a vital part of the local radio stations place in the field of the local community. As World War II impacted upon broadcast radio, a significant factor was the banning of “non-essential” items from other countries to “conserve the foreign credit at Australian’s disposal for war needs,” (Potts, 1989, p. 70). This was an immediate cutting of all imported transcript thus causing the Australian radio industry to produce content to take its place, a challenge they met. In addition, with the advent of World War II, advertising and commercial broadcasters were “placed in a defensive position”, (Potts, 1989, p. 80). Commercial radio and by extension their advertisers sought to support the war effort in any way it could. This was underpinned by a concern that commercial radio could be viewed as irrelevant in the shadow of the ABC. Commercial radio and advertisers showed themselves as relevant by providing content that ‘cheered’ people up and was part of the necessary communication and psychological support required in the local communities around Australia,” (Potts, 1989, p. 70-71).

#### **2.1.9. Local Radio: The War Years and Beyond**

As previously discussed, [amateur radio enthusiasts](#) (HAM operators) were the early developers of radio around the world. World War I provided technical skills for a number of (predominantly) men who possessed, because of the war, significant cultural and social capital from which to shape a renewing nation of Australia. The enthusiasm and knowledge to ‘give it a go’ emerged with the embracing of radio and propelled Australia into broadcast radio. William (Bill) Johnson, who founded radio station 4IP in Ipswich was one of the specific recipients of this technical knowledge and this was a catalyst for him to establish the radio station that is the subject of this case study (please refer to [Findings: Johnson Era](#) for further detail).

Throughout World War II, radio increased as a vital source of entertainment, news and local happenings. The personalities of theatre and then of radio, such as: *Dad and Dave (1937-1953)*, *Life with Dexter (1953–1964)*, *Blue Hills (1949-1976)*, and *When a Girl Marries (1946-1965)* kept people laughing while drama shows like *Deadly Nightshades (1952–unknown)*, *Twenty-six Hours (1952-unknown)*, and *Portia Faces Life (1954-1970)* kept people on the edge of their seats (Ahern, 2011, p. 8; Mac, 2005, p. 4).



The big money was in advertising sponsorship. Sponsors demanded shows with plenty of action, drama and suspense. Many of the Australian radio broadcasts were performed live on stage before packed audiences who supplied the necessary applause in return for the free entertainment (Luck, 1980, p. 322).

Radio is recognised as having played a significant role in rebuilding after both wars – but particularly WWII – as it was radio that supported the new hope and optimism that was now in the community. Gathering around the radio became and a nightly event, established as a tradition for each family (Mac, 2005, p. 4).

The early wireless sets were by definition a piece of furniture. “They were a status symbol, and manufacturers put as much work into designing the box and horn as they did building the electronics inside” (Luck, 1980, p. 317). The ABC changed its mode of operation to provide “a national programme on one station of more ‘serious’ material to cater for the more discriminating section of the community” and an interstate programme of lighter entertainment for ‘those listeners who preferred light and easily assimilated entertainment’ (Johnson, 198,8 p. 156). This demonstrated that the ABC were interested in listeners’ tastes and interests similar to the concerns of the commercial counterparts.

This section has outlined the early development of the wireless and the movement over time into broadcast radio. I have shown the historical journey, consistent with Bourdieu’s theoretical position, where history shapes the habitus and position of the player in the field. This section has demonstrated the remarkable use of various forms of capital through the years of radio development in Australia. This is shown in the way amateurs brought their cultural and social capital to support the development of economic capital through structures such as AWA. The Commonwealth Government of Australia showed its symbolic and economic capital by creating a national broadcast platform (ABC). Advertisers immediately saw the capacity of radio as a technology and a social tool, where programming development was a way of gaining control of the game (Potts, 1989; Griffen-Foley, 2009). The game increased to feature a number of players including radio management, advertising agencies, network management, government officials, listeners, manufacturers of radio receivers and so on. The field of radio was a site of instability and the game was slippery and challenging to engage with. A number of competing agendas were a significant part of the game of Commercial Radio and ‘rules of the

game' being agreed upon to bring some order to it. The ABC was a model of localism that was (and continues to be) funded through government by the taxpayer; therefore all Australians have a vested interest in its programming. The game for the ABC is different to that of commercial stations and suggests that 'rules of the game' for this sector of radio are clearly defined by the various agents who control it. The Federal Government, ABC management and governance structures inclusive of the public and the listeners. The ABC has different imperatives than the commercial radio stations. The ABC is responsive to the needs of the whole community and it 'plays the game' of inclusion and equity within a defined budget. These known and guaranteed elements such as expectations of content type and budget established some clarity around the 'rules of the game' in terms of the ABC. It is not directly comparable with commercial radio, as that has a completely different game in play in the field of radio.

Potts (1989) highlights that commercial radio in Australia was in a state of flux as it established the 'rules of the game' concerning content development and the role of the radio station, the network structure and the advertising agencies. The field of radio in Australia had players of varying strength and capacity but over time the various players got a 'feel for the game', that is to say the unwritten rules were agreed upon in relation to the individual habitus of the players rendering day to day play (practice). The financial uncertainty of a radio station income, the dynamic changes in societal tastes are both more aligned with commercial radio. It is a completely different set of expectations by the wider community upon commercial radio than the ABC. Both have their challenges in playing the game of radio and awareness of the threats and opportunities makes for better strategies in the field.

#### **2.1.10. Changing Face of Radio: 1930s and 1940s**

To provide a context in which Australian radio is operating in the mid-1930s, it is important to gain an insight into other key players. Radio station management in Australia were being 'dazzled' by the way United States radio (as a field itself) through the "big American chains" was "more imaginative, more vital and more professional than programs produced in Australia" (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 212) This was attributed to the fact that the American broadcasters had a larger audience base and more stations to broadcast through. The United States was also feeding content

to Australia so 'talking up' their content potentially made it more attractive (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 341). The big 'chains' were the network radio stations in the USA NBC, CBS and the ABC. British content was viewed as being of a poorer standard and very expensive in contrast, "up to three times the price," with the affordable American content (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 212). One Australian radio buyer of content and station manager of 3DB, David Worrall, stated that "compared to the American stations "with millions of listeners in their primary coverage area, we are all just 'dinky' little radio operators" (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 213). These two significant world powers were exercising agency upon Australian radio with the motive, arguably, to gain access to this burgeoning market.

It is during the 1930s and 1940s that Australian radio, driven by its audience, began to be shaped by advertising agencies as I noted earlier. This advertiser-driven content development was an agent of change that shaped the way radio would advance in Australia. The global field of radio was dominated by the United States, who exerted power and overshadowed the practice of radio in Australia. The Australian office of an American advertising agency, J Walter Thompson (JWT) and Melbourne advertising agency George Patterson started to use their clients' products to sponsor several popular Australian Radio programs (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 345).

JWT introduced the Lux Radio Theatre. Two years later George Patterson, which handed the Colgate-Palmolive advertising account, established its own radio unit to produce quizzes, variety shows and dramatized commercials (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 345).

Paterson had studied radio in the United States and "considered it necessary for his agency to take complete control of radio programming and production in the early 1940s (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 345). One of the strategies Paterson used was to re-apply popular entertainment in a radio context. Hundreds of people huddled into theatres to "watch" the radio play being performed, along with live sound effects, while many waited at the door to try and get a seat. Those at home were gathered around the radio, as a typical Australian family experience each evening (Mac, 2005, p. 4-5). According to Johnson (1988) The Commonwealth Broadcasting Network and Macquarie Broadcast Network controlled 50 percent of all peak or prime time

programs on commercial radio across Australia through the 1930s. There were significant examples of advertising agency power attempting to demand that the rules of the game be changed to suit them. For example Colgate Palmolive demanded that they be able to have access to only particular radio stations in the Macquarie Broadcast Network, Patterson's already had their own radio stations established, "Macquarie stations refused" (Potts, 1989, p. 79-81). This caused the withdrawal of all Colgate Palmolive advertising money along with the withdrawal of advertising from other companies in light of this action, thus crippling the Macquarie Broadcast Network (Potts, 1989). The advertising was directed to the Major network, the only commercial network competitor besides the agencies in Australia. It served to encourage the Macquarie Broadcasting Network to take control of programming and bring balance back into the game of radio (Potts, 1989, p. 79-81). Macquarie Broadcasting Network used its 'feel for the game' and species of capital to secure Jack Davey, one of Australia's most famous broadcasters, from the Colgate-Palmolive Production Unit to their own network. This "coup was in 1948" and provided the financial turnaround that Macquarie Broadcasting Network required (Potts, 1989, p. 80).

During the 1940s, the radio industry claimed it "helped connect people to their local communities and the wider world." Some say the wireless was like a friend.....even a member of the family (Mac, 2005, p. 4). Australia had completely embraced radio, in fact more so than any other country in the world based on average listening time. In the 1940s there were 25 ABC radio stations and 98 commercial or B class radio stations across Australia. Radio communicated a reality about the listeners' world and had the capacity to move beyond the geographical space to a wider world (Johnson, 1988, p. 163). A great fear appeared in the later 1950s that the television services would remove radio's established lucrative night session, when the bulk of the audience was listening and advertisers gained maximum exposure (Mac, 2005, p. 4-5). The radio industry recognised that the combination of sound and pictures was a formidable foe. When television arrived in Australia, radio station managers looked for the weaknesses in television and "concentrate[d] on programmes that can be presented more effectively through sound than sight" (Mackay, 1957, p. 199). At this time there was no analytical data about audience demographics in terms of gender, location and age. The arrival of television meant a change in strategy for

radio to develop methods for gathering demographic information to compete with television now in the field. This was a new game and the audience, advertisers and station management were what Bourdieu might suggest as “*fish out of water*”; radio was familiar and made connection with its audience, television was an unknown, unfamiliar device (Mackay, 1957, p. 201). Radio looked to technology to advance its standing with the audience and develop the portable transistor radio, which was instantly popular with young people. This transformed the entity of radio from a static piece of furniture to now having the capacity to go anywhere, anytime. Along with program changes, radio had to reinvent itself; this transitional nature of radio, reflected society more generally, and gave it an acceptance thus a renewed interest. One of the most innovative strategies at this time was the invention of the notion of the “Top 40” which was about to change radio audiences forever (Ahern, 2011, p. 8-10; Potts, 1989, p. 5).

#### **2.1.11. The 1950s and Beyond: Format**

Rather than being everything to everybody, radio began to be more focussed in how it targeted audiences. The 1950s saw the introduction of the Top 40 that gave rise to new young presenters, known as Disc Jockeys or DJs (Ahern, 2011, p. 10). At the same time the youth market was also exploited in Britain; the (in)famous Radio Caroline (pirate radio) challenged the institution of government censorship and by its popularity, forced the mainstream media to provide what the public were seeking, which impacted on the BBC programming (Briggs & Burke, 2009, p. 205-206; Murrioni, Irvine & King, 2009, p. 35). Top 40 programming brought in a format system: a structure and approach to appeal specifically to a youth audience. Established variety programs on Australian radio were dropped and Sydney’s 2UE was at the forefront of this “new” top 40 format.

America influenced the Top 40 but in the 1960s it also introduced two words that are still part of today’s radio format: More Music. This was a “super tight presentation, contests, short talk breaks, a repetitive rotational playlist and a variety of audio tricks (Ahern, 2011, p. 11; Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 350). Top 40 programming had energy and enthusiasm, in Australia, it also had an innocence that made it different to the mature market of the US and UK. Playing music on radio now was a direct influence upon record sales in record stores so it was open to corruption (Griffin-Foley, 2009,

p.105). “Payola” was an American reference to the concept where DJs could gain financial or other incentives to play certain records during their radio programs. The practice was rife in the United States and became such an issue that a Senate committee was established, resulting in several industry people being found guilty in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Mac, 2005, p. 19; Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 265). It is alleged that “payola” was not as significant in Australian radio, not because of an ethical stance but because “Australia didn’t have an industry or market sufficiently large enough to support an organised ‘pay for play’ regime. “Nobody was prepared to pay huge sums because the potential for profit was not there,” (Mac, 2005, p. 19).

Australian radio stations bought into the notion of top 40, the British model of radio was still based on a more conservative style of broadcast, similar to the pre 1950s of Australian radio. Some Australian radio stations “were critical of stations cutting themselves off from rock and roll music at an early stage of its development (Mac, 2005 p. 19). These radio stations that were against rock and roll were not entering into the new game in play and preferred to be on the sidelines to observe and get a ‘feel for the game.’” One radio broadcaster with 2UE “predicted that Top 40 would last six months,” (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 267). Some regional radio stations chose to limit rock and roll and “preferred hillbilly and tuneful evergreen music, even in 1961 ... limited rock and roll to a brief daily session for teenagers” (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 267). Griffen-Foley (2009, p. 267) stated that the retirement of “middle-aged radio executives and announcers” made way for radio stations to “adapt to the new formats; they retired”. Rock and Roll was here to stay and continued to change the game of radio through the 1960s. The 1960s brought 24 hour programming to radio to 2SM and other radio stations around Australia; it was a time of great change (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 269).

### **2.1.12. 1960s and 1970s**

The 1960s and 1970s were a time of great change in society and in music. Radio required on-air talent that exuded personality. ‘Personalities’, rather than on-air ‘presenters’ who were less intrusive, was key to a radio station’s success. Radio personalities engaged with the listeners on air and at live events and had significant social and cultural capital (Jones, 1995, p. 888 – 90). The music of the 1960s and

1970s, in some cases, had meaningful lyrics that further supported alternate social views on current issues. It was in the 1970s that protests were held against the Vietnam War, Women's and Indigenous rights were gaining prominence, along with environmental issues. Local music content was protected by a quota system (legally set down by the Australian Government), to keep a balance between local content and the pervasive US/UK music. The Australian film and music industry flourished in this period of time. The 1970s saw the introduction of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) to multilingual programming in Australia, firstly as radio in 1975 (in Sydney and Melbourne). Frequency Modulation or FM radio also came to Australia in 1974, opening up opportunities for additional radio stations. The AM band of the current commercial and ABC radio stations was becoming oversubscribed so FM provided additional space. Its superior sound quality was attractive to the users of the early radio stations including rock, classic and community broadcasters (Potts, 1985, p. 92-99). It was in 1976 that Community Radio or public broadcasting stations were first granted Licenses (Ahern, 2011, p. 13).

Commercial radio's transition was dramatic through the 1950s, 60s and 70s moving from local content, to a "hip and happening" approach appealing to the younger market, with more music and short talk breaks" (Ahern, 2011, p. 10). As commercial radio departed from its roots to respond to its current economic realities, community radio became a way of addressing the loss of a voice within the local area.

Community radio was established in Australia in the 1970s (the first station to gain a community License was 5UV in Adelaide – June 1972) as a way of regaining a voice on the airwaves (Jones, 1995, p. 100). A significant difference between commercial radio and community radio is the diversity of content provided through the community License. Potts (1989) argues that commercial radio speaks to the public where community radio lets community people speak, therefore (re)gaining a voice (Jones, 1995, p. 172). The experimental nature of Community Radio, especially in the early 1970s, was akin to the amateur (HAM) operators of the 1920s in that it gave a connection to people for people at a local level. Amateur radio showcases content that has an appeal to the local community, as does community radio. It attends to the rudimentary nature of radio communication as it connects and provides a voice for people. Establishing some of the early community radio stations, Jones (1995) speaks of a "joy of being able to operate the equipment, and speak to people out there in a

big world”. Much of the early equipment was make-shift and built by technical people often as “makeshift” (Jones, 1995, p. 100). Commercialisation of radio in general, and programming specifically, is understood as being more predictable and constant where community broadcasters are as diverse as their contributors. Like the technology “it was the old original lure of the wireless back again, 50 years on” (Jones, 1995, p. 100). There are some community radio stations that reflect a more ‘commercial feel’ to their presentation but remain authentic to the premise of their existence (Jones, 1995, p. 172-173). Localism is central to the core values of radio. “Local ownership, control and content” were for the federal government; key measures in granting a broadcast License in the 1930s and 1940s, but these fundamental cornerstones of Australian radio have become “less important at subsequent License renewal reviews,” (Manning, 2009, p. 45). Localism ought not to be reduced to being nostalgic, rather a key element in the role of radio in society. Government legislation or other incentives such as network policy is one way of keeping the “local” in the local radio station, whilst there are some radio stations who still understand what were the foundational values for the establishment of radio (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 142-148). The 1970s gave us another iteration of local radio in the form of Community Radio. The 1980s, with all of its affluence was not always so considerate.

### **2.1.13. 1980s**

The early 1980s saw Australia operating 120 commercial radio stations and a change of operation in terms of ownership. Some stations were still single or independent entities while others moved to a networked operation with the view of “offering the potential advertiser greater selling power and access to more sophisticated programming (Robertson, 1983, p. 382). This form of networking was a formal structure, unlike the early days of a group buying approach. Networking in the 1980s brought a commonality to the ‘image’ and ‘presentation’ of the station, its personalities and content (Mackay, 1957). The 1980s networking was a “brand” and infiltration of the local station so that the call sign and breakfast announcer were essentially the remnants left from a sell-out to the ideology of network power.

With radio and even television ownership changing and networking becoming more popular because of their perceived efficiencies, the mid 1980s ushered a loss of local



content in favour of national content (Cunningham & Turner, 2010, p. 123).

Localism, to a large degree was removed in favour of economic imperatives, and the more cost effective national content development. Technology such as tie lines or network links and automation assisted broadcasters in major metropolitan centres such as Sydney and Melbourne to increase cost effectiveness and more flexibility. Slowly the local voices in rural or regional locations like Ipswich became silenced within their local community (Cunningham & Turner, 2010 p. 123). The choice of program content through commercial networks was plentiful allowing the consumer to make choices. The local voice and expression of performing arts was silenced, local radio and television was no longer local, certainly not in terms of geographical location (Potts, 1989, p. 171 -173).

The 1980s saw the first FM radio station broadcast in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia. The 1980s was the era to introduce the first Compact Disc (CD) and telephone calls were being made by a portable telephone system: the mobile or cell phone. Like the impact of the transistor radio in the broadcast radio context, the portable telephone untethered and revolutionised voice calls that could be made anywhere. Over time mobile phones have become the new portable radio through applications (Apps), such as Tunein, enabling live streaming of radio stations.

Up to this point radio was perceived as an objectified tool used in communication, an intensely human activity that occurred in practice. My research goes beyond radio as technology and explores it as a powerful agent in the social world. In order to analyse this case-study it is important to consider radio in its current form in society, repositioning it from radio as an object to a subjective perspective that includes as players, listeners and local communities; and how people understand radio, use radio and interact with this highly transportable device. The current literature that I have interrogated in my research provides further understanding of the pathway radio is travelling and how the game is being played currently in Australia. To achieve this, I will discuss current practices around commercial and community radio. In addition I will discuss the role of the ABC later in this chapter as the national public broadcaster and its link to the role of local radio.

#### 2.1.14. Broadcast Radio: Current Practice in a Social Context

Radio began from a local geographically defined phenomenon that brought a diverse range of content to the listener, including information, music, entertainment and news all to the community in which it is located (Hilliard and Keith, 2005, p. 1). According to Halcoussis and Lowenberg (2012) commercial radio is measured in terms of total value to a society that may be summed up in this equation: **the value to advertisers + the value to listeners = value to society**. They argue that commercial radio stations make decisions on the basis of advertising revenue and the cost of operating the station with little regard for society's value placed on radio programming, and this has resulted in local radio stations either being sold to networks or reduced to a relay station because of the specific imperatives of the radio network (Halcoussis and Lowenberg, 2012).

Moody (2009, p.172) argues that radio still has a "moral and ethical responsibility" to serve the public interests of audiences despite the governmental regulatory positions of deregulation, media consolidation and the emerging technologies. Radio is cautiously aware of new media tools and adopts a "poor relation" response to emerging media opportunities such as the internet. Rather, states Moody, radio should "stop looking over its shoulder at threats posed by other media" and embrace its strength in "taking care of the communities it serves on the local level" (Moody, 2009, p. 160). Macek and Young (2004) believe that large radio networks simply cannot deliver information on emergencies at the speed that is required and argue that low-powered stations (meaning covering on a small distance up to 10 kilometres) would be a better alternative if these networks do not respond to the need. Extensive research has been carried out by the industry and government in times of disaster where radio is a significant player in information dissemination linking to the foundation of radio as a tool of communication; the local community and gives weight to this argument (Moody, 2009). During Hurricane Katrina in the US, Newsweek reported that as residents were housed in the Superdome, New Orleans or in their own homes, the common factor was the use of the battery operated radio where listeners sought "comfort and news from the on-air voices" (Moody, 2009, p. 160). To respond to the needs of that community in crisis, a number of community/local radio stations who were typically fierce competitors joined forces under the branding United Radio Broadcasters. 15 radio stations were

brought together under this common brand all working towards a common goal for their local community (Moody, 2009). In this example, local radio, by definition, suggests serving the public interest in a specific locale; it connects with the notion of localism, created to meet government, commercial and community interests usually in a regional or rural setting (Manning, 2009). While Moody (2009) states that there is generally an understanding that serving the public interest is a worthy framework, it is rarely understood in terms of a clear definition. The New Orleans exercise in collaboration served the people and gave them a voice. Significantly, the radio stations were challenged by the experience of collaboration because it had the potential to change their operational practice post the weather event. Moody (2009, p. 174) also argues that the operation of United Radio Broadcasters gave the public a taste of radio functioning at a local level and “in order for traditional radio to re-claim its focus on localism, it must re-discover the power of news programming. The study further highlighted news and local information that gives listeners a “concept of place.... a sense of belonging. Natural disasters, significant weather or news events tend to draw people to their radios. Local radio has a major impact on the lives of Australians on a daily basis. Through radio listeners can keep up to date with key information, even if it does not fully embrace the deeper local connections that have been discussed.

#### **2.1.15. Commercial Radio in Australia**

It is important at this point to contextualise the impact of radio on individuals within Australia. This will provide a ‘state of play’ for radio in Australia moving from our global perspective. The peak commercial radio industry body is Commercial Radio Australia (CRA) which reports that the average percentage reach of radio in Australia has remained at 95 percent over the past five years and is consistent with China, Indonesia, Singapore, India and South Africa (Warner, 2012). According to the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) research shows that in 2009 a total of 66.2 percent of the population listen to commercial radio on AM or FM and 49.1 percent listen to the ABC while 13.7 percent listen to community radio (Lomcar, 2010). Commercial Radio Australia report that 9.29 million people across the five metro capital cities listen to commercial radio each week; this is a significant number of Australians listening to radio. It is observable from these figures that Australians do embrace radio and have some level of connection with it (Warner,

2012). Australia has one of the highest concentrations of media ownership in the world affecting journalistic independence, and the lack of a diversity of opinion can impact on an individual or group having a voice and reducing citizens engaging in a healthy democracy (Pusey and McCutcheon, 2011). The flow on effect of successive deregulation of the radio industry has weakened “standards and ethical practices” in commercial radio and has reduced the claim that radio can be local (Cunningham and Turner, 2010). This runs contrary to the notion of local radio as born with the establishment of radio stations in geographically defined spaces and were established to serve that community. According to Lewis and Booth (1989) the role of the public broadcaster is to “sell programs to an audience” while the commercial radio stations “sell audiences to advertisers. McChesney (1999, p. 200) argues that radio’s influence can either be used to build up a community or divide it and this is decided by whether radio is used as a “tool of education or an instrument of greed”. The American experience shows that radio stations have gone down the path of greed (McChesney, 1999, p. 200). Therefore radio moved from an inherently local creation for the local community, defined by its geographical bounds and live and local presenters, to a service that centralises an on-air presenter who can speak into many communities with the illusion of being local through networking (McChesney, 1999) This currently continues to impact on metropolitan and regional Australia. In regional areas there is legislative protection known as “local significance” which is about ensuring a specific level of service that is twofold. One is about serving the public interest, the audience need for local content in various expressions, and the second, is based on the financial implications so that a radio station gains an adequate return to allow operations to continue (ACMA report, 2007). The Broadcasting Services Act 1992 provides a framework for commercial radio operators to work within and to provide at least the minimum amounts of local content, specifically in regional areas. The overarching aim of the 2006 reform package was to ensure that radio services in regional Australia continue to provide local content and maintain a local presence (Loncar, 2010). The requirement was for the majority of regional broadcasters to broadcast a minimum of three hours per day between 5am and 8pm. Regional radio is to provide, under the act, five local news bulletins per week of at least 12 and half minutes per day, five weather bulletins per week, one community service announcement per week and emergency warnings as required (Loncar, 2010). On the basis of local radio operation, since its inception in

the 1920's, these requirements are minimalistic and in the context of localism barely connecting with the community. Regional centres are locations that are testament to the "erosion of localism" not only experienced in commercial radio but "many rural communities by commercial operations such as banks and some government agencies" that have withdrawn from place (Manning, 2009, p. 49).

The Federal National Party Minister Paul Neville, who is the chair of the Government Policy Committee on Communications, stated his disappointment with this level of requirement for regional radio, "Surely to heaven a radio station could give one shift back to its local community for local content, community announcements, local news, weather, community expectations, community ambitions; I would have thought that was an absolute minimum" (Funnell, 2007). Des Foster, the Director of the Australian Association of Independent Regional Radio Broadcasters voiced his concerns that the owners of the networks are driving the agenda, and reducing their local content, "Oh yes, networking is what is at the heart of all this, yes" (Funnell, 2007). The undermining of localism in radio arguably has wider effects than the radio stations bottom line. Localism provides a reflection of what constitutes the specific community through the sharing of local narratives, and the content that is of interest to those in "my town". Local commercial radio helps build a community and the fibre of our Australian society (Manning, 2009).

The Community Broadcasting Association of Australia (CBAA) stated in 2012 that "government should require regional commercial broadcasters to produce more local content, not less" (Lomp, 2012, p. 35). The CBAA currently takes the perspective that regional Australians have a plethora of content that they say are "too obvious and numerous to mention," specifically over any given week-end (Lomp, 2012, p. 35). The CBAA submission challenges how the game is being played across regional Australia. In their submission to the Department of Broadband, Communications and the Digital Economy (Radio Broadcasting Section), they raise some key issues around local content. The CBAA clearly articulate their position in the field by defining their sector as that which is "created to develop and reflect a sense of Australian identity, character and cultural diversity, community broadcasters feel very strongly about "local content.... The essence of community broadcasting....created by community members for their communities" (Warner and

Australia, 2010). The clear mandate of community broadcasters as local content providers is juxtaposed to the commercialised sense of “local”. The current direction of radio suggests that commercial radio broadcasters is taking on a meaning of “Australian Content” providers, as opposed to community broadcasters who are catering for the geographically (Local) defined delivery of radio (Warner and Australia, 2010). Even the hint of an arbitrary separation of commercial and community in this way changes the game of radio and reduces the responsibility of the commercial broadcaster and places significant responsibility onto the community sector. While Government argues for the reduction of hours for commercial regional radio in terms of local content, the CBAA cite locally produced content in the order of 129 hours per week which translates to 77 percent of all content broadcast. With the current requirements of commercial regional radio, the CBAA state that the commercial broadcasters have a potential 168 hours of the week when people can and do listen to radio, “then it is actually nine percent local content” (Bawden, 2010). This confirms the concerning trend over the responsibility of commercial broadcasters. Community broadcasters state that they run at 36 per cent Australian music, significantly more than the quota of 25 per cent. According to the CBAA (Warner and Australia, 2010), “Australians want this local emphasis”.

While commercial regional radio stations are concerned about their livelihood and the capacity to meet the three hours a day of local content, the community broadcasting sector, in direct contrast, argue that they have grown by almost 50 per cent since 1996, with 80 percent of the long-term licensees based in regional Australia. Community broadcasters boast 9.5 million listeners each month and these listeners report “they value most the local content and diverse music formats that community radio delivers” (Warner, 2010, p. 1). If the key issue is to achieve greater flexibility for regional radio broadcasters and the “broad intent of the regional commercial radio localism provisions remains valid” then the CBAA argue that “licensees should be required to broadcast material of local content in addition to what is already required,” (Warner, 2012a, p. 21). In spite of these facts Senator Ludwig, Manager of Government Business in the Federal Senate, states that the “amendments strike the right balance between local content and flexibility for the industry”, further arguing that the reform will “ease the regulatory burden,” (Lomp, 2012 p. 34-35).

The literature demonstrates how individuals take the technologies available to them, over time, and with vision and tenacity extend upon the former, such as the telegraph to broadcast radio, creating a new field in which to play. The use of the telegraph achieved communication between people in distant locations without physical transportation. Technology had the potential to move from wired to wireless and through this advancement saw the birth of the radio. The growth of radio has continued but the literature suggests that the fundamental human need to communicate and be entertained remains key to why people listen to the radio, regardless of what broadcaster games are played.

The literature also highlights the monetising of radio so that what gives the fiscal return appears more important than meeting listener needs and wants. It profoundly identifies the growing disregard for the listener in the commercial model, while a deepening connection occurs with the community established through the community radio model (Saffran, 2011). In fact research carried out by Saffran (2011) identifies the high level of concern by listeners in relation to the broadcasting of local news and the broadcast of local musicians on local commercial radio stations, in both cases listeners/respondents reported none or very little of either of these cornerstone resources were part of the local radio station programming (Saffran, 2011, p. 289). This is a symptom of a change in broadcasting attributed often to consolidation of radio stations and the flow-on effect of networking stations, yet, the need by people is ever present but ignored by the broadcaster. Hilliard and Keith (2005) cite concerns over localism or the lack of it in many American radio stations, they however recognise that localism is the point of difference rather than indifference for radio stations. A local radio station, whether part of a network or not, is successful because of their localism (Hilliard and Keith, 2005). Localism or effective local media is at the heart of a healthy democracy, indeed at the heart of and often the fibre of a healthy community (Manning, 2008). According to Manning (2008, p. 50) commercial radio in regional areas is still the “preeminent local broadcast medium in terms of overall audience share”, even though much of the content on the ‘local’ station is networked. Local content is abundantly available through the ABC and the audience is following it. The ABC claim that Australians “rely on the ABC to ensure that Australian stories are told and Australian voices are heard” and this is in the face

of a globalised society (Spigelman, 2011-12, p. 29). The ABC operates 60 local radio stations across Australia which includes nine in metropolitan areas and 51 in regional Australia. According to the ABC the charter is to engage with local communities around Australia and reaches 2.2 million listeners each week (Spigelman, 2011-12). The ABC charter states that the ABC is to “provide innovative and comprehensive broadcasting services for all Australians”, in this approach the ABC seek to ensure there is equity in broadcasting for all Australians and in its day to day operation “contribute to a sense of national identity, inform and entertain Australians and reflect the regional and cultural diversity of the Australian community” (Spigelman, 2011-12, p. 2). According to the ABC report into the adequacy of radio services in non-metropolitan Australia it claims that localism is the ABC’s biggest investment in radio services and this service “accounts for more than half of the total ABC budget for domestic radio services” (Spigelman, 2011-12, p. 34-41). While the ABC is fully Government funded, it has its own independence in editorial control and at its heart is the local community and therefore localism is linked to identity and belonging. My research will concentrate specifically on a commercial case study in Ipswich, Queensland, however these examples around localism offered by the ABC will provide a reference for the findings.

Radio is local by its perceived nature, certainly in the geographical sense as radio stations ‘belong’ to local towns and cities, and literature has shown how it is woven into the fabric of our society. This occurs even with the plethora of mobile devices and personal audio technologies; radio remains a constant even if only for local news and information (Torosyan and Munro, 2010). The literature above confirms that a local radio station with a local presenter is preferred over the outsourced remote disembodied voice imparting news, weather and traffic that leaves the listener concerned over accuracy of the content, and the station owner happy to save money (Torosyan and Munro, 2010). According to Macek and Young (2004, p. 25) major radio networks have slashed jobs and centralised operation and yet they lack a diversity of voices which they claim is “bad for our culture and for our democracy”.

Local musicians are one example of those individuals within the local community who cannot find a voice. “The life expectancy of musicians and artists will be lower because radio stations will not take a chance on giving new artists exposure”



(Rasmussen, 2001, p. 4). Music Directors in network radio stations will give preference to the safe and known music from the current playlist or library rather than attempting to broadcast something new (Rasmussen, 2001). Listeners complain about the lack of diversity in music and wider content where local news and information is not shared and discussed in different formats further threatening democratic voices of diversity (Macek and Young, 2004). Yet, as I have discussed earlier, radio was historically grounded in unifying the nation and celebrating its diversity, local identity and unique local programming (Torosyan and Munro, 2010). Localism or the 'localness' of the radio station can entice listeners to stay tuned to that radio station as it gives confidence to the listener about the type of information they will hear (Rasmussen, 2001). If network radio cannot or will not respond to the needs of the community then the people vote with their 'power' or 'agency' and shift to a new playing field. Low-powered FM Radio (LPFM) is meeting that need in the United States. These are non-commercial operations described by Kim (2003, p. 22) as "vibrantly local by nature". One example of this is found in Rockland, Maine where local media was not active in the community and a civic leader and locals had great concern over this deficit. Through a local school a group was formed and they established a LPFM station that has 35 volunteer DJ's, the sponsorship of 35 local businesses and more than half of the city listen to the station. The station offers opportunities for local talent, caters to an array of interests and has a general music playlist. The station competes remarkably with two Clear Channel radio stations and is a very competitive commercial network in the United States (Kim, 2003).

The erosion of localism in radio does not operate in isolation, specifically in regional centres where this is also evident in the closure of banks, government services and other agencies. Ironically without the local voice of radio to raise concern over these changes the actual agent of potential change is itself silenced to a certain degree (Manning, 2009, p. 48-49).

This second section of the literature review highlights the dichotomous nature of radio portrayed as commercial and non-commercial. Further to this is a sense in which localism is only fully present in non-commercial radio services. Radio discusses a myriad of content matter across many fields including commerce, politics and environmental and social issues often at a national or international level. Radio is

equally comfortable discussing community events, activities and in general information that may inform or simply entertain (Manning, 2008, p. 90-92). Radio was developed to authentically provide a connection with people through news, information and entertainment. Over time radio was and still is considered a trusted player in the social arena. It takes its place on a multitude of fields, as is the case in my research. It is in the field of Ipswich, the field of South East Queensland and the field of radio in Queensland and Australia that radio negotiates its place in the game. This is dependent upon the disposition and culture that it brings to the specific field which becomes evident in how radio plays the game. In the field of Australian radio the game is volatile and a player has to be in the game. Listeners over time have lost confidence in radio, itself a player on the field of Australian communication; radio is viewed by listeners as a player who offers “truth” on community topics, in news, in weather and in traffic reports. That it is part of the local community and takes its place in that field (Manning, 2008).

The gap in knowledge being interrogated in this research and as supported by the literature review, is how listeners understand the game that is being played by radio and what the challenges are to the game. There are multiple games being played, chiefly network radio portraying itself as a superficial member of a local community. Their network programming is delivered via an established radio station, in a geographically defined place, and the station has a particular place in the field of that community. When programming suddenly ceases to emanate from the local radio station and is delivered from a capital city radio station across many local radio stations, it changes the game. Conversely there are local commercial radio stations that are committed to be “live and local”. How they play the game is dependent upon a commitment to localism which, as has been demonstrated previously, can be tenuous. Community radio has established another game, a game of arguably true localism and the exclusion of any sense of commercialism. While my research is not inclusive of community radio or the Australian public broadcasters, it is important to discuss and note their important presence in the overall game of radio. My research will explore if localism can be expressed through a local commercial broadcaster (4IP).

The review of literature has identified the theoretical and historical literature that informs my interrogation in this case-study. My research will investigate what practices are evident, how these practices emerge and how each player might validate or challenge these practices within the game of radio in a “regional” town such as Ipswich.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a thorough overview of the methodology and methods used to induce data sets and deduce existing materials for analysis in this research project. I have previously introduced the current literature on my research topic and the theoretical underpinning in the previous chapter; I will now introduce the rationale for the research approach taken in the field. This chapter lays out the parameters for the creation of data sets to complement the triangulated approach outlined in the Literature Review.

#### **Choice of Case Study and Research Bias**

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 449), the simplest rule applied in qualitative casework is a Case Study and is based on the notion that you “place your best intellect into the thick of what is going on.” The research on 4IP in Ipswich is well positioned to be carried out as a case study because I am seeking to give clarification and explanation around a series of events strongly associated with identity and rooted in historical facts which is indeed in ‘the thick of it’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

The field of Ipswich was deliberately chosen as the site for my case study largely because of the interesting history of 4IP as a local commercial radio station, and directly due to my own lived experience of being a young listener to 4IP. My researcher bias toward this topic provides me with specific access as an “Ipswichian” to articulating what it was about ‘our 4IP’ that we enjoyed as “colour radio”; 4IP had an indelible influence on my choice of career and I experienced and understood it to be “my” radio station. The ‘old flour mill’ building located in the “Top of Town” precinct of Ipswich Central Business District was the home of the Johnson family business and the upper floors were the studios of 4IP when it commenced in 1935. It was the neon lights and the central location of Limestone Street, Ipswich (Moore Era) in 1963 onward that was the home of “my” radio station. In so many ways I recall 4IP being part of so much phenomenon around Ipswich. Ipswich is the place of my birth and my hometown where I was educated and engaged in a range of activities such as church, theatre and choral performances. I have worked in Ipswich

city and have also spent time in Western Queensland working in radio. I have worked in Brisbane media while continuing to reside and remain connected to the local community of Ipswich. I married and raised my three children in Ipswich city. A number of the participants interviewed for this study I have known from sharing time performing in stage shows or other events in Ipswich.

I have worked in the media industry for over 35 years and maintained a connection with Ipswich through producing events, hosting concerts and stage shows. I know the place of Ipswich and many of the people involved in the community. Importantly I have invested much of my time analysing why Ipswich people might perceive their city as “less than” or, “second rate”. It is a frustrating attitude and one that I have been aware of over many years, which has definitely influenced my choice of this case-study for interrogation.

The inspiration for this case study is driven by my deep association with many aspects of local media and local content. I believe this was embodied in 4IP during the Moore Era as this possessed a certain energy and charm that even today is held in high regard by the staff and listeners of 4IP alike. As a participant - observer I am aware nothing since has ever quite matched its vital connection to Ipswich through the 1960s and 1970s. 4IP was passionate and exciting and it functioned in a city that was confused about its identity in Southeast Queensland. I was profoundly affected by questions that were raised in the work of Bourdieu. For me, why did Ipswich not seem to be as dynamic as other cities? Why does Ipswich no longer have a strong local radio station that energises a city like I remember 4IP had done? This is where this study began. I therefore consider my bias towards Ipswich an important part of the reflexivity I have used during the research process. The researcher and the researched render rich ‘data’ from in the field of study (Flick, 2002). It is understood by the academy that researchers in qualitative analysis cannot remain completely objective and that in all research there is a level of subjectivity present (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). At all times I was highly aware that my personal history, my understanding of Ipswich and also of 4IP caused me to listen more carefully to participants as they recounted their stories. On this basis objectivity did not control the variables, rather my lived experience means a level of “openness, a willingness to listen and to “give voice” to respondents” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 43). Through

conducting interviews with my research participants I had an inner confirmation and familiarity with what was uttered that was invariably supported by the analysis of other documents. In other situations, I was aware of specific challenges to my own understanding and memory, and this encouraged further reflexive awareness throughout the process of interviewing. Ultimately clarity emerged from the data by careful observation and analysis of key themes evolving across participant stories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

## Research Title and Key Questions

This case study is titled: **How does local broadcast radio value, esteem and provide voice to a rapidly changing urban centre.** The research has been specifically undertaken in the City of Ipswich and with key information induced from individuals who have had links to 4IP, QFM, STAR or River 949 (radio stations in Ipswich over time).

To guide the research I formulated the following guiding questions after careful consideration of the above in order to establish parameters for the exploration of this phenomenon:

- How does geographically defined local radio contribute and connect with the local residents in its broadcast area, measured over time?
- What are the influences that shape and direct the operation of local radio as it seeks to serve and give voice to its local people?
- How do current models of local radio services remain sustainable and legitimate for a local community?

These research questions are specific to the “local” people, place and conduit (radio) of Ipswich and they essentially provided the framework to begin conversations with participants. These also guided my analysis of newspaper articles and all other documents collected for this case study. The questions arose from a desire to interrogate the themes embedded in the title of this project, as these were earmarked early on in the pre-study stages as authentic to the contexts from which the participants (interviewees) resided.

## Theoretical Lenses and Analytical Approach

The analytical approach to my research is borrowed from case study, critical ethnography and grounded theory. The phenomena being interrogated require critical thinking, and the theoretical underpinning using Bourdieu supports this analysis. Bourdieu critically examined similarly perplexing issues that arose in his own research; therefore, his work has provided a point of departure for my own explorations around his key terms. The explicit aim of Bourdieu was to critically analyse why particular social groups behave in the way they do or remain repressed. His work was illuminary and provides a useful framework upon which to build my case study (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Critical ethnography links the detailed analysis of the ethnography to the diverse social framework that is part of a wider perspective (Thomas, 1993). These combined analytical tools are designed to elicit the participants' authentic point of view. I also chose to use aspects of grounded theory as I believe it was also particularly helpful in addressing this for inducting rich data from participants.

The key characteristics of grounded theory, arguably one of the most popular techniques used for qualitative research analysis, is that it is inductive and focussed on generating the theoretical ideas or explanations that arise from the data (Flick, 2002; Strauss and Corbin 1998). Grounded Theory provided me with a method of a robust coding structure to assist in highlighting emerging patterns in the data. This assisted in helping me to isolate themes in a large amount of dense qualitative data so that I could be receptive to "looking for red flags" (Glasser & Strauss, 1995). Due to my specific bias in this project, Grounded Theory assisted in me avoiding attributing my value laden perspective onto the words of participants.

Through critical reflection I was able to interrogate "taken for granted" actions, beliefs and practices which so importantly influence the field/s of current process (Schon, 1987). The various interviews with participants provided me opportunity to consider this "taken for grantedness" that exists in any research field. As a researcher (and co-participant as an Ipswichian) I needed to confirm my conclusions through

consistently checking with other accounts being offered to ensure validity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In this way, Grounded Theory helped to identify implicit practices and make them explicit. Grounded Theory was useful in that it fostered analysis of the data to understand what is emerging before moving onto further participants. In so doing it affords the researcher the opportunity to identify an emerging pattern and to further explore that with the next participant. This dynamic process allows early themes and theory to emerge and be tested (Glaser & Strauss, 1999).

For this research project, a case study provides the singularity of historical and social investigation in combination with the value of Grounded Theory. The value is found through reviewing of data in real time as it renders theory that provides for further interrogation until no new information emerges, thus arriving at theoretical saturation. Combined with the intent of critical ethnography it enriched the analysis so that the research moves beyond the 'taken for granted' and explores what is occurring in the field. I will address the specific tools used in the analysis next, but first, I will establish the context for the analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Thomas, 1993). My research is based in Ipswich and the historical journey of the participants will be potentially prone to 'taken for granted' assumptions because I am exploring their lived experience and their perspectives around times of transition (4IP and also in QFM, STAR and River 949). Also embedded in this study is the dynamics of the various players who take their position in the field of Ipswich. The multi-method approach assists in identifying and analysing the significant players in the field of Ipswich. It is here that the theoretical underpinning of Pierre Bourdieu is significantly powerful in assisting me to understanding the phenomena. His framework allows me to consider practice as the end result of a range of interactions and drawing on individual habitus and species of capital at play in the field of Ipswich. Bourdieu offers an equation, **[(habitus) (capital)] + field = Practice**, that assists in visualising this set of complex interactions that renders practice. In my research I have identified additional elements that are aligned with this equation that I believe may expand upon current knowledge. The following is a list of key Bourdieuan terms I use throughout this dissertation to assist in connecting these to specific Ipswich contexts and participants (place, people, and conduit):

**Field**: of Ipswich, of South East Queensland, of radio



**Player:** is in reference to either the identified individual, or, it can be associated to the collective radio stations as in 4IP, QFM, STAR, etc.

