



Can talk radio be good for democracy?

The Two-Sided Medium.

Talk radio is not just a 'top-down' flow of communication. Callers often robustly contest public opinion. Carlyne Lee listens to a 'constructed week' of talkback topics on Jon Faine's 'Morning Program' on Melbourne's ABC Radio 774 to explore the extent to which, and how, such calls stimulate democratic processes.

BY CAROLYNE LEE

THERE IS NO QUESTION that in the past decade talk radio has become the medium of choice for Australian politicians. Talk radio is now 'the preferred organ for national and state leaders to sell policies and ideas, to get voter feedback and to attempt damage control on emerging scandals', according to Melbourne ABC Radio 774 presenter Jon Faine.¹ This view implies, however, that the flow of communication is mainly 'top-down'; that is, from politicians to the public. Of course there is a great deal more content on talk radio programs than politicians selling their policies and attempting damage control. As Graeme Turner says, drawing on John Tebbutt's research, the medium of talk radio has provided listeners with a significant break from hearing the voices of 'experts' and 'notable people', and has given voice to women and other marginalized groups.² This is just as well since, as Thomas Kane points out, 'for civil society³ to function as a mediating force ... the articulation of interests from below as well as above'⁴ are needed.

A look at talk

Now for some definitions. 'Talk radio' is an umbrella term used by Faine himself, who says, 'Most talk radio in this country

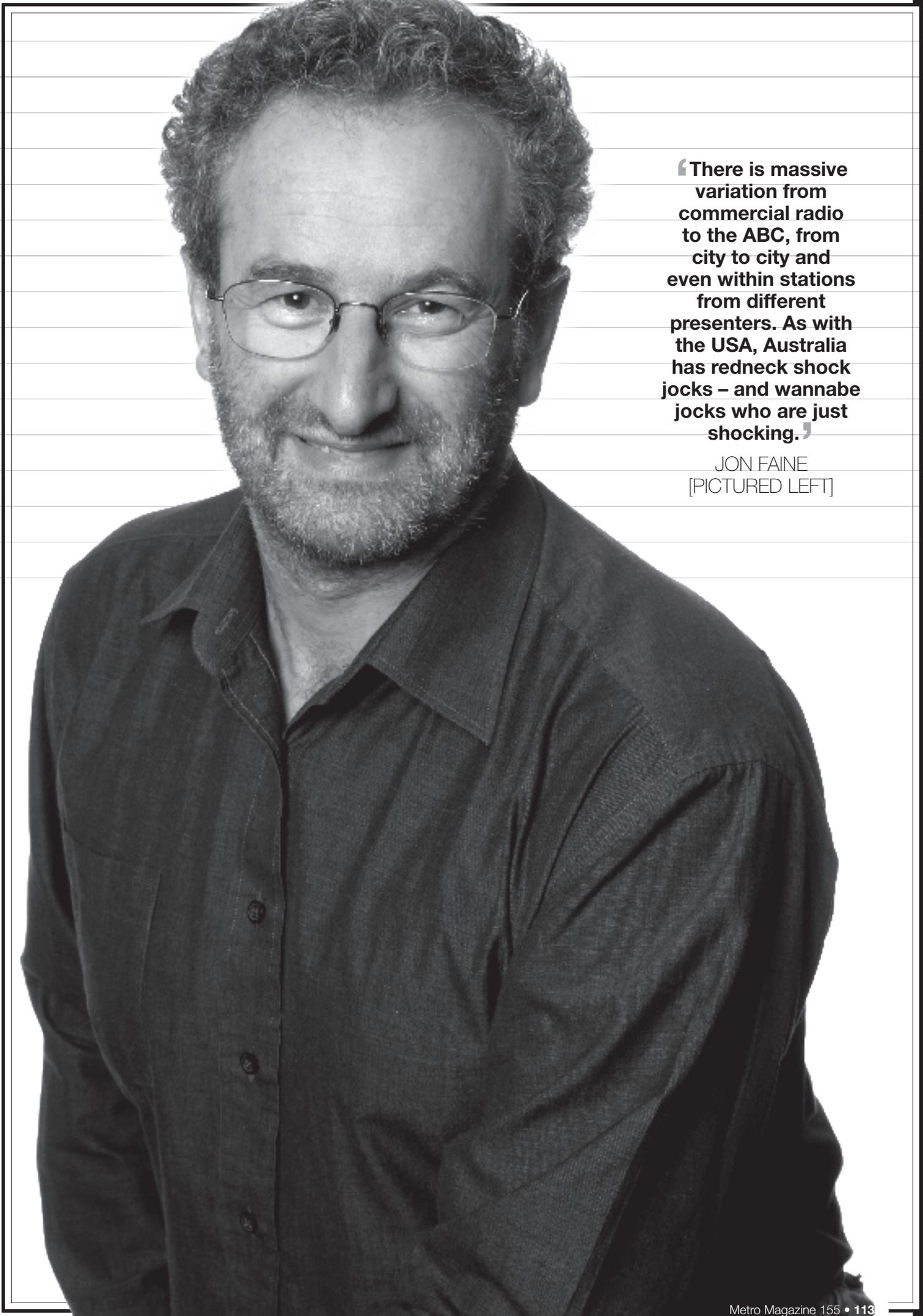
is talkback radio.'⁵ While talkback certainly involves listeners phoning in and speaking to the presenter on air, unless the majority of the program's content involves this (which is the case with many programs on commercial stations, for example, Sydney's 2UE), talkback is not really an accurate description. Faine's program involves half an hour of talkback⁶ in a three-and-a-half hour program, which also comprises interviews, regular guest slots, news, weather, traffic alerts and a little music. While ABC staffer Liz Gray calls this format 'talk forum',⁷ for the purposes of my paper, I will use Faine's term 'talk radio' to refer to his program and to any others that involve talkback, irrespective of its proportion.