**Game:** is in play in the identified field. Bourdieu uses the metaphor of a football field that I have elected to pursue in my research. It assists in being reminded that this is a moving, active, live event that is constantly changing

**Habitus:** the thoughts, beliefs and values of an individual

## **Data Collection Methods**

I will now address the data collection methods that have been utilised in my case study. All connections with human participants were undertaken in accordance with my approved Ethical Clearance from USQ. Formal clearance for ethics was requested and granted on 22 February, 2011 under the Approval Number H11REA001 and valid until 31/12/2012. When I was approaching the date of expiration I made a request for extension, which was granted. H11REA001.1 was active until 31 July 2013.

As part of the ethics process participants were provided with the guidelines surrounding the research. For personal comments and observations participants remain anonymous and are coded to protect their identity in the text. Where historical information was provided participants have given permission to be identified with that information. In the case where confidential information was provided and the participant asked for that not to be used those wishes have been respected.

## **Personal and Focus Group Interviews**

I interviewed a range of respondents who represent the various eras of 4IP and the more recent radio stations in Ipswich from QFM, STAR and River 949. This included managers, staff, listeners, industry professionals and board members. The interviews were conducted in individual's homes, central meeting location in Ipswich

(Ipswich Humanities Centre, local councillor's meeting room and Ipswich Library), office and university meeting room. The interviews were conducted between February 2011 to July 2013 in line with the ethics approval and participants were sourced over time starting with those who I know from the media industry and in the community, in accordance with the methodology of this case study. I commenced interviewing immediate staff and family members of William (Bill) Johnson and these participants were able to identify a range of other people that they suggested "I should talk to". This became a very useful process as it provided me with the opportunity to review the interview (using Grounded Theory) and identify any comments that raised additional questions that needed expansion or clarification. This allowed for and encouraged a rich and organic voice for the study that came largely from the participants themselves.

In a number of cases I contacted a relative who was able to put me in touch with the person of interest, in some cases directly due to my place as an Ipswichian. Industry people also provided other names and contact information, often offering to provide an introduction via a pre-phone.

With regard to the focus groups the participants came as a result of a media campaign to seek out people who in a particular time lived in Ipswich and had association with 4IP. Participants had to live within the geographic bounds of the City of Ipswich. Primarily the focus groups, of which there were four groups averaging four to five participants in each, confirmed or expanded upon the unfolding story. Groups were established based on their time of involvement with the radio station to give context to the research. The focus groups were held in a local councillor's meeting room, Ipswich City Council Humanities Centre or in the City Library. Times were negotiated to suit the participants who all signed the appropriate consent forms.

I provided some common guiding opened ended questions to commence discussion. These questions included stating their involvement, where they were from, gaining a description of the radio station, of the city and lifestyle at the time of their involvement with 4IP. In each session conversation flowed and I allowed that to continue until I needed to either confirm what was being stated, or to verify

comments from individual participants. The session ended when I had reached saturation evidenced by no new information was forthcoming. This proved to be a rich source of information and of validation of available data and of my personal hunches. The major source of information was derived from individual participants.

**Table 1: Research Respondents**

Participant (Name or Number)	Date	Topic
Cited Interviews		
Allan Brandt	September 2011	4IP
David Greenwood	April 2011	4IP/River 94.9
Dugald Cameron	November 2012	River 94.5/Grant Broadcasting
Janet Cameron	October 2012	Grant Broadcasting
Paul Fallu	September 2013	QFM
Graham McVean	December 2013	STAR/River 94.9
John Knox	April 2012	4IP
Rhys Holleran	November 2012	SCA
Richard Burns	September 2013	STAR
Sir Frank Moore	August 2011	4IP
Anonymous Interviews		
Participant 1 (P1)	26/1/2013	
Participant 2 (P2)	22/9/2011	
Participant 3 (P3)	4/4/2012	
Participant 4 (P4)	4/7/2012	
Participant 5 (P5)	13/4/2011	
Participant 6 (P6)	14/4/2011	
Participant 7 (P7)	11/2012	
Participant 8 (P8)	27/04/2012	
Participant 9 (P9)	25/08/2011	
Participant 10 (P10)	17/12/2013	
Participant 11 (P11)	10/10/12	
Participant 12 (P12)	10/04/2012	
Participant 13 (P13)	13/04/2011	
Participant 14 (P14)	20/04/2012	
Participant 15 (P15)	13/04/2011	
Participant 16 (P16)	22/09/2011	
Participant 17 (P17)	26/11/2012	
Participant 18 (P18)	Letter and personal note	
Participant 19 (P19)	13/04/2011	
Participant 20 (P20)	29/09/2013	
Participant 21 (P21)	26/09/2013	
Participant 22 (P22)	22/11/2012	
Participant 23 (P23)	25/08/2011	

Focus Groups	
FGBH	03/07/2012
FGKS	03/07/2012
FGTW	19/07/2012
FGMW	19/07/2012
FGKC	26/06/2012
FGMMF	26/06/2012
FGKJ	26/06/2012
FGPH	26/06/2012
FGAH	27/06/2012
FGHM	27/06/2012
FGJM	27/06/2012
FGBO	27/06/2012
FGDB	27/06/2012
FGLB	27/06/2012

To ensure that I had a wide representation of the radio industry I was granted an interview with senior executives from Grant Broadcasting and the Austereo network (a major Australian radio network), based in Sydney. Due to my own media connections, I was able to have access to people for whom my research topic is their story hence the richness of the data.

Each of the participants who agreed to undertake a recorded interview responded to some guiding questions that I prepared. They were generated from my early research from newspaper articles, academic journals and from my own experience. I sought to establish some guiding questions to establish context and allow the conversation to flow, with questions to interrogate any vague comments for clarification. I approached the interview by having the participant share their story, what their interest was in the radio station, how they were involved, why they were involved and so on. By using reflective listening techniques and confirmatory questions I was successful in gaining the participant's story. Using mainly open questions I continued to talk until we reached the logical end of their story and knowledge. There was often a cross referencing encouraged where one participant might not recall information but would suggest someone who could answer, thus increasing the authenticity of the study. Pacific Transcriptions, based in Brisbane provide a transcription service, in part to academics, who transcribed all interviews and emailed these to me. I retained the audio files and would re-listen to the interview and manually examined each transcript to highlight themes and key comments. I

also was trained in and used NVivo qualitative analysis software. NVivo was used as an archival tool and rudimentary investigation, for example exploring themes. I was able to create nodes and code the data which I combined with each manually reviewed transcript. It was vitally important for me to immerse myself in the data. During interviews I made notes then or directly after of any physical changes that occurred during the interview such as body language, if the participant was happy and the mood changed with topic, what were the triggers for these changes.

I established a coding system that is linked to the author without disclosing the source in line with the authorisation to participate in the research. The associated documents related to methodology are available to cite in Appendix A.

## **Quantitative Data**

I have used the quantitative data in my Findings Chapter to provide some additional understanding to beliefs about current use of radio, in terms of usage and access, and the importance of community information presented on air. I provided an online survey drawing on my key research questions, which covered media habits of respondents. This was discussed in the media interviews with the ABC and in The Queensland Times and my own contacts forwarded onto other contacts. I have a total of 267 people who answered the questionnaire. These took place in a shopping centre, undertaken by myself and in some cases, a paid assistant. The survey was carried out in a variety of times and days to maximise engagement, e.g. week days, mornings, afternoons and evenings and Saturday mornings. The survey's aim was to gain some key information around current radio habits and the interest from the general public in accessing community information via the radio. It was to provide additional information that would either confirm or challenge the interviews. These surveys were being carried out over the same period of time when I was also undertaking the field interviews. The responses were guiding my questions for the participants when trends began to emerge. This is remaining true to the chosen methodologies.

The Quantitative survey undertaken in Ipswich where  $n=267$  is represented by 177 respondents aged 18 to 24, 30 respondents aged 25 to 49 and 60 respondents aged 50

plus. The main locations where radio is consumed, which will be in more than one location is 36% respondents listen at home, 87% respondents in the car and 14% respondents at work.

The survey on media usage found that on the question of **How Important is Local Content on a Radio Station**, 57% of respondents said it is important or very important, 11% state that it has some relevance, while 23% stated that it is little to no importance to them. In a qualitative response to this question the majority of respondents noted community information, news, weather, traffic as important information. The older demographic enjoy talkback radio and conversational content in addition to the stated important information.

I used the quantitative data to validate the qualitative findings and to a certain degree guide questions of participants. At no time was this data considered to be of significant value to this dissertation beyond confirming my very early sense of what is occurring in the local community. The questions were broad and covered all media behaviour; I used only the narrow radio questions. It was carried out early in this research to gain a snapshot of the current trends in media consumption and attitudes.

## **Newspaper, Journal and Documents**

A number of participants provided me with images, documents such as business letters, sales information, ratings and thank you letters. Newspaper stories that covered the opening of 4IP in the Johnson and Moore eras, also articles that I identified and supported the types of events and coverage the radio station provided. These newspaper articles were sourced from the online archive Trove, from the National Archive as well as from the Ipswich City Library files on media. The articles and other documents prompted particular questions for participants, for example the daughter and granddaughter of Johnson, so that I could get a better understanding of the era, practices and the beliefs and values of the family and of those associated with the radio station. This was a typical practice I employed so that I was analysing the data and gathering more data to ensure accuracy and immersion into the field.

I sourced a number of radio journals from the 1930s and 1940s that provided some insight into attitudes and trends emerging around radio, this added some context to the broader radio industry. This is a limited resource in terms of supporting my research as it is Australia wide and tends to be biased to the industry. Again it provides some colour into how the game was played in specific eras in the field of radio in Australia. Some of the radio annuals and commemorative publications provided details that have been useful, again to inform the research.

## **Images**

Some respondents gave permission for me to have access to original photos or allowed me to have a volunteer who assisted me in taking images of brochures, stickers, promotional items, old images and other items of historical significance. All have clearance for use in this research. These again took me into the situations that were being explained by participants and assisted both the participant and I to connect. It showed the advancement in radio, the approach employed from early radio (1935) to the new studio in 1963. Some of these images will be used in the Appendices of the dissertation and will support aspects of my work.

## **Data Storage**

All files associated with the PhD are stored on two external drives accessible by password, one university password protected central server, and a complete back up on a password protected home computer, in accordance with the Ethical Clearance approval. All physical documents and artefacts are in lockable filing cabinets within my office. All permission documents for the interview are filed in the lockable cabinet.

This methodology chapter provides clarification around the approach and the processes used to gain the data for this research. There has been a rigorous interrogation of the data that forms the findings chapter which flows onto the conclusion chapter that outlines the major outcomes from this research that adds to knowledge around broadcast radio and more generally has implications for aspects of

community development and associated studies. The implications from this data are detailed in the Findings and Conclusions chapters.



## 4. FINDINGS

### Johnson Era

William (Bill) John Johnson (W.J. Johnson) represents the pioneering spirit present in the establishment of radio in Australia and internationally. The first radio broadcast in Australia emanated from Sydney radio station 2SB (later to become 2BL) in November 1923, and within 12 years, Johnson had established 4IP for Ipswich in 1935. This research explores the unique perspective Johnson provided through the establishment of radio in the field of Ipswich. The Bourdieuan theoretical lens I am using to interrogate this phenomena is typically used in macro-contexts around “Education” or “Art”, particularly in describing how the “game is in action” (Bourdieu, 1977). In the context of Ipswich, I am afforded the opportunity to explore first and second hand accounts from those who were players in the field. By player, I mean an individual who lives in Ipswich and has some level of engagement with 4IP. The research views the player in the field of Ipswich constructing and confirming the rules of the game.

To a major extent, this section of the findings examines the relationship of Johnson within the wider radio industry over his time of ownership and management of 4IP, therefore providing some understanding of the game in South East Queensland specifically and generally on a national basis. The richness of this body of work is the connection radio has with its community (Ipswich), and how the agency of players including Johnson, 4IP staff, members of the community, businessmen, leaders of groups and organisations in the city impacts upon the development of radio (4IP) as a local broadcaster and as an industry in the city.

The Literature Review (P20 -43) provides an insight into the field of radio and the game that is played across a multitude of fields. It is the domain of this research to consider radio, not in its own field, but in the context of the field of Ipswich. The Johnson Era provides an insight into how radio connects with its geographically defined community; how it functions on a day to day basis, and in what way do people in the city of Ipswich engage with the radio station. This necessarily departs

from the historical information in the Literature Review and is directed towards the lived experiences of those for whom 4IP and Ipswich were well known and understood. The Johnson Era challenges the “taken for grantedness” of understanding radio as an industry, for it was an explicit agent in the Ipswich community. Commercial radio, of which 4IP was one, was flourishing financially across Australia after settling the class A and B License challenges. In this section I will explore the role of Johnson as the founder of 4IP; I will also examine the social and cultural context of Ipswich into which 4IP was born and the field of Ipswich with 4IP as a player in this context.

### **William (Bill) Johnson – dates**

William (Bill) Johnson is recognised as the founder and driving force behind the establishment and management of 4IP. He took his role in the family business as a director of F.W. Johnson and Sons, motor distributors of Ipswich. His position in the field of Ipswich was powerful due to his economic, social and cultural capital, his privilege and class. He gained education in the “correct” institutions, belonged to the appropriate clubs (such as Rotary, the Chamber of Commerce and Legacy), and provided leadership within each, maintaining his species of capital. He had strong connections to the performing arts as a violinist and he participated in a local orchestra. Thus expressing his cultural capital in and through Ipswich. This significant social and cultural capital afforded Johnson considerable agency in Ipswich. Like many young men of this time he learned about the family business from the ground up. At 14 Johnson learnt the trade of his family which gave him trade skills and a sense of business practice and leadership. According to his personal note (1960s) he was exposed to all aspects of the business including blacksmithing, trimming, painting and wood-work. He also undertook 12 months of training at the Ipswich Technical College; taking his place with others in the workshop or college took him momentarily from his privileged position and placed him into other less exclusive positions, he equally was a “*fish in water*” as defined by Bourdieu (Maton, 2010). This is consistent with the observations of participants who described Johnson as having no obvious or discernible class distinction or separation in day to day Ipswich life. Value was placed onto the individual, arguably because they were playing the game and adhering to the agreed beliefs and values held individually and

therefore corporately. Participants interviewed and surveyed for this research gave clarity to how things were understood; how the game was played.

Yeah, it was, but not as a distinct class. That's probably not the right way to put it. People – it didn't really matter. The people from that money side might knock around with this fella just the same as if it was one of their group. I think how they overcame that - they had their clubs and lodges where the business - the money people might be there. I'd say the Ipswich Club, for instance, comes to mind. Then, in the sporting clubs, they all mixed, so that fella would belong to a sporting club as well where this fella belonged to a sporting club as well. Now, this fella down in the lower class might not be able to go to the Ipswich Club or whatever, but then - well, the North Star pub I'd say was a good point in view. They all eventually drank there. It didn't matter what level they were at. They had the big public bar on the front. Down the back was what was called a saloon bar for a flash name, but it was just another place when they were there. Money fellas might go down there and talk, but you'd see a lot of other blokes go in there, so it finished up you'd have fellas from the bank being there, then you'd have a fella who worked in the council in there too, so they got to know one another (P8, 2012).

Johnson participated as a soldier in the First World War and, as noted in the Literature Review (p32), this was the site of much training and skill development around the technical aspect of radio assisting its development in Australia. While Johnson openly claimed that he lacked any knowledge about radio as an industry, he did understand the technical aspect of the medium and was passionate about establishing a station in Ipswich, which further increased his cultural capital. Observing the life of Johnson provides an insight into his endowment of transferred capital. He consciously traded on his family's position and place in the field but clearly he took his own place and established his own wealth in terms of economic, social and cultural capital. An early analysis of the data collected suggests he was perceived as an "ordinary" bloke who is as comfortable in the workshop, playing in the orchestra, or taking leadership of a business or community organisation. This was achievable as long as the rules of the game were observed.

He was a very fair, open sort of boss. He had been through the war of course and been gassed I think. But he was always on hand to see what was happening. He would come in and have a few words every day. I didn't have much connection with him, I suppose. He was just there, but he never caused any angst that I can remember or I don't ever remember anyone being fired while I was there. I'm sorry, once I do. But, no he was a level-headed businessman and that's how he operated (P3, 2012).

He always very stern and always dressed in black. A very quiet sort of bloke. Everyone respected him and looked up to him sort of thing because, after all, he was the man that kept the place going (P8, 2012).

Johnson's values and beliefs, or in Bourdieuan terms, his habitus, connect with the field (Ipswich) in which he plays. These values and beliefs afford him agency in the field of Ipswich as demonstrated through practice. He "fits the mould" of someone who "did his bit" for country and community. Johnson did not seem to use his agency to gain self-promotion, in fact he moved around the field, taking on different positions in the field and this was accepted and normalised in the context of the agreed values and rules of Ipswich city. This insight gives rise to a different perspective or understanding of playing in the field. Johnson by necessity of his different positions in the field could play at a higher level, in a place of power if trading upon the family name. Clearly through his own personal notes, he was a man who sought to take his place in society, and was willing to trade on his capital and strive for what he believed in, that specifically being the establishment of 4IP. This is an important finding through his practice in the field of Ipswich because Bourdieu would suggest that we take our place in different fields as we move seamlessly in and out of fields in our daily lives. Bourdieu's emphasis is on different fields rather than the ability to hold down a number of positions in the same field, as seen in this scenario. Certainly the ability to intersect with other fields is important but the focus is on the field of Ipswich and taking your designated position in the community at a number of levels.

#### **4.1.1. Birth of 4IP – Introduction of Radio in the Field of Ipswich**

The Ipswich radio station, 4IP, was established as a company on September 2, 1935 on the frequency 1440 AM, moving to 1010 AM in 1948. Johnson passionately pursued the development of the radio station as evidenced by the language ascribed to it. "WJ was at last happy to hear his "baby's" voice, a "baby" that has grown into a very healthy member of the community" (Teleradio, 1938). Johnson's metaphor indicates something of the sense of a gestation period with the pain and struggles that come with birth. There is a sense of the elation of "bringing forth" a radio station and seeing it raised and supported by the community that recognises it as a member.

Johnson's discourse in a Teleradio article of 1938 reveals that he was drawing on his capital and disposition in the field of Ipswich to establish this station. He proclaimed his belief in the city, its capacity to sustain a radio station and was positioned in the game to stand shoulder to shoulder with some local business people who shared the vision. The interview describes a time that was challenging and required hard work. Radio was proving to be highly successful but it was an expensive business to establish and maintain. Although Johnson did publically declare this sense of unity, his personal notations indicate that he "could not understand why Ipswich was so backward in not having a wireless station." (Johnson, Personal Communication)

It was after a number of years of effort that the transmitting License was granted. Johnson again traded on his capital within the field of Ipswich and was entering a new field of radio. The greater field of Ipswich came with expectations of Johnson to succeed; success certainly guaranteed keeping his place in the game. There is a distinct lack of evidence from the interviews and other data sources at this time around the struggles and ownership structure from those engaged in the process with Johnson. The Queensland Times newspaper is the only business mentioned, at least publically, as being associated with the radio station as a shareholder (Reporter, 1963). As the only other form of media functioning in the field of Ipswich it was appropriate that the newspaper supported the new team member and this was done by exercising the economic, social and cultural capital that the Queensland Times had. By this action the Queensland Times had agency over 4IP to ensure that it played the commercial game appropriately.

4IP used a positioning statement, its claim that it was the "Radio Voice of West Moreton" to define its coverage area and association with the community and to exercise agency on the field of Ipswich. The notion of having a voice personified the radio station and allowed it to take its place in the field of Ipswich as a "friend". Johnson was a Director and Secretary of the company. 4IP was "financed and controlled by Ipswich interests and operated under Ipswich Broadcasting Company Pty Ltd" (Johnston, 1986, p. 19). The first manager was Royston Marcus, Terence Lambert was the second manager to work at the station and then Johnson took the reins for 20 years before his retirement and sale of the station in 1963. There is no recorded information or family knowledge as to why he did not take the lead from

the outset, perhaps it is reasonable to assume that he had other family business matters to be across and his own lack of knowledge around radio as a communication tool made him hesitant to manage. It is true that he held a board position and that may have been preferable to him, allowing him to have control but not being required to deal with the day to day operational matters of the radio station. Johnson was earlier described as a stern man, quiet and disconnected; these are not attributes that define a frontline manager. Johnson could trade on his considerable array of capital but to demonstrate any weakness could have impacted on his game in the field thus lessening some aspects of his capital. By the time Johnson took the reins the radio station was already building agency in the community; therefore Johnson could trade on 4IP's standing in the field and draw on the capital available to him. I would argue that he used cultural capital as the "showman" to potentially cover for any shortcomings.

Johnson declared in his speech on the occasion of the opening of 4IP on 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1935 that the station would foster local talent. The station achieved this in a variety of ways, specifically encouraging displays of cultural capital by Ipswich people from the young to adults. Johnson's alter ego, Uncle Bill, was the character behind the very successful Smiles Club. As noted in a newspaper article (Unknown, 1938), the club had 800 members and was founded on providing opportunities for emerging talent that the show intended to feature. The after school program attracted a regular group of approximately 200 young children packing into the Brisbane Street studio to be part of the broadcast, a number who performed live on-air. Each Saturday morning the station aired 'Studio Presentation'. The program was designed for younger people to express their talents (Reporter, 1964b). The fact that so many children and by association adults endorsed this program was an indicator of the individual habitus, their belief in the value of community, sharing of talents and seeking to contribute to their community. Johnson believed that it gave a voice to the young people and radio could bring that talent to light. Talent programs were a feature of radio across Australia. On the basis of Ipswich highly valuing and defending its independence as a field, using its agency to keep Brisbane at arm's length, it is conceivable that in this context 4IP was used as a way to encourage localism. By maintaining a select interaction between fields, such as the field of

Boonah, Laidley, Forest Hill and other local communities it maintained its strength and conserved the common held beliefs of Ipswich city.

An article in the Broadcast Year Book 1946/47 (p. 166) stated “[s]ince its inception 4IP has provided high-class programmes for listeners in Ipswich and surrounding districts” In a sense the review by Broadcast Year Book validated the inclusiveness of the community and the fact that 4IP gave a voice to the community. The term “high-class” is problematic but was used to talk more about the quality of the performers than to differentiate 4IP from other Brisbane radio stations. The radio station played a considerable amount of classical music, and local performers also adhered to this format that overtime was confirmed by those in the field of Ipswich as the way to play the game. It was proper and respectful and culturally aligned with dress code and the notion of children being seen but not heard.

I used to go to the Sing and the Smiles Club which was after school on Tuesdays I think. At that time, Mona Walters was the secretary cum pianist and Terry Lambert and Terry Forsyth were around in those days too. Everybody from school - people from all over - schools all over Ipswich would turn up, all wanting to be - go on air, you know, and we weren't selected or anything. More or less you went in and if you did a reasonable job you were put on the program (P12, 2012).

Oh it was absolutely wonderful. It was - of course there was no television in those days so most people listened to the radio and they liked to think that their students, of Ipswich, could perform on the local radio. It was just a really, really, big thrill to be even asked to go and sing on 4IP (P19, 2011).

It was just so exciting, so exciting. One thing that I loved was the opportunity to play the piano. Because I wasn't one of the elite pianists in Ipswich but I was still able to go on air and play music (FGBH, 2012).

Those who knew Johnson, despite his very public roles, do not easily define Johnson. He did exercise his agency within Ipswich and surrounding areas through his role as station manager, on air presenter as Uncle Bill, and in the wider community. He also took on leadership roles in Ipswich Rotary, Returned Sailors', Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (R.S.S.I.L.A), Chamber of Commerce, Ipswich Legacy and in music and sporting interests. He invested himself into the community that invested

itself into his radio station. Johnson possessed significant capital as “*a fish in water*”. His values and beliefs aligned (if not defined and lead) with the field in which he functions through 4IP which was reflecting the cultural practices of the community of Ipswich and surrounding districts in performance, celebration of significant events like agricultural shows, and supporting the second world war effort. He matched the expression of the communities “self” through the airwaves and supported the rituals and practices that confirmed Ipswich to be Ipswich; the practice of being Ipswich. Clearly Johnson had a “feel for the game” and through his position in the field of Ipswich was able to play the game with strength and unity. Johnson established himself in leadership and management at the same time that Ipswich was coming of age, particularly in the post war era in the mid to late 1940s. Johnson was able to establish a new business and a much needed resource to add to the field of Ipswich in a significant and meaningful way. Other cities around Australia were gaining their own radio stations, some local Ipswich amateur radio enthusiasts had trialed broadcasts but did not move beyond this level of broadcast. The amateur radio enthusiasts, as discussed in the Literature Review (P22), were highly active. In the field of Ipswich they broadcast some local content for only limited time in a week. It highlighted the desire of the community to engage with radio as a number of locals performed on air each week. 4IP played a more mature game in the field of Ipswich above being “amateur” status. The amateur status would be a mismatch across the fields of Ipswich and Brisbane and in the field of radio across South East Queensland. It further reinforced the cultural capital of Ipswich and how this was used in the field of Ipswich.

Johnson knows the game very well. He is a “*fish in water*” even though his practice superficially suggests that he is moving from role to role and in so doing rising and falling in power and position in the field. This suggestion is in fact incorrect; Johnson has a level of power and knows the game and the various positions so well that he in fact can seamlessly move from position to position without losing his considerable array of capital. This is achieved by Johnson transferring his capital to another player authorising them to take that place in the field. He was equally accepted in whatever role and confirms this earlier assertion. Johnson’s ability to move between a role as a company director and a role as a children’s presenter is indicative of Johnson’s transferable capital and the power that he wields in the field of Ipswich. Earlier I



noted the freedom that Johnson had in the field of Ipswich to undertake trade skill development and also have other business responsibilities. This understanding and insight is consistent with Bourdieu's theory of fields and how an individual in the social arena, with the correct amount and types of capital can comfortably move across and in a field. The field is also as a place of negotiated power based on moving forward or gaining ground in the field amassing capital.

The point of departure in my research is that a player like Johnson could be on the field and change positions, much like the soccer match metaphor that Bourdieu himself uses as a way of understanding field. The change is more than negotiating a place in the field moving from one equal position to another equal place in the field. Johnson has sufficient capital and power that it affords him a transferability that he can use to his advantage. Importantly he does not use this power or position to always move forward or to laud it over those with lesser agency. Johnson can take a lesser role or put himself into the front of the game and this is dependent on what he chooses. He can be managing director and at the same time be the children's host and instantly transform to being the violinist. He can do this because he can transfer, albeit temporarily, his authority to another player to keep the game going while he takes up another role.

Johnson was essentially a good "all-rounder", who demonstrated a deep sense of community. Community, in this case, has the power, it guides the way the game is played, and is expressed as cultural capital; and to belong to the community as a collective 'team' actually itself provides a position of power. It is against the local community that one confirms or challenges deeply held beliefs and either ceases or, with enough agency, creates opportunity for transformation.

Community in the context of the field of Ipswich, and agreed upon by the participants, is in general about relationships, sharing time and resources, supportive and contributing to the community through its various groups and clubs. Community is further defined as referring to "those things which people have in common, which bind them together, and give them a sense of belonging with one another," (Day, 2006, p. 2-3). It refers to a sense of "group-ness" as opposed to individualism and therefore isolation and arguably validates the notion of localism that brings together

the shared values and the desire to hold dear to that which is local (Day, 2006, p. 2-3). Further to this, “community” emerging from this research is also subjective, meaning that it ought not to be confined to a set definition. Participants in this research described how they felt and experienced their physical location as central to the place where these particular experiences occur. This does privilege Ipswich as being perceived as possessing specific attributes that belong to the people who make up the community. As I have described the notion of community, it is consistent with the Bourdieuan framework in that it is not fixed but immutable, always being negotiated and encountered (Delanty, 2003, p. 177; Ife, 2013, p. 116-117).

Participants gave a clear and consistent recollection of a place that has a deep sense of belonging to each other where 4IP is accepted as ‘one of them’. Ipswich as a field must be understood as a site where I reflexively consider what is evident in practice and view what are the guiding rules to render the outcome. 4IP is one player in the field of Ipswich; it is of value to consider the guiding rules and dispositions that exist within Ipswich that makes Ipswich, Ipswich.

The process of exploring how people experienced Ipswich and their shared values and beliefs of that particular time is to embark upon an examination of the structure of the “water” in which the local agents “swim”. The Bourdieuan metaphor of a “*fish in water*” is a framework often understood only when something or someone seeks to challenge the way things are. To understand the environment requires reflexivity. As I have discussed in the Methodology chapter, as the researcher I am part of the environment, I am in the water. To see beyond practice I must allow myself to step into the other person’s shoes and understand, from their perspective, what it is to live in Ipswich at this time. In so doing it raises my own prejudices and once aware I can wash away preconceived notions. Reflexivity acknowledges research as an act of interpretation and importantly it avoids the binary of subjective and objective by the very interactions and understandings applied. Reflexivity I understand causes us to all be uncomfortable, “*fish out of water*”, as we venture into what we know and do not know but are willing to admit our lacking and openly embrace new knowledge.

My further analysis will explore how Ipswich people enriched their social and cultural capital as locals take their place in the field of Ipswich. People by and large display a homogeneous structure that defines, in Bourdieuan terms, a feel for the game (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127), in that there are shared values and beliefs that maintain the environment in which each is secure and valued. Ipswich people were “*fish in water*”, comfortable and accustomed to their surroundings to the point that it was not obvious. Further Ipswich residents understood the rules and were able to, through their disposition or habitus; confirm their acceptance of the game and the players in the game by actively engaging and upholding these values in their practice.

Participants give a graphic recollection of the city of Ipswich in the way in which it functioned on a day to day basis, and in that narrative indicate the rituals and practices of the agents and explores for us the very nature or characteristics of the “water”.

Back in my day everybody knew everybody (P9, 2011).

It was an industrial town. You had mines, you had the railway workshops, you had the woollen mills, you had Hancock’s Plyworks - these were all on the Bremer River on the north side. We had the big gasometer there that used to produce gas for household use. It was basically in those days a working man’s town, so that most people were involved in mining, railway workshops, iron mills, Morris Brother’s mills - they employed a lot of women in weaving and blanket making. Hancock’s was making three ply timber products. So the main drive was for people to go to work, come home and go to work the next day (P4, 2012).

...80 per cent of the population were working class. Now that's not being derogatory at all because my father was a tradesman. That was the build-up of Ipswich in those days it was predominantly a working class community, 80 per cent would have been working class and they lived in complete harmony. It's unreal in today's terms (P9, 2011).

Life was pretty simple in those days because from a workman’s point of view - an average workman - he would go to work, the wife would stay at home and rear the children. The economic situation was entirely different in those days. Not many people had cars. You had a situation where you worked your 40 hours per week, went home and had a couple of beers on the way home from work.

The radio was the only form of entertainment so that most people would be in bed by seven or eight o'clock at night. Then up at six o'clock to get ready to go to work. This would go on for five days (P9, 2011).

Participants gave an honest insight to the way life was for them in that period of time. This indicates the presence of high levels of social and cultural capital, looking out for your mate. It validates that participants were comfortable with their place in the field and knew their place in the game.

This is an era when catching a bus into town was the mode of transport as few had motor vehicles. It was a working class town and the majority of Ipswich people were in manufacturing, retail or administration work. It was a time when they were served in stores, petrol was poured into the vehicle for you and social interactions were very important. People did travel to Brisbane for work or to acquire hard to get items. It was a long journey by train and the local stores carried an extensive range making the city self-contained. The practice of being self-sufficient is a recurring theme for participants who sought to encourage this. Certainly it is inherently part of daily life from growing crops, to manufacturing of products and provision of services. It was not unusual but clearly highly prized. Ipswich, not Brisbane, was considered the main hub for retail and commercial activity for locals and those living in nearby local communities (Buchanan, 2004).

The social calendar, further describing a rich social network and therefore social and cultural capital, was a mix of sport and other social activities that participants described.

On Saturday night you either went to a dance at the town hall or the trade's hall or you went to the pictures. If you went to the pictures it was a collar and tie job and a sports shirt - a sports coat. The Wintergarden, well that was a ... or the Ritz. Then we used to have our matinees. So on the weekends in those days you were probably involved in a sport of some sort (P4, 2012).

Other cultural experiences included the Eisteddfod, and other concerts. 4IP played a large role in broadcasting these and including a large number of live, studio based performance opportunities for locals. It was not the privileged that played piano or

had singing lessons; it was the majority of people depositing into the majority of Ipswich people a level of cultural capital. The radio, or better known at this time as the wireless, as well as the piano were great sources of entertainment in the home.

I've had so much from Ipswich and the opportunities were there for the people of Ipswich. I mean the Eisteddfod Movement, how it was a stage for the young people. The Little Theatre - I moved into Little Theatre later on. I think there were wonderful opportunities for the youth. The schools were brilliant and the people were very caring people. The people were more blue collar workers than what they are today. Ipswich has always been exciting to me, and of course it still is exciting today (FGBH, 2012).

Earlier I discussed 4IP programs such as the Smiles Club along with other content. The station presented their own radio plays and broadcast other pre-recorded radio plays and serials. It also presented request sessions, hill-billy presentations, competitions and church broadcasts. (Johnston, 1986, p.19). During the Second World War years the station held 4IP concert parties to raise funds for the troops comfort fund. The station raised funds and awareness for Red Cross, Bundles for Britain and a Salvage Drive, all war related projects. Listeners are reported to have "subscribed generously" (Johnson W, Personal Notes). The station participated in the highly successful Amateur Hour, a national program, and presented "Studio Presentation" each Saturday morning, these programs fostered local talent. (Buchanan, 2004, p. 80). Therefore 4IP was mainly self-sufficient in terms of content, in keeping with the way the game is played more generally in Ipswich. 4IP did access some of the more popular national programs to put on air. Beyond the limited number of outside productions, 4IP Ipswich stayed very much to itself sharing life within its geographic boundaries.

This Findings section uncovered rich examples of how the radio station matched its practice with the habitus of the local community members. This transcended Ipswich City by engaging with the surrounding communities through broadcasts from the local agricultural shows and programs such as "Kalbar Calling" or "Forest Hill Calling" and so on for each of the communities it served. Tie Lines through the PMG (Post Master General) service were used across the community; these were essential phone lines that connected to broadcasting devices for the purpose of

broadcast incoming into people's dwellings. In this era they were often left active so that 4IP could connect as required. 4IP would pay an annual fee for the service and participants identified 4IP as having extensive connections across the city and the region. It is noted by participants that Tie Lines were located in the Town Hall, Wintergarden Theatre, each church, Ipswich showgrounds and to each rural showgrounds. According to some personal notes from June Kaye, 4IP "had the necessary equipment (bulky as it was) to do outside broadcasts and transported it to where it was required (no outside broadcast vans in those days) just man or woman power" (Jones, 2011b). Notably 4IP did not exercise its species of capital towards the field of Brisbane nor the field of radio in South East Queensland.

Frank Daly was a young announcer who had heard a program on Brisbane's 4BH that featured music that listeners requested. Daly sought to bring a similar program to 4IP known as the 4IP Hit Parade which was launched on July 10, 1952 at 6:30 pm. The program was accepted by Johnson on the proviso that a sponsor was sourced by Daly. In his interview, Daly recalled how he went about gaining the financial support

...and I went out and got a sponsor. I'd never ever sold advertising to anybody but I went into a newly established - this guy had a little electrical store mainly selling radiograms but he had record sales too. He jumped at the idea of sponsoring it and as a result he got a lot of record sales, particularly from the dairy farmers as I said the ones that lived up in the Fassifern Valley. They would come into his store and they said oh we heard ...about you on the hit parade. They'd come in and buy the records. That was Ipswich in those days, very friendly (P9, 2011).

The program was based on listeners writing into the program requesting songs. By the number of votes or requests gained for a song placed it into the order of the hit parade. The Hit Parade was therefore determined by the people who were engaged and listening and, specifically not by the record companies. This "bottom up" approach to revealing the popularity of music was part of that era of radio and was very popular on 4IP as it reflected an inclusive and engaged grouping of people. The 4IP Hit Parade remained a long time program on 4IP until it was sold in 1963. Like all other content, music, more broadly, was played in accordance with the interests of the majority of listeners. Therefore 4IP's practice is aligned with Bourdieu's notion of the "feel for the game" because music would be selected based on what is

acceptable to the community. The music reflected the core values and collective taste. The record store would only stock music that was likely to sell based on what had been accepted on the radio station. The new music would follow so it confirmed the likes and dislikes of the community. This was an era when during and after the second world war economic capital was stronger and people could make purchases like records that would not have been possible during the depression. The post war period was certainly more buoyant and given the industrial nature of Ipswich was a welcome relief after a difficult period during the depression (Buchanan, 2004).

To ensure that the listening audience could continue to get best reception of 4IP that commenced with 50 watts of power, it moved to 100 watts, then to 200 watts and by 1956 to 1,000 watts of power and finally was transmitting away from the Old Flour Mill premises to a timber building at Briggs Road, Raceview. It was the first remote controlled broadcasting station in Australia. It later moved to a safer brick structure as a new transmission centre on the Briggs Road property in 1961. While dignitaries were all part of the official celebrations, the people of the city were invited to see the new equipment. The inclusiveness of 4IP with its fellow citizens is again an example of the practice of daily interaction that is evidence of the way the game is played and the value placed upon each other in the game.

The 4IP programs and the associated level of technical connectedness across the city and region, such as the tie lines, were clearly in response to the need to be part of the whole community and to be an agent of inclusion by being the conduit to deliver programming to those who could not physically attend. 4IP displayed a great sense of agency within its field of radio and Ipswich along with many of the participants who equally are connected and display a high level of social and cultural capital in the field of Ipswich.

Given that many of the locals in Ipswich were migrants from the United Kingdom or Europe, they had some strong cultural links to their former place. This is demonstrated in work ethic, types of clothing, style and construction of homes and buildings. It is also evident in the strong divide between Catholic and Protestant groupings. In either case Participants clearly talked about how locals would not shop in particular shops because they had owners linked to a particular grouping.

I mean if you were a Protestant you wouldn't bother going to [TC Bernie's] to get a job because you wouldn't get one. Cribb and Foote was the Protestant one. TC Bernie's was the Catholic one. That was a known fact (FGKS, 2012).

Oh yeah, dad used to say about Burnie's and Cribb and Foote's, if you worked at Cribb and Foote's and bought anything at Burnie's it was nearly sackable and vice versa (FGBO, 2012).

This is an example of the doxa, the unwritten rules in place to guide the way the game is played. These rules are deeply held and often come from other cultural groups, for example German, Irish, Welsh or English people who immigrated to Ipswich or surrounding areas. They brought deeply held beliefs and values that were confirmed and sustained in this new place.

During the individual and focus group interviews, participants became very animated and engaged as they shared stories. When we talked about 4IP, participants demonstrated a profound physical change evidenced by sitting forward in their chairs, smiling and eagerly sought to engage. As they shared their stories the joy, delight and happiness were clearly displayed. I had not experienced 4IP (I was born in 1959) in this era but was aware in my own lived experience that 4IP was loved. The responses were heartfelt and the level of connection these people had with the station took me by surprise. When the conversation moved away from 4IP from 1935 to 1963 when either there was a change of management or Ipswich had no local radio station (through the 1980s), there was a definite change in physicality and energy. Participants noticeably lost the connectedness that they had in the conversation around this time period. One respondent captured this in the following quote:

....But today's world seems to be so full of stress and strife and you're never sure if you're going to hold your job. There's so many down moments in things that the world has completely changed, and I'm not part of the world anymore. I still want things a little like they were because it was the happiness and family and all things like that (P3, 2012).



For this respondent, like many others, the era brought great happiness. It was a time when “children were seen and not heard”. What the participants recalled was a sense of order and pattern to life that was predictable and seemingly durable. They clearly captured the ease of how they negotiated their practice within their world of Ipswich. In practice, local residents enjoyed a high level of social and cultural capital but I would argue possess significant symbolic capital, in terms of their resourcefulness, and the honouring that they gave to each other. It is a departure from the typical way in which this form of capital is understood, which I believe is valid in this context. They, by and large, have agency to negotiate their world but the rules of the game were very clear and because of that their world had clarity. The social reproduction of this era confirms the satisfaction that each agent has with his or her position on the field.

4IP no doubt had significant connections with the wider community and it was essentially a healthy relationship. As previously described, agents in Ipswich city could move freely in and out of the radio space without any fear of disconnection in relation to the community. This is a hallmark of the Johnson Era; it is a period of time when at a macro-level, the community appeared to be content with how it functioned; the players took their place in the field and played the game with a seemingly sincere contentment that Ipswich was a ‘good place to be’ and the expressions of one’s self in the field were approved and validated. More importantly, at a micro-level participants confirm the view of experiencing contentment in the community of Ipswich, as I have already described, 4IP was an integral part of the everyday experience of playing the game of being “Ipswich”.

Radio more generally was therefore highly relational and functioned best within an environment that fostered a deep relationship with the listener who was both a participant and active agent in engaging with the radio station. 4IP is a significant example of this as it provides compelling evidence around a specific idea of Localism. This term was not used during the Johnson Era because it was embedded in the disposition of Ipswichians and therefore 4IP. Localism is now used to identify that which was taken for granted in this era and arguably sought after in the present.

#### 4.1.2. Selling 4IP

4IP, William (Bill) Johnson, Ipswich and West Moreton residents had shared reciprocity from the inception of 4IP in 1935. For 28 years a significant level of social and cultural capital had specifically been developed and maintained. By 1963 Johnson was 70 years of age and due to ill health had come to, what participants identify as a, difficult decision. He revealed to his daughter the decision

.....and this day - because he had been sick for quite a while. I was over at his place because I lived next door and he said, Dot, I can't continue any more. He said, I'll have to sell and he did (P3, 2012).

Johnson clearly was progressive and had been considering the future of radio. He had been discussing the use of Frequency Modulation (FM) well before this was used in broadcasting within Australia.

He seemed to be a person who was - you know, looking to the future all the time and seeing what was out there, and would follow it up (P14, 2012).

He had raised the notion of FM broadcasting at a commercial radio conference. A family member gave me the document from the radio conference presentation. It was found with other documents when the transmitter was being removed for re-location under new management. Records of the time were crushed under foot, most likely viewed as invaluable to the new management who are richly endowed in the species of capital and are primed to move forward. This document was recovered by a staff member of Johnson's.