Until recently, the majority of studies into talk radio have been American. There is some Australian research, including Graeme Turner's excellent study of the 'Cash for Comment' scandal involving infamous Sydney talk radio hosts John Laws and Alan Jones, an incident that served as a prime example of how 'political participation [is] restricted by those who had access to influencing media content'.⁸ Another important Australian study, by Ian Ward,

charts the rise of talk radio, and its increasing use by politicians, John Howard in particular.⁹ Both Turner and Ward conclude their discussions by calling for more such studies, Turner even suggesting that with Australian talk radio there are opportunities to 'contest, reconstruct and redefine existing terms and relations of power in the media through direct critical engagement'.¹⁰ I seek to situate my own interest in talk radio within this narrow chink of opportunity – with my qualitative analysis of the content of Faine's popular 'Morning Program'.

Faine, a former lawyer, is a well-known and long-time presenter of this program which considers current events, and includes related interviews and discussions with an enormous range of both one-off guests (in the 'Conversation Hour'), and those termed the 'Mornings Regulars', some of whom listeners can interact with via talkback.¹¹ This latter group includes people such as Debi Enker, who talks about current television programs, vet Damien McShane, film critic Deb Verhoeven, sports presenter

ABOVE LEFT: CONTROVERSIAL BROADCASTER JOHN LAWS (PHOTO BY GAYE GERARD/GETTY IMAGES).



“There is massive variation from commercial radio to the ABC, from city to city and even within stations from different presenters. As with the USA, Australia has redneck shock jocks – and wannabe jocks who are just shocking.”

JON FAINE
[PICTURED LEFT]

Gerard Whateley, and lawyer David Whiting who responds to listeners' legal queries. The final hour of the program is known as the 'Conversation Hour', a segment usually without talkback in which Faine has a different co-host each day. Recent examples of such hosts include Waleed Aly, Melbourne academic, author and Muslim spokesperson; veteran broadcaster Terry Lane; Melbourne journalist Jill Singer; and science broadcaster Gael Jennings. Guests in the 'Conversation Hour' usually include people from Australia or overseas who have achieved something worthwhile. Some recent examples are Mariuma Klein, who has set up a philanthropic organization to help homeless youngsters in the Middle East, and Elaine Henry, CEO of The Smith Family.