He thought I'd like to see it and how at the broadcasting conference, WJ Johnson had mentioned FM but it did not carry. Nobody seemed to be interested at that stage apparently. How dad knew about it, I would love to know (P6, 2011).

The physical move, the change of staff, (players in the field), and the challenges that came with these changes directly affected the day to day practice, not only of 4IP, but of how all the players consider the game in the field of Ipswich. What this period has clearly shown is the way in which radio is a voice, a part of the community that

does value and esteem its members, each player in the game has agreed on the game and its unique perspective on the cultural and social dispositions show how a community embraces its radio and radio embodies its community.

I conclude this section acknowledging that the Johnson era brought radio to Ipswich and surrounding districts, it sought in honesty to serve the community in the cultural framework established in this era. 4IP was sold, and the ownership changes will be discussed in the next section, what is important is the transition process and what this meant to all concerned. Some former staff commented on the transition; all were aware that it was about to change, some were not confident of what that would mean, others were circumspect about the process. This is enough to have staff members feel as a *“fish out of water”*, that is to say that their habitus is not aligned with the game being played, the uncertainty and therefore a great deal of transformative tensions took place. When this was discussed in interview settings, there were clear tonal and physical changes that took place. As I previously noted 4IP engendered happy responses but discussions with the participants regarding change highlighted that one of the responses was to close ranks and resulted in a complete withdrawal from listening to the station. There was no explicit discussion that locals fought to keep the station the way it was. Rather, they simply switched radio stations to something that was familiar albeit not local but certainly appropriate to their habitus. The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) was valued by Australians and certainly was the right fit for those seeking something more “cultural”. The shift of power goes to the new owner and the staff were therefore left to feel reduced in power or in some cases feeling totally powerless. This is a time of conserving or transforming the social world in which we exist.

Well, we were all promised that we would keep our job. That was one of the stipulations that WJ said that he would sell. So we all were transferred to the building society. But of course, promises are never kept and we were all out (P3, 2011).

I think it was a fait accompli. We couldn't do anything about it and it was just a matter of we've got new bosses. Keith Fairweather, he was managing - he was [inaudible] - he was managing for a while. When we moved down to Limestone Street ... took over the management then. But most of the staff stayed with them (P4, 2012).

The new owner was Frank Moore, who operated a group of stations around Queensland under the banner of Central Queensland Broadcasting Network, and was about to take over something that was part of the Ipswich community. Participants in these quotes clearly display their attitudes and concerns over this change. In this time we are afforded an insight into the habitus of the individuals as distrust, suspicion and concern over what this will mean for them all come to the surface through their (re)actions, that is practice.

I think he wanted to revolutionise the old system. He went to America and came back with the concept of colour radio. It changed the format. I think he could see into the future how radio would - it was another step up from what was originally started (P4, 2012).

The story of 4IP and Ipswich City continues but now transitioning and operating under the leadership of Frank Moore and his organisation. We shall similarly observe this era and look at what emerges from the engagement with those who lived this era taking beyond history to a contemporary sociological perspective.

## **Moore Era**

### **4.1.3. Moore 1963 – 1978**

Interrogating the new ownership of 4IP provided an opportunity to see Ipswich through a different lens and to also look at it as a regional commercial radio station in competition with Brisbane radio stations. This perspective is a departure from the understandings gained from the participants about the Johnson era. Up to this time it was as if Brisbane did not exist, as it was not factored into the day-to-day functioning of Ipswich city and the people of Ipswich city remained insular and perhaps defiant in a way.

Moore observed that Johnson loved his city and respectfully honoured his commitment to the city; but challenged the business acumen applied to 4IP in its programming and financial competitiveness. Johnson gained the broadcast license in

1935 and Moore believes that in doing so it would have been a challenge in its own right. Moore had been privy to some government documents that validated his views

I noticed on some of the documents that I saw at that time it was Larry Anthony who had - that's Doug Anthony's father, who had been the Post Master General when the License was granted. If you go back to the '30s, the feeling with people then was that Ipswich would not have been a part of Brisbane. It was a community - it was a country town. My mother grew up at Lake Manchester. Her father was there while the dam was being built and then was there as the superintendent for the rest of his life. So I used to as a kid I'd go up there and she'd have to ride a horse - in fact they were a big family and there'd be three kids on each horse, all bare back. They'd have to ride from Lake Manchester across to Mount Crosby which is about six miles, to school and then back again. There were a lot of dairy farms and a lot of poor country in there too, but struggle farms all through there. So this was the general atmosphere, that Ipswich was really part of the rural scene and not part of the Brisbane scene (Jones, 2011i).

Moore brought a new perspective to the understanding of 4IP and indeed Ipswich as a city and a community. He opens up a Pandora's Box in terms of challenging the order of things that were established by Johnson, that instilled Ipswich's sense of itself; Moore disturbed the calm water of the established social norm and called the game for what it was; that 4IP was not a viable commercial station and that it was in fact in competition with the Brisbane radio stations. During the Johnson era there was a status quo, "*fish in water*", that Johnson himself was complicit in defining through designing the radio station to be a mirror of the very society in which it existed.

There was a great deal of order and fair play, which is true if we consider Ipswich through the Johnson lens. Moore provided a different perspective; he encouraged a more inclusive and broader cohort in the game. In his version of the game, Ipswich players were a less powerful group, although there were some strong players who dominated the field through their species of capital. Moore believed that a team which included a Brisbane side of players brought a richer species of capital. Johnson's Ipswich game sidelined Brisbane where the preference was to dismiss the notion of their existence and not allow them to enter the field. Moore acknowledged that Brisbane was already on the field playing strongly and bringing potential challenges to Ipswich. This uncomfortable revelation of what 4IP was doing in the

field of radio in South East Queensland did not sit well with Johnson who, although weakened by age and health, attempted to hold out. His behaviour suggested that the realities were being sidelined in favour of building a more palatable perception of Ipswich and 4IP. Johnson clearly felt ownership and had given a great deal to the city and the station, his 'baby', but in the light of the new perspective emerging the 'baby' was malnourished. The spectre of "Brisbane" was one that could not continue to be ignored, even though bitter rivalry between the two cities was established when each vied for capital city status (through the mid to late 1800s). Brisbane as a "player" in the field of Ipswich was downplayed and devalued and privilege was afforded to the locals of Ipswich. True to the myth of Pandora's Box, once the demons of the past were released, there was arguably hope remaining, which was Moore's purview. Ipswichians had a controlled and predicted game through the Johnson era; a hallmark time of an ordered and structured community that could be self-sustaining. Ipswich might not be the capital of Queensland but the cultural perception of itself functioned as if that battle was never fought let alone lost. Johnson was successful in keeping it all Ipswich-centric and Moore was successful at challenging the order of this. Moore could challenge because he possessed agency and adequate economic, social and cultural capital which enabled him to move from an insular mode to a more inclusive practice of behaviour. Moore is a game changer who introduces new variables through changing 4IP's ownership and inviting cultural shifts in music from a youthful perspective that wanted to confront the previous generation through rock and roll. This was to completely transform how the game was played and re-invent the game itself.

Ipswich, as previously discussed, was at odds with Brisbane based on old rivalries and the same rigid beliefs that sustained this division also drove the battle between those who identified as Protestant and Catholic. Religion as well as location furthered the divide with, "those from the north side or the south side of town" viewed as geographically positioned cultural groups. The religious divide, that was palpable in so many cities and regional towns in Australia, was camouflaged during the Johnson Era, yet, made explicit in the Moore era. Participants who responded to questions about the Johnson Era gave a sense that everyone was more or less on a level playing field in Ipswich (between its establishment and the 1960s). If this were true then those endowed with the various species of capital that provided them with

privileged positions would not need such objects of distinction, such as businessmen's clubs. However, these were established and operational in the community as implied indicators of allegiance to religious communities. The Johnson Era helped to create an illusion of a homogeneous community; the long standing class structures present in Ipswich had been in place since white settlement from the convict labourers and railway workers to squatter investors and business traders; all part of the community and each taking their place in the field.

While the community at large continued through the 1940s and 1950s to go through the structured pattern of day to day work, communities across Australia had a rhythm generated through factories, machinery and the range of task both on the land and in the home. These were regular patterns that matched the work and social life of a predictable society, and were in turn matched by a radio service that marched to the beat of the community. Structured programs, strategically timed news and weather and the delivery of funeral announcements at expected times and in a particular vocal delivery. The individual habitus lined up with the social expectations and patterns during the Johnson period. The working class did not need to concern themselves with what the management was thinking or doing. It was your duty and the community expectation was that work and home duties were carried out, also with no concern about what the businessmen were doing. It would seem that the security of the insular Ipswich that possessed solid, clear groupings and defined positions held in the field provided a level of comfort and assurance.

Yes, I suppose all the business people around the place would have been I suppose members of clubs and that sort of thing. I suppose there would have been that distinction because people who would have worked - and I'd say at the woollen mills, wouldn't have been in that thing but you sort of didn't know (P14, 2012).

For Johnson and the era in which he created cultural expressions, such as 4IP, it helped to keep players in harmony to conserve the doxa; the common held beliefs, and in this way they were "*fish in water*". The Moore Era highlights a time when challenges to this very structured world were under assault, as clearly indicated in this quote from Moore:

....if you went to a ball there was - it wasn't there, but there was an unseen line down the middle of the hall. A town boy would not approach a girl on the country side and vice versa. It was so bad I can - there was a girl, her family owned a beautiful property over the [unclear]. I'd really fallen for her a bit, so I used to go over her side of the hall and take her for a dance. There was a young squatter fellow came up to her and said, could I have this dance? She said no I'm having it with (person). He said what? Will the working class never learn their place? This is the sort of structured world that rural Australia was and the cities. Then you got all these kids suddenly changing society rapidly and the music, the music reflected it, led it, and massaged it (Jones, 2011i).

The city had very strong bonds, well established through the Johnson era, with the rural community, and also enjoyed the financial buoyancy of rich coal reserves and other industrial services (such as the railway). The combination of these communities that connected with Ipswich, its value and purpose, again much of what had been well established was now under challenge during the 1960s, certainly not directly through new industry, imports or the like, but indirectly through the changes of work options and significant social change. 4IP turned attention to the surrounding rural communities and in a sense played the game badly, in hindsight, as it ignored a strong group defined as Brisbane and specifically Brisbane radio stations.

#### **4.1.4. Broader Social Changes**

As the 1950s unfolded so did the effect of the “baby boom”, a post war phenomenon as soldiers returned, married and started families. This meant the establishment of more schools to meet the demand as well as other infrastructure in Ipswich.

Additionally, an increasing number of people also travelled by train into Brisbane city for work. Growth in the demand for new appliances for the home that reduced housework (still the domain of the female), was on the rise and the introduction of television was also a significant change during this period of time. In response to this, radio became portable in 1954 and, over time, smaller which enhanced its value and the ability to take it where the listener went. 97 percent of Australian homes had at least one radio in the household (Russo, 2013, p. 160-165). Prior to 1954, radio (colloquially known as “the wireless”), was a fixed piece of furniture that demanded that listeners came to it, now the listener had control, agency over radio use, so it went with the listener (Buchanan, 2004, p. 107–136).



Socially and culturally the 1950s saw the birth and intense embracing of rock 'n' roll by youth across the world; as a result, it provided a tension with the music and cultural elements of the former era which were still part of the cultural landscape. The terminology of "teenager" was introduced in this era, prior they were young adults (Pascal, 1974, p. 9 -11). Participants in the focus groups recalled their experiences of the 1950s and 1960s:

Yes, but see I was growing up in those days. I was like most young people growing up and moving out of the childhood era into the older teenage era. I mean my world was expanding there and I think that's what the radio station was catering for - the change in the world, the way that the world was looking at what was required of a radio station to present to its people, because you had to cater for all needs (FGBH, 2012).

Well my wife's mother, she really - she used to love Elvis sort of thing you know? Whereas my mum and dad, they went completely the other way (FGKS, 2012).

Well I grew up in that era too but I still had restrictions in what I could do and what I couldn't do. My parents set rules and we abided - I abided by those rules. But a lot of other kids had a much freer life I would say than what I did because my parents expected me to do the right thing and obey that and be home by a certain time. They knew who I was going out with. It was a whole group of us that - we all used to go around together rather than just one or two people together (FGBH, 2012).

Australia as a nation and a culture was being reconstructed after wars and the Great Depression. Radio was to be a large part in the revolution in music to popular culture, specifically because of its portable nature, radio was part of a range of activities that people engaged in such as going into the back yard, to the beach, parties or other recreational activities.

So radio, instead of just being a big box in the corner of the lounge room that everyone listened to every night and allowing the theatre of the mind to work miracles inside your head - they were watching television - but radio became portable - very, very portable. Because of that fact people who had those radios, and everyone did, was able to take it wherever they went (P13, 2011).

Radio was a constant companion to people throughout the day and in a variety of circumstances. 4IP was already established as a valued and esteemed member of the community that reflected all aspects of Ipswich and surrounding communities' expression of life. The portability of radio is linked to the changes in radio and through the transitional phase from Johnson to Moore was in fact a very confronting and disturbing phase in 4IP's life thus far.

#### **4.1.5. Moore and Radio: Rural to City – Lessons from the Bush**

Moore understood and valued rural and regional life having experienced it through his youth. As a young man he made the move to Longreach in 1947 to commence a career in stock and station agency as a valuer. Moore displayed his business acumen and his value and respect for community life as he embarked on his career journey. By 1952 with a business partner, Roy McGrath, he bought a private stock and station agency business. When this business was sold, Moore continued and applied his practice across the whole of Queensland rather than working only in Central Queensland. This gave him a wider experience and a deeper understanding of the way different regional centres function. In 1956 Frank Moore with Bill Allen, ( Later Sir William Allen), one of the family of pastoralists in Queensland, teamed up to acquire 75 percent interest in radio station 4LG, Longreach. In the acquisition discussions Bill Allen appointed Moore to run the station. They hired a manager for day to day activities while Moore was to visit the station on a regular basis to hold a board meeting and keep an eye on the business. Moore was exposed to a very structured and rigid way of life during this time as much of the work he undertook was based in tradition. Those endowed with social, cultural and economic capital, which was made explicit through membership of clubs and associations, and observable through the types of motor vehicles, homesteads, and lifestyle in general, upheld these rules of the game – they were the dominant culture of the bush. Their beliefs, values and attitudes were well entrenched into the disposition of the people of Western Queensland. Work was predominately shearing sheep and chasing cattle, only limited alternative employment opportunities existed outside of this. Although in a traditional framework Moore and Allen sought to use radio to be an agent of change. To an extent Moore and Allen were “*fish out of water*” however, they had a desire to impact the community and radio station staff.

Everything about life in the bush was traditional. If that is the traditional way you did it and you did it some other way, you were a bloody idiot, you know. Bill (Allen) and I were at that stage (not fitting into the standard and acceptable type of work) when we bought the station, we were 25 and 26 and never had to run anything like that in our lives (Jones, 2011i).

Moore was an outsider to Longreach and radio so kept in his place in lesser positions on the field. He was building his own specific economic and social capital assisted by his close relationship with the Allen family, well regarded in the community and therefore rich in the species of capital. Part of the rationale for buying the radio station was to assist the town to grow. This expansion of his cultural capital in addition to his well-established social and economic capital further enhanced his capacity to explore how he could assist Longreach to be a stronger community. His recognition of the local community as a valuable and meaningful place in which people find meaning and value is a hallmark of his work in radio. Localism was a distinct driver for all that Moore achieved and was explicitly embedded in each of his radio station sites.

Moore understood the relationship that 4LG had with its community and, most emphatically, the community with 4LG. He understood the economics of a radio station but also understood the richness of its capacity to support and give voice and value to a community. The resolve of Moore and his colleagues was to improve the quality of broadcasting on 4LG. His enthusiasm, however, was not shared by would-be radio personalities who viewed 4LG Longreach as a “dead end” to their career. Importantly, Moore understood that to attract invigorating goodwill from locals he needed to offer opportunities and for the placement of players ready to play in an emerging field of radio. In turn, these players would effectively support his main game of growing local communities through radio. 4LG was repositioned by Moore as a pathway for staff to gain much needed commercial radio experiences (rather than an end unto itself). At this time Moore and Allen were successful in obtaining a license to establish 4LM Mt Isa. Moore applied the same understanding from his experiences in Longreach: to value engaging with the whole community. He insisted that staff would not only do their paid job but he would use his influence to connect these young people (the majority were young men), into community groups and roles within community organisations. Moore observed the rules of the game and with the

growing access to the species of capital could successfully 'trade' within the field of the local community and in the field of regional radio. He was able to observe the outer social world and through his rural roots was able to conserve the dispositions displayed in the field and those embedded in his practice. His young announcers, in turn, gained vital social capital by investing and engaging into local community groups and more deeply investing in the fibre of the community. Through this process Moore understood the rules of the game within the field of Mt Isa, and importantly also understood the rules to play in the field of radio in regional Queensland. Moore offered players the chance to play well and be successful in the local community. Simultaneously the on-air staff would gain a better position in the field of radio in Queensland; they were enabled to continue a healthy balance between engagements in community which had a direct correlation to the position in the field of radio. Moore empowered his announcers and the community simultaneously and in so doing established a model and a position of influence by prominent members of the community. His performance on the field, in this regard, was a highly successful strategy: to mentor players who will know what it takes to be effective in the game. Moore was building a formidable team in regional radio across Queensland. The transferable currency was the deep understanding of the local community (Localism) and to use radio as an effective tool to reflect and (re)present the interests and voice of the specific community. The announcer could move anywhere, over time, in the radio network which was being established and profoundly understand what they needed to achieve to keep playing the game effectively.

All of these blokes they came to me straight from high school with a senior pass. So I would shoot them around to the country stations to grow. Above all, I would talk to their mothers and say if he doesn't write home every week, ring me; I'll give him a talking to (Jones, 2011i, p. 3).

For Moore, developing young announcers was a long-term investment into the individual and the radio network that he was establishing, which fostered growth and talent, and to value and esteem local communities. This experience arguably shaped the way Moore understood his world and caused him to be mindful of community

interaction, engagement with the community and to use the species of capital available to him to advance his place in the game.

We built our own accommodation so that the fellows had a decent home to live in. There were rules about how you lived and behaved in it. I'm quite sure when I wasn't there, kids being kids, you know, but at least we tried to give the place a culture that we would have decent young fellows growing up in it because they were going to be the people who ran the network in the future (Jones, 2011i).

We wanted to grow our own people. We didn't want to get the rejects of people who can't hold a job in the established stations, so we'd have to start them from the ground and grow them. That's what we did. We produced a lot of good people out at Colour radio. They're all over the jolly place today. Anyway, so that fellow would arrive in town. He'd be taken around to the football club. He'd have jobs to do in his own time, but he would become a part of the community. You know what it's like in country towns. They get on the radio, they don't know the names of the towns around about and they mispronounce everything, you know. If they're going to be a part of the community they have to live in it, not be a floater that lives in a pub and gets up and vomit every bloody night (P23, 2011).

So that was the basic engagement with the community from our staff, from our younger staff. It worked very well (Jones, 2011i).

Having made a significant investment into his on-air team, Moore required a next logical step for his Queensland radio station portfolio to build on his capital and to provide a jewel in the crown for up and coming on air personalities. Moore set his sights on acquiring a metropolitan radio station in Brisbane. An acquisition at this level would give him a place in the capital city market that could provide even greater on air and associated staff, a place to acquire more species of capital and yet invest into the community. His approach to the development and maturing of young on-air personalities and associated staff was a significant point of difference for Moore and his colleagues and how they played the game of Queensland radio. A capital city station was not overtly about gaining dominance to enhance personal gain or prestige; rather it gave a place for announcers to work in a more demanding situation to enhance skills because of the sheer number of people listening to the radio station at any given time. It arguably gave Moore a position of power in the

field of Queensland radio which for him was always grounded in Localism; replicating what he held dear and profoundly valued as his practice of doing radio.

In a sense Johnson was providing in Ipswich City and surrounding shires a radio station that also enabled talent, not so much the paid on air presenters but rather the wider community members who regularly contributed to programs. Johnson understood a very narrow expression of localism that was broadened to include other parts of South East Queensland in the Moore era or arguably beyond that. What Johnson achieved was to foster a community empowerment and give value, esteem and voice in the geographical location of Ipswich. Localism is implicit in how Johnson and Moore's version of 4IP functioned, in that localism is a living and moving phenomenon which builds upon the existence of species of capital and is supported by the collective values and beliefs.

#### **4.1.6. Moore and 4IP: The Regional and the City**

Being a strong player on the field of regional radio in Queensland, was no match for the tough game that Brisbane radio was playing. Capital city radio was growing and developing simultaneously with regional broadcasters but was in a different field and group of players, an elite team who play a competitive game over considerably more years. The specific field of Brisbane had the strength of being a capital city, home to major financial groups, large corporations, government and trade so it assumed a dominant position in the field and this was one of great power. Ipswich, in direct contrast, was a city built on industry such as railway, coal mines and woollen mills along with other heavy industry. It was, in comparison to the major city, a country town; indeed a regional centre.

Brisbane radio stations operated in a multi-station environment where Moore's and Allen's was the only commercial radio station located in various parts of regional Queensland. Moore was not entirely altruistic in his ambition to acquire further radio stations (such as 4LM Mount Isa, 4VL Charleville, 4WK Warwick, and 4HI Emerald). The radio station must use its finances to put back into the community in an authentic way, specifically by way of supporting community events, hosting activities, donating funds or advertising support to community organisations. This was his practice in regional Queensland and Moore focused on the acquisition of a

Brisbane station to develop a jewel in the crown for his announcers and other staff to work towards. Moore's view was that a capital city station would enable him to attract even better staff and provide an incentive for his current team members in regional Queensland.

Moore made approaches to each of the Brisbane radio stations to seek their interest in selling, but there was no willingness forthcoming. This response is consistent with Bourdieuan theory in that Moore sought to change his place on the field as well as his position as a player; yet the Brisbane players "they just laughed, laughed at us" (Jones, 2011i) dismissing his attempt to enter into a field where they had control. He immediately turned his attention to Ipswich station 4IP and his investigations revealed how the station was perceived from the Johnson Era.

Although some members of the Ipswich community gave the impression that 'everyone' listened to 4IP, Moore's observations contradicted this and, rather, explained it as "old fashioned radio" (Jones, 2011c), "we had less than one percent of the audience, it wasn't measurable. (Jones, 2011i). This is evidenced through more detailed enquiry by the Brisbane Radio Survey who suggested that a small percentage of potential listeners were listening to 4IP. Audiences were in fact listening to Brisbane stations because "it was a better product. The station (4IP) in its old form, the community had gone away from it. It (4IP) hadn't followed" (Jones, 2011i). In comparison to other regional radio stations owned by Moore, respondents viewed 4IP as backward; "It just didn't seem to have anything that came within cooee of being called vibrant or energetic." (Jones, 2011b). One of the challenges clearly was that Brisbane stations had greater signal strength that penetrated into Ipswich and could not be matched by 4IP's low signal and basic program format. "These other stations in Brisbane were far superior in quality, in programming, in everything. They had all the audience. 4IP had very little audience. Even in Ipswich it wouldn't have had more than five per cent of the audience" (Jones, 2011i).

Moore did not buy a robust radio station given the poor programming in comparison to the Brisbane radio stations. In terms of localism Moore hit the jackpot, in terms of commercial viability the only asset was the broadcast license.

“The legacy was they [original owners] got a license. That’s pretty much the key issue ... it was reflective of the people who won the license and winning it and doing it the way they wanted to do it then, was their sense of achievement” (Jones, 2011i).

Moore’s reflections clearly understood the era and style of 4IP management and structure throughout the Johnson era; to make the station viable it was clear that change was inevitable, “in a sense they were kind of hanging on to something of the past and trying to keep that alive” (Jones, 2011i). Johnson was not interested in selling but, was forced to make the decision due to ill health in 1963. The sale was nonetheless “made attractive” for Johnson to sell, although Johnson was a reluctant departure from his beloved radio station. Participants (August, 2011) suggest that Johnson, prior to Moore’s offer in 1963 continued on despite the reduced financial and ratings slump that 4IP presented. Johnson’s approach had been to isolate Ipswich and 4IP in an attempt to ignore the bigger game being played at multiple levels, such as in retail, housing, commercial and industrial growth in other areas. The perspective that Moore brought was considerably different, his perspective disrupted the taken for granted nature of 4IP as offered by Johnson in respect to its place in the game.

In terms of Bourdieuan football metaphor, 4IP was like a player that is weakened and yet still allowed to play the game. The previous “coach” Johnson, was responsible and when Moore took over as “coach” he knew it was incumbent upon him to apply renewed strategies for players to enhance their capacity. The new coach, challenged the current practice of some of the players across a variety of games on associated fields; Ipswich, Brisbane, and commercial radio in South East Queensland. The result was to re-cast Ipswichians as being “*fish out of water*” as they confronted the new reality of the impact of Brisbane radio and culture upon its city.

The data I gathered through interviews (2011 to 2012) demonstrates that Ipswich people had already stopped participating in the game and had shifted sides and to listen to the Brisbane stations rather than what was the local station. 4IP had lost agency in the field of radio, and yet there is evidence of a tentative level of support by listeners. 4IP was still playing a game in the field of Ipswich, a game of



maintaining community at the cost of financial survival and maintaining a Johnson-inspired status quo. The long-term attitude of Ipswichians isolating themselves from Brisbane was a vain attempt at keeping the field “familiar”. The game’s location was exclusively Ipswich and surrounding districts with the familiarity and comfort that these “known” relationships provide.

All this was taking place within a period of great social change through the late 1950s and into the 1960s, yet there was a clear reduction from broad audience to 4IP effectively becoming a niche and nostalgic market. Moore was perplexed by Johnson’s and more broadly the Ipswich people’s insular thinking and resistance to embracing all that the 1960s was bringing in terms of commercial opportunity.

It was shocking. I can recall really early in this transition - I said to Bill Johnson one day, Bill I don't understand why there is this feeling in Ipswich we've got to put a ring around the city and protect it from Brisbane. Our audience is small compared to even the western side of Brisbane. From there we've got a bloody highway that runs straight up to our shops, and we can do all sorts of things within this city. We can have parades and what do you call it, things in the park for kids, all sorts of stuff to draw that western Brisbane audience up to Ipswich. He said, it's only a road. It was people that drive out with their money. This hatred, it stopped people having a think or even thinking. It was just down with the shutters sort of thing (Jones, 2011i).

The realisation of the practice gave Moore a deep understanding of that which he perceived about Ipswich but Moore had made an investment that needed to work. Once the ownership changed to Frank Moore in 1963, Johnson distanced himself from the station. Moore believed that Johnson was less than happy with the changes and “what we were doing with his baby,” but maintained the warning that change needed to occur before the station died altogether.

Brisbane radio stations had already embraced the social changes, such as young adults became teenagers, music was a different beat and a greater affluence was present. In a multi-station market each radio station had to be a strong player on the field to survive as a business and be relevant to its market. Moore and Allen (Central Queensland Radio Broadcasting Network) acquired 4IP in 1963 and the local newspaper, The Queensland Times, as their other major shareholder in 4IP. The

Queensland Times had been a shareholder with William Johnson so the relationship continued with 4IP under the new management structure. Frank Moore described the Queensland Times management team as having little time for a lot of the modern ideas (P23, 2011). The final arrangement in the sale of 4IP document defined ownership matters dealing with any possible sale of the radio station. If either party, Central Queensland Radio Broadcasting Network (Moore and Allen) or the Queensland Times wished to sell their holding that it must be offered to the other party in the first instance. Ultimately the newspaper did sell its shareholding of 4IP in 1968 due to commencement of a new business structure for The Queensland Times with the formation of Provincial Newspapers (Qld) Ltd which gave Moore and Allen complete control of 4IP. At this point in time (1968) Moore, who took a greater 'hands on' involvement than Allen, (so from now on referred to as Moore) had become well aware of the way in which Ipswich functioned and some of his new staff, who had experiences in other communities, considered it remote and static. The general consensus by staff members of Moore, who had worked in one or more of Central Queensland Radio Broadcasting Network radio stations, was that Ipswich was even further behind other similar rural and regional locations in terms of progressive thinking and purposeful action. One respondent identified that there was no pride in the city by its residents and the young people, "They all wanted to get out and go to Brisbane, the kids growing up" (P12, 2012). Participants expressed the attitude of local council as failing to inspire, "they were just dreadful. There was no great spirit of enterprise" (Jones, 2011i).

...they were a generation of inheritors. They weren't a generation of builders and growers. You look at the Cribb and Foote (major retail store owners) people. There were a lot of big old fortunes made in Ipswich. There's not a lot of it is carried forward into the next generation (Jones, 2011i).

Moore was entrepreneurial and probably the polar opposite of what he found in Ipswich City. His particular practice and disposition (*habitus*) was put in action in the field with his considerable species of capital. Moore saw opportunity and a way to grow his new business. He was energised with a vision and a deep and abiding respect for the audience; he was motivated to make money for the station so that it could achieve a profit and invest some of that back into the community to develop it

financially, socially and culturally. Moore had a strong focus on the local community and deliberately wanted to foster Localism, to value that local community. What transpired was a clashing of cultural capital: Moore's abundance was evident against the lack in the people of Ipswich and exposed the overall discrepancy of capital.

There are some key findings that emerge in the Moore Era at this crucial time in the history of Ipswich and of 4IP history. These include staff reactions at the time of transition, the balance between the commercial and the community service. Moore and his team had a strong awareness of the following elements including: audience, events, participation, on air personalities, station presentation and the enduring Moore legacy of innovation and astute management. The examination of what transpired will further highlight the discrepancies found in the possession of capital and what took place through this realisation.

#### **4.1.7. Transition for Radio and City**

There was certainly reaction to the change that I will outline. There are clearly some who exercised their agency as players in the field of Ipswich and I shall discuss this transitional time in the context of the Moore era and the rapid and impacting social changes evident in the 1950s and through the 1960s.

I have discussed staff reaction at the time of transition from Johnson to Moore (p.64 - 120). It is worth noting the attitude -largely through the evidence from interviews with former staff - to this change. Respondents indicated that the major influence for change was not through any attachment to Johnson, rather through the significant change in music style and overall programming in 1963 and onward.

We were told the station was sold and everything just went on as it was until the new studios were built down in Limestone Street. I think it was the fact that Allan (Brandt) had taken over the manager position because some of the older position were very attached to Keith Fairweather [former manager under Johnson] and when Keith left well they decided they didn't want to go into the new mix of people. So the older people in schedules and the library and a couple of the announcers ... left. Then the younger people came in. A lot of the people were ... under 30 ... round about that time (P16, 2011).

Those who had been with Johnson for some or all the years of Johnson's ownership, 1935 to 1963, drifted away, participants indicated their disapproval in the way the station was going by leaving. Johnson's staff members were steeped in the Johnson Era ideals of isolation and stasis. The fact "younger people" were noticed by participants and commented upon in interviews was an admission that things were changing and the youthful people matched the energy that Moore personally exuded.

During the transition phase, which was over a two year period between 1963 to 1965 the former staff members could not conceive of 4IP being anything but a very local radio station and any notion of being bigger than Ipswich was not necessary.

Nice people, efficient people, did their job well but they could not come to terms with the fact that 4IP was about to change. In fact, one of the technicians I was speaking with ... I said to him this station is going to be the number one radio station in Brisbane before long. He just looked at me and laughed. He just said that's just not going to happen. It's not possible. You're dealing with 4IP Ipswich – you can't make that 4IP Brisbane (P12, 2012).

There was a level of resentment towards change; the station simply was no longer theirs. Moore and his team played the game differently and respondents talked of the introduction of professionalism and programming into the station that was typically the kinds of changes that had been implemented in radio around the world and certainly in Brisbane. I think he wanted to revolutionise the old system. He went to America and came back with the concept of colour radio. It changed the format. I think he could see into the future how radio would - it was another step up from what was originally started (P4, 2012).

Changes occurred in the existing studio in the Old Flour Mill but plans were in place to move to a new studio facility in the Ipswich and West Moreton Building Society Building, Limestone Street, Ipswich in mid-1964. There could not be any slow change over; respondents indicated that there was a great deal of energy from those involved to shape a radio station that could take its place on the field of radio. In the Johnson era there was an appearance that 4IP was in the game of radio, this new perspective under Moore's captaincy renders a view that 4IP was not an active player, at best on the bench, a reserve player of sorts, seen as skilled and possessing the attributes but not yet to the standard of a player based on the Brisbane team. 4IP could exercise agency to play its own game, very actively in the city of Ipswich, but

this did not yet translate to being in the game of radio in Southeast Queensland. Having the broadcast license, the equipment, on and off air staff and engaging in the community did qualify it as a broadcast radio station; the status of being a player. It is a different proposition when it comes to what fields the player is active within. 4IP was being prepared for “match-fitness” to play not only in the field of Ipswich but to be strong enough to take on the game of radio in Southeast Queensland. It was settled very quickly, very quickly. It was – one day it was old fashioned programming, the next day it was Top 40 (P2, 2011).

Respondents indicate that the change of program which was as much about removing programs such as a number of religious segments as it was including a new format of music such as rock ‘n’ roll and removing some of the very old style of music on the radio station. This action had some response from listeners and participants including local residents and the local churches. At this time all churches had allocated significant airtime per day. The various churches exercised their agency and social and cultural capital upon their parishioners and the radio station.

They had a lot of air time. They had a half hour every day. It was very poorly done. They didn't want to change, so I just took them all off the air. Well, they preached against us in every church except the Micks [Catholic Church]. All the other ones preached against us the following Sunday and said to people don't buy advertising on that station. It was very heated and very difficult. They complained to the Broadcasting Control Board. I was hardly regarded as a delightful person in that - I was a bit of a fighter and bureaucrats don't like fighters. Anyway I had to deal with this. So I stood to call a meeting of all the ministers of religion at the station. They all came along and they - you could see that they thought ah ha ha, he's got the message (P23, 2011).

Like many radio stations from around Australia, programming from the Johnson Era was associated with all aspects of the local community and typically 4IP had been all things to all people. Physical connections were in place with tie lines to every church, showgrounds, town hall and the like to allow for live broadcasting. The response exercised by the churches was expressed very publicly to exercise agency upon 4IP by potentially influencing the withdrawal of advertising. Churches further made representation to the Broadcasting Control Board, the government board for the governing of broadcasting services in Australia. Moore and his team were not

censoring these voices, rather, they were attempting to establish a radio station that was a commercially viable entity; one that could compete with Brisbane stations. Moore challenged the way they played the game and as captain he sent some players off the field to re-group:

.... I think really I'm very disappointed in you as professionals because you abuse the privilege that we have given you. You don't do proper preparation for it. You just do it. There's nothing attractive about it. It turns audience away. It damages you and it damages me. Until such time as you learn to respect the audience, you're off the air. There was a furore (Jones, 2011i).

Due to the small listenership of 4IP at the transition phase, it was often the case of literally preaching to the converted in the Johnson era. Management, therefore, worked with churches to find more appropriate ways to communicate and offered advice on how they might use radio more effectively. For the churches they used this to avoid being “*fish out of water*”, the new ownership took them aside and prepared them as players in Ipswich as much as those being part of “Team 4IP”. Respondents noted that there was a significant and immediate change in attitude towards the radio station. The churches were “*fish in water*” once again. More broadly the public used letters to the editor in The Queensland Times to share their feelings about the changes to 4IP. Moore was astute enough to give the local community time to adjust.

But there was a lot of resentment initially among those people who did listen to 4IP - and I suspect some who didn't listen to 4IP, just to indicate that they were in a position of solidarity with those who were against us (P12, 2012).

The outpouring of comment around maintaining 4IP as it was under the leadership of Johnson is based on their feel for the game and is reminiscent of how programming was designed in that era in radio across Australia. Johnson management met local Ipswich people who listened to the station and in that encounter sought their comment and that narrow perspective drove what content was included on 4IP. It confirmed what was understood as the agreed to behaviours and values in the community at that time. According to respondents there was no formal method of gauging listener response, “people weren't so interested in writing in and saying I loved your program, this is going great or could I hear this” (P4, 2012).

Staff made personal decisions to stay or leave but in this action they stayed true to what they held dear. The thoughts, beliefs and values (habitus) that are deeply held are revealed through this action. At no time did respondents indicate that departing from the radio station carried any threat of retribution, rather, there was a freedom expressed that began to anchor what was to become the Moore Era, the freedom to make choices and to voice these through the deeply held beliefs that are manifested in action (practice). Moore introduced players in the form of off and on-air staff into the field of Ipswich and to radio in South East Queensland.

Moore and his team continued on with their vision for what 4IP would, and did, become by working through opposition. This vision was based on broader understanding of the industry, the engagement with younger industry staff members and a desire to shape a radio station that maintained the values that Moore upheld in his other radio stations.

We knew we were coming to establish a station which was going to get up and go, make some money for the director's board and do pretty big things in the local area. If we were going to be able to attract listeners in Ipswich we were also going to be able to attract listeners to wherever the station could be reasonably well received. That meant Brisbane. So basically Ipswich, whether they liked it or not, was just an outer suburb of Brisbane (P12, 2012).

The Moore era team was well aware of the impact that Brisbane radio stations were having on Ipswich and it was logical that Ipswich had to find its place in the field of radio in South East Queensland. 4IP could no longer sit on the benches but takes its place on the field. The quote above gives a deep sense of the framework in which Moore was seeking to move forward. Moore embraced the challenge to make this station work according to financial, social and audience success.

It was in the early development phase that Moore drew on his vast experience as a property valuer and to that end understood the geographical space he occupied. With a military map that he acquired from his work as a property valuer in hand he explored the land and he discovered that the broadcasting station was situated 24 miles from the Brisbane General Post Office. According to the definition set down

in the Broadcasting Act, a Brisbane station is defined by being no more than 25 miles from the city centre; 4IP was in fact, and by law, a Brisbane Station. “It was a capital city station. That’s where its future would lie” (Jones, 2011i).

Moore instantly increased his cultural and social capital and by extension gained agency through the realisation that he had in fact acquired a capital city radio station by definition and according to the act. As an astute businessman he kept this fact to himself. Moore exercised great wisdom in not altering the ‘water’ in which he was safely placed. Moore was well aware of the work that was before him and his team. What Moore inherited with his acquisition of 4IP was the following program line up that was in place from the former owners.

In breakfast, there was I think almost an hour and a half of religious broadcasting in breakfast. ...the bloke who'd say reach out and touch your radio - Roberts. They were quarter hour blocks....This was an hour and a half of breakfast programming. In addition to that the local ministers of religion had a quarter hour or a half hour block because they claimed that they should be using their role in the community on radio (Jones, 2011i).

As previously discussed, Moore had to change this type of programming and introduce content that was going to engage a wider audience, both in terms of geographic location as much as gaining new listeners. Moore could not take this type of current programming into a ratings structure.

The music was just absolutely ghastly. Well it wasn't ghastly; it was nice old fashioned music for nice old fashioned people. We're talking about the early '60s (Jones, 2011i).

#### **4.1.8. New Phase for 4IP**

The official opening of the new studio was a grand affair. The guests ranged from small business owners to local, state and commonwealth government members (P12, 2012). Also in the crowd were managers from Brisbane radio stations. There had been a strong association with Johnson, as evidenced by his interactions with the various Brisbane radio station managers over the years and noted in farewell letters sent to Johnson on his sale and retirement from the industry. 4IP was establishing



itself as a player in radio of south east Queensland, and Brisbane station representatives were willing to attend the function to celebrate the opening of the new studio. 4IP's new studio and new management had at least piqued interest from Brisbane stations who were further interested in Moore's vision for the station. 4IP, as a player, was building some muscle and energy that was potentially beginning to make the city players nervous:

I have one memory of ending up with some of them [Station Managers] down at the local hotel straight after it was over - the [Palais Royal] - and somebody said then you'll never become a big radio station in Brisbane but it's nice to see you getting modern here. At that stage it was a very modern, vibrant station. Thinking back on it now, the way radio has developed, it wasn't really much but at the time it certainly felt like it (P12, 2012).

Brisbane station managers were exercising their cultural capital upon 4IP and its management and staff, as evidenced by the above quote. The participant's comment above suggests that 4IP is having a try but not in the league of Brisbane. In the crowd was Allan Brandt, well regarded for his work in Brisbane radio 4BH. His purpose for attending was in response to an invitation from Frank Moore and also obtain firsthand look at a radio station, that he had declared as "a broken down radio station" (Jones, 2011c), in its new home so that he could best understand plays that Moore was instigating on the field. Moore invited Brandt, having already indicated that he was recommended to Moore as a possible general manager. On the tour of the new building Moore told Brandt that he had big plans and "we'd like you to be part of the plans." (Jones, 2011c). Brandt asked for a few days to consider the impact of him making a monumental move from the "A League" or radio in Brisbane to a local team in Ipswich.

Brandt accepted the role of General Manager of Colour Radio 4IP and as he described it "the idea of colour radio being that it was supposed to be more colourful. The programs were bright" (Jones, 2011c). Brandt came to 4IP understanding it to be a "big challenge" and in so doing clearly knew he was going to be entering the field of Ipswich through 4IP, with the knowledge that Moore had plans for this radio station. Brandt's previous work in radio would stand him in good stead.

4IP had moved from being everything to everyone in the Johnson era to focusing on creating a new audience and attract primarily the 10 to 17 years of age. The broadcast signal was weak in many parts of Brisbane but where it could be heard, it was being tuned into (Jones, 2011c). At the time the announcers were close in age to many of their audience so that the connection was meaningful, significant and comfortable.

#### **4.1.9. The Management Model: Commercialism and Localism**

On-air presenters and the entire radio station staff were regularly referred to as “family” (Jones, 2011i) and this level of kinship is a key to the success of the radio station. For Moore it was as important that his “family” within the radio station was engaging with and learning from the “family” of the community, whom he felt “that they served”. Moore’s philosophy around service and stewardship was built on honour and value for the radio station and the community. Fully engaging the community was an important attribute to the overall radio station success (as had also been present during the Johnson Era) and the new 4IP “training ground” was full of opportunities to experience this. “The on-air teams feeling and understanding of their audience was fantastic” (Jones, 2011i).

The market in Ipswich and in Brisbane was growing by 1964 and the on-air presenters would broadcast from locations around the local area so that radio could be “seen”. The on-air program therefore developed a richness with listeners over time as they engaged more, and reduced pre-conceived ideas as they actively connected with the local community to build meaningful social and cultural capital. “You could see them just growing and growing and growing” (Jones, 2011i). This further demonstrates Moore’s philosophy in establishing a radio team that fully understood the game. The Johnson era had on air presenters and their role was to inform the audience. In this time, 1935 to 1963, art of speech was commonplace and the presenter focus was more about enunciation than personality. 4IP had a two year transition phase (from 1963 to 1965) and by 1965 it fully embraced the youth market as its target audience (Bridgestock, 2007, p. 7). Moore identified that this was a market not yet catered for in the Ipswich and Brisbane area so he claimed it for 4IP as a starting point, but at no time sought to alienate the secondary market of 18 to 39 years of age.