Between the 'Morning Regulars' and the

'Conversation Hour', there is the 'Open Line', when listeners can respond to issues raised earlier in the show, or to comment on current events more generally. Callers often raise issues of interest in their local community. There is no doubt that many of the topics on all Radio 774 programs are tendentiously Victorian, or even Melburnian, although on the 'Morning Program' nationwide topics such as the Budget or 'evergreen' issues such as euthanasia or abortion are not generally neglected in favour of local issues. But in any case, following Kane's argument that the public sphere requires the articulation of interests from a variety of sources, we can use Geoffrey Craig's conceptualization of public life to further develop this notion. Craig points out that a democratic public sphere needs to 'foreground the multiplicity of public domains and the porousness

between those domains ... [including the] 'private' realm traditionally dissociated from the public sphere'.¹²

Craig's view of the multiplicity of domains seems to be borne out by the topics raised – either by the host or by callers – for discussion. Moreover, many of these topics are raised from the caller's personal perspective. For example, on day four of my 'constructed week' listening to Faine's 'Morning Program', a caller complaining about the quality of nursing in nursing homes (see Table 1 below) spoke from the position of a person observing the care of an elderly relative – something that could be considered to be from the 'private' realm. However, once this issue is aired in public, many more people started to scrutinize the issue, asking, perhaps, whether the problem exists only in that specific nursing

TABLE 1: TOPICS RAISED AND/OR DISCUSSED BY CALLERS DURING A 'CONSTRUCTED WEEK' OF PROGRAMS 11 JULY – 5 AUGUST 2005.

DAY	VICTORIAN	AUSTRALIAN	INTERNATIONAL
Day 1	1. Roundabouts unsafe because of the camber of the road.	1. Plight of refugees in Baxter detention centre. 2. Dissatisfaction with private health fund. 3. Complaint about low standard of <i>Big Brother</i> 4. Legalization of euthanasia for terminally ill.	
Day 2	1. Use of mobile phones while driving; state govt has done nothing. And speed limits are too high. 2. Complaint about 40 Hour Famine taking donations only by credit card (three separate complaints). 3. Driving speed limits defended (in reply to no. 1). 4. Channel 9 showed footage of train crash in Pakistan in which hundreds were killed, as last item just before sports – shows lack of respect for poorer nations.	1. Release of notorious child sex offender. What are the limits to accuracy in prediction of human behaviour? 2. Complaint about bank charges. 3. Minister Kevin Andrews is a hypocrite.	1. What makes someone become a suicide bomber (following arrests in UK). Same as no. 4 in Victorian column: 2. Channel 9 showed footage of train crash in Pakistan in which 100s were killed, as last item just before sports – shows lack of respect for poorer nations.
Day 3	1. New Victorian schools curriculum. 2. Stand-downs of motor industry workers due to financial problems in component factory. 3. Media 'feeding frenzy' centred on Steve Vizard involves issues of privacy. 4. Praise of a suburban childcare centre. 5. Film <i>The Art of Killing a Cat</i> should not be shown at film festival.	1. New laws to be introduced requiring Police checks on every person working with children. 2. Federal govt. shouldn't sell off Telstra: we need a referendum. 2. Car industry and govt. policy.	1. Information about ICE campaign in UK – In Case of Emergency; number put into mobile phone under name of ICE. 2. Conditions for most people in Cambodia appalling (from recently returned tourist) but orphanages good despite getting only charity money from overseas citizens, not governments.
Day 4	1. Commonwealth Games cost blowout. 2. Guidelines for development on the coast. C'wealth government wants to control development. 3. Quality of care in nursing homes (two callers). 4. Length of the Victorian football season. 5. Too much coastal development in Victoria.	Same as nos. 1 & 2 in Victorian column: 1. Commonwealth Games cost blowout. 2. Guidelines for development on the coast. C'wealth government wants to control development. 3. Immigration of Muslims.	1. Terrorism in Egyptian resort: how much sacrifice of freedom do we want in order to deal with terrorism? 2. The curtailment of civil liberties (in wake of London bombings).
Day 5	1. Maria Korp murder case. 2. Police crisis-handling tactics. Interview with CAT team manager. 3. Mobile phone battery can cause a spark if it is exposed beside a petrol pump. 4. Crisis handling tactics – CAT teams.	1. Do our counter-terrorism laws need strengthening. 2. Curtailment of free speech under threat. 3. Is Mr Ruddock deliberately delaying new anti-vilification laws to appease conservative religious.	1. Abu Bakir stands by his free speech rights to teach jihad (interview with Mr Ruddock).

NOTE: TOPICS IN BOLD ARE THOSE THAT APPEAR IN MORE THAN ONE COLUMN.

home or more widely; or asking what the benchmarks for care are in such cases.