As previously discussed, Moore employed specific face-to-face strategies to engage his staff in building a culture around the radio specific to Ipswich. He had practiced this in Longreach and Mt Isa and his target was unapologetically young people to both work at 4IP and develop a new youth audience. Specifically Moore wanted his on-air team to know their market, whether that was in Longreach or in Ipswich. His strategy had to change from how on-air staff interacted in regional Queensland as opposed to Ipswich and Brisbane. On-air staff engaged audiences by compering concerts, attending events so they could meet the audience and “get a feel for them,” (Jones, 2011i). This is fundamental to the process of making sense of radio and community through localism as a key driver to have a successful radio station and community. There was a requirement for commitment (from both the radio station and the staff):

The promise that if they went through the system and got up to a standard they would have that place there. If they didn't go through the system and learn our way of doing things they'd never get in here. We were getting to have a very good name as a place where you ought to come to work (Jones, 2011i).

Allan Brandt managed these changes and his underlying philosophy was that people were not interested in what the announcer had for breakfast, they were interested “in a radio station for entertainment, number one, so it was the program. They were interested in information, so that's news” (Jones, 2011c). News was delivered in a new format of short duration to cater for the less talk philosophy and to be appealing to the youth market (Jones, 2011c). 4IP was receiving the Queensland radio news service from The Courier Mail, something that each station did in Brisbane at the time. 4IP established its own news service. Their focus was to get the music on and not have announcers talking about things. It was a simple formula, time calls, the call sign, music and provide entertainment. This was a time of transformation for radio and it had to sound different and match the rhythm of a changing audience in terms of music genre and content. This is the era when radio announcers began to become “personalities” – thus recognized as entertainers in their own right. Whilst the term “personality” had been used in radio since its inception, this was ascribed to the national ‘stars’ who were in radio plays, comedy show hosts and game show

presenters, but over time “personality” was localised and representative of the changes taking place in radio in terms of program style, more music and less talk. This is a period of time when radio stations looked at catering to specific audience needs, 4IP boldly took on the youth market offering a top 40 format and with it more music, less talk. The youth market was not being catered for in South East Queensland and this gave 4IP a place to position itself and to grow from, as it did over the years engaging with 18 to 24 year olds and eventually 25 to 39 year olds. This was because its faithful audience was aging and the radio station became more inclusive through some of the strategies employed, but never alienated its youth market (Jones, 2011c).

Frank Moore turned to the United States of America for inspiration and understanding of modern radio trends. He specifically targeted Seattle as it was understood as being a good match for the Brisbane market as it possessed a similar population base and demographic profile (Jones, 2011i). The Seattle Radio Station manager clearly outlined that a radio station must not try and please everyone, with the key being to identify a single market segment and “own it”. In addition, he actively encouraged Moore to “put on concerts” and build an audience (Jones, 2011i). “Anyone who hasn’t got a defined audience share has got nothing that’s commercially viable” (Jones, 2011i). This overarching strategy of “less talk and more music” was well supported by the American radio station owners. The overall presentation was defined by the American industry to be “bright, tight, brief and real” (Jones, 2011i). Moore made yearly trips (from 1964 onwards) and took other management and over time also on-air personalities which clearly reveals his actions as being ahead of his competitors at the time. Moore was using his agency to establish a new way of doing radio that did not forsake the core values. 4IP was the only non-North American radio station to be part of the Association of Independent Metropolitan Stations where 4IP along with all member radio stations were required to report twice a year on station operation, marketing and programming. It was a forum for the exchange of ideas and was evidence of 4IP’s cultural and social capital. Survey of the Brisbane Radio area, of which Ipswich was not a part, was carried out by Anderson Analysis Pty Ltd from 1945 to 1970. The company underwent a series of mergers to become Nielsen when they lost the contract to undertake radio surveys across Australia, (Nielsen 2013,). Nielsen, 2013, undertook Brisbane Radio Market

surveys and used a share of sets in use from 6 am to 11 pm from 1945 to 1965 as the measure. This changed from 1965 on to Brisbane Radio Market share of audience: All people 10 plus 5.30am to 12 midnight (Nielsen, 2013, p. 2). The survey has only covered the Brisbane market under each radio stations call sign with an allocation of OS meaning Other Stations. It is reasonable to assume that this reflects 4IP but is not statistically valid to claim as a true record. Ipswich had no formal survey structure through the Johnson era and Ipswich has never been included outside of being a part of the homogenous data as “other stations”.

The data from the survey allowed 4IP, when it was formally included from 1968, to be accurately measured against “other” Brisbane radio stations (see Table 2).

**Table 2: Radio Station Market Share 1960 - 1971**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Radio Station</b>	<b>Market Share (%)</b>
1960	4IP	1
1965	4IP	5
	ABC	30
	4BH	21
	4KQ	8
	4BK	15
1970	4IP	13
	ABC	20
1971	4IP	22
	ABC	19
	4BK	12
	4KQ	18
1972-1976	4IP continued growth	
1977	4IP	25.8
	4BC	23

	4BH	15.3
	4BK	10.9
	4KQ	8.5

(Source: Jones, 2011i)

#### **4.1.10. 4IP: Programs and Events – the Market and Strategy**

Given the growth for 4IP along with the equal development and changes in the established Brisbane radio stations, it is important to analyse what 4IP was implementing to achieve such an outcome. I will also discuss the impact that this had on the community and the relationship that 4IP had with its audience and they with 4IP.

Moore (Jones, 2011f) had a philosophy that the radio station should make money but the aim was to pay people well and to support the local community in a variety of ways. This could be realised through sponsorships, announcements, or large community events. “If you rate well you have a strong audience and a strong audience means you can raise good income to achieve a range of positive outcomes,” (Jones, 2011f). This was a new paradigm for radio in general; the former experience for Moore and his Central Queensland Radio Broadcasting Network was one of singular focus upon the market they served in regional Queensland. Now in the metropolitan area, or multi-station market, the role of being all things to all people was no longer sustainable. According to Moore, his view was one of focus upon a section of the market, if 4IP could “own” the youth market in the Brisbane area, it could achieve the best possible results and be the leader in the metropolitan area. There was a deep sense from participants that 4IP could, and arguable should, maintain its long term focus of engagement with the community and the notion that the station could not achieve community support was closed down rapidly, “being in a multi-station market doesn't mean to say that we couldn't be a strong community station. We did just that” (Jones, 2011f). “Well the station becomes part of everyone’s life. It’s not just ripping money out of the place. It’s doing something for the fabric and the culture of the community” (Jones, 2011f).

We were everything - we'd get involved with doing things with schools. We'd have - and I don't think anyone much did it in those days, but we had a breakfast club and we'd have a car that wandered around all the suburbs, not just in Ipswich but greater Brisbane, passing stuff out and doing things and kids club and getting that involved. Also we started looking at sport. Now we couldn't broadcast a lot of sport because it didn't fit our program. What we could do was to support the sports clubs. Now whereas at Longreach and Mt Isa we could put them on committees to do things, in this multi station market it was selectively. Anything that moved - eventually in Brisbane but initially Ipswich - if it moved, we'd be there. We had five fetes in one day on one particular Saturday afternoon. The staff - the announcers - went to these things all as part of their job. There was no extra money. But we did have something going for us - we had a fire in our belly. We had a desire in our hearts to make 4IP the station. We were so proud of it (P12, 2012).

This significant involvement in the community by 4IP resonated with the younger members of the Ipswich community as well as those older members not subscribing to the rigid and narrow minded view pontificated by the city leaders, such as businessmen and the church leaders. The key element was about keeping things the way they are. Ipswich was described by a participant as predominately desirous of 'keeping the way it was, it was good at being the victim. The older members, the old guard, of the community in business and leadership were still smarting over Ipswich not being the capital city of Queensland' (Jones, 2011f). This attitude suggests that the so called "old guard" were doggedly holding onto how things should be as the world moved on. They had sufficient species of capital to support, if not create, an Ipswich that left them as "*fish in water*". Meanwhile those disenchanted with the way things were moved on with 4IP. The radio station was bold and did not conform to the rigidity and was free to be itself, therefore 4IP vicariously 'gave permission' for the other players to challenge the status quo. This meant freely moving physically in and out of Ipswich, listening to rock and roll, and rock music on air and by attending concerts and finding a freedom that Ipswich could not give because of the victim mentality evident. This was a departure from the obedience to an authority that no longer made sense and was not in line with the values and beliefs of the individual; it was therefore a different game, (Calhoun et al, 1997). Being a victim had seemingly become the prominent attribute of the city and its identity, essentially waiting to be hurt. 4IP provided community activities both in Ipswich and Brisbane and it moved freely across the arbitrary geographical boundaries but the station did not carry the heaviness of the "victim" but was the "victor".

With its renewed youth market focus, 4IP radio station created an energy that promoted youthful exuberance and was based on the collective habitus of both Frank Moore and Allan Brandt, who earned the respect of their staff. It is evident from the respondent's comments that they desired to be part of something new and fresh. At a deeper level it resonated with their values and beliefs and all were clearly "*fish in water*". Moore was recognised as the one who drove the radio station, not as a dictator, but with his passion and enthusiasm. As clearly displayed in the quote above, it demonstrates that staff would willingly engage and were deeply proud of what was corporately achieved by 4IP at this time. The game was enjoyable; it was inclusive and growing in strength. One respondent commented "We didn't fail because we didn't want to let him [Frank Moore] down. It just wasn't even part of our thinking" (P12, 2012). Moore drew a great deal from the young announcers, who were aged around 19 to early 20s, while he was in his 30s. Moore spent social time with them getting to know them. The evidence provided suggests he was a master team builder; his understanding of the world was significantly different to the earlier time he experienced in Longreach with all of its rigidity. These young people understood the broader challenges of playing the game in Ipswich; they were actively validating the attitudes and beliefs of their generation, no longer were parents and significant others the ones to shape what these teenagers believed. That was a game changer in the field of radio and extremely important feature of why 4IP connected with the vehicle of change, music, and bringing it to the audience. To not do so would be at the peril of the stations viability and relevancy.

One respondent stated that Moore taught him the value of hard work and giving 100 percent commitment. "He taught me that your own performance is your own security, and I've never forgotten that and I still hold dear to that today.....if someone doesn't perform you're not wanted" (P21, 2013). This highlights the way in which Moore valued and esteemed his staff, who in turn are engaged and likewise value and esteem their audience. The field of radio in South East Queensland was headed by 4IP at this time and their team were committed and eager to play; and along with their supporters in the bleachers who cheered them on and were in that way playing the game as those in the field of Ipswich. Moore, now as "captain" of



the team, was prepared to work hard, to be on the field as much as cheer the team on, something that had achieved for him the respect and value as mentioned.

Other popular stations around Brisbane at the time began to carve out different niches: 4BH and 4KQ catered for the older market, 4BC got into contemporary music, and 4BK was seen to be floundering to find its place while the ABC remained strong and faithful to its format that was very traditional in music and conversation. 4IP identified a new and vibrant youth market that made them extremely popular and lucrative from 1968 onwards whilst I believe also uniquely investing in the community in a variety of ways. Live crosses and broadcasts were a part of the programming as was the music, respondents indicated their support of the radio station being part of the community, and many also interacted as listeners calling in for the request programs.

We used to actually, they had competitions on a Friday when we got a little bit older we used to walk down to phone box and we'd ring up to try and win things, like take five cents down to the phone, the red phone box. We would ring faithfully every Friday night (FGAH, 2012).

The agility of the team's moves in the game, supported by Moore and Brandt's skills, are clear examples of species of capital and specifically cultural capital, coupled with the flexibility of the team to change as required. The 4IP "Sound Guys" was the brand for the on-air personalities, this later became the 4IP "Good Guys", in fact 4BK was using the term good guys at the time. This use of nomenclature and how 4IP talked about itself on the radio was a very important addition to how Ipswich began to "see" itself. This was an era of change and shaking up the ways things were done, which led to an understanding of the way things were.

Being a 4IP Sound or Good Guy meant that the on-air personalities wore the provided red coat. The red coat with black collar, black cuffs were similar to the Beatle's style of jacket (Jones, 2013e). The uniformity was consistent with the era keeping with the trends in pop music of the 1960s when jackets and thin ties were fashionable. The red coat, which gave way to white suits and ultimately a combination of either blue, gold, black or white, were reflective of the high energy, performance based appearances. The young presenters felt like "*fish out of water*" as

one commented "...felt nervous about wearing [the jacket] because it just wasn't like that, we were all individuals and dressed like we felt like it" (Jones, 2012r). Brandt gave tutoring to the young "stars" of 4IP to assist them in handling on stage presentation, and to become comfortable with the identity of being a radio personality for South East Queensland. The personalities were heavily in the public eye across Ipswich and Brisbane and grew to enjoy this role. They had a deep abiding trust in Moore and Brandt so they found themselves getting comfortable in the field as their values and beliefs lined up with the game.

Moore had his finger on the pulse and never let the game of radio become mechanical; he eagerly sought to ensure the he was playing a well-informed, even tactical game. A respondent noted that Moore "had his own way of doing surveys and he did them very well and very accurately" (Jones, 2011c). His reading of the trends and audience, along with Brandt's input kept 4IP moving up in the ratings. Brandt was a master at understanding the audience and this strength was used in conjunction with the formal Brisbane Survey (Jones, 2011i). Some of the other Brisbane radio stations took on playing rock music but it did not alter the support for 4IP.

Moore was looking to the future and recognised that this is a new way of understanding radio and what was taken for granted did not necessarily equate as the way to keep doing it. "We would say no, the other stations don't do it like that. That's not what they do. He (Frank Moore) would say good - a bloody good reason why we should do it. It worked" (Jones, 2011c). Moore's business acumen and agency allowed him to be so free and bold in practice.

The station had request programs where respondents identified that listeners would be lined up at telephone boxes all over Brisbane and in Ipswich. "When we did an outside promotion of any kind, we were able to draw thousands of people – not hundreds but thousands" (Jones 2011c). Another respondent captured the energy as the on-air personalities embraced the ever changing landscape.

It was showbiz. They (4IP) did some good things. They got us all these different coloured suits, yellow, blue, black and white and when we'd go somewhere,

even just down the street, we'd all be wearing these bright suits and you couldn't be missed. We used to compere, all of us, I used to compere three nights a week at discos, Billy [Billy J. Smith] would do the same. I mean, we were so active as guys and we'd work seven days a week. But the reality is that we believed in a dream, and the dream was to win, and within 12 months of going into Brisbane, in 74/75 4IP was number one in Brisbane, and remained so right up until the mid-80s (Jones, 2011d).

The outside broadcasts were a significant link with the community, firstly in Ipswich that included record hops that became discos. "We'd play records and try to get the crowd excited about something – get them on the dance floor," (P12, 2012). At school promotions, they introduced giveaways like flying saucers, a disc of cardboard that was linked to a competition in the mornings to win prizes. One major event that is claimed to have been the brain child of one of the 4IP on-air team, the Ipswich Colour City Festival, was a major event where the radio station put in a high level of involvement. It was a festival to entertain, and again had many giveaways and brought the city together and to life. One respondent commented that the festival would not have occurred if it was not for 4IP "they must have got the name from 4IP because Ipswich was just not a colourful city. It was a drab, smoke logged backwater" (Jones, 2012r). Other events like the live music presentations, for example Big Stir, were active in the early 1970s across Ipswich and Brisbane. 4IP was actively involved in the agricultural shows in Ipswich and surrounding districts.

#### **4.1.11. Advertisers: Local and National**

4IP arguably reflected the community and supported the desired change in the community from the loyal listeners as the teenagers and young adults made decisions around music choice; establishing and confirming their beliefs and values from across Ipswich and Brisbane. Brandt took the lead on championing the need for local radio to be relevant and he firmly believed that this was built on the local community and part of that community was the local advertisers. He passionately sought to change some of the attitudes around advertising and 4IP. Sales people would go into some of the local businesses in Ipswich and "members of the sale team – they got thrown out. Get out, we don't want you here. This is not for you – for us. Look after your own radio station and well look after our clothing business," (Jones, 2012r). Eventually the clothing business became one of the best advertisers on the station. Brandt and his sales team came against this hostility but they kept playing the games

within the rules of the game in Ipswich and through relationship and creativity brought many businesses and indeed listeners along with them. Participants noted that some of the established business and more importantly well positioned businessmen refused to be involved. This was not the exclusive Ipswich radio station so it would gain neither financial nor any other type of support (Jones, 2011c; Jones, 2012r). It is interesting that the game was about playing fair from 4IP's perspective and, giving everyone a chance to be part of a new 4IP, a new era socially and to engage with it rather than reject it. This attitude of playing fair is consistent with Moore over time and demonstrates that this is truly part of his habitus. When linked with his considerable species of capital it makes for an interesting and meaningful game in the field of Ipswich and certainly in the field of radio in South East Queensland. Given the limitations being placed on Ipswich based advertising, imposed by the businesses themselves derived from the victim identity well established in the city for over a century, 4IP had to look to other concepts and sources of revenue. To that end the station continued to explore opportunities.

One respondent posited that the city had been so used to the Johnson era and the way the city operated that one did not invest in advertising, it was more like a donation to keep the station the way it was (Jones, 2011d). There were some small sponsorships from local businesses that did "embrace us[4IP] – embrace the opportunity to have their message heard by our audience" (Jones, 2012r), but revenue was more likely to continue to come from the growing Brisbane listenership.

A major milestone for 4IP was the establishment of the Kellogg's Breakfast Club. It is recognised by respondents as significant for 4IP, Brisbane and more broadly Australian radio. Brandt met and presented to Kellogg's a bold promotional concept that co-branded a range of breakfast items. These included a bowl, plate and cup. It birthed a membership club with an early incentive; each family was given four mugs. This concept grew 4IP listeners across Ipswich and Brisbane as well as generating growth in sales for Kellogg's and their corn flake product (Jones, 2011c). At that time it was the biggest sponsorship that any station in Brisbane had.

When we put the Kellogg's breakfast program on - the Breakfast Club. When we launched the Breakfast Club with Kellogg's, that's when we started to pick up the 18-24s and 25-39s, and we held them. We held them (Jones, 2011c).

In the early 1970s Saturday afternoons were identified by Moore as not rating well. He directed Allan Brandt to go get the football, which at the time was rating well on 4BH. After discussions with the president of the Queensland Rugby League, who only received a small payment per year for the broadcast rights, 4IP was able to gain the rights from 4BH. In addition 4IP would value add to the whole football-going experience with performances from the 4IP Big Band. The rights were secured for five years rather than the year by year arrangement in place. 4IP's ownership of the football radio broadcasts and the Kellogg's Colour Radio 4IP Breakfast Club program caused significant upset in the industry. These concepts both generated a large following and continued to expand the audience in terms of numbers and across ages. It was consistent with the community values upheld by Moore and the 4IP management. The introduction of the highly acclaimed 4IP Big Band, which was in place in the early 1970s, was a feature of the Queensland Rugby League competition match played at Brisbane's Lang Park. In addition the 4IP Rockette's cheer girls were part of the half time entertainment. According to Greenwood this was reminiscent of the big games in the United States and was influenced by the Grid Iron (Jones, 2011d). It brought a new level of entertainment and life to rugby league that had not been seen before in Queensland.

The field of radio in South East Queensland erupted. In fact it permeated the field of radio across Australia. "All hell broke loose. I got hate phone calls from managers all over Australia. What are you doing? You've done this; it's going to happen elsewhere" (Jones, 2011c). George Lovejoy was the football commentator with 4BH and coined the expression, "Rugby League, the greatest game of all" and understandably had a dislike for the station. 4IP was hated by the industry and this was driven by both the success of 4IP and the fact that the radio station was taking events and localism to a new level. Similar to the "City Fathers" of Ipswich, those who held significant species of capital were "*fish out of water*" and this type of energy and enthusiasm was not part of the game from their perspective. The hatred transcended the geographical bounds of South East Queensland and went national as

4IP was almost blacklisted by the Federation of Radio Broadcasters. Brandt was a member of the Federation and was voted out and ignored. Allan Brandt was not concerned over the backlash, “That didn’t worry me because I was looking after 4IP and I was looking after the audience that we had on 4IP” (Jones, 2011c). Here we have a dichotomy where 4IP is loathed in the field of radio while deeply loved and valued by its audience, who continued to switch to 4IP.

#### **4.1.12. Transmission Power**

Over a number of years 4IP moved its broadcasting tower from the original site at Briggs Road, Raceview to Bundamba. Moves were afoot to relocate the transmitter but the 1974 floods accelerated that. The Bundamba site was rapidly going under water as it was close to the river and the station was given access to the former 4BK transmitter and tower in Brisbane. The move to St Helena Island was a significant move in 1975. It gave the station significant signal into the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, Brisbane, Ipswich and to Toowoomba. It took some negotiating through the loophole in the legislation and a tribunal hearing that was overturned, but Moore was able to transmit from St Helena Island. The move also came with an approved increase of power, going to 10,000 watts of power, the same power as the other Brisbane radio stations. 4IP started out with 500 watts of power in Briggs Road so this is a significant improvement and meant a greater reach to its potential audience (Jones, 2011i). 4IP was dominant in the ratings, in its expression of Localism through community activities and events and across South East Queensland.

Pretty much. I mean, you could almost turn any other radio station off at their transmitters and 4IP was still running the community. It was that big. The other stations did their things. They had community events going and what have you but not to the same extent - not with the same energy and drive that 4IP had. There’s been nothing like it ever since (Jones, 2012r).

It is clear that 4IP was building a considerable following in Ipswich and simultaneously in Brisbane. The format appealed to and attracted listeners, not only from the youth market, but other demographic groups. Its high level of activity in terms of the festival, concerts, school visits, community club awards, breakfast club and so on facilitated the growth and demonstrated that local radio had changed in terms of it being “more music, less talk”. The Ipswich/Brisbane divide had been

somewhat ameliorated through the medium of radio. However, even as this cultural shift was taking place, 4IP could not generate enough advertising revenue from Ipswich. As previously discussed, attention turned to where the growth in audience was. 4IP was number one in the Brisbane market in 1977. The station had maintained a studio and office in Limestone Street, Ipswich but the growth in the Brisbane market meant the station required an office and studio in Brisbane. They moved from the Pearl Assurance House in Queen Street Brisbane then moved again to the heart of Brisbane City, in Adelaide Street in 1974, and finally to Coronation Drive in Auchenflower in 1986.

The geographical shift and success of 4IP in Brisbane was not perceived as a victory through the eyes of Ipswichians. The move opened up wounds that clearly festered under the surface. “Sour grapes I think – a bit like the fact that they didn’t become the capital city” stated one respondent (P12, 2012). 4IP was a world that was bigger than the geographically defined Ipswich City. 4IP as a player in the field of Ipswich was clearly proud of its heritage, it was edgy, creative and fresh; this began to polarise some audience members. Bourdieu assists in providing a language with which to analyse what was at play here. The rules of the game were being questioned and challenged. Indeed the doxa, the unwritten rules of the game, are in a sense “*fish out of water*”. These are identified by respondents where they talk about locals being unhappy with the changes, purely due to its geographically defined location rather than programming. On the basis of the respondents comments it is clear that the location is highly valued and yet there was clearly unwillingness by local businesses to support the radio station and help keep it in Ipswich. At no time was there any consideration by Ipswichians around how the station was to survive financially, certainly Moore and Brandt were clearly ensuring financial security. During the period 1935 to 1963, Johnson ran a tight radio station, small staff and low costs so it had the appearance of being successful with the distinct disadvantage of low audience numbers. It appeared to be successful and the measure was one of self-indulgence by locals who could access the radio station for entertainment and allow it to be a totally local product that reflected what was happening in the city. This is in direct contrast to Moore’s 4IP which considered how it could be financially sound, whilst connecting with its audience and have maximum impact. The game was totally different and yet the game was still worth playing. So regardless of financing,

when 4IP failed to maintain agency with locals, it was deemed a weak player in the field of Ipswich.

There was a certain unwritten law. My grandfather always believed that if you had a business that you supported the people that supported you and when I went to training college, of course, that was - we went to Brisbane - and if we bought anything in Brisbane I started to feel a bit guilty. But this was something that had been instilled in me over the years that we bought things in Ipswich and we could buy things, so there was no need for us to buy anything else. The advertising as well wasn't local advertising. You want to buy something at Ipswich. You want to know. You don't want to be - you know all these ads for Brisbane all the time, and I think that's also what happened. It took away the ability to know where to go and buy things in Ipswich or if there was something special on. It was more Brisbane oriented (FGHM, 2012).

When 4IP moved fully to Brisbane in 1974, the backlash from Ipswich people was expressed in the newspapers, one example of the feelings is summed up in the following comment:

Yeah they did and I remember writing a letter because I always understood that whenever they designated the license it was for this area and my argument was that if it was designated for here it should have remained here; it should not have gone elsewhere, but I mean... (FGMMF, 2012).

Interview data from the respondents provides a clear sense of loss, summed up as follows:

Yeah, I felt that was one of the worst things that happened really because 4IP was Ipswich. I felt really bad that it did move to Brisbane because it was no longer our station. It belonged to us; it belonged to the people of Ipswich. It had been run by the people of Ipswich. Now it really had been taken away from us. (FGBH, 2012).

Respondents identified that there was a loss of voice as the station moved away from being Ipswich centred to encompassing Brisbane and indeed the South East of Queensland.



I think it was more business oriented reaction to the move because they felt like they were losing - Ipswich was losing their radio station even though we kept offices up - we had an office up there for a long, long time, in the Limestone Street studios..... mainly business people that felt that they were deserting (p16, 2011).

We were just getting bigger and bigger and bigger - from the point of view of audience. People were definitely allying themselves with 4IP as the station they identified with. The move to Brisbane only made that better. But it didn't change it that much. It just increased the audience (P21, 2013).

I think they figured that there was a loss. In some measure the loss was of their own making. If 4IP wasn't able to generate enough revenue from the advertisers in Ipswich they were going to have seek them elsewhere. To some extent that's what happened. Sure, when we first started and when we started to drive Ipswich very hard, a lot of local advertisers did embrace us (P12, 2012).

There was a lot of anger. I remember the last Colour City Carnival, which is now the Ipswich Festival Carnival, we were in an open car still trying to maintain some sort of connection with Ipswich. I think, if I recall, we were still trying to do promotions here and make sure that the people didn't think we'd left. But I remember just down there, above Nolan's Pharmacy, as it was then, these people up on the balcony were throwing cans at us, go back to Brisbane, with all the expletives. There was a lot of anger, a lot of anger (P21, 2013).

One report of the time indicated that a complaint had been made to the Broadcasting Control Board (BCB) by the Ipswich Broadcast Listeners Association claiming that 4IP had moved outside of its License area and that it should be moved "back to the people of Ipswich". Discussions were held between 4IP management and the BCB identifying that the group making the complaint had only formed over the issue and were not a legal entity. It is reported that over 100 letters of complaint were received during the move from Ipswich to Brisbane. Moore continued on with single focus to keep the station growing and being relevant to its audience

#### **4.1.13. 4IP: Time to Move on – "Moore"**

4IP management and staff continued to grow the station and enjoyed great success until the time came to sell. Selling 4IP was not a careless act by Moore, rather one that was born out of necessity. The constant pressure Moore said, was considerable and "I had to fight and fight until it came to a point where I did not have one more

survey in me” (Jones, 2011i). Moore had enjoyed a long term friendship with 2SM (a radio in Sydney) General Manager, Bill Stephenson. Stephenson and Moore shared common views around radio so if it was to be sold Moore felt that it would be appropriate to sell it to 2SM (Jones, 2011i). 4IP was sold to 2SM Pty Ltd in Sydney in 1978 when 4IP had enjoyed its highest rating only the year prior. In 1977 4IP had 25.2 percent of the audience, all people 10 plus, according the official Nielsen surveys.

In the second survey of that year it hit the highest ever rating of 25.8 percent of the audience. In 1978 it held at 23.2 percent of the audience. Moore stated that he believed he was “putting the station in very safe hands”. I thought that I was handing over my station, community and staff to a radio outfit” (Jones, 2011i). Moore had worked hard to “coach” and ultimately “captain” the 4IP team. It is clear from Moore’s interview and other participants that he cared deeply for the community and radio functions best when supported by authentic Localism. He would have betrayed himself, staff and his audience if he did not attempt to hand over rather than sell off 4IP. The action speaks clearly of his habitus and array of capital.

Following the sale and the agreement of maintaining the mode of 4IP, it continued on for a period of time until a new managing director was appointed to 2SM after the retirement of Stephenson and some other key executives. At that time the new General Manager made clear to Moore, who stayed on for a short time in management, that he was “not much of a broadcaster” because he spent money on community activities and he was told that those funds should have been used to improve the “bottom line”. Key players struggled with the new game, it was an unfamiliar game which changed the understanding of the game of radio in the 4IP context and therefore decisions were made by many staff to leave.

Moore claimed that 2SM came with a Sydney understanding and tried to impose that onto Brisbane and from his point of view did not come to even attempt to understand the Brisbane market. “They chopped out all the community support, they thought the community support stuff we did was just a waste of time and money. It wasn’t. We were actually a part of the community” (Moore in Bridgestock, 2007).

Brandt was left devastated by the news of the sale. “I had given my all to 4IP and everyone who was with me had given their all too. When I was retired it was all over in five minutes. Your services will no longer be required. The Station’s been sold. It was a great devastating shock to me, a hurtful shock, very hurtful” (Jones, 2011c). It is important to note that the only official reason given for the sale was by Frank Moore, who stated that “high operational expenditure compared to other stations” was a reason for the sale and that 2SM would be able to make it a more viable station in regards to cost-effectiveness (Bridgestock, 2007 p. 7). Selling it at its highest point in its life was a good time in fiscal terms, as Moore and Allen sold all of their radio interests. Moore had banked on his colleague at 2SM, with whom he had undertaken the sale arrangements to be an honourable man, neither Moore nor Stephenson considered that the sale terms would be essentially ignored under a change of leadership. The 4IP game under the former management was and would continue to be viable. It was validated daily by its audience and they continued to grow in number and could have continued for a few more years. 2SM management changes altered the growth trajectory.

The practice of 2SM during the sale and subsequent change of 4IP management made their values evident. Their attitudes indicated an internal mismatch of values between 2SM and 4IP. John Knox was a leading on-air “good guy” at 4IP from 1963 to 1978 who made the decision to move to 4BK at this time, but it was clear that his habitus was so aligned with 4IP that the move was painful. “I had given my heart to 4IP – not only my heart but my whole being. It was all about 4IP,” Knox said (Jones, 2012r). Changes early on were not evident to the listeners but over a short period of time it began to have a major impact; loss of on-air personalities, less involvement in the community all took its toll on the once top rating radio station in Brisbane. 4IP clearly understood the game at the site of its origin, it trained and played hard, had gone from a top team to rank amateur over a relatively short period of time. The first survey through Nielsen of 1979 and subsequent surveys, (the first year when three surveys were conducted in a year) are telling. Survey one of 1979 showed 14.2 percent of those aged 10 and over were listening to 4IP and at survey three in 1979 it had dropped to 10.4 percent of the audience 10 plus. In one decade of operation from Radio 10 through to Lite and Easy 1008, the station had gone down to single digits usually around four percent of the audience 10 plus. This meant that 4IP had

almost returned to ratings that were in place during the tumultuous transition period between the Johnson and Moore Eras.

It is evident in the language used by former 4IP team members that these players were totally committed to radio and to the values and beliefs of 4IP. These were established by Frank Moore and validated by Allan Brandt and by each team member who came to be part of the 4IP family. In the spirit of Bourdieuan theory, there is a complete mismatch between 2SM and that of 4IP and the station management's deeply held beliefs, in this case about how radio should function.

The audience had a deeply emotional and genuine fondness for 4IP; the evidence clearly suggests that they felt it was theirs. It is important to note that the audience was as much from Ipswich as Brisbane. This level of ownership can only be realised through relationship. It is about valuing and trusting your audience and the audience trusting the radio station. As I have demonstrated the audience lost confidence, it could no longer confirm and support the values being offered by 2SM through the name 4IP. In fact it was named 4IP but it was no longer the station known and loved by those living in South East Queensland.

4IP under the management of Frank Moore and William Allen along with the management team and off and on-air staff created a unique radio station that to this day is held in high regard by the Radio Industry and the many listeners. Over time there have been 4IP revival days and online resources such as Friends of 4IP. These are demonstrations of the impact that 4IP made upon people, significantly in a period of their lives that were formative. The local nature of the radio station and the bold marketing strategies employed are part of the legendary Radio station (Mac, 2005). The body of work thus far, to the best of my knowledge, has not been gathered, analysed and shared.

## **Radio in South East Queensland**

### **4.1.14. River 10 to River 949**

This final section interrogates the various iterations of 4IP and the impact that it had in the field of Ipswich and the field of radio in South East Queensland. Specifically, I

will examine the game that was being played and some of the players of note. This was a 15 year gap, from 1975 to 1990 when Ipswich lost its own locally based radio station. This section will also consider the more recent history of QFM 106.9 FM through its iterations to the present River 94.9 FM in Ipswich. An analysis of this will be undertaken in the context of practice in the field of Ipswich and or the field of radio in South East Queensland. Through the exploration of practice, the operations of QFM, Star and River and the type of management structure around these phases of broadcast, will reveal the implicit beliefs and values and be made explicit.

#### **4.1.15. River 10 to 4TAB**

Ipswich Broadcasting Company Pty Ltd was the trading name behind the call sign 4IP and is the thread that links each phase of the business venture. Today it sits behind 4TAB. It was owned by W. J (Bill) Johnson and The Queensland Times Newspaper Ipswich with no other record of other shareholders evident. Ipswich Broadcasting Company Pty Ltd was taken over by Frank Moore and Bill Allen and it then sat as the trading name behind Radio 10, Stereo 10 and Lite and Easy 1008, all owned and operated by 2SM (Sydney). The return of 4IP also had its original trading name sitting behind the call sign as it did from 1935.

I offer the following brief summary of the various broadcast frequencies and branding of Ipswich Broadcasting Company 4IP; the iterations and re-iterations of this broadcaster that had been so singularly significant during the Moore Era, and provide a context to the changes that occurred over 1935 to 1991. 4IP had predominately broadcast on 1010 AM in 1948, except for the early years when it commenced as 1440 AM from 1935. A meeting in Geneva of the Regional Administrative LF/MF Broadcasting Conference in 1975 created an international agreement on some adjustment of frequencies to be allowed, for better use of the spectrum in each country. This meant that 4IP moved to broadcast on 1008 AM to allow for the broadcasting frequency spectrum to be better utilised, particularly with FM radio coming to radio in 1980 in Brisbane. The move of frequencies meant more radio stations could go to air and existing stations could increase their transmission power (Jones, 1995). This frequency change was factored into the final years of 4IP marketing but important in the launching of the subsequent brands of: Radio 10 (or 410 as its official call sign (1982 to 1985); Stereo 10 (1985 to 1988); Lite and Easy

1008 (1988 to 1989); and, again, 4IP (1989 -1991: version two). In 1991, the station was then sold to 4TAB, a horse racing radio station, where the frequency still resides to the present day. This provides context around the brands and timeframes of each iteration of the station. It serves to highlight what appears to be the desperation to make radio work under a new way of playing the game, in complete contrast to how Moore played the game. Significantly it was not only format that changed but the name of the station (call sign) and with that a new logo, branding, which, for example could be jingles used on the radio station, and how on-air talent present. It further provides familiarisation with the various call signs, and the short time periods given to each. I will now discuss more fully the impact that these changes had in the field of radio in South East Queensland and specifically in the field of Ipswich.

Given the passionate views expressed (by participants) in the Johnson and Moore Eras, I expected to view a significant amount of documents complaining about the disappearance of the local radio station 4IP in 1982. This was not the case, in fact, data and comment from this period is scant. "Ipswich people felt that they were never just a suburb of Brisbane and that their radio station had been stolen" (Jones, 1995). It was even more profound for loyal listeners of beloved 4IP when it changed call sign to 4IO (Radio Ten) in 1982. Research participants discussed their disappointment when 4IP "left" Ipswich but beyond this, listeners made choices to either continue to listen or change radio station. Given that the pervasive identity of Ipswich has been identified as being one of "victim", this response superficially is consistent with other past trauma around loss of radio, for example when Moore included Brisbane and finally moved to Brisbane with the highly successful 4IP. There was not an overwhelming public outcry over the changes, but the audience decline which was quite rapid during the later 4IP years. Under the 2SM ownership audience decline was certainly an acknowledgement that this is not how the game should be played; 2SM was missing the mark and alienating some of its audience. Radio 10 had 15 percent of the Brisbane radio market; according to the Nielsen survey for all people 10 plus, and in 1985 when it transitioned to Stereo 10 it had 10 percent of the market. 2SM continued to employ their strategies for the radio station that was stripped of localism. The impact was demonstrated in the continuing decline of the audience according to the survey figures.

The listening audience had a significant amount of agency when it came to tuning in to a radio station. As evidenced by the ratings figures (see Table 2) in this research, listener choice can be volatile. This suggests that radio stations need to adhere to the rules confirmed in the field in which they exist, if not, they may suffer listeners applying their power. This is usually ascribed in a Bordieuan framework to those players who continue to build species of capital and know how to play the game usually across a range of fields. However when the game is unfamiliar it causes, in this case the listener who is a consumer of radio to, reconsider how the game should be played and if the player will remain in the game or change teams. The power of the consumer renders the power base of a radio station vulnerable to the decision to switch off/change. Therefore consumer practice becomes a source of power in the field and this has always been part of the game, since Johnson commenced 4IP and beyond. It is more prominent in this period because the number of players involved in the game is greater; it is in a more populated field, given the number of radio stations on offer. Choice of program type is greater in the field of South East Queensland therefore the players have the opportunity to move across various teams thus eroding loyalty. The 1985 change to Stereo 10 was due to the provision by the Federal Government to permit AM stereo broadcasting. Some 50 radio stations around Australia who broadcast on AM needed to provide an alleged better quality product against the growth of FM radio stations. The cost for many AM stations to embark on FM, if the licence was available, was often prohibitive. AM stereo was not successful as it did not translate well to the highly priced radio receivers (Mac, 2005, p. 251).

#### **4.1.16. River 10: Never an Ipswich Radio**

In September 1985, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (ABT), when considering the licence renewal for Radio 10 (official call sign 410) stated that Radio 10 was never an Ipswich radio station. Ipswich City Councillor, Division two, Paul Tully was in the thick of the issue, writing to and attending ABT hearings. Tully, currently an Ipswich City Councillor for over 35 years, was a watchman over the city of Ipswich to ensure that it functioned by the rules of game inherently understood by locals. The report from the tribunal states “the radio station (410) is under no special obligation to neither provide Ipswich with specific programming nor maintain offices, or studios or a separate advertising rate card” (Newsome, 1986b). This was

an “official” slap in the face for the city. The significant capital possessed by the Federal government gave 2SM agency to invoke this position and sever all ties with Ipswich. This opened up a raw wound for Ipswichians as 4IP, which had already pulled out of Ipswich and was based in Brisbane, was now confirming it would not be coming back to the city and had no requirement to do so. It is important at this stage to reiterate just how deep and raw the nature of this wound was. The first and most lasting infliction was caused by Brisbane becoming the capital city of Queensland, something that was verbally promised by senior leaders in the former New South Wales government to Ipswich (Coster, 2008, p. 32; Matthewson, 1960, p. 1-2). This betrayal changed the way the game was played in the field of southeast Queensland, causing introspection in terms of commerce, and trade, specifically as radio entered the field. 4IP played exclusively in the field of Ipswich (and surrounding rural areas) up to 1963.

In my experience as Ipswich born and raised, there was a common understanding that in the field of Ipswich there existed a group of “City Fathers”. The “City Fathers” were the businessmen, civic leaders and other professionals in Ipswich with significant species of capital. Each of whom dismissed 4IP to the benches when it expanded to Brisbane in 1965 and disowned it when it departed the city in 1975. The “City Fathers” exerted the culture that people did not need to go to Brisbane, that everything required was in Ipswich. The State capital of Brisbane was 25 miles away from Ipswich and my experience was that the city borders were like fortresses crossed only when it was absolutely necessary.

4IP, and subsequently Radio 10 to a lesser degree, introduced a new approach to radio that was not consistent with the Johnson Era of 4IP. This was expressed through rock and roll music, on-air personalities, less talk and more music along with competitions and concerts. The radio station “format” caused a mismatch in the field; challenging the values and beliefs held about how the game of radio would be played in the field of Ipswich. Effectively new teams emerged; firstly there were those who refused to play the game under the “abhorrent” new rules. The new form of radio was at odds with the “way things are done” in Ipswich. Ascribed by the “City Fathers” and passed on as “the way it is” to the generations who followed and observed the rules. A second observable team was establishing, these being the



young, more liberal group, who liked and agreed with what they heard on radio though the music and talk. It resonated with their aspirations for a more inclusive South East Queensland. The state of flux in the field of Ipswich was directly linked to the unspoken pressure or “violence” placed upon those who did not conserve the way things were by the “City Fathers”. The former I will call “the traditionalist” and the later the “aspirational” teams. The disruption in the field and subsequent split of teams was caused by the presence of symbolic violence.

In terms of Bourdieu, the nature of symbolic violence (Greenfield, 2010, p.123-124), is deeply held as a belief by many, specifically the “City Fathers” who had internalised culture as being the ‘way of things.’ 4IP demographics suggest that it was not only young people, 10 to 17 years of age, but also an emerging demographic of 18 to 39 year olds who experienced a different Brisbane that was positive. Therefore radio 10 (former 4IP) being relegated to being a non-Ipswich entity by the ABT validated the symbolic violence of the “City Fathers” who were vindicated of their perceptions of the Moore era of 4IP. The 4IP “aspirational team”, the younger listeners, continued to listen and be loyal to something that they experienced as dissolving the perceived barriers between Ipswich and Brisbane.

The “City Fathers” or traditionalist players were those who held a deep allegiance to the Johnson era of 4IP, and for whom the suggestion that the Moore era of 4IP, by extension with its ownership affiliation to 410, was not Ipswich. Here a contradiction superficially occurs in newspaper articles, but a closer interrogation of the articles and participant’s comments confirm that two things simultaneously occur. The statement by the ABT engendered outrage in the media with the focus on the reality that “Ipswich doesn’t have a radio station anymore” (Newsome, 1986b). As far as the “City Fathers” were concerned it had not possessed a radio station since 1965, even though 4IP continued to have a studio, office and community presence many years after. The removal of the physical signs of a radio station was not, by available media coverage and interrogation, even fought over. The other contradiction is the immediate focus on the Johnson era of 4IP in the commentary. The “City Fathers” had long established that a legitimate Ipswich radio station was one that existed and functioned only in Ipswich. On this basis it gives credence to why there was the outcry by Paul Tully and letters to the editor in the Queensland Times newspaper.

The “City Fathers” stance required a comment directed towards the actual issue, that is Brisbane would not take away the possession of Ipswich; 4IP. Radio 10 to the “traditionalist team” is vaguely in the family line that is rejected by this team. It was the aspirational young people, the teenagers and the young adults who felt valued and esteemed by 4IP and formed a team to play in the field of Ipswich. They loved the city not the attitude being ‘forced’ upon them. 4IP was associated with a freedom from the “City Fathers” and their understanding of the game, 4IP understood the emerging needs of the “aspirational team”. For the younger generation the attitudes of the older members of the city did not align with theirs causing a mismatch in the field and thus the formation of two teams. Younger Ipswichians knew, by parental influence, that Brisbane was “taboo” but did not understand why. As someone who experienced this first hand, that was a true perception.

This is consistent with Bourdieu’s theory of Symbolic Violence ([Greenfield, 2010, p.123-124](#)). The “City Fathers”, carried the internal belief that they were a second class entity, less than Brisbane. My analysis of the participants for this research indicated that locals were aware of instances where interaction between Ipswich and Brisbane resulted in maintaining Ipswich’s place as a secondary location and by extension second-class citizens. Over time these beliefs, imposed by Brisbane but discounted by the “City Fathers” and a notion of self-sufficiency and inherent distrust of Brisbane were reproduced in the community and these agents were complicit in keeping these beliefs alive.

In this case it was the young people of Ipswich, who sensed the “violence” towards them because they desired change. It is my contention that 4IP experienced this symbolic violence, because they were considered champions for those seeking a different Ipswich. This understanding is further supported by the ‘violent’ reaction towards Moore taking control of the station and changing it through program variations and a direct association with Brisbane. Withdrawal of advertising and switching radio stations was the resulting action taken by “the traditionalist team.”

#### **4.1.17. 1980s: The Changing Face of Radio**

In the field of radio in South East Queensland the new player in the form of FM (Frequency Modulation) radio was present. 4MMM commenced in Brisbane on

August 22, 1980. As noted earlier, Johnson had raised the concept of FM at the Federation of Australian Radio Broadcasters conference (year unknown) but Johnson did not get traction possibly because FM was a political issue raised in the Menzies government in 1952 and was on the agenda until the late 1970s, with its realisation in 1980 (Griffen-Foley, 2009, p. 62-84). FM promised to bring crystal clear sound and was an important element to introduce into the field of radio in Australia as it improved audio quality. This occurred at a time when CDs were introduced, so the consumer was beginning to grow accustomed to this level of audio quality. Radio had to continue to make itself interesting and appeal to different market segments (Mac, 2005); the new player, 4MMM, certainly typified this kind of advanced concern for growing audiences.

Lite and Easy 1008 was the next iteration after the failure of Stereo 10. With another brand and change of format to 'easy listening' it continued to slip in ratings to an average of 3.9 percent of the potential Brisbane Radio Market audience survey 10 years plus. Lite and Easy 1008 management made the decision to attempt to bring back 4IP after just one year (Mac 2005; Bridgestock, 2007). According to (Bridgestock, 2007) the return of 4IP, was a last ditch effort to redeem the station and an attempt to connect with "good old 4IP", that might save it from the ratings slump and assist in combating the influence of FM. 4MMM entering the field did have an impact on the radio station by offering higher quality audio and rock music, the format that was once the province of 4IP was attracting a significant audience, averaging 35 percent of the market (Jones, 1995).

#### **4.1.18. 4IP Version Two**

Returning the "Good old 4IP" was at best a nostalgic hope that it might attract listeners away from 4MMM FM and may have worked if the strategy had been to create a revival of the radio station. It had only been 11 years since 4IP had been out of the market, and the loyal audience had not forgotten 4IP, as evidenced by participant's response to the stations impact. This strategy just did not translate into new listeners. In its hey-day during the Moore Era, 4IP was more than a brand, and the current Lite and Easy management were able to bring back the "look" through the reframing of its famous logo, but this ignored the deeper sense of belonging that Moore's 4IP had harnessed. Moore's legacy, demonstrated through my findings,

championed a team effort that was authentic and responsive to the Ipswich market. 4IP from 1964 played the music of the day that resonated with its audience. It had personality from the on-air talent to the programming style; it was exciting and attractive through its sheer energy and its relationship with its audience, thereby exercising localism. It also had cultural and social capital so that it could not only play in the field of Ipswich but define how Ipswich wanted to present itself at this time; as progressive and confident by those who were in the game. This attracted the youth team as it sought to bridge divides. In practice, 4IP reproduced all that was popular and important to Ipswich at that time. This is an important finding from this research: simply displaying a logo and attempting to revisit a time that passed is contrary to the practice in the field. For a radio station to gain the level of connectedness and engagement it enjoyed during the Moore Era, it must understand its audience, make genuine connections and build capital in the field so that it is truly part of the community. It was a long process from Johnson through to Moore that established its relative success in Ipswich. Version Two of 4IP however, did not have this depth of connection and according to one respondent “[T]he people who owned it weren’t putting the effort in” (P16, 2011). According to the participants it lacked focus, the 2SM senior management had convinced Allan Brandt, who was the former General Manager of 4IP, to be the Chairman for the new version of 4IP. Yet even with his knowledge and feel for the game, the new 4IP was unable to prevent what seemed to be an inevitable disaster. “They [local management] just ignored me. So it was a hopeless case, a hopeless cause” (Jones, 2011c). While Brandt attempted to “stir the team up” and to get that old approach back he was met with a sales manager and sales team who were disinterested and failed to do their job. “absolutely hopeless” declared Brandt. Participants identified that the staff were disengaged because of the poor ratings and continued lack of success (Jones, 2011c).

It was a different sort of - it was hard to get back to it anyway because it was a completely different sort of people: different staff to what the old 4IP was like. You expect change over the years the way anybody is (P16, 2011).

Many of the former team members of 4IP were no longer part of the new 4IP team. The new players were essentially wearing an old jersey normally worn with a sense of pride because the player inherently understands what it means. My interrogation

of the data indicates that this new team used a once-loved but now redundant name and logo to attempt to reconnect with an audience who loved and devoutly associated with the original 4IP, as evidenced in participant's accounts of that period (1963 to 1978). In effect, they ignored the important ingredient of localism, which had been stripped out at the sale of 4IP to 2SM when the senior management changed in 1978/1979.

Over the period of just over one year the new 4IP achieved an even lower rating than Lite and Easy 1008 had recorded (in 1988), dropping to single digits with an average of around three percent each survey. Ratings this poor would indicate to a radio station that it was rapidly becoming not viable financially to stay in operation. Contextually, during the 1980s Australia's economy experienced the best and worst of fluctuations with just over the first half of the 1980s being prosperous. From 1987 Australia was in the midst of a deepening recession with high unemployment, high interest rates and high cost of living. Internationally, the stock market crashed. By the 1990s, the economic downturn had particularly affected 4IP. Businesses were forced, by the economic circumstances, to be more astute in identifying media that would render the best return on investment. Given the poor ratings performance by 4IP, this would have reduced its position in the field dramatically.

It was reasonable to assume that it would have been advantageous to engage someone who was associated with the former 4IP and have the sales knowledge to potentially inject direction into the station. However, this was ultimately not the case.

2SM management, who owned 4IP, unceremoniously dumped Allan Brandt from their ranks after the sale of 4IP to 2SM in 1978. The same organisation enticed him back to be the Chairman of this version of 4IP. "He was talked into it basically. He was talked into it as a name - to be in there as a name" (P16, 2011). Allan Brandt had built a reputation in the industry because of his work at the original 4IP and was highly regarded for his understanding of the audience (Jones, 2011i). Brandt recalled that the new 4IP brand was not recognised by people, it did not connect with the audience. This was a bitter pill for this architect of much of the original 4IP's success. He commented in my interview with him about the hurt associated with the whole resurrection of the 4IP brand. "...the thing that hurt me most was that those

who were allocated jobs to do just weren't doing them and no one was supervising them. That – it was hopeless” (Jones, 2011c). Brandt suffered a heart attack a few years later, he claimed it was brought on by the stress of his re-instatement at 4IP and this was perhaps a further blow to its reputation.

2SM management had lurched from one disastrous decision to another attempting to make Radio 10, Stereo 10, Lite and Easy 1008 and 4IP (version two) successful. This was an early case of Sydney centricity being imposed on a totally different cultural context. As previously discussed, it indicated a lack of understanding about audience, and 4IP's uniqueness. 2SM came in with a homogeneous view of the audience, not surprisingly as the 1980s were the formative days of networking in Australia; this is a loose example of it (Griffen-Foley, 2009). The 1980s were also a time of great change in radio in terms of the addition of FM, closing down some AM to re-brand and move to the FM space as if it were a superior level of broadcast radio (Griffen-Foley, 2009). The management of 2SM had clearly identified at the time of sale of 4IP that localism was robbing from the bottom line and arrogantly ignored what localism meant to a community and the local radio station. Further, localism brought to 4IP and the community a deep sense of value, esteem, trust and a voice to share what matters to Ipswichians; and the community was validated by 4IP's practice in terms of providing live concerts, competitions, community announcements and other community events. Importantly, however, by being local it was concerned with what mattered to local people.

#### **4.1.19. 4TAB and the Legacy of 4IP**

In 1992 4IP – Ipswich Broadcasting Company Pty Ltd was sold to 4TAB (the Tattsgroup – Totalisator Agency Board - TAB) to become 4TAB and was relegated to the “other AM” category for the Brisbane Radio Surveys. The TAB provided gambling on, and a continuous broadcast of, thoroughbred, harness and greyhound racing. This was a complete departure from the original 4IP commenced by W J Johnson in 1935, and continued on its pathway of being a local radio service for Ipswich and ultimately for Ipswich and Brisbane under the ownership of Frank Moore and William Allen. For 4IP, to cease operation clearly indicated not only its

lack of capital and its place in the field of radio in South East Queensland, but also its complete disregard of a “voice” for Ipswich.

#### **4.1.20. The Gap Years – New Radio Service for Ipswich**

Ipswich Broadcasting Company Pty Ltd, 4IP may have sat behind a niche radio station dedicated to broadcasts of all forms of horse and dog racing, but what 4IP meant to all people who experienced it in Ipswich lived on in their hearts. It is clear that it left a gap based on the fact that participants and newspaper articles identified the need for and interest in having a local radio station. In the 15 years that 4IP was not geographically located in the city; interest was sparked by those with a desire to explore how that could be achieved.

This is not sentimentality; it is based on the fact that when talk of the possibility of gaining a radio station back in Ipswich city was raised, it generated considerable interest. The so called “Gap Years” for the purpose of my research identify what was on offer and how Ipswich players responded when radio might be introduced again into the field of Ipswich. One such occasion arose when the Department of Communications identified an opening up of additional broadcast licences. This is framed in a time when FM licences were made available along with a commitment from government to support areas that were under serviced by commercial radio.

The *Future Directions in Commercial Radio Report* prepared by the Forward Development Unit of the Department of Communications was tabled in Parliament in August 22, 1986. Its broader agenda was to look at how to overcome any lack of commercial radio services across Australia and specifically driving an FM agenda. This report had a recommendation to call for applications for new radio stations in “certain areas”. It was anticipated that Queensland would have up to five such areas under consideration to be granted a licence. The aim was to identify areas that were under serviced by a commercial broadcaster. The “victims” in Ipswich who had been robbed of their radio station saw this as an opportunity to establish a local radio station once again for Ipswich. Only those who understand the deeply held beliefs by the “City Fathers”, the leaders in the community, official or unofficial, would ensure that Brisbane would not get to be part of another radio station established in Ipswich.

Only weeks after the official announcement of the call for applicants, who were asked to identify why their city should be considered for a local FM radio station, Federal Member for Oxley, Bill Hayden, was in the press sounding a warning that “Ipswich radio station applicants had to convince the Federal government their case should have priority over areas of Queensland where communications were more limited” (Ramsey, 1986). The Queensland Times report goes on to say the reason Ipswich was not under consideration by the Federal Government was because “Ipswich is part of the Brisbane metropolitan area” (Ramsey, 1986).

Participants in this research commented upon how contentious this quote was, mainly due to the long-standing rivalry between Brisbane and Ipswich (as noted in the Moore and Johnson Eras). “Ipswich is part of Brisbane” struck a deep and key chord with those in the field of Ipswich, as previously discussed. This edict from Canberra potentially put a stop to any further opportunity for local radio in Ipswich. This directly contradicted the local knowledge of what Frank Moore so eagerly embraced when he moved the transmitter to St Helena Island in 1975 and had the legal right to include Brisbane into the broadcast area for 4IP. Ipswich was now to be considered by the Department of Communications as a regional area and therefore had its own broadcast area defined. This solidified it being outside of the Brisbane broadcasting area which was now seemingly impenetrable. Following the building interest in seeking a licence to be allocated for Ipswich, a few local consortiums were formed. It is important to note that the Department of Communications were calling for expressions of interest in gaining a local radio station. Who operated it is a further part of the process. I will discuss the make-up and structure of the groups more fully. What is interesting from interrogating media clippings is there is no public record of a meeting of interested people being called. The groups emerged from the field of Ipswich and I can only suggest from the data that those involved as part of any of the groups had sufficient capital to establish a team to go into the field of radio and government. This suggests significant species of capital and places value on what radio brings to the local community. These groups entered the field of Ipswich and were in practice for competing to win the privilege of operating the local radio station. As part of this process rules of the game will be checked and confirmed or challenged. Those with agency, such as local councillor Paul Tully, take particular interest in the unusual and the more challenging aspect of city life. The local radio



station had captured his gaze. The underlying reason behind his practice is not evident at this point of the observation of this phase of radio in the city of Ipswich.

#### **4.1.21. Social Justice – Cr Paul Tully**

Tully had weighed in on the application for an Ipswich radio station. As a long-serving local government city councillor and lawyer, he possessed the species of capital and place in the field of Ipswich to take up these causes for the constituents of his division and the residents within the City of Ipswich. Any suggestion that Brisbane shareholders would have an interest in the radio station was vehemently challenged by Tully. His contention was that “Ipswich needs a strong, independent locally based radio station...if not, the station would not have the interest of Ipswich at heart and would eventually follow the path of the former Ipswich-based radio station 4IP, and move to Brisbane” Cr. Tully said (Ramsey, 1986). The loss of 4IP was keen in Tully’s mind and raised a number of concerns for him and presumably for those he was in discussion with regarding how a local radio station would be kept local, how and who would operate it. Equally valid was the concern over how to make a radio station viable. Paul Tully had been pushing for a radio station for Ipswich since 1979, only one year after 4IP sold to 2SM (Ramsey, 1986). This insight provides further understanding into Tully’s interest, as to why or for what reason; it is not made clear through research.

#### **4.1.22. Radio Ipswich Limited**

One group who continued to gain the attention of Tully was Radio Ipswich Limited. Radio Ipswich Limited was established in May 1986 when a company was incorporated with National Companies and Securities Commission. Two Brisbane men, Gordon James Muir and Stephen John Felix Booth were named as directors. The company, Trindagrove Pty Ltd had its registered office at 99 Creek Street, Brisbane. It is noted that a “series of significant changes were made to the company on August 21, 1986. Trindagrove became a public company – Trindagrove Ltd and underwent an immediate name change to Radio Ipswich Ltd. On September 23 the registered office of Radio Ipswich changed from 99 Creek Street, Brisbane to 31 Nicholas Street in Ipswich. This is the office of R.W. Ramsey and Co and First provincial Building Society”, both long standing businesses in the City (Newsome,

1986a). There was a gap in the business structure arrangements until it was disclosed in a newspaper article July 1986 that “Radio Ipswich Limited is 20 percent owned by Kern Corporation (a large development company who invested \$85 million into the city heart redevelopment known as Ipswich City Square after a fire destroyed the major retailer, along with other Ipswich based business interests), 20 percent by Mr Haley who also has controlling interest in the South Queensland News newspaper group, and 60 percent owned by a number of Ipswich businessmen,” (Britt, 1986b).

In the Queensland Times newspaper of September 10, 1986 Ipswich Radio Limited spokesman Jack Galloway stated that “the company would seek a supplementary licence for the city, something he denied as ever happening or going to happen (Ramsey, 1986). A supplementary licence was granted by the Federal Government under the Broadcasting and Television Act to existing non-metropolitan, commercial AM radio licences. According to Mr Haley, chairman and spokesperson for Radio Ipswich Limited, the company had no association with any AM station in Australia (Reporter, 1986i). Tully was outraged by this revelation and rebuffed it by publicly urging Ipswich business’ to “move carefully on the issue and not tie themselves to Radio Ipswich Ltd” (Reporter, 1986i). Tully was well connected with the communications department in the Australian Government, and in his role as councillor privy to conversations that I suggest had fuelled his concerns. He used his significant social and cultural capital to raise caution and remind people of the loss of 4IP. Tully became a “*fish out of water*” over the Radio Ipswich Limited revelation and the mismatch with his core beliefs of the value of radio to Ipswich caused him to challenge these players. If Tully had ongoing concerns then he could sideline Radio Ipswich Limited by raising concern that signals other players to be alert.

This side swipe at Radio Ipswich was unrelenting over the time of building a profile for their case to gain a broadcast licence for Ipswich. Chairman for Radio Ipswich Limited, Frank Haley, associated with Kern Corporation, was concerned that consideration for a licence would not be given unless there was strong support for the concept of a radio station to be placed in Ipswich. He warned that it was vital that there be a strong message of support given to the minister for a licence to be considered for Ipswich and the group was actively lobbying Federal Member for

Oxley (Ipswich) Bill Hayden. Haley was not concerned about support for any aspirational radio station operator at that point because he wanted to secure the interest and allocation of a licence for Ipswich first; who became the successful broadcaster was secondary in his view, although Radio Ipswich were actively seeking the broadcasting opportunity (Reporter, 1986h). Tully had planted a seed of doubt through the local press into the field of Ipswich regarding Radio Ipswich Limited and therefore they were not observed to be viable. Tully claimed that he “would oppose the Radio Ipswich Limited bid” citing that it would be owned by two Brisbane companies (Reporter, 1986h). Haley continued to seek support and in a presentation to the Ipswich Rotary Club he was able to engage his own strategic move in the field of Ipswich. During his presentation he was reported to have enlightened the businessmen gathered that “the Australian Broadcasting tribunal had learnt its lesson with 4IP’s move to Brisbane many years ago, to the point that radio stations around Australia are told that ‘there’ll never be another 4IP situation’”. (Ramsey, 1986). Interesting that he selected a group of businessmen in the main city Rotary Club that included many “City Fathers” who would enjoy and be comforted by this statement because 4IP had embarrassed them by leaving to go to Brisbane. As victims of the departure of 4IP by an outsider, Frank Moore, Brisbane would not get the chance to do that to them, further reinforcing the identity of victim.

What Radio Ipswich Limited’s Board had on their side was the inclusion of some significant and well positioned players in the field of Ipswich, who attended the Rotary Club and had other signs of cultural capital. Some of these had a long-standing relationship with the city and built significant capital. It is conceivable, based on newspaper reports of the time (Queensland Times, Ipswich Advertiser and Courier Mail ), that the Ipswich Board members were the reason that the organisation successfully sourced 1,600 signatures on a petition to garner support for the allocation of a licence to broadcast in Ipswich. According to an article published in the Queensland Times on November 14, 1986, Board members were experiencing resistance from some Ipswich people because Radio Ipswich Limited was now being aligned with Kern Corporation. Ipswich based Barbara Cush, a director on the board, explained this was their experience when gathering the names. “As soon as people see Radio Ipswich they think of Kern and there is resistance,” she said (Britt,1986b). The awareness of the Brisbane influence in Radio Ipswich Limited, generated by

Tully and reported in the local press was obviously impacting in the field of Ipswich. A subsequent story ran in the weekly Ipswich Advertiser Nov 18, 1986, where Barbara Cush was quoted discussing the assumption by the Federal Government that Ipswich was “part of Brisbane” and that this was the major obstacle facing the granting of a radio station licence for the city. In this article she stated that “we’ve been getting great feedback from all sections of the community,” (Britt, 1986b). As a result of the agency Barbara Cush had in the field of Ipswich at this time, her comments wielded a lot of influence.

On April 9, 1987, Radio Ipswich Limited shareholders voted unanimously to abandon an attempt to secure an FM licence (Nickerson, 1987). Chairman Frank Haley stated that the “Ipswich and West Moreton business climate had bottomed and on this basis the level of anticipated advertising support would not support a radio station’s operation” (Nickerson, 1987). It was Radio Ipswich Limited’s focus to consider an alternative which meant securing an AM station in Brisbane or Toowoomba in order to gain what was known as a “supplementary licence”. This was considered a far more economically sustainable model. The withdrawal of their licence application and subsequent announcement to follow up the AM radio supplementary licence gave credence to Tully’s assertions, of September 1986, that the group were considering this as an option (Nickerson, 1987; Ramsey, 1986). Radio Ipswich’s early assertions of having no “current interest” with any AM radio station in Australia was possibly true, but the fact that Directors were “assessing the feasibility of purchasing either 4BK (Brisbane) or 4AK (Toowoomba), a non-metropolitan commercial radio station or two unnamed radio stations was reason for alarm ( Nickerson, 1987). Concern was raised because the government had not ruled out going with AM and the supplementary licence was provided to a “non-metropolitan, commercial AM radio station” Reporter, 1986i). The suspicion raised in the field of Ipswich of a Brisbane originated group, Radio Ipswich Limited, no matter the truth, would now stick and more importantly increased Tully’s agency built on the back of these revelations.

#### **4.1.23. License Bid gets Recognition**

In early 1987 the Federal Communications Minister, Michael Duffy made reference to the West Moreton (a name given to the district in which Ipswich is a part) case

citing that “more than 50,000 people in the rural areas north or south of Ipswich lacked a technically adequate commercial radio signal since the old Ipswich station 4IP moved to Brisbane” (Finlay, 1987b). This comment suggested an interest from the Federal government in considering Ipswich as a place for a broadcast licence and recognition of some of the realities that confront the physical place. It was another step forward to gaining a licence for the city. The topography of the region made radio transmission difficult in terms of providing a clear signal throughout the district. Regional centres must cover their area as the potential audience needs to hear the radio station to access information and for advertisers to have access to as many people as possible.

Applications for the Ipswich FM licence closed on May 6, 1987. With the departure of Radio Ipswich Limited in April 1987, just one month remained was for the final two contenders for the radio licence in Ipswich. These were: Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation Pty Ltd under the chairmanship of local solicitor Paul Fallu; and local business man Jack Sheedy of Capital West Broadcasters, the latter seeking an AM licence (Finlay, 1986a). It is important to view, over time, these two contenders in the field of Ipswich and their motivation to gain the licence. Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation was the stronger of the two based on their species of capital and that this group was aspiring for the FM licence. In my research no other articles were found that discussed Capital West Broadcasters position in the field. Clearly chasing after an AM licence was a retrograde step as the agenda by the Australian Government was to establish FM in new sites.

Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation, one of the two contenders seeking the licence used their position in the field of Ipswich to enhance their individual cultural and social capital, and collectively sought to enhance economic capital by gaining financial support for the proposed radio station licence. The group’s chairman, Paul Fallu, who was a well-known local Ipswich solicitor, identified two clear positions earlier in their campaign upon which to argue for a successful outcome. Fallu raised the departure of 4IP couched in the following quote: “Since 4IP abandoned the region, localism in programming for sport, recreation clubs and rural produce marketing has been ignored by commercial radio in nearby Brisbane” (Reporter, 1986e). In the same article Fallu also highlighted the second

issue that arguably would validate their bid; the technical inadequacy of signal into many parts of the West Moreton region, (Reporter, 1986e).

With the use of his own species of capital, Fallu was well positioned in the field of Ipswich as was his other high profile director, John Brannock, an Ipswich Town Planner. The field of Ipswich would have been filled with suspicion about how the game was to be played in terms of bringing radio back into Ipswich. Radio 4IP originally found itself welcomed and valued into Ipswich and generously reflected the values of the city in its format. It was owned by known and trusted Ipswich people so it had to be ok; it was confirmed and sanctioned because of the relationship and trust placed in Johnson. This version of radio, which was unknown in terms of who could own it, suggested the concept of radio in this form lacked shape, trust and value. True to Bourdieuan theory it stands to reason, based on the practice evident in the field of Ipswich that there would be those in the field who became silent and went about their own game whilst others used their agency to bring radio into Ipswich. The field of Ipswich was under pressure to accept or reject radio as part of the way the city operated. Competing voices were heard attempting to, through the use of their agency, convince the people of Ipswich that this is what they needed.

The Deputy Premier of Queensland and member for Somerset, Bill Gunn was one such voice, passionately stating that the Ipswich district would “take a backward step” if the licence was not granted and in his appeal highlighted the separation that is there between Ipswich and Brisbane. Gunn cited the proximity of the two cities as problematic. “It grates that our area is regarded as an outskirts of Brisbane. We are entitled to anything metropolitan people get; a district radio station has the potential to bring the whole district together” (Britt, 1986a). This statement resonated with some of the values and beliefs of those in the field of Ipswich but there would be those who did not believe that this statement was true and that radio in the current context caused suspicion and anxiety, therefore it was to be rejected.

Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation received significant “financial and moral support” even after only three days of being an official contender” (Finlay 1986a). The interrogation of data suggested that the Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation were well positioned in the field of Ipswich and to a lesser degree the field of radio in South East Queensland. Fallu emphasised that Ipswich

and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation would be “wholly owned by Ipswich and West Moreton residents from all walks of life. The exception to local ownership would be experts in the technical field, not available locally, but essential to the success of the bid” (Finlay, 1986a). This display of inclusiveness in the field of Ipswich would have strengthened Fallu and company’s position in the field of Ipswich. The game is being played skilfully and interrogation of media clippings shows no signs of opposition to Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation. Additional comments such as provision of a local news service and “appropriate program format” as part of the vision for the radio station goes toward building capital and confirming to those in the field that this is a good thing (Reporter, 1987). The acceptance of Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation is in stark contrast to the attack on Radio Ipswich Limited. The attacking is based on Radio Ipswich Limited’s link with two Brisbane based companies through directorship on the board. To enter into Ipswich and be approved by those with power and agency in the city you have to demonstrate and show an understanding of the rules of the game. Given the suspicion in place around radio ownership, anyone from “outside”, specifically Brisbane who had “taken” 4IP needed to be sidelined and watched carefully to clarify motivations. Approval came over time, once accepted into the game.

#### **4.1.24. Game Change by Federal Government**

One significant disruption in the field of radio and in the field of Ipswich was the announcement in September 1987 that new radio licences would be auctioned off. The announcement brought commendation from the opposition party as well as the State Labor party. This departure from the established formal process, which was by application, was claimed to be a revenue raising activity by, and for, the elected Federal government changing the rules of the game significantly. It is little wonder that reactions were severe, as many felt like “*fish out of water*” as the process was unknown and placed applicants in a difficult position. Tully raised concerns around large southern based media networks picking up these licences. These large networks had the economic capital along with the social and cultural capital in the field of radio to gain control so the notion was not hysteria. The auction model for radio licences drew in the local support of Councillor Paul Tully, where he sought to have

Ipswich made exempt from the new licencing guidelines. He again raised fears of no local control or involvement in a new Ipswich FM radio station at the local level. Tully also raised the “sell-off” of radio 4IP which formerly served Ipswich (Newsome, 1987) as a way of warning what the future might hold, thus confirming the fears present in the field of Ipswich.

The move to Brisbane by 4IP is still a sensitive issue. Even though the station continued to operate a studio and events in the city, therefore still in the field of Ipswich and actively engaging with the city, it was the physical move to Brisbane that was enough to have 4IP yellow carded and eventually sent off in terms of the Ipswich response to its practice in the field. Tully identified the core issue; Ipswich needed its own locally controlled radio station. “The last thing we want is a radio station owned and controlled by cigar-smoking tycoons on the 40<sup>th</sup> floor of some office block in the heart of Sydney” (Newsome, 1987c). This was potentially an attack on the 2SM takeover of 4IP given the vitriol expressed by Tully and other participants towards the withdrawal of 4IP from Ipswich to Brisbane. At best, it was a warning in the field of Ipswich to be aware of players who sought to enter the field bringing with them ill intent. Another potential casualty from the announcement for auctioning new radio licences was Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation. Fallu brought his shareholder’s together to consider withdrawing their application because “the new Federal guidelines made it nearly impossible for an Ipswich-based company to win the licence (Reporter, 1987).

#### **4.1.25. License Model Restored**

The auction notion for gaining a licence was resolved and hopeful radio station operators were back in the game and continuing to move through the processes defined by the Australian Government (Newsome, 1987c).

Fallu and his directors stayed in the game but the battle for who would gain the FM broadcast licence continued. Contenders went about building capital to ensure a strong position in the field of Ipswich. For Fallu and the board of Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation it was a cautious waiting game and required the board to hold their nerve until in April 1989, ironically at the same time 4IP was



brought back in Brisbane, Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation was successful in gaining the licence to operate the Ipswich radio station.

The station was registered as 4QQQ with the call sign Q FM 106.9 FM. Fallu declared that the decision was a “good thing for Ipswich” and claimed that the station would join the local daily newspaper, The Queensland Times to “help to give a sense of identity to the whole region” (Hinchliffe, 1989). This was a problematic statement in that the identity came from the field of Ipswich in which is inherently located the core beliefs and values of Ipswich people. For the media to give identity to the community, it was potentially about agenda setting unless the radio station was an integrated part of the community and accurately reflected the community just as 4IP did in its first iteration. Tully had been instrumental in the field of Ipswich and the field of radio in Australia by campaigning for an Ipswich radio station. He had been active in his pursuits since January 1, 1980. The fact that he could undertake all that he did is clear evidence of his considerable species of capital and a deep commitment to the city and to local media.

His campaign was to have a radio station “replace the departure of 4IP to Brisbane in 1974”. He saw the decision as a “vindication” of his three appearances at Tribunal inquiries. “We will no longer be the largest provincial city in Australia without its own radio station” (Hinchliffe, 1989) Tully declared. As a further demonstration of his power in the field of Ipswich, Tully declared in the same article that “he would monitor the new Ipswich station to ensure that it remained provincial-oriented and not take on the Brisbane Market like 4IP did”(Hinchliffe, 1989). Tully had set himself up as the watchman to ensure that this prized radio station was not “tampered with” and it would stay local, for that made QFM acceptable in the field. To stay that way the radio station would need to take its place in the field and play the game. Local in this context means to be located in the place and serve the defined place of Ipswich and the West Moreton for this was the expectation

#### **4.1.26. FM Radio for Ipswich: Background**

To give some context around radio as a field in South East Queensland and its current state of play it is important to review the existing stations. 4MMM has enjoyed a decade of successful operation, QFM and the new FM station, B105 which is the FM station replacing the AM predecessor 4BK both started in the same week.

QFM commenced broadcasting on 106.9 FM on Sunday February 25, 1990 at six minutes and nine seconds past one pm from their North Ipswich home. In a press article the writer noted that QFM's signal would reach into Brisbane's Western suburbs and southern suburbs. "That bumps its potential audience from 150,000 in its West Moreton catchment area to an overall 500,000" (The Sunday Mail, February 18, 1990). The changes in the field of radio in South East Queensland, according to Paul Wick's article in the Sunday Mail, would "change the make-up of commercial radio in Brisbane (Wicks, 1990). Ipswich may have wanted to hold onto the station as theirs; however the 4IP story demonstrated that it was not commercially viable to do so. Ken Mulcahy, QFM general manager, revealed that "his station was supported by Brisbane based advertisers, as well as those in Ipswich and the surrounding areas" (Wicks, 1990). From research participant comments and the newspaper articles it is suggested that allowing Brisbane to financially support the Ipswich radio station was accepted in the rules of the game. The proviso was that the radio station must be based in, and operated by, Ipswich people. Outsiders were accepted based on their level of capital, disposition and how they played the game.

#### **4.1.27. QFM: An Ipswich FM Radio**

This is a summary of some of the key events and moments in this new era of radio in the field of Ipswich. It is important to identify the salient elements in the context of the field of Ipswich. QFM's board understood that they needed to build the economic, social and cultural capital required to engage in any meaningful way in the field of Ipswich and by extension in the field of radio in South East Queensland. Fallu, as Chairman, along with General Manager Ken Mulcahy of QFM obviously had a keen interest in the profit of the station. "First and foremost was the profit. Secondly, was to connect with the local community, in so doing ... could make a financially viable radio station" (P20, 2013). QFM connected with its audience by providing a local news service, community announcements, competitions and briefly talking to locals through short interviews. It also obtained an outside broadcast unit to attend events.

*The Queensland Times*, the Ipswich local daily newspaper had shareholdings in 4IP since its formation in the Johnson Era. It sold its interests in the radio station during

the Moore era, but was now a shareholder in QFM. Fallu considered himself “lucky” to have *The Queensland Times* as a shareholder, he considered them “quite substantial,” and “of course they were plugging us” (Jones, 2013d). The reality of gaining a broadcast licence caused the Queensland Times to withdraw as a shareholder as they “thought we [QFM] were going to be a threat to them and they withdrew their support” (Jones, 2013d). Given the tough economic climate and that both organisations had to draw from the same potential advertisers in Ipswich, the game became confused in terms of potential loyalty. Traditionally radio and press are good media partners in terms of advertisers, but the established newspaper with significant species of capital let the “new business on the block” go alone and earn their own stripes.

Ipswich is considered a regional centre for the purposes of government management and this is also true for broadcast radio as Ipswich is in what is known as the RA1 district. Only capital cities are considered Metropolitan, therefore because of the regional status QFM is not factored into the Brisbane Market Survey. QFM wanted to be part of the survey but, according to participant interviews, Brisbane radio stations refused to have the station included. Fallu bemoaned QFM’s broadcast strength which was not powerful enough to penetrate Brisbane to any great degree (Jones, 2013d). In contradiction to an earlier statement it was claimed that the station would in fact be serving 500,000 people as a potential audience. QFM could not use the Brisbane Market survey structure as it would not gather the potential audience of QFM the regional radio station.

QFM, with the support of their shareholder *The Queensland Times*, openly and often named another contender for the licence and after disclosing all of the board members, some of the detail around Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation was not fully discussed. There was an imbalance in the game, again afforded by the species of capital that privileged some of the players, in this case QFM board members and not others. Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation had the Australian Radio Network as a shareholder. Brisbane media icon Ian Renton, and Ian Brusasco, also a Brisbane based businessman, were also identified as members of the QFM board. These Brisbane businessmen were on the board for Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation through the

application phase and yet were not identified nor disclosed. The inconsistency around public disclosure is concerning and more troubling is that in the field of Ipswich it was not appropriate to have Brisbane businessmen associated with Radio Ipswich Limited but it appears to be appropriate for QFM to have Brisbane businessmen on their board. This can only be explained, in Bourdieuan terms, that those Ipswichians on the QFM board must have the support of the “City Fathers” to allow Brisbane people into the game. After all, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman were significant players in the field of Ipswich and possessed the appropriate species of capital to gain full acceptance in the city. They must have demonstrated their alignment with the way things are and know how to play the game.

Further in an interview discussing the brand of QFM it was revealed by Chairman of the Board, Paul Fallu, that “we also harboured a desire to try and pinch some Brisbane market as well. So we didn’t want to be exclusively seen as a local radio station” (Jones, 2013d). According to Fallu, he believed that the Federal government did not apply any overt pressure about being regional or strictly local. “Mr Tully, I think was very concerned to see that it was local and look rightly so” (Jones, 2013d). Fallu was very aware of how vocal Tully had been through the application process. His level of agency in the field and his capital made Tully a significant player in the field of Ipswich. Tully is clearly passionate about the matter of a local radio station, to the point that he will name and shame those who do not play the game.

#### **4.1.28. A STAR is Born**

QFM Board members came to a decision to seek strategies to assist to alleviate the operational costs of the radio station. “We needed to either have another radio station or join a network essentially to cut the programming or spread the programming costs over a number of stations” (Jones, 2013d). The lack of local business support was beginning to hurt QFM. “It was then that the opportunity came for us to merge with Unitel who also operated Brisbane radio station 4BH from premises in Rochedale” (Jones, 2013d). This is the period of time when STAR 106.9 was born (1997). According to Fallu who had removed himself as Chair to become a Director on the Board, it was about putting a new face out into the marketplace because the format had changed, unlike 4IP of many years prior, this was a change to

build a wider audience. Documents examined for this research state that STAR's programming appealed to baby boomers as a classic hits station playing 60s and 70s music (ironically, those who had been teenagers during the advent of the original 4IP). "STAR 106.9 FM's on-air product of music, local news and information is targeted directly to core 30 to 54 demographic listeners in Brisbane's south and west, Logan City, Ipswich and Toowoomba – Australia's most dynamic growth market" (Star FM, 1997). In the documentation, the radio station claims that surveys showed "tremendous listening growth has been gained by STAR" (STAR FM, 1997). The game of radio in South East Queensland had changed again and Ipswich and West Moreton Broadcasting Corporation became defunct and transferred all its interests over to Unitel Corporation Limited in 2004. So local ownership was gone, STAR continued to have some local advertising support but the radio station and indeed Ipswich was under the shadow of the Brisbane radio stations and STAR was covering a number of communities to gain the revenue to operate (P1, 2013).

STAR actively and openly promoted its listener surveys from Brisbane's South, West, Logan City, Ipswich and Toowoomba and produced data against incumbents in locations like Toowoomba demonstrating its impact in the area. It was brazen of a non-Toowoomba based radio station to publish their own STAR survey and extrapolate some significant claims. STAR promoted themselves as the way to reach the growth centres in South East Queensland, going up against well-established radio stations such as 4GR, 4AK, 4WK B105, 4KQ, 4MMM and so on. The game changed again, from a local Ipswich radio station serving the Ipswich and West Moreton district to a radio station that had its studio based geographically in Ipswich, but was playing in other fields simultaneously and in a sense being their local radio station. In areas like Logan City, Brisbane South and West, the Brisbane Metropolitan radio stations traditionally catered for them, although Logan City does have its own community radio station. STAR involved its audience through delivery of a local news service, community information and involvement in events around their identified market. Councillor Paul Tully, considered to be "outspoken" was engaged by STAR to have him present a daily news commentary piece (P1, 2013). Tully had been rigid in his views around an Ipswich radio station, in his terms defined by being locally based and supporting the local community exclusively. It

appears at best contradictory that he would support a radio station that was operating against his publicly claimed views.

By its very operational model, STAR redefined what is meant by “being local”. Under new management, STAR grappled with how it should function and one participant stated that “it was really trying to target anywhere that it had a signal and that included Toowoomba, it included Ipswich, it included Logan area....the whole corridor was where they [STAR] were concerned about (P1, 2013).

Radio stations that are in the shadow of big metropolitan operators have to fight for audience with the big metropolitan stations and their revenue budgets, with something that's very small in comparison. So that makes it tricky, and I think when you're doing localism you've got to be very careful that it's not localism for localism's sake - it's actually localism that is meaningful and isn't hokey. I think that there's a fine line where you go with that. So you know, that's what we tried to do with it (P1, 2013).

According to several participants in this research, localism is best described at this stage of the game as the active participation of the radio station in the location where it is positioned. The radio station connects with the events and activities of the location via a range of mechanisms including: news, community information, station promotions, outside broadcasts, interviews and so on. It is done at a genuine and meaningful level by the radio station who values and esteems its listeners and they the radio station (P1, 2013).

As part of this active participation, it is reasonable to expect that local businesses would support their local radio station, and in turn build their business and that of the radio station. A reasonable number of local advertisers did place advertisements on the radio station but not enough to make it viable. STAR sought to capture a new and aspirational market, those in new and growing suburbs and estates. This would be attractive to local businesses as well as national brand advertisers. The strength of the radio station to give an advertiser good return on investment is found in radio survey data.

In the case of QFM 106.9 FM to the present day River 94.9 FM they had to undertake their own research through an independent research organisation. While the data is statistically valid, it is independent and has no correlation with the Brisbane radio stations surveys. The lack of a cohesive market with direct competitors in the broader broadcast area is problematic for the Ipswich radio station. The Brisbane radio station surveys are part of a national statistical process carried out three times a year. At the time Nielsen research undertook surveys in each of the major metropolitan centres. The Brisbane survey, Brisbane Radio Market – Audience Share all people 10 plus, covers all commercial AM and FM radio stations as well as the ABC radio stations, AM and FM. The surveys also carry an “other AM” and “other FM” for the radio stations not part of the official data gathering. The “other” category will collect respondent’s indication of listening to a radio station not in the set listing options. The data independently sourced cannot be presented to advertising agencies as valid data because it is unable to be demonstrated as comparative figures. The official radio survey is authorised by Commercial Radio Australia (Jones, 2013e). This immediately put STAR on the back foot and sales executives would only gain access to media buyers if they had enough social capital; that is a personal relationship to draw upon so that he or she could present their case to use the local radio station. The capacity of the radio station, in this case STAR to attract an audience to an advertiser is not in question, it is their place in the hierarchy of radio, for example being recognised as part of the radio survey being undertaken, which needs further consideration.

STAR discovered that not only radio had changed, but so too had the buying public. In the tougher economic climate and with the increase in individual mobility, those seeking to access a product or service could do so locally or from out of Ipswich. STAR was confronted with this reality, and furthermore Ipswich advertisers were using Brisbane radio stations because they had a defined Ipswich market but could also give the advertiser the additional buyers from Greater Brisbane. This was part of the STAR strategy; identifying a market, an age group and building a large audience base so that they could gain some of this changing market (P1, 2013).

STAR was moderately successful from its inception in 1997 to 2001, when it was sold to new owners and with that experienced a name, format and frequency change.

“It operated and it traded to my knowledge quite efficiently and profitably...it was STAR and it was a very good radio station” (P10, 2013). In terms of Ipswich, from the research articles and participant comments, it officially had a radio station that by definition belonged to the city but it was clearly shared with a number of other communities. The game had not changed dramatically if compared to the Moore era and later with 4IP and its subsequent radio station offerings. New management brought new ideas and River is the next part of the radio story as it unfolds in the field of Ipswich and the field of radio in South East Queensland.

#### **4.1.29. River 94.9FM**

The transition from STAR to River is one that includes significant ownership changes from one merger to another, taking place behind the scenes and not in the field of Ipswich. I intend to acknowledge these changes of ownership and the broadcast frequency change from 106.9 FM to a new frequency 94.9 FM. This was done arguably to better serve the designated market for the radio station but also gained a better signal into Brisbane. To provide some context around the naming of River 94.9 which is in line with the Brisbane River Fire, River Stage, River City, it is also claimed to be a name that, like QFM, was not geographically fixed and defined but offered some flexibility for future growth and development. This rationale offers little comfort to a city that had lost its radio station (P1, 2013).

94.9 FM, branded as River 94.9 FM, the “hit music” station refocused its programming towards Adult Contemporary and occupied the North Ipswich office and studio, but also established an office and studio at Southbank in Brisbane. When it launched in 2001 the promotion was of a “brand new FM station for Brisbane.” It was positioning itself for the 18 to 40 year old market and clearly aligned itself with Brisbane and yet talked about being local. It clearly removed any reference to Ipswich. Participants noted that this is when things changed for the station, “It was on a path to failure” (P10, 2013). This was based on the radio station’s departure from Ipswich and attempt to move into the Brisbane market. The change of the game would negatively gain the attention of the Brisbane radio stations. This was also outside of the licence provision according to the Broadcasting Act, “they thought they were going to be able to replicate what they had been told 4IP had done and



come into Brisbane via the back door” (P10, 2013). River 94.9 had lost its way and it did not have the social, cultural or economic capital to attempt to serve Ipswich and surrounding areas well.