Many issues once deemed apolitical or trivial, because personal, are now regularly aired in a diversity of voices and ways of speaking. This view is echoed by Turner's suggestion regarding 'direct critical engagement'. And the link between listening to talk radio and increased political participation, at least in terms of awareness of issues (surely a crucial form of the 'critical engagement' of which Turner speaks), has been at least partially demonstrated in several studies, such as those by David Barker (1998 and 2002); C. Richard Hofstetter and Christopher Gianos (1997); Hofstetter (1998); and Benjamin Page and Jason Tannenbaum (1996).¹³

But the link between talk radio listening and political mobilization is problematic because 'increased awareness of issues' does not tell us about the quality of ensuing public discussions. Indeed, it does not preclude outright misinformation obtained as a result of listening to talk radio, as demonstrated by research into levels of misinformation in public affairs knowledge possessed by listeners to talk radio, revealed in studies by Barker (2002), Bennett (2001) and Hofstetter (1999). This is because talk radio is a very loose description, which, as Faine himself argues:

*... covers a multitude of differing approaches. There is massive variation from commercial radio to the ABC, from city to city and even within stations from different presenters. As with the USA, Australia has redneck shock jocks – and wannabe jocks who are just shocking.*¹⁴

Who is listening? Defining the audience

A study of listeners to both moderate and conservative talk radio programs found that although political talk radio 'has been associated with increased ... awareness of issues',¹⁵ this effect is not universal: listeners to conservative talk radio were found to be more misinformed (than were other programs' listeners who were studied) about ideologically charged matters and about political facts.¹⁶ This same study also found that:

Somewhat surprisingly, the more one listens to moderate talk, the less misinformed one tends to be regarding these matters ...

*[although] these findings do not mean that moderate talk radio programming necessarily does a better job than conservative talk programming at providing listeners with accurate information. Those inclined to listen to moderate programming may be more fair-minded than conservative talk listeners, something that the shows themselves cannot control (emphasis added).*¹⁷

Unsurprisingly, Faine himself makes several special claims about talk radio programs with political content (of which he says there are fewer than thirty in Australia): that 'talk radio deals with opinion, often robustly contested, and events'; that it is 'now centre stage in the "contest of events"'; and, moreover, that it 'provides a unique litmus test of public opinion'.¹⁸ Research suggests this last point to be somewhat contestable or at least problematic, given the data on demographic groups which has shown that political talk radio activity was linked statistically to higher than average levels of education and income.¹⁹

While it could be argued, because of this, that Faine's listeners comprise a predetermined audience, they still constitute a public among the many publics that exist; and such a public can be conceptualized – because of the moderate political content and the deliberative nature of the program – more as a political or civic identity, distinguishable from 'the commercial forces that inform an audience ... [and emphasize] interactivity, as in debates about issues and activities such as voting.'²⁰ This particular public is constituted by the 'Morning Program', and by the very act of coming together to access and consume that particular media content, a process that will facilitate 'the organisation of consent, as well as expressions of difference. Public formation involves a dialogical process, where the ... public appraise the representations of public opinion offered to them.'²¹

Indeed, in examining what can be thought of as Faine's public, it is salient to draw upon the view that some forms of media production, especially those involving dialogic processes, have the potential to stimulate processes of democratic deliberation.²² The extent to which this view is valid is of course determined by the range of contending viewpoints that are able to access the media. But democracy also requires, as Christopher Lasch has noted, 'a vigorous exchange of ideas and

opinions. Ideas, like property, need to be distributed as widely as possible.'²³ In the week in which I listened to and noted Faine's content, as can be seen in Table 1 (see opposite page), I recorded a distribution of ideas for discussion that stretched from complaints about the World Vision 40 Hour Famine fundraising drive only accepting donations by credit card, through to detention centres, euthanasia and the legislation surrounding this issue. See Table 1.

A week on Jon Faine's 'Morning Program'

On my first day of recorded listening, Monday 11 July 2005, the caller who rang to discuss what he perceived as roundabouts being unsafe because of the camber of the road, was told by Faine: 'I can't share your enthusiasm [for this topic].' The originator of this topic, in common with all callers, was thanked politely as his airtime was terminated. So Faine, despite his disingenuous comment that he is 'just a filter', does not allow *all* topics to proceed to a true dialogic state. There are, in effect, two levels of gatekeeping for the callers. First they must give an outline of what they want to talk about to the producers;²⁴ but even if they are put in the queue to talk to Faine, this does not guarantee that Faine will want to pursue the topics. Nevertheless, during my period of recording, most ideas did achieve at least a minute or two on the airwaves.