This game change was significantly affected by the music format that changed back towards being heavily youth oriented, contrasting with what both STAR and QFM had promoted. Prior to the ownership and format changes STAR was drawing advertising revenue and audience participation from Ipswich, Logan and Toowoomba. By making the move to establish a Brisbane base under the new banner of River 94.9 FM it sent out an alert to the players, both listeners and advertisers, in the field of Ipswich. Those who had established the belief that radio moving out of town was a loss were alerted to a dangerous game in play. The “City Fathers” would view the action with disdain towards Brisbane and those who shared the reproduced beliefs of the “City Fathers” would review their involvement with the station. Those team members would withdraw advertising support so that they were not seen as being aligned with the new player in the field. Playing in the field of Brisbane was going against some solid and seasoned players, unlike 4IP it was a time when the market was further segmented with the introduction of FM. Economics determined these changes, and the city itself was about to undergo further changes; while its radio station, as River 94.9, began to attempt to directly take on the Brisbane market.

Through the changes that took place to bring River into existence, Fairfax Media, who had shares in STAR and continued ownership with River 94.9 along with Bundaberg Broadcasting, was required to divest its commercial radio licence in Ipswich because of some ownership issues that arose through radio station acquisitions and appoint an independent manager during the divestment period (ACMA, 2008). Graham McVean was appointed the independent manager and became the minority shareholder. McVean owned other radio stations in regional Queensland and had a solid radio and business background. McVean understood local radio and brought to Ipswich a Moore style of leadership, in that he understood and valued localism. With McVean in the chair it was his task to set about rebuilding the radio station from the former management’s reckless spending and poor judgement around operating the radio station. “We shut down everything that was in Brisbane. We brought everything back to North Ipswich, the studios, and we kept the

Ipswich based staff and not much of what was happening down in Brisbane,” he said (P10, 2013). McVean described what he inherited as a “doof doof station” that was promoting dance music to young people. He realigned the station to attract the 24 to 39 year old demographic, playing music from the 1980s, 1990s and current music (early to mid-2000). This music format and demographic related to the demographic profile of Ipswich. With a radio station that had essentially established itself as a Brisbane radio station, abandoned Ipswich and put the station into debt to the tune of \$1.9 million dollars, McVean had the challenge of refocussing on a turnaround strategy that started in 2004. Part of his strategy was to start talking about Ipswich. Ashleigh Mac, an Ipswich born and bred radio announcer who was well known and liked in the South East Queensland market, was employed as the breakfast announcer. “Ashleigh did a great job of stabilising the radio station and bringing it back to its roots” (P10, 2013). After the first year of trading in the Ipswich market (2004) and being back in the field of Ipswich, McVean had reduced the debt to a loss of \$800,000. By the next year, 2005, McVean, who was also managing other radio stations needed to appoint a general manager for River 94.9. He appointed David Greenwood, who had extensive history in radio broadcasting; he had been a 4IP “good guy” and had also managed 2UE in Sydney. In Greenwood’s first year, 2005, he continued to reduce the debt to a loss of less than \$400,000. In 2006 McVean and Greenwood decided that they needed to bring some other dynamics into the radio station, and brought out of retirement well known Brisbane breakfast presenter Wayne Roberts, who had extensive experience as a Brisbane breakfast announcer through the late 1970s and 1980s. Roberts had been off-air for about seven or eight years when he came to River 94.9. Whilst McVean said his partners “were nervous” over the decision, they “did not interfere” (P10, 2013). This added a financial burden onto River 94.9 at a time when they had just about got into the “black”. It was a massive gamble and huge cost but “the radio station turned around from a \$400,000 loss to a \$500,000 profit off the back of that” (P10, 2013). A River 94.9 sticker used in marketing Roberts, who was affectionately known during his radio career as Wayne “Waynee Poo” Roberts, slammed the early music format and clearly claimed their intentions: *No Rap No Crap – “Waynee Poo” River 94.9* (94.9R, 2006), Roberts was signed for three years. The next challenge came when Fairfax media merged with Rural Press, a partnership that McVean did not want to be part of and asked for them to buy him out of his shareholding. Due to their lack

of radio knowledge (Fairfax and Rural Press were newspaper publishers) they asked McVean to stay on, which he did for around one year, to improve profitability. McVean along with Greenwood had turned a struggling Brisbane based Ipswich radio station around financially. It is important to note that a core reason for this change in fortune is the return to Ipswich and its recognition and valuing of localism.

The profits continued to improve dramatically and McVean stayed with River 94.9 until it was sold to Grant Broadcasters in 2008. They assumed immediate control of the radio station and remain its owners to this day (2015). Dugald Cameron, one of Grant Broadcasting Directors, said that “the acquisition was about expanding the company’s network of regional radio stations and they recognised that the radio station is located in a significant growth corridor” (Armstrong & Greenwood, 2008). Cameron (2008) also noted that his organisation “saw a community that was somewhat distinct from Brisbane, despite its proximity to Brisbane”, recognising that Ipswich had its own personality and pride. He was quick to identify that River had “lost its way” in its early years prior to McVean’s intervention. The focus for Grant Broadcasting was not to chase the elusive Brisbane market but bring the focus back to Ipswich (P7, 2012). Statements like these would have resonated with the values held by established Ipswich people. Specifically the “City Fathers” would welcome but be cautious of this. The notion of the new owners supporting the Ipswich ownership, I suggest, would have been a sweet victory for the “City Fathers” as it confirmed their belief that an Ipswich radio station should belong and be resident in Ipswich. For those who subscribe to the deep held beliefs that Ipswich is a separate and self-sufficient centre; and reproduce those values as the ‘way it is’ are conscious of the alternative. Those who are not “true believers” of this attitude, and these were evident in the 4IP Moore era, have symbolic violence exercised on them. In the River 94.9 era the power of the “City Fathers” voice is in the field and the new owners would be observed as they played the game to confirm their disposition and practice in Ipswich. Greenwood welcomed Cameron’s Grant Broadcasting as the new owners of River 94.9, because River 94.9 had a “family atmosphere” and Cameron’s Grant Broadcasting was a good fit with the philosophy that was within the station at that time. The ownership could have been devastating given that a participant noted that there were five interested investors to buy River 94.9 at the time “and some of these caused concern because they potentially could have acquired River 94.9 and

turned it into a network station because of their current business models”(P21, 2013). River 94.9 moved forward under Grant Broadcasting and the Cameron family guidance; “They’ve got the same attitude to the whole range of stations that they own, connected with the community, being involved, being live” (P21, 2013). McVean and Greenwood were on the ground to make further changes that would continue to return River 94.9 to Ipswich.

The moment we stopped the doof, doof which virtually – they had a format back in those days with the doof, doof...some songs were appearing two or three times every hour on high rotation. You’d think good God didn’t I just listen to that. So when we swapped back and we went to a broader format in a wider ranging demographic people just found us. People would ring the radio station and say thank God for that, we’ve been putting up – so no the audience loved it (P10, 2013).

River 94.9 invited local Mayor Paul Pisasale and Councillor Paul Tully on air regularly to update on city news, share opinions and from the perspective of the management of River 94.9 continue to be local and demonstrate it. The station management noted that more and more local callers were coming in for competitions. This was a sign that more and more local players were supporting River 94.9 in the game it was playing in the field of Ipswich. The station’s independent surveys identified that it had a growing audience in the surrounding districts including Gatton and Laidley and into Toowoomba city. Another healthy sign for River 94.9 was the support from local business as the station continued to attract local advertisers onto the station. Not all businesses were supportive of River 94.9.

There were businesses, established businesses, in Ipswich, I won’t say who...but they would throw me out. You’d go there and because of the way they were treated by the previous company they would just throw us out. Get out. I would keep going back... No go away, I still don’t like you (P10, 2013).

The hostile response from some local businesses was recognised by McVean as “understandable” because of the way the former management of River 94.9, and preceding this, the role that STAR and QFM all played in the field of Ipswich. A similar response to local radio 4IP was experienced when Moore took over the station in 1963. I argue that the roots of this hostility is found within the symbolic

violence present through the “City Fathers” as local business operators who accepted the beliefs that change will hurt and Brisbane is out to take away from Ipswich. It was evident that the established businesses that “had Ipswich at heart” had no interest in the radio station, for them “it was on the nose” (P10, 2013). The business owners responded as victims of the beliefs that were reproduced, but in both the Moore and then in the River 94.9 (McVean and Greenwood) days they brought an optimism that local radio could assist them locally. They also persistently and tenaciously made contact with those for whom the radio station could be a real benefit. These men understood the dynamics of localism and its value within locations such as Ipswich. It took up to four years to win a number of the businesses back to River 94.9 FM (P10, 2013).

Janet Cameron, Managing Director of Grant Broadcasting, and mother of Dugald Cameron, owner of River 94.9 stated that it is about recognising “our” point of difference.

For us, our point of difference is always that we’re producing or giving something that involves the community that they’re not going to get by listening to Brisbane (radio). Our point of difference is to provide as much local information as we can (Jones, 2012q).

Greenwood brought with him a rich background in the radio industry and had a deep understanding of the Ipswich market from his days in 4IP. He was tutored by Frank Moore so he understood the value of audience as well as a care and mentoring of the team, and that a radio station must give to its community and be connected, “a radio station’s success is built on its local community,” Greenwood said in an interview. Greenwood noted that Moore had a great influence on his career, and he acknowledged that Moore demonstrated for him what localism in the radio context is (Jones, 2013e). The attributes of localism were clearly ingrained in how Greenwood, now a general manager himself, undertook his role.

We started with the usual things, like the Rotary clubs, and you’d go to the Chamber of Commerce and Council. Paul Pisasale was a great help, and I think my background of being with 4IP for 13 years, and being reasonably successful

in terms of having your name up in lights, it helped me move around a little bit” (Jones, 2013e).

While the attempt to bring River 94.9 back to Ipswich and convince the locals that this was a genuine move was difficult and took time, Greenwood stated that there were sceptics “many people have tried to make this station successful; it’s never worked; how are you going to do it?,” (Jones, 2013e). Greenwood drew on the Moore influence which taught him about having “good people around you, working hard and connecting with the community by being relevant to them.” He understood that you cannot try and sell something unless it is being delivered. He continued with his core message that River 94.9 was to be live and local, something that remains to this day (Jones, 2013e).

Live and local for River 94.9 became more than a slogan. It is evident from the interviews that from all parties concerned there was and remains a deep and abiding respect for what radio should be and what that looks like in a city such as Ipswich. The early stages of River 94.9 under the former management, prior to Graham McVean taking control, rang alarm bells for the community who had suffered yet another loss of a radio station, but it also concerned Greenwood, who in 2001 was working at a Brisbane radio station and was aware of STAR and the commencement of River 94.9.

It was like *déjà vu*. But there was no way in the world the Brisbane stations were ever going to, and neither would the Australian Communications Media Authority (ACMA), allow a station to move into Brisbane with simplicity. They weren’t going to allow another Ipswich station to come and do what happened back in 1974- 76, no way. We went the other way, and the other one was to win the local area (Jones, 2013e).

River 94.9 gained, through building localism and genuine relationships in the community, the confidence of the city of Ipswich and the surrounding districts but was also gaining interest from Toowoomba. This was based on the fact that Toowoomba had predominantly networked radio services located there, so by default River 94.9 was a *de facto* local station. While the local Toowoomba radio stations have a local studio and at least a local breakfast announcer, the majority of the day is content from the network. I suggest that Toowoomba, a regional city, west of

Brisbane and Ipswich, is looking for genuine localism hence their interest in River 94.9. Greenwood is respectful of the Toowoomba market and these broadcasting realities, but it is telling when he recounted a story that took place one afternoon when a fire had broken out on the Toowoomba range and it was out of control. The Toowoomba Mayor needed to get a message out.

She couldn't get anyone in media to take that phone call to put the message on (in Toowoomba). So, what did she do? She's rung us and we immediately put it to air. I think those sort of things have helped us. We win it [the local attention/interest] by default, or we win an audience up there by default, and we don't go up there and say we are a Toowoomba station (Jones, 2013e).

If River 94.9 was to embrace Toowoomba, as did STAR, they would lose focus on Ipswich, which was River 94.9's resolve. The field of Ipswich would be confused with another game being played that included outsiders. Greenwood, like his coach and mentor Frank Moore, kept to the plan and was not distracted; Greenwood's game was decisive and strategic.

River 94.9 has a prime market area geographically with 300,000 people (from Ipswich City, surrounding districts and to a lesser degree Logan City to Toowoomba). Contrast this with the Brisbane prime market area of 1.4 million and it puts the opportunity for River 94.9 to access the lucrative national advertising dollar into perspective. With the same tenacity employed towards gaining local advertisers, Greenwood has used his disposition and species of capital to gain some of this business. Greenwood continued to genuinely embrace his community; River 94.9 promoted local events and offered their website page and a community space known as "Around River" that received approximately 50,000 hits a week and growing. River 94.9 had a six tonne outside broadcast van and they would take out to local shows and events which assisted in getting the brand into the market. "We have done 42 outside broadcasts so far and we are only half way through the year (2013)" (P10, 2013). They have carried out broadcasts from Toowoomba, around Ipswich, the surrounding districts and in Logan, south of Brisbane.

Today, River 94.9 operates from a strong financial position and successfully maintains what many of the other iterations of the station tried. They are based in

Ipswich and provide relevant information to the Ipswich community but also engage with the other centres, but do not claim to be that location's radio station. Like the Moore era of 4IP, River 94.9 is "live and local"; it understands what radio needs to be for the market and that has been clearly defined in this chapter. Ipswich listeners identify that they can relate to River 94.9 as a participant noted.

Yes, they're interested in the local - I mean they have Toowoomba ads on them, but I mean Toowoomba is sort of local. It's not Brisbane. It does give you a feeling that they are interested in what goes on locally (FGTW, 2012).

The broadcasting attributes are about being authentic, respectful and honouring the "home city", in this case Ipswich but inclusive of the surrounding areas. Participants have said of the STAR era (1997-2001), which covered the same area in terms of signal and station focus, that STAR staff ran the station so it was potentially arrogant, tried to be everything to everyone, and went with the next best offer (P10, 2013). Local participants felt that these attributes did not align with the culture of Ipswich and hence the rejection from the city. There was a level of hurt and frustration over the way radio had treated the local community. Localism, therefore, is clearly a deeply held value within the community that, when present, confirms and supports the beliefs and values of the individual and of the community. In addition, it supports the species of capital by corporately valuing the radio stations existence as it functions in the field of Ipswich. This goes to the heart of being valued and esteemed in your own place and River 94.9 is assisting in the healing of some deep wounds left from when 4IP left Ipswich, the gap years when there was no local radio station in the city and then the way in which QFM, STAR and the early days of River, played the game of radio in Ipswich. The wounds in the city are, as discussed previously, symbolic and inflicted by the reproduction of memories that remind the "City Fathers" and those who have aligned themselves in the field of Ipswich, of times when Ipswich was shunned and disappointed by actions taken by Brisbane city leaders

#### **4.1.30. The Future of Radio**

Radio as a continuing media broadcast resource in Australia continues to enjoy annual growth and remains a viable medium as a source of information,



entertainment, news and companionship. Radio's strength is its intimacy and portability. In 2014 Commercial Radio Australia reported that 10.1 million people listened to commercial radio each week, which was up from 2013 which was 9.7 million people. My research maps out a journey of radio that is a case study and is able to draw some generalisations that might be applicable to other "regional" radio experiences in Australia. The participants of this research provided some insight around what radio should include if it is to be successful, specifically in regional centres and as a challenge to metropolitan radio. These insights are based on years of experience from participants who have worked at the coalfaces of the many iterations of 4IP in and around Ipswich. Greenwood (Jones, 2013e) states that, his listeners tuning into River 94.9 are not listening to the station for the music such as listeners in the contemporary end of the spectrum. In the contemporary space, music is the driver for the station; however, the River 94.9 audience is looking for "more meaningful talk, meaningful information, and entertainment, not overbearing and not too long. They still want the music there. So it is a fine balance" (Jones, 2013e). What staff and management at River 94.9 have discovered, is its audience. Radio station loyalty is a hallmark of River 94.9, which is arguably very different to other "network" radio stations in the commercial field. The station aims to keep an audience member with them in the home and in the car. Greenwood suggests that localism has a direct cost to the radio station operation, but a distinct value. To lose it or reduce that deep connectedness with the audience robs its value and relevance to the local community. He argues that a radio station, like River 94.9, can be profitable and enjoy the richness of localism. "Young programmers (at Network Radio Stations) are now all of a sudden discovering localism, we [radio metro and their regional stations] moved away from it because they found music and destroyed the connection" (Jones, 2013e). What Greenwood currently enjoys at River 94.9 are good people on staff, strong connections to the audience and the community in general valuing River 94.9 and it valuing them. River 94.9 affords the ability to communicate with another human being by maintaining on-air announcers in the local studio, that is "live and local" and this is localism in the radio context. According to Greenwood (Jones, 2013e) to increase profit to its maximum would result in diminishing localism and he calls it a "fine balance". The 'balance' Greenwood discusses is between localism and detached nationalised commercial radio; it reduces the deep connection and value

placed upon the local listeners for maximum profit, delivering a product to the consumer.

Richard Burns, former manager of STAR 106.9 and River 94.9, and now working in commercial radio in the United States further highlights the localism/commercialism dichotomy. It is important to note that this does not suggest localism is devoid of commercial success or that commercialism is inherently bad. The purpose of separation is a convenient way to observe what occurs in situ where either of these models is present. In a location similar to Ipswich, the United States of America allows many more broadcasters to have their signal penetrate the region. "Some are just poor stuff off the satellite, and they play local commercials and that's their deal. Other radio stations....provide full news services, involved in local sports...attend every cat and dog fight in town" (Jones, 2013a). Burns (Jones, 2013a) notes that of the 10 radio stations in a market smaller than Ipswich, (so has correlation to the scenario of Ipswich and Brisbane radio stations), it is the ones that provide all of the local information and news and are engaged in the community who are "ultimately the market leaders and they're the ones that make the most revenue."

The Metro radio stations tend to consider themselves as entertainment based entities such as the Southern Cross Austereo Network (SCA) which is made up of the Triple M local network and the Today FM network. In Queensland, SCA have 28 radio stations. This network, that incorporates a significant television ownership, claims to reach 95 percent of Australians. SCA has a presence in the majority of major provincial and other regional centres. Rhys Holleran, CEO of Southern Cross Austereo does not believe that broadcasting the weather or a song from a locally based station constitutes "local" radio. The network has the positioning statement as 'first in entertainment, media solutions' (Jones, 2012u). Holleran outlined some of the content that is considered entertainment by the network:

You'll have some good old fashioned entertainment shows which have great strong characteristics. So we'll run *Fifi and Jules*, *Hamish and Andy* and strong national programs which people like as well. We know that night time's more about environment than it is about local content. So we'll run more of a countdown style shows and more youth oriented programs across our network.

While network radio continues to provide locally based breakfast and some “drive-time” programs, the content usually emanates from a central source with local advertisements inserted. Holleran (Jones, 2012u) believes that due to changing lifestyles we will see breakfast run later ending around 10 am:

You're probably going to have high entertainment values between six and 10 and probably three till 10 at night. Slab more music for later between 10 and three and I mean, I think the off peak stuff, we fill it with various sorts of things.

Burns (Jones, 2013a) argues that while network radio stations have their place and are often highly listened to in communities, people located in regional centres know their local radio station is present. Locals know that it has an involvement in the local community and can respond to community need, like River 94.9 and 4IP in the past. This is evidence of localism at play. It is important to note that localism is not a nostalgic notion, rather in this context it is about relevancy to the local community. Where network radio exists in the local community literature reveals that localism is highly valued by listeners. Further my research participants indicate strongly their preference for local content.

According to Burns (Jones, 2013a) it is the radio station “that provides all the local news and information”, that is successful in terms of interaction with the audience, and financially because it is highly visible and has deep connections with its community. Participants generally agree that the kind of radio that works in Sydney, Melbourne or Brisbane is different to regional radio stations because “you rub shoulders with those people each day” (Jones, 2013a). Radio stations need to be reflective argues Burns (Jones, 2013a), “you have to understand the heartbeat of the community”. Metropolitan radio stations do not value and engage with the local community at such a deep level as regional radio stations do, such as River 94.9. Metropolitan radio stations tend to select two or three major events and support them, such as major charities, but these serve all of the state or nation. Regional “live and local” radio stations support the events that are an integral part of the fibre of the community in which the radio station is located. Moore and McVean both understood the need for this connection through the radio station and ensured that it was genuinely carried out.

“People always connect back to their local medium and I think that’s what is working well for River 94.9” states McVean (Jones, 2013c). He is philosophical about the radio business and believes that younger people will gravitate to some of the network product but it wears thin with what he calls “mindless music that is repeated and repeated” (Jones, 2013c). Like many other participants of my research, McVean believes that the local radio station always has a place, “they may not listen to it when they’re young but when they get to about 39 all of a sudden they’re wanting something else that the internet can’t give to them (Jones, 2013c). The current offering on networked radio is not resonating well with participants. The following quote is a summary of opinion around the on-air presentation.

On those FM stations they’re talking crap. It’s almost like somebody said 20 years ago you’ve got to have a fella, you’ve got to have a giggly girl and then you’ve got to have another silly fool that’s sitting in the background throwing in one liners and that’s entertainment. Well they might entertain if they are one station, but all of a sudden every radio station in the Brisbane market and Sydney other than the talk stations are running that same format.... We’ve got a girl here that really doesn’t know what she is saying... talking about what she saw on TV last night..., (P10, 2013).

Interviewed participants articulated concern over the change in management where they state that ‘bankers’ and ‘bean counters’ run the radio station, not those with knowledge or passion for the industry. Essentially an industry based on localism is needed, where those in charge understand the role of radio within the community. . There is a general concern by participants over the lack of risk taking that is present in the industry. Many of the station owners like Moore were entrepreneurial and therefore would back things because they were on the ground and knew it would work for the community. Radio station owners and managers of regional radio stations are scathing in their views on the management structure of today’s networked radio that they claim attempts to pass off as local radio. Moore was a significant player in the field of Radio in Queensland and arguably Australia and states:

It's good to be able to help your community when you're living with that community and serving it as a broadcaster. If you're living in a board room with a bunch of bankers you can't even feel what's going on out there (Jones, 2011i).

Moore was strong on local knowledge as much as gaining understanding about the future, as evidenced by his US annual meetings. He had the confidence of his business partner William (Bill) Allen and made decisions based on local knowledge and business acumen. "I don't believe that that responsibility stops with the executives. I think ownership - ownership has got much more capability to break new ground, and do things whereas executives have always got to account for everything" (Jones, 2011i). Moore and other participant's argue that the balance sheet for radio must be about both a fiscal and a social return on investment.

But it wasn't until the mid-80s when all of a sudden public companies and a lot of the fund managers discovered media. It started in television and it rolled into radio, and when you get bankers who have no feel for the business, [unclear] dollars and cents and sure, any business is dollars and cents, but we still are in a communications business, we still rely on our connection with the community and we still are entrepreneurs in our own way. I think those people moving into our business have just destroyed. If I told you most of the network's hub and what that means is they have one breakfast going out to 48...one announcer after 9 o'clock going to 48 stations around the country. What information and what connection have we got with their local community? All it does is give the shareholders a greater return because instead of having 48 announcers, they've got one (P21, 2013).

According to David Greenwood it is important to encourage really local connections. "There is a financial price to pay in employing more staff to have on-air talent in the local studio, but this is about long term security of the radio industry and "they've got to get back to it" (Jones, 2011a). Local radio to Brandt, general manager of 4IP with the Moore era, is not something that just happens, it is very personal. He claims that a local radio station can be friendly, kind and giving on the basis that it has the right direction and under the right management. "Some stations unfortunately don't have that. They're greedy." Brandt is also concerned over the "sameness of network radio" (Jones, 2011c).

In interviewing Dugald Cameron, Director of Grant Broadcasting who have 55 commercial radio stations plus a national network for their brand Kix Country (not based in Ipswich), it becomes apparent that Grant Broadcasting allow and encourage their managers to have autonomy so that the nature of the community and of the radio station is maintained. Grant Broadcasting understands the risk of having management at a distance and therefore value their local general managers. They encourage their staff to get involved in the local community; and are keen to have their staff live within the community, ‘I think that’s part of their success in terms of engaging with the community (Jones, 2012o). Grant Broadcasters have a philosophy that listeners are looking for “relevant local information that is presented in an engaging manner” (Jones, 2012o). Localising national or international stories is important and of course “discussing the broader community activities plus a well-structured music format” (Jones, 2012o). Many of these attributes hark back to what Frank Moore put in place intuitively when establishing his radio stations. McVean demonstrated these attributes in his management of River 94.9.

McVean believes that “radio stations have absolutely failed themselves and the communities where they punch a program out of the Gold Coast and put it right up the coast to Cairns” (Jones, 2013c). McVean, like a number of participants, see networking as a lazy way of doing radio and confirms concerns about profit making over providing local radio as defined by the participants. He believes that a regional radio station, of which River 94.9 is an example, will survive when it is relevant to that region. McVean attributes this belief to the success of Grant Broadcasting. “Today you get nicked and dined by lawyers and accountants, and it’s not the way I operate” (Jones, 2013c). McVean (Jones, 2013c) cites the success of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) local radio breakfast presenter and the station generally because “they’re talking about local issues that is what Spencer is doing. They’re talking to local people.” Spencer Howson is the current breakfast presenter on ABC local radio in Brisbane (612 ABC), it is an AM radio station and is also online, on digital and on smart devices. It is the public broadcaster and is consistently number one in the ratings and has been over a number of years against the commercial radio stations on AM and FM. The ABC is a good example of the utopia of localism but this is achieved to such a level because it is fully federally funded through taxpayer money. This benefit allows a broader and deeper level of localism

and it is therefore a different player in the field of radio in South East Queensland. The program is consistently number one in the breakfast timeslot is the ABC local radio based in Brisbane, but has the South East Queensland area to cover. This fact should not be overlooked because an audience provided with a variety of choices in the Brisbane market selects this station. The station is on AM and digital and has a target audience of 40 plus. It suggests that localism in radio is appealing and expressed through the local conversations, topics, audience participation and live crosses that are indicative of ABC broadcasts.

The audience is the first and final arbiter for a radio station's success. It is important therefore to consider comments made through interviews by participants who are residents of Ipswich. These participants provide a fresh perspective to how radio is valued today by listeners and what they are looking for as their radio experience. Across the number of participants radio was experienced in a variety of ways, this is a representative selection of comments:

I think they're very false. I don't think they're honest. I think it's all made up, it's very false. Whereas before you could trust what the announcers were saying - the presenters - what they were saying. I think - they're all trying to outdo each other as well. One station does it and then the other station thinks we better get in on this and then they try to outdo that station (FGBH, 2012).

and it's just well, in my thinking it's just a different era. It's brash now, it's out there, whereas I think it was our very own 4IP and it had some sort of decorum and some sort of sophistication in its own way. I mean it just was very pleasant to listen to whether it's my - I listen to the ABC now. That's the only station I have on and I think that's really the sense of 4IP. It's quieter, it's a lot more intellectual, I suppose (FGKC, 2012).

Yeah, but also it's very informative getting other people's opinions on things, you don't have to agree with them but you think, oh well yeah, that's what they think (FGLB, 2012)

So the music side of things in the radio is sort of in the background now, where, and these talk shows and that sort of stuff seem to be what's going on and that, so there is change in the format of what they're playing and doing that on the radio now. ....one thing they are doing they're publicising news editions pretty much on a regular basis which is also good (FGHM, 2012).

The participants expressed a desire to have more local content, as well as more information and local conversation about issues that matter to them. Generally there is an understanding that radio has changed along with an acknowledgement that “they've got to cater for everybody's likes and dislikes. There's just a little knob on your radio and if you don't like it you can switch over” (FGBH, 2012).

The listener has considerable power in the field of radio, and the “switch” waits to be actioned if the game they are playing is not to the liking of the audience member.

Today Ipswich has its locally based and focussed radio station, River 94.9 that includes the surrounding districts and covers from Logan City up to Toowoomba City. It is “live and local”, meaning it has locally based on-air talent and continues to deliver locally relevant programming. Ipswich generally engages with River 94.9 and has come to accept that this is the way it is. I will offer key findings and recommendations in the next section as a way of summarising this detailed insight into the journey of arguably one of Australia's most loved and respected radio stations, 4IP and the story of how radio continued within the city.

Ipswich as a geographic location has provided a rich case study in its own right. The inclusion of 4IP into a city where the identity is in a state of flux has provided a fertile space in which to interrogate the relationship between the two. Ipswich functions in the shadow of Brisbane, the capital city of Queensland. Brisbane is also home to a range of radio stations that have strong signals that penetrate deep into the city of Ipswich and surrounding districts. The Brisbane radio stations account for listeners from within Ipswich as they do across the rest of the official broadcast area. The unstable nature of radio has matched and journeyed with the chaotic interactions in the field of Ipswich. This has never been so sustained as between the Moore era to River 94.9. Both the local radio station, in its various forms and Ipswich have sought to establish an identity because and in spite of each other. Together when the beliefs and values of each matched, and separate, or at best estranged, when a misrecognition of what was occurring in the field challenged a co-existence. This was very present through the years of 4IP; Johnson era in harmony while the Moore era brought disruption to the field. The journey and therefore the practice has provided insights, as discussed through this findings chapter, into the underlying stories of individuals and groups who revealed from time to time their dispositions



and place on the field. What gives the study strength is the induced data that by its nature, reveals new knowledge not present in available resources, but resides in the minds of those who lived it. The exhaustive literature search revealed very little in terms of the history of 4IP beyond some scant notations around its formation. The rich stories shared by participants have given shape to a period of formation in terms of the radio station and the city.

This case study is set within the context of Ipswich and considers what radio means to people and the role that radio has in community while understanding its commercial imperatives. The various iterations of radio in a changing Ipswich affords us some lessons that are important to take into radio of the future. The insights are transferable to other similar sites around Australia.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The field of Ipswich is the site of my case study observed through the interactions of the people of Ipswich, specifically through the conduit of local radio 4IP.

Ipswich is my birth place and where I have experienced much of life journey.

Through my management of Phoenix Radio, an online radio station at the University of Southern Queensland, Springfield Campus, I have experienced broad interest from the community which seek to be involved in a variety of ways. These include studio-based productions with community members such as Cerebral Palsy League of Queensland, or outside broadcasts from local events and schools as well as a regular live broadcast of “A grade” Rugby League in Ipswich. This is provided to local community radio stations in the region through live as well as online broadcasts. I am engaged in first-hand contact with a number of community groups and organisations that are seeking to have an interview on one of the radio programs. This demand for access to local radio highlights the needs of the community and their requirement for a local radio service. This lived experience and the various roles I play within the field of Ipswich and media gives me significant insights into the field of Ipswich and this is where my desire to interrogate the nexus between radio (particularly 4IP) and Ipswich originated.

As stated in the introduction, this case study is personally important: I have observed many of the events, people and places that were described by the interviewed participants, and I experienced 4IP as a listener. This is a significant case study because it inductively gathers authentic stories, memories and perceptions; all of which creates a rich recollection from the 4IP era through to River 94.9. In addition to this, I have reviewed a number of historical newspaper articles from libraries and participants. The participants generously gathered together personal documents and images from their private collection. To the best of my knowledge many of these artefacts and stories have never been synthesised in this way. In fact, there is a dearth of information about 4IP in general, and specifically in relation to Ipswich city. This study fills this gap.

The conclusion and key findings from my case study were developed through my deep consideration of the three elements articulated in the Literature Review (p.12-

19) and consistently deployed throughout the thesis: People (Habitus), Place (Field) and Practice (Conduit i.e. Broadcast Radio), see **Figure 1**.

The triangulated model (p.6) (**Figure 1**) provides a visual representation what I believe is taking place in the field of Ipswich, between people in the place, and viewed specifically through the conduit of broadcast radio. In Bourdieuan terms the people are creating the structure that is constantly negotiating the field of Ipswich and establishing their specific thoughts, beliefs and values. This is an ongoing process that results in either conserving or transforming the way things occur across multiple fields. This case study considers the interactions of people in place through the lens of radio acting as a conduit. These interactions were interrogated and described in the Findings chapter.

The key questions that have guided my research are derived from my interpretation of a Bourdieuan theoretical framework and scaffold the research from the objective understanding of current cultural practice to the applied, subjective nature of this work as agents, in place and in action. Significant time and consideration was given to how residents seek to achieve their desired outcome, what tool/s they use and the way in which they value and esteem each other as they gain a voice for sharing their stories. The key research questions were articulated in the Methodology and are:

- How does geographically defined local radio contribute and connect with the local residents in its broadcast area over time?
- What are the influences that shape and direct the operation of local radio as it seeks to serve and give voice to its local people?
- How do current models of local radio services remain sustainable and legitimate for a local community?

Based on the interrogation of the data drawn from this case study, I will now identify the three key findings of this research and discuss each in this conclusion.

## Localism

In the beginning of this research I was most curious about any attempt by authors of academic scholarship to provide a definition for “localism” because of its ubiquitous nature. To the best of my knowledge, following an exhaustive search of literature, there is no clearly defined or accepted definition of localism currently in use. I became more suspicious of any definition as my research advanced through the induction of material from participants and the deductive analyses of journal articles, and resources such as newspapers and historical documents. It was my intention to be able to provide some framework to discuss localism by way of providing a definition. What I experienced throughout the data gathering aspects was that localism was vague and yet I grew more comfortable with these vagaries because it grows from context. The initial definition offered in the literature review (p.40) was an attempt at defining it in context. However, what I have uncovered in this study is that a single definition will suffocate the dynamism of localism because it is contextually complex. A definition might constrain it to a set of ordered rules restricting the nature of localism and therefore potentially stripping it back to a “one size fits all” notion. Localism, emerging from this research, is indelibly linked to “lived experience” therefore; it functions in relation to a specific context. This case study clearly highlights the significance and complexity of localism, which is present in the field of Ipswich, evidenced through its people, and supported through the linchpin of local radio. Localism is the most important finding of my case study and it is not to be constrained by a definition, rather, I ascribe a set of attributes that indicate the presence of localism in the specific field.

I will briefly describe each key attribute that are evidenced in my research in relation to localism. The attributes are: Familiarity, Security, Reflective, Capital Enhancement, Liveness and Ownership. These six attributes do not necessarily work in isolation to one another and they are, to a certain degree, inter-dependent. The attributes are identified throughout the findings. I will apply these attributes specifically to the triangulated model (see Figure 1) to link them to the theoretical framework.

### 5.1.1. Familiarity

This attribute speaks to the geographically defined place in which people inhabit and become familiar. It is in “place” that local people experience a sense of being known, valued and esteemed by others. This was evident in the live performances on 4IP during the Johnson era and when 4IP attended local agricultural shows or events. The familiarity of each other within the community and through 4IP was profound at this time. Familiarity is deeper than relationship (Social Capital) and what I mean by familiarity is the level of comfort and contentment present because of relationships located in Ipswich (place). This resonates with the findings of this research. Familiarity, as an attribute of localism, was present in the Moore era through his management of radio 4IP. This is evidenced through the engagement that announcers enjoyed with the local community as part of their practice as a member of the 4IP team. The use of coloured jackets for the 4IP “good guys” created a genuine familiarity with their audience.

Through the Johnson era people were familiar with the studio, with the staff and the audience. In the Moore era it was no less familiar, certainly in a different form but this further describes the flexibility of localism and this attribute because it traversed from Johnson to Moore. In this case-study, familiarity enhances social and cultural capital by grounding relationships, networks, knowledge and experience into the commonality of the local experience and interactions. This notion is consistent with the theoretical framework offered by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977). While a relationship can form between two or more people through, for example, a common workplace, it will flourish through ongoing interactions. Localism enhances the relationship because it grounds the participants deeply into the wider community expectation of being familiar, that is being known to each other, even if only by sight. Therefore localism brings in a familiarity, a low level of relationship that pre-exists the fostering of individual relationships. Localism generally fosters an awareness of each other through familiar contexts. Familiarity is a supportive attribute to build a safe and secure community that was highly valued in the Johnson and Moore eras where Ipswichians were “*fish in water*”.

### 5.1.2. Security

A hallmark of the field of Ipswich during the Johnson era of 4IP was the awareness of each other (familiarity) and the security this built. In the Johnson era players in the field of Ipswich attended functions individually or as couples and often did so as small groups of two or three couples. A sense of security was communicated by participants as something that is consolidated in the knowledge that others in the field hold the same values and beliefs. Ipswichians habitus, supported by localism, imbued others in the field with a deep sense of security about “home”, that is what it means to be an Ipswichian. It is knowledge of how the game is played, a trust that players understand the rules. Importantly, what this case-study reveals is that security, as an attribute of localism, is not reliant on the logic between field and habitus, (matched or mismatched). For example during the “*fish out of water*” periods, such as ownership changes, the field of Ipswich and the field of radio in South East Queensland were disrupted as various games were being played at the same time. Bourdieu clearly outlines that the field is a dynamic site where multiple games are played simultaneously (Grenfell, 2010). Those involved in the game in the field of Ipswich were taking their place in the field, in positions determined by these changes. Overtime the rules of the game were negotiated and players adapted. These were disruptive times in the field specifically, with each change involving call signs 4IP, QFM, STAR or River 949 in their respective eras. Any significant change in the field of Ipswich either changes or challenges the individual player’s position in the field and therefore their sense of the security about the game in play. When localism was present across the field of radio it indicated an abiding sense of security that pervaded all others aspects of life in Ipswich. Due to security about how a player will interact with 4IP in the future because of music format changes, as an example, it does not mean that he or she feels insecure about all of their interactions in Ipswich. That is the power of localism generally and security specifically. It is because of familiarity and security in the identity of being an Ipswichian that openness is fostered between players and by reflecting on what is occurring in the field of Ipswich allows the player to play effectively.

### 5.1.3. Reflective

Where localism exists there is an openness and a sense of celebration. This was highly visible in the Johnson era as local people performed live on radio with local singers, actors and musicians sharing their talents to the wider community. The performances were without any overt ego or jealousy shown from one player to another. It is a demonstration of Ipswichians being “*fish in water*”; demonstrating a matching of their habitus to the field of Ipswich and in so doing confirmed or reflected that this is an acceptable activity in the field of Ipswich, it is “part of the way things are done”.

4IP, over the Johnson and Moore eras was a metaphoric mirror that reflected the game that was in play. Therefore localism is a source of reflection of the community on itself through the conduit of radio. As Ipswichians functioned with familiarity and security, it supported vulnerability because 4IP, in this context, reflected a community where players were happy to participate in the game. To be content to share talents and abilities, such as performing live on radio across ages and levels of skills is a good reflection of a group of players who were “*fish in water*” and for whom this type of interaction, in the local community (place) was normal and natural.

4IP, as the local radio station, was connecting and reflecting the heartbeat of the local community through the radio station. This can be from live performers in the Johnson era, to talking about a relevant issue such as a traffic hold up to highlighting a social issue that would be heard on River 94.9. This level of reflection of a community can only be fully obtained when the radio station is “live and local”. It speaks of a responsiveness that flows from such an intimate knowledge of the listener.

The triangulation model (see Figure 1) provides a visual representation of what radio as a reflective conduit does when it reflects people in place and confirms that this is appropriate and accepted – “*fish in water*”. Reflection in the local place through the local media to the local people is true to the Bourdieuan framework used in this case study, but is a significant attribute of localism.

Reflection is a unique aspect of this study and indeed of the nature of live and local radio as it matches the way things are in the community. By maintaining an openness and a sense of celebration that everyone can contribute to “my radio station”, the outcome is that the radio station plays my personal contribution to air, it tells me about the things that concern how the game is being played in the field of Ipswich. This builds the individual capital and therefore improves the position in the game.

#### **5.1.4. Capital Enhancement**

The presence of localism in a community provides a support and enhancement to the existing species of capital, including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, presence in the field. Localism brings value and esteem to broadcast radio and to each of the types of capital in the field. While the individual player can have multiple healthy relationships within a community, or attain a number of awards, localism enhances the meaning and collective value so that it benefits the whole community.

Localism, interpreted and applied by Moore, afforded a healthy praxis to encourage ways of maintaining relationships (social capital). Localism was present through the QFM and STAR eras and upon the return of River 94.9 to the Ipswich city after a departure to attempt to “take on” Brisbane, which failed dramatically. When local radio (conduit) reflects the habitus and capital in the field then we have a practice evident that confirms this is the way the game is played. Conversely when local radio operated outside of Ipswich in terms of studio and or office, as in 4IP and River 94.9, it was a very different game in play because the players in the field were unknown, unfamiliar, there was a degree of insecurity and distrust. The field is disrupted and a mismatch of habitus and species of capital is present in the players in the field of radio in South East Queensland. Therefore “local and live” is extremely important in terms of enhancing the species of capital within a local place.

#### **5.1.5. Liveness**

This attribute attends to the immediacy of radio and relates to the notion of “live and local” as a positive dialectic. Live and local most often work as a dual entity, however, this study suggests that they can also be distinct entities and operate apart. Being live provides a spontaneity and responsiveness to the listeners in place; an on-



air presenter can transform the energy and the mood of the field. Localism as a geographical agent is not necessarily narrowed to city limits hence the notion of the radio station for “my town”. Liveness is also most effective if it covers the designated broadcast area. Beyond these limits the level of connection and familiarity is diminished. Therefore liveness brings reality and connection to a defined location with content that is relevant to the place.

Liveness has a sense of being synchronous rather than reliant on tools like voice tracking, the technique used in radio when a radio announcer pre-records their next announcement in lieu of presenting live. Voice tracking is often applied today in many networks radio stations and for total radio programs. Auslander (2008) talks of liveness as having a level of intimacy; through liveness that which is external is brought internal through the use of broadcast technology. A criticism of network radio is its geographical preference for major cities while it “pretends” to be local. Local is an illusion, as I will discuss further, when network radio stations are present in regional centres around Australia. This illusion is destroyed when local people of a particular community require an urgent broadcast, for example like motor vehicle accidents, fires, floods, delays on the highway, all are important to the local community as noted in the Literature Review and Findings. When the so called local radio station has no on air person to broadcast it betrays a core value of radio which is immediacy. “Live and local” radio alternatively can respond immediately. In this case it builds the knowledge that locals can trust the familiar local radio station to provide relevant local information in a timely manner. Liveness is a significant attribute and is heavily impacted upon through ownership and leadership in the radio station.

#### **5.1.6. Ownership**

A local radio station is emotionally ‘owned’ and valued by the local community. In this case-study, localism was effective when the legal ownership of the radio was held by a local, or the owner subscribed to and practiced the notion of localism. This is evidenced in the Johnson era (local ownership) and Moore (external owner with strong belief in localism). My research clearly shows that ownership and the habitus of the owner determines the direction a radio station will take. External ownership such as a group like Southern Cross Austereo Network, as my research indicates, is

where the local radio station will essentially be “hubbed” or a relay program from a central location. The radio station usually carries a local breakfast program or possibly some other local content, the attempt at liveness in situ, but the majority is common hubbed (shared) programming with local advertisements inserted. When ownership is local or the ethos of the owners are strongly towards localism it maintains a strong conduit to support and facilitate a healthy local community that will be familiar, secure and reflects authentically the local community.