It may be worthwhile to unpack the other topics on that day, which did proceed to some sort of dialogue. First, Lou rang to say that she had just visited the Baxter Detention Centre, and seen people in the 'housing solution' which is the placement of people outside the centre in what I assume is ordinary housing. Lou felt this was not much different to the centre, as the people were still living under guard, and one woman had had to move back into the centre because one of her children had been frightened by the guards. Faine asked Lou if she'd noticed much actual change since the changes to detention laws that had recently been instituted following the Cornelia Rau case. Lou said she believed there were only 'subtle' changes.²⁵

A woman rang to tell how, after many years with a private health fund, she had recently reduced her health cover down to a more basic level, and so the health fund was treating her like a new member by making

her wait for benefits. Faine asked her if she had considered approaching the health care Ombudsman. She said she hadn't, but that she might indeed do that now. Thus, a topic that began as a complaint from the 'private' sphere, perhaps, ended – if the woman did indeed contact the suggested Ombudsman – in an attempt to call to account the practices of a large commercial organization.

A guest on Faine's program that day was Dermot O'Brien, news director of Channel Ten. During the 'Open Line' segment, a woman rang in to complain about *Big Brother*. The woman engaged in a lively debate with O'Brien, saying that the explicit sex, nudity and constant talk of genitalia among the *Big Brother* cast was an indictment of Australia. She asked, 'What are we offering to the rest of the world, especially to Muslim countries?' O'Brien's glib reply was: 'If it wasn't popular, it wouldn't be there.' But the woman had the last word: 'Yes, it's popular with kids who are too young to have any powers of judgement.'

Talk topics beyond words

But the most deeply moving topic was raised by a caller named Steve Guest, and this call was to have a dialogic effect that spread out in ripples across public life in Melbourne for weeks to come. At the start of his call, Steve Guest immediately situated his topic within a current deliberative issue – the legalization of euthanasia. Guest then explained that he had been diagnosed with cancer of the oesophagus ten months earlier, a condition which was inoperable and now beyond all treatment. He could not swallow and had a feeding tube in his stomach. Guest said:

I want my life to end. That's all I ask. And those bastards who call themselves Christians won't let me have that death, Jon. That's all I want now. I want a pill in the cupboard that I can reach for and take ... and end this nightmare I'm living at the moment.

Faine was clearly taken aback and expressed his sympathy while allowing Guest all the time he needed to tell his story and plead for the right to end his own life. The call lasted ten minutes, an unprecedented amount of time for a talkback caller.

On 18 July, a week after Guest's initial call, he was invited by Faine to the studio to

discuss the issue on air; and so, in addition to the five days of the 'constructed week', I also recorded this day's program. Faine and Guest were joined in the studio by Nicholas Tonti-Fillipini, a Catholic bioethicist who is known to oppose euthanasia. Faine had contacted federal government minister Kevin Andrews²⁶ and anti-euthanasia activists, but none had agreed to participate in a broadcast discussion. During the second half of the hour, listeners called in to join the discussion. First Faine read several text messages from listeners, expressing their support for Guest's position and their sympathy and admiration for him. The talkback segment began, and comprised ten callers to whom Guest responded.

First, a woman recounted the death of her husband from prostate cancer. She had asked the surgeon, who was a friend, to 'do something' to relieve her husband's suffering. The surgeon admitted him to a private hospital room where he died two days later, 'on a drip', presumably assisted by the surgeon. The next caller vehemently denounced Kevin Andrews for interfering in the rights and morals of others. A woman called to talk about various deaths in her family and asserted her and her family's right to choose the means and times of their own deaths if terminally ill. Guest responded by emphasizing 'quality of life': he recalled his ability to do various things only two years before and contrasted this with his current feeble abilities.