### **5.1.7. Localism: In Summary**

I have provided the key attributes that support localism in the local place in relation to the local people. The attributes of localism: familiarity, security, reflective, capital enhancement, liveness and ownership are positive helpful elements to foster a game that is strong and well played by players who know the rules of the game. Through the findings of my research, evidence of disruption in the field is provided when 4IP left Ipswich to move to Brisbane. Localism was as evidenced by the lack of security and familiarity, which the radio station confirms. It is important to note that in other aspects of the field of Ipswich the same players (members of the community) enjoyed localism. Therefore localism is attached to the conduit as described in my triangulation model. Whatever the conduit is it will affect place and people in this context.

Therefore localism cannot exist in isolation, it operates when in relation to people, place and, in this context, radio. The attributes of localism are not isolated but traverse the field in association with these elements present in the field. Localism is not about nostalgia, but it is given credibility or “agency” as it relates to the accumulated knowledge of “how things are” in the field. This validates localism in a defined place.

I expect that from my case study that this body of work will be presented in conference and journal papers and also to industry bodies to (re)ignite the discussion around local content requirements by legislation and the broader responsibilities of commercial broadcasters to the communities that they are present in.

Given that localism is the key finding in this case study I will now extrapolate upon these attributes within the guiding framework of people, place and conduit.

### 5.1.8. People

Localism in praxis values and esteems people by its confirmatory nature, in that local people feel secure, are in a familiar setting and so on. People are not “*fish out of water*” when in they are familiar and secure. The sense of security that localism supports is expressed in trust and acceptance by Ipswichians in the field. There was a high level of trust demonstrated particularly through the Johnson era and my research has evidenced that when localism is present in the field it enhances the species of capital and confirms their place in the field. Radio gives voice to the people and is a common meeting place for the sharing of talents, stories and concerns. Localism through radio equips people with a richer more connected experience because the content and the presentation are occurring locally. People can listen to radio but be detached because the content is not familiar and has little connection to the listener. Radio can be a source of engaging content and confirms a belonging to the local radio station and therefore the community. This is most effective or significant when the content is reflective of what matters to people in their specific geographical field.

### 5.1.9. Place

Place gives a framework for localism to be effective, as my case study, located in Ipswich, has shown. Place offers the peculiar, the colloquial; those things that are unique to a specific place. This includes, but is not restricted to people, work, proximity to other sites (for example Ipswich and Brisbane), access, cultural and environmental features. Ipswich, as a place in the 1930s, was industrial, self-sufficient and the location for radio station 4IP. These were part of the identity of Ipswich, none as powerful as 4IP because of its reflective nature that, unlike the things Ipswich “does”, the radio station celebrated and reflected what it is.

A place that provides either network radio or “live and local” radio in the case of Ipswich is one that exhibits connection. “Connection” requires knowledge of the place as well as its people. As I have discussed in the Literature Review [\(p.29\)](#), network radio, as a relay service or hub for national content continues to buy local radio stations. The place of the radio station, the call sign and the physical building

are present in the place but in most situations a large amount of the content comes from another place and is therefore local by illusion.

Networked radio stations tend to have a level of connection with the community in which it broadcasts, but as is evidenced in the Literature Review (p.42-51) it lacks recognition of place in its overall operation. By contrast, and when localism is present through a “live and local” radio station, it possesses a deeper connection across and within the community where there is knowledge of the place and the people.

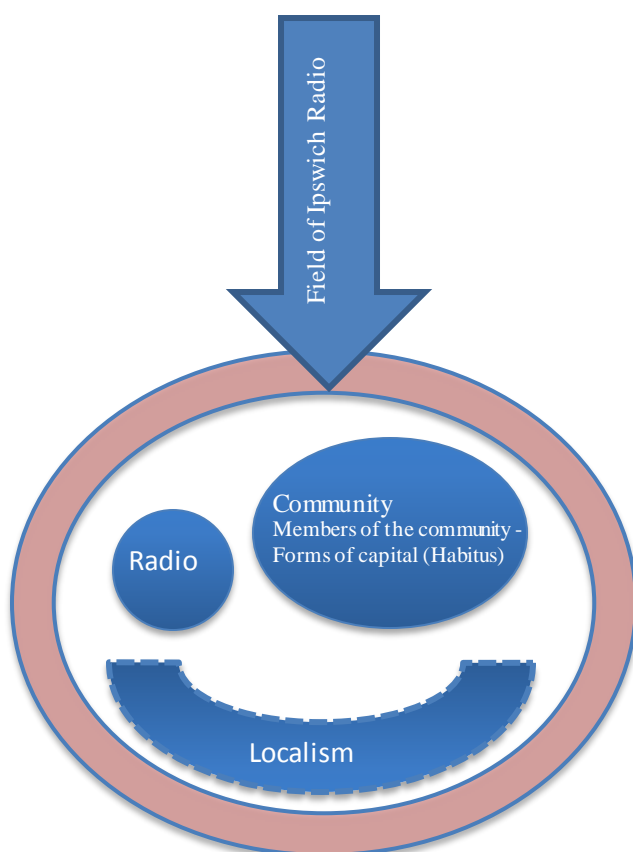
#### **5.1.10. Conduit (Radio)**

This case study shows that radio in Ipswich parallels the community’s struggle to make an identity for itself in its proximity to Brisbane, only 40 kilometres or 25 miles from Ipswich. My research has confirmed that radio does play a significant role that is implicit in the everyday life of the listener. As previously discussed, radio can be connected to the people and place, that is localism in action. It can provide basic information with some local presenter but scant local content present throughout the day. Anecdotally radio stations around Australia, in regional centres carry network content that is emanating from Sydney. One example of the mismatch in the field of radio in terms of its relevance to its local community is in Dalby on the Darling Downs, a strong agricultural belt, will be known as the local radio station to local listeners but, because of its network affiliation, will be exposed to Sydney traffic updates being broadcast.

As people listen to radio on a daily basis, it ought not to be mistaken for their level of satisfaction with the service provided, and more importantly how much it connects them to each other or to “their” radio station. I would argue that is why the ABC local radio case cited in the Findings chapter can consistently rate as “number one” in the Brisbane radio market because it is familiar, collaborative and reflects what listener’s value and care about. While the ABC is not a commercial enterprise, the approach to content and connection to their audience has a significant impact. Finally, radio that is linked to its community and to the local people is a model that demonstrates the value of the local radio station, as described in the triangulation model.

Given that localism is such a significant finding in my research I wish to explore the notion of localism further. I wish to present it in a new diagrammatic representation where localism is factored in as a device. This will be useful to assist in highlighting some of the taken for grantedness that such a study attracts. I will explore what the field renders when localism is present and then absent.

**Figure 2: Localism present in the field of Ipswich through Radio**

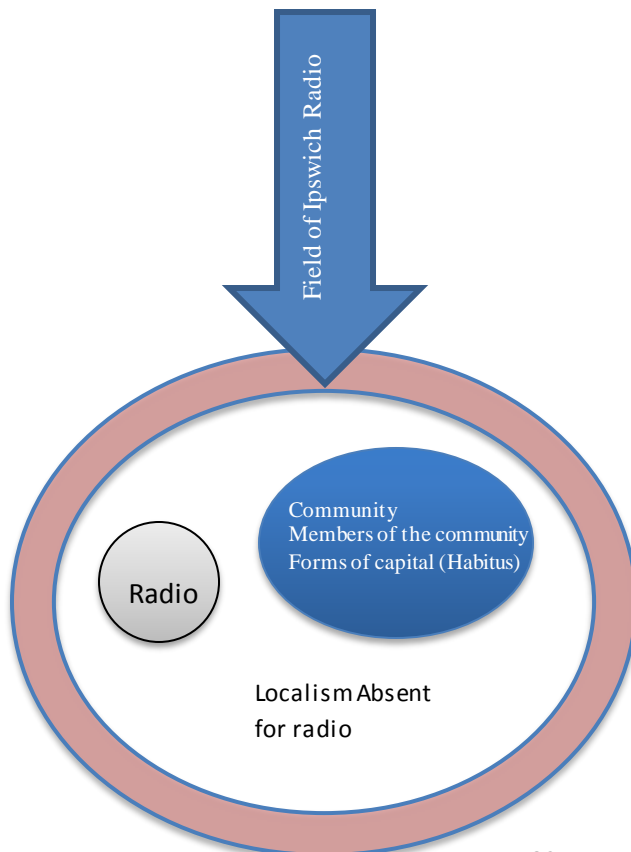


I have developed this diagram as a way of describing and understanding localism specifically where radio is an active player in the field. However the diagram does not represent the totality of the field and the myriad of interactions that take place. In this way it best structures what I believe localism is in terms of key attributes identified through the interrogation of induced data. In this diagram, localism sits “cradling” all that transpires in the field of radio and by its nature is porous, filtering the interaction through its attributes. It exists as a confirmation of the agreed rules of the game where the local community is authentically valued. In my case study, radio

is present in the field as a player, the conduit for linking people and place. Localism remains constant and present irrespective of any disruption in the field because the players fundamentally value its presence in the field.

The Bourdieuan theoretical framework applied through interrogation of practice reveals the player's habitus and species of capital to determine the place in the field. This model places localism into the interactions, and this is not always the case across other local radio examples in Australia. I have discussed the role of network radio in Australia and specifically its effects in regional centres. Typically, a national radio organization acquires a former independent radio station that was well known in the community. Arguably the radio station will have been the conduit of localism in the particular field. Given the change in ownership and not the call sign the community expectation, built on history and familiarity, would be of a local radio station. In terms of the context of Ipswich the scenario was having the absence of a radio station in the community and this model also deals with the absent of the local voice in either scenario. The constant in this model is the removal of localism experienced through radio, absent or offering a diminished service.

**Figure 3: Localism absent in the field of Ipswich through Radio**



In this model localism is absent within the field thus changing the game in the field of Ipswich. The absence of localism can be brought about by the change in the game around how radio is understood in the field. The findings of my case study demonstrate two important factors, which I shall now discuss. Firstly that the field of Ipswich, in relation to radio, still functions whether radio is fully supported or not by the various players in the field. Even in the absence of a locally based 4IP radio station from (1935 to 1975), localism was the motivator for members of the Ipswich community to access their capital and use their position in the field; to pursue another radio station for the city. To attain another radio station for Ipswich meant that those seeking a licence required the economic, social and cultural capital to realise the goal, but the ember of localism keeps the desire alive. Localism achieves that through the attributes described and that are present in the community. A radio station has meaning to Ipswich people because of their past experience (4IP onward) and that is a familiar point of association, a live and local resource that reflects all that Ipswich is. Radio supports the identity of Ipswich as it reflects all that makes the place and the people function on a daily basis.

Secondly, radio as a player in the field of Ipswich is distinctly devalued when a player rejects or seeks to operate a radio station without localism being present. My research affords us an insight to this when 4IP was taken over and the new owners, 2SM rejected localism. 2SM reduced 4IP to a radio broadcaster that played music, presented local news but cut out all interactions such as the presentation of events and sponsorships and sought to improve its financial position by so doing. It was simply an illusion of localism, expectations of what 4IP should be, through people's memories, was not matched by the experience. The "Doxa" of 4IP was challenged by a new and disconnected way of offering radio. Similarly, when River 949 rejected Ipswich in lieu of establishing itself as a quasi-Brisbane radio station; it failed to recognize it was an Ipswich radio station that isolated itself from an Ipswich focus.

The 2SM scenario clearly demonstrates that the withdrawal of localism brought about dramatic repercussions in terms of the already stated attributes of localism: there was a loss of trust by staff and listeners, who then became unfamiliar to the

players in the field as the game had changed. Insecurity was present in terms of what was offered to the field for those interested in the radio station. The radio station no longer reflected the community that it was licenced to serve let alone the full broadcast area. Up to 1978, 4IP had established significant links across the South East of Queensland and deep ties to Ipswich that were confirmed and reproduced. In respect to the liveness of radio, 4IP, under the 2SM control, as well as the various other call signs such as Radio 10, maintained live programming but lost its important link in a necessary dualism of localism. The radio station was therefore rendered disconnected from its audience in the sense of localism. The impact of severing localism from its day-to-day play in the field was evidenced by the loss of listeners and advertisers.

I suggest that having to the two models, one that reflects the presence of localism in the field and other without localism, is important in terms of understanding the full impact in either scenario. It is influenced by Bourdieu's theory of practice that encourages a deeper analysis of why things are the way they are. It is important to go beyond the obvious and not so obvious that occurs in practice and seeks out how the practice came into being. In these models I apply the same logic and seek to understand how localism or the lack of it impacts on the functioning of a specific field.

I began this research intrigued by the equation set down by Bourdieu (1977) that visualises his theory that practice is the result of the relations between habitus and our beliefs; values and thoughts do not operate alone, but rather it is direct association with our capital that determines our position in the field. **[(Habitus) (Capital)] + Field = Practice**. This equation provides a linear understanding of a complex social setting, such as Ipswich, but in its simplicity and complexity it reminds me of the elements and the balance that renders practice. It was in the application of this theory, which is about extrapolating and creating new knowledge in relation to a phenomenon, that the value of the local radio became evident. My earlier triangulation model (see Figure 1) addressed the practice but my additional model contextualised the presence of localism. Further interrogation of the data rendered the impact that a local radio station has on a community for its building up or its reduction in localism that was beyond, but associated with, the species of



capital and the individual's habitus. Localism is therefore an important element to be investigated in a social arena along with the significant theory of practice.

Bringing all the above together I recommend the following equation that factors in localism as an important element in how we understand the social arena. The addition of localism is part of the new knowledge induced through my case study and has not been addressed in this equation prior.

**[(Habitus) (Capital)] + Field +Localism = Practice**

Practice in the specific field is altered by the addition or subtraction of localism. It is my contention that this Bourdieuan theoretical model of practice is transferrable to other ethnographic studies specifically considering interactions in a social arena. This provides a new way to consider localism as a practice. Just as habitus is unpacked by understanding the past and the present, what are the beliefs and value held by an agent, so too is localism. In the case of localism it is recognised through the set of attributes that I have suggested in this thesis.

## **Identity**

My findings have identified the presence of localism, which is the fabric that binds the people and the place of Ipswich, through the conduit of radio, and parallel's each other's identity crisis. Localism however is not easily defined as much as the notion of identity. It is a complex and messy phenomenon that does suffer from nostalgia and competing visions of itself.

Ipswich formed its own identity, forged from the limestone that it is built upon. Early settlers worked at establishing homes and buildings to develop the township. Ipswich had vied with Brisbane to be the capital of Queensland, "Ipswich had given way to its more powerful opponent" (QT, Nov 1954 p. 2). The loss of being the State's capital birthed a bitter rivalry between Ipswich and Brisbane, as discussed in the case study. The city built its strength and identity as an industrial city functioning as a self-sufficient place. My research shows that the identity of Ipswich was based on loss of position, hence a sense of being cheated by Brisbane. Locals had wanted the

position of capital city, which was supported by government officials espousing their desire for this to be the case. Missing out on becoming the capital city, Ipswich leaders and others viewed the loss as being ‘robbed’ by Brisbane. I believe, Ipswich took on a “victim” position, fuelled by this sense of betrayal. This case study identifies a previously un-named group of business people and civic leaders whom I have called the “City Fathers”. The “City Fathers” hold considerable species of capital as evidenced by the power they hold in the field. The “City Fathers” ensured that Ipswich was not going to be “second fiddle” to Brisbane or to anything else.

The introduction of radio in 1935 by William (Bill) Johnson was a game-changer in terms of how Ipswich saw itself and the way radio station 4IP shaped Ipswich, and Ipswich shaped 4IP. Radio took its place in the field of Ipswich and became a reflection of Ipswich in its daily interactions. 4IP assisted a community who had accepted itself as “second rate” and “less than” (because of the rivalry between Ipswich and Brisbane), to see itself in a different light. The Johnson era was a significant period for Ipswich to interact and consume 4IP as its own. At this time, 4IP was inclusive, expansive in its range of programs affording young children to older people the opportunity to be on air. In this era, 1935 to 1963, locals were as much on air presenters as those who were engaged by 4IP to host programs. Ipswich saw Ipswich in 4IP and this supported the isolated world that defined Ipswich at this time.

In 1963 Frank Moore, along with his business partner William (Bill) Allen, took ownership of 4IP, both were knighted for their services to the media in 1983 and 1973 (Sir William died in 1977). The Findings chapter provides a comprehensive interrogation of the events of this period where some locals that I have referred to as “traditionalists” sought to sever any link with 4IP while the other team that I have named the “aspirationalists” engaged with what 4IP offered in music, in perceived freedom and to experience the South East corner of Queensland. This they did with 4IP in the car, on the transistor radio or at a live concert event. It was a disruptive and challenging period especially around identity. Ipswich was confronted with the disruption and protests of the 1960s including Rock and Roll, free love, the pill and the emerging understanding that the term ‘teenager’ meant a new and vibrant market. These were some of the elements that confronted a safe Ipswich that had up until this

time, successfully operated in isolation from Brisbane. While the traditionalist simply stopped listening to, advertising and engaging with 4IP, it is important to interrogate the data to identify how the “City Fathers” influenced the city and shaped a particular identity.

This case study identifies a period of time when the “City Fathers” and their influence, one of symbolic violence, became known by their practice in the field. The social changes of the time, the change of music and presentation by 4IP meant that the radio station no longer reflected the values and beliefs upheld by the “traditionalists” in the field of Ipswich. A split of players in the cloistered field of Ipswich occurred because of these dramatic social changes. A team of “traditionalists” in the field of Ipswich, a term I ascribe to those who have been violated by the influence of the “City Fathers” and for whom change is not negotiable, became one group in the field. The other is the younger people, the teenagers (10 to 17) and over a period of two to three years those older (18 to 39) whom I have named the “aspirationalists” developed a team. This group sought to embrace all or some of the new music and other aspects of a changing world. As part of this, and because 4IP now actively engaged in Ipswich and Brisbane with events and competitions, they too discovered that Brisbane was not the enemy. The “aspirationalists” were in the field of Ipswich but played by different rules and rejected all or some of the “traditionalist’s” views about themselves and about Brisbane, thus establishing a new identity for an emerging new Ipswich. These teams were playing in the field of Ipswich but only the “aspirationalists” were actively engaged in the game. The “traditionalists” were in the field of Ipswich but at best were on the sidelines, due to their choice, to remain connected to the notion of local radio that reflected their habitus and species of capital. Due to localism and the deeply held values and beliefs of the broader rules of the game; the “teams” could comfortably co-exist at a number of levels”. The identity, through choices each player made, became known and supported through radio station 4IP.

4IP gave Ipswich arguably one of Australia’s most innovative and cutting edge commercial radio stations of its time (1965 to 1978), or perhaps just simply in the history of radio in Australia (which is not well-researched). From the breakfast club, live concerts, support of local community events, 4IP presented the Ipswich City -

Colour City Festival and a range of competitions. It brought to Ipswich city a level of energy and optimism for those challenged by a new world. The “traditionalists”, who possessed the necessary species of capital, had influence over the game and the players who conformed to “the way things are”. My research indicates that the identity of Ipswich was and remains split according to either a “traditionalist” view of the city or one of “aspiration”. Evidenced by the findings of River 94.9 in the field of Ipswich the two groups still exist within the city of Ipswich to this day. The case study has also shown the influence that local radio has within a community and its inherent value. It is through my localism equation that these assertions can be made, supported by Bourdieu’s theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977).

#### **5.1.11. Urban Growth in Ipswich**

The city of Ipswich contends with the split between old and new Ipswich in terms of geographical location. The central city, the province of the “City Fathers” is the old Ipswich with the new rapidly growing urban centre in the eastern end of the city boundaries. Greater Springfield and the Ripley Valley developments are both master planned communities. Greater Springfield is Australia’s largest master planned city and community development project and will be home to 105,000 by 2031 (Council, 2009). Ripley Valley will be home to a further 120,000 in the same time span. The new Ipswich is attractive to the ‘aspirational’ and is reminiscent of how 4IP impacted the city by offering that which is new and inviting. The Ipswich City Council is attempting to bring the two “teams” together in terms of seeking to establish a unified vision. The council are espousing the notion of a “city of centres”, recognising that there is not one but many centres, a concept that I suggest would not sit comfortably with the “City Fathers” but welcomed by the aspirationalists because it reduces the influence of the Central Business District, where the land holding and core activities took place (Council, 2009). The “city of centres” is strategically framed to promote community identity. Ipswich City Council state the various “Centres provide identity through connectivity between the dimensions of people’s lives in a work, social and living sense” (Ipswich 2020 and beyond, 2010).

In community consultation by Ipswich City Council, published in the draft version of the Advance Ipswich concept, residents indicate that they desire a strong economy,

management around growth and caring for the community. Community respondents to this survey discuss safety, health and happiness, sense of community and belonging as high priorities. “Many respondents expressed a desire to retain the social aspects of their community and highlighted the value of belonging, connection and participation” (Lindsay, 2015, p. 37). The Advance Ipswich report implicitly therefore indicates that localism is highly desired in the city of Ipswich (Lindsay, 2015). The report indicates that further research is required around communication tools. The Ipswich City Council Regional Centre Strategy is “powered by the energy that old cities make the best new cities” (Council, 2015, p. 2). Mayor of the City of Ipswich, Paul Pisasale stated in relation to the changes in Ipswich City that “much has changed over recent years as the city shed outdated perceptions of being just a coal mining and industrial city” (Council, 2009, p. 1). It is evident that establishing an identity for Ipswich is like the field of radio, in a constant state of flux.

## **4IP Commercial Radio Exemplar**

As asserted above, my final key finding from this research is that 4IP is a model commercial radio station in Australia. There are three key aspects of 4IP that I believe support my claim as a model radio station. These are: radio station management and leadership, innovation and localism.

Bill Johnson established the radio station in 1935 as 4IP Ipswich. This was a time when radio was establishing itself in the field of Australian media and in many communities (fields) around Australia. While there were successful radio stations around the world and particularly in the United States of America and United Kingdom, these were transitional days across the world, and significantly for Australia. It is my contention that William (Bill) Johnson established 4IP and operated the station to the best of his and his team’s ability. In the full knowledge of the 4IP management and regardless of Johnson’s foresight to build and operate a local radio station, but there is no evidence to suggest that this era is any more remarkable than other radio stations around Australia. The 4IP era that I believe best represents the radio’s (conduit) example as a remarkable example of innovation is while it was under the direction of Sir Frank Moore and his team: specifically for

their germane application of localism. The following provides evidence to support my finding/claims.

#### **5.1.12. 4IP Management and Leadership**

Moore's own habitus and capital positioned him the field of radio at a junior level. Commencing at 4LG in 1956 as co-owner, by his own admission, Moore was a novice and had to learn how to play the game of radio as he went. Moore built his species of capital in the field of valuation in western Queensland where he had developed management and people skills, specifically negotiation.

Moore identified that to effectively manage and staff a radio station it required a comprehensive knowledge of the local community and an immersion into the community. This was achieved by developing a strategy which he designed for each member of his team. Staff were asked to identify an area of interest, for example, sport, creative interests and the like and take on a role within a local club or organisation. This allowed each person to build their knowledge of the local community (their cultural and social capital), and through this become accepted into the community.

Moore provided practical and general support to each staff member. Detailed interviews with Moore revealed that he purchased accommodation for his staff, usually on-air personalities. This was not an elitist gesture rather it was a mechanism to ensure the staff built relationships, established good support structures and self-care. In this management strategy, and in other examples, Moore provided mentorship to each staff member. He "practiced what he preached" in that he was personally active in the community, knew each of his staff and was transparent, seeking involvement from his staff as together they grew the various radio stations. He valued their youthful energy and thinking outside of the box; in other words, he truly enhanced the practice of radio in the field, changed the habitus, and enabled genuine localism. Moore took the leadership of 4IP with the full support of his business partner, Allen who maintained a low profile by choice.

Moore established a group of regional radio stations starting with 4LG Longreach then went on to establish a new radio station in Mount Isa – 4LM, 4VL Charleville,

4WK Warwick and 4HI Emerald in central Queensland to build a business and to provide stepping-stones for his staff. He was unimpressed by what was occurring elsewhere in the field of radio and had a preference to train and foster his own team. Each radio station had the same values of community involvement, service and connection (localism). His management structure factored in the financial (economic capital) commitment that is made to support localism. Localism attributes do not require investment of economic capital to be operative; finance can support aspects of localism, just as localism enhances each of the species of capital.

The acquisition of 4IP by Moore in 1963 was no different to the other radio stations; with the exception that Moore bought a regional radio station, 4IP Ipswich, but through a loophole in broadcast legislation, made it a capital city radio station. Moore saw the opportunity which was to build a strong radio station that would have a solid relationship with its audience and maintain his firm belief in localism. Moore had built a strong team, species of capital and an abiding knowledge that localism is the foundation upon which to build a sustainable radio station. The key thing is that Moore was not from Ipswich so he did not fall neatly into the “City Fathers” category where Johnson had clearly resided.

#### **5.1.13. 4IP and Innovation**

Frank Moore, with general manager Allan Brandt and his team of on-air personalities were inspired to serve the local community based on his previous experiences. The case study findings clearly show the commitment to embracing the emerging concept of format radio, established in the early 1960s; this was a new concept for commercial radio in Australia. Moore sought to maximise the radio station’s income with the express purpose to build a business that had available funds to undertake initiatives to support community activities. Moore and his associates would make a trip to the United States yearly to keep up with the current trends. He had sufficient social and cultural capital to see his group of stations associated formally with an American Radio association. Moore also had strong relationships with key people in radio stations around Australia, especially at 2SM in Sydney, in the days when these radio stations were independent.

The initiative for 4IP for sponsoring rugby league, to engage a popular Australian cricketer to make appearances around Queensland and establish the Kellogg's 4IP breakfast club were significant contributions for the time. The concept of the 4IP "Sound Guys" and ultimately "Good Guys", and the development of the 4IP big band were innovations that Moore personalised for the station, originating from America. The regular sponsorship of live concerts that brought big names of rock and roll and rock into South East Queensland brought an audience together and reinforced the value of the radio station to its market. The physical move of the transmitter from Ipswich city to St Helena Island in Moreton Bay meant that 4IP could broadcast across Ipswich up to Toowoomba in the West, towards the Gold and Sunshine Coasts and covered all of Brisbane. Moore considered this outrageously political but innovative in terms of radio and totally legal under the broadcast legislation loophole. As reported in the Findings, many of these high profile activities caused 4IP to be sidelined by significant players in the field of radio. The field of radio in Australia let alone the field of radio in South East Queensland were openly hostile. Moore and his team received abusive complaints by letter and phone calls; 4IP was sidelined by Brisbane radio stations snubbing staff and management at functions. Allan Brandt was removed from the Federation of Australian Radio Broadcasters as a sign of the industries displeasure that they had been so adventurous. At no time did difficulties or mismatches in the field, cause Moore to give up the game. On the contrary he was more passionate about serving the community and always keeping the audience at the centre of everything that was done and said on air.

#### **5.1.14. 4IP and Localism**

4IP and localism are synonymous. As I have just described, through management and innovation, 4IP existed for its audience and was fully supported by the parent company (Central Queensland Radio Network) that exercised the same principles in each of their markets including Longreach, Mount Isa, Charleville, Warwick/Toowoomba and Emerald. The management style, the innovation and the genuine interest in serving the community was neither a nostalgic nor a tokenistic attempt at localism. The case study confirms the authenticity of localism as Moore understood and embraced it. Each of the attributes are clearly evident in the 4IP example as the radio station was a familiar "friend", its consistency brought with it



security and the ownership and liveness are hallmarks of 4IP. 4IP from this era strongly encouraged my creation of the first localism model (Figure 2). In this model localism cradles the other activities in the field and is active in the overall practice. It is testament to the foundations that Moore and his team laid down in 4LG and fostered and maintained through to 4IP.

### **Network Radio – symbolic violence**

In opposition the model of commercial radio exemplified by 4IP in the Moore Era, network radio brought a level of detachment and a focus on profit making once it became dominant from the 1980s. Network radio businesses typically follow the federal government legislation around regional radio requirements for local content of 3 hours per day for larger regional radio stations (ACMA, 2007). A network in this research is understood as a network of radio stations that share content playing a program from a central studio, usually from Sydney or Melbourne, creating the illusion of localism.

I argue that network radio exercises symbolic violence as they impose their species of capital upon the locally based radio station and its community. The overwhelming evidence provided in this case study, through the comprehensive literature review and participant interviews, suggest that locally based radio is highly desired and sought after by members of the Ipswich community and many other communities noted around the world. Network radio is viewed by participants and through my literature review as disconnected and distant to the local community. In spite of the evidence network radio prefers profit over serving people of the local community, who often feel powerless to challenge the trend of network radio. True to symbolic violence it is not hostile but present by its dominance. Based on the findings from my research, members of the local communities cited are left as “*fish out of water,*” when an incident requires immediate information to be broadcast. This is due to the fact that announcers are not located in the local radio studio. It is the findings of my research that suggest the dichotomy between live and local radio and network radio are both viable business models. Localism is neither active nor inactive because of cash flow, rather if it is valued as a type of localism, “capital” in the context of my research. The deficit model (Figure 3) identifies what the field looks like when localism is devalued and written off by network radio stations. Network radio

stations fall short because localism is not understood as a vital and necessary element of commercial broadcast radio. Network radio, and the absence of localism, does not meet regulatory requirements to provide local content. In terms of the full value of localism in a local community, as I have clearly shown through my research, it is powerful when fully active (Figure 2) and when it is doled out to meet an arbitrary requirement by government the community has the illusion of localism. It may make a vague connection at best but generally it is my assertion networks create the illusion of the attributes of localism. More broadly in the field of radio in Australia, community radio is growing both numerically and in terms of acceptance by a wide section of the community (ACMA, 2007) The growth of community radio across Australia has been clearly identified as driven by the lack of a local voice and therefore is a great exponent of localism. The fact that a section of the commercial radio broadcasters, ABC and community radio, subscribe to localism is not a reason why all commercial radio broadcasters ought not review their current practices and incorporate more appropriate levels of local content and higher engagement to build localism into the radio stations ethos and therefore rebuild trust, connection, familiarity and liveness with their community.

Findings from this case study strongly suggest that the only truly connected commercial radio model is that which applies localism as an important agent in its operation. It gives sustainability and recognition of the radio station as part of the local community. In turn, it is significantly funded through local advertising, and makes a meaningful contribution as a tool of communication in the local community. Further, I suggest that commercial radio has a responsibility and a great capacity to be a relevant and local agent within the defined geographical location in which it exists. There is a need for government broadcast requirements to be reviewed in order to reduce the impact of networking. I intend to generate academic papers from my case study to place this issue on the agenda of government departments and appropriate peak bodies and lead radio station groups.

## REFERENCES

- 94.9 R. (2006). No Rap No Crap sticker. In R.94.9FM (Ed.). Ipswich.
- ACMA. (2007). ACMA Report Recommends Local Content Levels. ACMAsphere.
- ACMA. (2008). Fairfax Media Undertakes to Divest Ipswich Radio Station. ACMAsphere.
- ACMA, C. o. A., & Chapman, C. (2007). Local Content Levels Investigation Report (ACMA, Trans.). Sydney.
- Ahern, S. (2011). Making Radio: A Practical Guide to Working in Radio in the Digital age (Third ed.). Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Armstrong, J., & Greenwood, D. (2008). River 94.9 Sold to Grants Broadcasters. Ipswich News.
- Auslander, P. (2008). Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Barrett, C. (1958). The Australian Junior Encyclopaedia. In C. Barrett (Ed.), The Australian Junior Encyclopaedia (Vol. 2).
- Bawden, M. (2010). Local Content is the Essence of Community Broadcasting. The Sydney Morning Herald.
- Bawden, M. (2010). [Review of Regional Commercial Radio Local Content Requirements].
- Betts, C. (2011). What Does This Government Really Mean by Localism? The Guardian.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Bourdieu, P. (1986). *Handbook of Theory and Research in Sociology of Education* (J. G. Richardson Ed.). New York: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). California: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993a). *The Field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993b). *Sociology in Question* (T. b. R. Nice Ed.). London: Sage
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical Reason: on the theory of action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2009). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Great Britain: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bridgestock, V. (2007). Radio 4IP: "If it fits-wear it!" Redefining the boundaries of 'community radio'. *Styles and genres of Journalism* (2017AMC).
- Briggs, A., & Burke, P. (2009). *A Social History of the Media. From Gutenberg to the Internet*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Britt, K. (1986a, December 15, 1986). License Is Essential to Ipswich. *The Queensland Times*, p. 3.
- Britt, K. (1986b). Petition Stifled by Link to Kern. *The Queensland Times*, p. 3.
- Britt, K. (1987). Radio Group Seeks Advice of Council. *The Queensland Times*.
- Buchanan, R. (2004). *Ipswich in the 20th Century - Celebrating 100 Years as a city 1904-2004*. Ipswich: The Queensland Times & Ipswich City Council.

- Calhoun, C. (2002). Pierre Bourdieu in Context. Paper presented at the Social Research, New York University.
- Calhoun, C. (2003). The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists (G. Ritzer Ed.). Cambridge MA: Blackwell.
- Calhoun, C., Light, D., & Keller, S. (1997). Sociology (Seventh Edition ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.
- Carey, J. W. (1992). Communication as Culture. Essays on Media and Society. New York: Routledge.
- Cassel, D. (2007). What Is Amateur Radio? [www.eham.net](http://www.eham.net)
- Corporation, A. B. (2000). Submission to the House of Reps. Standing Committee on Communications, Transport and the Arts. Inquiry into: The Adequacy of Radio Services in Non-Metropolitan Australia. Sydney: ABC.
- Coster, E. (2008). A Tributary But A Highway: The Significance of the Bremer River during the Settlement and Development of Ipswich 1823-1900. Ipswich: Ipswich City Council.
- Council, I. C. (2009). Economic Development Plan for Ipswich City 2009-2031. In I. C. Council (Ed.), Ipswich City Council.
- Council, I. C. (2010). Ipswich Future Master Plan - A Vision for Ipswich 2020 and Beyond. Ipswich: Ipswich City Council.
- Council, I. C. (2015). Ipswich City Centre Ipswich - Building, growing, achieving.
- Crossley, N. (2005). Key Concepts in Critical Social Theory. London: Sage.
- Cunningham, S., & Turner, G. (2010). The Media and Communications in Australia (G. Turner Ed.). Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research (N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln Eds. Third ed.). California: Sage.

- Finlay, M. (1986). Third Bid for New City Radio. *The Queensland Times*.
- Finlay, M. (1987). Radio Contenders Wait in Limbo. *The Queensland Times*.
- Flick, U. (2002). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Foundation, R. H. (unknown). 4IP Ipswich - Your Local Station for Better Entertainment. Global Radio Memories Project. Retrieved from [radioheritage.net](http://radioheritage.net) website:
- Funnell, A. (Writer). (2007). Rural Radio and Local Content, *The Media Report - ABC Radio National*. Sydney: ABC.
- Gauntlett, D. (2011). *Making is Connecting: The Social Meaning of Creativity, from DIY and knitting to YouTube and Web2.0*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Geeves, P. (1993). *The Dawn of Australia's Radio Broadcasting*. Alexandria NSW: Federal Publishing Company.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (199). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Government, Q. (2009a). South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031. In D. o. I. a. Planning. (Ed.). Brisbane: Queensland Government.
- Government, Q. (2009b). South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031 IPSWICH. Brisbane: Queensland Government - DIP.
- Grenfell, M. (Ed.). (2010). *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concepts*. Durham: Acumen.
- Griffen-Foley, B. (2009). Midnight to Dawn Programs on Australian Commercial Radio. *Journal of Radio Studies*, 11(2).
- Griffen-Foley, B. (2009). *Changing Stations. The Story of Australian Commercial Radio*. Sydney: UNSW Press

- Griffen-Foley, B. (2010). Australian Commercial Radio, American influences - and the BBC. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 30(3), 337-355.
- Halcoussis, D., & Lowenberg, A. (2010). The Quantity and Quality of Radio Broadcasting: are small markets under provided? *International Journal of the Economics of Business*, 10(3), 347-357.
- Hilliard, R., & Keith, M. (2005). *The Quieted Voice. The Rise and Demise of localism in American Radio. USA: ///southern Illinois University.*
- Hinchliffe, M. (1989). Ipswich Will Go Back on the Air. *The Queensland Times*, p. 3.
- Johnson, L. (1988). *The Unseen Voice. A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio.* London: Routledge.
- Johnson, W. J. (1960s). [Personal Communication - notes on 4IP by Bill Johnson and his life].
- Johnston, B. (1986). Ipswich Broadcasting Company Serviced Local Region Well. *The Ipswich Advertiser*.
- Jones, A. (2011a). Audio Interview with Pam Schubel Recorded April 13, 2011. Ipswich.
- Jones, A. (2011b). Audio Interview with June Kaye Recorded April 13, 2011. Ipswich.
- Jones, A. (2011c). Audio Interview with Allan Brandt Recorded September 19, 2011. Ipswich.
- Jones, A. (2011d). Audio Interview with David Greenwood Recorded April 13, 2011. Ipswich.
- Jones, A. (2011e). Audio interview with Dorothy Roach (Johnson) April 2011.
- Jones, A. (2011i). Audio interview with Frank Daly August 2011.
- Jones, A. (2011g). Audio interview with Keith Fairweather April 2011.

- Jones, A. (2011h). Audio interview with Margaret Tutin-Brandt September 2011.
- Jones, A. (2011i). Audio interview with Sir Frank Moore August 2011.
- Jones, A. (2012a). Audio interview Betty Howard July 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012b). Audio interview Kerry Smith July 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012c). Audio interview with Tom Wakefield July 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012d). Audio interview with Mavis Wakefield July 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012e). Audio interview with Kay Cook June 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012f). Audio interview with Mavis Mathieson-Frame.
- Jones, A. (2012g). Audio interview with Kay Jones June 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012h). Audio interview with Peter Hurline June 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012i). Audio interview with Henry McMertry June 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012j). Audio interview with Jan McMertry June 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012k). Audio interview with Denis Beasley June 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012l). Audio interview with Leslie Burrows June 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012m). Audio interview with Beryl Johnston April 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012n). Audio interview with Bob Bell July 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012o). Audio interview with Dugald Cameron (Grant Broadcasters) Nov 2012.



- Jones, A. (2012p). Audio interview with Ernie Devin April 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012q). Audio interview with Janet Cameron (Grant Broadcasters) October 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012r). Audio interview with John Knox April 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012s). Audio interview with Kay Jones - individual April 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012t). Audio interview with Mark Rhodes October 2012.
- Jones, A. (2012u). Audio interview with Rhys Holleran (SCA) November 2012.
- Jones, A. (2013a). Audio interview with Richard Burns July 2013.
- Jones, A. (2013b). Audio interview with Frank Daly - follow up July 2013.
- Jones, A. (2013c). Audio interview with Graham McVean June 2013.
- Jones, A. (2013d). Audio interview with Paul Fallu July 2013.
- Jones, A. (2013e). Audio interview with David Greenwood re River 949 July 2013.
- Jones, A. (2013f). Audio interview Anthony Mazza - Prometheus USA 2013.
- Jones, C. (1995). *Something in the Air*. Kenthurst NSW: Kangaroo Press Ltd.
- Kim, K. Y. (2003). *The Rockland Radio Revolution*. The Nation.
- Klinenberg, E. (2007). *Fighting for Air. The Battle to Control America's Media* New York: Holt Paperbacks.
- Lewis, P., & Booth, J. (1989). *The Invisible Medium. Public, Commercial and Community Radio*. London: MacMillan Education Ltd.

- Lindsay, J. (2015). *Advance Ipswich - For the future of our City and Community*. Ipswich: Ipswich City Council.
- Localism. co (2011). *Localism. 2015*, from [www.localism.co](http://www.localism.co)
- Lomp, A. (2012). *Summer Break for Local Content. Greater flexibility for regional radio. About the House.*
- Loncar, T., & ACMA. (2010). *Community Attitudes to Radio Content Research Report prepared for the Australian Communications and Media Authority*. Melbourne: ACMA.
- Luck, P. (1980). *This Fabulous Century (second ed.)*. Dee Why West: Landsdowne Press.
- Mac, W. (2005). *Don't Touch That Dial. Hits 'n' Memories of Australian Radio*. Canberra: WDJM.
- Macek, S., & Young, k. (2004). *Make Radio Local Again*. *St. Louis Journalism Review*.
- Mackay, I. K. (1957). *Broadcasting in Australia*. Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Manning, L. (2009). *Localism in Australian Radio: A Commercial Radio Case Study*. Germany: VDM.
- Maton, K. (2010). *Habitus* In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concepts* Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited.
- Matthewson, T. (1960). *Ipswich in the Eighteen Fifties*. *Society's Journal*, 1, 95-98.
- McChesney, R. W. (1999). *Rich Media Poor Democracy. Communication Politics in Dubious Times*. USA: University of Illinois.
- Moody, R. F. (2009). *Radio's Role During Hurricane Katrina: A Case Study of WWL Radio and the United Radio Broadcasters of New Orleans*. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 16(2), 160-180.

- Murroni, C., Irvine, N., & King, R. (2009). Tuning into the Public Interest in Radio. *Cultural Trends*, 8(30), 35-67.
- Nielsen. (2013). *Brisbane Radio 69 Years of Station Share Trends 1945 to 2013*. Sydney.
- Newsome, R. (1986a). New Radio Station Bid Began in May. *The Queensland Times*, p. 3.
- Newsome, R. (1986b). Control a Vital Issue Says Tully. *The Queensland Times*, p. 3.
- Newsome, R. (1987). Bad Air On Radio Deal. *The Queensland Times*, p. 1.
- Nickerson, P. (1987). Radio Bidder Drops Out of License Race. *The Queensland Times*.
- Pascal, J. (1974). *Story of Pop*. England: Phoebus Publishing Company.
- Potts, J. (1989). *Radio in Australia*. Victoria: New South Wales University Press.
- Prometheus Radio Project - Localism. (2015). from [www.prometheusradio.org](http://www.prometheusradio.org)
- Pusey, M. (2011). Media Ownership Matters: why politicians need to take on proprietors. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from [The Conversation.com](http://TheConversation.com) website:
- Pusey, M., & McCutcheon, M. (2011). From the Media Moguls to the Money Men? Media Concentration in Australia. *Media International Australia*, 140.
- Qld Times. (1954). Capital City. *The Queensland Times Newspaper*
- Ramsey, K. (1986, September 10, 1986). Warning On Radio. *The Queensland Times*.
- Rasmussen, P. (2001). Viability of Commercial Radio in Small Country Towns. *Gunnedah NSW: The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust of Australia*.
- Reporter. (1963). 4IP Feature. *The Queensland Times*.
- Reporter. (1964a). Birth of Radio 4IP. *The Queensland Times*.

- Reporter. (1964b). Central Queensland Network - Radio Re-Birth on Wide Front. The Queensland Times.
- Reporter. (1966). "Belmont" - Stone House of Many Memories - Built in 1863. The Queensland Times.
- Reporter. (1986a). Fallu Continues FM Radio Push. The Ipswich Advertiser, p. 3.
- Reporter. (1986b). Staggering Community Response to Radio Bid. The Ipswich Advertiser, p. 3.
- Reporter. (1986c). Keep Pressure on Member, says Radio Ipswich Director. The Ipswich Advertiser.
- Reporter. (1986d). Radio Bids Called Soon. The Ipswich Advertiser, p. 1.
- Reporter. (1986e). New Radio Bid Rocks Alderman. The Queensland Times.
- Reporter. (1986f). Council Back License Bid. The Queensland Times, p. 3.
- Reporter. (1987). Radio Format Pledge. The Queensland Times.
- Robertson, A. a. (1983). Concise Australian Encyclopaedia. Sydney: Angus and Robertson Publishers.
- Russo, D. (2013). Pearson History Place Retrieved from [www.pearsonplaces.com.au](http://www.pearsonplaces.com.au)
- Saffran, M. J. (2011). Effects of Local-Market Radio Ownership Concentration on Radio Localism, the Public Interest, and Listener Opinions and use of Local Radio. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 18(2), 281-294.
- Savage, J. (2011). Memories of 4IP letter, personal note.