Three more people called to talk about family members who had died long and agonizing deaths because there was nothing anyone could do. Another caller spoke about the death of her husband who 'wasted away' over four months when she was twenty and pregnant, and unable to find the help they both needed in order to end his life. Guest expressed sympathy, and she then told him she now had a 'secret stash' of drugs in case anyone else needs help. Finally, a woman told how she and her sisters helped their mother to die. They had researched it together with her mother and father, and prepared for it for a year, obtaining the necessary drugs. She described her mother's ability to decide to end her life when she chose as 'a gift'. When the calls had finished, Faine read aloud an SMS message asking why he had not allowed anyone to express alternative views on euthanasia; he said that was simply because no one had actually called in to express any. The session finished with

Faine farewelling Guest on air.

Eight days later Faine announced that Steve Guest's brother John had called him to let him know that Steve had died overnight, just one week after his studio appearance. Faine conveyed sympathy, and told John Guest that he had spoken the previous evening to Steve, who had expressed the hope that he had 'made a difference' to the euthanasia debate. John Guest said he believed his brother's appearance on Faine's program had given him a boost that helped him last a few more days than expected.

A series of articles and letters on the issue of euthanasia had already begun appearing in a range of newspapers, starting with a feature story by journalist Kate Legge (who interviewed Guest for the article) in the national broadsheet newspaper *The Australian* under the title 'Demanding the Right to Die'.

These continued beyond Guest's death on 26 July. Members of the public clearly wished to continue the debate, to widen this space that was first carved out by a man phoning a radio station to talk about his illness and his life, and to express his feelings about the legislation that prevented him from ending his own life when terminally ill. As Legge stated in her article:

[Euthanasia is] a debate that will increasingly absorb ageing baby boomers as they nurse ailing and possibly bewildered parents to the grave. Our generation supports the right to abortion and we are less likely than our elders to be conflicted by religious affiliation when it comes to assisted suicide.²⁷

I contend that the processes set in train by Steve Guest's initial phone call would have caused media consumers (of the radio broadcasts or the newspaper articles) on both sides of the euthanasia debate to reflect seriously on their beliefs. Some might even change their preferences or judgements on this topic as a result of the process, while others might be strengthened in their beliefs. Whether or not we do change our minds is not the point. It is the deliberative process that is important, a crucial component in democratic deepening.²⁸

In this article, I have given a brief example of the deliberative processes I have observed taking place as a result of phone calls to Faine's talk radio program. While it

is true that all citizens cannot be personally involved in deliberation and dialogue, we can listen to the dialogic exchanges of others, and use these experiences to form our own judgements,²⁹ the major constituent of deliberative democracy. Nevertheless, an informed and rationally deliberating public is the major prerequisite. Talk radio *per se* cannot be claimed to be an unqualified benefit to the public sphere. For example, a form of public discussion can sometimes be stimulated in ways that are morally indefensible, such as the 'moral panic'³⁰ provoked in December 2006 by Sydney talkback host Alan Jones,³¹ leading to the riots at Cronulla Beach. There is an urgent need for future research to analyse the different iterations of talk radio in order to assess the degree to which different formats and different presenters are capable of making a contribution to democratic deliberation and debate as can be observed, at least from my sample, on '774 ABC Melbourne Mornings with Jon Faine'.³²

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Endnotes

- 1 Jon Faine, 'Talk radio and democracy' in Robert Manne (ed.), *Do Not Disturb: Is the Media Failing Australia?*, Black Inc., Melbourne, 2005, p.169.
- 2 Graeme Turner, 'Some Things We Should Know About Talkback Radio', Keynote speaker's paper at the 2005 Radio Conference, RMIT University, 11–14 July 2005.
- 3 To elaborate, quoting Jean Bethke Elsh-tain: 'By civil society, I mean the many forms of community and association that dot the landscape of a democratic culture, from families to churches to neighbourhood groups to trade unions to self-help movements to volunteer assistance to the needy.' Jean Bethke Elsh-tain, *Democracy on Trial*, Basic Books, New York, 1995, p.5, quoted in Thomas Kane, 'Public Argument, Civil Society, and What Talk Radio Teaches about Rhetoric,' *Argumentation and Advocacy*, vol. 34, no. 3, Winter 1998, pp.154–161.
- 4 Kane, *ibid.*
- 5 Faine, *op. cit.*, p.171.
- 6 On the ABC's Melbourne website, it is declared that 'Mornings with Jon Faine brings the focus back to Melbourne

with regular talkback and interviews on topics from politics and law through to arts and sport.' <<http://www.abc.net.au/melbourne/about.htm>>, accessed 3 November 2007.

- 7 Elizabeth Gray, 'Women Talk Back: Women, Radio and Public Space', MA thesis, La Trobe University, 1999.
- 8 Graeme Turner, 'Ethics, Entertainment, and the Tabloid: The Case of Talkback Radio in Australia', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3, 2001, p.356.
- 9 Ian Ward, 'Talkback Radio, Political Communication, and Australian Politics', *Australian Journal of Communication*, 29, no. 1, 2002, pp.21–38.
- 10 Turner, 'Ethics, Entertainment and the Tabloid', *loc. cit.*
- 11 List obtained from <<http://www.abc.net.au/melbourne/mornings/guests.htm>>, accessed 3 November 2007.
- 12 Geoffrey Craig, *The Media, Politics and Public Life*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2004, p.54.
- 13 See David C. Barker, 'The Talk Radio Community: Nontraditional Social Networks and Political Participation', *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 79, no. 2, June 1998; David C. Barker, *Rushed to Judgment: Talk Radio, Persuasion and American Political Behaviour*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002; C. Richard Hofstetter, 'Political Talk Radio, Situational Involvement and Political Mobilization', *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 79, no. 2, June 1998; C. Richard Hofstetter & Christopher L. Gianos, 'Political Talk Radio: Actions Speak Louder than Words', *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, Fall 1997, vol. 41, no. 4; Benjamin I. Page & Jason Tannenbaum, 'Populist Deliberation and Talk Radio', *Journal of Communication*, vol 46, no.2, Spring 1996, p.33; Jane Bick, 'Talk Radio and the American Dream', *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, vol. 32, issue 1, Winter 1988, p.121.
- 14 Faine, *op. cit.* p.173.
- 15 Hofstetter & Gianos, *op. cit.*
- 16 *ibid.* Hofstetter's underlying theory for this study was that: '...individuals gather political knowledge by inferential reasoning – constructing political 'reality' from the messages to which they are exposed by making inferences about what they do not know based on extrapolations from what they see or hear. This 'filling-in' may often result in misinformation. Hofstetter, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ Faine, *op. cit.*, p.170–1.

¹⁹ Interestingly, this study found that political talk radio activity was not linked to 'age, gender, marital status, race/ethnicity, or length of residence in the local area'. See Hofstetter, *op. cit.* p.275.

²⁰ Craig, *op. cit.* p.60.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.50.

²² See, for example, Simon Cottle, 'Television agora and agoraphobia post-September 11' in B. Zelizer & S. Allan (eds), *Journalism after September 11*, Routledge, London, 2002; J.S. Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.

²³ Christopher Lasch, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*, W.W. Norton, New York, 1995, p.10.

²⁴ I have heard Faine mention this process on air, although not during the week I recorded.

²⁵ In the weeks following this call, all children and their families were released from Australian detention centres into the community, together with most long-term detainees.

²⁶ Kevin Andrews had sponsored the private members bill that overturned the *Rights of the Terminally Ill Act* in the Northern Territory in 1997, revoking the first legislation in the world to legalize euthanasia.

²⁷ Kate Legge, 'Demanding a Right to Die', *The Australian*, 16 July 2005.

²⁸ See Cottle, *op. cit.* and Dryzek, *op. cit.*

²⁹ See Cottle, *ibid.*

³⁰ See Rachel Kendrick, 'I'm the One That's Led This Charge: Alan Jones, Cronulla, and the Theatre of White Australia', *Referreed Proceedings of UNAUSTRALIA, The Cultural Studies Associations of Australasia's Annual Conference, 6–8 December 2006*, <<http://www.unaustalia.com/proceedings.phg>>, accessed 1 November 2007; and Ien Ang, 'Nation, Migration, and the City: Mediating Urban Citizenship,' Paper from the ESF-LiU Conferences 'Cities and Media: Cultural Perspectives on Urban Identities in a Mediatized World,' Vadstena, 25–29 October 2006, <<http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/020/>>, accessed November 1 2007.

³¹ Jones was subsequently found by the Australian Communications and Media Authority to have breached the Commercial Radio Code of Practice during broadcasts just before the riots.

³² See <<http://www.abc.net.au/melbourne/mornings/jfmediaondemand.htm>>, accessed November 5 2007.