- Schon, D. A. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner* (1 ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Smout, A. (1959). *Queensland Centenary: The First 100 years 1859 - 1959* Brisbane: Penrod Publishers.
- Spigelman, J., & ABC. (2011). *ABC Annual Report 2012* (A. B. Corporation, Trans.) Now More Than Ever. Sydney.
- STARFM. (1997). *Star Studded Performance*. In S. FM (Ed.). Ipswich: Rural Press - Fairfax media.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research. Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. California: Sage.
- Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing Critical Ethnography* (Vol. 26). California: Sage.
- Torosyan, G., & Munro, C. (2010). *EARwitness Testimony: Apply Listener Perspectives to Developing a Working Concept of "Localism" in Broadcast Radio*. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 17(1), 33-47.
- Unknown. (1938). *A Spyglass on 4IP*. Teleradio.
- Warner, J. (2012a). *Commercial Radio Australia 2012 Annual Report*. Sydney: Commercial Radio Australia.
- Warner, J. (2012b). [Commercial Radio Wrap 2012].
- Warner, J., & Australia, C. R. (2010). *Submission by Commercial Radio Australia. Local Content Requirements for Regional Commercial Radio*. Sydney.
- Webb, J., Schirato, T., & Danaher, a. G. (2002). *Understanding Bourdieu*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.
- Wicks, P. (1990). *FM Spread Sparks Scramble for Listeners: It's Battle Stations as Radio War Flares*. *The Sunday Mail*.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, S. (2003). Internet Radio: delivering radio programs online Museum of Broadcast Communications Encyclopaedia of Radio: Routledge.

Atkinson, P. (2007). Handbook of Ethnography. California: Sage.

Beate Josephi, G. P. a. A. B. (2005). Localism and networking: a radio news case study. Media International Australia, 117, 121-136.

Benjamin, L. M. (2011). Sounds of Your Life: The History of Independent Radio in the UK. Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 55(4), 607-608.

Braman, S. (2007). The Ideal V. the Real in Media Localism: Regulatory Implications. Communication Law and Policy, 12(3), 231-278.

Crotty, M. (1998). The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Bressers, B. (2004). A Shift of Substance: changes in local media ownership. Quill Magazine.

Day, G. (2006). Community and Everyday Life. New York: Routledge.

Delanty, G. (2003). Community. London: Routledge.

Dubber, A. (2007). Tutira Mai Nga Iwi (Line up together, people): Constructing New Zealand identity through commercial radio. The Radio Journal - International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media, 5(1), 19-34.

Hogan, P. B. a. T. (2006). Sociology: Place, Time & Division. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Howley, K. (2005). Community Media: People, Places, and Communication Technologies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Irvine, N. (2000). Commercial radio: Serving UK communities. *Cultural Trends*, 10(40), 35-45.
- Jallov, B. (2012). *Empowerment Radio: Voices Building a Community*. Gudhjem, Denmark: Empowerhouse.
- Kasat, D. C. C. S. D. N. M. D. P. (2002). *Conceptualising Community Cultural Development*. Cloisters Square - WA: Community Arts Network (WA) Inc.
- Keough, S. B. (2010). The Importance of place in community radio broadcasting: a case study of WDVX, Knoxville, Tennessee. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 27(1), 77-98.
- Kirkpatrick, B. (2006). Localism in American media policy 1920-34: Reconsidering a 'bedrock concept'. *The Radio Journal - International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media*, 4(1, 2 & 3), 87-110.
- Maanen, J. V. (1988). *Tales of the Field*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Manyozo, L. (2010). Researching Developmental Uses and formats of rural radio: A development broadcasting approach. *The Radio Journal - International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media* 8(2), 141-159.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks Calif: Sage.
- McCullough, J., & Walsh, L. (2007). *Radio Play For Profits*. The Courier Mail.
- Osborne, P. (2006). Protection for local news in regional areas. AAP.
- Ph.D., D. G. G. (2010). A History of Broadcasting in the United States. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 54(3), 534-538.
- Pisasale, P. (2000). *Adequacy of Radio Services in Regional and Rural Australia*. (239). Ipswich.

- Rennie, E. (2011). *Life of SYN: a story of the digital generation*. Melbourne: Monash University Publishing.
- Reporter. (1986). Radio Ipswich Limited Well Advanced With Plan. *The Ipswich Advertiser*.
- Reporter. (1986). Support Needed for Radio. *The Ipswich Advertiser*, p. 1.
- Reporter. (1987). Radio Format Pledge. *The Queensland Times*.
- Reporter. (2011). Radio cuts a disaster for 'localism' and community work. *The Guardian*.
- Rivera, M. T. (2007). *The Old and New Media*. Paper presented at the Communities and Action: Prato CIRN Conference, Prato, Italy.
- Sauls, S. J. (2011). Locally and Free: What Broadcast Radio Still Provides. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 18(2), 309-318.
- Smith, A. (2011). *Culture and Content: Community Media in 2011*. CBX.
- Swartz, D. L. (2002). The Sociology of Habit: The Perspective of Pierre Bourdieu. *The Occupational Therapy Journal of Research*, 22(Winter), 615-695.
- Turnbull, S. C. S. (2014). *The Media & Communications in Australia*. Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Weinberg, D. (2002). *Qualitative Research Methods*. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Yates, S. (2004). *Doing Social Science Research*. London: Sage.



## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: City of Ipswich Residents Media Survey Coding Sheet

Suburb What suburb do you live in? <section style="table" width="90%">

Length How long have you lived at this address (in months and years)?

If one year or less, please give details about previous address

Prevsurb Previous suburb

Prevstate Previous state

Prevlengh Length of time there, months and years

Age What age group are you in?

0 = --

1 = 18-24

2 = 25-29

3 = 30-34

4 = 35-39

5 = 40-49

6 = 50-59

7 = 60-69

8 = 70+

Working Are you currently working?

1 = Yes

2 = No

Occupation If yes, what is your occupation?

NEXT PAGE

#### Radio

Radio1 What radio station do you mostly listen to?

Radio2 Do you listen to radio in the following locations? Please tick any or all that apply below.

1 = Home

2 = Car

3 = Work

4 = In Transit

5 = Walking

6 = Other (please give details)

Radio2other Comments from Radio2

Radio3 Please briefly state what you like about the radio station you listen to:

- Radio4      What other stations do you listen to?
- Radio5      How long would you estimate that you listen to your main radio station in the course of a day?  
Hours and Minutes in decimals. E.g. 1.5 equals 1 ½ hours.
- Radio6      What do you mostly enjoy about radio?
- Radio7      How important is local content on a radio station?
- Radio8      Do you own a digital radio receiver?
- Radio9      If no, do you believe that you are likely to purchase a digital radio receiver?  
1 = Yes  
2 = No

## **NEXT PAGE**

### **Television**

- TV1          What television station do you mostly watch?
- TV2          Where do you mostly watch your television? Please tick any or all that apply below.  
1 = Lounge room  
2 = Family Room  
3 = Bedroom  
4 = Kitchen  
5 = Other (please give details)
- TV2other    Comments from TV2
- TV3          Please briefly state what you like about the television station you watch:
- TV4          What other stations do you watch?
- TV5          How long would you estimate that you watch your main television station in the course of a day?  
Time in decimals. Eg 12.5 is 12 hours 30 minutes. 5.25 is 5 hours 25 minutes.

- TV6 What do you mostly enjoy about television?
- TV7 How important is local content on a television station?
- TV8 Do you or have you had pay television?
- 1 = Yes  
2 = No
- TV9 If yes, how long?
- TV10 If you have ceased using the service, what is the main reason for doing so?

## **NEXT PAGE**

### **Internet**

- NET1 Do you have an internet connection?  
1 = Yes  
2 = No
- NET2 If YES, what type of connection? (Dial up, ADSL, Broadband, etc.)
- NET3 If NO, what is the main reason for not having the service?
- NET4 What is/are the main use/s for the internet?
- NET5 How much time per day would you spend on the internet?  
Time in Decimals
- NET6 Do you listen to radio station/s on the internet?  
1 = Yes  
2 = No
- NET7 If YES, please briefly describe the format or style of music:
- NET8 Do you watch video content over the internet?  
1 = Yes  
2 = No
- NET9 If YES, please give a brief list of the types of content e.g. news, light entertainment, adult, comedy etc.

## **NEXT PAGE**

## **Newspaper/magazines**

NEWS1 Do you buy a copy of a newspaper and/or magazine in printed format?  
1 = Yes  
2 = No

NEWS2 If YES, please list them.

NEWS3 Do you read the free local papers?  
1 = Yes  
2 = No

NEWS4 If YES, please list them.

NEWS5 How important is local content to you, please briefly describe?

NEWS6 Do you look at newspapers online?  
1 = Yes  
2 = No

NEWS7 If YES, which ones do you view and/or subscribe to:

Over the next year, do you believe you will continue with your media selection?

CONT1 Radio  
CONT2 Television  
CONT3 Internet  
CONT4 Newspaper  
1 = Yes  
2 = No

## **NEXT PAGE**

### **Floods of 2011**

FLOODS1 During the recent floods, what was your primary way of keeping informed?  
1 = Radio  
2 = Television  
3 = Online services  
4 = Newspaper/s  
5 = Other (please give details)  
Floods1other Comments from FLOODS1 Other

FLOODS2 What was your secondary way of keeping informed? </text>  
1 = Radio  
2 = Television  
3 = Online services

- 4 = Newspaper/s
- 5 = Other (please give details)

Floods2other Comments from FLOODS2 Other

FLOODS3 Why did you make the choice to mainly gain information from the media you selected?

FLOODS4 Did you use any online service either to gain information from or to contribute images or information to that service?

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

FLOODS5 If YES, describe your usage.

### **NEXT PAGE**

Focus Are you interested in being part of a focus group or interview to discuss local broadcast media and general media usage?

- Yes
- No

If so, please give your name, address and contact details, this will not be stored with the data so your answers will be anonymous.

If you agree to participate, you will be contacted in the near future. You must be a resident of the City of Ipswich to take part in the focus groups. Thank you!

AVAIL When are you available? (Please tick all that apply)</text>

- 1 = Day
- 2 = Night
- 3 = Weekends

Name	Name
Address	Postal Address
City	City/Town
State	State
PCode	Postcode
Contact	Contact Phone Number
Email	Email

### **“Submit Feedback”**

### THANK YOU PAGE

Your submission has been saved  
Thanks for your participation.

## Appendix B: Participant Information



### University of Southern Queensland

TOOWOOMBA QUEENSLAND 4350  
AUSTRALIA  
TELEPHONE +61 7 4631 2300

CRICOS: QLD 00244B NSW 02225M

[www.usq.edu.au](http://www.usq.edu.au)

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND HIGHER DEGREES

Helen Phillips  
Ethics Officer  
PHONE (07) 4631 2690 | FAX (07) 4631 1995  
EMAIL [ethics@usq.edu.au](mailto:ethics@usq.edu.au)

Tuesday, 22 February 2011

Mr Ashley Jones  
PO BOX 4196  
Springfield Central Q 4300

Dear Mr Jones

Re: Student: Mr Ashley Jones - PhD Research Project, Supervisor: Associate Professor Janet McDonald

The Chair of the USQ Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) recently reviewed your responses to the HREC's conditions placed upon the ethical approval for the below project. Your proposal now meets the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)* and full ethics approval has been granted.

Project Title	How Does Local Broadcast Media value, esteem and provide voice to a rapidly growing urban centre.
Approval no.	H11REA001
Expiry date	31/12/2012
HREC Decision	Approved

The standard conditions of this approval are:

- conduct the project strictly in accordance with the proposal submitted and granted ethics approval, including any amendments made to the proposal required by the HREC
- advise (email: [ethics@usq.edu.au](mailto:ethics@usq.edu.au)) immediately of any complaints or other issues in relation to the project which may warrant review of the ethical approval of the project
- make submission for approval of amendments to the approved project before implementing such changes
- provide a 'progress report' for every year of approval
- provide a 'final report' when the project is complete
- advise in writing if the project has been discontinued.

For (c) to (e) proformas are available on the USQ ethics website: <http://www.usq.edu.au/research/ethicsbio/human>

Please note that failure to comply with the conditions of approval and the *National Statement (2007)* may result in withdrawal of approval for the project.

You may now commence your project. I wish you all the best for the conduct of the project

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Helen Phillips', written over a horizontal line.

Helen Phillips  
Ethics Officer  
Office of Research and Higher Degrees



The University of Southern Queensland  
Participant Information Sheet

**Full Project Title:** How Does Local Broadcast Media value, esteem, and provide voice to a rapidly growing urban centre.

**Principal Researcher:** Ashley Jones

**Other Researcher(s):**

I would like to invite you to take part in this research project. I am seeking to understand current media habits, to also understand how you experience the media, what value it has in your everyday life and what you want from broadcast media in your city. By becoming a participant you will take part in either a one on one interview or be part of a small focus group where you share your thoughts to questions that I ask. You will also be able to respond to other's input, in the case of a focus group, and give your understanding and perspective. Participants of the research may either be involved in some broadcast media activity currently or be a listener of radio over time. The following outlines what your involvement will mean and the process.

**1. Procedures**

Participation in this project will involve

- *Either participating in interviews that are once only or on regular sessions in the case of those participants currently associated with a radio program. For those engaged in a radio program it will be based on the regularity of their program.*
- *Participants may also be completing a survey/journal to record media habits.*
- *Participants agree to interview/s willingly and without any financial or other consideration.*

**2. Voluntary Participation**

Participation is entirely voluntary. **If you do not wish to take part you are not obliged to.** If you decide to take part and later change your mind, you are free to withdraw from the project at any stage. Any information already obtained from you will be destroyed. Your decision whether to take part or not to take part, or to take part and then withdraw, will not affect your *relationship with* the University of Southern Queensland

***Please notify the researcher if you decide to withdraw from this project.***

Should you have any queries regarding the progress or conduct of this research, you can contact the principal researcher:

***Ashley Jones***  
***Faculty of Arts, School of Creative Arts***  
***PO Box 4196, Springfield Central Qld 4300***  
***W 07 3470 4642 M 0412 104 491***

If you have any ethical concerns with how the research is being conducted or any queries about your rights as a participant please feel free to contact the University of Southern Queensland Ethics Officer on the following details.

Ethics and Research Integrity Officer  
Office of Research and Higher Degrees  
University of Southern Queensland  
West Street, Toowoomba 4350  
Ph: +61 7 4631 2690  
Email: [ethics@usq.edu.au](mailto:ethics@usq.edu.au)



The University of Southern Queensland  
Consent Form

TO: *Participants 18 years and over*

**Full Project Title:** How Does Local Broadcast Media value, esteem, and provide voice to a rapidly growing urban centre.

**Principal Researcher:** Ashley Jones

**Student Researcher:**

**Associate Researcher(s):**

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I confirm that I am over 18 years of age. *If you are under 18 years of age you must have a parent/ guardian give their consent for your involvement.*
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential. In the case of historical accounts the provider of the information will be identified only after permission has been sought.
- I understand that the tape/digital recording will be stored on a secure server accessed via a password protected computer.
- I understand that I will be audio taped / videotaped / photographed during the study.

**Name of participant**.....

**Signed**.....**Date**.....

If you have any ethical concerns with how the research is being conducted or any queries about your rights as a participant please feel free to contact the University of Southern Queensland Ethics Officer on the following details.

Ethics and Research Integrity Officer  
Office of Research and Higher Degrees  
University of Southern Queensland  
West Street, Toowoomba 4350  
Ph: +61 7 4631 2690  
Email: [ethics@usq.edu.au](mailto:ethics@usq.edu.au)

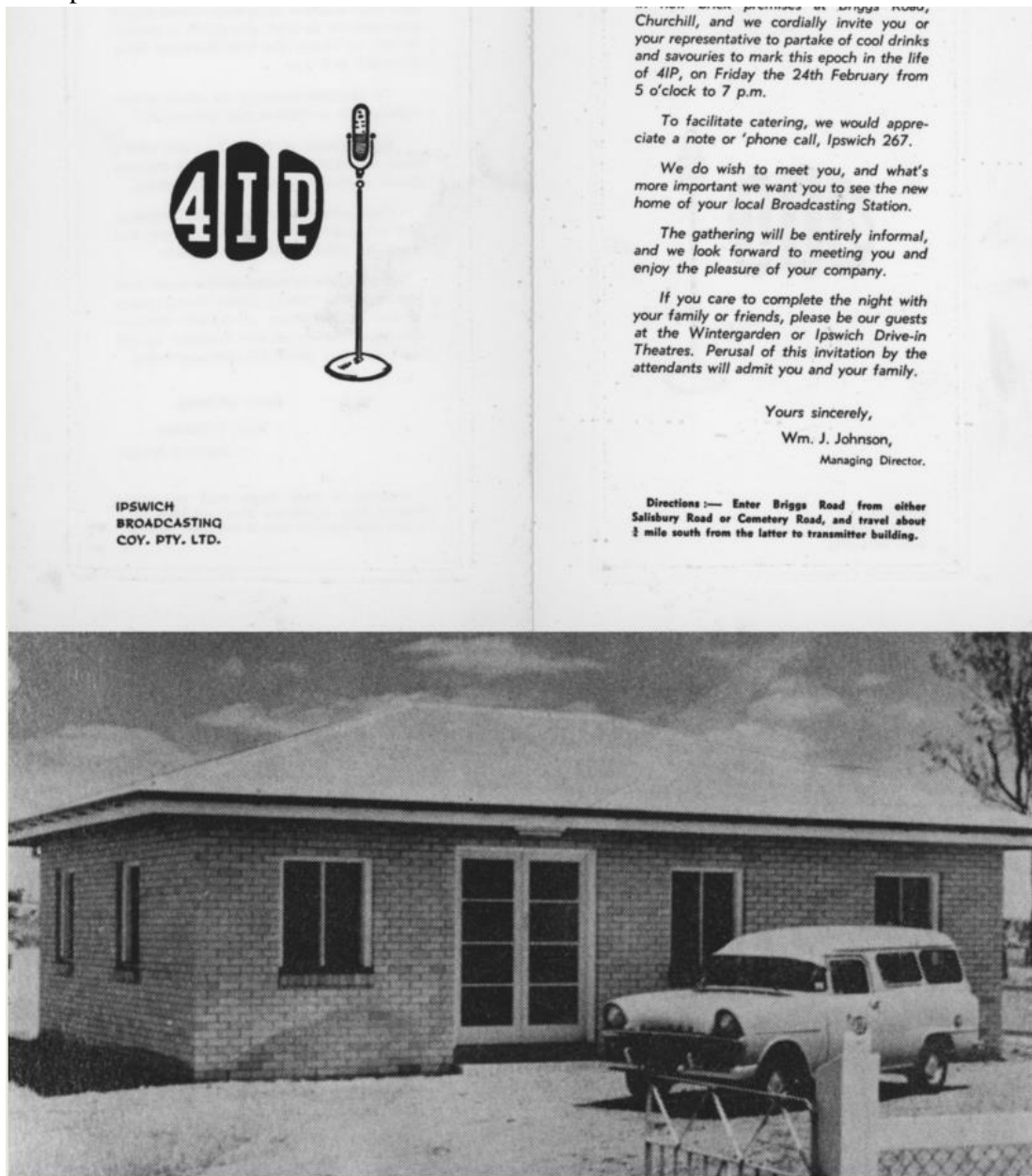
Approval Number: H11REA001



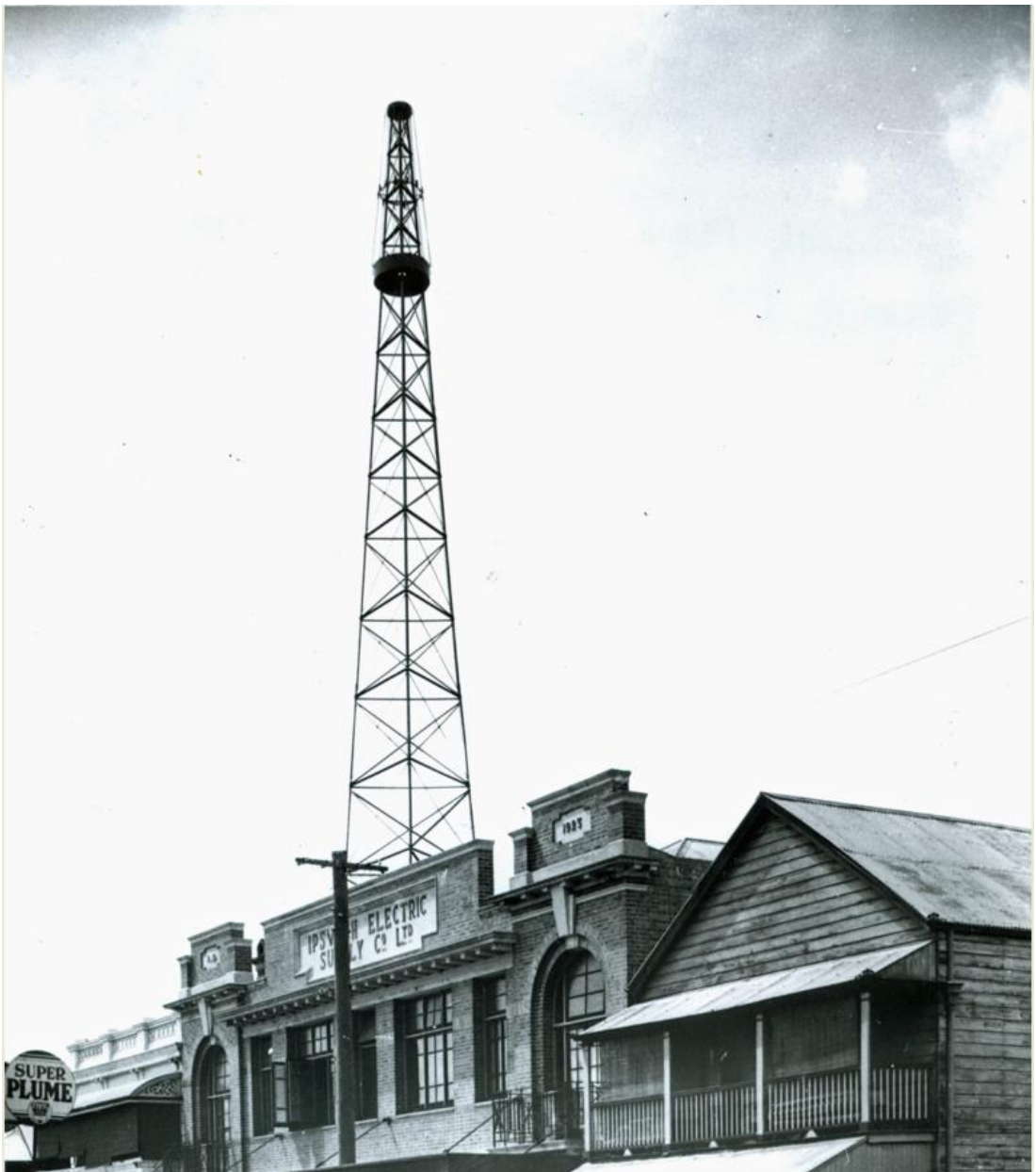
## Appendix C: Images 4IP

### JOHNSON ERA

4IP invitation, to the opening of the new building which housed the transmitters for 4IP. It was opened in 1961.



City Boarding - Brisbane Street Ipswich, looking towards the Transmission Tower at 41P. In the 1930s.



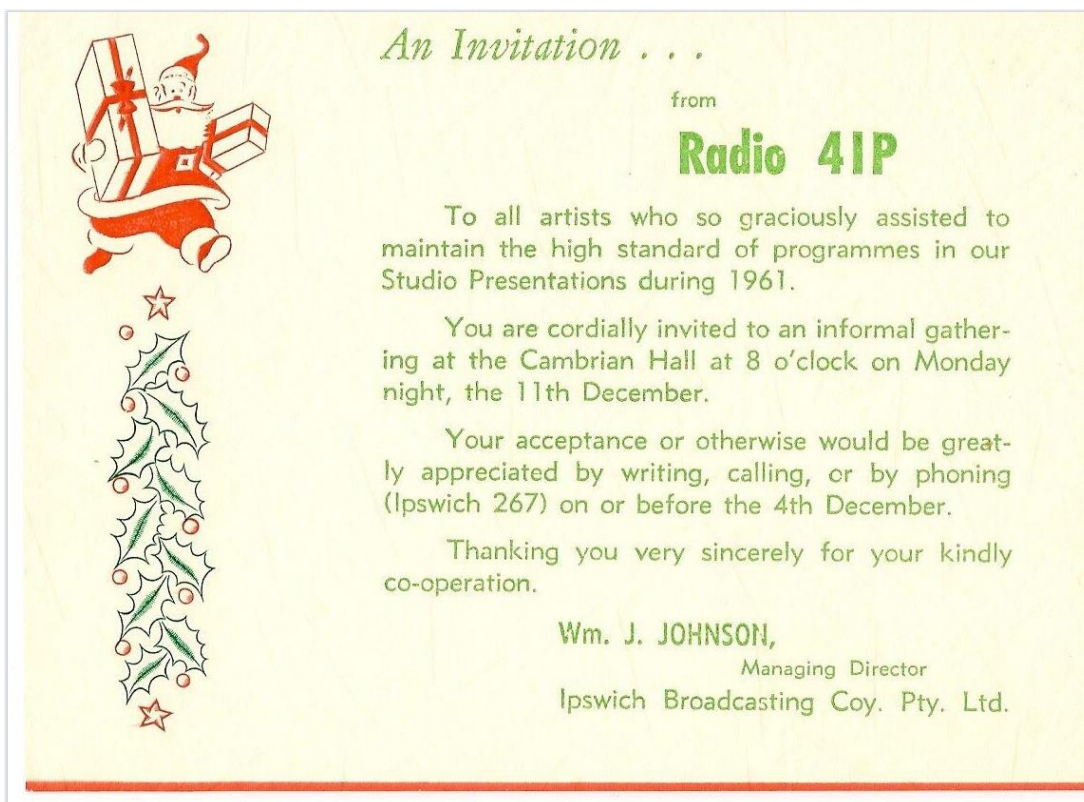
William "Bill" Johnson with a lucky young winner in a 4IP competition (Picture Ipswich)



Keith Fairweather, Senior Technician and William "Bill" Johnson overseeing the new transmission equipment at Briggs Road Ipswich



An invitation to invite those who have entertained throughout the year come together for a Christmas Party courtesy of 4IP



The staff of 4IP in the 1930s.



Alter ego of Bill Johnson is "Uncle Bill" who presented the Smiles Club on 4IP. A very successful program for the youth of the district.



## MOORE ERA

David Greenwood, popular presenter on 4IP with guest



David Greenwood and guest on the stage of the Wintergarden Theatre Ipswich



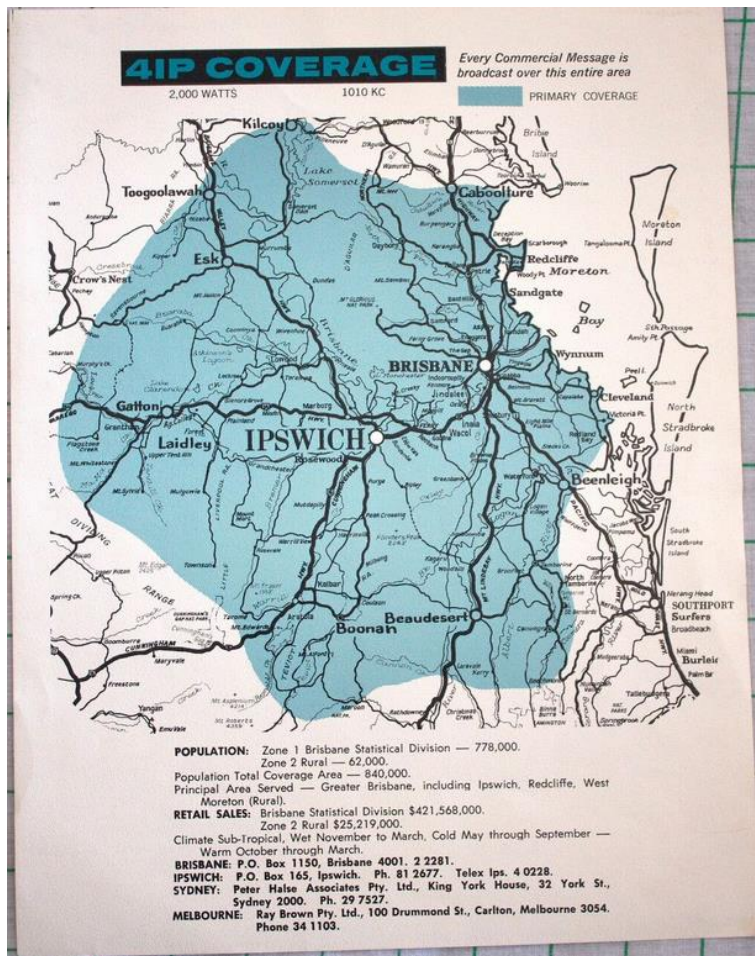
4IP "Breakfast Club" mug. This was a significant marketing strategy for a radio station to partner with a large corporate. A very successful promotion



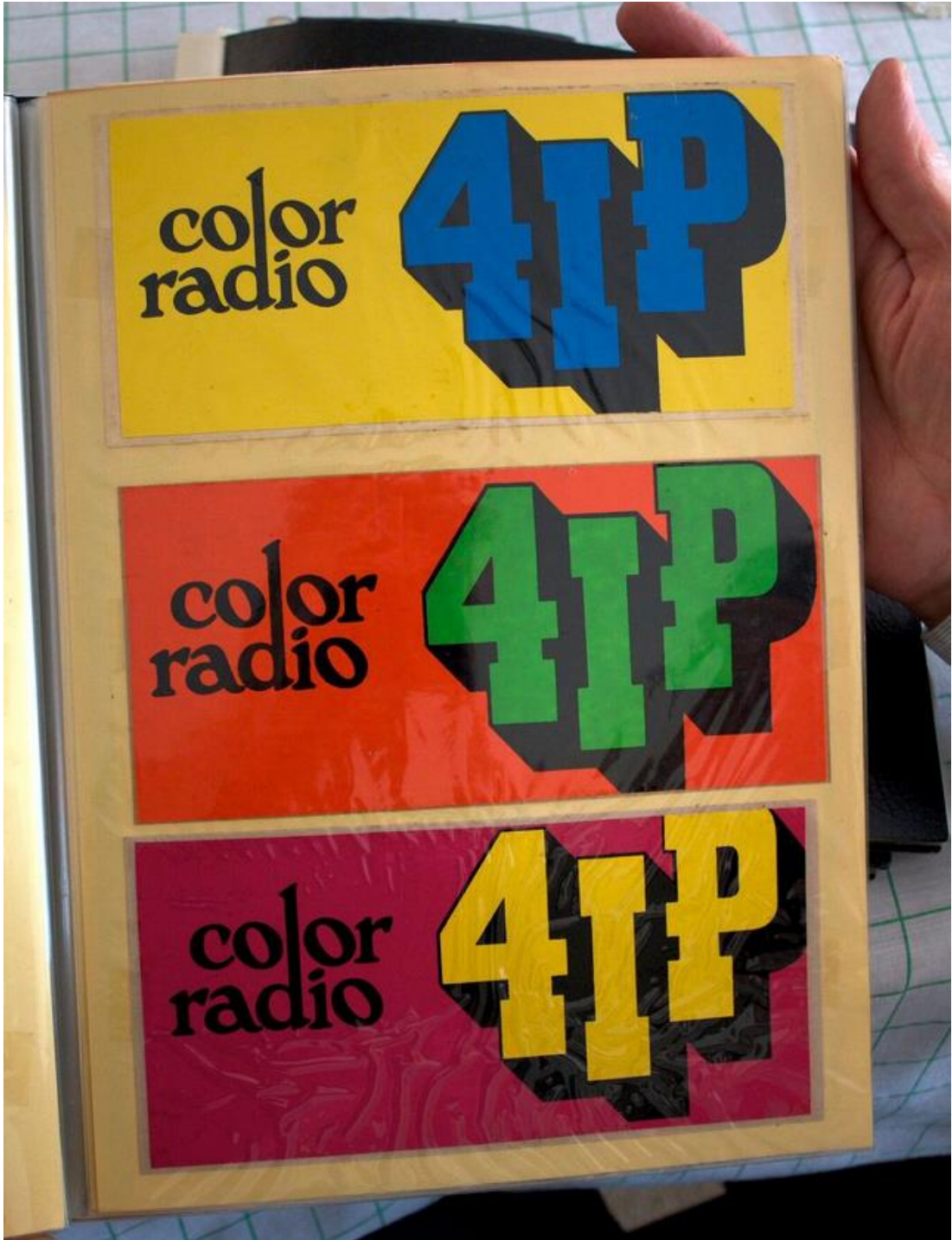
The “Breakfast Club” breakfast plate and mug. This was a significant marketing strategy for a radio station to partner with a large corporate. A very successful promotion



Broadcast area map of 4IP – significant coverage for and Ipswich radio station.



Colour Radio 4IP – early stickers that were ‘colourful’ and very popular through the 1960s

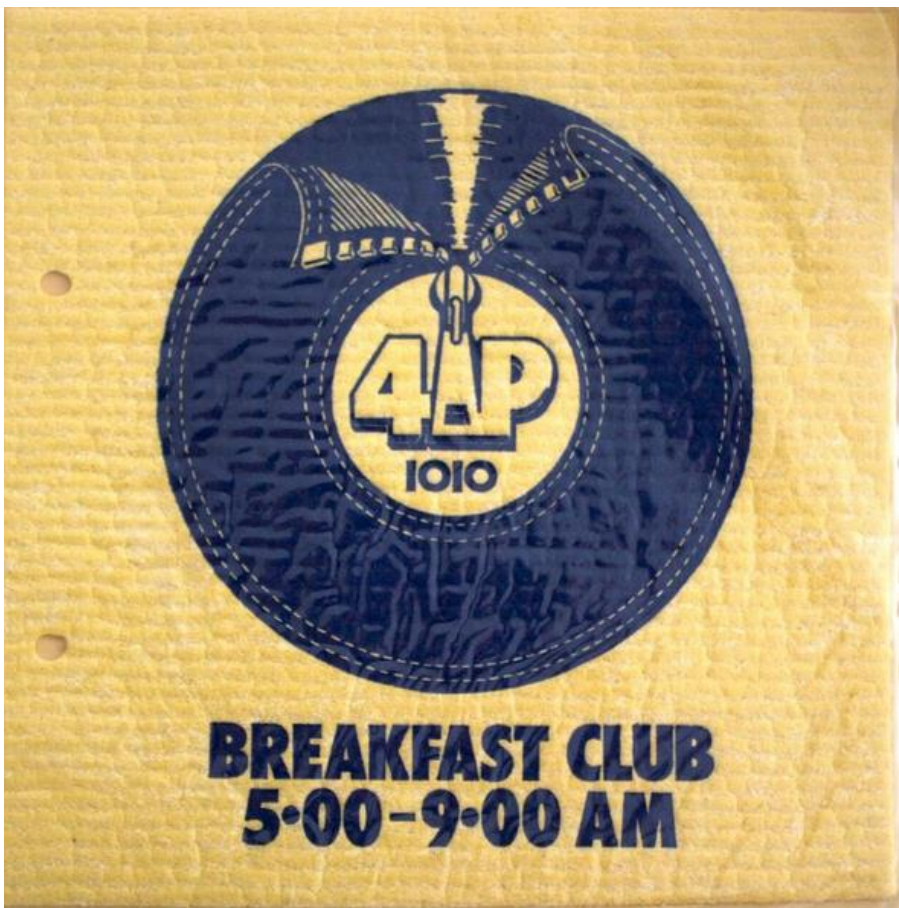




4IP was a great supporter of the Ipswich Colour Festival an annual event for Ipswich.



The new look for 4IP with the Breakfast Club and the denim look. 1970s



David Greenwood and young guest in the Limestone Street Studio.



On Air with 4IP - live from the Limestone Street studio with John Knox



Engineers at work keeping 4IP on-air



# Appendix D: Images QFM to River 949

## Super Song Calendar

<b>S</b>	Feb 25 2pm-4pm Miss You Rolling Stones	March 4th 3pm-5pm Listen to The Music The Doobie Brothers
<b>M</b>	Feb 26th 10am-noon Crocodile Rock Elton John	March 5th 7am-9am Get Back The Beatles
<b>T</b>	Feb 27th 8am-10am Bohemian Rhapsody Queen	March 6th 11am-1pm Another Day in Paradise Phil Collins
<b>U</b>	Feb 28th 4pm-6pm Power of Love Huey Lewis & The News	March 7th 5pm-7pm Would I Lie to You Eurythmics
<b>T</b>	March 1st 6am-8am Good Vibrations Beach Boys	March 8th 1pm-3pm Space Oddity David Bowie
<b>F</b>	March 2nd Noon-2pm We Don't Need Another Hero Tina Turner	March 9th 2pm-4pm Little Lies Redwood Mac
<b>S</b>	March 3rd 9am-11am You Got It Roy Orbison	March 10th Noon-2pm Piano Man Billy Joel

**Listen to Q FM 106.9 Daily ...**

**You could WIN up to \$1,069 CASH!**

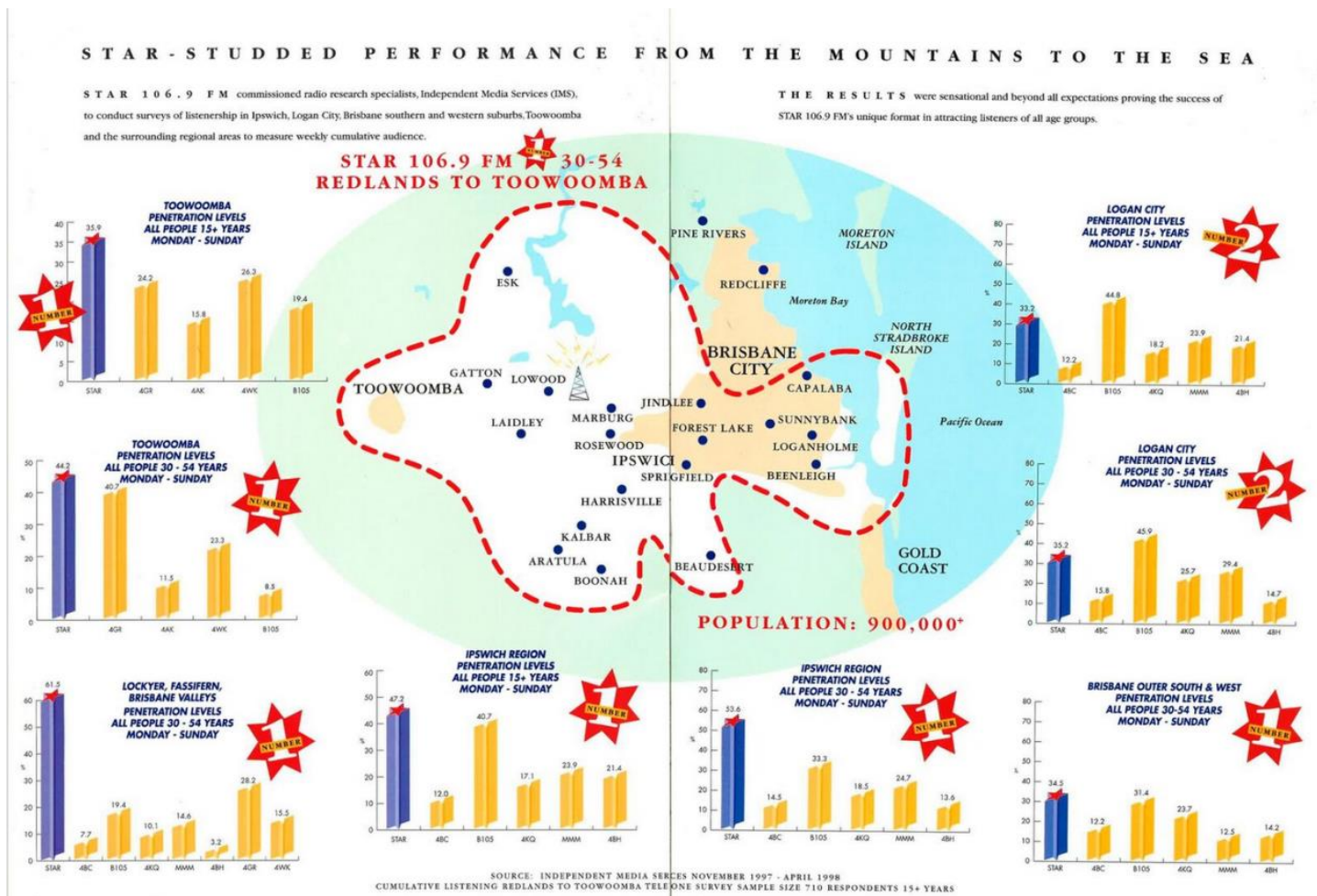
Q FM 106.9 Competition Line ... **223 0069**  
Business PH: (07) 201 6000 ... FAX: (07) 812 3060

## Show Your Ears You Love Them!

**South-East Queensland's New FM Music Station ... Live From Ipswich**

**inside ... Your chance to WIN up to \$1,069 daily!**

## STAR: Coverage Map





River 949: in the community with a sausage sizzle, and live outside broadcast in the community through the late 1990s



The Hit Machine – the River 949 outside broadcast van covered and supported many events around the region



Your live and local radio station.



# riverdelivers

**What they say about us**

The advertising we did with river 94.9 for our Christmas and Easter sales over the last 12 months has been very successful. The combination of recorded and live commercials has worked really well together. The sales increased our turnover in Bikes and accessory sales by more than double.  
**Liam Pro Yamaha**

Thanks very much for a great effort. We estimate that between 4000 and 5000 people passed through the EXPO over the two days and clearly the radio campaign contributed to the great turnout.  
**Kathy Fernvale Produce-Fernvale produce EXPO**

The advertising that we have done with River 94.9 over the last 18 months has been the most successful in 23 years. It has catapulted our business to a new level in terms of growth.  
**Tony Boyle Boyle Insurance Services P/L**

**river 94.9**  
THE HIT MUSIC STATION

River 94.9 delivers your sales message to Ipswich and beyond. The team at River 94.9 is dedicated to getting the maximum result for your investment. Contact Denis Cherry on 3813 1014.



The sticker is a clear message that River 949 has changed format and welcomed well known breakfast presenter to River – Waynee Poo Roberts.

**NO RAP NO CRAP**

**Waynee "Poo"**

**river 94.9**  
THE HIT MUSIC STATION